# The French Institute of International Relations



#### **Cover photos:**

From left to right, top to bottom

Abdullah Gül, President of the Republic of Turkey *Thierry de Montbrial*, Ifri

Hubert Védrine, former Foreign Minister of France Han Seung-Soo, former Prime Minister of South Korea Nambaryn Enkhbayar, former President of Mongolia

Ifri Conference, welcome

General *Karl W. Eikenberry*, Deputy Chairman of the NATO Military Committee in Brussels and former Commander of Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan

Adil Abd Al-Mahdi, Vice-President of the Republic of Iraq

Opening of the Ifri Energy Conference, Brussels, February 2009

Dominique David, Ifri Anatoly Torkunov, Rector, MGIMO University, Moscow

# **Contents**

Message from the President	2
France's Leading Independent Think Tank	4
Ifri Brussels, a European Purpose and Presence	5
In 2009 Ifri Notably Hosted	6
Ifri Publications in 2009	8
Two Flagship Publications: Politique étrangère and RAMSES	9
Ifri and its Partners	10
Ifri and the Media, a Continuous Dialogue	14
World Policy Conference, 2 <sup>nd</sup> Edition	15
The Team	16
Research	17
Regional Programs	18
Cross-cutting Programs	36
Publications	46
Conferences and Debates	49
Board of Directors and Advisory Board	51
Financial Appendix	52

# Message from the President



n 2009, Ifri consolidated its position as leading French think tank according to the global rankings established by the University of Pennsylvania. Our work covers all aspects of international relations and continues to be organized around two pillars: research and debate.

The research, both regional and thematic, is structured in programs that rely on one or more of the centers presented in this report. It is led by full-time and part-time researchers working at the institute. In each of the research areas concerned the goal is to situate the work in a global context. The results of the research are published through traditional channels, such as reports or books, but are also increasingly available electronically in several languages. In general, these studies analyze a particular problem, place it in a historical and long-term context and, where appropriate, recommend policies or strategies. The work is aimed at specialist communities, but also at consumers such as states, businesses or NGOs, as well as opinion leaders and the media in general.

In 2009, we launched our new website which significantly increased our audience. The digital age is very promising for an institution such as Ifri and we fully intend to seize all the opportunities this technology has to offer.

Ifri has a second complementary role: presentations and debates among peers are an essential aspect of progress. They constitute a special form

of exchange for public or private decision-makers whose time is limited and who have developed their capacity to listen through these activities. Finally, these discussions are critical to democracy, both at a national and international level.

The uniqueness of Ifri in this respect is due both to the quality of its debates underpinned by internationally recognized expertise, and to the fact that the institute has established itself over three decades as a forum where the most distinguished international personalities wish to express themselves. The digital revolution will allow Ifri to better diversify its contribution in this area as well.

The institute continued to adapt throughout 2009; it was able to overcome the difficulties inherent in the economic and financial crisis thanks to the loyalty of its public and private partners. I thank them warmly, as well as our research teams whose efforts and unwavering dedication has allowed us to perform our mission to serve the common good beyond the borders of France. Without doubt, the worst of the economic and financial crisis is behind us, but the international system still has a number of fragile regions and remains exposed to considerable risks. Along with its worldwide counterparts, Ifri is part of a network whose purpose is ultimately to better understand and counter risks; but also to identify ways in which decision-makers can use situations to their advantage. That is why we are proud of our work and fully committed to developing it, with the support of our partners and our friends.

Thierry de Montbrial
Founder and President of Ifri
Member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques

# France's Leading Independent Think Tank

In 2009, for the third consecutive year, Ifri was the only French research institute ranked among the top ten most influential think tanks in the world outside the United States, according to the latest *Global Go-To Think Tanks* ranking by the University of Pennsylvania. Officially presented at the United Nations in New York in January 2010, the *Think Tank Index* covers 6,300 institutions located in 169 countries.



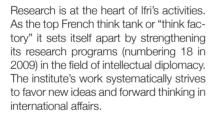
Created in 1979 and directed by Thierry de Montbrial, the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri) aims to bring together international figures and analysts in order to carry out extensive independent research on today's most pressing issues. Ifri's research contributes to the understanding of major trends in the international system and to the emergence of a global governance accountable and responsive to the pace of globalization.

Ifri is not affiliated with any political party or official authority. Strongly committed to political and intellectual independence, the institute has chosen to diversify its public and private financial sources. With a budget of about 6 million Euros, 70% of which comes from private sources, Ifri has been able to remain faithful to its independence and purpose despite the constraints imposed by the global economic crisis.





# Research: open-mindedness, intellectual rigor, policy-oriented analyses



The research centers are divided into regional areas (Europe, Russia/NIS, Asia, Middle East, Africa, United States) and thematic areas (Security and Strategic Issues, Energy, Space, International Economy, Migrations, Health and Environmental Issues) working in synergy and across disciplines.

Today Ifri boasts some thirty French and international permanent researchers from diverse backgrounds with an average age of 37, as well as several associate researchers. The institute's experts are involved in major international networks and constantly interact with their foreign counterparts.

# Debate: generate ideas, inform public discussion, and influence decisions

Ifri brings together distinguished speakers from around the world who contribute valuable and international insight in an informal and non-partisan framework. Experts and personalities from more than 20 countries participated in the debates organized by Ifri in 2009.

Ifri has also welcomed numerous heads of state or government. Guests in recent years include presidents Jalal Talabani, Hamid Karzai, Vladimir Putin, Mikheil Saakashvili, Abdoulaye Wade, Viktor Yushchenko, Vaclav Klaus, Pervez Musharraf, Abdullah Gül and Boris Tadic.

In 2009, Ifri organized over 200 conferences in Paris and Brussels, 11 major international events in France and abroad, several workshops and closed seminars, and welcomed more than 8,000 participants to its events.

# Publications, research, communication

Ifri's research and debates are published via the institute as well as in top publications such as the quarterly journal *Politique étrangère*, France's oldest international relations journal, and the annual report *RAMSES*. All of Ifri's publications undergo a rigorous peer review process. In 2009, Ifri's researchers and experts published 11 books and 170 online papers.

At the end of 2009, Ifri launched its new modernized and interactive website, version 2.0 (www.ifri.org) which is now the main means through which Ifri's research and studies, debates and events are made available. It receives over 900,600 hits per year. A newsletter, Ifri Actualités, is distributed to 8,000 subscribers every month.

In 2009, Ifri was also active in the media —345 authored articles and interviews, more than 5,500 citations in the French and foreign media and 465 appearances on television and radio.



# Ifri Brussels, a European Purpose and Presence





For Ifri, a European institute of French origin, the European dimension is vital. Through its Brussels Office—Ifri Brussels—opened in March 2005 and located at the heart of the European Quarter, Ifri aims to enrich the European debate through a multidisciplinary approach covering all aspects of international relations. Ifri Brussels is an active interface between Paris and Brussels and contributes to the entire institute's development.



#### **Activities in 2009**

Ifri Brussels organized 50 conferences and seminars and hosted more than 80 international experts and personalities. Among the subjects addressed were: the European Union's energy policy; European space policy; the economic crisis and challenges for European governance; relations between Russia and the EU; the Franco-German relationship; strategic dialogue between the EU and Asia; European defense issues and NATO; enlargement and the future of Europe; EU foreign policy; the role of the EU in conflict management.

# "Ifri's Tuesdays in Brussels": regular high-level meetings

A series of seminars on European current affairs, "Ifri's Tuesdays in Brussels," include political and economic decision-makers, NGO representatives, journalists, researchers and experts from across the EU. Summaries are posted online on Ifri's website.



# "Ifri Energy Breakfast Round Tables" and "Huis Clos"

"The European Governance and Geopolitics of Energy" program, which operates both in Paris and Brussels, organizes monthly round tables on major energy issues. Well-known experts from the energy field are regularly invited to speak at these round tables.

# Major European and international conferences

At the beginning of each year, the Energy Program organizes its annual conference in Brussels. The 2009 dealt with "Investing in Europe's Energy Future" and in 2010 will cover "Energy, the Economy and Environment: the Start of a New Decade." Similarly, other research programs at Ifri, particularly the "Space" program, Asia Center and the "Health and Environment" program, organize regular conferences in Brussels.

# "South-East Europe": new research program

Launched in 2009, this program is co-organized with the London School of Economics and supported by the Latsis Foundation. It focuses on the dynamics of regional integration, economic and energy issues, as well as the relationship between the EU and the Western Balkans.

#### "Europe. Visions" series

In 2009, the policy papers in this electronic series are dedicated to themes such as transatlantic relations, the EU's Eastern Partnership, the state of the Union for the Mediterranean project, the fifth EU enlargement and its consequences, as well as French policy vis-à-vis the European Union.

# In 2009 Ifri Notably Hosted...



Adil Abd Al-Mahdi, Vice President of Iraq

**Martti Ahtisaari**, former President of the Republic of Finland, United Nations Special Envoy for the Kosovo status process negotiations

Celso Amorim, Foreign Minister of Brazil

Frank Belfrage, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Sweden

**Emma Bonino**, Member of the Italian Senate, former European Commissioner

**William Burns**, Member of the General Assembly of Illinois

**Michel Camdessus**, Honorary Governor, Banque de France, former Managing Director of the IMF

**Bingran Dai**, Jean Monnet Chair and President of the Shanghai Institute for European Studies

**Shanta Devarajan**, Chief Economist for Africa at the World Bank

**Edward Djerejian**, Director and Founder, James Baker III Institute for Public Policy







**General Karl W. Eikenberry**, Deputy Chairman of the NATO Military Committee in Brussels and former Commander in Chief of Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan

**Monique Eloit**, Deputy Director-General of the World Organisation for Animal Health (OIE)

**Saeb Erekat**, Chief Negotiator for the Palestinian Authority, Member of the Executive Committee of the PLO

**Jan Figel**, European Commissioner for Education, Training, Culture, and Youth

Carlos Ghosn, President and CEO of Renault

**Juan Manuel Gomez-Robledo**, Secretary of State for Multilateral Affairs and Human Rights of Mexico





Abdullah Gül, President of Turkey

Anwar Ibrahim, Leader of the Malaysian opposition

Anne-Marie Idrac, Secretary of State for Foreign Trade

**Jean-Pierre Jouyet**, President of the Autorité des marchés financiers (AMF)

**Christine Lagarde**, Minister of the Economy, Industry and Employment

Pierre Lellouche, Secretary of State for European Affairs

**Kang Man-Soo**, Chairman of the Korean Presidential Council on National Competitivness

**Shivshankar Menon**, Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of India

**Wladyslaw Mielczarski**, European Coordinator for Northern European Power Link

**Mario Monti**, former European Commissioner, President of Bocconi University, Milan

**Hedvig Morvai-Horvat**, Executive Director, European Fund for the Balkans

Andris Piebalgs, European Commissioner for Energy





1 / Charles Rivkin, Thierry de Montbrial • 2 / Louis Schweitzer, Christine Lagarde • 3 / Denis Verret, Kang Man-Soo • 4 / Wojciech Jaruzelski • 5 / Juan Manuel Gomez-Robledo • 6 / Michel Camdessus, Anwar Ibrahim • 7 / Abdullah Gül, Thierry de Montbrial • 8 / Carlos Ghosn, Jacques Mistral • 9 / Edward Djerejian • 10 / General Karl W.

Eikenberry, Dominique David







**Hans-Gert Pöttering**, President of the European Parliament

**Ye Qi**, Professor and Director of the School of Public Policy and Management at Tsinghua University of Beijing

**Charles Rivkin**, United States Ambassador to France

**Andreas Schieder**, Secretary of State, Ministry of Finance of Austria

**Andreas Schockenhoff**, Member of the German Bundestag, Deputy Chairman of the CDU/CSU Parliamentary Group, Chairman of the Franco-German Friendship Group, Berlin

**Surya P. Sethi**, Core Climate Negotiator of Government of India

**Chang Shan-chwen**, Vice Minister, Department of Health, Taipei

**Yim Sung-Joon**, President of the Korea Foundation

**Kristine L. Svinicki**, Commissioner on the US Nuclear Regulatory Commission

Boris Tadic, President of Serbia

**Sidya Touré**, former Prime Minister of Guinea, President of the Union of Republican Forces (UFR) of Guinea

**Jean-Claude Trichet**, President of the European Central Bank (ECB)

**Grigol Vachadze**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Georgia

In September 2009 for the 20th anniversary of the "Polish Round Table" and in the framework of the conference on "Poland: the Model for the Transition from Communism, 20 Years After," Ifri also hosted: Wojciech Jaruzelski, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Karol Modzelewski, Adam Michnik, Bronisław Dembowski.

# Ifri Publications in 2009

The electronic publications are divided into four types of series: "E-Notes" (policy-oriented texts that address issues from all Ifri's centers or programs), "Études de l'Ifri," which contribute to academic research on international relations, "Séminaires" (summaries of Ifri's events), and "Actuelles de l'Ifri" (concise and timely analyses of current international events). Available free of charge on Ifri's website, they are aimed at a specialist readership.

#### E-notes de l'Ifri (electronic series)

Overseen by Ifri's researchers, these "E-Notes" present analyses by French and international experts and are largely policy-oriented. Applying expertise to current events, they present comprehensive texts and enrich debate.

#### Series

#### Asie Visions

Asia Center series dedicated to economic, strategic and political issues.

Editor: Valérie Niquet, assisted by Céline Pajon.

#### Europe. Visions

Ifri Brussels series dedicated to the institutional dimension of European public policies, relations between the EU and non-EU countries or between the EU and member states.

Editor: Susanne Nies.

#### Perspectives Moyen-Orient/Maghreb (MOM)

Series of the Middle East/North Africa Center dedicated to the analysis of and perspectives on regional developments.

Editor: Denis Bauchard.

#### Notes du Cerfa

A Cerfa series dedicated to domestic politics (economy, social issues) and foreign policies shared by France and Germany, as well as European issues.

Editors: Louis-Marie Clouet and Hans Stark.

#### Visions franco-allemandes

A Cerfa series dedicated to the comparative analysis of French and German perspectives on societal changes in each country as well as on the major contemporary challenges with which Franco-German relations are confronted.

Editors: Louis-Marie Clouet and Hans Stark.

#### Notes franco-turques

Series of the "Contemporary Turkey" program dedicated to the analysis of Turkish current events issues, tied to the Franco-Turkish relationship. Editor: Dorothée Schmid.

#### **Potomac Papers**

Series of the United States program dedicated to the analysis of American politics at a national level

Editors: Jacques Mistral and Laurence Nardon.

#### Russie.NEI.Visions

The Russia/NIS Center's trilingual publication (French, English and Russian) dedicated to Russia's positions and strategies in terms of its foreign, energy and domestic policies.

Editors: Thomas Gomart and Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean, assisted by Dominic Fean and Julien Nocetti.

#### Focus stratégique

Series of the Center for Security Studies which seeks to shed light on security issues such as terrorism, the transformation of defense systems, and complex stabilization operations.

Editors: Étienne de Durand and Marc Hecker.

#### **Proliferation Papers**

Series of the Center for Security Studies published in cooperation with the French Atomic Energy Commission (CEA). The series deals with issues relating to disarmament, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and major strategic balances of power.

Editor: Étienne de Durand.

#### **Program Publications**

#### Sub-Saharan Africa Program

Analyses of on-going political and society-related developments in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Editor: Alain Antil, assisted by Sylvain Touati.

#### Space Program

Analyses of space-related developments. Editor: Laurence Nardon.

# European Governance and Geopolitics of Energy Program

Analyses of and perspectives on energy issues. **Editor:** Jacques Lesourne, assisted by Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin.

#### North Africa Program

Analyses of political, strategic and economic developments in both Africa and the Western Mediterranean.

Editor: Khadija Mohsen-Finan.

#### Migrations, Identities, Citizenship Program

Analyses of immigration and citizenship policies in multicultural societies in Europe.

Editor: Christophe Bertossi.

#### Études de l'Ifri

(collection of works and electronic series)

The "Études de l'Ifri" series, which accommodates broader research, is open to all Ifri's programs and contributes to academic research on international relations. A specific series was launched in 2008 by the "Health and Environment" program: "Health and Environment Reports."

#### Séminaires de l'Ifri

(electronic series)

The "Séminaires" present the results of internal conferences as well as working papers. They also make on-going research available to the public.

#### Actuelles de l'Ifri

(electronic series)

The "Actuelles" present brief reports offering timely information on and analysis of current international affairs. They are structured in series such as: Actualité MOM, Chroniques électorales américaines, Édito Énergie (Energy Editorial), South-East Europe, L'Afrique en questions, Lettre du Centre Asie, Les Mardis de l'Ifri Bruxelles (Ifri's Tuesdays in Brussels), Repères sur la Turquie.

#### **Ifri Publications Service:**



Delphine Renard Head of Publications

# Two Flagship **Publications**



#### Politique étrangère

A forum for debate. Politique étrangère. Ifri's quarterly journal, strives to guide the reader's comprehension of international events by publishing authors from diverse backgrounds and various schools of thought.

In 2009, the four issues of Politique étrangère were dedicated to major international issues which made or underpinned the news. They addressed the following subjects: The Crisis: Analyses and Stakes; A New Era for Transatlantic Relations (n° 1/2009); Strengths and Weaknesses of Agricultural Policies; Algeria: Must We Have Faith in the Transition? (n° 2/2009); Central Europe 20 Years After the Fall of the Wall: India After the General Elections in 2009 (n° 3/2009): NATO 1949-2009. special issue published in French and in English (n° 4/2009).

"In this period of the anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall, the journal Politique étrangère had the good sense to ask how Central Europe has evolved since then. Some changes are obvious, this 'other Europe' has rejoined, or is about to join the European Union and NATO. But what about the economic transition? And from a political point of view, is democracy firmly established? The research coordinated by Éliane Mossé takes stock of 20 years of change and reveals a remarkable success story." (Alain Guillemoles, La Croix, November 6, 2009)



RAMSES **Annual Global Report on** the Economic System and Strategies

This annual reference book offers indispensable tools to elucidate global developments.

A collective work published each year under the direction of *Thierry de Montbrial* and Philippe Moreau Defarges, RAMSES titled its 2010 edition "Global Crisis and Global Governance." The introductory chapter, "Perspectives," written by Thierry de Montbrial, provides an overview of international developments. He emphasizes the economic breakdown in 2009 and possible responses to the financial shock. The author puts in perspective "the Obama hope" as the antithesis of George W. Bush, American leadership, the new US policy towards Islam, and possible developments in nuclear disarmament. These developments,

breakdowns and transformations are then addressed in an eight-part scheme: the global economy, energy and climate, United States, Europe, Middle East/North Africa, Asia, Africa, Latin America. The collection's objective is to provide the tools that will help readers better understand tomorrow's world.

"The 2010 edition of the Annual Global Report on the Economic System and Strategies (RAMSES), published by the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri) under the direction of Thierry de Montbrial and Philippe Moreau Defarges, is of course devoted to the economic crisis. The state of the banking industry, the economic stimulus policies and the halt in trade form the leading chapter of the collection... Finally, the 'Perspectives' offered by Mr. de Montbrial, President of Ifri, which serve as the introduction to RAMSES, directly refer to the second part of the subtitle of this edition, 'Global Crisis and Global Governance.' Indeed for the author, the financial and economic crisis only reinforced the need for an adjustment to the international governance mechanisms which have already been proved insufficient faced with the globalization issues of public health, global warming, migrations or information technology."

(Antoine Reverchon, Le Monde, September 22, 2009)

"After the summit in Pittsburgh, which established the new role of the G20 and which offered the major emerging powers—China in the lead—an increased share in the IMF, the 2010 edition of the RAMSES report offers an invaluable interpretation of the new world order. Including syntheses, thematic chapters on the major regions but also on the economy, finance and climate, and original maps. This RAMSES report, published annually by Ifri (French Institute of International Relations), is a clear and valuable tool for attempting to understand an everevolving world."

(Les Échos, September 29, 2009)





# Ifri and its Partners

For more than thirty years, Ifri has provided its partners—members, program or event supporters—with a unique platform for dialogue in France, and a continuous source of specialized information thanks to both its numerous research programs and to research carried out in cooperation with the world's top institutes.



In 2009, despite the difficulties brought about by the global economic crisis, our programs' patrons for the most part maintained their support, and we wish to thank them for it.

Ifri provides its partners with special attention. Their loyalty has allowed it to develop its research and debate programs on an entirely independent basis. The year 2009 is evidence of this yet again: thanks to five years of continual growth of multi-annual private finances, Ifri has been able to continue its research programs and demonstrate a remarkable responsiveness faced with a rapidly changing international system.

Ifri offers various forms of partnership:

- subscription as a member (for an individual as well as for an organization),
- support of a research program or a researcher's grant, in annual installments,
- partnership with an event or series of events.

In exchange for their continued support, Ifri offers partners and sponsors several exclusive events per year, a privileged relationship with its research teams, exchanges on research themes, and a visible association with programs or events that they support.





#### **Ifri's Development Team:**





(from left to right)

Brynhild Dumas
Vice President for Development
Cécile Campagne
Corporate Members Relations





Dominique Desgranges Prospect Researcher

Marie-France Feigenbaum Individual and Embassy Members Relations

### **Events Reserved for Ifri's Members and Partners**

#### **Dinners and Lunch-Debates**

Chair: Thierry de Montbrial

October 7 - Abdullah Gül, President of Turkey

October 6 - Charles Rivkin, United States Ambassador to France

July 7 - Carlos Ghosn, President and CEO

June 3 - Anwar Ibrahim, Leader of the Malaysian opposition

May 25 - Juan Manuel Gomez-Robledo. Secretary of State for Multilateral Affairs and Human Rights of Mexico

May 11 - Kang Man-Soo, Chairman of the Korean Presidential Council on National Competitivness

March 12 - Christine Lagarde, Minister of the Economy, Industry and Employment

March 3 - Edward Djerejian, Director and Founder, James Baker III Institute for Public Policy

February 11 – Jean-Pierre Jouyet, President of the Autorité des marchés financiers (AMF)

February 5 – General Karl W. Eikenberry, Deputy Chairman of the NATO Military Committee in Brussels and former Commander in Chief of Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan

#### **Les Mensuelles Ifri / Entreprises**

Lunch-Debates with Ifri's Researchers



December 7 - Food Crises and the Future of Africa

With Alain Antil. Head of the Sub-Saharan Africa program, Ifri

October 1 - Perspectives for the Paris-Berlin Duo Following the German Elections

With Louis-Marie Clouet, Research Fellow, and Hans Stark, Secretary General, Study Committee for Franco-German Relations (Cerfa), Ifri

June 25 - The Social, Political, and Strategic Consequences of the Crisis in China

With Valérie Niguet. Research Fellow. Director. Ifri Asia Center

May 15 - Turkey: the Decline of the AKP?

With Dorothée Schmid, Head of the Contemporary Turkey program



#### **Decision-makers' Circle**

New quarterly meeting for corporate members launched in 2009.

Topic: How can we make sense of the brutal and dangerous developments in the economic environment?

With the support of



October 28 - Michel Pébereau, Chairman of **BNP** Paribas

Topic: The strength of economic recovery, the dynamics of the financial industry, the content of new regulations, and the scope of international cooperation as it develops within the G20.

June 19 - Jacques de Larosière, Advisor to the Chairman of BNP Paribas

Topic: The report on Financial Supervision in Europe presented to the President of the European Commission.

April 9 - Jean-Claude Trichet, President of the European Central Bank (ECB)

Topic: The developments of the crisis, the results of the meeting in London, and prospects for global economic recovery.



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CENTRE DE TRADUCTION (MINEIE and MBCPFP)

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EUROPEAN UNION INSTITUTE FOR SECURITY STUDIES (EUISS)

JBIC – JAPAN BANK FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

JETRO – Japan External Trade Organization
ARMÉE DE L'AIR – CDAO Base aérienne 117

MINISTÈRE DE LA DÉFENSE (Centre des Hautes Études de l'Armement – CHEAr)

PRS CONSULTING (Portugal)

SECOURS CATHOLIQUE

THERACLION SAS

YES - YALTA EUROPEAN STRATEGY (Great Britain)

# Ifri and the Media, a Continuous Dialogue

Ifri offers the French and foreign press a forum for meeting and debating, an independent platform where ideas can be shared and analyses enrich each other. In 2009, Ifri was active in the national and international press: its researchers authored 345 articles and interviews, were quoted approximately 5,500 times and made 450 television and radio appearances. Over 520 journalists were hosted at Ifri outside of press conferences.





The participation of journalists stimulates debate. In 2009, several important French and foreign columnists took part in conferences organized by Ifri. These include Eugene J. Dionne, Columnist at *The Washington Post*; Eric Le Boucher, Editing Director at *Enjeux-Les-Échos*; Joshua Chaffin, Correspondent in Brussels for the *Financial Times*; Steven Erlanger, *New York Times* Paris Bureau Chief; Marc Semo, Editor-in-chief of the World section at *Libération*; Marc Epstein, Journalist; Véronique Auger, Editor-in-chief, in charge of European Affairs at France 3; Frédéric Lemaître, Editor-in-chief of Economy and Business at *Le Monde*; Olivier Jehin, Editor-in-chief, and Ferdinando Riccardi, Editorialist at Agence Europe; and Axel Krause, Journalist, Secretary General at the Anglo-American Press Association of Paris (AAPA).

In 2009, Ifri maintained and developed its partnerships with the media, particularly with *Le Monde* for the launch of *RAMSES* as well as with *Libération* in the framework of the Lyon Forum "1989-2009: Europe 20 Years After the Fall of the Wall."

As they do each year to mark the publication of *RAMSES*, Thierry de Montbrial and Philippe Moreau Defarges opened the debate on current international issues in the presence of 55 journalists from the French and foreign press at a press conference in partnership with the Foreign Press

Center of Paris (CAPE). In 2009, the discussion focused on, among other things, the war in Afghanistan; tensions with Iran and concerns in Pakistan; expectations since Barack Obama assumed office in 2009, and the future of American leadership; and the challenges facing the G20.

One of the flagship events of 2009 was the press trip to Istanbul in October organized by Ifri and its Turkish partner TESEV in the framework of the Franco-Turkish Media Dialogue initiated by Ifri's Contemporary Turkey program. The purpose of the meeting was to facilitate exchanges between the media of each country and to inform public opinion regarding bilateral relations.

Ten prominent French journalists participated in the seminar that was held at Sabanci University: Catherine Boullay (Journalist, Europe 1), Sara Daniel (Journalist, *Le Nouvel Observateur*), Philippe Gélie (Editor-in-chief, *Le Figaro*), Vincent Hervouet (Journalist, LCI), Jacques Hubert-Rodier (Editorialist, *Les Échos*), Harold Hyman (Journalist, BFM TV), Jean-Marc Illouz (Journalist, France 2), Christian Makarian (Assistant Editor, *L'Express*), Marc Semo (Assistant Editor, *Libération*) and Delphine Simon (Foreign Correspondent, France Inter). On the Turkish side, a dozen editorialists and journalists presented the Turkish media landscape.



#### **Ifri's Media Relations Team:**



Natacha Crance Communications/Media Relations Officer



Azra Isakovic

# **Second Edition World Policy Conference**

October 30-November 1 2009, Marrakech - Morocco

The World Policy Conference held its second edition in Marrakech. The first edition took place in Évian from October 6 to 8, 2008. Évian hosted presidents Nicolas Sarkozy and Dmitri Medvedev; at this event, for the first time, the Russian president presented his proposal for the European Security Treaty. Marrakech followed and broadened the work which began in Évian: to elaborate and develop a systematic approach to respond to the challenges of global governance.

The conference in Marrakech opened with messages from the King of Morocco and from Kofi Annan, as well as with an introduction by Thierry de Montbrial. Both days were structured around nine main sessions. Each of these sessions brought in three or four specialists around a moderator and a very attentive audience participating with a number of questions and comments. The topics addressed were: the architecture of political governance; macroeconomic governance; the future of capitalism; energy and climate; security; economic and financial regulation; international law; health and environment; water, agriculture and nutrition. The main sessions were complemented by two mini-sessions, the first on migrations, and the other on the role of regional powers in globalization. Dinner meetings gave the leading figures the opportunity to express themselves at greater length: Nambaryn Enkhbayar, former President of Mongolia; Han Seung-Soo, former Prime Minister of South Korea; Jean-David Levitte, Diplomatic Advisor and Sherpa to President Nicolas Sarkozy; Amr Moussa, Secretary General of the League of Arab States.

The conference closed on November 1, with a gala dinner in the heart of Marrakech.

This second edition lived up to the first. Many journalists were present, and the international media widely reported the conference.

#### **Sponsors:**

OCP Group, Total, Banque Populaire, Lafarge, Novartis, Fondation Zinsou, EFG Group, PricewaterhouseCoopers, Mérieux Alliance, Generali.

#### Website:

www.worldpolicyconference.com







# The Team

As of December 31, 2009

**Thierry de Montbrial,** Member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques, President Thérèse Vigne, Assistant Doïna Romanenko, Assistant

**Dominique David**, Executive Vice President Nadia Fraïoli. Assistant

#### Song-Nim Kwon, Advisor to th

Song-Nim Kwon, Advisor to the President

Dominique Moïsi. Special Advisor

Natacha Crance, Communications/Media Relations Officer

#### Research

#### Europe

#### **Study Committee**

#### for Franco-German Relations (Cerfa)

Hans Stark, Secretary General Louis-Marie Clouet, Research Fellow Nele Katharina Wissmann, Assistant Research Fellow Noumouni Keita, Assistant

#### French-Austrian Center (CFA)

Éliane Mossé, Advisor

#### Ifri Brussels

Susanne Nies, Head of Ifri Brussels Christian Schülke, Assistant Research Fellow Adélaïde Boodts, Assistant Research Fellow

#### **Russia/NIS Center**

Thomas Gomart, Director Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean, Research Fellow Dominic Fean, Assistant Research Fellow Catherine Méniane, Assistant

#### Ifri Asia Center

Valérie Niquet, Director Françoise Nicolas, Research Fellow Hélène Le Bail, Research Fellow Céline Pajon, Assistant Research Fellow

#### India and South Asia Program

Gilles Boquérat, Researcher, Head Olivier Louis, Advisor

#### Middle East/North Africa/Mediterranean

#### Middle East Program

Denis Bauchard, Advisor Jeanne Frey, Assistant

#### North Africa Program

Khadija Mohsen-Finan, Head Jeanne Frey, Assistant

#### **Contemporary Turkey Program**

Dorothée Schmid, Head Nur Bolat, Assistant Research Fellow

#### Sub-Saharan Africa Program

Alain Antil, Head Sylvain Touati, Assistant Research Fellow

#### **United States Program**

Jacques Mistral, Scientific Advisor Laurence Nardon, Head Céline Bochet, Assistant

#### **Security Studies Center**

Étienne de Durand, Director Corentin Brustlein, Research Fellow Marc Hecker, Research Fellow Aline Leboeuf, Research Fellow Jolyon Howorth, Associate Research Fellow Krzysztof Soloch, Associate Research Fellow Françoise Thomas, Assistant

#### Defense Research Unit (LRD)

Étienne de Durand, Head Pierre Chareyron, Field Officer, Research Fellow Aline Leboeuf, Research Fellow Anne-Henry de Russé, Field Officer, Research Fellow

#### Françoise Thomas, Assistant

#### **Space Program**

Laurence Nardon, Head Martine Breux, Assistant

#### **European Governance**

#### and Geopolitics of Energy Program

Jacques Lesourne, Chairman of the Scientific Committee William C. Ramsay, Director Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin, Research Fellow, Program Coordinator

Susanne Nies, Research Fellow

Christian Schülke, Assistant Research Fellow Martine Breux, Assistant

#### **Economic Studies Program**

Jacques Mistral, Director Françoise Nicolas, Research Fellow Céline Bochet, Assistant

#### Migrations, Identities, Citizenship Program

Christophe Bertossi, Head Dorothée Prud'homme, Assistant Research Fellow

#### **Health and Environment Program**

Aline Leboeuf, Head Emma Broughton, Assistant Research Fellow

Research Fellows' biographies are available on Ifri's website.

#### RAMSES

Thierry de Montbrial and Philippe Moreau Defarges, Co-editors Marie-Claire Bani-Amer, Assistant

#### Politique étrangère

Dominique David, Editor-in-chief

#### **Publishing Department**

Delphine Renard, Head Marielle Roubach, Editorial Assistant Cécile Tarpinian, Editorial Assistant

#### **Library and Resource Service**

Daniel Marier, Archivist Azra Isakovich, Assistant Archivist

#### **Development**

Brynhild Dumas, Vice President for Development Dominique Desgranges, Prospect Researcher Cécile Campagne, Corporate Members Relations

Marie-France Feigenbaum, Individual and Embassy Members Relations

#### **Finance and Administration Office**

Valérie Genin, Vice President for Finance and Administration

Alexandre Houdayer, Deputy to the Vice President

Françoise Henry, Assistant

#### Accounting

Annie Acher, Accountant Nathalie Reculon-Dupont, Accountant

#### **Facilities and Security**

Nathalie Hartmann, Head Selim Bouabsa, Mhenna Larbes, Technical Assistants

Barbara M'Chiri, Houria Mabrouk, Receptionists Alex Maleau, Service Engineer

#### **Information Systems**

Daniel Safon, Supervisor

# Research

Regional Programs	
Europe	
Study Committee for Franco-German Relations (Cerfa)	18
French-Austrian Center for European Convergence (CFA)	20
Ifri Brussels	21
Russia/NIS Center	24
Ifri Asia Center	26
Middle East/North Africa/Mediterranean	
Middle East Program	28
North Africa Program	29
North Africa in a Regional and International Context Program	30
Contemporary Turkey Program	31
Sub-Saharan Africa Program	33
United States Program	34
Cross-cutting Programs	
Center for Security Studies / Defense Research Unit (LRD)	36
Space Program	38
European Governance and Geopolitics of Energy Program	39
Economic Studies Program	41
Migrations, Identities and Citizenship Program	43
Health and Environment Program	44

# **Regional Programs**

#### **Europe**

# Study Committee for Franco-German Relations (Cerfa)

Created in 1954 by an intergovernmental agreement between the Federal Republic of Germany and France, the Study Committee for Franco-German Relations (Comité d'études des relations franco-allemandes, Cerfa) is today one of the oldest bilateral organizations between the two countries.

Its main goals are to:

- contribute to a better understanding of the two countries' respective approaches to politics, society, and economy;
- analyze the Franco-German relationship within a constantly evolving European Union (EU).

#### Team



Hans Stark, Research Fellow, Secretary General of Cerfa, Associate Professor at the University of Paris III-Sorbonne

Areas of expertise: history of Franco-German relations and European integration, CFSP/ESDP, French and German foreign and security policy



**Louis-Marie Clouet**, Research Fellow

Areas of expertise: defense and security policies, Franco-German industrial cooperation, export and manufacture of Russian arms



Nele Katharina Wissmann, Assistant Research Fellow, in charge of the "Franco-German Network of Young Elites" (from September 2009)

**Stephan Martens**, Associate Researcher, Professor at Bordeaux III-Michel de Montaigne University

Anne-Lise Barrière, Assistant Research Fellow, in charge of the "Franco-German Network of Young Elites" (until September 2009)

Noumouni Keïta, Assistant

#### **Research Areas**

#### Franco-German Relations

- Bilateral political, economic, and military exchanges; comparative approaches.
- Contribution of the two countries to European integration; French and German views on major European issues.

#### Political and Societal Developments in Contemporary Germany

- Domestic politics: political organizations and coalitions; social and economic reforms; societal developments and domestic debates; East-West dynamics; immigration and integration.
- Foreign policy: foreign and security policy; Germany's European policy within the EU and towards non-member states: relations with the United States and Russia.

#### **European Integration**

- Political Europe: the EU's political and legal evolution, particularly the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP); institutional reforms; European identity and citizenship.
- EU enlargement and security issues: common views on the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) and the EU's relations with its neighbours.

#### Cerfa's Work

Cerfa's seminars have largely touched on foreign policy issues from a Franco-German perspective. This was notably the case with the two strategic forums organized in cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, dedicated to Franco-German-Russian relations (May 27) and to issues of nuclear proliferation (December 8). Coinciding with the general elections in Germany and with the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin wall, the events also emphasized the evolution of Germany and its political landscape. A major public conference, organized by Cerfa and the Centre d'information sur l'Allemagne contemporaine (CIRAC), was dedicated to the political, economic, and social evolution of the Federal Republic since 1989 (November 9). The European and German general elections were at the heart of two conferences, one of which was Cerfa's annual conference, co-organized with the Paris offices of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (June 22 and December 7).

The Franco-German dialogue on economic matters was also pursued, with a conference-debate organized along with the "Economic Studies" program (March 11). Lastly, Cerfa launched a Franco-German series on high technology, in cooperation with the Chambre franco-allemande de commerce et d'industrie (CFACI), which resulted in two conferences (June 16 and September 29).

#### The Franco-German Network of Young Elites

Encouraged by the success of the call for tenders for "The Franco-German Network of Young Elites" in 2007 and 2008, the project was renewed by Ifri and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (DGAP).

The network is supported financially by the Robert Bosch Foundation and is made up of highly qualified international students and young postgraduates in social sciences, economics and humanities, as well as young professionals who deal with Franco-German issues in their work. Over the course of three seminars (Berlin, Stuttgart/ Strasbourg, Paris), the 20 participants of the program

discussed current issues in Franco-German cooperation and debated with experts. They then delved deeper into particular aspects of several domestic, foreign, and economic policy issues. Their thoughts and discussions were included in a series of policy briefs published in the Radioscopies de l'Allemagne 2009.

# France and Germany Confronted with European Crises

Within the framework of a new bilateral research program financed by the Agence nationale de la recherche (ANR) and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG), Cerfa and the Zentrum für europäische Integrationsforschung (ZEI) are working together to analyze the various crises that have plagued the EU since the 2004 enlargement. From a Franco-German perspective, the two institutes analyze the institutional tools that the EU currently has at its disposal and look into the future in order to propose new means of action.

In addition to an in-depth study of the Treaty of Lisbon and the changes that it could involve, the research consists of a field study of the positions of French and German political and administrative decision-makers concerning possible solutions to the crises and the future of the EU.

The second phase of the project will focus on identifying the possible margins of maneuverability for a Franco-German initiative in the EU; and subsequently on outlining scenarios likely to result in EU-related Franco-German cooperation based on a ten-year projection of European politics. Researchers work in bi-national teams during seminars, as well as when drafting publications.

#### **Books**

Radioscopies de l'Allemagne 2009, Claire Demesmay and Hans Stark (eds.), "Les Études de l'Ifri" series, March.

Le Traité de Lisbonne en discussion : quels fondements pour l'Europe ?, *Claire Demesmay* and *Andreas Marchetti* (eds.), "Note de l'Ifri" series, n° 60, October.





#### **Electronic Publications**

• "Notes du Cerfa" Series

Soixante ans de relations germano-israéliennes, *Gisela Dachs*, n° 59, January.

La politique étrangère de l'Allemagne entre polarisation et politisation, *Hans Stark*, n° 60, January.

L'Allemagne face à la crise financière, *Heribert Dieter*, n° 61, February.

L'unilatéralisme avec le sourire : bilan des relations germano-américaines et perspectives pour 2009, Benjamin Zyla, n° 62, March.



La « justice sociale » : une notion polysémique dans le débat préélectoral allemand, *Serge Gouazé*, n° 63, April.

L'impossible alliance : le SPD face à Die Linke, *Tim Spier*. n° 64. June.

L'incertitude du succès de la CDU/CSU et du FDP à la veille des élections nationales allemandes, Jean-Louis Georget, n° 65, June.

Le traité de Lisbonne, étape ultime de l'intégration européenne ? Le jugement du 30 juin 2009 de la Cour constitutionnelle allemande, *Anne-Lise Barrière* and *Benoît Roussel*, n° 66, September.

Les réformes de la politique familiale en Allemagne : l'enjeu démographique, *Jeanne Fagnani*, n° 67, October.

Les nouveaux länder vingt ans après la chute du Mur, Frank Thomas Koch, n° 68, November.

L'engagement culturel : la politique culturelle extérieure de l'Allemagne après 1989, *Julia Sattler*, n° 69, November.

Les élections au Bundestag 2009 : campagne électorale, résultats et formation du gouvernement, Manuela Glaab and Michael Weigl, n° 70, December.

#### • "Visions franco-allemandes" Series

EADS : une normalisation européenne entre intérêts nationaux et mondialisation, Louis-Marie Clouet and Kai Behrens,  $n^\circ$  14, August.

Forces et faiblesses des modèles économiques : le débat franco-allemand sur la crise et ses conséquences, *Christophe Blot* and *Stefan Kooths*, n° 15, December.

#### **Article**

"L'Allemagne face à la crise. Le retour au capitalisme rhénan ?," *Anne-Lise Barrière*, in *RAMSES 2010*.

#### **Outside Publications**

L'Allemagne unifiée 20 ans après la chute du Mur, Hans Stark and Michèle Weinachter (eds.), Lille, Presses universitaires du Septentrion.

L'Avenir des partis politiques en France et en Allemagne, *Claire Demesmay* and *Manuela Glaab* (eds.), Lille, Presses universitaires du Septentrion.



#### **Seminars**

May 14-16 – Franco-German Network of Young Elites, Strasbourg

In cooperation with the Robert Bosch Foundation and DGAP

May 26-27 – 8th Strategic Franco-German Forum – Russia, Europe, and the Transatlantic Alliance, Berlin

In cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

Subjects addressed: The Transatlantic Alliance, sixty years later - Russia and the Transatlantic Alliance - Russia and Europe

With the participation of Karl A. Lamers, Member, Chairman of the Political Committee of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Parliamentary Assembly, Bundestag, Berlin, Hervé Mariton, former Minister, Member, Chairman of the French Federation of Russia Friendship Group, French National Assembly, Andreas Schockenhoff, Member of the Bundestag. Deputy Chairman of the CDU-CSU Parliamentary Group, Chairman of the Franco-German Friendship Group, Coordinator of German-Russian Intersocietal Cooperation, Margarete Klein, Research Fellow, Russia/NIS Center, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Berlin, Stephan Eisel, Member of the Bundestag, Member of the Committee of the Affairs of the European Union, Xavier Rev. Representative in the Directorate of Strategic Studies, French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Andreas Hermes, Director of European Policy Coordination, Federal Chancellery, Berlin, Michel Drain, Director, French National Assembly, Étienne de Durand and Dominique David. Ifri.

July 9-12 – Franco-German Network of Young Elites, Berlin

In cooperation with the Robert Bosch Foundation and DGAP.

October 5 – The European Union in 2020: Prospects for the Development of Integration, Bonn In the framework of the "France and Germany Confronted with European Crises" project, in cooperation with the Zentrum für Europäische Integrationsforschung.

November 6-8 – Franco-German Network of Young Elites, Paris

In cooperation with the Robert Bosch Foundation and DGAP.

December 8-9 – 9th Strategic Franco-German Forum – The Nuclear Debate: Proliferation, Disarmament, Paris

In cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

Main subjects addressed: Assessment and future of the NPT – Nuclear disarmament between negotiations and utopia – Nuclear technology and European and Transatlantic security.

With the participation of Pierre Goldschmidt, Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, former Deputy Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), Klaus-Peter Gottwald, in charge of disarmament issues and arms control, Federal Foreign Office, Berlin, Michael Broer, Armed Forces Staff, Federal Ministry of Defense, Berlin, Andreas Schockenhoff, Member of the Bundestag, Chairman of the Franco-German Friendship Group, Coordinator of German-Russian Intersocietal Cooperation, Berlin, Ashley J. Tellis, Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, Lothar Rühl, former State Secretary to the Federal Ministry of Defense, Professor at the University of Cologne, Daryl G. Press, Associate Professor of Government, Dartmouth College, Hanover (New Hampshire, United States), Étienne de Durand and Dominique David, Ifri.

#### 9th Strategic Franco-German Forum



#### **Public Conferences and Breakfast-Debates**

March 11 – The International Financial Crisis and its Impact on the Economic and Foreign Policies of Germany

In cooperation with the "Economic Studies" program.

With Andreas Schockenhoff, Member of the Bundestag, Chairman of the Franco-German Friendship Group, Berlin, and Henrik Uterwedde, Deputy Director of the Franco-German Institute (DFI), Ludwigsburg.

June 16 – The Aeronautics Industry in the Face of the Crisis – French and German Perspectives Franco-German series on high technology, in cooperation with CFACI.

With Jürgen Meyer, Director-General of the Federal Ministry of Economics and Technology, in charge of technology policy (BMWi), Berlin, and Dominique Pons, Vice President Strategy, Thales Aerospace.

June 22 – From European Elections to General Elections – Germany on the Campaign Trail In cooperation with the Friedrich Ebert Foundation.

With Édouard Husson, Assistant Professor at the University of Paris IV-Sorbonne, Thomas Pogunkte, Professor at the University of Bochum, Michèle Weinachter, Assistant Professor at the University of Cergy-Pontoise, and Andreas Wüst, Project Director at the Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung, Mannheim.

# September 29 – France and Germany in European Space

Franco-German series on high technology, in cooperation with CFACI.

With Alain Bories, Director of Strategy and Development, CHB Technology AG, Johannes von Thadden, Director of Public Affairs, EADS Astrium Germany, and Bernard von Weyhe, Media Relations Officer, European Space Agency (ESA).

### November 9 – Germany 20 Years After the Fall of the Wall

In cooperation with CIRAC.

With Isabelle Bourgois, University of Cergy-Pontoise, Research Fellow at CIRAC, Alfred Grosser, Professor Emeritus at Sciences Po Paris, René Lasserre, University of Cergy-Pontoise, Director of CIRAC, Alain Lattard, University of the New Sorbonne (Paris III), Jérôme Vaillant, Editor-in-chief of Allemagne aujourd'hui, and Michèle Weinachter, University of Cergy-Pontoise, Senior Fellow at CIRAC.

December 7 – The New German Political Landscape: the Federal Republic After the Elections In cooperation with the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

With Jörg Wolff, Director of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Paris, Ernst Hillebrand, Director of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Paris, Dieter Roth, University of Heidelberg, Thomas Petersen, Research Fellow at the Allensbach Institute for Public Opinion Research, Gerd Langguth, Professor at the University of Bonn, and Dietmar Herz, Professor at the University of Erfurt.

#### **Europe**

# French-Austrian Center for European Convergence (CFA)

The French-Austrian Center for European Convergence (Centre franco-autrichien pour le rapprochement en Europe) is a Franco-Austrian intergovernmental organization created in 1978. Its goal was to develop, through meetings of high-level experts, Franco-Austrian cooperation aimed at improving economic relations between Western and Eastern Europe in order to create a "Peaceful Europe." After the fall of the Berlin Wall, while pursuing bilateral meetings for the consolidation of French-Austrian relations, the CFA refocused its activities on problems related to EU expansion in Central and Eastern Europe: agricultural, environmental, security and defense policies, monetary, budgetary and immigration policies, etc.

Since 2004, the CFA has been extending its activities towards countries that envisage their future within a European perspective, in particular those in the Western Balkans, and, in 2009, towards the countries bordering the Black Sea.

#### Team

Peter Jankowitsch (Vienna), Secretary General Thierry de Montbrial, Chairman



Éliane Mossé, Research Fellow, Advisor at Ifri for CFA, Head of CFA activities at Ifri

Areas of expertise: current situation in both countries: macroeconomics, comparative economic policies,

geostrategic situation, state of transition in Central Europe and in the Balkans region

Céline Bochet, Assistant

Closed meetings, bilateral seminars, and major international conferences organized by the CFA have provided the opportunity for interesting vet constructive debates (for example, the perception of Europe according to public opinion in France, Austria and the countries of Central Europe). The subjects chosen for the "breakfast meetings" are explained by the importance of the arrival of Slovakia into the Euro zone at the beginning of 2009. Although Slovakia suffered from a number of handicaps since the start of its economic transition period, as well as from the hard-hitting financial and economic crisis in the Baltic states in 2008-2009, it was considered the champion of Europe a few years ago, in terms of economic growth and improvement of standard of living; hence the importance of the country's inclusion in the EU, despite recent difficulties. Concerning regional conferences, the choice of Serbia was justified by the importance of the role this country must play as a pole of political stability and economic growth in the Balkans region. The conference on the countries bordering the Black Sea was sparked by the strong interest in this region, which includes member states of the EU, candidate countries, and countries that make up the "new neighborhood" of Europe. Finally, it seemed appropriate. in this year of European elections, to dedicate the bilateral seminar to the state of public opinion, particularly in France and Austria, on the performance of Europe, its achievements and its future enlargements.

The texts from major events, documents and summaries of conferences are available on the Ifri and CFA websites.

#### **Publications**

"L'Europe centrale 20 ans après la chute du Mur," Éliane Mossé, introduction and coordination of the work, in *Politique étrangère*, 3/2009.

"Existe-t-il un miracle slovaque ?," *Éliane Mossé* and *Jean-Antoine Giansily*, in *Politique étrangère*, 3/2009.

#### **Seminars and Debates**

March 12 – Slovakia After its Arrival in the Eurozone: the History of a Success Story

With Peter Jankowitsch, Secretary General of CFA, Jan Kuderjavy, Ambassador of Slovakia to France, Jean-Antoine Giansily, Chief of the Economic Mission of Bratislava, Zdenek Lukas, Staff Economist, Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies (WIIW), and Éliane Mossé, Ifri.

November 5 – Baltic Countries: the End of a Miracle or the Beginning of a Reconstruction?

With Denis Badré, Senator, Janis Karklins, Ambassador of Latvia to France, Céline Bayou, Co-editor-inchief of the journal Regard sur l'Est, Sebastian Leitner, WIIW, and Éliane Mossé, Ifri.

#### **International Conferences**

May 6-7 – Public Opinions and Europe, Vienna Bilateral Franco-Austrian Conference.

With the participation of Hans Winkler, Ambassador, Director of the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna, Peter Jankowitsch, Secretary General of CFA, Giles Merritt, Secretary General of Friends of Europe and Editor-inchief of Europe's World, Richard Kühnel, Head of the Representation of the European Commission in Austria, Josef Ostermayer, State Secretary for Media and Coordination at the Federal Chancellery, and Christian Leffler, Head of Cabinet for the Commissioner for Institutional Relations and Communication Strategy, European Commission.

June 22-23 – Serbia and the Perspective of European Union Membership, Belgrade

With the participation of *Peter Jankowitsch*, Secretary General of CFA, *Bozidar Djelic*, Deputy Prime Minister of Serbia, *Andreas Schieder*, State Secretary, Austrian Ministry of Finance, *Éliane Mossé* and *Dominique David*, Ifri.

October 15-16 – The Black Sea Region: a Passageway Between an Enlarged Europe and its New Neigborhood, Bucharest

With the participation of *Mats Aberg*, Ambassador of Sweden to Romania, *Peter Jankowitsch*, Secretary General of CFA, *Johannes Eigner*, Department Head, Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs, *Stefan Tinca*, Director-General of Political Affairs, Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and *Éliane Mossé*, Ifri.

#### **Europe**

# lfri Brussels

For Ifri, a European institute of French origin, the European dimension is vital. If this focus is implicit in most of its activities, it is explicitly stated in certain research programs: "European Governance and Geopolitics of Energy," "Space," "Migrations, Identities and Citizenship" as well as the studies by Cerfa or CFA. Ifri maintains a presence in Brussels with its office in the center of the European quarter. This office strives to create a bridge between the activities of Ifri Paris and the heart of Europe, and aims to enrich European discussions of today's most important issues with a multidisciplinary approach covering all the dimensions of international relations.

#### Team



Susanne Nies, Head of Ifri Brussels, Research Fellow, "European Governance and Geopolitics of Energy" program



Cécile Kérébel, Research Fellow, "European Governance and Geopolitics of Energy" program (until October 31, 2009)



**Adélaïde Boodts**, Assistant Research Fellow, "South-East Europe" program

**Christian Schülke**, Assistant Research Fellow, "European Governance and Geopolitics of Energy" program

#### **Research Areas**

Ifri Brussels does not have its own specific research areas; it functions as a microcosm for all of Ifri's work in Brussels. As the only representative of a French think tank in the heart of Europe, Ifri Brussels is uniquely able to fulfill its role as an interface between France and the European community through major conferences, a series of public debates ("Ifri's Tuesdays in Brussels") and the organization of several seminars.

However, researchers based in Brussels also conduct their own work, linked to the "European Governance and Geopolitics of Energy" or "South-East Europe" programs.

In 2008, Ifri Brussels launched a series of electronic policy papers, "Europe.Visions." In 2009, three "Europe.Visions" were published.

"Ifri's Tuesdays in Brussels" have become familiar, regular events in Brussels, led by a researcher or a well-known figure and focusing both on Ifri's research themes and on current international events. In 2009, Ifri organized 27 "Ifri's Tuesdays."

#### **Books**

La Gouvernance mondiale de l'énergie, *Cécile Kérébel* and *Jan Horst Keppler* (eds.), "Les Études de l'Ifri" series, March.

At the Speed of Light? Electricity Interconnections for Europe, *Susanne Nies*, "Les Études de l'Iffri" series, January.





#### **Electronic Publications**

• "Les Études de l'Ifri" Series (electronic version)

"Ukraine : un pays de transit dans l'impasse ?," Susanne Nies, December.



• "Europe.Visions" Series

L'Union pour la Méditerranée : une ambition française de reconsidérer le Sud, *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, n° 3, January.

Recasting Relations with the Neighbours, Kerry Longhurst and Susanne Nies, n° 4, February.

A New Institutional Architecture for the Transatlantic Relationship?. *Jolyon Howorth*. n° 5. June.



#### • "Actuelles de l'Ifri" Series

"Ratification du traité de Lisbonne : finale du marathon ?," *Susanne Nies* and *Adélaïde Boodts*, July.

"The Results of Negotiations on the Climate and Energy Package," *Cécile Kérébel*, February.

"The Unnoticed Consolidation of EU Energy Policy," Cécile Kérébel, April.

Summaries of "Ifri's Tuesdays in Brussels" are published in the "Actuelles de l'Ifri," as well as the summaries of "Energy Breakfast Round Tables."

#### Energy Editorial

(see the "European Governance and Geopolitics of Energy" program)

#### • "Notes de l'Ifri" Series

"Investing in the Energy Sector: an Issue of Governance," *Jan Horst Keppler* and *Christian Schülke*, February.

"Implementing the EU Climate and Energy Package with the Economic Crisis," *Cécile Kérébel*, December.

"Ukraine: a Transit Country in Deadlock?," *Susanne Nies*. December.



#### **Articles**

"Qu'est-ce que la gouvernance globale de l'énergie ? Les termes du débat," *Cécile Kérébel*, in *La Gouvernance mondiale de l'énergie*.

"Quelle gouvernance globale pour les marchés du pétrole et du gaz ?," Cécile Kérébel, in La Gouvernance mondiale de l'énergie.

"Investir dans le secteur de l'énergie : une question de gouvernance," *Jan Horst Keppler* and *Christian Schülke*, in *La Gouvernance mondiale de l'énergie*. "Pour une gouvernance mondiale de l'énergie renforcée," Cécile Kérébel, in La Gouvernance mondiale de l'énergie.

"Réguler le climat. Sommes-nous sur la bonne voie ?," Cécile Kérébel, in RAMSES 2010.

"Charbon. L'avenir sera-t-il noir ?," Susanne Nies, in RAMSES 2010.

"Énergies nucléaire et renouvelables. Les solutions miracles ?," *Christian Schülke*, in *RAMSES 2010*.

#### **Seminars. Round Tables. Debates**

#### "Ifri's Tuesdays in Brussels"

January 13 – Update on the French Presidency of the European Union: a Political Presidency?

With Guillaume Klossa, former Special Advisor to the Secretary of State for European Affairs, Journalist and Founding President of Europa Nova.

January 27 – Immigration Policies: a European Approach

With Christophe Bertossi, Ifri.

February 4 – The New US Administration: Likely Major Foreign Policy Initiatives

In cooperation with the United States Mission to the European Union.

With William P. Drozdiak, President of the American Council on Germany.

February 10 – In the Crisis, Financial Europe Lagging Behind the US and China?

With Pierre Defraigne, Executive Director of the Madariaga Foundation/College of Europe.

February 17 – Germany and the Lisbon Treaty: a Difficult Ratification?

With Jochen Bittner, Correspondent for Die Zeit in Brussels

February 25 – A Regulation of Telecommunications in Favor of Competition and Innovation

With Paul Champsaur, former President of the Autorité de régulation des communications électroniques et des postes (ARCEP), and Fabio Colasanti, Director-General, DG Information Society and Media, European Commission.

March 10 - The Gas Crisis and South-East Europe

With Olivier Silla, Policy Coordinator, Electricity and Gas Unit, DG Energy and Transport (DG TREN), European Commission.

March 17 – The Transatlantic Security Agenda for 2009

With Dominique David, Ifri.

March 31 – Kaliningrad, Russia's Diplomatic Weapon?

With Frank Tétart, Editor-in-chief for Aerion Group's new journal (*Diplomatie*), Professor at Sciences Po Paris.

May 5 – Consequences of the Crisis in China: Domestic Policies and International Strategy

With Valérie Niquet, Ifri

May 12 – War and Peace in the Middle East: New Deals?

With  $\acute{\it Elie}$  Barnavi, Former Ambassador of Israel to France.

May 19 - Crises and the 21st Century

With Jacques Lesourne, Ifri.

May 26 – Mobility, Higher Education and the Bologna Process

With Jan Figel, Education and Culture Commissioner, European Commission.

May 27 – Economic and Political Perspectives for 2009

With Oleg Serebrian, Director of the Institute of European Studies in Moldova.

June 2 - Pakistan on the Brink?

With Olivier Louis, Ifri.

June 16 – Institutional Dimensions of EU-US Relations

With Jolyon Howorth, Professor at Yale University.

June 30 – Iran After the Presidential Elections: What Next?

With Giuseppe Busini, International Relations Officer – Iran Desk, DG External Relations, European Commission, and Clément Therme, Ifri.

July 1 – Agriculture and Development
To mark the release of the *Politique étrangère*collection dedicated to agricultural policies.

With Pierre Janin, Geographer, Institut de recherche pour le développement (IRD), Paris, Jean-Luc Demarty, Director-General, Agriculture and Rural Development, DG Agriculture, European Commission, Ferdinando Riccardi, Editorialist for Agence Europe, and Dominique David, Ifri.

September 15 – First Reactions to the EU's Eastern Partnership

With Ingmar Oldberg, former Deputy Director of Research at the Swedish Defense Research Agency (FOI), and Dominic Fean, Ifri.

September 22 – Borders of the Union: Scenarios and Options

With *Michel Foucher*, Geographer and Diplomat, Professor at the École normale supérieure (ENS), Paris.

September 29 – Continuity or Rupture? Germany After the Elections

With Hans Stark, Ifri.

October 6 – European Lobbying: Promoting Transparency

With Stéphane Desselas, Founder and Director, Athenora Consulting, Lucy Gutman, Managing Partner, Concept and Research (CORE) and Member of the Society of European Affairs Professionals (SEAP), and Gérard Legris, Head of Unit: Transparency, Relations with Stakeholders and External Organizations, Secretariat General of the European Commission.

October 20 – Russian Higher Education: Is It Competitive?

With Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean, Ifri.

November 10 – Where Are Central European Countries 20 Years After the Fall of the Wall: From "Velvet Revolutions" to Normalization?

With Éliane Mossé, Ifri.

November 24 – China on the Eve of Copenhagen: Insights on Energy and Climate Issues

With Valérie Niquet, Ifri.

December 1 – Ukraine on the Eve of the Presidential Elections January 2010

With Vasyl Filipchuk, Deputy Chief of the Ukraine Mission to the EU.

#### **Energy Huis Clos**

#### March 18 - A Single European Regulator

With José Braz, Member of the Executive Council, European Regulators' Group for Energy and Gas (ER-GEG), 3rd Package Working Group, Member of the Executive Board, Energy Services Regulatory Authority of Portugal (ERSE), Konstantin Staschus, Secretary General, European Network of Transmission System Operators for Electricity (ENTSO-E), and Marcel Bial, Secretary General, Union for the Coordination of Electricity Transmission (UCTE).

## April 22 – The Future of EU-ETS: Should It Be Replaced by a Carbon Tax?

With Sanjeev Kumar, EU-ETS Coordinator, WWF, Mark Lewis, Managing Director of Global Carbon Research, Deutsche Bank, and Nick Mabey, Founder and Director, E3G.

#### June 9 - Gas Storage in Europe

With Jean-Marc Leroy, Director-General, Storengy (GDF Suez) and President, Groupement de stockage européen (GSE), Mark Van Stiphout, Policy Officer, European Commission, and Bertrand Villeneuve, Economics Professor, François-Rabelais University, Tours, and Centre de recherche en économie et statistique (CREST/INSEE), Paris.

### October 22 – The Carbon Tax: an Update on the French Initiative

With Henri Lamotte, Chief of Public Policies, Directorate General of the Treasury and Political Economy (DGTPE), French Ministry of Economy, and Gilles Rotillon, Professor, Paris Ouest-Nanterre-La Défense University.

#### **Round Tables**

# Organized in the framework of the "European Governance and Geopolitics of Energy" program

#### January 21 – Poznan and the Road to Copenhagen

With Pemille Nielsen, Principal Advisor to the Minister, Ministry of Climate and Energy, Denmark, Richard Bradley, Head of "Energy Efficiency and Environment" Division, International Energy Agency (IEA), and Pierre Dechamps, Energy and Climate Change Advisor, Bureau of European Policy Advisers (BEPA), European Commission.

#### April 30 - Energy Diversification: the Case of LNG

With Ian Cronshaw, Head of the "Energy Diversification" Division, IEA, and Tom Vanden Borre, DG TREN, European Commission.

## May 26 – Turkey, Azerbaijan and the Southern Gas Corridor

In collaboration with the Clingendael International Energy Program.

With Yurdakul Yigitgüden, former under-Secretary of State, Turkish Ministry of Energy, Olav Aamlid Syversen, Advisor, StatoilHydro, Brendan Devlin, Policy Officer, DG TREN, European Commission, and Christof van Agt, Research Fellow, Clingendael International Energy Program (CIEP).

#### July 6 - Electricity Interconnections in Europe

With Sophie Dourlens, Analyst, "Cross-Border Electricity Exchanges" Department, Energy Regulation Commission (CRE), François Meslier, Director of the Interconnections Mission, EDF, and Susanne Nies, Ifri.

#### October 5 - Towards a US Nuclear Renaissance

With John Brodman, former Deputy Assistant Secretary, US Department of Energy, Jacques Lesourne and William C. Ramsay, Ifri.

#### November 5 – Electricity Supply in the Baltic Region After the Phasing Out of Ingalina NPP

With Wladyslaw Mielczarski, European Coordinator for the Northern European Power Link, Zygimantas Vaiciunas, Head of the Strategic Planning Division, Lithuanian Ministry of Energy, Jean-Arnold Vinois, Head of Unit, "Energy Policy and Security of Supply," DG TREN, European Commission, Monica Eordoghne Zsigri, Policy Coordinator, "Energy Policy and Security of Supply," DG TREN, European Commission, and Maksim Kozlov, Head of the Baltic NPP Project, Inter RAO UES (Moscow).

### December 8 – Ukraine-Energy: a Transit Country in Deadlock?

With Vsevolod Chentsov, Deputy Head of the Ukraine Mission to the EU, Simon Pirani, Research Fellow, Oxford Energy Institute, Olivier Silla, Deputy Head of Unit, "International Relations for Energy, Enlargement," Dit, TREN, European Commission, and Susanne Nies, Ifri

# December 17 – The EU's Major Electricity and Gas Utilities: the Big Winners of Market Liberalisation?

With Matthias Dürr, Senior Manager, European Affairs, RWE (Brussels), Robert Klotz, Lawyer and Partner, Hunton & Williams, former member of DG Competition, European Commission, Christian Schülke, Jacques Lesourne and William C. Ramsay, Ifri.

#### **Other Seminars in Brussels**

April 3 – Managing Health and Environmental Risks and Crises. Lessons from Europe and Asia (see the "Health and Environment" program)

### April 28 – The Next European Parliament: What Role and Agenda May European Citizens Expect?

With Robert Manchin, Director-General, Gallup Europe, Thomas Fischer, Executive Director, Bertelsmann Stiftung (Brussels), Sylvie Goulard, President of the Mouvement européen-France, Joachim Starbatty, Economics Professor at the University of Tübingen (Germany), Monica Frassoni, Member of the European Parliament and (Italy), Richard Corbett, Member of the European Parliament, Labour Party (UK), and Susanne Nies, Ifri.

April 29 – Reform of the Chinese Healthcare System (see the China program)

#### October 1 - Presentation of RAMSES 2010

With Philippe Moreau Defarges, Jacques Mistral, Susanne Nies, Cécile Kérébel and Christian Schülke, Ifri.

#### **Dinners**

January 27 – The International Situation at the Start of the Obama Presidency

With Thierry de Montbrial.

#### September 30 - A New Founding Pact for Europe

With *Mario Monti*, former European Commissioner, President of Bocconi University, Milan.

#### **International Conference**

February 5-6 – Investing in Europe's Energy Future 2009 Annual Conference of the "European Governance and Geopolitics of Energy" program (see the "European Governance and Geopolitics of Energy" program).

#### Susanne Nies, Claude Mandil



Fabio Marchetti, Didier Siré, Jacques Lesourne, Claude Mandil, Douglas Hengel, William Ramsay



#### Russia/NIS

# Russia/ NIS Center

For reasons that are at once political, economic and strategic, it is no longer possible today to overlook Russia and the Newly Independent States (NIS). Both that country and that region are simultaneously characterized by their strong potential and their chronic instability. An obvious and almost unavoidable energy partner with a promising market, Russia is plagued with various internal conflicts and remains difficult to penetrate. Because of its international status, it is not an emerging country like any other. Today the region is distinguished by its extreme heterogeneity and the fundamental changes in the relations that each country maintains with Moscow and other external players. The Russia/NIS Center was created in 2004 with three main objectives: to anticipate changes in the region, provide expertise, and offer policy solutions to decision makers.

#### **Team**



**Thomas Gomart**, Research Fellow, Director



Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean, Research Fellow



**Dominic Fean**, Junior Research Fellow

**Julien Nocetti**, Consultant (since December 2009)

Catherine Méniane, Assistant

#### **Research Areas**

#### Power Systems in Eurasia

The Center monitors the ongoing process of civil and military elite formation in the region and the different ways in which those elites come to power, in order to better understand power struggles and the decision-making process. A comparative approach (Russia and Central Asia) allows researchers to look into the functioning of the central government. Particular attention is given to the interaction between military and political leadership. In order to remain up-to-date on the sociology of decision-makers, our researchers regularly make visits to the region.

#### The Strategic Partnership Between the EU and Russia

This relationship is undergoing an undeniable crisis of confidence today. A specific task force was formed within the Russia/NIS Center to formulate operational recommendations so as to improve relations between the two sides. This task force also studies issues surrounding Russia's integration into global governance (WTO).

# Interactions between Russia's Foreign and Energy Policies

This research area examines the restructuring of the Russian energy landscape and its implications for neighboring countries along with the use of energy supplies for political ends. There is close cooperation that the "European Governance and Geopolitics of Energy" program.

#### Technological Innovation and Scientific Research

This program analyzes the current restructuring of the technology sector and seeks to identify Russian areas of excellence and scientific organizations that could help Russia become internationally competitive.

#### Book

Russie.Nei.Visions 2009. Understanding Russia and the Newly Independent States, *Thomas Gomart* and *Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean* (eds.), "Les Études de l'Ifri" series.



#### **Electronic Publications**

• "Russie.Nei.Visions" Series

(series published in English, French, and Russian)

L'aide au développement : la percée chinoise au Tadjikistan et au Kirghizstan, *Nargis Kassenova*, n° 36, January.

Les forces armées russes : le pouvoir de l'illusion, Roger McDermott, n° 37, March.

La Russie et l'Amérique latine : manœuvres géopolitiques dans le voisinage des États-Unis, *Stephen Blank*, n° 38, April. Russie : Obama à l'épreuve de l'héritage Bush, Thomas Gomart, n° 39, April.

L'OTAN et la Russie : perceptions des menaces après la Géorgie, *Aurel Braun*, n° 40, May.

Les enjeux de la crise démographique en Russie, *Anatoli Vishnevski*, n° 41, June.

Voisins distants : la présidence suédoise de l'UE et la Russie, Eva Hagstrom Frisel and Ingmar Oldberg, n° 42, July.

La Russie et les pays du « Partenariat oriental » après la guerre en Géorgie, *Jean-Philippe Tardieu*, n° 43, July.

Du bon usage de l'UE en Géorgie, *Dominic Fean*, n° 44, September.

« Occidentalistes » et « sinophiles » dans la politique étrangère russe, *Andrei Tsygankov*, n° 45, December.



#### • "Russie.Nei.Reports" Series

Projet MISiS, futur modèle de l'enseignement supérieur en Russie?, *Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean*, n° 1, October.

Le Haut Collège d'économie : école de commerce, université et think tank, *Carole Sigman*, n° 2, October.

#### **Articles**

"OTAN-Russie : la 'question russe' est-elle européenne ?," *Thomas Gomart*, in *Politique étrangère*, 4/2009.

"Russie. Encore la crise ?," *Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean*, in *RAMSES 2010*.

#### **Outside Publications**

"Washington-Moscou : la nouvelle donne," *Thomas Gomart*, in *Politique internationale*, n° 123, Spring.

"Russie: la réforme de l'enseignement supérieur," Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean, in Revue internationale d'éducation de Sèvres, n° 50, April.

#### **Conferences-Debates**

# April 24 – Obama-Medvedev: the Way Forward for Russian-American Relations

With Stephen Blank, Professor at the Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, and Vladimir Baranovsky, Deputy Director, The Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), Moscow.

### June 4 – Stakes of the Demographic Crisis in Russia

With Anatoli Vichnevski, Director, Russian National Institute for Demographic Studies, and Emmanuel Todd, Research Officer, National Institute for Demographic Studies (INED).

### June 25 – Russia and China: Stabilizers or Destabilizers in Central Asia?

With Didier Chaudet, Professor at Sciences Po Paris, Nargis Kassenova, Associate Professor in the Political Science Department, Kazakhstan Institute of Management, Economics, and Strategic Research (KIMEP), and Bobo Lo, Director of the Russia and China programs, Center for European Reform.

#### November 26 - Options for Georgian Foreign Policy

With *Grigol Vachadze*, Georgian Minister of Foreign Affairs.

#### **International Interventions**

## January 15 – DGTPE International Network Convention

Participation of *Thomas Gomart* in the Russian round table.

With Jean-Marie Paugam (DGTPE), Philippe Baudry, Head of Economic Services in Moscow, and Olivier de Boysson, Head Economist at Société Générale.

#### February 13 – What Can We Expect in EU/Russia/ United States Relations?

In the framework of the seminar "Law, Politics, Economy, Mass Media," organized by the Moscow School of Political Studies, St-Petersburg.

Participation of Thomas Gomart.

## February 20 – The European Neighborhood: Working with Russia and the Region

956th Wilton Park conference, "Common Foreign and Security Policy in the Obama Era: What Can Europe Expect; What Can It Offer?"

Participation of Thomas Gomart.

With Alexander Rahr, DGAP, Dmitri Rogozine, Russian Ambassador to NATO, and Kostiantin Grychtchenko, Ukrainian Ambassador to Russia.

## February 24 – EU-Russia Gas Relations After the Crisis

Seminar "Russia, EU, and Gas," organized by the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI), Oslo.

Participation of Thomas Gomart.

With Margarita Balmaceda, Harvard University, Jakub Godzimirski and Indra Overland, NUPI.

# March 3 – State of Affairs Between the United States, Europe, and Russia: New Challenges and Opportunities

In the framework of the "Europe Russia Contact Group," Institute for Strategic Dialogue, Rome.

Participation of Thomas Gomart.

With Mark Medish, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Rory Macfarquhar, Goldman Sachs, and Dmitri Trenin, Carnegie Moscow Center.

### March 10 – EU-Russia Relations and Their Implications in the Energy Field

Seminar "Assessing Russian Energy Strategy in Europe and East Asia: Implications for EU-Russia Relations and Japan-Russia Relations," National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS), Tokyo.

Participation of Thomas Gomart.

### April 3 – Russian Reactions to the Obama Maneuver

Conference "The New Architecture of European Security: Treaties, Mechanisms and Tools," Moscow, Moscow State University of International Relations (MGIMO), Institute for European Studies.

Participation of Thomas Gomart.

### April 6 – The Russian-Ukrainian Gas Crisis: Responses of Consumer Countries

Conference organized by the French Gas Association (AFG), Paris La Défense.

Participation of Thomas Gomart.

With Antoine de La Faire, GDF Suez, and Simon Pirani, Oxford Institute for Energy Studies.

## April 17 – The European Union, the United States, and Russia: Strategic Triangle

Seminar "Dealing with Russia: Euro-Atlantic Cooperation under the New American Administration," organized by the Center for Applied Policy Research, Munich and *Le Monde diplomatique*.

Participation of Thomas Gomart.

With Ivan Krastev, Editor-in-chief, Foreign Policy Bulgaria, James Nixey, Russia and Eurasia program, Chatham House, and Stephen Szabo, Director, Transatlantic Academy, Washington.

#### May 6 - Russia and the European Union

"Russia and Europe" symposium, Singer-Polignac Foundation, Paris.

Participation of Thomas Gomart.

With Anne de Tinguy, Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales (INALCO), Jacques Sapir, School for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences (EHESS), Isabelle Facon, Fondation pour la recherche stratégique (FRS), Hélène Carrère d'Encausse, from the Académie française, and Gabriel de Broglie, Chancellor of the Institute.

#### June 4 – EU-Russia Business Dialogue

Conference organized by the EU-Russia Business Dialogue, International Economic Forum, St-Petersburg.

Participation of *Thomas Gomart* in the session "EU-Russia Cooperation: Protecting Investments While Avoiding Protectionism."

With Evira Nabiullina, Russian Ministry of Economic Development, Catherine Ashton, Commissioner for Trade, Tony Hayward, PDG, BP PLC Group, Viktor Vekselberg, President, Renova, Anatoli Tchoubais, Director-General, Rusnano, Nila Andersen, PDG, A.P. Moller-Maersk, and Sergei Karaganov, State University—Higher School of Economics (SU–HSE).

### September 9 – Russia and the West: Back to the Future

6th session of the Valdaï Club, Yakutsk.

Participation of *Thomas Gomart* in the session "Russia/United States: Towards a New Starting Point in Nuclear Issues?"

With Angela Stent, Georgetown University, Nobuo Shimotomai, Hosei University, Vitali Shlilov, Foreign Policy and Defense Council (SVOP), and Sergei Karaganov, SU-HSE.

### September 15 – First Reactions to the EU's Eastern Partnership

"Ifri's Tuesdays in Brussels"

Participation of *Dominic Fean*. With *Ingmar Oldberg*, FOI, Sweden.

#### September 30 – Is the Eastern Partnership Useful?

Thomas Gomart, conference at the Belarusian State University, Minsk.

# November 9 – The Russian Factor in Transatlantic Relations

The Ed A. Hewett Forum on Former Soviet Affairs, The Brookings Institution.

Participation of *Thomas Gomart* in the debate with *Manfred Huterer*, Visiting Fellow, The Brookings Institution, Washington.

# November 11 – Europe-Russia-United States: Is There Any Change with Obama?

Thomas Gomart, presentation, University of Pennsylvania, International Relations and Strategic Studies Programs, Philadelphia.

November 13 – Russian Foreign Policy Vis-à-vis Europe in 2009: What Was the Main Determinant? National convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies.

Participation of *Thomas Gomart* in the round table "Russian Foreign Policy in 2009."

With Stephen Blank and Craig Nation, US Army War College, Aurel Braun, University of Toronto, Carol Saivetz, Harvard University, and Robert Freedman, Johns Hopkins University, Boston.

### November 19 – Reform of the Russian Education Sector

996th Wilton Park conference, "Dialogue with Russia: Move Past an Economy Based on Raw Materials Toward a Growth Economy."

Participation of Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean.

Asia

# **Ifri Asia Center**

In Asia today, economic, political and security stakes could not be higher. Through its research, programs, partnerships with important international research centers, and the events that it organizes, the Ifri Asia Center aims to offer in-depth insight and analysis, input in decision-making and a place for dialogue on crucial issues.

The Center's main work is published in the *Lettre du Centre Asi*e, the "Asie.Visions" series, as well as in outside academic publications. Through exchanges with the media and constant participation in seminars and conferences, researchers from the Asia Center are an integral part of the national and international debate on Asian issues.

#### Team



**Valérie Niquet**, Research Fellow, Director



Françoise Nicolas, Senior Economist



Gilles Boquérat, Research Fellow, Head of the India and South Asia program



**Céline Pajon**, Assistant Research Fellow (Japan)

**Hélène Le Bail**, Research Fellow (China) **Olivier Louis**, Advisor to the India and South Asia program

#### **China Program**

The Ifri Asia Center works on the emergence of China and its integration into the global system. For its second year of activity, the China program focused on the internal issues of the country. The program produced a series of seminars and publications centered on the major tensions and developments of a China in motion through the interactions between social transformations and land settlement. It seemed important, in order to understand the conditions of the emergence of China, to describe the ongoing societal restructuring (rural exodus, appearance of an urban middle class, growing social inequalities), a source of new expectations and new needs in terms of consumption, health or migrations. These social and spatial changes raise the question of political control. Do the dense communications networks work in favor of local authorities or central authorities?

For its third year of operation in 2010, the China program will focus on the second part of its research area, integration into the global system, by delving into Chinese presence in bordering countries. Publications and seminars will analyze the security and economic implications of the reorganization of trade, and the dynamics of various actors.

#### **India and South Asia Program**

This program, launched in 2008, facilitates a better understanding of the issues and factors in the development of India's economic and political strategies. It seeks to forecast possible trends, develop lasting networks with major players in India's economic and political landscape, provide expertise based on the work of Indian and Western researchers, and offer more visibility and a platform for exchanges between analysts and French, Indian and European policy makers. It strives to contribute to a better comprehension of the issues surrounding India's emergence as a global power.

The program is concentrated around three main themes: India in the global economy; India's relations with its neighbors, especially with Pakistan; and political life in India. These three themes can be subsumed into one single question: does India intend to become a world power?

#### Japan Program – Franco-Japanese Dialogue

For the 150th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between France and Japan, the Ifri Asia Center organized a symposium in December on the renewal of the Franco-Japanese partnership. The round-table topics —human security, economic partnership, social models, development in Africa—highlighted the continuity of and the potential for developing dialogue between Paris and Tokyo in an evolving international context.

This program aims to offer a forum for debate between Japanese and European experts, and to strengthen the capacity and potential for research on Japan in France.

#### **Brainstorming Circle on Asian Economies**

The Brainstorming Circle on Asian Economies was created in 2006 and is directed by *Valérie Niquet* and *Françoise Nicolas*. The goal of the circle's meetings is to facilitate informal exchanges around major macroeconomic or economic policy issues in Asia. This circle brings together representatives from business, government and research.

#### **Chinese Direct Investment in Europe**

During 2009, a joint program with the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House, London) was launched on Chinese direct investment in Europe. The aim is to examine the motivations and strategies of Chinese investors, who are increasingly active in industrialized countries, including European ones.

In this framework, *Françoise Nicolas* led a study on Chinese direct investment in France. The preliminary results of her work were presented at several seminars in London (January 20) and Brussels (June 23-24). The publication of the results of this study is expected in 2010.

# The Integration of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea into the Global Economy

In the framework of Ifri's Asia Center's work on the Korean peninsula, a research project was carried out, with the support of the Korea Foundation and under the direction of *Françoise Nicolas*, on the question of North Korea's integration into the global economy. This project, which includes Korean researchers, was completed at the end of 2009 and the results were published in early 2010.

#### Book

The India-Pakistan Reconciliation and Other Experiences in Post-Conflict Management, *Gilles Boquérat*,

"Les Études de l'Ifri" series (electronic version), November.



#### **Electronic Publications**

• "Notes de l'Ifri" Series

La Chine à la veille de Copenhague, *Valérie Niquet*, September.

ASEAN Energy Cooperation. An Increasingly Daunting Challenge, *Françoise Nicolas*, September.

· "Asie.Visions" Series

The Fall of a Hindu Monarchy: Maoists in Power in Nepal, *Benoît Cailmail*, January.

The Democratic Transition in Pakistan Under Stress, *Gilles Boquérat*, February.

L'action politique en Chine, de la prise de décision à la réalisation, *Valérie Niquet*, March.

The Global Economics Crisis: a Golden Opportunity for China, *Françoise Nicolas*, June.

Progrès et défis dans la Chine rurale du XXIº siècle : libertés économiques et droits sociaux, *Chen Guangin*, July.

Japan-North Korea Relations: (Sad) State of Play and (Sad) Prospects, *Axel Berkofsky*, July.

India's Foreign Investment Policy: Achievements and Inadequacies, *Amitendu Palit*, August.

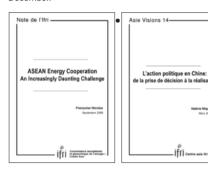
Les grandes villes chinoises comme espace d'immigration international : le cas des entrepreneurs africains, *Hélène Le Bail*, August.

Breaking New Ground: Congress and Welfarism in India, *Zoya Hassan*, October.

The India-Pakistan Reconciliation and Other Experiences in Post-Conflict Management, *Gilles Boquérat*. November.

Consommation alimentaire et sécurité sanitaire des aliments en Chine, *Jean-Marc Chaumet* and *Franck Desevedavy*, December.

Urbanisation et investissement immobilier en Chine, Guillaume Rougier-Brierre and Guillaume Jeannet, December.



#### La Lettre du Centre Asie Ifri

This monthly letter offers prospective analysis of political, strategic and economic developments in Asia, from the Indian Ocean to the Far East. Its contributors include permanent and associated members of the centre. Contributions from French and international researchers and experts are also included. Subscription to the series is available through Ifri's website.

#### **Articles**

- "Les États-Unis d'Obama face aux défis asiatiques," *Valérie Niquet*, in *Politique étrangère*, 1/2009.
- "L'Inde et ses voisins," *Gilles Boquérat*, in *Politique étrangère*, 3/2009.
- "Le paradoxe Mayawati," Raphaël Gutmann, in Politique étrangère, 3/2009.
- "La coopération maritime nippo-indienne," *Céline Pajon*, in *Politique étrangère*, 3/2009.
- "États-Unis/Asie. Vers un duopole Washington-Pékin," Valérie Niquet, in RAMSES 2010.
- "Asie. Dans la tempête globale," *Valérie Niquet*, in *RAMSES 2010* (introduction to the "Asia" section).
- "Chine. Confirmer la légitimité du régime et la puissance de la nation," *Hélène Le Bail*, in *RAMSES* 2010
- "Japon. Le bateau ivre," Céline Pajon, in RAMSES 2010.
- "Inde. Pôle de stabilité en Asie du Sud," *Olivier Louis*, in *RAMSES 2010.*
- "Asie de l'Est. Face à la crise financière mondiale," *Françoise Nicolas*, in *RAMSES 2010*.

#### **Outside Publications**

"Assessing the Complementarity Between the EU and ASEAN Economies," *Françoise Nicolas* and *Bernadette Andreosso-O'Callaghan*, in *Gabriele Tondl* (ed.), *The EU and Emerging Markets*, Vienna/New York, Springer.

"Vietnam : le difficile apprentissage de la mondialisation," *Françoise Nicolas*, in *Sophie Boisseau du Rocher* (ed.), *Mondes émergents – Asie 2009*, Paris, La Documentation française.

"Chinese Direct Investment in Europe: Facts and Fallacies," *Françoise Nicolas, International Economics Briefing Paper*, IE BP 2009/01, Chatham House, June.

"The Political Economy of Regional Integration in East Asia," *Françoise Nicolas*, in *Economic Change and Restructuring*, vol. 41, n° 4, 2008.

"La manœuvre dans la pensée stratégique chinoise," Valérie Niquet, in Christian Malis (ed.), Guerre et manœuvre. Paris. Economica.

"China in the Face of Economic Crisis," Valérie Niquet, in Perspectives chinoises and Chinese perspectives, Centre d'études français sur la Chine contemporaine (CEFC, Hong Kong).

"Le Livre blanc de la défense chinoise en 2008," *Valérie Niquet*. in *Monde chinois*. n° 18.

"Les relations franco-chinoises," *Valérie Niquet*, in *Annuaire français des relations internationales*, Brussels, Bruvlant.

"Space Program," Valérie Niquet, in David Pong (ed.), Encyclopedia of Modern China, Detroit, Charles Scribner's Sons.

"Einzigartig und widersprüchlich: Die Neudefinition der französisch-chinesischen Beziehungen," *Valérie Niquet, DGAPanalyse Frankreich.* n° 8/2009.

"Inde : l'unicité d'un pays pluriel" and "L'émergence de l'Inde," *Gilles Boquérat*, in *Philippe Pelletier* (ed.), *Géopolitique de l'Asie*. Paris. Nathan.

#### Seminars, Round Tables, Debates

• India and South Asia Program

February 19 – The Stakes of Pakistan's Foreign Policy

With Asman Anisa, Ambassador of Pakistan to France, and Daniel Jouanneau, Ambassador of France to Pakistan.

July 7 – Challenges for India After the General Elections

With Jean-Luc Racine, Director of Research, Centre national de la recherche scientifique/Centre d'études de l'Inde et de l'Asie du Sud (CNRS/CEIAS), and Ramesh Mulye, former Ambassador of India to France and Strategic Advisor in France for the Confederation of Indian Industry.

December 7 – India and the Middle East: From Core to Periphery

With P. R. Kumaraswamy, Professor at the Center for West Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

• China Program

April 15 – Rural Reform in China: Towards City-Country Integration

With Guangjin Chen, Deputy Director, The Institute of Sociology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), Beijing.

April 29 – Reform of the Chinese Healthcare System (Brussels)

With *Ding Chun*, Professor at the Center for European Studies (CES), Fudan University, Shanghai.

December 2 – Sustainable Cities for a Billion: China's Daunting Challenges in Urbanization

With *Qi* Ye, Professor and Director of the School of Public Policy and Management, Tsinghua University, Beijing.

#### • Japan Program

June 2 – The Global Crisis: What Impact on East Asia?

With Takashi Terada, Professor at Waseda University, Tokyo, Valérie Niquet and Françoise Nicolas, Ifri.

September 17 – After the August 30 Elections: Political, Economic, and Social Trends in Japan

With Jean-Marie Bouissou, Centre d'études et de recherches internationales (CERI), and Évelyne Dourille-Feer, Centre d'études prospectives et d'informations internationales (CEPII).

#### . Brainstorming Circle on Asian Economies

February 13 – China in the Face of the Global Economic Crisis. What Are the Responses? What Are the Prospects?

With Françoise Nicolas, Ifri.

April 30 – Why Is Japan Suffering More From the Crisis than Other Countries?

With Patrick Artus, Director of Research and Studies, Natixis

October 14 – Becoming China: Hong Kong's Evolution 1997-2009

With *Christine Loh*, Co-founder and Executive Director, Civic Exchange, Hong Kong.

December 10 – Where Is the Economy of North Korea? An Analysis of Trade Flows

With Hyung-Gon Jeong, Economist, Korea Institute of International Economic Policy (KIEP), Seoul, and Françoise Nicolas, Ifri.

#### The Ifri Asia Center Meetings

January 28 – North Korean Nuclear Issue and Six-party Talks: From Problem Solving to Regime Formation on the Korean Peninsula and Beyond

With Choong He Hahn, Minister-Counselor, Embassy of the Republic of Korea in France, former Deputy Director for North Korean Nuclear Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

June 29 – Is There a Civil-Military "Gap" in China's "Peaceful Rise?"

With Andrew Scobell, Professor at the Bush School of Government and Public Service (Texas University) and author of several books on Chinese military forces and defense policy.

#### **Conferences-Debates**

February 4 - India's Foreign Policy

With Shivshankar Menon, Secretary General of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs.

June 10 – Pakistan's Relations with Afghanistan: a Way Forward

With Khalid Mahmood, former Ambassador of Pakistan to Asia and Europe, and Pierre Lafrance, former Ambassador of France to Pakistan.

October 6 – Energy Trajectories for India For the release of *Energy in India's Future: Insights* (seventh volume in the "European Governance and Geopolitics of Energy's" series, "Les Études de l'Ifri") and of the work "L'Inde après les législatives de 2009", in *Politique étrangère*, 3/2009.

With Prem Shankar Jha, Indian Economic and Political Analyst, Pierre Zaleski, Executive Director, Center of Geopolitics of Energy and Raw Materials (CGEMP), Paris-Dauphine University, Gilles Boquérat, Jacques Lesourne and William C. Ramsay, Ifri.

#### **International Conferences**

May 11-12 - 8th Annual France-Korea Forum, Paris

The 8th Annual France-Korea Forum, co-organized by Ifri and the Korea Foundation, introduced by *Thierry de Montbrial* and *Yim Sung-Joon*, President of the Korea Foundation, brought together many dignitaries, experts and specialists to facilitate intellectual exchanges on the economic crisis, sustainable development, regional security in North East Asia and Franco-Korean bilateral, economic and cultural relations.

### June 15-16 – Europe-Asia Dialogue on Regional Stability in Northeast Asia, Brussels

International conference organized with the support of the Strategic Affairs Delegation (DAS) of the Ministry of Defense, in order to tackle issues of regional stability in North East Asia. The conference brought together Japanese, American and European experts concerned with diplomatic relations with North Korea, proliferation and de-nuclearization, economic and energy cooperation, and the creation of a security mechanism in North East Asia.

### September 23 – Europe-China Dialogue: Common Grounds and Differences, Shanghai

International conference organized with CES (Fudan University), the Chinese Society for EU Studies (CSEUS) and the Shanghai Institute for European Studies (SIES), with European and Chinese experts, in order to analyze strategic partnership possibilities, economic relations, cultural values and cooperation in international institutions.

8th Annual France-Korea Forum - participants



Patrick Beaudoin, Thierry de Montbrial, and François Descoueyte



Middle East/North Africa/Mediterranean

# **Middle East Program**

Ifri has always dedicated much of its research activities to studying conflicts in the Near and Middle East, the attempts at solving them, and the region's developments.

#### Team



**Denis Bauchard**, Special Advisor for the Middle East

**Clément Therme**, Assistant Research Fellow (until August 2009)

Jeanne Frey, Assistant

#### **Research Areas**

The Reshaping of the Arab World in the Wake of the US Invasion of Iraq and the Start of the Withdrawal of Foreign Troops

Analysis of the evolution of post-Saddam Iraq and the conflict's consequences on neighboring countries, the developments within Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Egypt (the three of them deeply affected by the war), and the international community's attempts at promoting domestic reforms.

The Evolution of Israeli Policy After the Military Invasion of Gaza and the Coming to Power of the Netanyahu Government After the February Elections

What are the consequences for the peace process with the Palestinians and, more generally, for relations with Arab countries? What role can the United States and Europe play to help jump-start the negotiations?

#### Evolution of the Iranian Issue

This research area attempts to decipher the interactions between the internal political and economic situation and foreign policy. It particularly studies to what extent external economic pressure influences the international position of Iran.

#### **Electronic Publications**

"Perspectives Moyen-Orient/Méditerranée" Series
 Démocratisation et ingérence étrangère: le cas de l'Iran, Clément Therme, February.

L'Iran face à la crise financière, Thierry Coville, May.

• "Actuelles de l'Ifri" Series

Trentième anniversaire de la République islamique : les motifs de satisfaction du régime, *Mohamed Reza Djalili*, May.

Les élections présidentielles en Iran : quels enjeux ?, Farida Adelkhah, June.

L'Iran et le monde extérieur après les présidentielles : continuité et ouvertures, *François Nicoullaud*, June.



#### **Outside Publications**

- "Moyen-Orient 2009, quel bilan humanitaire?," Denis Bauchard, in Grotius.fr, April.
- "Obama, le discours du Caire : du verbe à l'action," Denis Bauchard, in Grotius.fr, June.
- "Les relations entre Washington et Téhéran," *Denis Bauchard*, in *Grotius.fr*, June.
- "De la contestation à la normalisation ?," Denis Bauchard, in Grotius.fr, July.
- "Europe's Role in Averting a Middle East Tragedy," Denis Bauchard, in Europe's World, Fall.

#### **Conferences-Debates**

January 13 - The New Iranian Society

With Farhad Khosrokhavar, Sociologist, Research Director at EHESS and Member of the Centre d'analyse et d'intervention sociologiques (Cadis).

#### February 12 - After Gaza, Results and Perspectives

With Yves Aubin de La Messuzière, former North Africa/Middle East Director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mireille Duteil, Le Point, Jean-François Legrain, Research Fellow, Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, Lyon, and Samy Cohen, Research Director, CERI.

April 8 – After the Israeli Elections: Perspectives and International Issues

With Pierre Razoux, Research Advisor, NATO Defense College, Rome, and David Khalfa, Consultant.

July 1 - Iran After the Elections

With François Nicoullaud, former Ambassador to Iran, and Clément Therme, Ifri.

September 4 – Are There Any Prospects for Peace Between Israel and the Palestinians?

With Saeb Erekat, Chief Negotiator for the Palestinian Authority, Member of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

#### Saeb Erekat, Denis Bauchard



#### Middle East/North Africa/Mediterranean

# North Africa Program

For the countries of the European Union, and France in particular, North Africa is at once a close and distant region. The geographic proximity between France and North Africa is strengthened by the presence of a large and well-established immigrant community. However, these bonds are threatened today by new factors that are introducing mutual fear and resentment

It is thus important to look at this region from a different angle: it is struggling to become an actor in globalization and trying to rid itself of the political and economic patterns constructed in the wake of independence. North Africa, however, is not static and is changing considerably. The transformations are desired by the region's executive powers who are losing legitimacy and have run out of unifying projects, and are also the result of globalization, a phenomenon that the region seems to have been able to join only by practically breaking into it.

#### Team



Khadija Mohsen-Finan, Research Fellow, Head of the program Areas of expertise: North Africa, Islam in Europe, Mediterranean

Jeanne Frey, Assistant



#### **Research Areas**

#### Internal Dynamics and Governance

Focused on political transition processes and intra-North African relations. Regional integration remains central.

#### North Africa in the World of International Relations

Relations with France, the role of the United States in the region, and the role of the North African states within the Union for the Mediterranean project. The priority step must be the study of relations between France and North African countries: the contentious history with Algeria, investment, scientific and military cooperation, visa policies and the free movement of people between both sides of the Mediterranean.

#### North African Security

The integration of the former Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat (GSPC) into the international Islamist movement, the GSPC's regional goals, suicide bombings in Casablanca.

#### **Economic Issues**

Issues related to energy, foreign investment, banking reforms, the role of business in defining policy, reforms and growth.

#### Book

Les Médias en Méditerranée. Nouveaux médias, monde arabe et relations internationales, *Khadija Mohsen-Finan* (ed.), Arles, Actes Sud.

#### **Articles**

- "Algérie: faut-il croire à la transition?," *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, introduction and coordination of the work, *Politique étrangère*, 2/2009.
- "Algérie. Les difficultés d'une transition," Khadija Mohsen-Finan, in RAMSES 2010.

#### **Outside Publications**

- "L'Union pour la Méditerranée : vers de nouvelles relations Nord-Sud," *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, in *Universalia 2009*, Paris, Encyclopædia Universalis.
- "Vers l'autonomie du Sahara occidental," *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, in *Atlas du Monde diplomatique 2009*, Paris, Armand Colin.
- "Union pour la Méditerranée : la difficulté à gérer la proximité," *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, in *Med.2009 Annuaire de la Méditerranée*, Barcelone, IEMed.
- "Sahara occidental: divergences profondes autour d'un mode de règlement," *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, in *L'Année du Maghreb*, Paris, CNRS Éditions.
- "La condition des femmes au Maghreb, entre repli et mondialisation," *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, in *Moyen-Orient*, December.

#### **Seminars and Debates**

January 15 – Gulf Country Investments in North Africa

With *Moncef Cheikh-Rouhou*, Professor of Economics and International Finance, HEC Paris.

July 6 - The Obama Administration and Islam

With Malika Zeghal, Associate Professor of Anthropology and Sociology of Religion, University of Chicago, and Pierre Thénard, French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Associate Researcher, Sciences Po Paris.

September 16 – Mohammed VI: Ten Years of Reign

With Pierre Vermeren, Historian, Professor, Paris I-Panthéon-Sorbonne University.

#### **International Conference**

March 6 – Governance Methods and Political Change in North Africa, Barcelona Ifri/IEMed seminar conducted by Senen Florensa, Director-General, IEMed, and Khadija Mohsen-Finan, Ifri.

With Antoni Segura, University of Barcelona, Sarah Ben Nefissa, Research Fellow, IRD, Paris, Mohammed Tozy, University of Casablanca, Ihsane El Kadi, Journalist, Afkar, Algiers, Alejandro Locar, Autonomous University of Madrid, Larbi Jaïdi, Mohammed V University, Rabat, Javier Albarracin, Head of Economic Development, IEMed, Mahmoud Ben Romdhane, University of Tunis, Eduard Soler, CIDOB Foundation, Barcelona, Roberto Aliboni, Vice President, Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI), Rome, Lurdes Vidal, Head of the Mediterranean Arab Program, IEMed, and Alain Antil. Ifri.

Middle East/North Africa/Mediterranean

# North Africa in a Regional and International Context Program

A large part of this work and debate has been developing in the framework of a program based on a Franco-Moroccan partnership which benefits from the support of the OCP Group.

Noting that the destinies of European countries, North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa are closely linked by geography, history, demographics and the economy, the "North Africa in a Regional and International Context" program aims to explore the fundamental relationship between the north and south shores of the Mediterranean and to examine the possible future regional dynamics. It seeks to move beyond the conventional limits of analysis in order to offer solutions based on constructive partnerships, articulating a framework for European reflections, transatlantic debate and "southern" thinking.

#### Team

Khadija Mohsen-Finan, Program Coordinator Jacques Mistral, Head of the Economics section

Christophe Bertossi, Migrations and Development

Alain Antil, Africa

Françoise Nicolas, Economics

Ivan Martin, Economics

Gilles Boquérat, India

#### **Research Areas**

Governance and Political Action in North Africa (Khadija Mohsen-Finan)

Political governance remains a fundamental issue for North Africa. This research area undertakes a new line of questioning on this governance by identifying new agents of political change, giving them a voice and analyzing their motivations, ambitions and actions, particularly in terms of investment in the public sphere. Two types of actors have been identified: business managers and think tanks. A round table on "The Place and the Role of Businessmen in North African Countries" was organized on October 10 in Casablanca in

partnership with the Centre d'études sociales, économiques et managériales (CESEM). Its purpose was to understand the links between businessmen and political decision-making bodies. It allowed the merging of the actions and ambitions of these groups within the current North African political landscape. The debate also focused on the specifics of bi-national companies that choose to operate on both sides of the Mediterranean.

North Africa in an International Context (Khadija Mohsen-Finan)

The program has also focused on this topic. A seminar on the American presence in North Africa was organized in April. Its goal was to consider the current role of the United States in the region and to evaluate Washington's involvement in key issues such as the Sahara, energy and the fight against Al-Qaeda. It also sought to assess the competitiveness and complementarity that exists between the European Union and the United States in this regional crossroads between Europe, Africa and the Middle East.

#### Africa (Alain Antil)

This work progresses in three successive directions. First, the program addresses stability issues in the Sahel region, looking particularly at trafficking and the development of Tuareg irredentist movements in Niger and Mali, so as to understand their repercussions in North Africa. Secondly, research on the diplomatic, economic and cultural dimensions of Morocco's Africa policy is conducted. The main tools and actors of this policy are examined, and the differences and similarities between the Africa policies of certain European countries are identified. A third area is consecrated to a prospective outlook on African agriculture, notably the conditions for a future green revolution and the social and economic transformations that it would entail.

A seminar gathering European and African experts was organized at Ifri in order to examine certain aspects of the Sahel-Sahara group (trafficking, the development of irredentist claims, the development of radical Islam, and geographic, social, economic, political and geopolitical tensions).

Four policy papers will be published:

- "Control Trafficking or Lose the North. Notes in Trafficking in Mauritania," Alain Antil;
- "Trafficking Characteristics and Issues in the Sahel-Sahara Region," *Jean-Luc Peduzzi*;
- "Tuaregs and Arabs in the Colonial and Malian Armed Forces. An Illusive History," *Charles Grémont*;
- "Tuareg Relationships with States: The Case of Algeria and Libya," *Badi Dida*.

#### Migrations and Co-development (Christophe Bertossi)

This research area concerns the transformation of migration issues in North African countries in light of the new geography of migrations between Sub-Saharan Africa and EU countries. In response to these geographic developments (the emergence of transit migrations in North Africa, the recent connection of Sub-Saharan Africa to international migrations, etc.), EU countries, supported by Community institutions, are taking a "global" approach to migrations, and developing partnerships with countries of origin and transit states, in order to govern migratory flows. One of the objectives of the research is thus to deconstruct the notion of "co-development," a concept over which most parties seem in agreement as far as the definition of Europe's immigration policies for the next few decades is concerned, but whose contours and content remain vague.

**Economics** (Ivan Martin and François Nicolas, under the scientific direction of Jacques Mistral)

This research area analyses the issue of North African regional integration, works to optimize the triangular economic relationship between EU/North Africa/Sub-Saharan Africa and more generally studies North Africa's integration into the global economy. It also focuses on the economic strategies of actors from outside the region, whether long-standing partners (Europe) or newcomers (the United States, China, India) and their compatibility and ability to complement one another.

A day-and-a-half-long seminar, "Between Crisis and Globalization: the Role of North Africa in the Global Economy," was organized in Casablanca in December, in partnership with the Centre marocain de conjoncture, and gathered North African and European researchers and experts. It dealt with the experience and potential of North Africa compared to other regions of the world and discussed the growing economic presence of China and India in North African countries as well as the economic relationship with Gulf countries and the United States. It also assessed the economic reach of North African countries in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Four policy papers will be published:

- "American Economic Action in North Africa: a Strategic Option," *Kassim Bouhou*;
- "Strategies and Presence of Gulf Countries in North Africa," *Radhi Meddeb*;
- "Chinese and Indian Economic Influence in North Africa," *Françoise Nicolas*;
- "The Economic Reach of North African Countries in Sub-Saharan Africa," *Nezha Alaoui M'Hammdi.*

India (Gilles Boquérat)

Post-liberalization India has emerged today, recording growth rates ranking just behind China, as a place for foreign companies to invest, as a market to penetrate or as a production site. Similarly, Indian companies are seeking to be active outside the national territory through acquisitions and joint ventures. Beneath all the hype, what is it really all about? The goal is to analyze, from a comparative perspective, the importance of the Indian economy in the world, through its capacity to create investment opportunities, to affect global finance and to project its businesses abroad.

#### **Seminars and Debates**

April 17 – United States/North Africa: Issues and Perspectives

Seminar conducted by *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, Ifri, and *Gema Martin-Munoz*, Director-General, Casa Arabe, Madrid.

With Alan Pino, National Intelligence Council, Washington, Stephanie Williams, US Department of State, Washington, Philip Naylor, Associate Professor, Marquette University, Milwaukee (Wisconsin), Jean-Pierre Filiu, Research Fellow, Sciences Po Paris, François Raffenne, Ministry of Defense, Ihsane El Kadi, Journalist, Afkar, Algiers, Abdenour Keramane, former Minister of Industry and Energy, Algeria, Director of the journal Medenergie, Francis Ghiles, Research Fellow, Barcelona Center for International Affairs (CIDOB), Moulay Driss Alaoui M'Daghri, former Minister, Professor, Al Akhawayn University, Casablanca, Amar Drissi, Executive Vice President, OCP Group, Casablanca, Azzedine Layachi, Professor, St John's University, New York, Chekib Nouira, President, The Arab Institute of Business Managers, Tunis, Paul Burkhead, Office of the United States Trade Representative, Washington,

Pierre Thénard, French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Associate Researcher, Sciences Po Paris, Abdeslam Maghraoui, Professor, Duke University, Durham, Eric Goldstein, Research Director, Human Rights Watch, Washington, I. William Zartman, Professor Emeritus, School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University, Washington, Isaias Barrenada, Casa Arabe, and Amine Ait Chaalal, Director, Research Centre for International Crises and Conflicts, Catholic University of Louvain.

#### **International Conferences**

October 10 – The Place and Role of Businessmen in North Africa, Casablanca

Ifri/HEM CESEM seminar conducted by *Khadija Mohsen-Finan* and *Driss Ksik*es, Director of CESEM and the journal *Economia*.

With Hassan Sayarh, Deputy Director-General, Institute for Advanced Management Studies (HEM), Rabat, Myriam Catusse, CNRS, Beirut, Mohamed Bahloul, Economics Professor, Mahmoud Ben Romdhane. Economics Professor, University of Tunis, Karim Tazi, Director-General, Richbond, Casablanca, Amar Drissi, Executive Vice President, OCP Group, Casablanca, Moulay Driss Alaoui M'Daghri, President, Association marocaine d'intelligence économique (AMIE), Casablanca, Mohamed Madoui, National Conservatory of Arts and Crafts (CNAM), Paris, Akram Belkaid, Writer. Journalist, Paris, Francis Ghiles, Research Fellow, CIDOB, Barcelona, Chekib Nouira, President, The Arab Institute of Business Managers, Tunis, Slim Othmani. Director-General, NCA Rouiba, Vice President, CARE, Algiers, Hamid Bouidar, Consultant, Casablanca, and Fatima Lahnait, Paris IV-Paris-Sorbonne University.

December 14-15 – Between Crisis and Globalization: the Role of North Africa in the Global Economy, Casablanca Ifri/CMC seminar conducted by *Jacques Mistral* and *Ifri* wan Martin, Ifri.

With Habib El Malki, President, Centre marocain de conjoncture (CMC), Rabat, Jacques Ould Aoudia, Representative, Forward Studies Unit, Ministry of the Economy, Finance, and Employment, Paris, Maria Inmaculada Montero-Luque, DG Trade, European Commission. M'hammed Tahraoui. Institut national de statistique et d'économie appliquée (INSEA), CMC, Radhi Meddeb. Director-General. Institut de prospective économique du monde méditerranéen (IPEMED), Paris, Moulay Driss Alaoui M'Daghri, President, Association marocaine d'intelligence économique, Ahmed Laaboudi, Economist, CMC, Jamila Chekrouni, Expert, CMC. Mohammed Belmahi. President. OCP Group. Henri Regnault, Professor, University of Pau and the Pays de l'Adour, Mohamed Benayad, Secretary General, National Council of External Trade (CNCE), Rabat, Karima Bounemra Ben Soltane, Director, North Africa Desk, Economic Commission of Africa (ECA), Nezha Alaoui, Research Fellow, Mohammed V University, Rabat, Yahya Abou El Farah, Director, Institute of African Studies (IEA), Rabat, Abdelmalek Alaoui, Associate Manager, Global Intelligence Partners, Fathallah Oualalou, President, Urban Commune of Rabat, former Minister of Finance, Khadija Mohsen-Finan and Françoise Nicolas, Ifri.

Middle East/North Africa/Mediterranean

# Contemporary Turkey Program

The year 2009 marked a turning point for Turkey in many respects. If prospects for economic recovery in 2010 are excellent, the country has temporarily fallen into a crisis, posting record unemployment rates. From the point of view of domestic politics, the AKP government struggles to deal with major challenges such as the Kurdish issue, while the developments of the "clean hands" Ergenekon trial are spinning out of control, raising fears of a renewed confrontation between civilian and military powers.

Now that it has finally arrived upon the international scene, Turkey has demonstrated audacity on the Armenian issue and has shifted its regional priorities toward the Middle East at the risk of alienating some Western support.

Therefore, it is more difficult than ever to decipher the dynamics of the change that has been happening for several years now. The "Contemporary Turkey" program has two goals: to revise the tools used for analysis and the concepts that are traditionally applied to Turkey, in order to move past reductionist clichés and to move toward more effective understanding; to promote Franco-Turkish dialogue through diverse partnerships. The "Season of Turkey in France," which began in July, offers a favorable framework for these goals.

#### Team



**Dorothée Schmid**, Research Fellow, Head of the Program

Areas of expertise: Turkey, diplomacy, Franco-Turkish relations, Mediterranean, EU policies in the Middle East



**Nur Bolat**, Research Assistant **Areas of expertise**: political life in Turkey, Turkey/EU relations

#### **Research Areas**

For its second year of operation, the program organized several seminars and launched new publications. Two components of the "Franco-Turkish Dialogue" initiated by Ifri were particularly active.

#### Franco-Turkish Political Dialogue

Given the ongoing French-Turkish tensions at the diplomatic level, the program plans to open up debate between researchers, politicians and civil society players from the two countries, so as to clarify certain contentious issues.

In the spring, two seminars gathered well-known specialists around renewed themes of Turkish diplomacy and the impact of the global financial crisis in Turkey.

In the fall, the conference presenting the report of the Independent Commission on Turkey, chaired by the Nobel Peace Prize winner Martti Ahtisaari, brought together nearly 200 people at Ifri in order to revive the debate on Turkish accession to the EU.

For a dinner debate in October, *Thierry de Montbrial* hosted President Abdullah Gül, on an official visit to France for the inauguration of the cultural program "Season of Turkey."

In November, *Dorothée Schmid* spoke in front of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the National Assembly about developments in Turkish diplomacy.

#### Franco-Turkish Media Dialogue

In order to efficiently promote dialogue between the civil societies, it is necessary to understand the role that the media plays in constructing superficial images. Currently, despite an undeniable interest on both sides, contacts between journalists of both countries remain insufficient. To respond to this, Ifri is working to create an informal group of French-Turkish media that will provide a forum for debate over common current events and issues.

Two sessions of this dialogue, organized in partnership with the Turkish Foundation for Economic and Social Studies (TESEV), took place: one in Paris, and the other in Istanbul. Ten prominent French journalists participated in a press trip organized in Istanbul, where they were able to interact with their counterparts from the world of print and broadcast media in Turkey.

#### **Contemporary Turkey Observatory**

The publication activities of the Contemporary Turkey Observatory also began with the launch of an electronic series on Franco-Turkish relations, the "Notes franco-turques," and the continued publication of "Repères sur la Turquie" (brief analyses of current Turkish affairs).

#### **Electronic Publications**

• "Notes franco-turgues" Series

"Les Turcs et la France : le regard de deux communautés": "Les immigrés originaires de Turquie en France : dynamiques et paradoxes," *Gaye Petek*, and "Les francophones turcs et la France : une ressource non renouvelable," *Nicole Pope*, n° 1, December.



#### • "Repères sur la Turquie" Series

"L'AKP face au tabou kurde," *Dorothée Schmid*, n° 3, June.

#### • Other Publication

"La Turquie pendant la présidence française de l'Union européenne," minutes of the session held at the Senate in December 2008.

#### **Articles**

"Moyen-Orient/Maghreb. La crise perpétuelle?," Loulouwa Al-Rachid and Dorothée Schmid, in RAMSES 2010 (introduction to the "Middle East/North Africa" section).

"Les fonds souverains arabes. Une indépendance problématique ?," *Loulouwa Al-Rachid* and *Dorothée Schmid*. in *RAMSES 2010*.

#### **Outside Publications**

"L'Union pour la Méditerranée : coup d'essai de la diplomatie sarkozienne ?," *Dorothée Schmid*, in *Annuaire français des relations internationales*, Brussels, Bruylant.

"The Union for the Mediterranean: Changing the Name or Changing the Game?," *Dorothée Schmid*, in *Hellenic Studies*. August.

"Du processus de Barcelone à l'Union pour la Méditerranée : changement de nom ou de fond ?," Dorothée Schmid, in Questions internationales, March.

"La politique méditerranéenne de l'UE, au risque de l'Union pour la Méditerranée," *Dorothée Schmid*, in *Actes du VII<sup>e</sup> séminaire de sécurité et de défense*, Barcelona, CIDOB.

#### **Conferences, Seminars, and Round Tables**

May 20 - The New Diplomatic Weight of Turkey

Around a delegation of members of parliament on the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, chaired by *Murat Mercan*, AKP.

May 28 - French-Turkish Media Dialogue

Second Journalists Meeting with *Kadri Gürsel*, Journalist, Head of the Foreign Policy section, *Milliyet*.

May 29 - Turkey in the Face of the Economic Crisis

With *Deniz Unal*, Economist at CEPII, *Kadri Gürsel*, Journalist at *Milliyet*, *Serap Atan*, Representative of the Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association (TÜSIAD) in Paris, and *Yves Zlotowski*, Chief Economist, Coface.

September 9 – Turkey in Europe: Break the Vicious Circle

Presentation of the report by the Independent Commission on Turkey.

With the participation of *Martti Ahtisaari*, former President of Finland, *Emma Bonino*, Member of the Italian Senate, former European Commissioner, *Marcelino Oreja Aguirre*, former Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs, former European Commissioner, *Michel Rocard*, former Prime Minister, and *Albert Rohan*, former Director-General of the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

November 25 - Iraq 2010: Year Zero?

With Loulouwa Al-Rachid, Senior Research Analyst on Iraq, International Crisis Group (ICG).

#### Marcelino Oreja Aguirre, Martti Ahtisaari, Albert Rohan



Marcelino Oreja Aguirre, Martti Ahtisaari, Dominique Moïsi, Michel Rocard, Emma Bonino, Albert Rohan



#### **International Seminar**

October 1-2 – Press Trip, Istanbul Seminar in the framework of the "Franco-Turkish Media Dialogue."

Meeting with Turkish journalists working for daily newspapers (Hürriyet Daily News, Radikal, Referans, Star, Today's Zaman) and television (CNN Türk, NTV).

With Catherine Boullay (Europe 1), Sara Daniel (Le Nouvel Observateur), Philippe Gélie (Le Figaro), Vincent Hervouet (LCI), Jacques Hubert-Rodier (Les Échos), Harold Hyman (BFM TV), Jean-Marc Illouz (France 2), Christian Makarian (L'Express), Marc Semo (Libération), and Delphine Simon (France Inter).

Mensur Akgün, Mustafa Akyol, Rusen Cakir, Dorothée Schmid



#### **Africa**

# Sub-Saharan Africa Program

Ifri's Sub-Saharan Africa program was created at the end of 2007. Its objective is to revise the tools that policy makers, journalists and the general public use to analyze and understand the African continent, notably by highlighting the French and international research on the subject and by bringing together different types of expertise (researchers, military actors, bureaucrats, businessmen, NGOs, etc.), unfamiliar with common platforms. By producing and widely disseminating high-quality expertise, the program aims to renew public interest in Africa and to contribute to the emergence of new, betterinformed and more effective policies vis-àvis Africa, at a time when the continent is evolving at a fast pace, often in deep and contrasting ways.

#### Team



**Alain Antil**, Research Fellow, Head of program

Areas of expertise: Mauritania, Sahel, West Africa, political and social issues, security



**Sylvain Touati**, Assistant Research Fellow

Areas of expertise: Mali, West Africa, electoral issues, France's Africa policies

**Thierry Vircoulon**, Associate Researcher **Areas of expertise**: South Africa, Africa, conflicts, conflict prevention and resolution

#### **Research Areas**

Sub-Saharan Africa is rapidly changing. Its population will double by 2020, and the continent at large is becoming rapidly urbanized. Sub-regional powers are asserting their leadership and new forms of religion are emerging at the same time as new forms of solidarity. Ideologies are at the heart of the construction of new identities—religion, increasingly anti-Western discourse, agrarian and nationalist ideologies, etc. In addition, foreign actors, new and old, are fighting for influence in Africa, reviving an old struggle forgotten since the end of the Cold War: former colonial powers, former superpowers, China, Libya, Algeria, Morocco, India, Iran, Brazil, Japan, South Korea, etc.

Will the state in Sub-Saharan Africa simply become one institution among the many that control and organize society (community associations, churches, traditional chiefs, warlords), or will it retain its dominance? What role will competition for agricultural land play in future conflicts? What will be the consequences of the presence of an increasing number of young men who are now less integrated into family structures and the local economic fabric, and thus easier to mobilize for political, military or other reasons? Will the tensions over raw materials and fossil fuels confine these countries to a vicious circle of debtor economics, in a new chess game between economic powers ready to secure their supplies at all costs? How will the increasing infrastructure needs (education, health, roads, water distribution, etc.), created by demographic explosion and rapid urbanization, be paid for?

These issues are addressed through three research areas:

- The evolution of the state in Sub-Saharan Africa, notably when confronted with the emergence of oligarchic powers; the evolution of power during elections and the establishment of flexible types of democracy;
- The growth of new ideologies (nationalism, demands for self-determination, anti-Western discourse); religion models (fundamentalist Islam, Evangelical Protestantism) and their impact on the political landscape;
- Africa in international relations, the Africa policies of Africa's traditional partners and of emerging actors; rising competition over the continent's resources.

#### **Electronic Publications**

• "Notes de l'Ifri" Series

Réformer le « peacemaking » en République démocratique du Congo : quand les processus de paix deviennent des systèmes d'action internationaux, *Thierry Vircoulon*, February.

Le Kivu, charnière entre l'Atlantique et l'Océan Indien, *Cvril Musila*. April.

Contrôler les trafics ou perdre le Nord. Notes sur les trafics en Mauritanie, *Alain Antil*, July.

Mobilisations identitaires dans l'Afrique contemporaine : la question de l'autochtonie, *Alain Antil*, August.

De Thabo Mbeki à Jacob Zuma : quelle sera la nouvelle vision de l'Afrique du Sud ?, *Thierry Vircoulon*, October.

Les questions foncières rurales comme facteur de crise en Afrique subsaharienne : Afrique du Sud, Côte d'Ivoire, Kenya, *Nancy Andrew, Alfred Babo*, *Claire Médard* and *Alain Antil*, December.

#### • "Actuelles de l'Ifri" Series

The series "L'Afrique en questions" presents interviews with experts on African issues, carried out by the program's researchers.

 $\begin{tabular}{ll} \textbf{Crise malgache}, interview with $\textit{Mathieu Pellerin}$, $n^\circ 5$, \\ \textbf{February}. \end{tabular}$ 

Le Zimbabwe après la nomination du gouvernement d'union nationale : quelles perspectives ?, interview with *Thierry Vircoulon*, n° 6. April.



#### **Articles**

"Afrique. Le retour des militaires ? Une fausse question," *Alain Antil*, in *RAMSES 2010* (introduction to the "Africa" section).

"La crise alimentaire. Prix alimentaires : une tendance à la hausse," *Alain Antil*, in *RAMSES 2010*.

#### **Outside Publications**

"Non, mon Président! Oui, mon Général! Retour sur l'expérience et la chute du président Sidi Ould Cheikh Abdallahi," *Alain Antil*, in *L'Année du Maghreb*, Paris, CNRS Éditions.

"Les élections de juillet 2009 en République islamique de Mauritanie – La 'rectification' de la démocratie," Alain Antil. in Afkar Idées. Barcelona. IEMED.

#### **Seminars**

March 30 – Anglo-French Meetings About African Crises

Organized jointly with Chatham House.

With Roland Marchal, Research Director, CERI, Paris, Marielle Debos, Sciences Po Paris, Anne Le More, Research Fellow, Chatham House, London, Colonel Pascal Facon, Ministry of Defense, Sandrine Perrot, Research Fellow, CERI, Tim Allen, Research Fellow, London School of Economics, Eddie Thomas, Consultant, Damien Helly, Research Fellow, European Union Institute for Security Studies (IESUE), Paris, Sylvie More, Research Fellow, Netherlands Institute of International Relations (Clingendael), The Hague, and Thierry Vircoulon, Ifri.

June 12 – Democratization, Development, and Governance Reforms in the Democratic Republic of the Congo: the Work of the International Community Seen From Below

With David Ambrosetti, Researcher, CNRS, Alexis Bouvy, Technical/Analysis Advisor, Life and Peace Institute (IVP), Uppsala, Rory Keane, The International Network on Conflict and Fragility (INCAF), Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Marc André Lagrange, Expert on Emergency Humanitarian Relief, Chief of Mission, International Committee for the Development of Peoples (CISP),

Rome, Florence Liégeois, Head of RDC, RCN Justice & Democracy program, Brussels, Véronique Moufflet, Protection Coordinator for CISP, Steven Spittaels, Research Fellow, International Peace Information Service (IPIS), Antwerp, Théodore Trefon, Department Head, Royal Museum for Central Africa, Tervuren (Belgium), Bill Yates, International Alert, London, and Thierry Vircoulon, Ifri.

#### September 25 - The Ivorian Electoral Process

With Thomas Hofnung, Libération, Massaër Diallo, Sahel and West Africa Club (OECD), and Christian Bouquet, Bordeaux III-Michel de Montaigne University.

### November 5 – Developments in the Gabonese System

With Guy Rossatanga-Rignault, University of Libreville, Roland Pourtier, Paris I-Panthéon-Sorbonne University, Douglas Yates, American University in Paris, and François Gaulme, French Development Agency (AFD).

#### **Conferences-Debates**

February 17 – Debate on the Parliamentary Report "France's Policies in Africa"

With Jean-Louis Christ, Deputy, President of the parliamentary information mission on "France's Policies in Africa," Sébastien Fourmy, Oxfam France – Agir Ici, and Roland Marchal, CNRS/CERI.

March 9 – The Global Economic Crisis: Impacts on Sub-Saharan Africa

With Shanta Devarajan, Chief Economist for Africa, World Bank, Washington.

May 7 – South African Elections in 2009: New Country, New ANC or New Opposition?

With Thierry Vircoulon, Ifri.

October 22 – Prospects for Democratic Governance in Guinea-Conakry

With Sidya Touré, former Prime Minister of Guinea, President of the Union of Republican Forces (UFR).

#### **International Interventions**

February 5 – Political and Legal Aspects of the Mauritanian Crisis

Participation of *Alain Antil*: "Why Has the Mauritanian Military Not Left Power Since 1978?," College of Inter-disciplinary Studies of the Jean Monnet Faculty, Paris XI-Paris-Sud University.

March 4 – Governance Methods and Political Change in North Africa

Participation of *Alain Antil*: "Governance in Mauritania," IEMed, Barcelona.

#### **United States**

# United States Program

The political evolution and choices of the United States continue to be of foremost importance in the world today. Wavering between fascination and aversion for this country, France sorely lacks real perspective to analyze and understand American power from within. In order to correct this knowledge gap, Ifri is renewing an extensive program focusing on the United States. Within France, Ifri aims to be the most reliable expert on the United States by the time of the next American presidential campaign (2012), with the support of a team of multidisciplinary researchers.

#### Team



**Jacques Mistral**, Scientific Advisor for the program



**Laurence Nardon**, Research Fellow, Head of program

Céline Bochet, Assistant

#### **Research Areas**

#### **Domestic Politics**

The evolution of federal institutions (the Presidency, Congress and the Supreme Court) and the federal system, political issues (the Democrats in power, the future of the Republican Party), the role of judicial institutions in the development of American political thought.

#### Foreign and Defense Policies

Middle East (Israel, Iran, Iraq), Afghanistan/Pakistan, Russia. China/Taiwan.

#### **Economic and Finance Policies**

Monetary policy, the stimulus plan, regulation/deregulation issues, energy policy, etc.

#### Social and Cultural Issues

Ethnic minorities, religion, moral issues, the role of media and new technologies.

#### Transatlantic Relations

Relationship of American political figures with European institutions and countries (Germany, United Kingdom, new member states), with a special focus on the French-American relationship (anti-Americanism and the American Dream, Francophilia and Francophobia).

#### American Leadership

The issue of how the United States wields its power on the international scene cuts across all these themes. For example, executive decisions in terms of foreign policy or the economic stimulus are eventually adopted by Congressional Committees, who often retain a purely national perspective.

#### **Electronic Publications**

#### • "Potomac Papers" Series

New electronic series launched in 2009.

À la veille de Copenhague, Obama et l'environnement, *Yves-Marie Pereon*, November.

#### • "Chroniques électorales américaines" Series

Series written since 2007 by *Anne Toulouse*, RFI correspondent in Washington.

La défense, April.

La politique étrangère, June.

Le système judiciaire américain, October.

#### • "Actuelles de l'Ifri" Series

L'Amérique et le défi chinois, *Jacques Mistral*, December. Les projets du nouveau président, *Anne Toulouse*, January.

L'aura présidentielle, Anne Toulouse, February.

#### **Articles**

"États-Unis. Obama, Bush et la 'résilience américaine'," *Laurence Nardon*, in *RAMSES 2010* (introduction to the "United States" section).

"Relations transatlantiques. La confiance renouée," *Laurence Nardon*, in *RAMSES 2010*.

#### **Outside Publication**

"Face à la crise, l'amorce d'une troisième révolution américaine," *Jacques Mistral*, in *Politique américaine*, n° 13, Spring-Summer.

#### **Conferences**

The summary of each event is published online.

#### An American Renaissance

Series of seminars organized in collaboration with the French-American Foundation–France (FAF–Fr)

#### May 26 – Will President Obama's Economic Policy Pull the American Economy out of the Crisis?

With Jean-Claude Gruffat, Director-General, Citigroup, Éric Chaney, Chief Economist, AXA Group, Bruce Crumley, Head of Paris Office, Time Magazine, Seth Winnick, Minister-Counselor for Economic Affairs, United States Embassy in France, and William Adams, University of Michigan.

## June 23 – A Look at New Trends in American Foreign Policy

With John D. Negroponte, former Deputy Secretary General, François Bujon de l'Estang, President of Citigroup France, Edward J. Cody, Washington Post, Paris, and Axel Krause, Secretary General of the Anglo-American Press Association.

July 8 – America Confronted with the Asian Challenge With Dominique Moïsi, Ifri.

#### September 14 – The Political Comeback in Washington

With Bernard E. Brown, City University of New York, Laurent Cohen-Tanugi, Lawyer in Paris and New York, Stuart Haugen, President, Republicans Abroad France, John E. Rielly, Northwestern University and Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, and Dominique Moïsi, Ifri.

## October 23 – A New American Foreign Policy: Is Obama Weak?

With Simon Serfaty, Professor at the University of Norfolk, Brzezinski Chair, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Washington.

## November 19 – Healthcare Reform, Obama's Big Challenge

With Howard H. Dean, former Governor of Vermont and Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and Jean Marimbert, Director-General, Agence française de sécurité sanitaire des produits de santé (AFSSAPS).

#### **International Conference**

December 10-11 – One Year After the Election of Barack Obama, What Is the Extent of Change? Annual Conference of the United States program.

With Thierry de Montbrial, Charles Rivkin, United States Ambassador in France, Eugene J. Dionne, The Washington Post, André Kaspi, Professor Emeritus, Paris I-Panthéon-Sorbonne University, Justin Vaïsse, The Brookings Institution, Washington, François Bujon de l'Estang, President of Citigroup France, William Burns, Illinois General Assembly, Orlando Patterson, Harvard University, Daniel Sabbagh, CERI/Sciences Po Paris, Peter Schuck, Yale Law School, Moreno Bertoldi, Head of unit "America and Asia," European Commission, Anton Brender, Director of Economic Studies, Dexia Asset Management, Seth D. Winnick. Minister-Counselor for Economic Affairs. United States Embassy in France, Jean-Claude Gruffat, Director-General of Citigroup France, President of the American Chamber of Commerce in France (AmCham), Richard Burt, Executive Director, McLarty Associates, David P. Calleo. Director of European Studies. SAIS. Johns Hopkins University, Washington, Anatol Lieven, King's College, London, Lise Hartman de Fouchier, French-American Foundation France, John Bruton, former Prime Minister of Ireland and EU Ambassador to the United States (2004-2009), Hubert Védrine, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, France, Dominique Moïsi, Jacques Mistral, and Laurence Nardon, Ifri.

#### Jacques Mistral, Charles Rivkin, Thierry de Montbrial



Moreno Bertoldi, Jean-Claude Gruffat, Seth D. Winnick, Anton Brender



#### Hubert Védrine, Laurence Nardon



## Center for Security Studies Defense Research Unit (LRD)

Since the 1990s, the Center for Security Studies has contributed to strategic security analysis in France and Europe through its original research, publications (articles and books in French and English) and private and focused seminars, bringing together public and private policy makers and initiating debate.

The clean lines of the Cold War have been superseded by crises and conflicts that involve heterogeneous actors and evolving strategies. As a consequence, security issues today require an integrated approach that takes into account both regional and global aspects, political and military as well as media and human dynamics, and even terrorism and post-conflict stabilization.

#### Team



Étienne de Durand, Research Fellow, Director of the Center and the Defense Research Unit (LRD)

Areas of expertise: strategic issues, French and American defense policies, the "transformation"

of force structures, major military interventions (Afghanistan, Iraq), proliferation of weapons of mass destruction



Marc Hecker, Research Fellow Areas of expertise: terrorism, asymmetrical conflicts



Corentin Brustlein, Research Fellow, part of the LRD and the "Proliferation" program

Areas of expertise: military transformation, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, strategic theory

Aline Leboeuf, Research Fellow with the LRD

Areas of expertise: evolution of conflicts, postconflict stabilization and reconstruction, African conflicts

Also in charge of the "Health and Environment" program

**Anne-Henry Budan de Russé**, Army Field Officer, Research Fellow with the LRD

Areas of expertise: military transformation, contemporary stabilization operations, the capacity approach of Western armed forces, French and European defense and security policies

**Pierre Chareyron**, Army Field Officer, Research Fellow with the LRD

Areas of expertise: French, British, and American defense policies, contemporary military interventions, counter-insurrection

Krzysztof Soloch, Associate Research Fellow

Areas of expertise: European security issues (NATO and the CFSP), Polish foreign and security policy, democratic transitions in Eastern Europe, policies East of the EU and energy security

Françoise Thomas, Assistant

#### **Research Areas**

The Center for Security Studies aims to study traditional defense issues, analyze the evolution of the security field and anticipate future developments in conflict. Our programs are long-term oriented. They are multidisciplinary by nature and require regular collaboration with other research programs at Ifri.

#### The Evolution of Conflicts

Study of nonconventional forms of conflict (terrorism, insurrections, asymmetrical conflict); analysis of long-term conflict perspectives; human security issues.

#### The Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction

In particular through a permanent program in cooperation with the French Atomic Energy Commission (CEA).

#### **Analysis of Major Security Policies**

This area includes both general themes (transatlantic relations and European security) and strategic regional studies carried out in cooperation with other Ifri programs.

## The Evolution of Force Structures and Methods of Intervention

"Military transformation," foreign interventions and stabilization operations from actual stabilization up to reconstruction and exit strategies. The LRD was specifically created to focus on these issues.

#### **Defense Research Unit (LRD)**

One of the most significant consequences of the geostrategic changes that have occurred in recent years is the escalation of military interventions around the world. However, there is a profound lack of debate in France on the strategic and operational implications of this phenomenon.

This is why the Defense Research Unit (Laboratoire de recherche sur la défense, LRD in French) was created at Ifri. Its unique and innovative objectives and structure allow LRD to bring together civil and military experts from Ifri, the Army, and occasional outside partners.

The LRD makes recommendations addressed to all security actors through its original research that is not tied to any institution.

The Center for Security Studies and the Defense Research Unit publish two electronic series: "Proliferation Papers" and "Focus stratégique." It also organizes open or closed seminars, lunches and dinners with international experts.

#### Book

War 2.0: Irregular Warfare in the Information Age, *Marc Hecker* and *Thomas Rid*, Wesport, Praeger.



#### **Electronic Publications**

• "Proliferation Papers" Series

Heading for the Fourth Nuclear Age,  $Ariel\ E.\ Levite,$   $n^\circ$  24, January.

The Evolution of the North Korean Nuclear Crisis: Implications for Iran, *Chung Min Lee*, n° 25, February.

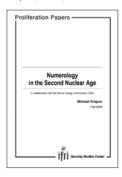
Strategic Stability Reconsidered: Prospects for Escalation and Nuclear War in the Middle East, *James A. Russell*, n° 26, March.

The World After: Proliferation, Deterrence and Disarmament If the Nuclear Taboo Is Broken, *Mark Fitzpatrick*, n° 27, June.

Dangerous Weapons in Dangerous Hands. Responding to the Challenges of Chemical and Biological Terrorism, *Michael Moodie*, n° 28, July.

The Path to Deep Nuclear Reductions. Dealing with American Conventional Superiority, *Dennis M. Gormley*, n° 29, September.

Numerology in the Second Nuclear Age, *Mikael Krepon*, n° 30, October.



#### • "Focus stratégique" Series

Entre développement et sécurité : les interventions allemandes en crise, *Aline Leboeuf*, n° 13, January.

Pakistan : du désordre à la guerre civile, *Laurent Gayer*, n° 14, February.

Achats en urgence vs. programmation : l'efficacité des opérations d'armement en temps de guerre, Louis-Marie Clouet, n° 15, April.

Candide in Congo. The Expected Failure of Security Sector Reform (SSR), *Sébastien Melmot*, n° 9bis, April. Transformation et contre-insurrection: implications capacitaires pour les forces terrestres occidentales, *Anne-Henry de Russé*, n° 16, June.

Le feu dans le modèle de guerre occidental : de l'intégration tactique aux dommages collatéraux, Laurent Fromaget, n° 17, July.

La protection du territoire national par l'armée de terre. Fondements, limites et perspectives, *Marie-Dominique Charlier*, n° 18, November.



#### **Articles**

"Politique de défense. Révision budgétaire et redéfinition stratégique," *Anne-Henry de Russé*, in *BAMSES 2010*.

"L'Alliance atlantique 1949-2009," preparation of the summary of the special issue of *Politique étrangère*, 4/2009, with the collaboration of *Krzysztof Soloch*.

#### **Outside Publications**

#### • Corentin Brustlein

"L'apothéose de la manœuvre ? Retour sur les fondements et limites de la « guerre éclair »," in *Christian Malis* (ed.), *Guerre et manœuvre*, Paris, Economica.

#### • Étienne de Durand

"Maneuver Warfare, entre Vietnam et transformation," in *Christian Malis* (ed.), *Guerre et manœuvre*, Paris, Fconomica

"Stabilization Operations in the Era of 'New Wars'," Proceedings of the NIDS symposium on Peace Operations, Tokyo, NIDS.

#### Marc Hecker and Thomas Rid

"Jihadistes de tous les pays, dispersez-vous !," in *Politique internationale*, n° 123, Spring.

"Virtueller Erfolg. Terrorismus- und Aufstandsbekämpfung im 21 Jahrhundert," in *International Politik*, July-August.

"Communication en opérations extérieures : évolution du traitement médiatique des operations," in *Les documents du C2SD*, n° 102.

"The Terror Fringe," in Policy Review, n° 158.

#### **Seminar, Round Tables**

Closed Seminars in the Framework of the "Proliferation" Program
In partnership with the CEA.

March 13 – A New Nuclear North Korea and Future US Strategy: Weighing the Options

With Jonathan D. Pollack, Professor, US Naval War College, Newport.

May 29 – Conventional Strike Operations and Counter Proliferation

With Dennis M. Gormley, Research Fellow, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies (CNS), Washington.

June 26 – Russian and Chinese Nuclear Postures in 2025

With Nicolas Bronard, Strategic Affairs Delegation (DAS), Ministry of Defense, Major Emmanuel Carlier, DAS, Ministry of Defense, Thérèse Delpech, Director of Strategic Studies, CEA, Muriel Domenach, Deputy Director of the Analysis and Forecasting Center (CAP), French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Colonel Michel Fritsch. DAS. Ministry of Defense. Lvdie Gérard. Military Applications Division of the CEA (CEA/DAM), Mikael Krepon, Henry L. Stimson Center, Washington, Bobo Lo, Centre for European Reform (CER), London, Daniel Malys, CEA/DAM, Pavel Podvig, Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC), Stanford, Michel Richard, CEA/DAM, Olivier Sigaud, Secretary General of National Defense (SGDN), Bernard Sitt, Director, Centre d'études de sécurité internationale et de maîtrise des armements (CESIM), Mark Stokes, Project 2049 Institute. Arlington. Alexandre Thibault. General Delegation for Ordnance (DGA), Ministry of Defense, and Jing-Dong Yuan, CNS, Monterey.

## September 14 – The Nuclear Dimension of the Crisis in Pakistan

With *Pervez Hoodboy*, Chairman, Department of Physics, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.

November 24 – The Strategic Consequences of the Nuclear Energy Revival

With Charles D. Ferguson, Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), Professor, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University and National Security Studies Program, Johns Hopkins University.

#### **LRD Seminars**

May 18 - Drones, New Strategic Frontiers?

With Lieutenant-Colonel Boué, Program Coherence Officer, Armed Forces Staff, Jean Caron, Military Air Systems, EADS, Olivier Reichert, Head of Business Development and Studies program, Drone Program Management, Sagem, Lieutenant Commander Marc Grozel, Navy Staff, Yves Payen, Head of the Drones Division, Thales, and Brien Alkire, Researcher at the RAND Corporation.

July 6 – The Human Terrain System (HTS): a US Response to Insurgencies?

With *Montgomery McFate*, Anthropologist, and Colonel *Steve Fondacaro*, Director of the HTS Program (US Army).

#### **LRD Conference**

February 5 - NATO: Five Years in Afghanistan

With General Karl W. Elkenberry, Deputy Chairman of the NATO Military Committee in Brussels and former Commander in Chief of Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan.

Karl W. Eikenberry, Dominique David



Dinner with General Karl W. Eikenberry



#### **Brown Bag Seminars**

January 22 – The Strategic Impact of Future Technologies

With Ruth David, Chief Executive Officer, Analytic Services Inc. (ANSER), Arlington.

March 12 – Towards an Obsolete Western Military Model?

With Étienne de Durand, Ifri.

April 30 – Scenarios for Chinese Power by 2020 and the Impact on the Balance of Global Power

With Valérie Niquet, Ifri.

May 14 – Anticipate and Prepare for Future Threats With Prefect *Bernard Boubé* (H.C.), former Director of SGDN

June 11 – France in Search of a Better Forecasting Tool: What Are the Options?

With Francis Gutmann, French Ambassador.

September 24 - Fighting Piracy

With Captain *Christophe Pipolo*, Advisor for Military Affairs and Security, Strategic Studies Unit, French Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

October 29 - The "Drug War" in Mexico

With Mark Joyce, Associate Research Fellow at the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) and Analyst, Stirling Assynt, London.

November 12 - The End of Conflict in Sri Lanka?

With Éric Meyer, Director of the South Asia Department at INALCO, and Eleanor Pavey, The International Security Sector Advisory Team (ISSAT), Geneva.

December 17 – Towards the End of FARC?

With Lieutenant-Colonel *Jérôme Cario*, Centre de doctrine d'emploi des forces (CDEF).

#### **International Interventions**

February 3 – International Symposium on Security Affairs 2009 on the Role of the Military in Peacebuilding, NIDS, Tokyo

Participation of Étienne de Durand, "Stabilization Operation and Alliance Management: French Perspective."

March 30-31 – The Afghanistan Crisis: Regional and International Dimensions, Madrid

Seminar organized by the Foundation for International Relations and External Dialogue (FRIDE).

Participation of Étienne de Durand, "The Military and Strategic Situation."

April 23 – First Military Committee Symposium Symposium organized by NATO.

Participation of Étienne de Durand, "New Strategic Concept."

May 26-27 - Russia, Europe, and the Transatlantic Alliance, Berlin

Conference organized by the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung.

July 6 – Communication in Conflicts Today, NATO Library, Brussels

Presentation by Marc Hecker of the book War 2.0: Irrequiar Warfare in the Information Age.

## Space Program

One of the world's leading space powers, Europe regularly combines industrial accomplishments (Ariane, telecommunications satellites, Galileo) with scientific missions and the exploration of the universe. It plays a decisive role in making space safe through the EU's Space Code of Conduct, adopted in December 2008. Analyzing the decision-making process and the wide range of stakes involved as well as establishing comparisons with other space powers (the US, Russia, Asia, etc.) is vital in studying this area of European policy.

Created in 2001, the "Space" program aims to monitor and analyze Europe's space policy as well as that of other major powers, publish studies carried out by experts on exploration, exploitation and militarization issues, and facilitate dialogue between public and private actors. Having such a program at Ifri brings needed and rare visibility to the political side of space issues, which is often only looked at from a technical angle.

#### Team



**Laurence Nardon**, Research Fellow, Head of program

Areas of expertise: space policies of different powers (US, Europe, Asia, Russia), commercial and military aspects of application

programs and exploration projects

Martine Breux. Assistant

#### **Research Areas**

#### **Space and Security**

In 2009, the program received the support of the Secure World Foundation (SWF, Superior, Colorado) in order to organize a seminar about "the evolution of international discussion on the securitization of space" and to develop a list of recommendations from it. *Laurence Nardon* has already participated in a discussion group on the "Code of Good Conduct in Space" at the Stimson Center (Washington) in 2007 and received a grant from Ploughshares Foundation in 2008.

#### The Exploration of the Universe

After a first collaboration in 2005, the European Space Agency (ESA) has become a partner of the program in 2008-2009. An ESA-Ifri joint project on European conceptions of space exploration is currently underway.

#### **Space Powers**

Since its creation in 2001, the "Space" program has conducted several studies on American space policy. In 2009, a series of "Actuelles de l'Ifri," written with *Raoul Davenac*, explored emerging space powers: North and South Korea, Iran, and countries that buy Chinese satellites. The series will continue in 2010.

Monitoring of the Major Space Application Programs: Launchers, Navigation, Observation, Telecommunications

Monitoring these applications facilitates the study of the evolution of transatlantic trade relations (launchers, for example) and that of European governance (Galileo).

#### **Electronic Publications**

#### • "Notes de l'Ifri" Series

Space Security, Europe Takes the Lead, *Laurence Nardon*, January.

Towards Greater Security in Outer Space, Agnieszka Lukaszczik, Laurence Nardon and Ray Williamson, November.

Les réorientations de la politique spatiale américaine en 2009-2010, *Laurence Nardon*, January.



#### • "Actuelles de l'Ifri" Series

Online editorials about emerging space powers written in French by *Laurence Nardon* and *Raoul Davenac*.

"L'Europe et la guerre des étoiles," January.

"Le programme spatial iranien," March.

"Les deux Corées et l'espace," April.

"La Chine et les satellites de télécommunications des pays émergents," September.

#### **Article**

"Espace. Les compétences croissantes de l'Union," *Laurence Nardon*, in *RAMSES 2010*.

#### **Outside Publications**

"Galileo and the Issue of Public Funding," Laurence Nardon, in Yearbook on Space Policy 2007-2008. From Policies to Programs, European Space Policy Institute, New York/Vienna, Springer.

"La réaction européenne au 'rapport Augustine'," Laurence Nardon, in Policy memo, ESPI, September.

"Europe Chooses Security in Space," Laurence Nardon, in Space News, February.

#### Seminar

June 18-19 – Assessing the Current Dynamics of Space Security

Closed seminar organized by Ifri and the Secure World Foundation.

With Petr Lala, Czech Space Agency, Victor Vasiliev, Representation of the Federation of Russia to the United Nations, Geneva, Gérard Brachet, former President of the Centre national d'études spatiales (CNES), Tena Jiagun. China Arms Control and Disarmament Association (CACDA, Beijing), Sam Black, Stimson Center, Washington, Phillip Baines, Deputy Director, Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Division, Canadian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Frans von der Dunk. University of Nebraska-Lincoln. Theresa Hitchens, Director, United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR, Geneva), Ciro Arevalo, Chairman, United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (COPUOS), Ray Williamson, Executive Director, SWF, and Dick Buenneke, Deputy Director for Space Policy, Office of Missile Defense and Space Policy, US Department of State.

## European Governance and Geopolitics of Energy Program

The "European Governance and Geopolitics of Energy" program aims to inform actors involved in the public debate and public and private stakeholders of developments in global energy markets and their environmental and economic implications as well as their effects on external policy. The program is structured around five research areas that evolve in tandem with current developments:

- The evolution of gas and oil markets; improvements in security and diversification of supply
- Global governance of the energy sector and institutions
- Integration of European energy markets with a view towards a large Euro-Asian market
- Development of a post-Kyoto framework capable of mitigating global warming
- Geopolitical implications of global developments on energy markets

#### Team



**Jacques Lesourne**, President of the program's Scientific Committee



William C. Ramsay, Director of the program



Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin, Research Fellow, program Coordinator

Areas of expertise: Kyoto Protocol, carbon governance, European energy policy

Susanne Nies, Research Fellow (Ifri Brussels)

Areas of expertise: European energy policy, energy infrastructure, Eastern Europe, Russia

**Cécile Kérébel**, Research Fellow (Ifri Brussels, until October 2009)

Areas of expertise: energy governance, oil

**Christian Schülke**, Assistant Research Fellow (Ifri Brussels)

Areas of expertise: Poland, governance of investments

Martine Breux, Assistant

#### **Research Areas**

#### Security of Energy Supply

Due to its low level of energy reserves and because those reserves are often located in unstable regions, security and diversification of supply are major strategic issues for Europe. The great challenge for European countries is to speak with one voice so that Europe can become a major player on the energy front.

#### CO2 and Greenhouse Gas Emissions

The fight against climate change and the impact of greenhouse gas emissions is a priority in Europe's energy policy. Moreover, impacts on energy markets and investment decisions stemming from the full implementation of the European Union Emission Trading Scheme (EU-ETS) now need to be measured.

#### **Decreasing Hydrocarbon Resources**

The rise in global demand for energy services dependant on hydrocarbons (notably electricity and transportation) put strong pressure on hard-to-reach reserves, whose exploitation requires increasing investment in biologically and socio-politically fragile environments. The program studies the impact of this problem on investments, prices and the security of supply.

#### **Energy and Public Opinion**

In order to promote a shared energy policy, it is necessary to have the sustainable and global support of the European public, and thus to understand where negative reactions to developments in the energy sector stem from.

## Technical Capabilities and the Impact of Possible Evolutions

The development of new and renewable energies (wind, solar, biomass, energy from the sea), including biofuels, is a major objective for the 21st century. This area also looks at new technologies that use conventional resources (clean coal, gas, oil, nuclear fission and fusion). The impact of new energy production, transport, stockage and consumption technologies in the coming years is also studied.

#### **Books**

• "Les Études de l'Ifri" Series (paper version)

At the Speed of Light? Electricity Interconnections for Europe, *Susanne Nies* (also in electronic format on Ifri's website).

Energy in India's Future: Insights, *Jacques Lesourne* and *William C. Ramsay* (eds.).

Governance of Oil in Africa: Unfinished Business, *Jacques Lesourne* (ed.).

La Gouvernance mondiale de l'énergie, *Cécile Kérébel* and *Jan Horst Keppler* (eds.).





"Les Études de l'Ifri" Series (electronic version)
 Ukraine: un pays de transit dans l'impasse?,
 Susanne Nies, December.

#### **Electronic Publications**

• "Notes de l'Ifri" Series

Investing in the Energy Sector: an Issue of Governance, Jan Horst Keppler and Christian Schülke, February.

Le gaz algérien en passe de changer de religion, Ihsane El Kadi, April.

Energy Security in Russia and the EU: Current Legal Problems, *Sergey Seliverstov*, April.

Hausse des prix agricoles et de l'énergie : quelles relations et implications à moyen terme et à long terme ?, *Tancrède Voiturier*, June.

La Chine à la veille de Copenhague, *Valérie Niquet*, September.

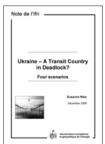
ASEAN Energy Cooperation: an Increasingly Daunting Challenge, *Françoise Nicolas*, October.

L'Iran dans le marché du gaz européen : un point de vue russe, *Igor Tomberg*, October.

The Outlook for Nuclear Energy in the United States, *John Brodman*. October.

Implementing the EU Climate and Energy Package with the Economic Crisis, *Cécile Kérebel*, December.

Ukraine: a Transit Country in Deadlock?, *Susanne Nies*, December.





#### • Energy Editorial

These reports are published each month, on a current issue, by a researcher from the Energy program and are available on Ifri's website.

"Ghost of the 3's," William C. Ramsay, February.

"The EU-ETS – The Big Baby in the Bath Water," *Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin*, March.

"The Unnoticed Consolidation of EU Energy Policy," *Cécile Kérébel*, April.

"Russia Reinventing the Wheel/Governance Is Not Always Better Governance," William C. Ramsay, April.

"La terreur du 7e jour," Susanne Nies, June.

"Some Candid Words of Energy Wisdom to the G8," William C. Ramsay, July.

"Additional Thoughts for the Energy Experts — Contribution to the G8," *Anatoly V. Torkunov*, July.

"Free Europe's Economists," William C. Ramsay, July.

"Oui le principe de la taxe carbone est juste," *Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin*, September.

"Climate Change Is Not Waiting for Economic Recovery," *Cécile Kérébel*, September.

"Living with Russia," William C. Ramsay, September.

"Punish Iran Not Each Other," William C. Ramsay, September.

#### **Articles**

"Énergie et climat. Quel avenir pour les politiques énergétiques ?," William C. Ramsay, in RAMSES 2010 (introduction to the "Énergie et climat" section with Maïté Jauréquy-Naudin and Jacques Lesourne).

"Réguler le climat. Sommes-nous sur la bonne voie ?," Cécile Kérébel. in RAMSES 2010.

"Charbon. L'avenir sera-t-il noir ?," Susanne Nies, in RAMSES 2010.

"Énergies nucléaire et renouvelables. Les solutions miracles ?," *Christian Schülke*, in *RAMSES 2010*.

"Carbone. Le puzzle des marchés du carbone : quelques pièces," *Maîté Jauréguy-Naudin*, in *RAMSES 2010*.

"Changement climatique. Conséquences économiques et sociales vraisemblables," *Jacques Lesourne*, in *BAMSES 2010*.

#### **Outside Publications**

Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin

"Débats sur la taxe carbone," Contre-feux.com, October.

Cécile Kérébel

"Climate Change and the Financial Crisis," *Global Lens*, EastWest Institute, September.

Susanne Nies

"Lettland zwischen Nationalismus und Pragmatismus. Die lettische nationale Bewegung 1986-1996," in *Egbert Jahn* (ed.), *Nationalismus im spät- und postkommunistischen Europa*, 2. *Nationalismus in den Nationalstaaten*, Baden Baden, Nomos, January.

"Eastern Partnership" (with Kerry Longhurst), BEPA Monthly Brief, February.

#### **Seminars. Round Tables**

• The Ifri Energy Breakfast Round Table

January 21 - On the Road Ahead to Poznan

With Pernille Nielsen, Principal Advisor to the Minister, Danish Ministry of Climate and Energy, Richard Bradley, Head of "Energy Efficiency and Environment" Unit, AIE, and Pierre Dechamps, Energy and Climate Change Advisor, Bureau of European Policy Advisors, European Commission.

#### April 30 - Energy Diversification: the Case for LNG

With Ian Cronshaw, Head of the "Energy Diversification" Division, AIE, and Tom Vanden Borre, DG TREN, European Commission.

May 26 – Turkey, Azerbaijan and the Southern Gas Corridor

In collaboration with the "Clingendael International Energy Program."

With Yurdakul Yigitgüden, Under-Secretary of State, Turkish Ministry of Energy, Olav Aamlid Syversen, Advisor, StatoilHydro, Brendan Devlin, Policy Officer, DG TREN, European Commission, and Christof van Agt, Research Fellow, CIEP.

#### July 6 - Electricity Interconnections in Europe

With Sophie Dourlens, Analyst, "Cross-Border Electricity Exchanges" Department, Energy Regulation Commission, François Meslier, Director of the Interconnections Mission. EDE, and Susanne Nies. Ifri.

#### October 5 - Toward a US Nuclear Renaissance

With John Brodman, former Deputy Assistant Secretary, US Department of Energy, Jacques Lesourne, and William C. Ramsay. Ifri.

#### November 5 – Electricity Supply in the Baltic Region After the Phasing Out of Ignalina NPP

With Wladyslaw Mielczarski, European Coordinator for Northern European Power Link, Zygimantas Vaiciunas, Head of the Strategic Planning Division, Lithuanian Ministry of Energy, Jean-Arnold Vinois, Head of "Energy Policy and Security of Supply" Unit, DG TREN, European Commission, Monica Eordoghne Zsigri, Policy Coordinator for "Energy Policy and Security of Supply" DG TREN, European Commission, and Maksim Kozlov, Head of the Baltic NPP Project, Inter RAO UES (Moscow).

## December 8 – Ukraine-Energy: a Transit Country in Deadlock?

With Vsevolod Chentsov, Deputy Chief of the Mission of Ukraine to the EU, Simon Pirani, Research Fellow, Oxford Energy Institute, Olivier Silla, Deputy Head of Unit, "International Relations for Energy, Enlargement," Dt. TREN, European Commission, and Susanne Nies, Ifri

## December 17 – The EU's Major Electricity and Gas Utilities: the Big Winners of Market Liberalization?

With Matthias Dürr, Senior Manager, European Affairs, RWE (Brussels), Robert Klotz, Partner and Lawyer, Hunton & Williams, former member of DG Competition, European Commission, Christian Schülke, Jacques Lesourne, and William C. Ramsay, Ifri.

• "Ifri's Tuesdays in Brussels"

March 10 - The Gas Crisis and South-East Europe

With Olivier Silla, Policy Coordinator, "Electricity and Gas" Unit, DG TREN, European Commission.

#### **International Conference**

February 5-6 – Investing in Europe's Energy Future – Annual Conference of the "European Governance and Geopolitics of Energy" Program, Brussels

With Thierry de Montbrial, Anatoly Torkunov, Rector, MGIMO University, Moscow, Andris Piebalgs, European Commissioner for Energy, Roman Portuzak, Director of the Energy Department, Czech Ministry of Industry and Trade, William C. Ramsay, and Jacques Lesoume, Ifri.

#### William C. Ramsay, Andris Piebalgs



Maîté Jauréguy-Naudin, Claude Turmes, Paul Waide, William C. Ramsav



Jacques Lesourne, Claude Mandil, Douglas Hengel



#### **Conferences-Debates**

#### March 26 - Global Energy Governance

With *Tatsuo Masuda*, Professor, Tokyo Institute of Technology (SIMOT), *André Mernier*, Secretary General, Energy Charter, and *Richard Jones*, Deputy Executive Director, AIE.

#### May 4 - Nuclear Renaissance in the United States

With Kristine L. Svinicki, Commissioner at the US Nuclear Regulatory Commission, and Stan Gordelier, Head of the Nuclear Development Division, OECD Nuclear Energy Agency (NEA).

#### October 6 - Energy Trajectories for India

With Prem Shankar Jha, Analyst, Pierre Zaleski, Executive Director, Center of Geopolitics of Energy and Raw Materials (CGEMP), Paris-Dauphine University, Gilles Boquérat, Jacques Lesourne and William C. Ramsay, Ifri.

#### **Energy Huis Clos**

#### March 18 - A Single European Regulator?

With José Braz, Member of the Executive Council, European Regulators' Group for Electricity and Gas, 3rd Package Working Group, Member of the Executive Board, Energy Services Regulatory Authority of Portugal, Konstantin Staschus, Secretary General, Network of Transmission System Operators for Electricity, and Marcel Bial, Secretary General, Union for the Coordination of Electricity Transmission.

## April 22 – The Future of EU-ETS: Should It Be Replaced by a Carbon Tax?

With Sanjeev Kumar, EU-ETS Coordinator, WWF, Mark Lewis, Managing Director of Global Carbon Research, Deutsche Bank, and Nick Mabey, Founder and Director. E3G.

#### June 9 - Gas Storage in Europe

With Jean-Marc Leroy, Director-General, Storengy (GDF Suez) and President, Groupement de stockage européen (GSE), Mark Van Stiphout, Policy Officer, European Commission, and Bertrand Villeneuve, Economics Professor, François-Rabelais University, Tours, and Centre de recherche en économie et statistique (CREST/INSEE), Paris.

## October 22 – The Carbon Tax: an Update on the French Initiative

With Henri Lamotte, Chief of Public Policies, Directorate General of the Treasury and Political Economy (DGTPE), French Ministry of the Economy, and Gilles Rotillon, Professor, Paris Ouest-Nanterre-La Défense University.

# **Economic Studies Program**

This program addresses economic issues from the perspective of political economy. The program thus focuses on issues concerning developments in the global economic system (its financial, commercial and industrial aspects), the governance of that system (international institutions, the G7+ and now the G20), the dynamics of different regions (the US, the European Union, Russia, China and emerging countries in general) and the actions of economic stakeholders confronted with a rapidly changing environment (new technologies, outsourcing, regulation).

The challenges facing the Unites States, the most powerful economy in the world and the birthplace of the current crisis, provide the basis for a systematic monitoring that began in 2009 and will continue throughout 2010: "The Obama Presidency, Year 2: a Defining Moment."

The European dimension is also often underlined, with a particular focus on Franco-German relations.

#### Team



**Jacques Mistral**, Director of the program



**Françoise Nicolas**, Economist (Ifri Asia Center and "Economic Studies" program)

Céline Bochet, Assistant

#### **Research Areas**

#### The Economic and Financial Crisis

The financial crisis was no storm in a cloudless sky: there were many signs announcing it but, for the most part, they remained undetected. The current recovery is certainly reassuring: national governments acted with great energy and the recovery of the financial sector has been swift. But this recovery is fragile; the risk of a relapse cannot be ruled out, creating a general unease which still raises many questions. The era of easy financing "à-la-Green-span" had been classed as a thing of the past, but it seems to be back. The real economy still faces major uncertainties: have we learned any lessons from the past? Whatever the developments of the economy will be, we are entering a difficult and uncertain period, going through "uncharted seas" as the Americans say. Old patterns and even the idea of globalization have been called into question.

Decision-makers need a global framework that will allow them to understand the structural dimension of the new facts borne out of the current situation. They also need operational analyses that foresee future developments in the world's major economic regions—the US, emerging countries, Europe—whilst taking into account the uncertainties produced by the economic crisis and the growing geopolitical risks that go along with them.

In terms of finance, insight into the evolution of important financial tools (credit rating agencies, accounting regulation, oversight of financial activities, market regulation, etc.), evaluation of regulation models (avoid "more regulation," elaborate "a better regulation"), and the imagining and invention of methods of governance adapted to the new environment are crucial. Heads of state began the process of reforming global governance with G20 summits; ways forward were outlined and the calendar has been set, but what will come of it all in 2010 and 2011?

In order to respond to these expectations, Ifri launched a work program in 2009, expected to last for three years. Its goal is to better understand the evolution of the economic and financial crisis and its implications in terms of governance.

#### **Emerging Economies and the Future of Globalization**

The most interesting aspect of globalization by far is the way in which emerging countries are able to disrupt the established international order. First known for their success in exporting manufactured goods, these countries are playing an increasing role in global economic affairs; China, India, Russia and others will be tomorrow's main players and are active on all fronts.

Taking notice of the rapidity of the economic success of these countries, it is tempting to postulate a possible fundamental revision of the economic force relations that would, in turn, bring major political changes.

These countries have considerable assets, but the challenges they face, such as inequalities, social and political rights, and the environment, are just as great. Faced with such deep transformations, there is a genuine need for in-depth analysis of the real strengths and weaknesses of these players in terms of economics but also in social, cultural and of course political areas.

The goal is to better understand the interaction between the emergence of new economic powers and the future of globalization. A pre-program was launched in 2008 which concentrated on the three main emerging countries: China, Russia and India. Three seminars focused on the reaction

of those economies to the risk of recession that threatened the US economy, and thus potentially the global economy.

#### Franco-German Economic Dialogue

Germany and France have set out on the path to structural reforms. However, whether it is a matter of economic policies or of the monetary union, the two countries continue to have their disagreements. The quality of Franco-German relations remains an essential element of European integration, the functioning of its institutions and the success of its economy. Fundamentally, what are the French and German positions on the economic challenges that the European Union faces? True Franco-German dialogue is needed today to identify core convergences and to eliminate superficial differences. In order to start the debate, macroeconomic governance and supply policies will be analyzed.

For this purpose, a joint operation has been undertaken between Ifri and the Deutsch-Französisches Institut of Ludwigsburg, which, since 2008, has led to a series of round tables in Paris and presentations in Ludwigsburg and Frankfurt.

#### **Publications**

"Économie mondiale. Espoirs de reprise, risques persistants," *Jacques Mistral*, in *RAMSES 2010* (introduction to the "Global Economy" section).

"Crise et mondialisation. La 'grande récession' et l'avenir de la mondialisation," *Jacques Mistral*, in *RAMSES 2010*.

#### **Seminars. Round Tables. Debates**

• "Economic and Financial Crisis" Series

January 27 – The Future of Credit Rating Agencies

With Gilles de Margerie, Director, Banque privée, Capital investissement et immobilier, Crédit Agricole, Yann Le Pallec, Managing Director, Standard & Poor's, Hubert Reynier, Deputy Secretary General, Directorate of Regulation and International Affairs, Financial Markets Authority (AMF), Philippe Trainar, Chief Economist, SCOR, and Jacques Mistral, Ifri.

## February 26 – How Far Will the Markets Go to Finance Public Debts?

With Christian de Boissieu, President, Conseil d'analyse économique (CAE), Olivier Gamier, Deputy Director-General, Société Générale Asset Management, Philippe Mills, Director-General, Agence France Trésor (AFT), Ministry of the Economy, Industry and Employment, Jean-Michel Six, Chief Economist for Europe, Standard & Poor's, and Jacques Mistral, Ifri.

April 9 – Quarterly Lunch-debate around Jean-Claude Trichet, President of the European Central Bank (ECB).

June 19 – Quarterly Lunch-debate around Jacques de Larosière, Advisor to the Chairman, BNP Paribas.

October 28 - Quarterly Lunch-debate around *Michel Pébereau*, Chairman, BNP Paribas.

Series of Seminars Organized in Collaboration with CEPII

September 30 – Economic Nationalism: the Comeback?

With Anne-Marie Idrac, Secretary of State in charge of Foreign Trade, Agnès Bénassy-Quéré, Director, CEPII, Lionel Fontagné, CEPII, Henrik Enderlein, Deputy Director, Hertie School of Governance, Berlin, Jean-Hervé Lorenzi, President, Cercle des économistes, Joël Ruet, Associate Researcher, École des mines, Jean-Louis Beffa, Chairman of the Board of Directors, Saint-Gobain, Philippe Herzog, Founding Chairman, Confrontations Europe, Jean Kaspar, Manager, JK Consultant, Jeffry Frieden, Professor, Harvard University, Patrick Allard, Advisor, CAP, French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Gunther Capelle-Blancard, Deputy Director, CEPII, and Jacques Mistral, Ifri.

Henrik Enderlein, Agnès Bénassy-Quéré, Lionel Fontagné, Jacques Mistral



## Migrations, Identities and Citizenship Program

The debate over immigration and citizenship is crucial for the future of European societies.

The "Migrations, Identities and Citizenship" program carries out groundbreaking research on major issues surrounding migrations and their political, social, economic and cultural consequences. This research is enriched by meetings that regularly bring together practitioners of immigration policies and different actors affected by those issues to analyze topics ranging from the management of immigration flows to cultural and religious identities. Research and debates are strengthened by outside scientific publications and online publications. The program is an integral part of the European and international network of top experts in migration, citizenship and cultural and religious minorities.

#### Team



Christophe Bertossi, Research Fellow, Head of the program Areas of expertise: citizenship, discrimination, ethnicity, European immigration policies



**Dorothée Prud'homme**, Assistant Research Fellow

Areas of expertise: discrimination and minorities in Europe

#### **Research Areas**

The program is focused on four areas of research and debate and systematically uses a comparative approach.

#### **New Immigration Policies in Europe**

After 30 years of keeping borders closed to labor immigration, European countries have started implementing new immigration policies: selective opening of borders, organization of legal immigration, the fight against illegal immigration—a "global" approach that emphasizes partnerships between origin, transit and destination countries. But member states are struggling to harmonize their approaches on subjects that are very sensitive to public opinion. For the continuation of the "Anglo-French Policy Dialogue on Regularization" organized in 2008, the program launched a "European Task Force on Illegal Immigration" in 2009 with the British foundation Barrow Cadbury Trust and the Regional Council of Île-de-France. This task force compares policies relating to illegal migrants in five European capitals (Paris, Berlin, London, Madrid and Rome).

#### The "Crisis" of National Integration Models

For a long time, integration policies have been defined from major national models: French republicanism, Dutch multiculturalism, British race relations, etc. Regardless of the deep differences among those models, all "old immigration countries" in Europe seem to be facing a similar crisis: integration debates question the effectiveness of traditional "models." Is this an "integration crisis?" How can we interpret the discourse surrounding this "crisis?" The program has established a partnership with the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation on the subject: a series of publications is underway and the program co-organized the *Fórum Gulbenkian Migrações 2009* in Lisbon, where researchers from the United States, Canada, Australia, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and France met over the course of two days.

#### Institutional Discrimination

Public institutions (armed forces, schools, hospitals, etc.) are traditional integration factories, but do not escape racial, ethnic and religious discrimination. In this context, how can they still create a sense of "common belonging?" Is this best done through fighting discrimination or through affirmative action policies? Does "institutional" discrimination exist? How can these issues be addressed? Following the research published in 2007 on the French Armed Forces, the program conducted a 14-month study titled "Care and Discrimination in French Health Institutions," in partnership with the Regional Council of Île-de-France, the French Equal Opportunities and Anti-Discrimination Commission (HALDE), the French Hospital Federation (FHF) and the Private Hospital Federation (FHP).

#### Migrations and Development

The idea of linking international migration regulation to the development of migrants' origin countries is not new, but became more salient at the beginning of the 2000s as an important dimension of migratory policies, particularly in the EU. To what extent can migrants be considered actors in the development game? How can remittances as well as the transfer of social and "human" capital contribute to the development of the migrants' origin countries? This question was the focus of several debates at Ifri and the beginning of a project on the link between migrations and development from the point of view of Southern countries, in partnership with the OCP.

#### **Electronic Publications**

• "Les Études de l'Ifri" Series

Europe's Fight Against Human Trafficking, *Stefano Bertozzi*, July.



• "Notes de l'Ifri" Series

How Can Europeans Agree on a Common Migration Policy?, *Christophe Bertossi*, March.

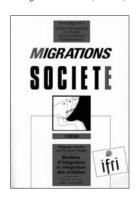


#### **Article**

"Crises et migrations internationales. Des défis pour l'UE," *Christophe Bertossi*, in RAMSES 2010.

#### **Outside Publication**

"Modèles d'intégration et intégration des modèles," Christophe Bertossi and Jan Willem Duyvendak (eds.), in Migrations Société, vol. 21, n° 122, March–April.



#### **Seminars**

January 27 – Immigration Policies: a European Approach

"Ifri's Tuesdays in Brussels"

With Christophe Bertossi, Ifri.

March 5 – Family Reunion, Regularizations, Co-Development: Is the "European Pact on Immigration and Asylum" Still Relevant?

With Henry Marty-Gauquié, Director, European Investment Bank (EIB), Thomas Huddleston, Political Analyst, Migration Policy Group, and Christophe Bertossi, Ifri

October 12 – Migrations and Human Trafficking: Policies After Calais

With Stefano Bertozzi, "Immigration" Adviser, Bureau of European Policy Advisers, European Commission, and Christophe Bertossi, Ifri.

#### **External Conference**

November 17 – Public Expertise and Local Policies: Undocumented Migrants in Five European Capitals First conference of the "European Task Force on Illegal Immigration," in partnership with the Regional Council of Île-de-France and the Barrow Cadbury Trust

With Hector Cebolla Boado, UNED (Madrid), Lorenzo Coslovi, CeSPI (Rome), Danièle Joly, University of Warwick, Sarah Toucas, Sciences Po Paris, Kursheed Wadia, University of Warwick, Catherine Wihtol de Wenden, CERI/FNSP, Stefano Bertozzi, BEPA, European Commission, Eve Gedclie, PICUM, Brussels, lan Gordon, London School of Economics, Johannes G. Knickenberg, Catholic Forum on Life in Illegality (Katholische Forum Leben in der Illegalität), Berlin, Begoña Santos Olmeda, Red Acoge, Madrid, Livia Ottisova, Doctors of the World-UK, Patrick Peugeot, President, CIMADE, Gemma Pinyol, CIDOB, Barcelona, Ayesha Saran, Barrow Cadbury Trust, Nathalie Simonnot, Doctors of the World, and Christophe Bertossi, Ifri.

#### **International Conferences**

November 25 – Fórum Gulbenkian Migrações 2009: A crise dos modelos de integração de migrantes : uma comparação internacional, Lisbon In partnership with the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation

With Antonio Vitorino, Former European Commissioner, Isabel Mota, Trustee of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Jan Willem Duyvendak, University of Amsterdam, Danièle Joly, University of Warwick, Nancy Foner, CUNY, Robert Van Krieken, University of Sydney, Jeffrey Reitz, University of Toronto, Feliciano Barreiras Duarte, University of Lisbon, Nuno Magalhäes, Member of the Portuguese Parliament, and Christophe Bertossi, Ifri.

November 26 – Beyond National Models of Integration? An International Comparison, Lisbon In partnership with the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.

With Jan Willem Duyvendak, University of Amsterdam, Danièle Joly, University of Warwick, Nancy Foner, CUNY, Robert Van Krieken, University of Sydney, Jeffrey Reitz, University of Toronto, and Christophe Bertossi, Ifri.

# Health and Environment Program

The "Health and Environment" program's central research objective is the study of global governance with respect to health and the environment, within a comparative logic framework, as well as questions of overlap within the domains of health and the environment (pollution, for example). Through a network of the actors concerned, the program intends to stimulate the debate within civil society and to generate new approaches and perspectives.

#### **Team**



Aline Leboeuf, Research Fellow, Head of the program

Areas of expertise: evolution of global health governance, stabilization and reconstruction issues in Sub-Saharan Africa



**Emma Broughton**, Assistant Research Fellow

Areas of expertise: securitization of health and environment sectors, environmental security in China

#### **Research Areas**

#### Global Health and Global Management of Epidemics

This section is dedicated to the study of the ways in which epidemics are globally managed by states, intergovernmental organizations, communities and private actors, at the frontiers of human, animal and environmental health.

## Global Environmental Governance (GEG) – Structure and Evolutions

This section focuses on the regimes, organizations, systems and international norms developed and put into action to ensure the protection of the environment at the global level and in sectors covered by GEG—including climate change, biodiversity, and land degradation.

## Intersecting Governance of Health and the Environment

This research area is centered on the subjects or mechanisms at the junction of, or common to both, the health and environment fields—through the link between climate change and infectious diseases, for example. The program will also follow the tools of governance, which having demonstrated their worth in one field, can be applied in another.

#### **Electronic Publications**

• "Health and Environment Reports" Series

The Global Fight Against Avian Influenza. Lessons for the Management of Health and Environmental Crises, *Aline Leboeuf*, January.

The Global Environment Facility: Managing the Transition, *Emma Broughton*, June.

REACH: a New Paradigm for the Management of Chemical Risks, *Olivier Fuchs*, December.



#### **Article**

"Crises sanitaires en Afrique. Réformer les systèmes de santé," *Aline Leboeuf*, in *RAMSES 2010.* 

#### **Seminars**

Two discussion workshops took place. These closed seminars, known as peer-review, aimed to validate the scientific quality of the program's reports and publications by gathering specialists of the subjects covered and representatives of the different groups of actors concerned in order to discuss and critique the study.

February 4 – The Global Environment Facility. Addressing Global Issues: the Use of Trust Funds Discussion seminar on the findings and the recommendations of the program's third report on the use of a World Environment Trust Fund.

Chair: Laurence Boisson de Chazournes, University of Geneva, Director, Department of Public International Law and International Organizations.

November 15 – REACH. A New Paradigm for the Management of Chemical Risks
Report by *Olivier Fuchs*.

Discussion seminar on the findings and recommendations of the program's fourth report.

Chair: Alain Heilbrunn, Former Secretary General of CONCAWE.

#### **International Conferences**

April 3 – Managing Health and Environmental Risks and Crises. Lessons from Europe and Asia, Brussels

Main subjects addressed: Cooperation and industrial pollution, global management of avian influenza, food security, usefulness of the "funds" tool.

With Shen Lyushun, Ambassador, Taipei Representative Office in the EU and Belgium, Marion Marmorat, Senior Researcher, Fafo (Oslo), Akiko Onodera, Researcher, Institute for Global Environmental Strategies (IGES, Japan), Stephen Stec, Adjunct Professor, Department of Environmental Sciences, Central European University (CEU, Budapest), Gianluca Spinaci, Forward Studies Unit, European Union Committee of the Regions (Brussels), Chou Jih-haw, Deputy Director-General, Center for Disease Control, Department of Health (Taiwan). Alain Vandersmissen. Avian Influenza External Response Coordinator, European Commission (Brussels), Bernard Brochier, Head of the virology division, Institute for Public Health (Brussels), Chen Lu-hun, Deputy Director, Food Industry Research and Development Institute (FIRDI, Taiwan), Frans Verstraete, Chair of the Expert Committee on Agricultural Contaminants, Directorate General for Health and Consumers (SANCO, Brussels), Herman Diricks, Director-General, DG Policy Control, Federal Agency for the Safety of the Food Chain (AFSCA, Brussels), Jean Renault, Head of the Agriculture and AFFSA Unit, Federal Ministry of SMEs and Agriculture, Alain Dehove, Coordinator of the World Animal Health and Welfare Fund, World Organization for Animal Health (OIE, Paris), Aline Leboeuf, Emma Broughton and Susanne Nies, Ifri.

November 28 – Communication Is Key! Best Practices From the Management of Global Health Outbreaks, Taipei

In cooperation with the Taipei Ricci Institute.

Main subjects addressed: The importance of communication in the management of health crises – Best practices in the processes of horizontal and vertical communication – Innovative practices in crisis communication.

With Chang Shan-chwen, Vice Minister, Department of Health, Patrick Bonneville, Director, French Institute in Taipei, Ku Karl Min, Director-General, Central National Library, Liu Chi-chun, Founder and President, Taiwan Root Medical Peace Corps, Chan Chang-chuan,

Director, International Health Center, National Taiwan University, Alain Vandersmissen, Avian Influenza External Response Coordinator, European Commission, Chen Chien-ien, Senior Research Fellow, Academia Sinica, K. U. Menon, Ministry of Information, Communications and the Arts, Shang Tung-fu, Deputy Director, Bureau of International Cooperation, Department of Health, Chiu Jong-jen, Director-General, Department of European Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Muhiuddin Haider, School of Public Health and Health Services, Georgetown University, Kuo Hsu-hung, Director, Taiwan Centers for Disease Control, Chiang Han-sun, President, College of Medicine, Fu Jen University, Deborah Edelman, Founder and Director, Public Health Media Inc., Wu Yi-chen, Professor, Department of Advertising and Public Relations, Fu Jen University, Saifullah Khan, Development Manager, Glaxo Smith Kline, Chen Tzay-jinn, Vice Minister, Department of Health, Chiu Wen-hsiang, Head of the Department of Health in the city of Taipei, Amin Soebandrio, Special Advisor on Health and Nutrition, Indonesian Ministry of Research, Dominique David and Aline Leboeuf, Ifri.

#### Aline Leboeuf



#### Kuo Hsu-hung



#### Conference room, National Library, Taipei



## **Publications**

#### Books

#### "Les Études de l'Ifri" Series

#### (paper version)

Series distributed by the Documentation française

Radioscopies de l'Allemagne 2009, *Claire Demesmay* and *Hans Stark* (eds.), Paris, Ifri.

Russie.Nei.Visions 2009. Understanding Russia and the New Independent States, *Thomas Gomart* and *Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean* (eds.), Paris, Ifri.

La Gouvernance mondiale de l'énergie, *Cécile Kérébel* and *Jan Horst Keppler* (eds.), Paris, Ifri.

At the Speed of Light? Electricity Interconnections for Europe, *Susanne Nies*, Paris, Ifri.

Energy in India's Future: Insights, *Jacques Lesourne* and *William C. Ramsay* (eds.), Paris, Ifri.

Governance of Oil in Africa: Unfinished Business, *Jacques Lesourne* (ed.), Paris, Ifri.

#### "Les Études de l'Ifri" Series

#### (electronic version)

Ukraine : un pays de transit dans l'impasse ?, Susanne Nies, Paris, Ifri.

Europe's Fight Against Human Trafficking, *Stefano Bertozzi*, Paris, Ifri.

The India-Pakistan Reconciliation and Other Experiences in Post-Conflict Management, *Gilles Boquérat* and *Richard Asbeck* (eds.), Paris, Ifri.

#### "Notes de l'Ifri" Series

Le Traité de Lisbonne en discussion : quels fondements pour l'Europe ?, *Claire Demesmay* and *Andreas Marchetti* (eds.), n° 60, Paris, Ifri.

#### **Outside Books**

Les Médias en Méditerranée. Nouveaux médias, monde arabe et relations internationales, *Khadija Mohsen-Finan* (ed.), Arles, Actes Sud.

L'Allemagne unifiée 20 ans après la chute du Mur, Hans Stark and Michèle Weinachter (eds.), Lille, Presses universitaires du Septentrion.

War 2.0: Irregular Warfare in the Information Age, *Marc Hecker* and *Thomas Rid*, Westport, Praeger.

#### **Electronic Publications, Articles**

#### Europe

#### Cerfa Publications

#### "Notes du Cerfa" Series

Soixante ans de relations germano-israéliennes, *Gisela Dachs*, n° 59, January.

La politique étrangère de l'Allemagne entre polarisation et politisation, *Hans Stark*, n° 60, January.

L'Allemagne face à la crise financière, *Heribert Dieter*, n° 61. February.

L'unilatéralisme avec le sourire : bilan des relations germano-américaines et perspectives pour 2009, Benjamin Zyla, n° 62, March.

La « justice sociale » : une notion polysémique dans le débat préélectoral allemand, *Serge Gouazé*, n° 63, April.

L'impossible alliance : le SPD face à Die Linke, *Tim Spier*, n° 64, June.

L'incertitude du succès de la CDU/CSU et du FDP à la veille des élections nationales allemandes, Jean-Louis Georget, n° 65, June.

Le traité de Lisbonne, étape ultime de l'intégration européenne ? Le jugement du 30 juin 2009 de la Cour constitutionnelle allemande, *Anne-Lise Barrière* and *Benoît Roussel*, n° 66, September.

Les réformes de la politique familiale en Allemagne : l'enjeu démographique, *Jeanne Fagnani*, n° 67, October.

Les nouveaux länder vingt ans après la chute du Mur, Frank Thomas Koch, n° 68, November.

L'engagement culturel : la politique culturelle extérieure de l'Allemagne après 1989, *Julia Sattler*, n° 69, November.

Les élections au Bundestag 2009 : campagne électorale, résultats et formation du gouvernement, *Manuela Glaab* and *Michael Weigl*, n° 70, December.

#### "Visions franco-allemandes" Series

EADS : une normalisation européenne entre intérêts nationaux et mondialisation, *Louis-Marie Clouet* and *Kai Behrens*, n° 14, August.

Forces et faiblesses des modèles économiques : débat franco-allemand sur la crise et ses conséquences, *Christophe Blot* and *Stefan Kooths*, n° 15, December.

#### CFA Publications

#### Articles

"L'Europe centrale 20 ans après la chute du Mur," Éliane Mossé, introduction and coordination of the work, Politique étrangère, 3/2009.

"Existe-t-il un miracle slovaque ?," Éliane Mossé and Jean-Antoine Giansily, in Politique étrangère, 3/2009.

#### • Ifri Brussels Publications

#### "Europe. Visions" Series

L'Union pour la Méditerranée : une ambition française de reconsidérer le Sud, *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, n° 3, January.

Recasting Relations with the Neighbours, Kerry Longhurst and Susanne Nies, n° 4, February.

A New Institutional Architecture for the Transatlantic Relationship?, Jolyon Howorth,  $n^{\circ}$  5, June.

#### "Notes de l'Ifri" Series

"Investing in the Energy Sector: an Issue of Governance," *Jan Horst Keppler* and *Christian Schülke*, February.

"Implementing the EU Climate and Energy Package with the Economic Crisis," *Cécile Kérébel*, December.

"Ukraine: a Transit Country in Deadlock?," Susanne Nies, December.

#### Russia/NIS

#### "Russie.Nei.Visions" Series

Series published in English, French and Russian

L'aide au développement : la percée chinoise au Tadjikistan et au Kirghizstan, *Nargis Kassenova*, n° 36, January.

Les forces armées russes : le pouvoir de l'illusion, Roger McDermott, n° 37, March.

La Russie et l'Amérique latine : manœuvres géopolitiques dans le voisinage des États-Unis, *Stephen Blank*, n° 38, April.

Russie : Obama à l'épreuve de l'héritage Bush, Thomas Gomart, n° 39, April.

L'OTAN et la Russie : perceptions des menaces après la Géorgie, *Aurel Braun*, n° 40, May.

Les enjeux de la crise démographique en Russie, *Anatoli Vishnevski*, n° 41, June.

Voisins distants : la présidence suédoise de l'UE et la Russie, *Eva Hagstrom Frisel* and *Ingmar Oldberg*, n° 42, July.

La Russie et les pays du « Partenariat oriental » après la guerre en Géorgie, *Jean-Philippe Tardieu*, n° 43, July.

Du bon usage de l'UE en Géorgie, *Dominic Fean*, n° 44, September.

« Occidentalistes » et « sinophiles » dans la politique étrangère russe, *Andrei Tsygankov*, n° 45, December.

#### "Russie.Nei Reports" Series

Projet MISiS, futur modèle de l'enseignement supérieur en Russie ?, *Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean*, n° 1, October.

Le Haut Collège d'économie : école de commerce, université et think tank, *Carole Sigman*, n° 2, October.

#### **Articles and Contributions**

"OTAN-Russie : la 'question russe' est-elle européenne ?," *Thomas Gomart*, in *Politique étrangère*, 4/2009.

- "Washington-Moscou: la nouvelle donne," *Thomas Gomart*, in *Politique internationale*, n° 123, Spring.
- "Russie : la réforme de l'enseignement supérieur," Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean, in Revue internationale d'éducation de Sèvres, n° 50, April.

#### Asia

#### "Notes de l'Ifri" Series

La Chine à la veille de Copenhague, *Valérie Niquet*, September.

ASEAN Energy Cooperation. An Increasingly Daunting Challenge, *Françoise Nicolas*, September.

#### « Asie. Visions :

The Fall of a Hindu Monarchy: Maoists in Power in Nepal, *Benoît Cailmail*, n° 12, January.

The Democratic Transition in Pakistan Under Stress, *Gilles Boquérat*, n° 13, February.

L'action politique en Chine, de la prise de décision à la réalisation, *Valérie Niquet*, n° 14, March.

The Global Economics Crisis: a Golden Opportunity for China. *Françoise Nicolas*. n° 15. June.

Progrès et défis dans la Chine rurale du XXI $^{\rm s}$  siècle : libertés économiques et droits sociaux, *Chen Guangin*,  $n^{\circ}$  16, July.

Japan-North Korea Relations: (Sad) State of Play and (Sad) Prospects, *Axel Berkofsky*, n° 17, July.

India's Foreign Investment Policy: Achievements and Inadequacies, *Amitendu Palit*, n° 18, August.

Les grandes villes chinoises comme espace d'immigration internationale : le cas des entrepreneurs africains, *Hélène Le Bail*, n° 19, August.

Breaking New Ground: Congress and Welfarism in India, *Zoya Hassan*, n° 20, October.

Consommation alimentaire et sécurité sanitaire des aliments en Chine, *Jean-Marc Chaumet* and *Franck Desevedavy*, n° 21, December.

Urbanisation et investissement immobilier en Chine, Guillaume Rougier-Brierre and Guillaume Jeannet, n° 22, December.

See also "La Lettre du Centre Asie," available on Ifri's website.

#### **Articles and Contributions**

- "Les États-Unis d'Obama face aux défis asiatiques," *Valérie Niquet*, in *Politique étrangère*, 1/2009.
- "L'Inde et ses voisins," *Gilles Boquérat*, in *Politique étrangère*. 3/2009.
- "La coopération maritime nippo-indienne," *Céline Pajon*, in *Politique étrangère*, 3/2009.
- "Assessing the Complementarity Between the EU and ASEAN Economies," Françoise Nicolas and Bernadette Andreosso-O'Callaghan, in Gabriele Tondl (ed.), The EU and Emerging Markets, Vienna/New York, Springer.

- "Vietnam : le difficile apprentissage de la mondialisation," *Françoise Nicolas*, in *Sophie Boisseau du Rocher* (ed.), *Mondes émergents Asie 2009*, Paris, La Documentation française.
- "Chinese Direct Investment in Europe: Facts and Fallacies," Françoise Nicolas, International Economics Briefing Paper, IE BP 2009/01, London, Chatham House.
- "The Political Economy of Regional Integration in East Asia," *Françoise Nicolas*, in *Economic Change and Restructuring*, vol. 41, n° 4, 2008.
- "La manœuvre dans la pensée stratégique chinoise," Valérie Niquet, in Christian Malis (ed.), Guerre et manœuvre, Paris, Economica.
- "La Chine face à la crise," *Valérie Niquet*, in *Perspectives chinoises* and *Chinese perspectives*, Centre d'études français sur la Chine contemporaine (CEFC, Hong Kong).
- "Le Livre blanc de la défense chinoise en 2008," Valérie Niquet, in Monde chinois, n° 18.
- "Les relations franco-chinoises," *Valérie Niquet*, in *Annuaire français des relations internationales*, Brussels, Bruylant.
- "Space Program," Valérie Niquet, in David Pong (ed.), Encyclopedia of Modern China, Detroit, Charles Scribner's Sons.
- "Einzigartig und widersprüchlich: Die Neudefinition der französisch-chinesischen Beziehungen," *Valérie Niquet*, *DGAPanalyse Frankreich*, n° 8/2009.
- "Inde: l'unicité d'un pays pluriel" and "L'émergence de l'Inde," *Gilles Boquérat*, in *Philippe Pelletier* (ed.), *Géopolitique de l'Asie*, Paris, Nathan.

#### Middle East/North Africa/Mediterranean

Middle East

#### "Perspectives Moyen-Orient/Méditerranée" Series

Démocratisation et ingérence étrangère : le cas de l'Iran, *Clément Therme*, February.

L'Iran face à la crise financière, *Thierry Coville*, May. Article

- "Europe's Role in Averting a Middle East Tragedy," Denis Bauchard, in Europe's World, Fall.
- North Africa

#### **Articles and Contributions**

- "Algérie: faut-il croire à la transition?," Khadija Mohsen-Finan, introduction and coordination of the work, *Politique étrangère*, 2/2009.
- "Algérie. Les difficultés d'une transition," *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, in *RAMSES 2010*.
- "L'Union pour la Méditerranée : vers de nouvelles relations Nord-Sud," *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, in *Universalia 2009*, Paris, Encyclopædia Universalis.
- "Vers l'autonomie du Sahara occidental," Khadija Mohsen-Finan, in Atlas du Monde diplomatique 2009, Paris, Armand Colin.

- "Union pour la Méditerranée : la difficulté à gérer la proximité," *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, in *Med.2009 Annuaire de la Méditerranée*. Barcelone, IEMed.
- "Sahara occidental : divergences profondes autour d'un mode de règlement," *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, in *L'Année du Maghreb*, Paris, CNRS Éditions.
- "La condition des femmes au Maghreb, entre repli et mondialisation," *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, in *Moyen-Orient*, December.

#### • Contemporary Turkey

#### "Notes franco-turgues" Series

"Les Turcs et la France : le regard de deux communautés": "Les immigrés originaires de Turquie en France : dynamiques et paradoxes," *Gaye Petek*, and "Les francophones turcs et la France : une ressource non renouvelable," *Nicole Pope*, n° 1, December.

#### "Repères sur la Turquie" Series

"L'AKP face au tabou kurde," Dorothée Schmid, n° 3, June.

#### Other publication

"La Turquie pendant la présidence française de l'Union européenne," proceedings of the Senate session held in December 2008.

#### **Articles and Contributions**

- "L'Union pour la Méditerranée : coup d'essai de la diplomatie sarkozienne ?," *Dorothée Schmid*, in *Annuaire français des relations internationales*, Brussels, Bruylant
- "The Union for the Mediterranean: Changing the Name or Changing the Game?," *Dorothée Schmid*, in *Hellenic Studies*, August.
- "Du processus de Barcelone à l'Union pour la Méditerranée : changement de nom ou de fond ?," Dorothée Schmid, in Questions internationales, March.
- "La politique méditerranéenne de l'UE, au risque de l'Union pour la Méditerranée," *Dorothée Schmid*, in *Actes du VII<sup>®</sup> séminaire de sécurité et de défense*, Barcelone, CIDOB.

#### Africa

#### "Notes de l'Ifri" Series

Réformer le « peacemaking » en République démocratique du Congo : quand les processus de paix deviennent des systèmes d'action internationaux, *Thierry Vircoulon*, February.

Le Kivu, charnière entre l'Atlantique et l'océan Indien, *Cyril Musila*, April.

Contrôler les trafics ou perdre le Nord. Notes sur les trafics en Mauritanie, *Alain Antil*, July.

Mobilisations identitaires dans l'Afrique contemporaine : la question de l'autochtonie, *Alain Antil*, August

De Thabo Mbeki à Jacob Zuma : quelle sera la nouvelle vision de l'Afrique du Sud ?, *Thierry Vircoulon*, October.

Les questions foncières rurales comme facteur de crise en Afrique subsaharienne : Afrique du Sud, Côte d'Ivoire, Kenya, Nancy Andrew, Alfred Babo, Claire Médard and Alain Antil, December.

#### **Articles and Contributions**

"Non, mon Président! Oui, mon Général! Retour sur l'expérience et la chute du président Sidi Ould Cheikh Abdallahi," *Alain Antil*, in *L'Année du Maghreb*, Paris, CNRS Éditions.

"Les élections de juillet 2009 en République islamique de Mauritanie – La 'rectification' de la démocratie," Alain Antil. in Afkar Idées, Barcelone, IEMED.

#### **United States**

#### "Potomac Papers" Series

New electronic series launched in 2009

À la veille de Copenhague, Obama et l'environnement, Yves-Marie Pereon, November.

See also the "Chroniques électorales américaines" on Ifri's website

#### Article

"Face à la crise, l'amorce d'une troisième révolution américaine," *Jacques Mistral*, in *Politique américaine*, n° 13, Spring-Summer.

#### Security

#### "Proliferation Papers" Series

Electronic series of the Center for Security Studies published in cooperation with the French Atomic Energy Commission (CEA), available in English

Heading for the Fourth Nuclear Age, *Ariel E. Levite*, n° 24, January.

The Evolution of the North Korean Nuclear Crisis: Implications for Iran,  $\it Chung Min Lee, n^{\circ} 25$ , February.

Strategic Stability Reconsidered: Prospects for Escalation and Nuclear War in the Middle East, *James A. Bussell.* n° 26. March.

The World After: Proliferation, Deterrence and Disarmament If the Nuclear Taboo Is Broken, *Mark Fitzpatrick*, n° 27, June.

Dangerous Weapons in Dangerous Hands. Responding to the Challenges of Chemical and Biological Terrorism, *Michael Moodie*, n° 28, July.

The Path to Deep Nuclear Reductions. Dealing with American Conventional Superiority, *Dennis M. Gormley*, n° 29, September.

Numerology in the Second Nuclear Age, *Mikael Krepon*, n° 30, October.

#### "Focus stratégique" Series

Electronic series of the Center for Security Studies

Entre développement et sécurité : les interventions allemandes en crise, *Aline Leboeuf*, n° 13, January.

Pakistan : du désordre à la guerre civile, *Laurent Gayer*, n° 14, February.

Achats en urgence vs. programmation : l'efficacité des opérations d'armement en temps de guerre, Louis-Marie Clouet, n° 15, April.

Candide in Congo. The Expected Failure of Security Sector Reform (SSR), *Sébastien Melmot*, n° 9bis, April.

Transformation et contre-insurrection: implications capacitaires pour les forces terrestres occidentales, Anne-Henry de Russé, n° 16, June.

Le feu dans le modèle de guerre occidental : de l'intégration tactique aux dommages collatéraux, Laurent Fromaget, n° 17, July.

La protection du territoire national par l'armée de terre. Fondements, limites et perspectives, *Marie-Dominique Charlier*. n° 18. November.

#### **Articles and Contributions**

"L'Alliance atlantique 1949-2009," drafting of the summary of the special issue *Politique étrangère*, 4/2009, with the cooperation of *Krzysztof Soloch*.

"L'apothéose de la manœuvre ? Retour sur les fondements et limites de la 'guerre éclair'," *Corentin Brustlein*, in *Christian Malis* (ed.), *Guerre et manœuvre*, Paris, Economica.

"Maneuver Warfare, entre Vietnam et transformation," Étienne de Durand, in Christian Malis (ed.), Guerre et manœuvre, Paris, Economica.

"Stabilization Operations in the Era of 'New Wars'," Étienne de Durand, Proceedings of the NIDS symposium on Peace Operations, Tokyo, NIDS.

"Jihadistes de tous les pays, dispersez-vous!," *Marc Hecker* and *Thomas Rid*, in *Politique internationale*, n° 123, Spring.

"Virtueller Erfolg. Terrorismus- und Aufstandsbekämpfung im 21 Jahrhundert," *Marc Hecker* and *Thomas Rid*, in *International Politik*, July-August.

"Communication en opérations extérieures : évolution du traitement médiatique des operations," *Marc Hecker* and *Thomas Rid*, in *Les documents du CSD2*, n° 102.

"The Terror Fringe," *Marc Hecker* and *Thomas Rid*, in *Policy Review*, n° 158.

#### **Space**

#### "Notes de l'Ifri" Series

Space Security, Europe Takes the Lead, *Laurence Nardon*, January.

Towards Greater Security in Outer Space, *Agnieszka Lukaszczik*, *Laurence Nardon* and *Ray Williamson*, November

Les réorientations de la politique spatiale américaine en 2009-2010, *Laurence Nardon*, January.

#### **Articles and Contributions**

"Galileo and the Issue of Public Funding," Laurence Nardon, in Yearbook on Space Policy 2007-2008. From Policies to Programs, European Space Policy Institute, New York/Vienna, Springer.

"La réaction européenne au 'rapport Augustine'," Laurence Nardon, in Policy memo, ESPI, September.

"Europe Chooses Security in Space," *Laurence Nardon*, in *Space News*, February.

#### Energy

#### "Notes de l'Ifri" Series

Investing in the Energy Sector: an Issue of Governance, Jan Horst Keppler and Christian Schülke, February. Le gaz algérien en passe de changer de religion, *lhsane El Kadi*, April.

Energy Security in Russia and the EU: Current Legal Problems, *Sergev Seliverstov*, April.

Hausse des prix agricoles et de l'énergie : quelles relations et implications à moyen terme et à long terme ?, *Tancrède Voiturier*, June.

La Chine à la veille de Copenhague, *Valérie Niquet*, September.

ASEAN Energy Cooperation: an Increasingly Daunting Challenge, *Françoise Nicolas*, October.

L'Iran dans le marché du gaz européen : un point de vue russe. *Jaor Tombera*. October.

The Outlook for Nuclear Energy in the United States, *John Brodman*, October.

Implementing the EU Climate and Energy Package with the Economic Crisis, *Cécile Kérébel*, December.

Ukraine: a Transit Country in Deadlock?, Susanne Nies, December.

#### Articles

"Le protocole de Kyoto peut-il produire des résultats ?," *Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin*, Institut Hannah Arendt.

"Débats sur la taxe carbone," *Maîté Jauréguy-Naudin*, in *Contre-feux.com*, October.

"Climate Change and the Financial Crisis," *Cécile Kérébel*, in *Global Lens*, EastWest Institute, September.

"Lettland zwischen Nationalismus und Pragmatismus. Die lettische nationale Bewegung 1986-1996," Susanne Nies, in Egbert Jahn (ed.), Nationalismus im spät- und postkommunistischen Europa, 2. Nationalismus in den Nationalstaaten, Baden Baden, Nomos, January.

"Eastern Partnership," Susanne Nies and Kerry Longhurst, in BEPA Monthly Brief, February. See also the Energy Program's "Édito" on Ifri's website

#### **Migrations and Citizenship in Europe**

#### "Notes de l'Ifri" Series

How Can Europeans Agree on a Common Migration Policy?, *Christophe Bertossi*, March.

#### Journal (special issue, editors)

"Modèles d'intégration et intégration des modèles," Christophe Bertossi and Jan Willem Duyvendak (eds.), in Migrations Société, vol. 21, n° 122, March-April.

#### **Health and Environment**

#### "Health and Environment Reports" Series

The Global Fight Against Avian Influenza. Lessons for the Management of Health and Environmental Crises, *Aline Leboeuf*, January.

The Global Environment Facility: Managing the Transition, *Emma Broughton*, June.

REACH: a New Paradigm for the Management of Chemical Risks, *Olivier Fuchs*, December.

## **Conferences and Debates**

#### **January**

January 13 - The New Iranian Society

Conference-debate with Farhad Khosrokhavar, Sociologist, Research Director at EHESS and Member of CADIS.

Chair: Denis Bauchard, Ifri.

January 15 – Gulf Country Investments in North Africa

Breakfast-debate with *Moncef Cheikh-Rouhou*, Professor of Economics and International Finance, HEC Paris.

Chair: Khadija Mohsen-Finan, Ifri.

#### **February**

#### February 4 - India's Foreign Policy

Conference-debate with Shivshankar Menon, Secretary General of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs.

Chair: Gilles Boauérat. Ifri.

#### February 5 – NATO: Five Years in Afghanistan

Conference-debate with General Karl W. Eikenberry, Deputy Chairman of the NATO Military Committee in Brussels and former Commander in Chief of Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan.

Chair: Dominique David, Ifri.

#### February 12 - After Gaza, Results and Perspectives

Conference-debate with Yves Aubin de La Messuzière, former North Africa/Middle East Director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Samy Cohen, Research Director, Sciences Po/CERI, Mireille Duteil, Journalist for the "World" section, Le Point, and Jean-François Legrain, Research Fellow, GREMMO, Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée.

Chair: Denis Bauchard, Ifri.

## February 17 – Debate on the Parliamentary Report "France's Policies in Africa"

Conference-debate with Jean-Louis Christ, Chairman and Member of the Parliamentary Information Mission on "France's Policies in Africa," Sébastien Fourmy, Policy and Advocacy Director, Oxfam France – Agir Ici, Roland Marchal, Researcher at CNRS/Sciences Po CERI.

Chair: Alain Antil, Ifri.

## February 19 – The Stakes of Pakistan's Foreign Policy

Conference-debate with Asma Anisa, Ambassador of Pakistan to France, and Daniel Jouanneau, Ambassador of France to Pakistan.

Chair: Olivier Louis, Ifri.

## February 27 – The State of the Union on the Eve of the European Parliament Elections

Conference-debate with *Hans-Gert Pöttering*, President of the European Parliament.

Chair: Xavier de Villepin, Honorary Senator, former Chairman of the French Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs

#### March

March 5 – Family Reunion, Regularizations, Co-development: Is the "European Pact on Immigration and Asylum" Still Relevant?

Conference-debate with *Thomas Huddleston*, Political Analyst, Migration Policy Group, and *Henry Marty-Gauquié*, Director, Liaison with non-EU international organizations, European Investment Bank (EIB).

Chair: Christophe Bertossi, Ifri.

## March 9 – The Global Economic Crisis: Impacts on Sub-Saharan Africa

Breakfast-debate with Shanta Devarajan, Chief Economist for Africa at the World Bank, Jacques Mistral and Alain Antil Ifri

## March 11 – The International Financial Crisis and its Impact on the Economic and Foreign Policies of Germany

Conference-debate with Andreas Schockenhoff, Member of the German Bundestag, Chairman of the Franco-German Friendship Group, Berlin, Henrik Uterwedde, Director of the Franco-German Institute (DFI), Ludwigsburg, and Jacques Mistral, Ifri.

Chair: Hans Stark, Ifri.

## March 12 – Slovakia After its Arrival into the Eurozone: the History of a Success Story

Breakfast-debate with the participation of Ján Kuderjávý, Ambassador of Slovakia to France, Jean-Antoine Giansily, Head of the Economic Mission in Bratislava, Zdenek Lukas, Economist, Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies, and Éliane Mossé. Ifri.

Chair: Peter Jankowitsch, Secretary General of the

#### March 26 - Global Energy Governance

Conference with *Tatsuo Masuda*, Professor, Tokyo Institute of Technology (SIMOT) and Guest Lecturer, Paris-Dauphine University, *André Memier*, Secretary General, Energy Charter Secretariat, and *Richard Jones*, Deputy Director, International Energy Agency.

Chair: Jacques Lesourne and William C. Ramsay, Ifri.

#### April

## April 8 – After the Israeli Elections: Perspectives and International Issues

Conference-debate with Pierre Razoux, Research Advisor, NATO Defense College, Rome, and David Khalfa, Consultant, Researcher at CERI, Sciences Poparis

Chair: Denis Bauchard, Ifri.

#### April 15 - Iraq 2009 Perspectives

Breakfast with Adil Abd Al-Mahdi, Vice President of the Republic of Iraq.

Chair: Denis Bauchard, Ifri.

#### April 22 – Afghanistan-Pakistan: Danger Zone?

Conference-debate with Olivier Louis and Étienne de Durand, Ifri.

## April 24 – Obama-Medvedev: the Way Forward for Russian-American Relations

Conference-debate with Stephen Blank, Professor at the Strategic Studies Institute, US War College, Vladimir Baranovsky, Deputy Director at the Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), Moscow.

Chair: Thomas Gomart, Ifri.

#### May

#### May 4 - Nuclear Renaissance in the United States

Conference-debate with Kristine L. Svinicki, Commissioner at the US Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

Discussant: Stan Gordelier, Head of the Nuclear Development Division, Nuclear Energy Agency, OECD.

Chair: William C. Ramsay, Ifri.

May 7 – South African Elections in 2009: New Country, New ANC or New Opposition?

Conference-debate with Thierry Vircoulon, Ifri.

Chair: Alain Antil, Ifri.

May 25 – Mexico and the Reshaping of the International System: Challenges of an Emerging Power

Conference-debate with Juan Manuel Gomez-Robledo, Secretary of State of Multilateral Affairs and Human Rights, Mexico.

Chair: Dominique David, Ifri.

#### May 28 - France-Serbia: a New Beginning

Conference-debate with *Boris Tadic*, President of the Republic of Serbia.

Chair: Thierry de Montbrial, Ifri.

#### June

#### June 3 - Islam and the West

Conference-debate with *Anwar Ibrahim*, former Prime Minister, leader of the Malaysian opposition.

Chair: Michel Camdessus, former Managing Director of the IMF.

## June 4 – Stakes of the Demographic Crisis in Russia

Conference-debate with *Anatoli Vichnevski*, Director of the Russian National Institute for Demographic Studies, and *Emmanuel Todd*, Research Officer at INED (National Institute for Demographic Studies).

Chair: Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean, Ifri.

## June 10 – Pakistan's Relations with Afghanistan: a Way Forward

Conference-debate with *Khalid Mahmood*, former Ambassador of Pakistan to Asia and Europe.

Chair: Pierre Lafrance, former Ambassador of France to Pakistan.

## June 16 – The European Aeronautics Industry in the Face of the Crisis – French and German Perspectives

Breakfast-debate with *Dominique Baudis*, Member of the European Parliament, Member of the Committee on Transport, *Jürgen Meyer*, Director General of the Federal Ministry of Economics and Technology, in charge of technology policy (BMWi), and *Dominique Pons*, VP Strategy Thales Aérospace.

Chair: Louis-Marie Clouet. Ifri.

#### June 18 – Between the European Parliament Elections and the Ratification of the Treaty of Lisbon, What Is the Status of the European Union?

Conference-debate with *Vivien Schmidt*, Professor of International Relations, Jean Monnet Chair, Boston University, *Susanne Nies* and *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, Ifri.

Chair: Dominique David, Ifri.

#### June 24 - Brazil and the New World Order

Breakfast-debate with *Celso Amorim*, Foreign Minister of Brazil.

Chair: Thierry de Montbrial, Ifri.

#### June 24 - H1N1 Virus: Management of Pandemics

Conference-debate with Jean-Claude Desenclos, Scientific Director of the Institut de veille sanitaire (InVS), Monique Eloit, Deputy Director General of the World Organization for Animal Health (OIE), and Didier Housin, Interdepartmental Delegate at the Fight Against Avian Flu (DILGA).

Chair: Aline Leboeuf, Ifri.

## June 25 – Russia and China: Stabilizers or Destabilizers in Central Asia?

Breakfast-debate with *Didier Chaudet*, Professor at Sciences Po, Paris, *Nargis Kassenova*, Associate Professor in the Political Science Department, Kazakhstan Institute of Management, Economics, and Strategic Research (KIMEP), and *Bobo Lo*, Director of the Russia and China programs (Center for European Reform).

Chair: Thomas Gomart, Ifri.

#### July

#### July 1st - Iran After the Presidential Elections

Breakfast-debate with François Nicoullaud, former Ambassador of France to Iran, and Clément Therme, Ifri.

Chair: Denis Bauchard, Ifri.

#### July 6 - The Obama Administration and Islam

Conference-debate with *Malika Zeghal*, Associate Professor of Anthropology and Sociology of Religion, University of Chicago, and *Pierre Thénard*, Advisor, French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Associate Researcher. Sciences Po Paris.

Discussant: Laurence Nardon, Ifri.

Chair: Khadija Mohsen-Finan, Ifri.

#### July 7 - India After the General Elections

Conference-debate with Jean-Luc Racine, Director of Research (CNRS/CEIAS), and Ramesh N. Mulye, former Ambassador of India, Strategic Advisor for the Confederation of Indian Industry in France.

Chair: Gilles Boquérat, Ifri.

## July 8 – America Confronted with the Asian Challenge

Conference-debate with Dominique Moïsi, Ifri.

Chair: Jacques Mistral, Ifri.

#### July 9 – The European Union and the World: Ambitions of the Swedish Presidency

Breakfast-debate with *Frank Belfrage*, Swedish State Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

Chair: Dominique David, Ifri.

#### September

## September 4 – Are There Any Prospects for Peace Between Israel and the Palestinians?

Breakfast-debate with Saeb Erekat, Chief Negotiator for the Palestinian Authority, Member of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

Chair: Denis Bauchard, Ifri.

## September 9 – Turkey in Europe: Break the Vicious Circle

Breakfast-debate with *Martti Ahtisaari*, former President of Finland, *Emma Bonino*, Member of the Italian Senate, former European Commissioner, *Marcelino Oreja Aguirre*, former Foreign Minister of Spain, former European Commissioner, *Michel Rocard*, former Prime Minister, and *Albert Rohan*, former Director General of the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Chair: Dominique Moïsi, Ifri.

#### September 16 - Mohammed VI: Ten Years of Reign

Conference-debate with *Pierre Vermeren*, Historian, Professor, Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne.

Chair: Khadija Mohsen-Finan, Ifri.

## September 18 – Poland: the Model for the Transition from Communism, 20 Years After...

International conference coorganized in partnership with the Embassy of Poland to France, the Polish Institute of Paris and *Libération*.

In the presence of Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Wojciech Jaruzelski, Alexander Kwasniewski, Adam Michnik, Karol Modzelewski, Jean-Bernard Raimond, Hubert Védrine, Dominique Moïsi, Alain Touraine and several French and foreign figures.

With Thierry de Montbrial, Ifri, Tomasz Orlowski, Ambassador of Poland to France, Marek Chojnacki, Director of the Polish Institute of Paris, Georges Mink, Director of Research at ISP-CNRS.

## September 23 – RAMSES 2010: Global Crisis and Global Governance

Morning-debate for the release of RAMSES 2010.

Opening by *Thierry de Montbrial*, Ifri. Guest of Honor: *Pierre Lellouche*, Secretary of State of European Affairs.

With the participation of Christian de Boissieu, Professor at Paris I University, President of the Conseil d'analyse économique, Frédéric Lemaître, Editor-inchief, Le Monde, Olivier Pastré, Professor at Paris VIII University, Member of the Circle of Economists, Jean-Pierre Hansen, Director, Electrabel, GDF Suez, Colette Lewiner, Energy, Utilities and Chemicals Global Sector Leader, CapGemini, Philippe Moreau Defarges, Jacques Mistral, Jacques Lesourne and Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin, Ifri.

## September 29 – France and Germany in European Space

Conference-debate with Alain Bories, Director of Strategy and Development, OHB Technology AG, Johannes von Thadden, Director of Public Affairs, EADS Astrium Germany, and Bernhard von Weyhe, Head of Media Relations, European Space Agency (ESA).

Chair: Laurence Nardon, Ifri.

#### **October**

#### October 6 - Energy Trajectories for India

Conference-debate with *Prem Shankar Jha*, Indian Economic and Political Analyst, *Pierre Zaleski*, Executive Director, Center of Geopolitics of Energy and Raw Materials (CGEMP), Paris-Dauphine University, *Gilles Boquérat* and *Jacques Lesourne*, Ifri.

Chair: William C. Ramsay, Ifri.

## October 12 – Migrations and Human Trafficking: Policies After Calais

Conference-debate with Stefano Bertozzi, "Immigration" Advisor, Bureau of European Policy Advisors, European Commission, and Pedro Vianna, Editorin-chief of the journal Migrations Société.

Chair: Christophe Bertossi, Ifri.

## October 21 – Changes for the European Union After the Irish "Yes"

Conference-debate with Philippe Moreau Defarges and Susanne Nies, Ifri.

Chair: Hans Stark. Ifri.

#### October 22 – Prospects for Democratic Governance in Guinea-Conakry

Conference with Sidya Touré, former Prime Minister of Guinea, President of the Union of Republican Forces (UFR) of Guinea.

Chair: Alain Antil, Ifri.

#### November

## November 5 – Baltic Countries: the End of a Miracle or the Beginning of a Reconstruction?

Breakfast-debate with *Denis Badré*, Senator, *Janis Karklins*, Ambassador of Lithuania to France, *Céline Bayou*, Co-editor-in-chief of *Regards sur l'Est* and *Sébastien Leitner*, WIIW.

Chair: Éliane Mossé, Ifri.

November 26 - Options for Georgian Foreign Policy

Breakfast-debate with *Grigol Vachadze*, Georgian Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Chair: Thomas Gomart, Ifri.

#### December

## December 7 – From Periphery to Core: India and the Middle East

Conference-debate with P. R. Kumaraswamy, Professor at the Center for West Asian Studies, School of International Studies at Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi

Chair: Gilles Boquérat, Ifri.

## December 9 – Crisis, Crises? Prospects for the 21st Century

Conference-debate with Jacques Lesourne, author of Les crises et le XXI<sup>o</sup> siècle, Paris, Odile Jacob, 2009.

Chair: Dominique David, Ifri.

N.B. Only public conferences are listed here. Other conferences (seminars, round tables, closed meetings) are presented in the **research** portion of this report.

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as of December 31, 2009

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## **Financial Appendix**

<b>Balance sheet</b>	as c	of Dec	ember	31,	2009

Assets	2009		2008	Liabilities	2009	2008	
	Gross	Accumulated	Net	Net	Funds		
		depreciation			General fund	8 470 553	8 470 553
Fixed assets					Restricted fund	47	47
Intangible assets					Reserve	1 074 331	1 212 123
Software	109 082	108 966	116	7 172			
					Net income for the year	94 341	-137 792
Tangible assets							
Land	3 886 345		3 886 345	3 886 345	Funds	9 639 271	9 544 931
Building	5 815 058	2 874 056	2 941 002	3 142 148	Provisions	0 000 =11	
General facilities	511 732	386 163	125 569	129 167	General risks	724	28 522
Transportation equipment	31 240	16 288	14 951	21 199	Retirement expenditures	230 153	208 019
Office equipment, furniture,	780 756	711 804	68 952	63 459	Other provisions	100 000	200 013
computer hardware					other providents	100 000	200 000
Figure 2 Learning					Deferred grant revenue		
Financial assets	47.400				Deferred grant revenue	39 780	173 294
Deposits	17 109		17 109	17 109	3		
Interest	11		11	11	Creditors		
Loans	0		0	0	Bank	0	64 232
	11 151 333	4 097 278	7 054 055	7 266 612			
Current assets					Accounts payable and other liabilities		
Inventories	18 587		18 587	88 931	Accounts payable and other liabilities	326 870	984 956
Other debtors/Pre-payments	271 887		271 887	218 970	Accrued expenses	105 833	100 973
Accounts receivable	568 902	3 000	565 902	839 873			
Partner's current accounts							
Portfolio (fixed interet)	4 067 390		4 067 390	4 204 094	Taxes and social security	404.400	
Bank balances	295 764		295 764	101 342	Staff and accounts payable	161 160	181 947
Accrued income	84 947		84 947	92 884	Social and tax administration/state	586 747	420 587
-					Accruals and deferred income	1 168 692	907 658
	5 307 477	3 000	5 304 477	5 546 094	Accidats and deferred income	1 100 092	907 000
Currency Conversion Adivistment		3 000			Currency conversion adjustment	25	1 109
Currency Conversion Adjustment	724		724	3 522	ouriency conversion adjustine III	20	1 109
Total assets	16 459 534	4 100 278	12 359 256	12 816 228	Total liabilities	12 359 256	12 816 228

Accounts as of December	er 31, 2009	9					
	_						
Expenditure	Budget 2009	Net 2009	Net 2008	Income	Budget 2009	Net 2009	Net 2008
Expenditure	75 205	76 480	76 567				
Office supplies	27 000	35 473	33 394	Public grants	1 885 621	1 879 516	1 877 106
EDF/GDF/Water	28 205	28 336	21 819				
Books	20 000	12 671	21 353	Private funding	4 038 506	4 163 336	5 756 313
				Donations and member	802 000	845 012	1 001 813
Other External Expenditure	1 999 369	2 124 782	3 636 290	subscriptions			
Printing fees	124 800	163 440	142 164	Publications	89 100	173 477	162 924
Rental fees	53 950	46 140	62 598	Programme and contract	3 124 326	3 064 688	3 012 318
Maintenance	96 550	105 643	190 283	funding			
Insurance	45 600	41 867	34 463	Other income	23 080	80 160	30 245
Research material	36 255	43 780	65 758				
Honoraria and professional services	1 009 179	1 082 300	1 012 880	WPC			1 549 014
Donations, membership subscriptions	5 795	5 571	8 935				
General travel and meetings	541 690	448 566	435 837	Deferred grant revenue	118 291	159 514	30 000
Postage and telephone	82 550	80 368	87 932	reversal			
Other management fees	3000	107 106	2 427				
WPC	3000	107 100	1 593 014	Provision reversal		125 000	
WPG			1 393 014				
Tours	070.000	010.040	070.000	Other income		0	10 370
Taxes	378 396	313 243	273 236				
Taxes on salaries	214 596	127 204	117 964	Management income		93	34 894
Various taxes	163 800	186 039	155 272				
0. #							
Staff costs	3 381 128	3 374 517	3 406 158				
2.4							
Deferred grant revenue	0	26 000	63 000				
Depreciation and provisions	258 320	283 600	491 522				
Management expenditures			2 989				
Operational expenditures	6 092 418	6 198 622	7 949 762	Operational income	6 042 418	6 327 459	7 708 684
Financial expenditures		3 936	10 071				
				Financial income	50 000	30 960	150 656
Exceptional expenditures		13 999	57 833				
Exceptional depreciation			55 999	Financial provisions reversal		3 522	10 062
Other exceptional charges		13 999	1 834				
				Exceptional income		3 093	9 036
Corporate taxes		54 137	-1 438	· ·			
Income after taxes		94 341	-137 792				
		3.0.1					
Total	6 092 418	6 365 035	7 878 437	Total	6 092 418	6 365 035	7 878 437
।जित्रा	U UJZ 410	6 365 035	1 010 431	ιυιαι	U UJZ 410	0 203 023	1 010 431

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