



# Annual Report 2010



**Cover photos:**

From left to right, top to bottom

*Ban Ki-Moon*, Secretary-General of the United Nations

*Thierry de Montbrial*, Ifri

*Valéry Giscard d'Estaing*, former President of France

*Gerhard Schröder*, former Chancellor of Germany

*Irina Bokova*, Director General of UNESCO

*Anders Fogh Rasmussen*, NATO Secretary General

*Dominique David*, Ifri

*Anatoly Tokunov*, Rector of MGIMO-University

*Thomas Gomart*, Ifri

*Tomasz Orłowski*, Polish Ambassador to France

*Claude de Kemoullaria*, Executive Vice President, IEPM - Club de Monaco

Prince *El Hassan bin Talal* of Jordan and his wife

Conference with *Viktor Yanukovich*, President of the Ukraine

"The State of the World at the end of 2010", first Parliament / Ifri meeting

*José Manuel Barroso*, President of the European Commission

*Jean-Claude Juncker*, President of the Eurogroup

*Thierry de Montbrial*, Ifri

*Yavuz Baydar*, *Sabah*

*Sabetay Varol*, CNN Turk and *Milliyet*

*Clémentine Forissier*, EurActiv France

*Abdou Diouf*, General Secretary of the International Organization of the Francophonie

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# Message from the President



**W**ithin the context of continuing international difficulties and conflict, the year 2010 confirmed the important role of think tanks in helping leaders and decision-makers to orient themselves in a complex world, and to think about the emergence of new governance.

Ifri is one of the largest think tanks in the world and a leading think tank in Europe. Its current status, which has been progressively established and confirmed, is the product of many choices. The development of a permanent body of researchers gives us the solidity and the continuity necessary to maintain credibility over time. The dividing-up of our organization into research programs, be they regional or crosscutting, favors a wide palette of expertise while preserving a capacity for adaptation to ever-changing international realities. Finally, our method of working with networks – national and international – makes us into a kind of intellectual “hub” at the heart of the debate in all international dimensions.

An ongoing goal for Ifri – as evidenced by our activity in 2010 – is to continuously expand the public who are affected by our research and debates, from the smallest to the largest groups, depending on the issue. From this objective stem our efforts to publish as often as possible in multiple languages, as well as our digital publication campaign.

Ifri finds itself naturally at the heart of the current reflections on the very nature of a think tank (for which there is no equivalent phrase in French).

In a recent paper to the Académie des sciences morales et politiques (*Qu'est-ce qu'un think tank?*, 28 February 2011, which can be found on the Ifri website: [www.ifri.org](http://www.ifri.org)), I proposed a definition of a think tank as an open organization built on a permanent base

of researchers, with the mission to elaborate on an objective basis ideas relative to the management of politics and of private or public strategies, in line with a public-interest perspective.

Taking this demanding definition into consideration is a daily challenge – primarily concerning the consolidation of our individual identity built on independence, freedom of spirit, intellectual rigor, and responsibility; the values around which all of our collaborators must be mobilized.

The preservation of our independence is fundamental; it is guaranteed by our legal status, but also by the diversity of our supporters – the role of our members and of our partners is essential – as well as by the relatively short-lived but rich culture we have inherited, reinforced by our common work.

Far from being satisfied with its success, Ifri is constantly adapting to a world that changes ever more quickly. We can achieve this adaptation because our researchers are young and open-minded; our independence guarantees that the changes we make are dictated only by our own will to fulfill our mission of general interest, and our shared values permit us to consider together the necessary modifications.

This annual report of 2010 illustrates the place that Ifri occupies within international debate. I hope that all those who have made its development possible – members, partners, friends, collaborators – find here an indication of my gratitude. I ask them also not to forget that France does not always provide a favorable environment for think tanks. This is why, more than ever, we need their support.



**Thierry de Montbrial**

Founder and President of Ifri,  
Member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques



# Ifri: a Leading European Think Tank

In 2010, for the fourth consecutive year, the French Institute of International Relations, Ifri, was the only French research institute placed among the first 50 most influential think tanks in the world (outside of the United States), and occupied the third place in Europe. This is according to a recent report, *Global Go-To Think Tanks*, from the University of Pennsylvania, which looks at 6,480 institutes located in some 169 countries.



General assembly of Ifri, 2010

Ifri, the premiere French think tank focused on the analysis of international issues, is recognized as one of the leading think tanks in Europe and throughout the world.

Created in 1979 and directed by Thierry de Montbrial, Ifri aims to:

- produce policy-oriented research on international affairs and the most important emerging trends;
- facilitate debate among decision-makers, researchers, and public-opinion leaders at both the national and international levels.

Independent of any supervising authority, Ifri has around thirty permanent French and foreign researchers and a network of associated researchers; diversified resources amounting to €6.7 million (70% of which comes from private donors), 92 partners, and 15 research programs. It organizes more than 200 conferences and debates in Paris, Brussels, and other world capitals every year, hosts more than 10,000 participants, and publishes over 100 papers and reports in French, English, German and Russian yearly.



Yang Jiechi,  
Thierry de Montbrial

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

Research is at the heart of Ifri's activities, with a multidisciplinary approach combining local, national, and global levels. The institute's work strives to make room for new ideas and to be forward-thinking with respect to European and international affairs.

The research centers are structured around regional axes (Europe, Russia/NIS [Newly Independent States], Asia, North Africa/Middle East, Africa, United States, etc) and crosscutting axes (security and strategic affairs, international economy, energy, space, health, environment, migration, etc), working in synergy and transversality.

Michel Marian,  
Alfred Grosser,  
Dominique Moisi,  
Dieter Bingen



## Debate: produce ideas, illuminate public discussion, influence decisions

Ifri's research is fueled by debates organized in an informal and non-partisan way, and that facilitate the bringing-together of researchers and decision-makers, private and public alike.

Ifri also hosts numerous heads of state and government. Among these guests in recent years have been Nicolas Sarkozy, Dmitri Medvedev, Hu Jintao, Jalal Talabani, Hamid Karzaï, Vladimir Putin, Mikheil Saakashvili, Abdoulaye Wade, Vaclav Klaus, Pervez Musharraf, Abdullah Gül, Boris Tadic, Viktor Yanukovich, Herman Van Rompuy, José Manuel Barroso, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, and others.

In 2010, Ifri organized more than 150 conferences and debates in Paris and Brussels, 24 large international events in France and abroad, and multiple workshops and seminars, at which it hosted 140 key figures and more than 10,000 participants.



Josselin de Rohan,  
Axel Poniatowski,  
Thierry de Montbrial

## Publications: dissemination of our work, communication

The research and debates that Ifri engages in are reflected in its different series of publications as well as in its highly regarded publications such as the trimestral review, *Politique étrangère*, the oldest French review of international relations, and the annual *RAMSES* report.

The website [www.ifri.org](http://www.ifri.org) is today the premiere tool of dissemination for Ifri's debates, work, and reports; it attracts more than 500,000 downloads and an average of 900,000 visits per year.

# Ifri Brussels: a European Presence and Purpose

Ifri is present in Brussels through its office – **Ifri Brussels** – open since March 2005. At the heart of the European quarter, **Ifri Brussels**, while developing and promoting Ifri’s research studies and publications, works to enrich the European debate through a pluridisciplinary approach covering all dimensions of international relations.



Fatih Birol, Christof Rühl, Jacques Lesourne, William Ramsay

## Activities in 2010

In 2010, Ifri Brussels organized 45 conferences and seminars and 5 international conferences, and hosted more than 85 experts and key international figures. Among the themes explored were: European policies on energy and the environment; the Greek crisis and its consequences for the other EU member states; German/Polish relations in 2010; space security in Europe; the mid-term elections in the United States and the perspectives for the Obama Presidency; NATO after Lisbon; Franco-British cooperation in Africa; South-East Europe: energy challenges and the role of the energy community; EU/Russian relations, etc.

## Think Tank Dialogue

Ifri Brussels is at the center of the creation of “Think Tank Dialogue,” a program that brings together 10 Brussels-based think tanks at the beginning of each year in an open dialogue with European institutions. “Think Tank Dialogue” took place for the first time in January 2010 and its debates were concluded by José Manuel Barroso.

## “Ifri’s Tuesdays in Brussels”: regular high-level meetings

The seminar cycle on European current affairs, “Ifri’s Tuesdays in Brussels,” brings together political and economic decision-makers, representatives of European think tanks, journalists, researchers, and EU-level experts.

## “Ifri Energy Breakfast Round Tables” and “Huis clos”

Monthly round tables on important energy issues, organized by Ifri’s “European Governance and Geopolitics of Energy” program, based in Paris and Brussels, bring together renowned experts and decision-makers in the domain of energy.

## Major European and international conferences

At the beginning of each year, the Energy Program organizes its annual conference in Brussels. The 2011 conference is titled *Speed Bumps on the Road to Sustainability: Energy Technology and Geopolitics*. Other research programs at Ifri, particularly the Space, and the Health and Environment programs, also organize regular conferences in Brussels.

## “South-East Europe”: a 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. The conference organized in 2010 was on the subject of: *Southeast Europe: Regional Co-operation, Institutional Change and the Challenges of European Integration*.

## “Europe.Visions” series

In 2010, the policy papers in this electronic collection were dedicated to Moldova, Serbia, and Kosovo; others were concerned with European defense, the economic crisis, and the European space strategy.



Herman Van Rompuy, President of the European Council, Think Tank Dialogue, Brussels

# In 2010, Ifri Notably Hosted...

**Abdullah Abdullah**, former Afghan Minister for Foreign Affairs, former presidential candidate, and leader of the opposition in Afghanistan

**Stéphane Abrial**, Commander of Allied Command Transformation (ACT), NATO, Norfolk (USA)

**Khaman Assad**, Representative of the Regional Government of Kurdistan in Paris

**José Manuel Barroso**, President of the European Commission

**Irina Bokova**, Director General of UNESCO

**Stephen Breyer**, Supreme Court Judge of the United States of America

**Jong-jen Chiu**, Director General of the Department of European Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Taiwan

**Jean-François Copé**, President of the Union for a Popular Movement (UMP) group in the French National Assembly

**Oleg Deripaska**, Chief Executive Officer, RUSAL

**Abdou Diouf**, former President of the Republic of Senegal, Secretary General of the International Organization of the Francophonie (OIF)



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**Philippe Douste-Blazy**, Under Secretary General of the United Nations, Special Adviser on Innovative Financing for Development

**Dimitris Droutsas**, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Greece

**Prince El Hassan bin Talal**, of Jordan

**Meredith Gowan Le Goff**, President of Democrats Abroad France

**Robert D. Hormats**, Under Secretary of State for Economic, Business, and Agricultural Affairs, United States of America

**Yang Jiechi**, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China

**Jean-Claude Juncker**, President of Eurogroupe

**Nathalie Kosciusko-Morizet**, Secretary of State for Prospective Development of the Digital Economy, France

**Aleksander Kwasniewski**, former President of Poland

**Pierre Lellouche**, Secretary of State for European Affairs, France

**Paul Martin**, former Prime Minister of Canada and Founder of the G20



5



**Gérard Mestrallet**, President-Director General of GDF Suez  
**Miguel Angel Moratinos**, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Spain  
**Günter Oettinger**, European Commissioner for Energy in the European Commission  
**Viktor Orbán**, Prime Minister of the Republic of Hungary  
**Jonathan Pershing**, Deputy Special Envoy for Climate Change of the United States of America  
**Andris Piebalgs**, European Commissioner for Development in the European Commission  
**Axel Poniatowski**, President of the Commission of Foreign Affairs in the French National Assembly  
**Anders Fogh Rasmussen**, Secretary General of NATO  
**Josselin de Rohan**, President of the Commission of Foreign Affairs, of Defense, and of the Armed Forces, of the French Senate  
**Adam Rotfeld**, Co-Chairman of the Polish-Russian Group on Difficult Matters, former Minister for Foreign Affairs for Poland  
**Baroness Ann Taylor**, Minister for International Defence and Security of the United Kingdom  
**Stephan Toscani**, Minister of the Interior and European Affairs for Saarland  
**Viktor Yanukovich**, President of Ukraine



1 / Dominique David, Viktor Orbán •  
 2 / Stéphane Abrial • 3 / Stephen Breyer, Jacques Mistral • 4 / Abdou Diouf, Thierry de Montbrial • 5 / Prince El Hassan bin Talal, Jean-Pierre Chevènement • 6 / Oleg Deripaska, Gerhard Schröder • 7 / Dimitris Droutsas • 8 / Thomas Gomart, Viktor Yanukovich • 9 / Thierry de Montbrial, Jean-François Copé • 10 / Michèle Jacobs, Irina Bokova • 11 / Jean-Claude Juncker • 12 / Miguel Angel Moratinos



# Ifri's 2010 Publications

Ifri's electronic publications are divided into four types of series:

- *E-notes*, policy-oriented texts that address issues from all Ifri's programs or centers;
- *Études de l'Ifri*, which contribute to academic research on international relations;
- *Séminaires*, summaries of Ifri's events;
- *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.

## Ifri's E-notes

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 propose comprehensive texts and enrich debate.

### Series

#### Asie.Visions

The Center for Asian Studies series dedicated to economic, strategic and political issues.

**Editors:** Valérie Niquet and Françoise Nicolas, assisted by Céline Pajon.

#### Europe.Visions

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

**Editors:** Susanne Nies and Olivier Jehin.

#### Perspectives 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 issues related to the Franco-Turkish relationship.

**Editor:** Dorothee Schmid.

#### Potomac papers

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

**Editors:** Jacques Mistral and Laurence Nardon.

#### Russie.NEI.Reports

The series from the Russia/NIS Center (published in French and English) offering political analysis backed up by field studies on Russia and the Newly Independent States.

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

#### 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 that seeks to shed light on diverse contemporary 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, the politics of non-proliferation, and major strategic balances of power.

**Editor:** Étienne de Durand.

**Outside of these series, the E-notes present current analyses from the different research programs at Ifri.**

#### Sub-Saharan Africa Program

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

**Editors:** Alain Antil, assisted by Héliène Quénot-Suarez.

#### North Africa Program

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

**Editors:** Khadija Mohsen-Finan, followed by Mansouria Mokhefi.

#### Space Program

Analyses of space-related developments.

**Editor:** Laurence Nardon.

#### European Governance and Geopolitics of Energy Program

Analyses of and perspectives on energy issues.

**Editors:** Jacques Lesourme, assisted by Maité Jauréguy-Naudin.

#### Migrations, Identities & Citizenship Program

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

**Editors:** Christophe Bertossi assisted by Dorothee Prud'homme.

#### The 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.

#### The Séminaires de l'Ifri

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

#### The 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, South-East Europe, Lettre du Centre Asie (Letter from Central Asia), L'Afrique en questions (Africa in Questions), Les Mardis de l'Ifri Bruxelles (Ifri's Tuesdays in Brussels), Repères sur la Turquie, Édito Énergie (Energy Editorial), etc.

#### Publication service



Delphine Renard  
Head of Publications



Cécile Tarpinian  
Assistant Editor

# Two Flagship Publications



## ■ **Politique étrangère**

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

Editor-in-chief: *Dominique David*

In 2010, the four issues of *Politique étrangère*, in addition to ad hoc analyses of current events, consisted of eight papers dedicated to major international issues that made international news. Among the subjects explored were: Turkey: Internal Issues and Diplomatic Challenges; Afghanistan: Military and Regional Issues (n° 1/2010); United Kingdom: After the Elections; Multilateral Negotiations and Global Governance (n° 2/2010); The European Union, the Crisis and the Euro; Beyond the States: the New International Players (n° 3/2010); Walls: Barriers and Bridges; Islam in Africa: a Transnational Actor (n° 4/2010).

*"[It's] Difficult to avoid questions on Turkey and Europe these days. In Paris, yesterday, the Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, incidentally expressed deep divergences from France. A reading of the quarterly review from Ifri can help to put such declarations into perspective."*  
(Jacques Hubert-Rodier, **Les Échos**, 8 April 2010)



*Flore Gubert, Philippe Moreau Defarges, Catherine Wihtol de Wenden, François Gamenne*



## ■ **RAMSES**

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

This annual reference book offers indispensable tools for elucidating global developments.

Co-Directors: *Thierry de Montbrial, Philippe Moreau Defarges*

*RAMSES* titled its 2011 edition: *Un monde post-américain?* The introductory chapter, "Perspectives," signed by Thierry de Montbrial, proposes a vision of the ensemble of international changes. In 2010, he considers, among other subjects: the lack of global leadership, the weakening of America, the growing strength of Asia and other new global powers, etc. The United States, is it in decline? Are we witnesses to a "world power shift" towards Asia in general and China in particular? Do the BRIC countries really constitute a coherent bloc?

These developments, breakdowns and transformations are then addressed in a nine-part scheme: the global economy, migrations, the United States, Europe, the Middle East, North Africa, Asia Pacific, Africa, and Latin America.

*"My intuition is that, sooner or later, a major test will emerge from the Middle East, because this region is at the intersection of emotions and tangible interests that gives it a vital character for all large actors in the comedy or tragedy of humanity."*  
(Thierry de Montbrial, *RAMSES 2011*, September 2010)

*"The end of the 'cycle of five centuries' of world domination by the West has appeared on the horizon. This assessment by Thierry de Montbrial, President of Ifri, is sensed by everyone, without being able to outline all of its lines of fracture or the reasons for hope. The questioning even of the title of RAMSES 2011, 'Un monde post-américain?', reveals much about the uncertainty weighing on this reconfiguration of strategic and economic power struggles. The team at the French Institute of International Relations offers us, however, in its annual report, interesting keys. And some stimulating conclusions..."*  
(Françoise Crouigneau, **La Tribune**, 17 September 2010)



*Philippe Moreau Defarges, Thierry de Montbrial, Jacques Mistral*



# Ifri and Its Partners

Ifri offers a unique platform to its partners, who are decisive actors in international relations. Combining research and debate activities, Ifri has renowned expertise and the ability to bring people together. Members benefit from this and enrich their own contacts.



Nicolas Swetchine, Assaad-Émile Saab, Bernard Estève, Henri Hié



Philippe Castagnac, Philippe Ducroquet



Bertrand Collomb, Thomas Gomart

With the support of 92 groups, Ifri puts its relationship with its partners at the center of its priorities pertaining to development. Thanks to its partners, the diversity of Ifri's sources of financing is assured while, through this collaboration, Ifri's expertise can be applied to its partners' international strategies. The long-term support of its partners is also essential to the structuring of sustainable teams, which is indispensable for maintaining a lasting, active presence at the global level.

In 2010, almost every multi-year program funding pledge was continued, showing the fidelity and satisfaction of our partners. Though the general context remains difficult, a high level of membership has nevertheless been maintained. At the same time, new partners have joined Ifri with high ambitions. *We would like to thank all of our old and new members for their support.*

Ifri proposes:

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

Through their relationship with Ifri, its partners have access to Ifri in its entirety, to the only French think tank that is integrated into the network of large global institutes, as well as to its researchers who work on themes of common interest.

## Strategic Development Team



*Brynhild Dumas*  
Director of Development  
(until 31 August 2010)



*Thomas Gomart*  
Director of Strategic Development  
(starting 1 September 2010)



*Cécile Campagne*  
Assistant, Corporate Member Relations



*Dominique Desgranges*  
Prospect Research and Management,  
Individual Benefactor Relations



*Barbara M'Chiri*  
Individual and Embassy  
Member Relations



## Events Reserved for Ifri's Members and Partners

### Dinners and Lunch-Debates

Chair: **Thierry de Montbrial**

**4 February** – **Stephen Breyer**, Supreme Court Judge, United States of America

**16 February** – **Miguel Angel Moratinos**, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Spain

**19 April** – **Irina Bokova**, Director General of UNESCO

**17 May** – **Stéphane Abrial**, Commander of Allied Command Transformation (ACT), NATO, Norfolk (USA)

**8 June** – **Prince El Hassan bin Talal**, of Jordan

**23 June** – **Günter Oettinger**, European Commissioner for Energy in the European Commission (dinner co-organized with RTE)

**26 October** – **Gérard Mestrallet**, President-Director General of GDF Suez

**5 November** – **Jean-Claude Juncker**, President of Eurogroupe

**1 December** – **Paul Martin**, former Prime Minister of Canada and Founder of the G20

**3 December** – **Oleg Deripaska**, Chief Executive Officer, RUSAL, with the participation of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, former President of France, and Gerhard Schroeder, former German Chancellor

**16 December** – **Abdou Diouf**, former President of the Republic of Senegal, Secretary General of the International Organization of the Francophonie (OIF)

### Les Mensuelles Ifri / Entreprises

Lunch-Debates with Ifri's researchers

With the support of



**8 February** – **Can Barack Obama Succeed? How Will the US Recovery Evolve in 2010?**

With **Jacques Mistral**, Director of the Economic Studies Program and Scientific Advisor for the United States Program

**30 March** – **The Post-Copenhagen Perspectives and the Carbon Market Challenges**

With **William C. Ramsay**, Director, and **Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin**, Coordinator, European Governance and Geopolitics of Energy Program

**10 June** – **Economic Recovery in Eastern Asia: Diversified Directions**

With **Françoise Nicolas**, Economist, Director of the Ifri Center for Asian Studies

**28 September** – **The Great Ambitions of Turkish Diplomacy**

With **Dorothee Schmid**, Head of the Contemporary Turkey Program

**20 October** – **Mid-Term Elections: The Outlook for Obama**

With **Laurence Nardon**, Researcher, Head of the United States Program, Space Policy Program

**30 November** – **Al Qaeda: The End of Terrorism?**

With **Marc Hecker**, Researcher, Security Studies Center



### Decision-Makers Circle

Meeting for corporate members launched in 2009.

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

With the support of



**7 October** – **Serge Weinberg**, President of Weinberg Capital  
Double-digit inflation? Free trade in a scenario of rupture and its impact on firms

### Ambassadors' Table

Meetings for ambassador members, launched in 2010.

**6 October** – **José Mauricio Bustani**, Ambassador of Brazil in France

### Conferences reserved for members of Ifri

**18 May** – **Thierry de Montbrial**, President of Ifri  
Global Governance



# Ifri and Its Partners

## Ifri and Its Partners

December 2010

### Corporate Partners

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AIR LIQUIDE  
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EDF

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GROUPAMA S.A.  
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JOHN S. LATSIS PUBLIC BENEFIT FOUNDATION  
LAFARGE

RUSAL  
SANOFI AVENTIS  
SOCIÉTÉ GÉNÉRALE  
TAIPEI REPRESENTATIVE OFFICE IN FRANCE  
TOTAL  
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BURELLE S.A.  
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## Embassy and Representation Office Members

December 2010

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AZERBAIJAN	IRAQ	SINGAPORE
BAHRAIN	IRELAND	SLOVAKIA
BELGIUM	ISRAEL	SLOVENIA
BRAZIL	ITALY	SOUTH AFRICA
BULGARIA	JAPAN	SOUTH KOREA
CANADA	KAZAKHSTAN	SPAIN
CHINA	KUWAIT	SWEDEN
CROATIA	LUXEMBOURG	SWITZERLAND
CYPRUS	MALAYSIA	TAIPEI REPRESENTATIVE OFFICE IN FRANCE
CZECH REPUBLIC	MEXICO	TURKEY
DELEGATION OF POLAND TO THE OECD	MONACO	UNITED KINGDOM
DENMARK	THE NETHERLANDS	UNITED STATES
EGYPT	NEW ZEALAND	
ESTONIA	NORWAY	

## Institution Members

December 2010

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BASE AÉRIENNE 117 – CDAOA	EUROPEAN UNION INSTITUTE FOR SECURITY STUDIES	PRS CONSULTING (Portugal)
THE BREWERS OF EUROPE (Belgium)	HEI JUNIOR INTELLIGENCE	SECOURS CATHOLIQUE
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CONSEIL SUPÉRIEUR DU NOTARIAT	JETRO PARIS	

# Ifri and the Media: an Ongoing 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 2010, Ifri was active in the national and international press: its researchers authored 335 articles and interviews, were quoted approximately 5,600 times and made 325 television and radio appearances.



Thierry de Montbrial



Delegation of the  
Chinese press agency  
Xinhua



Press conference at the CAPE: Yavuz Baydar, Sabetay Varol,  
Clémentine Forissier, Dorothee Schmid, Marc Semo

In 2010, Ifri continued to maintain and develop partnerships in the media, notably with *Le Monde* for the launch of *RAMSES*, with *Libération* for the 2010 Sustainable Planet Forum in Lyon, and with the Foreign Press Center of Paris (CAPE) for the first Parliament/Ifri meeting on “L’État du monde à la fin de 2010” (The State of the World at the End of 2010). More than 15 columnists and journalists, French and foreign, took part in conferences or debates at Ifri, representing media outlets such as *Le Monde*, *Les Échos*, *Libération*, *L’Express*, *Reuters*, *France 3*, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *EurActiv France*, *Rue89.com*, *La Croix*, etc.

Every year, the publication of *RAMSES* is accompanied by a press conference at the Foreign Press Center of Paris (CAPE); in 2010 this took place in front of 60 French and foreign journalists. Thierry de Montbrial, Philippe Moreau Defarges, and Jacques Mistral opened the debate on current international issues, including the problem of the G20 and the regularization of global economics and finance, the weakening of the United States and the lack of global leadership, the future of the Euro Zone and the limits of the European Union, and the rising power of Asia and the BRIC countries, etc.

A Franco-Turkish Media Forum was held at Ifri in March 2010 within the framework of the “Season of Turkey” in France. The forum was organized by Ifri’s Contemporary Turkey Program in partnership with the Turkish think tank TESEV and with the participation of journalists, notably: Cengiz Aktar, *Vatan*, Nagehan Alçi, *Aksam*, Gökçe Aytulu, *Referans*, Yavuz Baydar, *Sabah*, Ferhat Boratav, *CNN Türk*, Ayşe Bohurler, *Yeni Safak*, Semir Gumusel, *Newsweek Turkey*, Kadri Gursel, *Milliyet*, Etyen Mahçupyan, *AGOS*, Ferai Tınç, *Hurriyet*, and Beril Dedeoğlu, *Today’s Zaman*.

In June 2010, Ifri hosted a delegation from the press agency Xinhua (“New China”) composed, notably, of Shuchun Zhou, Vice President of the agency; Fang Fang, Director of the agency’s Journalism Institute; Yong Jia, Director of the Department of Military Information; Tao Yan, Director of External Relations; Suchun Zheng, Director of the Paris office, and Qiang Ying, Deputy Director of the Paris office. This meeting opened the door to exchanges with the Ifri Center for Asian Studies and presented the institute’s work to the Chinese journalists.



Maité Jauréguy-Naudin, Antoine Reverchon, Jacques Mistral

## Media Relations Team



Natacha Crance  
Communications/Media Relations Officer



Azra Isakovic  
Archivist



# The Third World Policy Conference

15-17 October 2010, Marrakech – Morocco

The third World Policy Conference (WPC) was held in Marrakech, from 15th to 17th October 2010. As in the two preceding years, this WPC brought together key personalities to develop their visions of global governance, through small in-depth working groups with top specialists.

The meeting was opened with a message from the King of Morocco, an introduction by Thierry de Montbrial, and an address by Ban Ki-Moon, the Secretary General of the United Nations, who presented, among other things, his vision for the reform of the international organization.

The six plenary sessions were devoted as much to the fundamental challenges posed by global governance (climate, health, cyberspace, etc) as the preparation of the G20 for which South Korea passes the chairmanship to France in 2011. The two “sherpas,” the South Korean Ahn Ho-Young and French Jean-David Levitte, detailed their parallel approaches. Three expert workshops concentrated on more specific issues: energy and the environment, food security, and financial and monetary governance.

The lunch- and dinner-debates were an opportunity for speakers to illuminate transformations in the global system. Jean-Claude Trichet, President of the European Central Bank, dealt with the issue of the financial crisis and the prospects for the Euro. Fu Ying, Vice Foreign Minister of the People’s Republic of China, elucidated the Chinese vision for an international order. Mo Ibrahim talked about the reasoning behind his foundation: to control aid given to African states with criteria that would be more and more rigorous in terms of good governance.

This third conference confirmed the great interest sparked by the WPC, whose originality lies in the combination of high-ranking speakers and informal discussions. Through these meetings, active and open discussions are established between political and economic figures, experts, opinion leaders, and the media.

The fourth WPC will take place in Vienna (Austria) from 9th to 11th December 2011.



Ban Ki-Moon and Thierry de Montbrial



Jean-Claude Trichet, Haruhiko Kuroda, Kemal Dervis, Jacques Mistral, Xavier Vidal-Folch



Fu Ying



Jean-David Levitte



Nathalie Kosciusko-Morizet



Christophe de Margerie

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## Site :

[www.worldpolicyconference.com](http://www.worldpolicyconference.com) / [www.worldpolicyconferencetv.com](http://www.worldpolicyconferencetv.com)



Workshop: “Global Monetary and Financial Governance”

# The Team

As of 31 December 2010

**Thierry de Montbrial**, Member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques, President  
Florence Richomme, Assistant  
Doïna Romanenko, Coordinator of Activities, office of the President

**Dominique David**, Executive Vice President  
Nadia Fraioli, Assistant

**Dominique Moïsi**, Special Advisor

Song-Nim Kwon, Director of WPC programs

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  
Pauline Ollier, Assistant

#### French-Austrian Center (CFA)

Hans Stark, Advisor

#### Ifri Brussels

Olivier Jehin, Head  
Maïté de Boncourt, Research Fellow  
Adélaïde Boodts, Assistant Research Fellow

### Russia/NIS Center

Thomas Gomart, Director  
Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean, Research Fellow  
Dominic Fean, Assistant Research Fellow  
Julien Nocetti, Associate Research Fellow  
Catherine Ménié, Assistant

### Ifri Center for Asian Studies

Françoise Nicolas, Director  
Céline Pajon, Research Fellow  
John Seaman, Assistant Research Fellow

### Middle East/North Africa/Mediterranean

#### Middle East Program

Denis Bauchard, Advisor

#### North Africa Program

Mansouria Mokhefi, Head

#### Contemporary Turkey Program

Dorothee Schmid, Head  
Julien Cécillon, Assistant Research Fellow

### Sub-Saharan Africa Program

Alain Antil, Head  
Hélène Quénot-Suarez, 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  
Élie Tenenbaum, Assistant 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  
Benoît Michel, Field Officer, Research Fellow  
Françoise Thomas, Assistant

### Economic Studies Program

Jacques Mistral, Director  
Céline Bochet, Assistant

### European Governance and Geopolitics of Energy Program

Jacques Lesourne, Chairman of the Scientific Committee  
William C. Ramsay, Director  
Maïté Jaureguy-Naudin, Program Coordinator  
Maïté de Boncourt, Research Fellow  
Martine Breux, Assistant

### Space Program

Laurence Nardon, Head  
Christophe Venet, Associate Research Fellow  
Martine Breux, Assistant

### Migrations, Identities & Citizenship Program

Christophe Bertossi, Head  
Dorothee Prud'homme, Assistant Research Fellow  
Pauline Ollier, Assistant

### Health and Environment Program

Aline Leboeuf, Head  
Emma Broughton, Assistant Research Fellow

*Research fellows' biographies are available on Ifri's website ([www.ifri.org](http://www.ifri.org)).*

### RAMSES

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

### Politique étrangère

Dominique David, Editor-in-chief

### Publishing Department

Delphine Renard, Head  
Cécile Tarpinian, Assistant Editor

### Library and Resource Services

Daniel Marier, Archivist  
Azra Isakovic, Assistant Archivist

## Strategic Development

**Thomas Gomart**, Director  
Emmanuelle Farrugia, Assistant Director  
Dominique Desgranges, Prospect Research and Management  
Cécile Campagne, Corporate Member Relations  
Barbara M'Chiri, Individual and Embassy Member Relations

## Secretary General

**Valérie Genin**, Secretary General  
Alexandre Houdayer, Deputy Secretary General  
Françoise Henry, Assistant

## Accounting

Annie Acher, Accountant  
Nathalie Reculon-Dupont, Accountant

## Facilities and Security

Nathalie Hartmann, Head  
Mhenna Larbes, Technician  
Barbara M'Chiri, Houria Mabrouk, Receptionists  
Alex Maleau, Service Engineer

## Information Systems

Daniel Safon, Supervisor

# Research

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# 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 the economy;
- analyze Franco-German relationships 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, Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and European Security and Defense Policy (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 arms, European integration



**Nele Katharina Wissmann**, Assistant Research Fellow, in charge of The Franco-German Network of Young Leaders Program

**Pauline Ollier**, Assistant Associated Researchers

**Andreas Marchetti**, Research Fellow at the Center for European Integration Studies (Zentrum für Europäische Integrationsforschung, ZEI) at the University of Bonn

**Areas of expertise:** European integration politics, European security policy, and European neighborhood policy

**Stephan Martens**, Professor at the University of Bordeaux III

**Areas of expertise:** German foreign policy, German Eastern policy, Franco-German relations, evolution of the European construction process (EEC, EU) and the growth of the EU

#### 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.

##### 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 neighbors.

#### Cerfa's Work in 2010

In 2010, Cerfa's seminars 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 European Security and Defense Policy after the Treaty of Lisbon (13 April) and to French and German defense policies in times of crisis (17 November). A big public conference (7 December) was organized – by Cerfa and the Centre d'information et de recherche sur l'Allemagne contemporaine (Center for Information and Research on Contemporary Germany) (CIRAC) – on the German economic model and its domestic challenges. Franco-German dialogue on economic matters was also pursued, with a conference-debate at which guests included Pierre Lellouche, Secretary of State for European Affairs, and Stephan Toscani, Minister of the Interior and of European Affairs of Saarland. In addition, in 2010 Cerfa continued its Franco-German series on high technology and innovation in cooperation with the Chambre franco-allemande de commerce et d'industrie (the Franco-German Chamber of Commerce and Industry) (CFACI). Three conferences were presented within the framework of this series: 9 February, on nanotechnologies; 1 June, on medical technologies, and 5 October, on electric vehicles.

Finally, in 2010, Cerfa published three large-scale papers, two of which were on the subject of the European Union, one "Note de l'Ifri," and 12 electronic publications ("Notes du Cerfa" and "Visions franco-allemandes").

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

Encouraged by the success of the call for tenders for "The Franco-German Network of Young Leaders" from 2007 to 2009, the project was renewed by Ifri and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (German Council on Foreign Relations) (DGAP). This Franco-German network brings together highly qualified international students and young postgraduates in the social sciences, economics and the humanities, as well as young professionals who deal with Franco-German issues in their work. The network is organized in cooperation with, and supported financially by, the Robert Bosch Foundation. Over the course of three seminars (Berlin, Paris, Hamburg), the 20 participants of the 2010 program discussed current issues in Franco-German cooperation and debated with renowned 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 on the websites of Ifri and the DGAP.

#### France and Germany Confronted with European Crises

Within the framework of a new bilateral research program financed by the Agence nationale de la recherche (National Research Agency) (ANR) and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Research Foundation) (DFG), Cerfa and the Zentrum für Europäische Integrationsforschung (Center for European Integration Studies) (ZEI) are working together to analyze the various crises of integration and enlargement that have confronted the EU. The two institutes analyze, from a Franco-German perspective, 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 initial phase of the research program consists of analyzing the positions and outlooks of French and German political and administrative decision-makers concerning the limits, goals, and policies of the Union.

The second phase of the project focuses on identifying the possible margins of maneuverability for a Franco-German initiative in the EU and, subsequently, on outlining possible development scenarios for the EU from 2020 onwards. Researchers work in bi-national teams during seminars and when drafting publications.

#### Book

*Radioscopies de l'Allemagne 2010*, Louis-Marie Clouet and Hans Stark (eds.), Paris, La Documentation française.





## Electronic Publications

The texts published by Cerfa in 2010 for its online collections, "Notes du Cerfa" and "Visions franco-allemandes," looked at German policy from four angles: Franco-German relations, German economic and social development, foreign policy orientations, and German political and social debates. At a time of renewed economic growth following the financial crisis, a number of the texts concentrated on the German economic model and the governance of the Euro, as well as on the internal challenges faced in Germany (demography, social politics, health, and integration of immigrants). German foreign policy was addressed in several publications. Two "Notes du Cerfa" examined Berlin's partnerships with Moscow and Beijing. Foreign security (Afghanistan) and interior security (intelligence) were also addressed in two publications.

### • "Notes du Cerfa"

**Le partenariat économique Chine-Allemagne : une interdépendance croissante,** Margot Schüller, n° 71, January.

**Crises et défis de l'industrie automobile allemande,** Helmut Becker, n° 72, March.

**Le partenariat économique Allemagne-Russie : une interdépendance assumée,** Christian Meier, n° 73, April.

**L'avenir des Verts allemands : vers un parti charnière,** Christoph Egle, n° 74, May.

**Les réformes sociales : Hartz IV à l'heure de la rigueur en Allemagne,** Brigitte Lestrade, n° 75, June.

**L'engagement militaire allemand en Afghanistan : conditions, évaluations, perspectives,** Markus Kaim, n° 76, July.

**Le financement de la politique de santé de l'Allemagne : conditions, évaluations, perspectives,** Rolf Schmuker, n° 77, August.

**L'Allemagne et le contrôle parlementaire des services de renseignement,** Thorsten Wetzling, n° 78, October.

**L'intégration des immigrés d'origine turque en Allemagne,** Martine Sauer, n° 79, November.

**L'économie allemande en sortie de crise,** Rémi Lallement, n° 80, December.

### • "Notes de l'Ifri"

**MALE Drones: Europe's Options?,** Louis-Marie Clouet and Laurence Nardon, May.

### • "Visions franco-allemandes"

**Le décrochage démographique France-Allemagne,** Reiner Kingholz and Stephan Sievert, n° 16, January.

**La France et l'Allemagne face à la crise de l'euro : à la recherche de la convergence perdue,** Pascal Kauffmann and Henrik Uterwedde, n° 17, July.



## Articles

"**Allemagne, entre rigueur et désillusion,**" Hans Stark, in *RAMSES* 2011.

"**Européenne, l'Allemagne ? Retour sur un long procès,**" Hans Stark, in *Politique étrangère*, 3-2010.

## Publications Outside Ifri

**L'Europe et le monde en 2020. Essai de prospective franco-allemande,** Louis-Marie Clouet and Andreas Marchetti (eds.), Lille, Presses universitaires du Septentrion.

**La France et l'Allemagne face aux crises européennes,** Claire Demesmay and Andreas Marchetti, Bordeaux, Presses universitaires de Bordeaux, "Perspectives européennes" series.



## Seminars

12-13 April – 10th Franco-German Strategic Forum – European Security and Defense Policies after the Treaty of Lisbon: What Roles for Germany and France?, Berlin

In cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

Subjects addressed: Looking back on 10 years of ESDP – The importance of Franco-German military cooperation in ESDP – Institutional structures and their articulation.

With the participation of Elmar Brok, Member of the European Parliament; Michael Borchard, Director of Politics and Consulting, Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Berlin; Eberhard Pohl, Deputy Political Director, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Berlin; Volker Heise, ESDP and EFSP Advisor, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), Berlin; Céline Caro, European Policy Coordinator, Konrad Adenauer Foundation; General Patrick de Rousiers, French Military Representative to the European Union Military Committee, Brussels; Colonel Gert-Johannes Hagemann, Chief of ESDP Africa Unit, Federal Ministry of Defense, Berlin; Jens Paulus, Head of Europe/North America International Cooperation Department, Konrad Adenauer Foundation; Jean-Louis Falconi, Ambassador, Political and Security Committee of the European Union, Brussels; Colonel Rainer Meyer zum Felde, Head of the Department of Security Policy and Strategy, Leadership Academy of the German Armed Forces, Hamburg; Mathias Jopp, Director, Institut für Europäische Politik (IEP), Berlin; Patrick Keller, Coordinator for Foreign Policy and Security, Konrad Adenauer Foundation; Stephan Martens, Professor at the University of Bordeaux III, Associate Research Fellow, Ifri; Dominique David and Hans Stark, Ifri.

15-17 April – Dialogue on the Franco-German Future, Berlin

With the cooperation of the Robert Bosch Foundation and the DGAP.

25-27 June – Dialogue on the Franco-German Future, Paris

With the cooperation of the Robert Bosch Foundation and the DGAP.

14-17 October – Dialogue on the Franco-German Future, Hamburg

With the cooperation of the Robert Bosch Foundation and the DGAP.

17 November – 11th Franco-German Strategic Forum – French and German Defense Policies in Times of Crisis

With the cooperation of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

Subjects addressed: What structural reforms are to be made in the French and German armed forces when defense budgets are decreased? – What defense partnerships exist in Europe? Paris-Berlin or Paris-London? – Franco-German cooperation in armament: what future projects?

With the participation of Ulrich Schlie, Director of Planning, Federal Ministry of Defense, Berlin; Jörg Wolff, Director, Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Paris; Heinz-Reinhard Beck, Spokesman for CDU/CSU Group on Defense Policy, Bundestag; Hervé Mariton, Spokesman for the UMP on Defense Policy, Member of the Finance Commission, Assemblée nationale; General Karl-Heinz Lather, Member of the Commission on the Restructuring of German Armed Forces, Berlin; Patrick Keller, Coordinator for Foreign Policy and Security, Konrad Adenauer Foundation; Roderich Kiesewetter, Spokesman for the CDU/CSU Group on Disarmament, Arm Controls, and Non-Proliferation, Member of the Commission of Foreign and European Affairs, Bundestag; General Marc Duquesne, Deputy Director of Strategic Affairs, Ministry of Defense, Paris; Reynold de la Boutetière, Chief of Germany-Sweden Bureau, General Armament Delegation (DGA), Ministry of Defense, Paris; Hilmar Linnenkamp, Advisor to Policy and Security Research Groups, Coordinator of Cluster Armament, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), Berlin; Andreas Schockenhoff, President of France-Germany Friendship Group, Vice President of CDU/CSU Group, Bundestag; Étienne de Durand, Louis-Marie Clouet, Hans Stark and Dominique David, Ifri.

## Conferences and Breakfast Debates

9 February – Nanotechnologies: Vectors of Innovation, Industrial Applications, Opinions and Perception

Franco-German series on high technology and innovation, with the cooperation of the Franco-German Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

With Sandrine Blanchemanche, Director of the INRA-Met@risk Unit, Coordinator of the Franco-German program "Risk, Uncertainty and Regulation: NanoFoods in France and Germany," and Günter Tovar, Deputy Spokesman for Fraunhofer-Allianz Nanotechnology, Fraunhofer Institute for Interfacial Engineering and Biotechnology, Stuttgart.

1 June – New Technology in Medicine: What Advances, What Ethical Stakes?

Franco-German series on high technology and innovation, with the cooperation of the Franco-German Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

With Professor Bernard Debré, Head of Urology at Cochin Hospital, Member of the National Ethics Committee; Denis Perrus, Director of Marketing & Business Management, Division Healthcare France, Siemens; and Pierre Leurent, PDG and Founder of Voluntis.

5 October – The Electric Vehicle: Future or Illusion for the European Automotive Industry?

Franco-German series on high technology and innovation, with the cooperation of the Franco-German Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

With *Helmut Becker*, Director of the IWK Institute, Munich; *Jean-Michel Cavret*, Director of Electro-Mobility Strategy, BMW France; and *Jean-Louis Legrand*, Interministerial Coordinator for Decarbonated Vehicles, Ministry of Ecology and Sustainable Development.

25 May – The Franco-German Pair and Europe in the Face of the Crisis

With the cooperation of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

With *Pierre Lellouche*, Secretary of State for European Affairs; and *Stephan Toscani*, Minister of the Interior and European Affairs for Saarland.

24 November – The NATO Summit: Implications for France and Germany

With the cooperation of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

With *Karl-Heinz Kampf*, Director, Research Division, NATO Defense College, Rome.

7 December – The German Economy after the Crisis: What Governance for the Euro?

With the cooperation of CIRAC and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

With *René Lasserre*, Professor, University of Cergy-Pontoise, Director, CIRAC; *Christoph Schröder*, Cologne Institute for Economic Research; *Andrea Zenker*, Fraunhofer Institut für System-und Innovationsforschung (ISI), Karlsruhe; *Anne Salles-Lestrade*, University of Paris IV; *Markus Grabka*, Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (DIW), Berlin; *Steffen Angenendt*, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Berlin; *Patrick Steinpass*, National Economy/Financial Markets, German Savings Bank Association (DSGV); *Denise Flouzat-Osmont d'Amilly*, Professor, University of Paris I, Administrator of the Banque de France Foundation; *Henrik Uterwedde*, Deputy Director, Franco-German Institute of Ludwigsburg; *Steffen Kampeter*, Parliamentary State Secretary at the Federal Ministry of Finance, Berlin; and *Jacques Mistral*, Ifri.

## Europe

# French-Austrian Center for European Convergence (CFA)

**The French-Austrian Center for European Convergence (Centre franco-autrichien pour le rapprochement en Europe) (CFA) is a Franco-Austrian intergovernmental organization created in 1978. Its primary 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, 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, since 2009, towards the countries bordering the Black Sea.**

## Team

**Thierry de Montbrial**, President

**Peter Jankowitsch**, Secretary General (Vienna)



**Éliane Mossé**, Research Fellow, Advisor to Ifri for the CFA (Head of CFA activities at Ifri until September 2010); Advisor for Central and Eastern Europe (since September 2010)



**Hans Stark**, Research Fellow, Advisor to Ifri for the CFA (Head of CFA activities at Ifri, beginning September 2010)

**Nele Katharina Wissmann**, Assistant Research Fellow

**Céline Bochet**, Assistant

## Seminar and Debate

7 June – Central Europe and the Crisis: a Franco-Austrian Approach

With the participation of *Peter Jankowitsch*, Secretary General of CFA; *Ewald Nowotny*, Governor of the Austrian National Bank, Vienna; *Jacques de Larosière*, Advisor to the President of BNP Paribas, former Director General of FMI, former President of EBRD, Paris; *Jérôme Baconin*, Financial Advisor for Central Europe and the Baltic States, French Embassy, Warsaw; *Doris Ritzberger-Grünwald*, Director of International Studies, Austrian National Bank; *Peter Miho*, President, Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Slovakia; *Michal Ivanovsky*, Member of Board of Directors, Volksbank International AG, Vienna; *Franz Nauschnigg*, Director of European Affairs and International Financial Institutions, Austrian National Bank; *Franziska Ohnsorge*, Austrian Institute for Economic Research (WIFO), Vienna; *Tomasz Nowakowski*, Executive Director in charge of Legal Affairs and Communication, Telekomunikacja Polska Group, former Secretary of State for European Affairs, Warsaw; *Ferdinand Lacina*, Advisor to the President of Bank Austria, former Minister of Finance, Vienna; *Christian de Boissieu*, President of the Conseil d'analyse économique attached to the French Prime Minister, Paris; *Fadi Farra*, Director of the Eurasia Competitiveness Program, OECD, Paris; *Helmut Kramer*, Professor of Political Economics, University of Vienna; *Pierre Jaillet*, Director General of Studies and International Relations, Banque de France; *Christa Peutl*, Deputy Director of Coordination, charged with European Union, Economy, and Finances, Federal Chancellery, Vienna; *Edmond Alphandéry*, President of the Board of Directors, CNP Assurances, former Minister of the Economy and Finance, Paris; *Dominik Radziwill*, Secretary of State, Ministry of Finance, Warsaw; and *Éliane Mossé*, Ifri.

14 December – The Importance of Eastern Partnerships for the European Union and Eastern Europe

With *Andrzej Cieszkowski*, Coordinator for Eastern Partnerships in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Poland; and *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, Research Fellow, Co-Director of RAMSES, Ifri.

## International Conferences

29-30 April – Croatia on the Eve of its Entry into the EU: the Voices of Reform, Zagreb  
Bilateral Franco-Austrian Conference.

With the participation of *Peter Jankowitsch*, Secretary General of CFA; *Sanja Tisma*, Director of the Croatian Institute of International Relations (IMO); *Manuel Salazar Palma*, Ambassador of Spain in Croatia; *Hannes Swoboda*, European Parliament Rapporteur for Croatia, Vienna; *Ursula Plassnik*, former Minister for European and International Affairs, Vienna; *Ivan Simonovic*, Minister for Justice, Zagreb; *Stephen Bartulica*, President, Croatian Center for the Renewal of Culture (COK), Zagreb; *Vesna Pusic*, President of Croatian National Committee for Tracking the Negotiations on the Accession of Croatia to the European Union, Parliament, Zagreb; *Vedran Dzihic*, Political Scientist, University of Vienna, Director of CEIS (Center for European Integration Studies), Vienna; *Ivan Vejvoda*, Executive Director, Balkan Trust for Democracy, Belgrade; *Guy Legras*, Advisor to the Croatian Prime Minister on Accession to the EU, Paris; *Kristian Turkalj*, Director, EU Relations Service and International Cooperation, Ministry of Justice, Zagreb; *Filip Tesar*, Research Fellow, Institute of International Relations, Prague; *Andrej Ster*, former Minister of the Interior of the Republic of Slovenia; *Damir Grubisa*, Director of the Center for European Studies, University

of Zagreb; *Bertrand Rioust de Largentaye*, Advisor to the EU delegation to the OECD and UNESCO, Paris; *Davor Vuletic*, Advisor on Foreign Affairs to the Croatian Member of the Presidency, Sarajevo; *Davor Ljubanovic*, Secretary of State, Ministry of Public Administration, Zagreb; *Tomasz Taraba*, President of the Board of Directors, Volksbank Hrvatska, Zagreb; *Zdeslav Santic*, Chief Economist, Splistka Banka/Société générale group, Split; *Andrea Mervar*, Researcher, Deputy Director of the Economics Institute, Zagreb; *Vladimir Gligorov*, Economist, Institute for International Economic Studies (MIW), Vienna; *Visnja Samardzija*, Head of the Department for European Integration, Institute for International Relations, Zagreb; *Vladimir Drobnjak*, Chief Negotiator for Croatia to the EU, Zagreb; *Henriette Riegler*, Researcher for the Institute for International Politics, Vienna/Zagreb; *Amaud Danjean*, Member of the European Parliament, President of the Sub-Committee on Security and Defense; *David Hudson*, Delegation of the EU in Croatia; *Jean-Claude Pasty*, President of the Foreign Relations Section, Economic, Health, and Environmental Council, Paris; *Mladen Stanicic*, Head of Economic and Political Relations Department, Institute for International Affairs, Zagreb; *Dunja Jevak*, Head of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro and Serbia Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration for the Republic of Croatia; *Karel Kühn*, Ambassador of the Czech Republic in Croatia; *Mladen Dragasevic*, Head of the Department for Building Human Capital and Crosscutting Issues, Regional Cooperation Council (CCR), Sarajevo; *Aleksandar Nikoloski*, Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia, Skopje; *Johannes Eigner*, Federal Ministry of European and International Affairs, Vienna; *Andrej Plenkovic*, Secretary of State for the European Integration of the Republic of Croatia; *Eliane Mossé* and *Dominique David*, Ifri.

21 October – Demography, Migration and European Identity: What Challenges for Europe?, Vienna

With the participation of *Heinz Fischer*, President of the Republic of Austria; *Peter Jankowitsch*, Secretary General of CFA; *Sandra Frauenberger*, Integration Advisor, Vienna City Council; *Rainer Münz*, Head of the Research and Development Unit, Erste Bank, Vienna; *Joël Oudinet*, Associate Professor, University of Paris XIII; *Christian Friesl*, Head of Social Policy Department, Federation of Austrian Industries, Vienna; *Jean-Pierre Garson*, Head of International Migration Division, OECD, Paris; *Ioannis Dimitrakopoulos*, Head of the Department of Equal Treatment and Citizens Rights, European Union Agency of Fundamental Rights, Vienna; *Elena Kalogeropoulos*, Deputy Executive Director, Austrian Integration Fund; *Lukas Gehrke*, International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD), Vienna; *Pawel Kaczmarczyk*, Vice Director of the Centre of Migration Research, Warsaw; *Friedrich Gehart*, Chairman, Sir Peter Ustinov Institute: Researching and Combating Prejudice, Vienna; *Anton Pelinka*, Center for Conflict Studies, Vienna; *Philippe d'Iribarne*, Director of Research, CNRS, Paris; *Gudrun Biffi*, Professor, University of Krems; *Josef Berghold*, Professor, University of Innsbruck, Institute of Education Sciences; *Doron Rabinovici*, Writer, Essayist, Historian; *Patrick Savida*, President, Inequalities Observatory, Paris; *Slavko Gaber*, former Minister for Education and Science, Republic of Slovenia; *Michel Cullin*, Professor, Director of Franco-Austrian Relations Research Unit, Diplomatic Academy, Vienna; and *Dominique David*, Ifri.

## Europe

# Ifri Brussels

For Ifri, participation in the debate on the values, policies, and institutions of the European Union is of vital importance. While 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 & Citizenship” – as well as in 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 that concern the European capital, and European institutions, the vast network of think tanks and researchers located in Brussels, the private sector, and the ensemble of European civil-society representatives. Ifri Brussels aims to enrich European discussions of today’s most important issues with a multidisciplinary approach covering all the dimensions of international relations.

This ambition to participate in the structuring of the debate on European ideas has prompted Ifri, in cooperation with Bertelsmann Stiftung and Agence Europe, to launch the Brussels Think Tank Dialogue, an annual meeting devoted to discussion on the state of the Union. The first conference brought nine think tanks together in January 2010.

## Team



**Olivier Jehin**, Research Fellow, Head of Ifri Brussels (beginning September 2010)

**Susanne Nies**, Head of Ifri Brussels, Research Fellow for the European Governance and Geopolitics of Energy Program (until August 2010)



**Adélaïde Boodts**, Assistant Research Fellow for the South-East Europe Program



**Maïté de Boncourt**, Research Fellow for the European Governance and Geopolitics of Energy Program

**Christian Schülke**, Assistant Research Fellow for the European Governance and Geopolitics of Energy Program

## Research Areas

The primary objective of Ifri Brussels is to promote the ensemble of Ifri’s research. In 2010, this intermediary role was particularly affirmed through the hosting of large-scale conferences (held by the Energy and Space Programs), Energy Breakfasts, and *huis clos* seminars.

Depending on the needs of programs, conferences, or other events, Ifri Brussels hosts Ifri’s research fellows and interns. Its publications add to Ifri’s various published series, including “Europe.Visions,” a publication issued exclusively by Ifri Brussels.

## Books

Ukraine : un pays de transit dans l’impasse, *Susanne Nies*, “Les Études de l’Ifri.”

The EU’s Major Electricity and Gas Utilities since Market Liberalization, *Christian Schülke*, “Les Études de l’Ifri.”



## Electronic Publications

### • “Europe.Visions”

Les citoyens face à la défense européenne, *André Dumoulin*, n° 6, November.

European Defence Economy Affected by the Crisis, *Olivier Jehin*, n° 7, November.





### • “Europe du Sud-Est”

Moldova: a Status Quo of EU Institutional Relations, *Florentina Harbo*, n° 1, April.

Kosovo : deux ans après la déclaration d'indépendance, *Sébastien Gricourt*, n° 2, July.

L'économie serbe dans un contexte régional, communautaire et international, *Adélaïde Boodts*, n° 3, December.



### • “Notes de l’Ifri”

Les Irlandais et le traité de Lisbonne, Acte II, *Marie-Claire Considère-Charon*, January.

### • “Actuelles de l’Ifri”

Serbie : cap 2014, *Adélaïde Boodts*, January.

L’Union, ou les institutions de la diplomatie sans la diplomatie, *Dominique David*, January.

L’Ukraine, entre désillusion politique et dilemme stratégique, *Julien Théron*, February.

President Obama Snubs Europe: the U.S. Perspective on the EU, *Devon Weidemann*, February.

Serbia Moving Ahead Towards Trade Liberalization with EU?, *Adélaïde Boodts*, March.

EU 2020: Can We Afford Another Failed Lisbon Strategy?, *Maité de Boncourt*, March.

La nomination de Vale de Almeida, *Devon Weidemann*, March.

German Power Options: Lack of Clarity Will Be Costly, *Christian Schülke*, March.

The Future of the European Monetary Fund, *Devon Weidemann*, March.

L'économie européenne de défense malade de la crise, *Olivier Jehin*, November.

## Articles

“Europe” Section, *Susanne Nies* (ed.), in *RAMSES 2011*.

“L’UE du traité de Lisbonne : point sur la réforme institutionnelle,” *Susanne Nies* (ed.), in *RAMSES 2011*.

## Seminars, Round Tables, Debates

### “Ifri’s Tuesdays in Brussels”

13 January – European Transport Policy: from Market Opening to System Integration

With *Helmut Schmitt von Sydow*, Professor, University of Lausanne.

2 February – The Alternative Scenarios of the Emerging Multipolar World and the Tiny Opportunities for the EU-styled Multilateral Way

With *Mario Telo*, Vice President, Institute for European Studies (IEE), Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB).

17 February – Can Greece Get Itself Out of the Crisis? Problems of Reform Capacity

With *Kevin Featherstone*, Eleftherios Venizelos Professor of Contemporary Greek Studies, Director of the Hellenic Observatory in the European Institute, London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE).

23 February – Debate on Method: How Does the Commission Organize Green Papers?

With *Évelyne Pichenot*, President of the French Environmental, Economic and Social Council Delegation to the EU, Member of the European Economic and Social Committee (CESE).

2 March – The Setting-Up of the Lisbon Treaty

With *Philippe Étienne*, Ambassador, Permanent Representative of France to the EU.

9 March – The European Challenges for a New German Government

With *Joachim Fritz-Vannahme*, Director of the “Avenir de l’Europe” Program, Bertelsmann Foundation.

16 March – Re-envisioning the EU after Lisbon

With *Vivien Schmidt*, Jean Monnet Professor of European Integration, Director of the Center of International Relations, Boston University; and *Mario Telo*, Vice President, Institute for European Studies (IEE), Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB).

23 March – Post-Lisbon Comitology and the Balance of Powers

With *Daniel Guegen*, President, European Training Institute.

20 April – Where Europe Ends

With *Alina Mungiu-Pippidi*, Professor, Hertie School of Governance.

27 April – German-Polish Relations in 2010: Is History Still Dominating?

With *Justyna Gotkowska*, German Department, Centre for Eastern Studies (OSW), Warsaw; and *Christian Schülke*, Ifri.

4 May – France – Territorial Issues: the Urban Challenge

With *Béatrice Giblin*, Professor, University of Paris VIII, Director of *Hérodote*.

18 May – Mapping European Integration Through Its Cities

With *Domenico Rossetti di Valdalbero*, DG Research, European Commission.

8 June – The Impact of the USA on Early EU Integration

With *Constantin Chira-Pascanut*, University of Victoria, BC, Canada.

16 June – Kosovo: Two Years Later

With *Sébastien Gricourt*, former Policy Adviser at UNMIK, Prime Minister’s Office and KFOR.

22 June – Barroso II: Agenda and Challenges

With *Johannes Laitenberger*, Head of the Cabinet for President Barroso, European Commission.

29 June – Public Debt: the New Accounting System (SEC 95 Revision)

With *Jean-Pierre Dupuis* and *Denis Besnard*, Public Finance Unit, National and European Accounts Directorate, Eurostat, European Commission.

14 September – Statistical Governance: Progress and Tensions

With *Jean-Michel Charpin*, Member of the European Statistical Governance Advisory Board (ESGAB), former Director General of INSEE.

12 October – Mid-Term Elections: What Are the Prospects for Obama?

With *Laurence Nardon*, Research Fellow, Head of the United States Program, Ifri.

4 November – The Citizen Faced with European Defense

With *André Dumoulin*, Attaché to the Royal Military School of Belgium, Member of the Multidisciplinary Network of Strategic Studies.

9 November – Energy and Development

With *Andris Piebalgs*, Commissioner in charge of Development, European Commission.

16 November – Empowering Iraqi Kurdistan: Effects on Regional Dynamics

With *Dorothee Schmid*, Research Fellow, Head of the Contemporary Turkey Program, Ifri.

23 November – NATO after Lisbon

With *Xavier Paillard*, Squadron Vice Admiral, French Military Representative to the EU and NATO; and *Étienne de Durand*, Director of the Security Studies Center, Ifri.

26 November – Anglo-French Cooperation in Africa: Bolstering or Bypassing the EU?

With *Tony Chafer*, University of Portsmouth; and *Gordon Gunning*, University of Cardiff.

14 December – Science, the Meeting Point of European Energy and Environmental Policies

With *Domenico Rossetti di Valdalbero*, author of *The Power of Science*; and *Pierre Valette*, Head of the Economic, Social, and Human Sciences Research Unit, DG Research, European Commission.

## Other Seminars in Brussels

12 January – State of the Union: Brussels Think Tank Dialogue

In collaboration with Bertelsmann Stiftung, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), Bruegel, Madariaga College of Europe Foundation, Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS), Friends of Europe, European Policy Center (EPC), Egmont Institute, Agence Europe.

With the participation of *José Manuel Barroso*, President, European Commission; *Pierre Defraigne*, Executive Director, Madariaga College of Europe Foundation; *Daniel Gros*, Director, CEPS; *Thomas Fischer*, Executive Director, Brussels office, Bertelsmann Stiftung; *Giles Merritt*, Secretary General, Friends of Europe; *Jean Pisani-Ferry*, Director, Bruegel; *Daniela Schwartzer*, Head of the European Integration Research Division, SWP; *Antonio Missiroli*, Director of Studies, EPC; *Jo Coelmont*, Senior Associate Fellow, Egmont Institute; *Tim King*, Editor-in-Chief, European Voice; *Artur Runge-Metzger*, Chief Negotiator for International Climate Negotiations, DG Environment, European Commission; *Susanne Dröge*, Head of the Global Issues Research Division, SWP; *Christian Egenhofer*, Head of the Energy and Climate Change Program, CEPS; *Vitor Gaspar*, Director General, Bureau of European Policy Advisers (BEPA), European Commission; *Jacques*



*Delpla*, Member of the Prime Minister's Economics Advisory Council, France; *Carlo Altomonte*, Associate Professor, Bocconi University; *Fabian Zuleeg*, EPC; Stewart Fleming, Visiting Researcher, London School of Economics (LSE); *Jakob Von Weizsäcker*, Researcher, Bruegel; *David Chico Zamanillo*, Policy Advisor on Immigration and Emigration for the Spanish Secretary of State; *Menouar Alem*, Moroccan Ambassador to the EU; *Bjarte Vandvik*, Secretary General, European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE); *Rainer Münz*, Head of Research and Development, Erste Group Bank AG; *Christal Morehouse*, Coordinator, Bertelsmann Stiftung; *Josef Janning*, Director, Bertelsmann Stiftung; *Thomas Renard*, Research Fellow in the Security and Global Governance Program, Egmont Institute; *Nicole Gnesotto*, Professor, Conservatoire national des arts et métiers (CNAM); *Ian Keams*, Researcher, Royal United Services Institute (RUSI); *Allan Larsson*, Chairman of the Board, Lund University; *Paul Taylor*, Deputy Editor-in-Chief for European Policy, Reuters; *Susanne Nies*, *Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin*, *William C. Ramsay*, Ifri.

*José Manuel Barroso*



9 March – US-EU Coordination: a Focus on Civilian Assistance for Afghanistan and Pakistan  
In collaboration with the United States Mission to the EU.

With *Dan Feldman*, Deputy Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan, US Department of State.

15 June – 15th European Union Forum: Russia  
Organized by the German Council on Foreign Relations, the Institute of Contemporary Development (INSOR) and Ifri.

With *Alexander Kwasniewski*, former President of the Republic of Poland.

7 October – Presentation of *RAMSES 2011*  
At the *Filigranes* bookstore in Brussels, with *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, Research Fellow, Co-Director of *RAMSES*.

2 December – South-East Europe: Regional Cooperation, Institutional Change and the Challenge of European Integration  
In collaboration with the London School of Economics (LSE) – Research on South-Eastern Europe, and with the support of the John S. Latsis Public Benefit Foundation.

With the participation of *Kevin Featherstone*, LSE; *Vesna Bojicci-Dzellilovic*, LSE; *Will Bartlett*, LSE; *Sonja Avlija*, FREN, Belgrade; *Vassilis Monastiriotis*, LSE; *Maja Savic*, LSE; *Simona Gatti*, Deputy Head of the Bosnia & Herzegovina Unit, DG Enlargement, European Commission; *Stefan Bouzarovski*, University of Birmingham; *Nevenka Cuckovic*, Croatian Institute of International Relations (IMO), Zagreb; *Marc Angel*, Member of Parliament, Luxembourg, and Reporter for NATO's Parliamentary Assembly; *Marta Szpala*, Centre for Eastern Studies (OSW), Warsaw; *Adélaïde Boodts*, *Hans Stark*, *Olivier Jehin* and *Dominique David*, Ifri.

## Russia/NIS

# Russia/NIS Center

**For political, economic and strategic reasons, it is no longer possible to overlook Russia and the Newly Independent States (NIS). Both that country and that region are simultaneously characterized by strong potential and 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 of the Russia/NIS Center  
**Areas of expertise:** civil-military relations, interaction between foreign policy and energy policy, European Union/Russia partnership, nation branding



**Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean**, Research Fellow  
**Areas of expertise:** Russian higher education, innovation systems, technological potential, Russian soft power, human potential



**Dominic Fean**, Assistant Research Fellow  
**Areas of expertise:** Russian international politics, Ukraine, Moldova, Caucasus, European neighborhood policy

**Catherine Méniane**, Assistant Associated Researcher

**Julien Nocetti**, Research Fellow  
**Areas of expertise:** Russian Middle East policy, Russia and OPEC

## 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 for close examination of the functioning of the central government. Particular attention is given to the interaction between the military and political leadership. 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 based on strong bilateral relationships and a complex negotiation process. 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), as well as the consequences of the Eastern Partnership.

### Interaction 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. This area allows for collaboration with Ifri's European Governance and Geopolitics of Energy Program.

### Technological Innovation and Scientific Research

This program analyzes the resources that Russia possesses for use in modernization efforts. It examines the superior training systems as well as areas of excellence in the field of technology.

## Electronic Publications

- **"Russie.Nei.Visions"**  
(collection published in English, French, and Russian)  
**Georgia, Obama, the Economic Crisis: Shifting Ground in Russia-EU Relations**, *Timofei Bordatchev*, n° 46, January.
- Russia, China and the United States: from Strategic Triangularism to the Postmodern Triangle**, *Bobo Lo*, n° 47, February.
- Internal and External Impact of Russia's Economic Crisis**, *Jeffrey Mankoff*, n° 48, March.
- Russia's Greater Middle East Policy: Securing Economic Interests, Courting Islam**, *Mark N. Katz*, n° 49, April.
- Europe in Russian Foreign Policy: Important But No Longer Pivotal**, *Thomas Gomart*, n° 50, May.
- Russia and Turkey: Rethinking Europe to Contest Outsider Status**, *Richard Sakwa*, n° 51, May.
- From Moscow to Mecca: Russia's Saudi Arabian Diplomacy**, *Julien Nocetti*, n° 52, May.
- Results of the "Reset" in US-Russian Relations**, *R. Craig Nation*, n° 53, July.
- Russia's Far East Policy: Looking Beyond China**, *Stephen Blank*, n° 54, August.

## Regional Programs

Syria: Russia's Best Asset in the Middle East, *Andrej Kreutz*, n° 55, November.

Israel's Immigrant Parties: an Inefficient Russia Lobby, *Olena Bagno* and *Zvi Magen*, n° 56, December.



### • "Russie.Nei.Visions"

(collection published in French and English)

L'université technique Bauman : un atout majeur de la politique industrielle russe, *Carole Sigman*, n° 3, March.

Les universités privées, « mal aimées » de l'enseignement supérieur russe, *Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean*, n° 4, September.

« Soft power » russe : discours, outil, impact, *Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean*, n° 5, October.

How the Chinese See Russia, *Bobo Lo*, n° 6, December.

### Articles

"Ianoukovitch et la politique étrangère ukrainienne : retour à l'équilibre ?", *Dominic Fean*, in *Politique étrangère*, 2-2010.

"La Russie. Après la crise : la modernisation piétine," *Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean*, in *RAMSES* 2011.

### Publications Outside Ifri

"Russie : une réforme des armées ambitieuse mais incertaine," *Julien Nocetti* and *Philippe Pelé-Clamour*, in *Défense*, n° 148, November-December.

"La Russie au Moyen-Orient : une politique de puissance aux moyens limités," *Julien Nocetti*, in *Moyent-Orient*, October-December.

"Fragile colosse du monde multipolaire," *Thomas Gomart*, in *Revue des deux mondes*, October.

"The Russia Paradox: It Seems Unlikely, but 40 Per Cent of Russia's Universities Are Fee-paying," *Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean*, in *Research Europe*, September.

"Russia's Government Pins Hope on Universities Not Academy," *Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean*, in *Research Europe*, July.

"How to Change the Mentality Inherited by the Cold War" (article in russian), *Thomas Gomart*, in *Russia in Global Affairs*, April.

"The Reform of the Russian Higher Education System for 'the Knowledge Economy'" (article in russian), *Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean*, in *Le Courrier de l'École des études politiques de Moscou*, n° 4 (50).

"Two Landmarks for Russia" (article in russian), *Thomas Gomart*, in *Russia in Global Affairs*, December.

### Seminars and Round Tables

2 December – Hard and Soft Powers in Russian Foreign Policy

With *Thomas Gomart* and *Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean*. Conference reserved for members of Ifri only.

15 December – "Research Universities": Outlook and Challenges for the Future. Comparing Russian and French Experiences

With the partnership of the New Eurasian Foundation (Moscow).

With *Irina Arzhanova*, Executive Director, National Training Foundation; *Irina Dejina*, Institute of the Global Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), Moscow; *Viktor Koksharov*, Rector, Urals Federal University; *Andrei Kortounov*, President, New Eurasia Foundation; *Vladimir Meyer*, CNRS, Moscow; *Andrei Melville*, Dean, Faculty of Politics at State University – Higher School of Economics, Moscow; *Catherine Paradeise*, Professor, University of Marne-la-Vallée, Researcher, Techniques, Territories, and Societies Laboratory, President, French Institute for Research, Innovation and Society (IFRIS); *Konstantin Protassov*, Joseph Fourier University – Grenoble I; *Stéphan Vincent-Lancrin*, Analyst, Center for Research and Innovation in Teaching, Education Directorate, OCDE; *Francis Vérillaud*, Director of International Affairs and Exchange, Sciences-Po Paris; and *Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean*, Ifri.

## Asia

# Ifri Center for Asian Studies

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 Center for Asian Studies 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 Asie*, 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 Center for Asian Studies are an integral part of the national and international debate on Asian issues.

### Team

**Valérie Niquet**, Director of the Ifri Center for Asian Studies (until April 2010)



**Françoise Nicolas**, Research Fellow, Director of the Ifri Center for Asian Studies (since May 2010)



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



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



**John Seaman**, Assistant Research Fellow (China, Energy)

### Associated Researchers

**Hélène Le Bail** (China); **Olivier Louis** (India, Pakistan); **Wei Shen** (China); **Antoine Sautenet** (regionalization, EU-Asia relations); **Éric Frécon** (South-East Asia, Maritime issues)

## China Program

The Ifri Center for Asian Studies works on the emergence of China and its integration into the global system. In 2010, for its third year of activity, the China Program focused primarily on relations between China and its neighbors, analyzing in particular the Chinese presence in bordering countries such as Myanmar, and territorial disputes with India and in the South China Sea. In addition, China's strategy relating to energy management and the development of its natural resources (rare earths) was the subject of international seminars and original publications.

## Direct Chinese Investment in the World

The internationalization of Chinese firms is now a reality that cannot be ignored. Having analyzed the development of and the motivations behind the growing presence of Chinese firms in Europe, particularly in France, *Françoise Nicolas* examined the expansion of Chinese firms in North Africa and compared their strategies and the logic behind them to those of Indian firms. The direction of these studies will be maintained in the coming years, with analysis of the presence of the Chinese in the Middle East and Latin America.

## India and South Asia Program

This program, launched in 2008, facilitates 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 policymakers. 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 a single question: Does India intend to become a world power?

## Japan Program

The Ifri Center for Asian Studies focused, in 2010, on the role of Japan within the regional and international spheres. In a globalized and ever-changing world, and confronted currently with major economic and political crises, Japan is working to understand its position. The Democratic Party's accession to power in September 2009 seemed to signal a rupture, even in terms of foreign policy. Several publications and seminars helped to shed light on this turbulent year for Japanese diplomacy, particularly on the strategic relations between Japan and the United States and Australia, and the role of the archipelago in regional integration and the global governance of climate change.

## Strategic Observatory on North-East Asia

The triennial Observatory on North-East Asia, established in partnership with the Strategic Affairs Delegation of the Ministry of Defense, aims to ensure regular strategic monitoring of the region through following significant trends and tracking the complicated strategic changes in the region. Subjects of particular interest are the evolution of bilateral

relations in terms of defense and security in the region, and relationships between North-East Asian countries and other states. At the end of 2010, strategic analyses by *Valérie Niquet* and *Céline Pajon* from the first two years of the observatory (2008-2010) were published on Ifri's website. Each year an international conference with restricted participation brings together Asian, European and American experts and decision-makers to consider current and relevant issues.

## France-Korea Dialogue

The 9th France-Korea Forum was held in Seoul (6-7 September) with the support of the Korea Foundation. In addition to questions about bilateral relations (notably industrial cooperation and cultural exchange), the debates this year focused on management of the global economic crisis and the role of the G20, of which Korea held the presidency in 2010, before handing it on to France. Ifri and the Korea Development Institute investigated this subject further; the results are expected to be published in early 2011.

## Asia Facing the Economic and Financial Crisis

The Ifri Center for Asian Studies also examined the reactions of Asian economies to the global financial crisis, and focused in particular on its impact on regional economic integration.

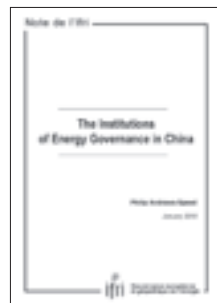
## Electronic Publications

### • "Notes de l'Ifri"

*The Institutions of Energy Governance in China*, *Philip Andrews-Speed*, January.

*La présence économique chinoise et indienne au Maghreb*, *Françoise Nicolas*, July.

*Rare Earths and Clean Energy: Analyzing China's Upper Hand*, *John Seaman*, September.



### • "Rapports de l'Ifri"

*Japan's Ambivalent Diplomacy on Climate Change*, *Céline Pajon*, May.

*Observatoire de l'Asie du Nord-Est, September 2008-August 2010*, *Céline Pajon* and *Valérie Niquet*, December.

### • "Asie.Visions"

*Hospital Chains in India: The Coming of Age?*, *Bertrand Lefebvre*, January.

*The Development of Road Networks in China: Miscalculations and Inequalities*, *Kun-Chin Lin*, February.

*From Kunming to Mandalay: the New "Burma Road,"* *Hélène Le Bail* and *Abel Tourmier*, March.

*Energy Security, Transnational Pipelines and China's Role in Asia*, *John Seaman*, April.

*Coming in from the Cold: an Update on North Korea's External Economic Relations*, *Françoise Nicolas*, April.

*A Shadow Over the Himalayas: India's Tibet Problem*, *Prem Shankar Jha*, May.

*Understanding the Issue of US Military Bases in Okinawa*, *Céline Pajon*, June.

*Ampo at 50: the Faltering US-Japan Relationship*, *Gavan McCormack*, June.

*An Analysis of North Korea's Principal Trade Relations*, *Hyung-Gon Jeong* and *Hokyung Bang*, July.

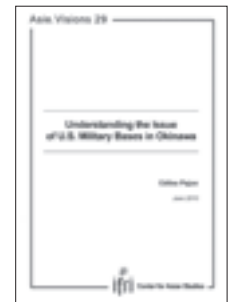
*Fiscal Deficit, Crowding Out, and the Sustainability of Economic Growth: the Case of the Indian Economy*, *Sunitha Raju* and *Jaydeep Mukherjee*, July.

*China-India Relations: Strategic Engagement and Challenges*, *Zhang Li*, September.

*Le débat sur la gouvernance fédérale au Pakistan*, *Gilles Boquérat*, September.

*Evolution of the Australia-Japan Security Partnership: Toward a Softer Triangle Relationship with the United States?*, *Takashi Terada*, October.

*L'Indonésie face à la montée en puissance de la Chine*, *Jean-Raphaël Chaponnière*, December.



### • La Lettre du Centre Asie Ifri

This monthly letter offers current 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 Center. Contributions from French and international researchers and experts are also included.



### Articles

- "Régulation économique et financière mondiale," *Françoise Nicolas*, in *RAMSES 2011*.
- "Asie-Pacifique," *Valérie Niquet* (ed.), in *RAMSES 2011*.
- "Forces et limites de l'influence chinoise," *Valérie Niquet*, in *RAMSES 2011*.
- "Inde," *Gilles Boquérat*, in *RAMSES 2011*.
- "Pakistan," *Gilles Boquérat*, in *RAMSES 2011*.
- "Chine," *Hélène Le Bail*, in *RAMSES 2011*.
- "Japon," *Céline Pajon*, in *RAMSES 2011*.
- "Intégration économique régionale en Asie de l'Est," *Françoise Nicolas*, in *RAMSES 2011*.

### Publications Outside Ifri

#### • Françoise Nicolas

"De Facto and De Jure Regional Economic Integration in East Asia – How Do They Interact," in *Singapore Economic Review*, vol. 55, n° 1.

"Chinese Direct Investments in France – No Chinese Challenge, No French Exception," in *International Economics Programme Paper*, IE PP 2010/02, Chatham House, January.

"De Facto Trade Integration and Exchange Rate Policies in East Asia," in *Bernadette Andreosso-O'Callaghan and Bruna Zolin* (eds.), *Current Issues in Economic Integration: Can Asia Inspire the West?*, Ashgate, London.

"La Chine dans le commerce international : un positionnement original mais fragile," in *Accomex*, n° 93, May-June.

"China FDI in France: Challenges and Opportunities," in *Transnational Corporations Review*, vol. 2, n° 4, December.

#### • Gilles Boquérat

"Enlightened Moderation: Anatomy of a Failed Strategy," in *Ravi Kalia* (ed.), *Pakistan: from the Rhetoric of Democracy to the Rise of Militancy*, Abingdon (UK), Routledge.

"Les relations indo-pakistantaises : retour sur une normalité conflictuelle," in *Hérodote*, 139, 4th trimester.

"L'appropriation au Pakistan de la "guerre contre le terrorisme" en question," in *Cahiers de l'IRSEM*, 1, April.

"Asia Meridional en 2009: democracia y milicia bajo la alargada sombra China," in *Anuario Asia Pacifico 2009*, CIDOB, Casa Asia, Real Instituto Elcano, Barcelona.

#### • Céline Pajon

"Significance of the Japan-India Partnership for East Asian Regionalism," in *Asian Regional Integration Review*, vol. 2, Waseda University Global COE Program, Global Institute for Asian Regional Integration (GIARI), Tokyo, March.

"1945-2005 : Hiroshima, vers la reconnaissance d'une mémoire ambivalente," in *Bernard Cottret and Lauric Henneon* (eds.), *Du bon usage des commémorations. Histoire, mémoire et identité – XVII<sup>e</sup>-XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Rennes University Press.

"Les spécificités de la démocratie japonaise," in *Jean-Vincent Holeindre and Benoît Richard* (eds.), *La Démocratie*, Sciences humaines, Paris.

### Seminars, Round Tables, Debates

26 January – Demystifying the Color Politics of Thailand

With *Borwornsal Uwanno*, Secretary General, King Prajadhipok's Institute, and *Surchit Bunbongkarn*, President, Political Development Council, Professor Emeritus, University of Chulalongkorn.

10 June – Economic Recovery in Eastern Asia: Diversified Directions

Lunch "Les Mensuelles Ifri / Entreprises" with *Françoise Nicolas*.

8 September – East Asian Community Revisited: ASEAN+3 or 3+ASEAN

With *Takashi Terada*, Professor, Organization for Asian Studies, Waseda University.

3 December – Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea: What Risks of Conflict?

With *Ralf Emmers*, Coordinator of Multilateralism and Regionalism Program, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Singapore.

#### • China Program

9 February – China's Road Construction Strategy: Investment and Development

With *Kun-Chin Lin*, Lecturer in the China Institute, King's College, London, Professor, National University of Singapore.

12 May – China-India Relations: Strategic Engagement and Challenges

With *Zhang Li*, Professor, Institute of South Asian Studies, Sichuan University, Chengdu, and *Jabin Jacob*, Researcher, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS), New Delhi.

21 June – China and Europe in Global Governance

With *Cai Fangbo*, former Ambassador of China in France, Member of the Advisory Committee on Foreign Policy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, China; *Guan Chengyuan*, former Chinese Ambassador to the European Union and Belgium, Member of the Advisory Committee on Foreign Policy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, China; and *Yu Yongding*, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

24 September – Europe, China, and Trade Dispute Resolution: the Role of Hong Kong

With *Teresa Cheng*, Vice President, ICC International Court of Arbitration, Vice President, Hong Kong International Arbitration Center (HKIAC).

#### • India and South Asia Program

7 June – Reforming Islamic Education in Afghanistan: Political and Strategic Implications

With *John Butt*, Founder of PACT Radio (Pak-Afghan Cross-Border Radio Training Program) and of Jamiyat' al-Ulcom'al-islamiya, Islamic University of Jalalabad, Afghanistan.

#### • Japan Program

26 May – Unhappy Anniversary: the US-Japan Relationship and Okinawa on the 50th Anniversary of the Bilateral Security Treaty

With *Gavan McCormack*, Professor Emeritus, Australian National University.

### Conferences-Debates

2 February – India: the Challenges Ahead

With *Jaswant Singh*, Member of the Indian Parliament, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Finance, and Defense, and *Claude Blanchemaison*, former Ambassador of France in India.

19 February – What Political Alternatives Exist in Afghanistan?

With Dr. *Abdullah Abdullah*, former Afghan Minister for Foreign Affairs, former candidate to the Afghan presidency, and *Pierre Lafrance*, former Ambassador of France in Pakistan.

### International Conferences

13-14 April – The Evolution of Japan's Defense Posture

Annual conference of the Strategic Observatory of North-East Asia.

In collaboration with the Strategic Affairs Delegation (DAS), Ministry of Defense.

With *Joëlle Garriaud-Maylam*, Secretary of the Commission for Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Armed Forces, French Senate; *Yashushi Masaki*, Ambassador of Japan; *Hideshi Takesada*, National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS), Japan; *Marianne Peron-Doise*, DAS, Ministry of Defense; *Koji Murata*, Doshisha University, Kyoto; *Ralph Cossa*, CSIS Pacific Forum; *Glenn Hook*, The University of Sheffield; *Masahiro Akiyama*, President, Ocean Policy Research Foundation; *Axel Berkofofsky*, University of Pavia; *Michito Tsuruoka*, NIDS, Japan; *Pierre Mayaudon*, General Director of Armament, Ministry of Defense; *Guibourg Delamotte*, Asia Centre, Paris; *Markus Tidten*, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), Berlin; *Thérèse Delpach*, Atomic Energy Commission (CEA); *Hirofumi Tosaki*, The Japan Institute for International Affairs (JIIA); *Tomonori Yoshizaki*, NIDS, Japan; *Hideaki Shinoda*, University of Hiroshima; *Michel Miraillet*, Director of the DAS, Ministry of Defense; *Hiroshi Oe*, General Director of International Affairs, Ministry of Defense of Japan; and *Valérie Niquet*, Ifri.

15 June – Responding to China's Rise: Balancing Hard and Soft Power, Brussels

In collaboration with The German Marshall Fund of the United States.

With *Gary Schmitt*, Director of Advanced Strategic Studies, American Enterprise Institute (AEI), Washington, and *Valérie Niquet*, Senior Research Fellow, Foundation for Strategic Research (FRS).

5-7 September – 9th France-Korea Forum, Seoul With the cooperation of the Korea Foundation.

With the participation of *Thierry de Montbrial*, President, Ifri; *Kim Byung-kook*, President, Korea Foundation. This forum brought numerous dignitaries, experts, and specialists together to facilitate the sharing of ideas on the G20, the international financial system and development cooperation, social uprising linked to globalization, and the commercial and industrial relationships between France and Korea.

11-12 November – Chinese and European Green Growth Strategies and Implications for China-Europe Cooperation, Beijing

With the cooperation of the China Reform Forum (CRF) and the China Beijing Environment Exchange (CBEE).

With the participation of *Chen Baosheng*, Vice President, CRF; *Mei Dewen*, Director General, CBEE; *Hervé Dejean de la Bâtie*, Minister-Counselor, Embassy of France in China; *Wang Jiacheng*, Academy of Macroeconomic Research, National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC); *Sean Dougherty*, Department of



Economic Affairs, OECD; *Ma Xiaojun*, Professor, China Central Party School; *Andrea de Angelis*, PNUD-China; *Timo Makela*, Director of International Affairs, DG Environment, European Commission; *Jiang Liping*, Vice President, State Grid Energy Research Institute; *Cao Heping*, Professor, Beijing University; *Ee Ren Choong*, Project Head, Lafarge China; *Tang Renhu*, Director General, Sino Carbon Innovation and Investment Company Ltd; *Renato Roldao*, European Chamber of Commerce; *Pan Jiahua*, Director, Institute of Urban and Environmental Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences; *Nils Raynaud*, Energy and Environment Advisor, French Embassy; *Denis Quénelles*, Environmental Attaché for Technical Cooperation, French Embassy; *Li Junfeng*, Deputy Director, Energy Research Institute, NDRC; *Liu Lancui*, Chinese Academy of Environmental Planning (CAEP); *Wang Xudong*, Secretary General, CRF; *William C. Ramsay* and *Françoise Nicolas*, Ifri.

## 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 developments in the region.

## Team



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

**Mansouria Mokhefi**,  
Research Fellow,  
Head of North Africa/Middle East

## Research Areas

### The Reshaping of the Arab World in the Wake of the US Invasion of Iraq and the Beginning 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 (all three 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

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 the European Union play to help jump-start negotiations?

### Evolution of the Iranian Issue

This research area attempts to decipher the interactions between Iran's 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

### • "Notes de l'Ifri"

Palestine : un État, quel État ?, *Jean-François Legrain*, January.

L'État palestinien en question : la solution des deux États est-elle encore possible ?, *Denis Bauchard*, March.



### • "Actuelles de l'Ifri"

Moyen-Orient, quelles perspectives ?, *Denis Bauchard*, January.

Israël, Liban, Syrie : la spirale belliciste, *Julien Théron*, February.

La gouvernance mondiale entre organisations internationales et clubs informels, *Denis Bauchard*, March

## Conference-Debate

14 January – Syria in a New Game

With *Peter Harling*, Director of the Iraq, Syria, Libya Program, International Crisis Group.

### Middle East/North Africa/Mediterranean

# North Africa Program

For the countries of the European Union, and France in particular, North Africa is both a close and a distant region. The geographic proximity of France to 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, Program Head (until end of July 2010)



**Mansouria Mokhefi,**  
Research Fellow, Program Head  
(beginning September 2010)

### 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 is 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, and the GSPC's regional goals as well as those of the Al-Qaeda Organization in the Islamic Maghreb.

#### Economic Issues

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

### Articles

"Une région en retrait des relations internationales,"  
*Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, in *RAMSES 2011* (introduction to the "Maghreb" section).

"Maroc/Algérie,"  
*Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, in *RAMSES 2011*.

### Participations Outside Ifri

2-4 May – Closing Seminar of the Ramsès 2 Program  
Maison méditerranéenne des sciences de l'homme, Aix-en-Provence.

With the participation of *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*.

6-7 May – Europe and the Arab Region International Seminar, Casa Árabe, Madrid.

With the participation of *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*.

2-6 June – Forum: the UfM Confronted with the Challenges of Education and Culture  
Moroccan Center for Interdisciplinary Strategic and International Studies, Fes, Morocco.

With the participation of *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*.

1-4 July – Mediterranean Dialogues: Institutions and Citizenship in the Mediterranean  
Assembly of Citizens of the Mediterranean (ACIME-DIT), Valencia, Spain.

With the participation of *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*.

17 September – How Restart a Dynamic Mediterranean Dialogue on NATO in North African Countries?  
NATO Defense College, Rome.

With the participation of *Mansouria Mokhefi*.

5-7 December – Western Sahara Experts Meeting  
Search for Common Ground, Washington

With the participation of *Mansouria Mokhefi*.

### International Conference

16 March – Reforms and Governance in the Arab Countries, Madrid

With the cooperation of the Casa Árabe.

With the participation of *Gema Martín Muñoz*, General Director, Casa Árabe; *Salam Kawakibi*, Arab Reform Initiative; *Silvia Escobar*, Special Ambassador for Human Rights, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Spain; *Hai-zam Amirah Fernández*, Real Instituto Elcano, Madrid; *Mervat Rishmawi*, Legal Expert and Consultant, London; *Christina Kausch*, FRIDE, Madrid; *Isaías Barreñada*, Casa Árabe, Madrid; *Sophie Bessis*, Associate Research Fellow, Institut de relations internationales et stratégiques (IRIS), Paris; *Nawaf W. Tell*, Director, Center for Strategic Studies in Jordan; and *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, Ifri.

# North Africa Facing New Global Issues Program

A large part of this work and debate has been developed in the framework of a program based on a Franco-Moroccan partnership that 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 Facing New Global Issues 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 reflection, transatlantic debate, and "southern" thinking.

## Team

**Khadija Mohsen-Finan**, Research Fellow,  
Program Coordinator (until end of July 2010)

**Mansouria Mokhefi**, Research Fellow,  
Program Coordinator (starting September  
2010)

**Jacques Mistral**,  
Head of Economics Section

**Christophe Bertossi**,  
Migrations and Development

**Alain Antil**, Africa

**Françoise Nicolas**, Economics Section

**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.

### 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 devoted to a prospective outlook on African agriculture, notably the conditions for a future green revolution and the social and economic transformations it would entail.

### 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 (*Françoise Nicolas, Jacques Mistral*)

This research area analyzes 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.

### India (*Gilles Boquérat*)

Post-liberalization India, recording growth rates ranking just behind China's, has emerged as a place for foreign companies to invest, as a market to penetrate, or as a production site. Meanwhile, Indian companies are seeking to be active outside the national territory through acquisitions and joint ventures. Beneath all the hype, what is really going on? 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.

## Book

Les doubles nationaux : enquête sur les nouveaux entrepreneurs au Maroc,  
*Marie Bassi and Christophe Bertossi*, "Les Études de l'Ifri" (electronic version), December.



## Electronic Publications

### • "Notes de l'Ifri"

La présence économique chinoise et indienne au Maghreb, *Françoise Nicolas*, June.

La projection économique des pays du Maghreb sur l'Afrique subsaharienne, *Nezha Alaoui*, June.

Stratégie et présence économiques des États-Unis au Maghreb, *Kassim Bouhou*, June.

Le Conseil de coopération du Golfe au Maghreb : échange et stratégie d'investissements, *Radhi Meddeb*, June.

Les relations des Touaregs aux États : le cas de l'Algérie et de la Libye, *Dida Badi*, June.

Touaregs et Arabes dans les forces armées coloniales et maliennes : une histoire en trompe-l'œil, *Charles Grémont*, June.

Physionomie et enjeux des trafics dans la bande sahélo-saharienne, *Jean-Luc Peduzzi*, June.

Le Maroc et sa « nouvelle frontière » : lecture critique du versant économique de la stratégie africaine du Maroc, *Alain Antil*, June.

Contrôler les trafics ou perdre le Nord : notes sur les trafics en Mauritanie, *Alain Antil*, June.

Migrations, transferts et développement : expériences comparées du Mexique et des pays du Maghreb, *Flore Gubert*, October.

Migrations et développement : un besoin de politiques cohérentes adaptées à la réalité, *Jacques Ould Aoudia*, October.



### Seminars and Debates

14 June – Maghreb in the World Economy: Challenges and Opportunities

With *Claire Brunel*, Peterson Institute for International Economics, Washington; *Hakim Ben Hammouda*, Director, Institute for Training and Technical Cooperation (ITTC) of the WTO, Geneva; *Karima Bounemra Ben Soltane*, Director of North Africa Desk, United Nations Economic Commission, Rabat; *Marie-France Raynaud*, Economist, Coface; *Abdenour Keramane*, former Algerian Minister of Industry and Mines, Director of Med-energie, Algiers; *Mouhoud El Mouhoub*, Professor, Paris-Dauphine University; *Radhi Meddeb*, Director General, Institut de prospective économique du monde méditerranéen (IPEMED); *Dominique Bocquet*, Chief of Regional Economic Services, Embassy of France in Morocco; *Olivier Pastré*, Professor, University of Paris VIII, President, IM Banque Tunis; *Amar Drissi*, Executive Vice President, OCP Group, Casablanca; *Didier Ferrali*, Director, Romain SA, Casablanca; *Najj Benhassine*, Senior Economist, North Africa Department, World Bank, Rabat; *Akram Belkaid*, Journalist and Writer; *Driss Ksikes*, Director of Economia, Rabat; *Mahmoud Ben Romdhane*, Professor, University of Economic and Managerial Sciences, Tunis; *Pierre Jacquet*, Executive Director, Agence française de développement (AFD); *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, *Jacques Mistral* and *Françoise Nicolas*, Ifri.

### International Conference

2 December – European Immigration Policies from a Southern Perspective, Rabat

In collaboration with Mohammed V University, Rabat.

With the participation of *Houria Alami*, University Hassan II, Rabat; *Youssef Amrani*, Secretary General, Moroccan Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation; *Noureddine El Aoufi*, Professor, Mohammed V-Agdal University; *Juliette Borsenberger*, Hans Seidel Stiftung, Rabat; *Jean-Pierre Cassarino*, Professor, European University Institute, Florence; *Mohamed Charef*, Professor, University of Agadir; *Catherine Coroller*, Journalist, *Libération*; *Abdelrazak El Hajri*, Ministry of Social Development, Rabat; *Rkia El Mossadeq*, Professor, Mohammed V University, Rabat; *Susan George*, President of the Board, Transnational Institute; *Bachir Hamdouch*, Mohammed V University, Rabat; *Jawad Kerdoudi*, President, Moroccan Institute of Foreign Relations, Casablanca; *Luc Legoux*, Lecturer, University of Paris I; *Khalid Louhichi*, League of Arab States, Cairo; *Jacques Ould Aoudia*, Ministry of the Economy, President of the Migrations and Development Association, Paris; *Stéphane Rostiaux*, International Organization for Migration, Rabat; *Johannes Vanderklaauw*, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Rabat; *Mounir Zouiten*, Professor, Mohammed V University, Rabat; *Marie Bassi* and *Mansouria Mokhefi*, Ifri.

### Middle East/North Africa/Mediterranean

## Contemporary Turkey Program

The year 2010 was marked by a growth in power and a spectacular autonomization on both the regional and international scenes. The rapid degradation of Turkish-Israeli relationships following the Freedom Flotilla near Gaza in June was a catalyst for what some consider to be an “Eastern temptation”: the weight and influence of Turkey in the Arab world are getting stronger, the Turkish position on the Iranian nuclear issue complicates its relationship with the United States, and the prospect of joining the European Union seems to get farther away.

From a domestic perspective, the AKP (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi) of Recep Tayyip Erdogan has strengthened its position. Certainly, the possibility of change has become apparent with the arrival of a new leader at the head of the CHP (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi – a Kemalist party), Kemal Kılıçaroglu; but he is finding it difficult to establish a foothold in the context of the AKP’s growing control over the opposition. The constitutional referendum of September 2010 allowed for clarification of the balance of power between the judiciary and the army, imposing more transparency but also, according to certain observers, opening a path toward possible authoritarian drift. In addition, issues of identity within Turkish society continue to feed underlying political violence focused on matters concerning the Kurdish population and debates on the return of Islamic value systems.

The changes in Turkey are following a rapid rhythm, casting our traditional perceptions of the country and its priorities into question. In this context, Ifri’s Contemporary Turkey Program is pursuing its double objective of: 1. renewing the classical analytical instruments applied to Turkey and finding, within Turkey, representatives who embody and can explain the current rapid evolution; 2. feeding the Franco-Turkish debate in line with the Season of Turkey in France which has revived links between the two countries that had weakened in recent years.

### Team



**Dorothee Schmid**, Research Fellow, Program Head  
Areas of expertise: Turkey, diplomacy, Franco-Turkish relations, Mediterranean, EU Middle East policy



**Nur Bolat**, Assistant Research Fellow (until December 2010)  
Areas of expertise: Turkish political life, Turkey/EU relations

### Research Areas

For its third year of activity, the program organized several seminars and launched new publications (the “Notes franco-turques”). The multiannual research areas are continued or phased out depending on the changes in current Turkish events and issues. These different areas allow for a continued watch over Turkish diplomacy on the one hand and the domestic evolution of contemporary Turkey on the other.

#### Turkey’s Strategies of Influence in its Regional Environment

- The European Union within the Turkish vision of the international system
- The role of Turkey in the Arab world
- The economic diplomacy of the AKP
- The imprints of empire: the imperial model in Turkish political culture

#### The Internal Dynamics of Contemporary Turkey

- Changes in the Turkish political system: the role of parties
- The Kurdish problem
- Media and power in Turkey

### Electronic Publications

#### • “Notes de l’Ifri”

Updating the Debate on Turkey in France, on the 2009 European Elections’ Time, *Alain Chenal*, January.

Turkey’s French Problem, *Semih Idiz*, May.



### Articles

De l’élargissement à l’éloignement : la Turquie veut-elle toujours adhérer à l’Union européenne ?, *Dorothee Schmid*, in *Politique étrangère*, 1-2010.



“L’affaire Ergenekon : quels enjeux pour la démocratie turque ?”, *Nur Bolat*, in *Politique étrangère*, 1-2010.

“La puissance impossible ?”, *Loulouwa Al-Rachid* and *Dorothee Schmid*, in *RAMSES 2011* (introduction to the “Moyen-Orient” section).

“Turquie”, *Nur Bolat*, in *RAMSES 2011*.

### Publications Outside Ifri

“Méditerranée : l’Union prend déjà l’eau,” *Dorothee Schmid*, in *Alternatives internationales*, December.

“Les élites françaises et la Turquie : une relation dans l’attente,” *Dorothee Schmid*, report published by the think tank EDAM (Centre for Economic and Foreign Policy Studies, Istanbul), June.

“Les nouveaux horizons de la diplomatie turque,” *Dorothee Schmid*, in *Questions internationales*, n° 42, March-April.

“Dal Processo di Barcellona all’Unione per il Mediterraneo: esiste una strategia europea per l’area ?”, *Dorothee Schmid*, in *Hub Globale, trincea o pantano? Il futuro del mediterraneo e il ruolo dell’Europa*, Bologne, Il Mulino.

### Conferences, Seminars and Round Tables

30-31 March – 3rd Franco-Turkish Media Dialogue Third Franco-Turkish meeting of journalists, in partnership with the Centre d’accueil de la presse étrangère (CAPE) and the TESEV Foundation, with the participation of a delegation of 10 Turkish journalists.

Centered on the theme of “Turkish current events and bilateral relations”: media in Turkey and France; major issues in Turkish foreign policy; Turkish domestic policy; Turkey in the French media.

*Clémentine Forissier, Dorothee Schmid, Marc Semo*



*Mensur Akgun, Dominique Moïsi*



*Dorothee Schmid, Gökçe Tuyuluoglu, Jacques Hubert-Rodier*



28 September – The Great Ambitions of Turkish Diplomacy

Lunch-debate “Les Mensuelles Ifri / Entreprises” with *Dorothee Schmid*.

29 September – France-Turkey: Intersecting Viewpoints

In collaboration with the think tank EDAM.

With *Can Buharali*, Vice President, EDAM; *Kadri Gürsel*, Columnist, daily newspaper *Milliyet*; *Jean-Dominique Giuliani*, President, Robert Schuman Foundation; *Nicole Pope*, Journalist and Independent Analyst.

*Kadri Gürsel, Dorothee Schmid, Can Buharali, Nicole Pope*



14 December – Kurdistan within Iraq: Federalism, How Far?

With the support of the Direction de la Prospective (Policy Planning Staff) of the French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, and the Agence française de développement.

With *Joseph Maïla*, Director of Direction de la Prospective, Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs; *Khaman Assad*, Representative of the Regional Government of Kurdistan in Paris; *Hamit Bozarlani*, Director of Studies, EHESS; *Michiel Leezenberg*, Associate Professor, University of Amsterdam; *Loulouwa Al-Rachid*, Sciences-Po, Paris; *Denise Natali*, Research Center Director, American University in Iraq, Sulaymaniyah; *Denis Le Fers*, Direction générale du trésor et de la politique économique (DGTPE), Ministry of Finance; *Marc Semo*, Chief of the World Service, *Libération*; *Jamie Miller*, Policy Advisor, United States Embassy; *Mahan Abedin*, Researcher, New Delhi Institute for Defense Studies and Analysis; *Julien Cécillon*, *Maité de Boncourt* and *Denis Bauchard*, Ifri.

## Africa

# Sub-Saharan Africa Program

Ifri’s Sub-Saharan Africa Program was created within Ifri in 2007. Its objective is to revise the tools that policymakers, journalists and the general public use to analyze and understand the African continent, notably by highlighting French and international research on the subject and by bringing together different types of expertise (researchers, military actors, bureaucrats, business people, NGOs, etc), generally unused to having 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, better-informed and more effective policies vis-à-vis Africa, at a time when the continent is evolving at a fast pace, often in deep and contrasting ways.

### Team



**Alain Antil**, Research Fellow, Program Head  
Areas of expertise: Mauritania, Sahel, Western Africa, political and social questions, security issues

#### Sylvain Touati,

Assistant Research Fellow (until August 2010)  
Areas of expertise: Mali, Western Africa, electoral questions, France’s Africa policies



**Hélène Quénot-Suarez**, Assistant Research Fellow (beginning in August 2010)  
Areas of expertise: Ghana, Burkina Faso, Western Africa, African cities, local government, waste management

#### Associated Researchers

##### Thierry Vircoulon

Areas of expertise: South Africa, conflict prevention/resolution

##### Benjamin Augé

Areas of expertise: petroleum, gas, electricity, border conflicts related to hydrocarbons

## Regional Programs

### Cyril Musila

Areas of expertise: Democratic Republic of Congo, African Great Lakes zone, Central Africa, regional cooperation, post-conflict reconstruction, transborder economic dynamics

### Matthieu Pellerin

Areas of expertise: Madagascar, safety/risk countries, corporate social responsibility

## Research Areas

Sub-Saharan Africa is rapidly changing. Its population will double in twenty years, 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 – religions, 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, and emerging powers: 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 development and infrastructure needs (education, health, roads, water distribution, etc), created by demographic explosion and rapid urbanization, be paid for? The rapid urbanization gives rise to a formidable observatory from which to view the current transformation, with respect to issues such as the recomposition of identities and the emergence of middle classes.

These questions 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); religious 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.

## Book

Towards a New Type of Regime in Sub-Saharan Africa: Democratic Transitions But No Democracy, "Les Études de l'Ifri" (electronic version), Marc-Antoine Pérouse de Montclos.



## Electronic Publications

### • "Notes de l'Ifri"

The Financial Challenges of the Sub-Saharan Africa Telecoms Boom, *Henri Tcheng, Jean-Michel Huet and Mouna Romdhane*, January.

Le Maroc et sa « nouvelle frontière ». Lecture critique du versant économique de la stratégie africaine du Maroc, *Alain Antil*, January.

Violence en brousse : le *peacebuilding* international face aux conflits fonciers, *Florence Liégeois and Thierry Vircoulon*, February.

Les « émeutes de la faim » au Sénégal : un puissant révélateur d'une défaillance de gouvernance, *Alain Antil*, February.

Les relations des Touaregs aux États: le cas de l'Algérie et de la Libye, *Dida Badi*, March.

Touaregs et Arabes dans les forces armées coloniales et maliennes : une histoire en trompe-l'œil, *Charles Grémont*, March.

Trans Saharan Gas Pipeline: an Illusion or a Real Prospect?, *Benjamin Augé*, March.

Pour en finir avec la critique de l'aide au développement, *Gérard Liscia*, July.

The Politics of Amnesty in the Niger Delta. Challenges Ahead, *Kathryn Nwajaku-Dahou*, December.

L'insertion des néo-urbains dans le jeu politique. L'exemple du Sénégal, *Alain Antil*, December.

### • "Actuelles de l'Ifri"

Un an après le début de la crise politique malgache, quel bilan ?, interview with *Jean-Éric Rakotoarisoa* and *Matthieu Pellerin*, "L'Afrique en questions," n° 7, February.



## Articles

"L'Islam en Afrique, un acteur transnational," *Alain Antil*, in *Politique étrangère*, 4-2010.

"Le phénomène d'«accaparement des terres», " *Alain Antil*, in *RAMSES 2011* (introduction to the "Africa" section).

"Guinée," *Sylvain Touati*, in *RAMSES 2011*.

"Soudan," *Sylvain Touati*, in *RAMSES 2011*.

## Publications Outside Ifri

### • Book

Les coulisses de l'aide internationale en République démocratique du Congo, *Thierry Vircoulon*, Paris, L'Harmattan.

### • Other Publications

"Autopsie d'une controverse internationale : le partenariat sino-congolais sous le feu des critiques," *Thierry Vircoulon*, in *Les Temps modernes*, n° 657, January-March.

"La responsabilité sociétale des entreprises : un engagement éthique au service de leur sûreté," *Mathieu Pellerin*, in *Sécurité et Stratégie*, June.

"Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz l'alchimiste," *Alain Antil*, in *L'Année du Maghreb*, Paris, CNRS Éditions.

"Les limites socio-anthropologiques de la réforme du secteur de sécurité : la question de la militarisation des milices Maï Maï," *Thierry Vircoulon*, in *Patrick Klaussen and Axel Augé* (eds.), *Réformer les armées africaines*, Paris, Karthala.

"The Marriage that Rocked Africa: décolonisation, diplomatie et question raciale dans l'avènement du Botswana contemporain," *Thierry Vircoulon*, in *Michel Prum* (ed.), *La Place de l'autre*, Paris, L'Harmattan.

"The Ituri Paradox: When Armed Groups Have a Land Policy and Peace Makers Do Not," *Thierry Vircoulon*, in *Chris Alden and Ward Anseeuw* (eds.), *The Struggle over Land in Africa*, Pretoria, HSRC Press.

Le business du rapt au Nigeria ou l'impossible pacification de la région du Delta, *Benjamin Augé*, Institut français de géopolitique (University of Paris VIII).

## Seminars

### 24 June – Francophonie in Africa: What Future?

Organized at the Assemblée nationale under the patronage of *Bernard Accoyer*, within the context of the Cinquantenaire des indépendances africaines.

With the participation, notably, of *Bernard Accoyer*, President, Assemblée nationale; *Abdou Diouf*, Secretary General of the International Organization of the Francophonie (OIF); *Thierry de Montbrial*, President, Ifri, and *Jacques Toubon*, Secretary General, Cinquantenaire des indépendances africaines.

### 17 December – Energy, Growth and Sustainable Development, a Sustainable Equation

In collaboration with the Ministry of Ecology, Sustainable Development, Transport, and Housing, within the context of the Cinquantenaire des indépendances africaines.

With the participation of *Thierry de Montbrial*, President, Ifri; *Régis Immongault*, Minister for Energy and Hydraulic Resources, Gabon; *Jacques Toubon*, Secretary General, Cinquantenaire des indépendances africaines; *Christian Masset*, Director General for Global Affairs, Development and Partnerships, Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs; *Philippe Lorec*, Director General for Energy and Climate, Ministry of Ecology, Sustainable Development, Transport, and Housing.

## Conferences-Debates

### 13 January – Governance of Oil in Africa: Unfinished Business

With *Géraud Margin*, Researcher, Centre de coopération internationale en recherche agronomique pour le développement (CIRAD); *Geert Van Vliet*, Researcher, CIRAD, and *Benjamin Augé*, Institut français de géopolitique, University of Paris VIII, Associate Research Fellow, Ifri.

### 28 January – Doing Business in the Democratic Republic of Congo

With *Olivier Kamitatu*, Minister for Planning, and *Karim Dahou*, Executive Manager of the NEPAD-OCDE Initiative for Investment in Africa.

### 16 March – The African Development Indicators 2010 – World Bank Report

With *Shanta Devarajan*, Chief Economist for the African Region, World Bank, and *Jorge Saba Arbache*, Director of African Development Indicators, World Bank.

### 2 April – Transitions But No Democracy: Is a New Type of Regime Developing in Sub-Saharan Africa? The Case of Nigeria

With *Marc-Antoine Pérouse de Montclos*, in charge of Research at the Institut de recherche pour le développement (IRD).

### 16 April – The Zuma Administration: Drift or Shift?

With *Marianne Séverin*, Consultant and Associate Research Fellow at the Centre d'études d'Afrique noire, Institute of Policy Studies of Bordeaux.

### 25 May – Sport and Politics in Africa: a Dangerous Relationship?

With *Paul Dietschy*, Lecturer, University of Franche-Comté; *Bernard Cros*, Lecturer, University Paris-Ouest Nanterre; and *Thierry Vircoulon*, Ifri.

### 11 June – The Obama Administration's Strategy for Africa

In collaboration with the French-American Foundation - France and Ifri's United States Program.

With *Eric Silla*, Special Advisor to the American Assistant Secretary for African Affairs.

### 19 October – Fragile States, the Ultimate Frontier: African Cases

In collaboration with the OECD.

With *Louise Avon*, Deputy Director of the Agence française de développement (AFD), former French Ambassador to Mozambique; *Damien Helly*, Head of Research, Institute of Security Studies of the European Union; *Henriette Martinez*, Deputy, President of the French Section of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Francophonie; *Georges Serre*, Deputy Director General, Global Affairs, Development and Partnerships, French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs; and *Alexandra Trzeciak-Duval*, Head of the Policy Coordination Division, Directorate for Development Co-operation, OECD.

*Damien Helly, Louise Avon, François Gaulme, Henriette Martinez, Alexandra Trzeciak-Duval*



### 3 November – Punching Below their Weight? Critical Reflections on Anglo-French Cooperation in Africa

With *Tony Chafer*, Professor, University of Portsmouth, and *Gordon Cumming*, Professor, University of Cardiff.

## Participations Outside Ifri

### May – Drug Trafficking in Western Africa Canadian Embassy, Paris.

With the participation of *Alain Antil*.

### May – Food and Questions of Security in Africa Forum international sur le continent africain (FICA) 2010, organized by the Institut des hautes études de défense nationale (IHEDN).

With the participation of *Alain Antil*.

### November – The Arrival of Cocaine in Western Africa, a Threat for States

Seminar of the École nationale de la magistrature, with the Inter-departmental Mission for the Fight Against Drugs and Drug Addiction, on the fight against international narcotic trafficking, Lyon.

With the participation of *Alain Antil*.

### May – The Problem of Underground Resource Management in the African Great Lakes: the Ultimate Step Towards Regional Stabilization Forum international sur le continent africain (FICA) 2010, organized by the Institut des hautes études de défense nationale (IHEDN).

With the participation of *Thierry Vircoulon*.

## United States

# United States Program

The domestic changes and political choices of the United States continue to be of foremost importance in the world today. Wavering between fascination and aversion for the US, 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 and Europe, Ifri aims to be the most reliable expert on the United States. The annual December conference and the “Potomac Papers,” online political analysis notes, are the central outcomes of this program.

## Team



**Jacques Mistral**,  
Scientific Advisor



**Laurence Nardon**, Research  
Fellow, Program Head

**Céline Bochet**, Assistant



### Research Areas

#### Domestic Politics

The evolution of federal institutions (the Presidency, Congress and the Supreme Court) and the federal system, local political issues, the role of judicial institutions in the development of American political thought, the changing political philosophy of the country, and political debates.

#### Social and Cultural Issues

Ethnic minorities, religion, social debates, the role of the media and new technologies.

#### Economic and Finance Policies

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

#### Foreign and Defense Policy of the United States

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

#### Transatlantic Relations

The 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

How does the United States exercise its power on the international scene?

### Electronic Publications

#### • “Potomac Papers”

Au cœur de l'Amérique : le mouvement des Tea Parties, *Anne-Lorraine Bujon de l'Estang*, February.

Internet et politique aux États-Unis, *François Vergniolle de Chantal*, June.

I'm Not a Feminist, But... A Comparative Analysis of the Women's Movement in the U.S. and in France, *Page Somerville Robinson*, September.

Où va l'école américaine ?, *Sylvie Laurent*, October.



#### • “Chroniques américaines”

(in the “Actuelles de l’Ifri” series)

Média, politique et institutions : le grippage de la démocratie américaine, *Laurence Nardon*, February.

Le mouvement des Tea parties, suite et fin ?, *Laurence Nardon*, July.

Les midterms de novembre, quelle défaite pour Obama ?, *Laurence Nardon*, October.

#### • “Actuelles de l’Ifri”

President Obama Snubs Europe: the US Perspective on the EU, *Devon Weidemann*, February.

### Articles

“Obama, Carter ou Cicéron ?”, *Laurence Nardon*, in *RAMSES 2011* (introduction to the “États-Unis” section).

“Les Noirs américains, amour, gloire et pauvreté,” *Laurence Nardon*, in *RAMSES 2011*.

### Conferences-Debates

#### The Obama Presidency – Year 2: a Defining Moment?

Seminar series organized in collaboration with the French-American Foundation - France (FAF).

#### 20 January – Will the United-States Still Be a Superpower in 2050?

With *Earl H. Fryd*, Professor of Political Science, Brigham Young University; *Laurent Cohen-Tanugi*, Lawyer, Member of the Paris and New York Bar; *Pierre Rousselin*, Deputy Editing Director, *Le Figaro*; and *Michel Garcin*, President of the Management Board, French-American Foundation.

#### 22 February – Immigration Issues: the Administration’s Reform Projects

With *Douglas Besharov*, Professor, University of Maryland; *Neil Gilbert*, Professor, University of California, Berkeley; and *Patrick Weil*, Director of Research, University of Paris I.

#### 9 April – The Tea Party Movement: What Impact on US Politics?

With *Anne-Lorraine Bujon*, *La Vie des idées*; *Stu Haugen*, former President, Republicans Abroad, France; *Meredith Gowan Le Goff*, President, Democrats Abroad, France; *Gilles Biassette*, *La Croix*, et *Michel Garcin*, President of the Management Board, French-American Foundation.

#### 12 May – The Dysfunctional Institutions of America: Is the US Democratic System Endangered?

With *Arthur Goldhammer*, The Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, Harvard University; *Nicole Bacharan*, Associate Research Fellow, Fondation nationale des sciences politiques (FNSP); and *Antoine Garapon*, Secretary General, Institut des hautes études sur la justice.

#### 3 June – What Place for Minorities in the November 2010 Elections?

With *Cornell Belcher*, President, Brilliant Corners Research and Strategies; *Karen Finney*, Policy Consultant, former Director of Communication of the Democratic National Committee (DNC); and *Frédéric Douzet*, Lecturer, Institut français de géopolitique.

#### 11 June – The Obama Administration’s Strategy for Africa

In collaboration with the French-American Foundation - France and Ifri’s Sub-Saharan Africa Program.

With *Eric Silla*, Special Advisor to the American Assistant Secretary for African Affairs.

#### 30 September – The New Political Year in Washington

With *Marjorie Paillon*, Journalist, Founder of *ILovePolitics.info*; *Frederick T. Davis*, Lawyer, Member of the Paris and New York Bar; *Stu Haugen*, former President, Republicans Abroad, France; and *Pierre Melandri*, Professor, Sciences-Po Paris.

#### 13 October – The Sovereign Debt in the US and Europe: Real Stakes and False Evidence

In collaboration with the International Initiative for Rethinking the Economy.

With *James Galbraith*, Professor, Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs; *Christian de Boissieu*, Deputy Chairman, Conseil d’analyse économique; *Henri Sterdyniak*, Director of the Global Economy Department, Observatoire français des conjonctures économiques (OFCE); *Christophe Guillemin*, Director General, French-American Foundation.

### International Conference

9-10 December – Beyond the Mid-Terms: the Outlook for the Obama Administration  
Annual conference of the United States Program.

With the participation, notably, of *Thierry de Montbrial*, President, Ifri; *Charles Rivkin*, Ambassador of the United States in France; *Frédéric Douzet*, Lecturer, Institut français de géopolitique (IFG); *Steven Ekovich*, Professor, American University of Paris; *Pietro Nivola*, Researcher, Brookings Institution; *Annette L. Nazareth*, Associate, Davis Polk, former Member of the Securities and Exchange Commission; *Nicolas Johnson*, Director, State Fiscal Project, Center on Budget and Policy Priorities; *Sylvie Laurent*, Lecturer, Sciences-Po Paris; *Pierre Mélandri*, Professor, Sciences-Po Paris; *Roger W. Ferguson*, President and CEO, TIAA-CREF; *François Bujon de l’Estang*, former Ambassador of France in the United States, President, Citigroup France; *Peter A. Beinart*, Professor, City University, New York; *Gilles Andréani*, Cour des comptes; *Denis Bauchard*, *Jacques Mistral*, *William Ramsay* and *Thomas Gomart*, Ifri.

*Jacques Mistral, Charles Rivkin, Thierry de Montbrial*



*Eric Orlander, Pascal Riché, Thomas Gomart, Anne-Lorraine Bujon*



### Other Event

#### 12 November – Mid-Term Elections in the United States

Lunch-debate “Les Mensuelles Ifri / Entreprises” with *Laurence Nardon*.



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

Since the 1990s, the Security Studies Center 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 policymakers 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 technological 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: European security, French and American defense policies, the “transformation”

of force structures, contemporary military interventions, counter-insurrection, nuclear deterrence and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction



**Marc Hecker**, Research Fellow  
Areas of expertise: terrorism, asymmetrical conflicts, communication in wartime



**Corentin Brustlein**, Research Fellow, part of the LRD and Proliferation Program  
Areas of expertise: military transformations, nuclear deterrence, proliferation of

weapons of mass destruction, missile defense

**Anne-Henry Budan de Russé**, Major (Army Field Officer), Research Fellow with the LRD (until July 2010)

Areas of expertise: military transformation, French defense policy, contemporary military interventions

**Pierre Chareyron**, Lieutenant-Colonel (Army Field Officer), Research Fellow with the LRD  
Areas of expertise: French and British defense policies, contemporary military interventions, counter-insurrection, innovation in infantry combat and amphibian operations

**Aline Leboeuf**, Research Fellow, part of the LRD

Areas of expertise: world conflict evolution, post-conflict stabilization and reconstruction, African conflicts

**Benoît Michel**, Major (Army Field Officer), Research Fellow with the LRD (beginning in September 2010)

Areas of expertise: contemporary stabilization operations, French and European defense and security policies, Middle East

**Élie Tenenbaum**, Assistant Research Fellow  
Areas of expertise: guerrillas and counter-insurrection, military doctrine, circulation of strategic knowledge

Associate Research Fellows

**Jolyon Howorth**

Areas of expertise: European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP); transatlantic relations

**Krzysztof Soloch**

Areas of expertise: European security questions (NATO and ESDP), Polish foreign and security policy, democratic transitions in Eastern Europe, policy to the East of the European Union, and energy security

### Research Areas

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

#### The Evolution of Conflicts

Study of non-conventional forms of conflict (terrorism, insurrections, processes of radicalization); analysis of long-term conflict perspectives; the impact on armies of the development of the Internet.

#### The Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction

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

#### Analysis of Major Security Policies and Strategies

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 Security Studies Center and the Defense Research Unit publish two electronic series: “Proliferation Papers” and “Focus stratégique.” They also organize open or closed seminars, conferences, lunches, and dinners with international experts.

### Electronic Publications

#### • “Proliferation Papers”

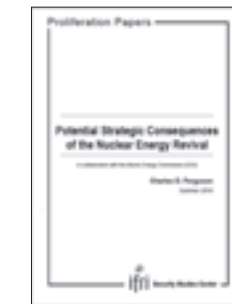
In Search of the Nuclear Taboo: Past, Present and Future, *William C. Potter*, n° 31, January.

Russia, China and the United States: From Strategic Triangularism to the Postmodern Triangle, *Bobo Lo*, n° 32, February.

North Korea’s Nuclear Weapons Development – Implications for Future Policy, *Jonathan D. Pollack*, n° 33, April.

Chinese Perceptions of the Utility of Nuclear Weapons. Prospects and Potential Problems in Disarmament, *Jing-dong Yuan*, n° 34, June.

Potential Strategic Consequences of the Nuclear Energy Revival, *Charles D. Ferguson*, n° 35, July.



#### • “Focus stratégique”

La transformation pour quoi faire ? Défis d’aujourd’hui et de demain, *John Gordon*, n° 11bis, January.

Soutien santé : le défi afghan, *Aline Leboeuf*, n° 19, February.

Vers la fin de la projection de forces ? I. La menace du déni d’accès, *Corentin Brustlein*, n° 20, April.

Vers la fin de la projection de forces ? II. Parades opérationnelles et perspectives politiques, *Corentin Brustlein*, n° 21, May.

La France dans l’OTAN, la culture militaire française et l’identité stratégique en question, *Anne-Henry Budan de Russé*, n° 22, June.

## Cross-cutting Programs

Les armées britanniques, un modèle en crise, *Pierre Chareyron*, n° 23, July.

La coopération civile en Afghanistan. Une coûteuse illusion ?, *Amaury de Féligonde*, n° 24, August.

Contre-insurrection et action psychologique : tradition et modernité, *François Géré*, n° 25, September.

L'ONU, Pygmalion malhabile : la fragilité du *nation building* au Timor, *Dominique Lecompte*, n° 26, November.

Caveats to Civilian Aid Programs in Counterinsurgency. The French Experience in Afghanistan, *Amaury de Féligonde*, n° 24bis, December.



## Articles

"Conflit afghan," *Pierre Chareyron*, in *RAMSES 2011*.

"Irak," *Anne-Henry Budan de Russé*, in *RAMSES 2011*.

"États-Unis : posture nucléaire," *Corentin Brustlein*, in *RAMSES 2011*.

"La contre-insurrection à l'épreuve du conflit afghan," *Pierre Chareyron*, in *Politique étrangère*, 1-2010.

## Publications Outside Ifri

### • Étienne de Durand

"The French Experience in Counterinsurgency," in *Thomas Keaney and Thomas Rid* (eds.), *Understanding Counterinsurgency War*, London and New York, Routledge.

"Entente of Oblivion: Prospects and Pitfalls of Franco-British Cooperation on Defense," in *FDR Working Paper*, n° 8, September, London, RUSI.

### • Marc Hecker and Thomas Rid

"The Terror Fringe," in *Policy Review*, January.

"Montrer la guerre asymétrique ? L'exemple de la communication israélienne (2000-2009)," in *Israël et son armée*, Études de l'IRSEM, n° 3.

### • Pierre Chareyron

"Ces guerres qu'on ne sait plus gagner," in *Études*, November.

## Conferences-Debates

15 October – NATO's Challenges

With *Anders Fogh Rasmussen*, Secretary General of NATO.

*Xavier de Villepin*, *Anders Fogh Rasmussen*,  
*Étienne de Durand*



30 March – The United Kingdom Green Paper: Issues for the Future Strategic Defense Review

With *Baroness Ann Taylor*, Minister for International Defence and Security, UK.

## Seminars, Round Tables

5 November – US Extended Deterrence and Asia-Pacific Allies

With *David Yost*, Professor, US Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey.

• **Closed Seminars within the "Proliferation" Program**  
In partnership with the CEA.

2 July – Missile Defenses in an Evolving Nuclear Environment

With *Michael Rance*, RUSI and BMD Associates, London; *Lewis A. Dunn*, Independent Expert, McLean; *Pavel Felgenhauer*, Independent Journalist, Moscow; *Lukasz Kulesa*, PISM, Warsaw; *Ken Jimbo*, Keio University, Tokyo; *Harsh V. Pant*, King's College, London; and *Uzi Rubin*, Rubicon Defense Company Ltd, Gadera.

16 July – The New US Nuclear Posture

With *Brad Roberts*, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Nuclear and Missile Defense Policy.

11 October – Intelligence and Nuclear Proliferation: Lessons Learned

With *Keith A. Hansen*, former National Intelligence Officer for Strategic Programs and Nuclear Proliferation.

## LRD Seminars

5 February – NATO's Strategic Concept: Setting the Priorities Right

With *Jamie Shea*, Director of Planning, Private Office of the Secretary General of NATO; *Paul Zajac*, Policy Advisor, Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, France; *Lukasz Kulesa*, PISM, Warsaw; General (ret.) *Pascal Vinchon*; *Michael Williams*, Royal Holloway University, London; *Harald Müller*, Executive Director, Peace Research Institute, Frankfurt; *Camille Grand*, Director, Fondation pour la recherche stratégique (FRS); *Edgar Buckley*, Vice President, European Business Development, Thales; and *Mats Berdal*, Professor, Department of War Studies, King's College, London.

26 April – Hybrid Warfare and Full-Spectrum Military Operations

With *David E. Johnson*, Senior Research Fellow, Rand Corporation.

## LRD Conferences

27 May – What Kind of NATO for the 21st Century?

With General *Stéphane Abrial*, Commander of Allied Command Transformation (ACT), NATO, Norfolk, USA.

*Dominique David*, *General Stéphane Abrial*



16 June – Invisible Wounds and Modern Conflicts: Psychological and Physical Impacts on Armed Forces and Populations

In collaboration with the Association of the United States Army.

With the participation, notably, of Army Corps General *Theodore Stroup*, Association of the United States Army; General (ret.) *Bernard Thorette*, former Chief of Staff of the French Army; Colonel *Charles Hoge*, Psychiatrist, US Army; Chief Medical Officer *Humbert Boisseaux*, Psychiatrist, HIA du Val-de-Grâce; General *Patricia Horoho*, Deputy Surgeon General, US Army; *Christopher Coker*, Professor, London School of Economics (LSE), and *Jean-Paul Mari*, Journalist, *Le Nouvel Observateur*.

## Brown Bag Seminars

21 January – The Global Approach in CSDP Operations: Illusion or Reality?

With *Marco Overhaus*, Guest Researcher, Security Studies Center, Ifri.

18 February – The US Threat to Pakistan

With *Anatol Lieven*, Professor, King's College, London, Research Fellow, New America Foundation.

18 March – Proliferation of Cybernetic Arms: What Are the Stakes and What Are the Counter Strategies?

With *Stanislas de Maupeou*, Chief of the Cyberdefense Program, Thales, former Head of the Centre d'expertise gouvernementale de réponse et de traitement des attaques informatiques (CERTA), General Secretariat for Defense and National Security (SGDSN).

15 April – Today's Boundaries and Wars

With *Michel Foucher*, former Ambassador, Professor at École normale supérieure, Director of Studies, Institut des hautes études de défense nationale (IHEDN).

20 May – India/Pakistan: Current Strategic Stakes

With *Guillem Monsonis*, Associate Research Fellow, Institute for Defense Studies and Analysis (IDSA), New Delhi, and *Gilles Boquérat*, Ifri.

24 June – Bakassi: a Conflict Solved?

With *Léon Koungou*, François Rabelais University (Tours), Researcher in the Department of Political Science, Facultés universitaires Notre-Dame de la Paix, Namur.

9 September – Psychological Action and Counter-Insurrection (COIN)

With *François Géré*, President, Institut français d'analyse stratégique (IFAS).

21 October – The Reform of Security and Justice Systems in Francophone Africa

With *Niagalé Bagayoko*, in charge of the "Maintien et consolidation de la paix" Program, Organisation internationale de la francophonie.

25 November – NATO's New Strategic Concept

With *Camille Grand*, Director, Fondation pour la recherche stratégique (FRS).

2 December – The Adaptation of the US Army to COIN in Iraq

With *Stéphane Taillat*, Professor, Écoles de Saint-Cyr Coëtquidan, Research Fellow, Centre de recherche des Écoles de Coëtquidan (CREC).

30 November – Al-Qaeda: the End of Terrorism?

Lunch-debate "Les Mensuelles Ifri / Entreprises" with *Marc Hecker*.

## Participations Outside Ifri

24 February – US Strategy in Afghanistan

Institut for Forsvarsstudier, Oslo.

Participation of *Étienne de Durand*, "The McChrystal Strategy."

10 March – Franco-British Defense Cooperation Round Table

RUSI – Franco-British Council, London.

Participation of *Étienne de Durand*, "Entente or Oblivion."

12 April – Thoughts on the Mediterranean of the 21st Century

Casa Árabe, Madrid.

Participation of *Marc Hecker*, "La France et le conflit israélo-palestinien."

26-27 May – 11th RUSI Missile Defense Conference  
RUSI, London.

Participation of *Corentin Brustlein*, "France and Missile Defense: a (Silently) Maturing Posture."

15-16 June – Public Perceptions on NATO Operations EAPC (Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council) seminar, Erevan.

Participation of *Marc Hecker*, presentation of the book: *War 2.0: Irregular Warfare in the Information Age*.

28-29 June – Wilton Park Conference "Nuclear Salience in Decline?"

Participation of *Corentin Brustlein*, "The Future of Nuclear Reductions."

7 July – French-Israeli Strategic Dialogue

The Institute for National and Security Studies and The European Leadership Network (INSS-ELNET), Tel Aviv.

Participation of *Étienne de Durand*, "Lessons Learned from Recent Military Operations."

19 July – Franco-German Dialogue

Direction de la Prospective, Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, Paris.

Participation of *Étienne de Durand*, "French Strategy in Afghanistan."

23-24 September – "Quad" Conference

RAND, Washington DC.

Participation of *Étienne de Durand*.

27-28 September – Trilateral Nuclear Dialogues

Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Washington DC.

Participation of *Étienne de Durand*.

8 October – LRD/EADS Round Table

EADS, Élancourt.

Participation of *Étienne de Durand* and *Pierre Chareyron*, "Les armées britanniques: un modèle en crise."

24 November – What Strategic Partners for France?  
Institut de recherche stratégique de l'École militaire (IRSEM), Paris.

Participation of *Étienne de Durand*, "Les ruptures stratégiques."

# 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, proposed by the Union to the other global space powers. 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 necessary and rare visibility to the political side of space issues, which are too often regarded only from a technical angle.**

## Team



**Laurence Nardon**, Research Fellow, Program Head  
Areas of expertise: American space policy and programs, space and security

**Martine Breux**, Assistant

Associate Research Fellow

**Christophe Venet**

Areas of expertise: evolution of European space governance

## Research Areas

### Space and Security

In 2010 the program organized its annual conference in partnership with the Secure World Foundation, analyzing and following the debate on the role of Europe in space security. *Laurence Nardon* participated in a discussion group on the "Code of Good Conduct in Space" at the Stimson Center (Washington) in 2007. Work on this theme has since been funded by American foundations.

### The Exploration of the Universe

The exploration of the universe is a theme that the program chose to consider in a transatlantic context. It monitors not only the European projects in this field – with the help of the European Space Agency, a partner of the program since 2008 – but also the important current debates surrounding the NASA exploration projects. A breakfast-debate on this theme took place in February 2010, with *Vincent Sabathier*, President of Sabathier-Consulting, Washington.

### Space Powers

Since its creation in 2001, the Space Program has published several studies on American space policy (see the Note published in January 2010). In 2010, the program expanded to study the evolution of European space policies and programs, resulting in a series of articles, the *Europe & Space Series*, which can be found online.

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

In 2010, the monitoring of these applications primarily illustrated changes in European space governance.

## Electronic Publications

### • "Notes de l'Ifri"

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



### • "Actuelles de l'Ifri" (*Europe & Space Series*)

The Evolving Architecture of Space and Security in Europe, *Laurence Nardon* and *Christophe Venet*, n° 1, November.

Galileo, the Long Road to European Autonomy, *Laurence Nardon* and *Christophe Venet*, n° 2, December.

## Publications Outside Ifri

"Developed Space Programmes," *Laurence Nardon*, in *Eligar Sadeh* (ed.), *The Politics of Space, a Survey*, London, Routledge.



## Cross-cutting Programs

### Conference-Debate

19 February – NASA's New Roadmap: the Outlook for Transatlantic Cooperation

With *Vincent Sabathier*, President of Sabathier-Consulting, Washington.

### International Conference

4-5 October – The Continuing Story of Europe and Space Security, Brussels

In collaboration with Secure World Foundation.

With the participation, notably, of *Marcia Smith*, President, Space and Technology Policy Group, LLC; *Paul Weissenberg*, Director for Aerospace, GMES, Security and Defense, DG Enterprise and Industry, European Commission; *Claude-France Arnould*, Deputy Director General, Crisis Management Planning, EU Council; *Xavier Pasco*, Fondation pour la recherche stratégique (FRS); *Agnieszka Lukaszczuk*, Secure World Foundation; *John Bevington*, ImageCat; *Jörg Szarzynski*, UN-SPIDER; *Luca Del Monte*, Office of Security Policy of the Director General, European Space Agency (ESA); *Ray Williamson*, Executive Director, Secure World Foundation; *Lars Høstbeck*, Defense, Security, and Technology Systems Division, Swedish Defense Research Agency (FOI); *Jean-François Mayence*, Head of the International Relations Legal Unit, Federal Scientific Policy of Belgium; *Dick Buenneke*, Deputy Director for Space Policy, Office of Missile Defense & Space Policy, Bureau of International Security and Non-Proliferation, US Department of State; *Theresa Hitchens*, Director, United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR); Lt. Col. *Brandon Jaeger*, US Air Force, Joint Staff Space Policy Planner; *Erwin Duhamel*, Director General's Security Office, ESA; *Brian Weeden*, Secure World Foundation; and *Laurence Nardon*, Ifri.

### Participations Outside Ifri

14 January – New American Spatial Policy Seminar at the European Space Agency (ESA).

With the participation of *Laurence Nardon*.

23 February – Enhancing Space Security: Expert Recommendations

Conference organized by Secure World Foundation, Washington.

With the participation of *Laurence Nardon*.

29-30 March – UNIDIR Space Security Conference 2010: from Foundations to Negotiations

Conference organized by the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR), in collaboration with Secure World Foundation, the Simons Foundation, with the support of the People's Republic of China and the Russian Federation. Presentation on the EU Code of Conduct.

With the participation of *Laurence Nardon*.

9 April – Cyber War and Space War Security and Defense Interviews, Centre des hautes études de l'armement (CHEAr).

With the participation of *Laurence Nardon*.

15 November – Militarization of Space, European and French Perspectives "Espace et Défense," conference of the Club Participation et Progrès, Assemblée nationale.

With the participation of *Laurence Nardon*.

## 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 about 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 increasing rarity of hydrocarbon resources;
- greenhouse gases and the battle against global warming;
- global energy governance;
- European energy markets: regulation and integration;
- the geopolitical implications of the evolution of the energy markets.

### Team



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



**William C. Ramsay**, Program Director



**Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin**, Program Coordinator, Research Fellow  
Areas of expertise: Kyoto Protocol, carbon governance, renewable energy, European energy policy

**Susanne Nies**, Research Fellow (Ifri Brussels, until September 2010)  
Areas of expertise: European energy policy, energy infrastructures, Eastern Europe, Russia

**Maïté de Boncourt**, Research Fellow (Ifri Brussels)

Areas of expertise: electric vehicles, petroleum and gas in Mesopotamia

**Christian Schülke**, Assistant Research Fellow (Ifri Brussels, until May 2010)

Areas of expertise: Poland, governance of investments

**Martine Breux**, Assistant

### Research Areas

#### The Increasing Rarity of Hydrocarbon Resources

The constantly growing dependence on fossil fuels requires that we continue to develop production and provision capacities. The program looks at the impact of this challenge on demand and investments. Since gas and oil are often found in highly unstable regions, the program examines the links between security and provision, energy dependence and the gas and oil markets.

#### Greenhouse Gases and the Battle against Global Warming

The new environmental constraints have a direct impact on public policies. The program analyzes global climate policies and the possibilities of a post-Kyoto accord. It also examines the evolution of carbon markets, notably the European EU ETS system, and their impacts on investment decisions.

#### Global Energy Governance

While global energy demand continues to grow, adaptation of the institutions governing energy could become a major issue for all involved parties. The program examines the mechanisms of global energy governance and the ways in which new actors can change the way it functions.

#### European Energy Markets: Regulation and Integration

The need to develop new electrical capacities and to facilitate energy circulation means that more interconnections are needed both within the EU and between Europe and Russia. The program concentrates on the regulations required, on both the European level and the level of EU member states, to establish a Eurasian network.

#### Geopolitical Implications of Global Developments on Energy Markets

The emergence of China and India has added a new dimension to the geopolitics of gas and oil. The program examines the evolution of the relationships between producers and consumers, and studies the impact on the geopolitics of energy and developments such as the growing LNG (liquefied natural gas) capacities, progress on clean carbon technologies, and the price of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions.



## Books

- “Les Études de l’Ifri” (electronic and hard copies)  
The EU’S Major Electricity and Gas Utilities since Market Liberalization, *Christian Schülke*, July.
- “Les Études de l’Ifri” (electronic)  
Ukraine : un pays de transit dans l’impasse ?, *Susanne Nies*, April.



## Electronic Publications

- “Notes de l’Ifri”  
The Institutions of Energy Governance in China, *Philip Andrews-Speed*, January.  
Getting Carbon Out: Tougher Than It Looks. An Assessment of EU, US and Chinese Pledges, *Maité Jauréguy-Naudin*, February.  
The Trans Saharan Gas Pipeline: an Illusion or a Real Prospect?, *Benjamin Augé*, March.  
Rare Earths and Clean Energy: Analyzing China’s Upper Hand, *John Seaman*, September.  
Wind Power: a Victim of Policy and Politics, *Maité Jauréguy-Naudin*, October.  
La communauté de l’énergie : un bilan cinq ans après, *Adélaïde Boodts*, December.  
Les perspectives du Shale Gas dans le monde, *Bruno Weymuller*, December.



- “Actuelles de l’Ifri”

- L’Ukraine bleue: un pays européen non aligné, *Susanne Nies*, April.  
Carbon Dioxide Emissions: 17 Years and Still Talking, *Christoph Meyer*, August.  
Electric Cars Charging Standards: Does It Matter?, *Maité de Boncourt*, October.  
2020 and Beyond: 2050 in Light of the Copenhagen Accord, *Christoph Meyer*, November.

- The Energy Editorial

Notes published each month by a member of the team on a current issue, available on the Ifri website.

- “Oil Market Rangebound,” *William C. Ramsay*, January.
- “Security of Supply Is Indivisible,” *William C. Ramsay*, March.
- “German Power Options: Lack of Clarity Will Be Costly,” *Christian Schülke*, March.
- “Who Needs OPEC – Russia Steps Up to the Plate?,” *William C. Ramsay*, March.
- “Feu la taxe carbone, vers une écotaxe européenne ?”, *Maité Jauréguy-Naudin*, March.
- “Climate Change: When the Media Play the Role of Speculators,” *Jacques Lesourne*, March.
- “European Energy Treaty: Right Problems, Wrong Answers,” *William C. Ramsay*, April.
- “A Smiling Medvedev,” *William C. Ramsay*, April.
- “Copenhagen Legacy is Ambiguity,” *William C. Ramsay*, April.
- “Disaster in Gulf not a Disaster for Obama,” *William C. Ramsay*, May.
- “Jurassic Oil,” *William C. Ramsay*, May.
- “Saving Wind from Its Subsidies,” *William C. Ramsay*, May.
- “Russian Gas Diplomacy,” *William C. Ramsay*, June.
- “Les États-Unis et l’Union européenne : le constat de 17 ans d’évolution (1990-2007),” *Jacques Lesourne* and *Maité Jauréguy-Naudin*, June.
- “An Azeri-Turkish Deal on Gas – a Partnership Renewed?,” *Agata Loskot-Strachota*, June.
- “Spat in the East China Sea Offers Lesson on Raw Material Dependence,” *John Seaman*, September.
- “Nordstream: Just in Time,” *William C. Ramsay*, September.
- “Electric Cars in the Orient and the Occident,” *Maité de Boncourt*, October.
- “La lutte contre le changement climatique suppose cohérence et rationalité,” *Jacques Lesourne*, November.
- “Cancun : l’Union européenne n’a pas les moyens de ses ambitions,” *Maité Jauréguy-Naudin*, December.
- “Will We Drive Electric on Asian Batteries?,” *Maité de Boncourt*, December.

## Article

“La conférence de Copenhague,”  
*Maité Jauréguy-Naudin*, in *RAMSES 2011*.

## Seminars, Round Tables

- The Ifri Energy Breakfast Round Table

- 11 March – Smart Grids: a Revolution in Progress?  
With *Michel Derdevet*, Director of Communications and Public Affairs, RTE, France; *Régis Hourdouillie*, Product Strategy and Smart Grid Program Director, Areva T&D; and *Guido Bartels*, President, Gridwise.
- 29 April – Electric Vehicles: Plug and Play?  
With *Lew Fulton*, International Energy Agency (IEA); *Yoann Derriennic*, PRTM; and *Thomas C. Luthy*, IBM, Energy and Utilities Department.
- 20 May – Rare Earths – Strategic Inputs to Sustainability  
With *James B. Hedrick*, President, Hedrick Consultants Inc., and *Christian Hocquard*, Economist, Bureau de recherches géologiques et minières (BRGM).
- 1st June – South-East Europe: Energy Challenges and the Role of the Energy Community  
With *Slavtcho Neykov*, Director, Energy Community, Vienna; *Stefan Bouzarovski*, University of Birmingham; *Adélaïde Boodts* and *Devon Weidemann*, Ifri.
- 7 June – Unconventional Gas  
With *Don Gautier*, US Geological Survey; *Ewa Zalewska*, Director of the Department of Geology and Geological Concessions, Ministry of the Environment, Poland; and *Hans Van der Loo*, Chief of the EU Liaison Office, Shell International.
- 29 September – Unconventional Gas and the Environment: Compatible?  
With *Philippe Marcus*, Senior Vice President, Exploration-Production, GDF Suez; *Simon Mathias*, Professor, Durham University; and *Isabelle Moretti*, Head of Unconventional Gas Project, IEP New Energy.
- 13 October – Wind Power: a Victim of Policy and Politics?  
With *Antonio Lucio-Villegas*, Director, Oficina de Bruselas, Red Eléctrica de España; *Likke Mulvad Jeppesen*, Group Support/Regulatory Affairs, Dong Energy; and *Richard Cooke*, Alstom Grid.
- 23 November – China Energy Demand: Fueling the Dragon  
With *Philip Andrews-Speed*, Specialist in Chinese energy policy; *Ian Cronshaw*, Head of the Energy Diversification Division, International Energy Agency (IEA); and *John Seaman*, Ifri Center for Asian Studies.

## International Conference

- 11 February – Energy, the Economy and Environment: Start of a New Decade, Brussels  
Annual conference of the European Governance and Geopolitics of Energy Program.  
With the participation of *Thierry de Montbrial*, President, Ifri; *Fabrizio Barbaso*, Deputy Director General in charge of Energy Issues, DG TREN, European Commission; *Pierre Gadonneix*, President, World Energy Council; *William C. Ramsay* and *Jacques Lesourne*, Ifri.

## Cross-cutting Programs

*Fabrizio Barbaso, Thierry de Montbrial,  
Pierre Gadonneix, William Ramsay*



*Fatih Birol, Christof Rühl, Jacques Lesourne,  
William Ramsay*



*Cécile Maisonneuve, Adnan Shihab-Eldin,  
Olivier Appert, Susanne Nies*



### Conferences-Debates

30 March – The Post-Copenhagen Perspectives and the Carbon Market Challenges

Lunch-debate “Les Mensuelles Ifri / Entreprises” with *Maité Jauréguy-Naudin* and *William C. Ramsay*.

31 May – President Obama’s Priorities in Clean Energy

With *Cathy Zoi*, American Under-Secretary of State, Energy Efficiency and Renewable Energy (EERE).

8 June – The Energy Ellipse and Human Security

With *Prince El Hassan bin Talal*, Jordan.

21 September – Gulf of Mexico Response and Recovery in the Wake of the BP Oil Spill  
In collaboration with the American Embassy.

With *Jane Lubchenko*, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

### Energy Huis Clos

17 May – EU External Policy: What Framework for Energy Relations?

With *Steven Everts*, Secretary General, High Representative for Energy and Foreign Policy, Council of the EU.

## Economic Studies Program

This program addresses economic issues from the perspective of political economy. It 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 EU, Russia, China, emerging countries in general) and the actions of economic stakeholders confronted with a rapidly changing environment (new technologies, outsourcing, regulation). There is often a strong focus on the European dimension, in particular on Franco-German relations.

### Team



**Jacques Mistral**,  
Program Director

**Françoise Nicolas**, Research Fellow

**Céline Bochet**, Assistant

### Research Areas

#### The Economic and Financial Crisis, and Global Governance

The financial crisis was no storm in a cloudless sky; many signs announced it but, for the most part, remained undetected. The current recovery is certainly reassuring; national governments acted with great energy and the rebound of the financial sector has been swift. But this upturn is fragile; the risk of a relapse cannot be ruled out, which creates a general unease that still raises many questions. The era of easy financing “à la Greenspan” 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 – while 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 “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 2011?

To respond to the resulting expectations, Ifri launched a work program in 2009, which is 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.

#### Global Governance

After the beginning of the financial crisis, the G20 came together again, for the first time in Washington, in November 2008. In Pittsburgh a year later, it was named the “principal international economic forum.”

The President of France underlined the fact that the G20 lay at the intersection of all paths; it could be either an instrument for managing the crisis or a method of directing better global governance. The President outlined several issues: the international monetary system, the excessive volatility of raw materials, and the legitimacy and institutionalization of the G20 itself.

The French presidency of the G20 in 2011 presents several challenges which will be debated at a large-scale international conference organized by Ifri. The speakers will be renowned experts, members of think tanks associated with Ifri for the monitoring of G20 since its origin, and coming from most of the G20 countries.

#### 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 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. China was the principal theme of the research in this section in 2010 and will remain so in 2011.

### China-United States

The decade that has just passed has updated the powerful, and apparently unnatural, links that have intertwined China and the United States in the economic, financial, and monetary spheres, creating *de facto* an unprecedented form of solidarity and interdependence. Are they, by virtue of the reality principle, going to build a sustainable logic of cooperation – to the extent that they will share a global directorship in the form of a new hyper-power: Chinamerica?

### 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 EU institutions, and the success of the EU economy. Fundamentally, what are the French and German positions on the economic challenges that the EU faces? True Franco-German dialogue is needed today to identify core convergences and to eliminate superficial differences. To start the debate, macroeconomic governance and supply policies will be analyzed.

In a climate of tension and turbulence, it is more necessary than ever to strengthen the quality of Franco-German dialogue, notably with respect to economic issues.

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, Frankfurt, and Berlin.

## Book

- “Les Études de l’Ifri” (electronic version)

L’avenir du système monétaire international et la question des monnaies de réserve : réflexions sur le dollar, l’euro, le renminbi et le DTS, *Jacques Mistral*, September.



## Electronic Publications

- “Notes de l’Ifri”

The Sovereign Debt Crisis and the Future of the Euro, *Jacques Mistral*, July.

The G20 and the Challenge of International Financial Re-regulation, *Jacques Mistral*, September.



## Article

“Turbulences financières, au tour de l’Europe !”, *Jacques Mistral*, in *RAMSES 2011* (introduction to the “Économie mondiale” section).

## Publications Outside Ifri

“Peut-on réguler la finance mondiale ?”, *Jacques Mistral*, in *Olivier Ferrand* (ed.), *L’État pyromane*, Paris, Éditions Delavilla.

“Re-réglementation financière internationale : un défi transatlantique,” *Jacques Mistral*, in *La Revue d’économie financière*, n° 100, December.

“Des dettes privées aux dettes publiques : quelle est la prochaine étape de la crise ?”, *Jacques Mistral*, in *Esprit*, December.

“La France en faillite ? Le miroir allemand,” *Jacques Mistral*, in *Le Débat*, November-December.

“La mondialisation, la Chine et l’avenir de l’industrie française,” *Jacques Mistral*, in *La Revue des mines*, July-August.

“L’Amérique et le défi chinois,” *Jacques Mistral*, in *Jean-Louis Chambon* (ed.), *La Chineamérique, un couple contre nature ?*, Paris, Le Cercle Turgot.

## Seminars, Round Tables, Debates

8 February – Can Barack Obama Succeed? How Will the US Recovery Evolve in 2010? Lunch-debate “Les Mensuelles Ifri / Entreprises” with *Jacques Mistral*.

10 February – The Protestant Ethic, the Financial Crisis, and the Contemporary Spirit of Capitalism

With *Olivier Abel*, Professor, Faculté libre de théologie protestante, Paris; *François Dermange*, Professor of Ethics, University of Geneva; *Charles-Henri Filippi*, Founding President of ALFINA; and *Jacques Mistral*, Ifri

25 March – After Greece, How Will the Financing of Public Debts Be Tackled?

With *Anton Brender*, Chief Economist, Dexia Asset Management; *Olivier Garnier*, Chief Economist, Société Générale Group; *Jean-Michel Six*, Chief Economist Europe, Standard & Poor’s; and *Jacques Mistral*, Ifri.

7 April – “Chinamerica,” an Unlikely Couple or a New World Order?

With, notably, *Jean-Louis Chambon*, Honorary President and Founder, Cercle Turgot; *Claude Revel*, Founder, IrisAction; *Jean-Claude Gruffat*, Director General, Citigroup France; *François Meunier*, Deputy Director General, Coface; *Pierre Sabatier*, Co-Founder, Prime-View; *Jean-Pierre Petit*, Economist; *Vivien Lévy-Garboua*, Advisor, BNP Paribas; *Philippe Jurgensen*, Ministry of the Economy, Finance, and Industry; *Nicolas Bouzou*, Founder-Director, Asterès; *Bernard Esambert*, former President of the Compagnie financière Edmond de Rothschild; and *Jacques Mistral*, Ifri.

23 June – The Future of the Banking Industry

With *Bernard de Longevialle*, Standard & Poor’s, Paris; *Hervé de Villeroy*, Chief of the Economy Financing Service at the Treasury; *Bertrand Badré*, Director of Finances Group, Crédit agricole S.A.; *Christian de Boissieu*, Deputy Chairman, Conseil d’analyse économique; and *Jacques Mistral*, Ifri.

1st December – The G20 and Global Economic Governance: the Challenges of the French Presidency

In collaboration with the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI), Canada.

With *Paul Martin*, former Canadian Prime Minister; *Thierry de Montbrial*, President, Ifri; *Ramon Fernandez*, Director General of the Treasury, Ministry of the Economy, Finance, and Industry; *Tom Bernes*, Vice President of Programs, CIGI; *Colin Bradford*, Senior Fellow, CIGI; *Pierre Jaillet*, Director General of International Relations Studies, Banque de France; *Wu Jianmin*, former Ambassador of China in France; *Amar Bhattacharya*, Executive Director, Secretariat of the G24; *Christian de Boissieu*, Deputy Chairman, Conseil d’analyse économique; *Ralph Bryant*, Senior Fellow, Economic Studies Program, Brookings Institution; *Heenam Choi*, Director General, Ministry of Strategy and Finance, Republic of Korea; *Paul Jenkins*, former Deputy Governor, Bank of Canada; *Paola Subacchi*, Director of Research on the International Economy, Chatham House; *Andrés Rozental*, Founding President, Mexican Council on Foreign Relations; *Barry Carin*, Senior Fellow, CIGI; *Rajiv Kumar*, Director General, Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations (ICRIER); *Gabriela Ramos*, Chief of Staff of the OECD Secretary General, Sherpa of the OECD to the G20; *Jean-Michel Severino*, former Director General, Agence française de développement; *Gordon Smith*, Executive Director, Centre for Global Studies; *François Bujon de l’Estang*, former Ambassador of France to the United States, President, Citigroup France; *Louise Fréchette*, CIGI; *Stewart Patrick*, Senior Fellow and Director of the International Institutions and Global Governance Program, Council on Foreign Relations; and *Jacques Mistral*, Ifri.



## Cross-cutting Programs

Christian de Boissieu, Paul Jenkins, Jacques Mistral, Ralph Bryant



Tom Bernes, François Bujon de l'Estang, Gordon Smith, Louise Fréchette



Paul Jenkins, Jacques Mistral



10 June – Economic Recovery in Eastern Asia: Diversified Directions  
Lunch-Debate “Les Mensuelles Ifri / Entreprises” with Françoise Nicolais.

7 October – Trimestral Lunch-Debate with Serge Weinberg, President, Weinberg Capital  
Double-digit inflation? Free trade in a scenario of rupture and its impact on firms.

### Seminar Series Organized in Collaboration with CEPII

(CEPII – Centre d'études prospectives et d'informations internationales)

9 February – China, a New Model for Growth?

With Pierre Mongrué, Financial Counselor and Deputy Chief of the Economic Mission, Embassy of France, Beijing; Michel Aglietta, Professor, University of Paris Ouest, Scientific Advisor, CEPII and Groupama; Françoise Lemoine, CEPII; and Jacques Mistral, Ifri.

## Migrations, Identities & Citizenship Program

The debate on immigration and citizenship is crucial for the future of European societies. The Migrations, Identities & Citizenship Program carries out groundbreaking research on major issues surrounding migrations and their political, social, economic and cultural consequences. This research is enriched by debates that regularly bring together practitioners of immigration policies and actors affected by such issues to analyze topics ranging from the management of immigration flows to cultural and religious identities. The research and debates are strengthened by both outside scientific publications and online publications. The program is an integral part of the European and international network of leading experts in the fields of migration, citizenship and cultural and religious minorities.

### Team



**Christophe Bertossi**,  
Research Fellow, Program Head  
Areas of expertise: citizenship, discrimination, ethnicity, migratory policy in Europe



**Dorothee Prud'homme**,  
Assistant Research Fellow  
Areas of expertise: discrimination and minorities in Europe, citizenship, public institutions

**Pauline Ollier**, Assistant

Associated Research Fellow

**Marie Bassi**

Areas of expertise: migratory politics in Europe, collective and transnational mobilization

### 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. In 2010, the program continued its European Task Force on Irregular Migration Program in partnership with the British Barrow Cadbury Trust Foundation and the Conseil régional d’Île-de-France. With the help of the Real Instituto Elcano in Madrid, and at a time when Spain held the presidency of the EU, the program also organized a dialogue between French and Spanish researchers and elected officials on immigration policies and integration into Europe. Finally, the program coordinated a project in partnership with the Université Ouverte Migration and Mohamed V University, and with the support of the OCP Group, on European immigration policy from a southern perspective.

#### The “Crisis” of National Integration Models

For a long time, integration policies have been defined according to major national models: French republicanism, Dutch and British multiculturalism, 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 problem specific to Europe? How are such things understood in other countries such as the United States and Canada?

In partnership with the Réseau français des instituts d'études avancées (RFIEA), the Social Science Research Council (SSRC), the Agence nationale pour la recherche (ANR) and the Collegium de Lyon, the program led the first Franco-American edition of the DPDF program of the Social Science Research Council (New York) by organizing an international conference entitled, *Multiculturalism, Immigration and Identities: a Transatlantic Comparison*, at the École normale supérieure in Lyon. In addition, a conference at Ifri looked at the French debate on national identity. Finally, the program organized, on this same subject, a “presidential panel” for the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association (ASA) in Atlanta. Co-organized with the President of ASA, this panel considered comparisons between France, the UK, the Netherlands, the United States, Canada, and Australia.

#### Institutional Discrimination

Public institutions (armed forces, schools, hospitals, etc) are traditional integration “factories,” but do not avoid 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 research published in 2007 on the French armed forces and another in 2009 on the national police, the program has come to the last phase of its “Care and Discrimination in French Health Institutions” study, in partnership with the Conseil régional d’Île-de-France, the Haute Autorité de lutte contre les discriminations et pour l'égalité (HALDE, French Equal Opportunities and Anti-Discrimination Commission), the French Hospital Federation (FHF) and the Private Hospital Federation (FHP). It has also addressed the European dimension of antidiscriminatory policy in a “Note de l’Ifri”: *Des directives à la Charte: une lecture critique des politiques européennes de lutte contre la discrimination raciale*.

#### 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 electronic publications in 2010.

## Book

Les doubles nationaux, enquête sur les nouveaux entrepreneurs au Maroc, *Christophe Bertossi* and *Marie Bassi*, "Les Études de l'Ifri" (electronic version), December.

## Electronic Publications

### • "Notes de l'Ifri"

Migrations, transferts et développement : expériences comparées du Mexique et des pays du Maghreb, *Flore Gubert*, September.

Migrations et développement : un besoin de politiques cohérentes adaptées à la réalité, *Jacques Ould Aoudia*, October.

Des directives à la Charte : une lecture critique de la politique européenne de lutte contre la discrimination raciale, *Dorothee Prud'homme*, November.



### • "Actuelles de l'Ifri"

L'immigration et la construction des politiques d'intégration en Espagne, *Anna Terrón*, Spanish Secretary of State for Immigration, October.

## Articles

"Un monde de migrations en évolution constante," *Christophe Bertossi*, in *RAMSES 2011* (introduction to the "Migrations" section).

"Politiques d'immigration," *Christophe Bertossi* and *Marie Bassi*, in *RAMSES 2011*.

## Publications Outside Ifri

"Conclusion: Mistaken Models of Integration? A Critical Perspective on the Crisis of Multiculturalism in Europe," *Christophe Bertossi*, in *A. Sijf* (ed.), *European Multiculturalism Revisited*, London, Zed Books.

"What if National Models of Integration Did Not Exist?," *Christophe Bertossi*, in *Perspectives on Europe*, Council of European Studies / University of Columbia, vol. 40, n° 2, autumn.

"France and Deporting the Roma: How Did We Get There?," *Christophe Bertossi*, in Real Instituto Elcano, *ARI*, n° 146, Madrid, November.

"L'axe franco-allemand: moteur de la politique d'immigration européenne?," *Marie Bassi*, in *Claire Demesmay* and *Andreas Marchetti* (eds.), *La France et l'Allemagne face aux crises européennes*, Bordeaux, Presses universitaires de Bordeaux.

## Seminars

23 April – European Task Force on Irregular Migration – ETFIM. What Are the Costs of National (non-) Regularization Policies for Local Policies?

In collaboration with the Barrow Cadbury Trust and the Conseil régional d'Île-de-France.

With *Philip Anderson*, Professor, Catholic University of Applied Sciences, Munich; *Antoine Bussy*, Chief of Staff for the Mayor, Saint-Denis; *Elizabeth Collett*, European Policy Centre, Brussels; *Johannes G. Knickenberg*, Director, Catholic Forum on Life in Illegality (Katholische Forum Leben in der Illegalität), Berlin; *Laura Lopez de Cerain Salsamendi*, Director General in charge of Immigration, Development, and Cooperation, Madrid; *Akli Mellouli*, Special Advisor, Presidency of the Conseil régional d'Île-de-France; *Nadan Petrovic*, Director, Central Service for the Protection of Asylum Seekers and Refugees, Advisor to the Italian Minister of the Interior, Rome; *Robin Schneider*, Senior Officer, Office of the Senate Commission on Integration and Migration, Berlin; *Nando Sigona*, Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS), University of Oxford; *Olga Trostiansky*, Deputy Mayor in charge of Solidarity, Family, and the Fight against Exclusion, Paris.

21 June – Diversity and Equality: What Is French Citizenship Today?

With *Louis Schweitzer*, former President of the HALDE; *Cécile Laborde*, Professor, University of London; *John Bowen*, Professor, Washington University in Saint Louis; and *Christophe Bertossi*, Ifri.

26 November – Regularization, Non-Regularization and Local Labour Markets

In collaboration with the Barrow Cadbury Trust and the Conseil régional d'Île-de-France.

With *Ayesha Saran*, Barrow Cadbury Trust; *José Antonio Moreno Diaz*, Confederación Sindical de Comisiones Obreras, Spain; *Sean Bamford*, Trades Union Congress, UK; *Don Flynn*, Migrants' Rights Network, UK; *Anna Delclòs*, Fundació Cecot Persona i Treball, Catalonia; *Moulay El Akkoui*, Fillea-CGIL, Italy; *Gemma Pinyol*, Office of the Spanish Secretary of State in charge of Immigration; *Norbert Cyrus*, Hamburg Institute for Social Research (HIS); *Pascal Decary*, Veolia Propreté; *Stefano Bertozzi*, Council of Europe, and *Christophe Bertossi*, Ifri.

## External Conference

10 June – Multiculturalism, Identity, and Immigration in the United States and Europe: What Can We Compare?, Lyon

In collaboration with the Collegium de Lyon, the Réseau français des instituts d'études avancées (RFIEA), the Agence nationale pour la recherche (ANR), and the Social Science Research Council (SSRC).

With, notably, *Richard Alba*, Professor, City University of New York (CUNY); *Erik Bleich*, Lecturer, Middlebury College, US; *Eric Fassin*, Professor, École normale supérieure, Paris; *Nancy Foner*, Professor, CUNY; *Gary Freeman*, Professor, University of Texas at Austin; *Léo Lucassen*, Professor, Leiden University; *Patrick Simon*, Director of Research at INED (Institut national d'études démographiques); and *Christophe Bertossi*, Ifri.

## International Conferences

20-21 May – Franco-Spanish Immigration and Integration Policies, Madrid

In collaboration with the Real Instituto Elcano.

With the participation of *Anna Terrón*, Secretary of State for Immigration; *Carmen González Enríquez*, Director of Migrations Program, Real Instituto Elcano; *Étienne Pinte*, Deputy, Assemblée nationale; *Virginie Guiraudon*, Research Director, CNRS; *Javier Elorza*, Secretary General of Asuntos Consulares y Migratorios; *Joaquín Arango*, Professor, Universidad Complutense, Madrid, Member of Scientific Advisory Board, Real Instituto Elcano; *Pablo Gómez Tavira*, Director General of Immigration, Madrid; *Yolanda Pineda*, Mayor of Salt, Catalonia; *Carlos Giménez*, Professor, Universidad Autónoma, Madrid; *Olga Trostiansky*, Deputy Mayor in charge of Solidarity, Family, and the Fight against Exclusion, Paris; and *Christophe Bertossi*, Ifri.

17 August – Difference and Belonging: the Study of Models of Migrants' Integration in an International Comparison, Atlanta

In collaboration with the American Sociological Association.

With *Evelyn Nakano-Glenn*, Professor, University of California, Berkeley, President of the American Sociological Association; *Nancy Foner*, Professor, CUNY; *Jeffrey Reitz*, Professor, University of Toronto; *Robert Van Krieken*, Professor, University of Sydney; *Danièle Joly*, Professor, University of Warwick; *Jan Willem Duyvendak*, Professor, University of Amsterdam; and *Christophe Bertossi*, Ifri.

2 December – The European Immigration Policies from a Southern Perspective, Rabat

In collaboration with the Université Ouverte Migrations and Mohammed V University-Souissi, Rabat, with the support of the OCP Group.

With the participation, notably, of *Houria Alami*, University Hassan II, Rabat; *Youssef Amrani*, Secretary General, Moroccan Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation; *Nouredine El Aoufi*, Professor, Mohammed V University-Agdal; *Jean-Pierre Cassarino*, Professor, European University Institute, Florence; *Mohamed Charef*, Professor, University of Agadir; *Catherine Coroller*, *Libération*; *Abderrazak El Hajri*, Ministry of Social Development, Rabat; *Rkia El Mossadeq*, Professor, Mohammed V University, Rabat; *Susan George*, President of the Board of Directors, Transnational Institute (TNI); *Bachir Hamdouch*, Mohammed V University, Rabat; *Jawad Kerdoudi*, President, Moroccan Institute of International Relations (IMRI), Casablanca; *Mehdi Lahlou*, Professor, Mohammed V University, Rabat; *Luc Legoux*, Lecturer, University of Paris I; *Jacques Ould Aoudia*, Ministry of the Economy (DGTPE), President of the Migrations and Development Association; *Stéphane Rostiaux*, International Organization for Migrations (IOM), Rabat; *Mounir Zouiten*, Professor, Mohammed V University, Rabat; *Mansouria Mokhefi*, *Marie Bassi* 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 in the domains of health and the environment (pollution, for example). The way that global governance functions with respect to health and the environment is studied each year through case studies and international seminars. These publications and events shed light on the different dimensions of such governance, allowing us to better understand the way it works, its limits, and its possibilities for improvement.

## Team



**Aline Leboeuf**, Research Fellow, Program Head  
**Areas of expertise:** global governance changes in the health sector, issues of stabilization and reconstruction in Sub-Saharan Africa



**Emma Broughton**, Assistant Research Fellow  
**Areas of expertise:** global governance of climate and biodiversity, international negotiations, economic evaluation of biodiversity and the role of companies, sociological

approaches

## Research Areas

The work produced in 2008 focused on studying international cooperation, while that of 2009 considered the creation and use of international norms as governance tools. For the year 2010, the team of the Health and Environment Program focused on the innovative mechanisms, such as the One Health approach, that have been developed and used in the domains of health, the climate, and biodiversity. The international year of biodiversity also prompted the writing of a report on the state of global governance in this domain. The program is supported by the Taipei Representative Office in France.

## Electronic Publications

### • "Health and Environment Reports"

Japan's Ambivalent Diplomacy on Climate Change, *Céline Pajon*, n° 5, May.

Global Governance of Biodiversity: New Perspectives on a Shared Challenge, *Mireille Jardin, Raphaël Billé, Lucien Chabason, Claudio Chiarolla, Gilles Kleitz, Jean-Patrick Leduc and Laurent Mermet*, n° 6, December.



### • "Note de l'Ifri"

TIC et systèmes de santé en Afrique, *Jean-Michel Huet, Mouna Romdhane and Henri Tcheng*, June.



## Articles

"Copenhague, le bilan et l'avenir," *Emma Broughton*, in *Politique étrangère*, 2-2010.

"Marée noire," *Emma Broughton*, in *RAMSES 2011*.

## International Conferences

29 March – Making Norms Work for the Environment: Best Practices and Learning from Experience

With, notably, *Thierry de Montbrial*, President, Ifri; *Nathalie Kosciusko-Morizet*, Secretary of State for Forward Planning, Assessment of Public Policies and Development of the Digital Economy; *Liang Chi-yuan*, Minister without Portfolio, Advisor, National Security Advisory, Taiwan; *Robert J. Yang*, Advisor, Industrial Technology Research Institute (ITRI), Taiwan; *Norichika Kanie*, Associate Professor, Graduate School of Decision Science and Technology, Tokyo Institute of Technology, Japan; *Olivier Fuchs*, Judge, Administrative Court of Montreuil; *Alain Pesson*, Head of the Mission for Sustainable Industrial Development, Ministry of the Economy; *Lu Ching-long Michel*, Ambassador, Taipei Representative Office in France; *Lucien Chabason*, Deputy Director, Institut du développement durable et des relations internationales (IDDRI), France; *Charlotte Epstein*, Senior Lecturer, Department of Government and International Relations, University of Sydney, Australia; *Jean-Dominique Wahiche*, Museum of Natural History, France; *Baptiste Legay*, DG Climate Action,

European Commission; *Cornis Van der Lugt*, Technology Division, Industry and Economy, United Nations Environment Program, France; *Phillip Pattberg*, Research Fellow, Project Head, Institute for Environmental Studies, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam; *Helen Mountford*, Acting Deputy Director, Environmental Directorate, OECD; *Chiu Jong-jen*, Director General, Department of European Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Taiwan; *Laurence Tubiana*, Founder and Director, IDDRI; *Céline Pajon*, *Maité Jauréguy-Naudin* and *Aline Leboeuf*, Ifri.

8 November – Climate Negotiations in Cancun: Determinants for Change, Taipei

In collaboration with the Ricci Institute, Taipei.

Main subjects: Copenhagen negotiations – Impacts of climate change – The BRIC countries and global climate governance – Non-state actors and climate governance.

With the participation of *Thierry de Montbrial*, President, Ifri; *Chou Hsi-wei*, District Manager, Taipei; *Yang Kuo-tung*, Director General, Department of Treaty and Legal Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Taiwan; *Patrick Bonneville*, Director, French Institute of Taipei; *Shen Shu-hung*, Minister, Administration of Environmental Protection, Taiwan; *Chen Ching-pu*, Associate Professor, Yuan Ze University, Taiwan; *Anne-Cécile Violin*, Delegation of Strategic Affairs, Ministry of Defense, France; *Teng Chia-ji*, Director, Office of Environmental Protection, Taipei district, Taiwan; *Phillip K. Kabua*, Ambassador of the Republic of the Marshall Islands in Taiwan; *Lee Ken-jen*, Mercy on the Earth, Taiwan (MET); *Tu Wen-ling*, Taiwan Environmental Action Network (TEAN), Associate Professor, National Cheng Chi University, Taiwan; *André Santos Pereira*, Researcher, Centre international de recherche sur l'environnement et le développement (CIRED), France; *Prodipto Ghosh*, Distinguished Fellow, The Energy and Resources Institute (TERI), India; *Bob Elliott*, Advisor, City Council, City of Port Moody, Canada; *Xavier Gujjarro*, Green Cross International, Switzerland; *Annapoorna Boccasam*, Green Cross International, Switzerland; *Robert Yang*, Advisor, Industrial Technology Research Institute (ITRI), Taiwan; *Benoît Vermander*, Associate Professor, Philosophy Department, Fudan University, China; *Inete Ielite*, Riga Energy Agency, Latvia; *Herwig Schloegl*, Consultant, former Deputy Secretary General of the OECD, Germany; *Sudo Tomonori*, Office for Climate Change, Japan International Cooperation Agency; *Lee Hong-yuan*, Professor, College of Civil Engineering, National Taiwan University, and *Emma Broughton*, Ifri.



# Publications

## Books

### “Les Études de l’Ifri” Series

(paper version)

Series distributed by Technip/La Documentation française

The EU's Major Electricity and Gas Utilities since Market Liberalization, *Christian Schülke*, Paris, Ifri.

Radioscopies de l'Allemagne 2010, *Louis-Marie Clouet* and *Hans Stark* (eds.), Paris, Ifri.

### “Les Études de l’Ifri” Series

(electronic version)

Ukraine : un pays de transit dans l'impasse ?, *Susanne Nies*, Paris, Ifri.

Les doubles nationaux : enquête sur les nouveaux entrepreneurs transnationaux au Maroc, *Marie Bassi* and *Christophe Bertossi*, Paris, Ifri.

The EU's Major Electricity and Gas Utilities since Market Liberalization, *Christian Schülke*, Paris, Ifri.

Towards a New Type of Regime in Sub-Saharan Africa: Democratic Transitions But No Democracy, *Marc-Antoine Pérouse de Montclos*, Paris, Ifri.

L'avenir du système monétaire international et la question des monnaies de réserve, *Jacques Mistral*, Paris, Ifri.

## Externally Published Books

L'Europe et le monde en 2020. Essai de prospective franco-allemande, *Louis-Marie Clouet* and *Andreas Marchetti* (eds.), Lille, Presses universitaires du Septentrion.

La France et l'Allemagne face aux crises européennes, *Claire Demesmay* and *Andreas Marchetti* (eds.), Bordeaux, Presses universitaires de Bordeaux.

Les coulisses de l'aide internationale en République démocratique du Congo, *Thierry Vircoulon*, Paris, L'Harmattan.

## Electronic Publications, Articles

### Europe

#### • Cerfa Publications

#### “Notes du Cerfa” Series

Le partenariat économique Chine-Allemagne : une interdépendance croissante, *Margot Schüller*, n° 71, January.

Crises et défis de l'industrie automobile allemande, *Helmut Becker*, n° 72, March.

Le partenariat économique Allemagne-Russie : une interdépendance assumée, *Christian Meier*, n° 73, April.

L'avenir des Verts allemands : vers un parti charnière, *Christoph Egle*, n° 74, May.

Les réformes sociales : Hartz IV à l'heure de la rigueur en Allemagne, *Brigitte Lestrade*, n° 75, June.

L'engagement militaire allemand en Afghanistan : conditions, évaluations, perspectives, *Markus Kaim*, n° 76, July.

Le financement de la politique de santé de l'Allemagne : enjeux et perspectives, *Rolf Schmucker*, n° 77, August.

L'Allemagne et le contrôle parlementaire des services de renseignement, *Thorsten Wetzling*, n° 78, October.

L'intégration des immigrés d'origine turque en Allemagne, *Martine Sauer*, n° 79, November.

L'économie allemande en sortie de crise, *Rémi Lallement*, n° 80, December.

#### “Notes de l’Ifri” Series

MALE Drones: Europe's Options?, *Louis-Marie Clouet* and *Laurence Nardon*, May.

#### “Visions franco-allemandes” Series

Le décrochage démographique France-Allemagne, *Reiner Kingholz* and *Stephan Sievert*, n° 16, January.

La France et l'Allemagne face à la crise de l'euro : à la recherche de la convergence perdue, *Pascal Kauffmann* and *Henrik Uterwedde*, n° 17, July.

## Article

“Européenne, l'Allemagne ? Retour sur un long procès,” *Hans Stark*, in *Politique étrangère*, 3-2010.

#### • Ifri Brussels Publications

#### “Europe.Visions” Series

Les citoyens face à la défense européenne, *André Dumoulin*, n° 6, November.

European Defence Economy Affected by the Crisis, *Olivier Jehin*, n° 7, November.

#### “Europe du Sud-Est” Series

Moldova: a Status Quo of EU Institutional Relations, *Florentina Harbo*, n° 1, April.

Kosovo : deux ans après la déclaration d'indépendance, *Sébastien Gricourt*, n° 2, July.

L'économie serbe dans un contexte régional, communautaire et international, *Adélaïde Boodts*, n° 3, December.

#### “Notes de l’Ifri” Series

Les Irlandais et le traité de Lisbonne, Acte II, *Marie-Claire Considère-Charon*, January.

## Russie/NIS

#### “Russie.Nei.Visions” Series

Collection published in English, French, and Russian

Georgia, Obama, the Economic Crisis: Shifting Ground in Russia-EU Relations, *Timofei Bordatchev*, n° 46, January.

Russia, China and the United States: from Strategic Triangularism to the Postmodern Triangle, *Bobo Lo*, n° 47, February.

Internal and External Impact of Russia's Economic Crisis, *Jeffrey Mankoff*, n° 48, March.

Russia's Greater Middle East Policy: Securing Economic Interests, Courting Islam, *Mark N. Katz*, n° 49, April.

Europe in Russian Foreign Policy: Important But No Longer Pivotal, *Thomas Gomart*, n° 50, May.

Russia and Turkey: Rethinking Europe to Contest Outsider Status, *Richard Sakwa*, n° 51, May.

From Moscow to Mecca: Russia's Saudi Arabian Diplomacy, *Julien Nocetti*, n° 52, May.

Results of the “Reset” in US-Russian Relations, *R. Craig Nation*, n° 53, July.

Russia's Far East Policy: Looking Beyond China, *Stephen Blank*, n° 54, August.

Syria: Russia's Best Asset in the Middle East, *Andrey Kreutz*, n° 55, November.

Israel's Immigrant Parties: an Inefficient Russia Lobby, *Olena Bagno* and *Zvi Magen*, n° 56, December.

#### “Russie.Nei.Reports” Series

L'Université technique Bauman : un atout majeur de la politique industrielle russe, *Carole Sigman*, n° 3, March.

Les universités privées, « mal aimées » de l'enseignement supérieur russe, *Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean*, n° 4, September.

« Soft power » russe : discours, outil, impact, *Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean*, n° 5, October.

How the Chinese See Russia, *Bobo Lo*, n° 6, December.

## Articles and Contributions

“Ianoukovitch et la politique étrangère ukrainienne : retour à l'équilibre ?”, *Dominic Fean*, in *Politique étrangère*, 2-2010.

“Russie : une réforme des armées ambitieuse mais incertaine,” *Julien Nocetti*, *Philippe Pelé-Clamour*, in *Défense*, n° 148, November-December.

“La Russie au Moyen-Orient : une politique de puissance aux moyens limités,” *Julien Nocetti*, in *Moyen-Orient*, October-December.

“Fragile colosse du monde multipolaire,” *Thomas Gomart*, in *Revue des deux mondes*, October.

“The Russia Paradox: It Seems Unlikely, But 40 Per Cent of Russia’s Universities Are Fee-paying,” *Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean*, in *Research Europe*, September.

“Russia’s Government Pins Hope on Universities Not Academy,” *Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean*, in *Research Europe*, July.

“How to Change the Inherited Mentalities of the Cold War” (article in Russian), *Thomas Gomart*, in *Russia in Global Affairs*, April.

“The Reform of Russian Higher Education for ‘the Knowledge Economy’” (article in Russian), *Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean*, in *Le Courrier de l’École des études politiques de Moscou*, n° 4 (50).

“Two Landmarks for Russia” (article in Russian), *Thomas Gomart*, in *Russia in Global Affairs*, December.

### Asia

#### “Notes de l’Ifri” Series

La présence économique chinoise et indienne au Maghreb, *Françoise Nicolas*, June.

Rare Earths and Clean Energy: Analyzing China’s Upper Hand, *John Seaman*, September.

#### “Rapports de l’Ifri” Series

Japan’s Ambivalent Diplomacy on Climate Change, *Céline Pajon*, May.

Observatoire de l’Asie du Nord-Est, septembre 2008/ août 2010, *Céline Pajon* and *Valérie Niquet*, December.

#### “Asie.Visions” Series

Hospital Chains in India: The Coming of Age?, *Bertrand Lefebvre*, January.

The Development of Road Networks in China: Miscalculations and Inequalities, *Kun-Chin Lin*, February.

From Kunming to Mandalay: the New “Burma Road”, *Hélène Le Bail* and *Abel Tournier*, March.

Energy Security, Transnational Pipelines and China’s Role in Asia, *John Seaman*, April.

Coming in from the Cold: An Update on North Korea’s External Economic Relations, *Françoise Nicolas*, April.

A Shadow Over the Himalayas: India’s Tibet Problem, *Prem Shankar Jha*, May.

Understanding the Issue of US Military Bases in Okinawa, *Céline Pajon*, June.

Ampo at 50: The Faltering US-Japan Relationship, *Gavan McCormack*, June.

An Analysis of North Korea’s Principal Trade Relations, *Hyung-Gon Jeong* and *Hokyung Bang*, July.

Fiscal Deficit, Crowding Out, and the Sustainability of Economic Growth: The Case of the Indian Economy, *Sunitha Raju* and *Jaydeep Mukherjee*, July.

China-India Relations: Strategic Engagement and Challenges, *Zhang Li*, September.

Le débat sur la gouvernance fédérale au Pakistan, *Gilles Boquérat*, September.

Evolution of the Australia-Japan Security Partnership: Toward a Softer Triangle Relationship with the United States?, *Takashi Terada*, October.

L’Indonésie face à la montée en puissance de la Chine, *Jean-Raphaël Chaponnière*, December.

See also “La Lettre du Centre Asie,” available on the Ifri website: [www.ifri.org](http://www.ifri.org)

#### Articles and Contributions

Françoise Nicolas

“De Facto and De Jure Regional Economic Integration in East Asia – How Do They Interact?,” in *Singapore Economic Review*, vol. 55, n° 1.

“Chinese Direct Investments in France – No Chinese Challenge, No French Exception,” in *International Economics Programme Paper*, IE PP 2010/02, Chatham House, January.

“De Facto Trade Integration and Exchange Rate Policies in East Asia,” in *Bernadette Andreosso-O’Callaghan* et *Bruna Zolin* (dir.), *Current Issues in Economic Integration: Can Asia Inspire the West?*, London, Ashgate.

“La Chine dans le commerce international : un positionnement original mais fragile,” in *Accomex*, n° 93, May-June.

“China FDI in France: Challenges and Opportunities,” in *Transnational Corporations Review*, vol. 2, n° 4, December.

Gilles Boquérat

“Enlightened Moderation: Anatomy of a Failed Strategy,” in *Ravi Kalia* (ed.), *Pakistan: from the Rhetoric of Democracy to the Rise of Militancy*, Abingdon (UK), Routledge, 2011.

“Les relations indo-pakistantaises : retour sur une normalité conflictuelle,” in *Hérodote*, 139, 4th trimestre.

“L’appropriation au Pakistan de la “guerre contre le terrorisme” en question,” in *Cahiers de l’IRSEM*, 1, April.

“Asia Meridional en 2009 : democracia y milicia bajo la alargada sombra China,” in *Anuario Asia Pacifico 2009*, *CIDOB*, *Casa Asia*, Real Instituto Elcano, Barcelona.

Céline Pajon

“Significance of the Japan-India Partnership for East Asian Regionalism,” in *Asian Regional Integration Review*, vol. 2, Waseda University Global COE Program, Global Institute for Asian Regional Integration (GIARI), Tokyo, March.

“1945-2005 : Hiroshima, vers la reconnaissance d’une mémoire ambivalente,” in *Bernard Cottret* and *Lauric Henneton* (eds.), *Du bon usage des commémorations. Histoire, mémoire et identité – xvi<sup>e</sup>-xx<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Rennes, Presses universitaires de Rennes.

“Les spécificités de la démocratie japonaise,” in *Jean-Vincent Holeindre* and *Benoît Richard* (eds.), *La Démocratie*, Paris, Sciences humaines.

### Middle East/North Africa/Mediterranean

#### • Middle East

##### “Notes de l’Ifri” Series

Palestine, un État, quel État ?, *Jean-François Legrain*, January.

L’État palestinien en question : la solution de deux États est-elle encore possible ?, *Denis Bauchard*, March.

#### • North Africa

##### “Notes de l’Ifri” Series

La présence économique chinoise et indienne au Maghreb, *Françoise Nicolas*, June.

La projection économique des pays du Maghreb sur l’Afrique subsaharienne, *Nezha Alaoui*, June.

Stratégie et présence économiques des États-Unis au Maghreb, *Kassim Bouhou*, June.

Le Conseil de coopération du Golfe au Maghreb : échange et stratégie d’investissements, *Radhi Meddeb*, June.

Les relations des Touaregs aux États : le cas de l’Algérie et de la Libye, *Dida Badi*, June.

Touaregs et Arabes dans les forces armées coloniales et maliennes : une histoire en trompe-l’œil, *Charles Grémont*, June.

Physionomie et enjeux des trafics dans la bande sahélo-saharienne, *Jean-Luc Peduzzi*, June.

Le Maroc et sa « nouvelle frontière » : lecture critique du versant économique de la stratégie africaine du Maroc, *Alain Antil*, June.

Contrôler les trafics ou perdre le Nord : notes sur les trafics en Mauritanie, *Alain Antil*, June.

Migrations, transferts et développement : expériences comparées du Mexique et des pays du Maghreb, *Flore Gubert*, October.

Migrations et développement : un besoin de politiques cohérentes adaptées à la réalité, *Jacques Ould Aoudia*, October.

#### • Contemporary Turkey

##### “Notes de l’Ifri” Series

Updating the Debate on Turkey in France, on the 2009 European Elections’ Time, *Alain Chenal*, January.

Turkey’s French Problem, *Semih Idiz*, May.

#### Articles and Contributions

“De l’élargissement à l’éloignement : la Turquie veut-elle toujours adhérer à l’Union européenne ?”, *Dorothee Schmid*, in *Politique étrangère*, 1-2010.

“L’affaire Ergenekon : quels enjeux pour la démocratie turque ?”, *Nur Bolat*, in *Politique étrangère*, 1-2010.

“Méditerranée : l’Union prend déjà l’eau,” *Dorothee Schmid*, in *Alternatives internationales*, December.

“Les élites françaises et la Turquie : une relation dans l’attente,” *Dorothee Schmid*, report published by EDAM (Centre for Economic and Foreign Policy Studies, Istanbul), June.

“Les nouveaux horizons de la diplomatie turque,” *Dorothee Schmid*, in *Questions internationales*, n° 42, March-April.

“Dal Processo di Barcellona all’Unione per il Mediterraneo : esiste una strategia europea per l’area?”, *Dorothee Schmid*, in *Hub Globale, trincea o pantano?, Il future del Mediterraneo e il ruolo dell’Europa*, Bologna, Il Mulino.

## Africa

### “Notes de l’Ifri” Series

The Financial Challenges of the Sub-Saharan Africa Telecoms Boom, *Henri Tchong, Jean-Michel Huet and Mouna Romdhane*, January.

Le Maroc et sa « nouvelle frontière » : lecture critique du versant économique de la stratégie africaine du Maroc, *Alain Antil*, January.

Violence en brousse : le *peacebuilding* international face aux conflits fonciers, *Florence Liégeois and Thierry Vircoulon*, February.

Les « émeutes de la faim » au Sénégal : un puissant révélateur d’une défaillance de gouvernance, *Alain Antil*, February.

Les relations des Touaregs aux États : le cas de l’Algérie et de la Libye, *Dida Badi*, June.

Touaregs et Arabes dans les forces armées coloniales et maliennes : une histoire en trompe-l’œil, *Charles Grémont*, June.

The Trans-Saharan Gas Pipeline: an Illusion or a Real Prospect?, *Benjamin Augé*, March.

Pour en finir avec la critique de l’aide au développement, *Gérard Liscia*, July.

The Politics of Amnesty in the Delta Niger. Challenges Ahead, *Kathryn Nwajaku-Dahou*, December.

L’insertion des néo-urbains dans le jeu politique. L’exemple du Sénégal, *Alain Antil*, December.

### Articles and Contributions

“L’islam en Afrique, un acteur transnational,” *Alain Antil*, in *Politique étrangère*, 4-2010.

“Autopsie d’une controverse internationale : le partenariat sino-congolais sous le feu des critiques,” *Thierry Vircoulon*, in *Les Temps modernes*, n° 657, January-March.

“La responsabilité sociétale des entreprises : un engagement éthique au service de leur sûreté,” *Mathieu Pellerin*, in *Sécurité et Stratégie*, June.

“Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz l’alchimiste,” *Alain Antil*, in *L’Année du Maghreb*, Paris, CNRS Éditions.

“Les limites socio-anthropologiques de la réforme du secteur de sécurité : la question de la militarisation des milices Mai Mai,” *Thierry Vircoulon*, in *Patrick Klaousen and Axel Augé* (eds.), *Réformer les armées africaines*, Paris, Karthala.

“The Marriage that Rocked Africa : décolonisation, diplomatie et question raciale dans l’avènement du Botswana contemporain,” *Thierry Vircoulon*, in *Michel Prum* (ed.), *La Place de l’autre*, Paris, L’Harmattan.

“The Ituri Paradox: When Armed Groups Have a Land Policy and Peace Makers Do Not,” *Thierry Vircoulon*, in *Chris Alden and Ward Anseuw* (eds.), *Struggle over Land in Africa*, Pretoria, HSRC Press.

Le business du rapt au Nigeria ou l’impossible pacification de la région du Delta, *Benjamin Augé*, Institut français de géopolitique (Université de Paris VIII).

## United States

### “Potomac Papers” Series

Au cœur de l’Amérique : le mouvement des *Tea Parties*, *Anne-Lorraine Bujon*, February.

Internet et politique aux États-Unis, *François Vergniolle de Chantal*, June.

I’m not a Feminist, But... A Comparative Analysis of the Women’s Movement in the U.S. and in France, *Page Somerville Robinson*, September.

Où va l’école américaine ?, *Sylvie Laurent*, October.

## Security

### “Proliferation Papers” Series

In Search of the Nuclear Taboo: Past, Present and Future, *William C. Potter*, n° 31, January.

Russia, China and the United States: from Strategic Triangularism to the Postmodern Triangle, *Bobo Lo*, n° 32, February.

North Korea’s Nuclear Weapons Development – Implication for Future Policy, *Jonathan D. Pollack*, n° 33, April.

Chinese Perceptions of the Utility of Nuclear Weapons. Prospects and Potential Problems in Disarmament, *Jing-dong Yuan*, n° 34, June.

Potential Strategic Consequences of the Nuclear Energy Revival, *Charles D. Ferguson*, n° 35, July.

### “Focus stratégique” Series

La transformation pour quoi faire ? Défis d’aujourd’hui et de demain, *John Gordon*, n° 11 bis, January.

Soutien santé : le défi afghan, *Aline Leboeuf*, n° 19, February.

Vers la fin de la projection de forces ? I. La menace du déni d’accès, *Corentin Brustlein*, n° 20, April.

Vers la fin de la projection de forces ? II. Parades opérationnelles et perspectives politiques, *Corentin Brustlein*, n° 21, May.

La France dans l’OTAN, la culture militaire française et l’identité stratégique en question, *Anne-Henry Budan de Russé*, n° 22, June.

Les armées britanniques, un modèle en crise, *Pierre Chareyron*, n° 23, July.

La coopération civile en Afghanistan. Une coûteuse illusion ?, *Amaury de Féligonde*, n° 24, August.

Contre-insurrection et action psychologique : tradition et modernité, *François Géré*, n° 25, September.

L’ONU, Pygmalion malhabile : la fragilité du *nation building* au Timor, *Dominique Lecompte*, n° 26, November.

Caveats to Civilian Aid Programs in Counterinsurgency. The French Experience in Afghanistan, *Amaury de Féligonde*, n° 24bis, December.

## Articles and Contributions

Pierre Chareyron

“La contre-insurrection à l’épreuve du conflit afghan,” in *Politique étrangère*, 1-2010.

“Ces guerres qu’on ne sait plus gagner,” in *Études*, novembre.

Étienne de Durand

“The French Experience in Counterinsurgency,” in *Thomas Keaney and Thomas Rid* (eds.), *Understanding Counterinsurgency War*, London and New York, Routledge.

“Entente of Oblivion: Prospects and Pitfalls of Franco-British Cooperation on Defence,” in *FDR Working Paper*, n° 8, London, RUSI, September.

Marc Hecker and Thomas Rid

“The Terror Fringe,” in *Policy Review*, January.

“Montrer la guerre asymétrique ? L’exemple de la communication israélienne (2000-2009),” in *Israël et son armée*, Studies from the IRSEM, n° 3.

## Space

### “Notes de l’Ifri” Series

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

### External Contribution

“Developed Space Programmes,” *Laurence Nardon*, in *Eligar Sadeh* (ed.), *The Politics of Space, a Survey*, London, Routledge.

## Energy

### “Notes de l’Ifri” Series

The Institutions of Energy Governance in China, *Philip Andrews-Speed*, January.

Getting Carbon Out: Tougher Than It Looks. An Assessment of EU, US and Chinese Pledges, *Maité Jauréguy-Naudin*, February.

The Trans-Saharan Gas Pipeline: an Illusion or a Real Prospect?, *Benjamin Augé*, March.

Rare Earths and Clean Energy: Analyzing China’s Upper Hand, *John Seaman*, September.

Wind Power: a Victim of Policy and Politics, *Maité Jauréguy-Naudin*, October.

La communauté de l’énergie : un bilan cinq ans après, *Adélaïde Boodts*, December.

Les perspectives du Shale Gas dans le monde, *Bruno Weymüller*, December.

See also the Energy Program editorial – articles available on Ifri’s website



### Economic Studies

#### “Notes de l’Ifri” Series

The Sovereign Debt Crisis and the Future of the Euro, *Jacques Mistral*, July.

The G20 and the Challenge of International Financial Re-regulation, *Jacques Mistral*, September.

#### Articles and Contributions

“Peut-on réguler la finance mondiale ?”, *Jacques Mistral*, in *Olivier Ferrand* (ed.), *L’État pyromane*, Paris, Éditions Delavilla.

“Re-réglementation financière internationale : un défi transatlantique,” *Jacques Mistral*, in *La Revue d’économie financière*, n° 100, December.

“Des dettes privées aux dettes publiques : quelle est la prochaine étape de la crise ?”, *Jacques Mistral*, in *Esprit*, December.

“La France en faillite ? Le miroir allemand,” *Jacques Mistral*, in *Le Débat*, November-December.

“La mondialisation, la Chine et l’avenir de l’industrie française,” *Jacques Mistral*, in *La Revue des mines*, July-August.

“L’Amérique et le défi chinois,” *Jacques Mistral*, in *Jean-Louis Chambon* (ed.), *La Chineamérique, un couple contre nature ?*, Paris, Le Cercle Turgot.

### Migrations and Citizenship in Europe

#### “Notes de l’Ifri” Series

Migrations, transferts et développement : expériences comparées du Mexique et des pays du Maghreb, *Flore Gubert*, September.

Migrations et développement : un besoin de politiques cohérentes adaptées à la réalité, *Jacques Ould Aoudia*, October.

Des directives à la Charte : une lecture critique de la politique européenne de lutte contre la discrimination raciale, *Dorothee Prud’homme*, November.

#### Articles and Contributions

“Conclusion: Mistaken Models of Integration? A Critical Perspective on the Crisis of Multiculturalism in Europe,” *Christophe Bertossi*, in *A. Silj* (ed.), *European Multiculturalism Revisited*, London, Zed Books.

“What if National Models of Integration Did Not Exist?”, *Christophe Bertossi*, in *Perspectives on Europe*, Council of European Studies / University of Columbia, vol. 40, n° 2, autumn.

“France and Deporting the Roma: How Did We Get There?”, *Christophe Bertossi*, in *Real Instituto Elcano, ARI*, n° 146, Madrid, November.

“L’axe franco-allemand : moteur de la politique d’immigration européenne ?”, *Marie Bassi*, in *Claire Demesmay* and *Andreas Marchetti* (eds.), *La France et l’Allemagne face aux crises européennes : analyse des positions nationales sur l’Europe*, Bordeaux, Presses universitaires de Bordeaux.

### Health and Environment

#### “Health and Environment Reports” Series

Japan’s Ambivalent Diplomacy on Climate Change, *Céline Pajon*, n° 5, May.

Global Governance of Biodiversity: New Perspectives on a Shared Challenge, *Mireille Jardin*, *Raphaël Billé*, *Lucien Chabason*, *Claudio Chiarolla*, *Gilles Kleitz*, *Jean-Patrick Leduc* and *Laurent Mermet*, n° 6, December.

#### “Note de l’Ifri” Series

TIC et systèmes de santé en Afrique, *Jean-Michel Huet*, *Mouna Romdhane* and *Henri Tchong*, June.

#### Article

“Copenhague, le bilan et l’avenir,” *Emma Broughton*, in *Politique étrangère*, 2-2010.

# Conferences and Debates

## January

January 13 – Governance of Oil in Africa: Unfinished Business

Conference-debate with *Benjamin Augé*, Institut français de géopolitique (University of Paris VIII), *Géraud Margin*, Research Fellow, Centre de coopération internationale en recherche agronomique pour le développement (CIRAD), and *Geert Van Vliet*, Economist and Research Fellow, CIRAD.

Chair: *William Ramsay*, Ifri.

January 14 – Syria in a New Game

Conference-debate with *Peter Harling*, Director of the Iraq, Syria, Lebanon Project, International Crisis Group.

Chair: *Dominique David*, Ifri.

January 18 – A Special Look at Russia and West Balkan Countries

Conference-debate with *Imre Szekeres*, Minister for Defense, Republic of Hungary.

Chair: *Dominique David*, Ifri.

January 21 – The New European Hand and the Integration of the South-East European Countries

Conference-debate with *Samuel Zbogar*, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Republic of Slovenia.

Chair: *Dominique David*, Ifri.

## February

February 2 – India: the Challenges Ahead

Conference-debate with *Jaswant Singh*, Member of the Indian Parliament, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Finance, and Defense.

Chair: *Claude Blanchemaison*, former Ambassador of France in India.

February 4 – The Role of China in Global Governance

Conference-debate with *Yang Jiechi*, Minister for Foreign Affairs, People's Republic of China.

Chair: *Thierry de Montbrial*, Ifri.

February 16 – After the Tragedy in Haiti: New Thoughts on Public Global Possessions

Conference-debate with *Philippe Douste-Blazy*, Deputy Secretary General of the United Nations.

Chair: *Dominique Moisi*, Ifri.

February 19 – What Political Alternatives Exist in Afghanistan?

Conference-debate with *Abdullah Abdullah*, former Minister for Foreign Affairs in Afghanistan, former candidate for the Afghan presidency, leader of the democratic opposition in Afghanistan.

Chair: *Pierre Lafrance*, former Ambassador of France in Pakistan.

February 19 – NASA's New Roadmap: the Outlook for Transatlantic Cooperation

Breakfast-debate with *Vincent Sabathier*, President of Sabathier-Consulting, Washington.

Chair: *Laurence Nardon*, Ifri.

## March

March 30 – The United Kingdom Green Paper: Issues for the Future Strategic Defense Review

Breakfast-debate with *Ann Taylor*, Minister for International Defence and Security, UK.

Chair: *Dominique David*, Ifri.

## April

April 2 – Transitions But No Democracy: Is a New Type of Regime Developing in Sub-Saharan Africa? The Case of Nigeria

Conference-debate with *Marc-Antoine Pérouse de Montclos*, Head of Research, Institut de recherche pour le développement.

Chair: *Alain Antil*, Ifri.

April 16 – Zuma Administration: Drift or Shift?

Conference-debate with *Marianne Séverin*, Associate Research Fellow, Centre d'études d'Afrique noire, Institut d'études politiques de Bordeaux.

Chair: *Alain Antil*, Ifri.

April 29 – Cultures, Media, Digital: Who Will Win the New War?

Conference-debate with *Frédérique Martel*, Sociologist, Writer and Journalist.

Chair: *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, Ifri.

## May

May 18 – The Great Challenges of Global Governance

Conference-debate with *Thierry de Montbrial*, President, Ifri.

May 25 – The Franco-German Pair and Europe in the Face of the Crisis

Conference-debate with *Pierre Lellouche*, Secretary of State for European Affairs, and *Stephan Toscani*, Minister of the Interior and European Affairs for Saarland.

Chair: *Hans Stark*, Ifri.

May 25 – Sport and Politics in Africa: a Dangerous Relationship?

Conference-debate with *Paul Dietschy*, Lecturer, University of Franche-Comté, Research Fellow, Sciences-Po History Center; *Thierry Vircoulon*, Associate Research Fellow, Sub-Saharan Africa Program, Ifri; and *Bernard Cros*, Lecturer, University Paris-Ouest Nanterre.

Chair: *Alain Antil*, Ifri.

May 27 – What Kind of NATO for the 21st Century?

Conference-debate with General *Stéphane Abrial*, Commander of Allied Command Transformation (ACT), NATO, Norfolk, USA.

Chair: *Dominique David*, Ifri.

May 31 – President Obama's Priorities in Clean Energy

Conference-debate with *Cathy Zoi*, Assistant Secretary for the US Department of Energy's Office of Energy Efficiency and Renewable Energy.

Chair: *William C. Ramsay* and *Jacques Lesourme*, Ifri.

## June

June 8 – The Energy Ellipse and Human Security

Conference-debate with Prince *El Hassan bin Talal* of Jordan.

Chair: *William C. Ramsay*, Ifri.

June 16 – Invisible Wounds and Modern Conflicts: Psychological and Physical Impacts on Armed Forces and Populations

In collaboration with the Association of the United States Army.

With the participation, notably, of Army Corps General *Theodore Stroup*, Association of the United States Army; General (ret.) *Bernard Thorette*, former Chief of Staff of the French Army; Colonel *Charles Hoge*, Psychiatrist, US Army; Chief Medical Officer *Humbert Boisseaux*, Psychiatrist, HIA du Val-de-Grâce; General *Patricia Horoho*, Deputy Surgeon General, US Army; *Christopher Coker*, Professor, London School of Economics (LSE), and *Jean-Paul Mari*, Journalist, *Le Nouvel Observateur*.

Chair: *Dominique David*, Ifri.

June 21 – Diversity and Equality: What Is French Citizenship Today?

Conference-debate with *Louis Schweitzer*, former President of HALDE; *Cécile Laborde*, Professor, University of London; and *John Bowen*, Professor, University of Washington in Saint Louis.

Chair: *Christophe Bertossi*, Ifri.

June 29 – Proactive Foreign Policy in Times of Economic Hardship: the Case of Greece and the Case of the European Union

Conference-debate with *Dimitris Droutsas*, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, Greece.

Chair: *Thierry de Montbrial*, Ifri.

### September

#### September 16 – Presentation of *RAMSES 2011: a Post-American World?*

Morning-debate.

Opening by *Thierry de Montbrial*, President, Ifri.

Guest of Honor: *Jean-François Copé*, Deputy of Seine-et-Marne, President of the UMP Group at the Assemblée nationale.

With *Jacques Mistral*, Director of Economic Studies, Ifri; *Denis Clerc*, Editorial Adviser, *Alternatives économiques*; *Antoine Reverchon*, Journalist, Head of *Le Monde Économie*; *Catherine Lubochinsky*, Professor, University Panthéon-Assas Paris 2, President of the European Money and Finance Forum; *Maité Jauréguy-Naudin*, Research Fellow, Coordinator of the European Governance and Geopolitics of Energy Program, Ifri; *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, Co-Director of *RAMSES*, Ifri; *François Gemenne*, Research Fellow, Institut du développement durable et des relations internationales (IDDRI), Sciences-Po Paris; *Flore Gubert*, Research Fellow, Institut de recherche pour le développement (IRD); and *Catherine Wihl de Wenden*, Research Director, Centre d'études et de recherches internationales (CERI), Sciences-Po Paris, CNRS.

#### September 21 – Gulf of Mexico Response and Recovery in the Wake of the BP Oil Spill

Conference co-organized in partnership with the Embassy of the United States in Paris, with *Jane Lubchenko*, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

Chair: *William C. Ramsay*, Ifri.

#### September 23 – A New Look at the East: the Polish-Russian Reconciliation and its Consequences

Conference co-organized in partnership with the Embassy of Poland in France, the Institut polonais de Paris, and *Libération*.

With *Tomasz Orłowski*, Ambassador of Poland in France; *Alexandre Orlov*, Ambassador of the Russian Federation in France; *Thierry de Montbrial*, President, Ifri; *Georges Mink*, Research Director, ISP-CNRS; *Alfred Grosser*, Professor Emeritus, Sciences-Po Paris; *Dieter Bingen*, Director of the Institut germano-polonais, Darmstadt; *Michel Marian*, Lecturer, Sciences-Po Paris; *Dominique Moïsi*, Special Advisor, Ifri; *Anatolyi Torkunov*, Co-Chairman of the Polish-Russian Group on Difficult Matters, Superintendent of the State Institute of International Relations, Moscow; *Adam Rotfeld*, Co-Chairman of the Polish-Russian Group on Difficult Matters, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Poland; *Marek Kornat*, Historian, Member of the Groupe pour la Pologne; and *Natalya Lebedieva*, Historian, Member of the Groupe pour la Russie.

### October

#### October 4 – New Changes and Challenges to the Global Economy

Conference-debate co-organized in partnership with the Embassy of the United States in Paris, with *Robert D. Hormats*, Secretary of State for Economic, Energy and Agricultural Affairs, United States.

Chair: *Thierry de Montbrial*, Ifri.

#### October 8 – New Horizons for Ukrainian Foreign Policy

Conference-debate with *Viktor Yanukovich*, President of Ukraine.

Chair: *Xavier de Villepin*, Honorary Senator.

#### October 15 – NATO's Challenges

Conference co-organized in partnership with the Royal Embassy of Denmark in France, with *Anders Fogh Rasmussen*, Secretary General of NATO.

Chair: *Xavier de Villepin*, Honorary Senator.

### November

#### November 3 – Punching Below Their Weight? Critical Reflections on Anglo-French Cooperation in Africa

Lunch-debate with *Tony Chafer*, Professor, University of Portsmouth, and *Gordon Cumming*, Professor, University of Cardiff.

Chair: *François Gaulme*, Project Manager, Agence française de développement.

#### November 16 – Police Cooperation When Faced With Organized Crime

Conference-debate with *Luiz Fernando Corrêa*, Director General, Federal Brazilian Police

Chair: *Thierry de Montbrial*, Ifri.

#### November 18 – The Priorities of the Hungarian Presidency of the European Union

Conference-debate with *Viktor Orbán*, Prime Minister, Republic of Hungary.

Chair: *Dominique David*, Ifri.

#### November 23 – Outlook for Security, Arms Control and Disarmament

Conference-debate with *Hans Blix*, former Director of the International Atomic Energy Agency, former President of the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission in Iraq (UNMOVIC), President of the Commission on Weapons of Mass Destruction.

Chair: *Dominique David*, Ifri.

#### November 24 – The NATO Summit: Implications for France and Germany

In partnership with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

Breakfast-debate with *Karl-Heinz Kampf*, Director, Research Division, NATO Defense College, Rome.

Chair: *Hans Stark*, Ifri.

### December

#### December 8 – European Integration: Destroying Democracy?

Conference-debate with *Vivien Schmidt*, Jean Monnet Professor of European Integration, Director of the Center for International Relations, Boston University, and *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, Research Fellow, Co-Director of *RAMSES*, Ifri.

Chair: *Dominique David*, Ifri.

#### December 14 – The Importance of the Eastern Partnerships for the European Union and Eastern Europe

Conference-debate with *Andrzej Cieszkowski*, Plenipotentiary of the Minister for Foreign Affairs for the Eastern Partnership, Republic of Poland.

Chair: *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, Ifri.

#### December 22 – The State of the World at the End of 2010

Parliament/Ifri meeting, with *Thierry de Montbrial*, President, Ifri; *Josselin de Rohan*, President of the Commission for Foreign Affairs, Defense, and the Armed Forces, French Senate; *Axel Poniatowski*, President of the Commission for Foreign Affairs, Assemblée nationale; *Jean-François Poncet*, Vice President of the Commission for Foreign Affairs, Defense, and the Armed Forces, Senate; *Jean Glavany*, Member of the Commission for Foreign Affairs, Assemblée nationale; *Étienne de Durand*, Director of the Security Studies Center, Ifri; *Hervé Gaymard*, Member of the Commission for Foreign Affairs, Assemblée nationale; *Christian Cambon*, Member of the Commission for Foreign Affairs, Defense, and the Armed Forces, Senate; and *Jacques Mistral*, Director of Economic Studies, Ifri.

N.B. Only public conferences are listed here. Other conferences (seminars, round tables, closed meetings) are presented in the research part of this report.



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# Financial Appendix

## Balance Sheet as of December 31, 2010

ASSETS	2010			2009	LIABILITIES	2010	2009
	Gross	Accumulated depreciation	Net	Net			
Fixed assets					Funds		
Intangible assets					General funds	8 470 553	8 470 553
Software	55 296	55 296	0	116	Restricted fund	47	47
Tangible assets					Reserve	1 118 672	1 074 331
Land	3 886 345		3 886 345	3 886 345	Reserve – association project	50 000	
Building	5 815 058	3 037 263	2 777 794	2 941 002	Net income for the year	145 435	94 341
General facilities	539 854	410 221	129 633	125 569			
Transportation equipment	31 240	22 536	8 703	14 951			
Office equipment, furniture, computer hardware	721 936	600 398	121 537	68 952			
Financial assets					<b>Funds</b>	<b>9 784 706</b>	<b>9 639 271</b>
Deposits	17 109		17 109	17 109	Provisions		
Interest	11		11	11	General risks	68	724
Loans	2 800		2 800	0	Retirement expenditures	196 527	230 153
Other investments	23		23	0	Other provisions	44 402	100 000
	<b>11 069 670</b>	<b>4 125 714</b>	<b>6 943 956</b>	<b>7 054 055</b>	Deferred grant revenue		
Current assets					Deferred grant revenue	51 280	39 780
Inventories	20 363		20 363	18 587	Creditors		
Other debtors / Pre-payments	247 330		247 330	271 887	Bank		0
Receivables and related accounts	192 293		192 293	565 902	Accounts payable and other liabilities		
Investment securities	4 175 404		4 175 404	4 067 390	Accounts payable and other liabilities	430 893	326 870
Bank balances	368 944		368 944	295 764	Accrued expenses	77 305	105 833
Accrued income	81 509		81 509	84 947	Advances and downpayments	1 820	
	<b>5 085 844</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>5 085 844</b>	<b>5 304 477</b>	Taxes and social security		
Currency conversion adjustment	68		68	724	Staff and accounts payable	163 824	161 160
					Social and tax administration/state	517 154	586 747
<b>TOTAL ASSETS</b>	<b>16 155 582</b>	<b>4 125 714</b>	<b>12 029 867</b>	<b>12 359 256</b>	Accruals and deferred income	761 635	1 168 692
					Currency conversion adjustment	254	25
					<b>TOTAL LIABILITIES</b>	<b>12 029 867</b>	<b>12 359 256</b>

## ACCOUNTS 2010

EXPENDITURE	Budget 2010	Net 2010	Net 2009	INCOME	Budget 2010	Net 2010	Net 2009
Expenditure	92 500	69 612	76 480	Public grants	1 867 900	1 868 252	1 879 516
Office supplies	43 400	40 783	35 473	Private funding	4 344 500	4 611 279	4 163 336
EDF/GDF/Water	37 300	19 454	28 336	Donations and member subscriptions	800 000	1 064 205	845 012
Books	11 800	9 374	12 671	Publications	104 300	99 104	173 477
Other external expenditures	2 232 100	2 343 723	2 124 782	Program and contract funding	3 410 600	3 419 122	3 064 688
Printing fees	178 400	179 011	163 440	Other income	29 600	28 849	80 160
Rental fees	49 400	48 685	46 140	Deferred grant revenue reversal	8 000	26 000	159 514
Maintenance	159 100	205 049	105 643	Provision reversal		136 626	125 000
Insurance	45 900	41 212	41 867	Other income		0	0
Research material	42 500	33 701	43 780	Management income		11 224	93
Honoraria and professional services	1 052 900	1 107 578	1 082 300				
Donations, membership subscriptions	6 100	67 405	5 571				
General travel and meetings	589 200	480 652	448 566				
Postage and telephone	105 600	75 731	80 368				
Other management fees	3 000	104 698	107 106				
Taxes	376 500	353 853	313 243				
Taxes on salaries	200 000	161 991	127 204				
Other taxes	176 500	191 862	186 039				
Staff costs	3 257 800	3 405 689	3 374 517				
Deferred grant revenue	0	37 500	26 000				
Depreciation and provisions	260 600	274 818	283 600				
Management expenditures							
<b>Operational expenditures</b>	<b>6 219 500</b>	<b>6 485 194</b>	<b>6 198 622</b>	<b>Operational income</b>	<b>6 220 400</b>	<b>6 653 381</b>	<b>6 327 459</b>
Financial expenditures		799	3 936	Financial income	50 000	22 124	30 960
Exceptional expenditures		35	13 999	Financial provisions reversal	0	724	3 522
Corporate taxes		48 413	54 137	Exceptional income		3 647	3 093
Income after taxes		145 435	94 341				
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>6 219 500</b>	<b>6 679 876</b>	<b>6 365 035</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>6 270 400</b>	<b>6 679 876</b>	<b>6 365 035</b>





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