

# Annual Report 2011



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# Message from the President

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From revolutions in the Arab world, crises in Europe and catastrophic events in Japan, to the intervention in Libya and the announcements of withdrawal from Afghanistan, 2011 did not lack turmoil, nor is there a shortage of questions to be asked. Even more than previous years, 2011 certainly confirmed the need for a broad view of the world in order to support political and economic decision-makers working under the pressure of events that are becoming more and more difficult to control.

Such wide vision allows for analytical distance to be introduced into decision-making processes. As a unique think tank in France, and through the range of subjects it covers (international and otherwise), its long history of bringing experience and successful methodologies to light, and the networks it has built with partners throughout the world, Ifri seeks to promote this kind of perspective. It is the only French institute involved with the Council on Foreign Relations in the United States as a member of the Council of Councils, a meeting that brings together 20 of the most prestigious think tanks. The inaugural meeting of this new forum was held in Washington on 12-13 March 2012.

In global debates on the new international dynamics, regional reshuffling, and the tools of a new governance, Ifri has made its voice heard – whether as a French or as a European voice – in a dialogue open to all backgrounds and experiences.

In a difficult economic context that has also affected Ifri, ensuring that our voice is heard depends on certain conditions. First, we must continue to develop the multiple partnerships that we have made over time with public and private decision-makers. Moreover, we must constantly reinforce our strengths; the objectives of our programs must be in perpetual evolution, and our research team must always be seeking excellence.

We are also working to make sure that the numerous events and publications that Ifri generates each year are achieving the visibility that they deserve, both in France and abroad.

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Finally, we are adapting to a world in which not only international structures but also the methods of debate and decision-making have changed. The massive diffusion of technology throughout societies around the world has had a particular influence on political events in the Middle East, Africa, Russia, and China, but it has also affected the way political exchange takes place, and the cultures of current and future decision-makers. Ifri has participated in this technological advance. During 2011, we reinforced our digital presence; Ifri publications and debates were not only accessible on the website, but also made available through social networks such as Facebook and Twitter. Archives and new analysis are now available on a blog that was created on the 75th anniversary of *Politique étrangère*.

As any institution with a long-term vision, Ifri cannot be satisfied with merely trying to anticipate and comment on change. It must also integrate change into its makeup, and itself be constantly adapting. From this comes the necessary reflection on our missions, our values, and our modes of functioning.

Throughout this demanding process, Ifri has benefited from the support of its numerous partners and, primarily, from the businesses that participate in our programs. We would like to extend a warm thanks to them and to all our collaborators who have so strongly supported us.



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

# Ifri, a Leading French Think Tank on International Questions



Petr Necas, former Prime Minister of the Czech Republic, Thierry de Montbrial

In 2011, once again, Ifri was the only French research institute placed among the top 50 most influential think tanks in the world (outside of the United States), according to the *Global Think Tank Report 2011*, published by the University of Pennsylvania.<sup>1</sup>

Founded in 1979 on the model of Anglo-Saxon think tanks, Ifri is the principal institution for independent research and debate in France that is dedicated to the analysis of international questions and global governance.

Ifri's policy-oriented research strives to illuminate international events and put them in perspective. It is primarily useful for political and economic decision-makers as well as academics, opinion leaders, and civil society representatives.

"We can see the world of think tanks as a miniature example of global civil society and thus a major aspect of one extension of democracy." – Thierry de Montbrial, "What is a think tank?", letter to the Académie des sciences morales et politiques, 28 February 2011.

## Analysis, Foresight and Debate

The research that is at the heart of Ifri's activities favors analysis and foresight concerning European and international affairs, and adopts a multidisciplinary approach that takes local, national and global perspectives into consideration.

Today Ifri is composed of more than 30 permanent French and foreign researchers from a wide range of backgrounds and disciplines, who are part of 15 research units based on regional or cross-cutting subjects.

Ifri publishes documents in a number of languages. In 2011:

- **10 books** were published, of which four were in languages other than French;
- **more than 130 policy papers** were produced, of which 67 were in French, 59 in English, 7 in Russian, and 4 in German.



Paul Kagame, President of Rwanda

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

The website, [www.ifri.org](http://www.ifri.org), is today the primary platform for sharing Ifri's debates, studies and other publications. Since 2011, Ifri has participated in debates on social networks, notably through Twitter, LinkedIn, Facebook and Pearltrees, and also through the diffusion of its podcasts.

## Listening and Enlightening

Ifri's research is fueled by debates organized in an informal and non-partisan way, and that facilitate the bringing-together of experts and decision-makers, private and public alike. In 2011 Ifri organized more than **130 conferences and debates** in Paris and Brussels, **20 large international events** in France and abroad, as well as numerous workshops and seminars. Ifri has hosted at its events more than **150 key high level speakers**, among them heads of state and government officials, and a total of approximately **10,000 participants**.



Ifri, conference room

1. This report covers 6,545 think tanks located in 182 countries.

*“Ifri is a very important place, a place of reflection on subjects of international relations and international politics. [...] It’s often through reflection that we achieve the vision necessary for good governance.”*

**Jean-Pierre Raffarin**, former Prime Minister, Senate Vice-President, guest of honor at the *RAMSES* conference, 14 September 2011.



*Think Tank Dialogue, Brussels, 2011*

## *Ifri Brussels, a European Vocation*

Ifri is present in Brussels through its office – **Ifri Brussels** – which opened in March 2005 and serves as an active interface between Paris and Brussels. Its mission is to enrich European debate through a pluridisciplinary approach covering all dimensions of international relations.

With the goal of maintaining constant dialogue with European institutions, Ifri Brussels depends on the expertise of its researchers who are present year-round in Brussels.

In 2011, Ifri Brussels organized more than 30 events. Among the themes presented were: European economic governance; the European Neighborhood Policy; the first steps of the European External Action Service; NATO and Russia policy on Afghanistan; undocumented immigrants in Europe; European energy and environmental policies; European space security, and the security of the Sahel.

### **Bringing Together European Thinkers and Actors**

The Think Tank Dialogue, which was started in 2010 by Ifri with Bertelsmann Stiftung and Agence Europe, seeks to bring together European thinkers and actors. It plans to bring together 10 think tanks to discuss the state of the European Union and propose innovative ideas. The 2011 meeting – *State of the Union: Brussels Think Tank Dialogue 2011. Europe 3.0/ Building a Viable Union* – was attended by José Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission, and Herman Van Rompuy, President of the European Council, as well as many other key figures and international experts.

### **Understanding Energy Issues**

Present in both Paris and Brussels, the Ifri Energy Center’s research team organizes its “Ifri Energy Breakfast Roundtables” throughout the year in Brussels. In 2011, these monthly roundtables dealt with the following subjects: Nein to Nuclear – Now What?; Gas Prices: Divorcing Oil?; Low-hanging Efficiency Fruit: Still Hanging; Carbon Markets: Down But Not Out; Power Storage: Smoothing Intermittence to Maximize Renewables; Energy Efficiency: Now More Than Ever; European Electricity Pricing: Lost in Translation?; Nord Stream: A Tale of Mutual Dependence.

The Center for Energy annual conference – this year titled “Speed Bumps on the Road to Sustainability: Energy Technology and Geopolitics” – was held in February 2011. Ifri was proud to host Herman Van Rompuy, President of the European Council, and Günther Oettinger, Commissioner of Energy, as well as more than 15 experts of international renown, and some 280 participants.

In addition, other research groups within Ifri, including the Space Program and the Center for Migrations and Citizenship, regularly organize international conferences in Brussels.



*José Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission*

# 2011: An Intense Year on All Fronts

For a world caught between containing crises and working to understand the changes they bring, 2011 was a rough year. The cards have been reshuffled, realigning multiple factors and revealing new ways to look at the future.

The end of 2010 and the beginning of 2011 saw a series of chaotic uprisings in the Arab world: the challenging of political regimes, but also of social modes of being, with long-lasting effects. More than a year after the outburst in Tunisia, we still know nothing about the future of the Arab world, and questions are multiplying. The Arab revolutions have clouded what we Westerners thought we knew about South-Mediterranean societies, processes of political change, and democratization. The geopolitical lines of a vast region – from Morocco to Turkey and to Saudi Arabia – are being redrawn.

In Sub-Saharan Africa, the long crisis that followed the Ivorian presidential elections also raised many questions concerning the rooting of democratic procedures: was this crisis an unfortunate exception within a slowly spreading institutional democratization of Africa, or does it announce other complications whereby local issues and foreign intervention are entangled in some way?



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*“The Islamist movements have become undeniable and unavoidable actors. They are inevitably implicated in the building of the democracies to come in the Arab world. This fact will probably be soon established in Egypt, Libya and Morocco, though it does not exclude the emergence of a new political class, that of revolutionary actors.”*

Denis Bauchard, *Le Figaro*, 27 October 2011

*“Will the United States reconcile their own interests in the areas of trade and counter-terrorism, as well as those involving Israel and its security, with the aspirations for democracy, justice and dignity that are being expressed in Arab countries?”*

Mansouria Mokhefi, *Politique étrangère*, March, 2011

*“For Americans, Africa is a continent where they want to increase their oil and energy purchases, and they do not want the Sahel to fall apart. This region is close to important energy areas. And let’s not forget China, with communities of different sizes present all over Africa [...] The Chinese want to be present in Niger for mines, in Mali for gold, and in Mauritania for oil prospecting.”*

Alain Antil, *L’Expression*, Algeria, 13 September 2011

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*From left to right:*

*11 October 2011: Meeting of the Ennahda Party, Tunisia*

*January 2011: Ivory Coast*

*Chinese and Sudanese workers of ZPEB (Sinopec)*

In Japan, the combination of a climate disaster and a nuclear disaster harshly challenged the resilience of modern societies in the contexts of environmental stress and changing models of energy production and consumption. Although these disasters have already caused sudden shifts in certain European energy policies, we will only be able to truly learn from them in the long term through assessment of their effects on security, social organization, and use of nuclear power.

The 2011 economic year has seen the intersection of two trajectories that are not new but were unusually visible: the irresistible progress of “emerging” economies (with China officially becoming the second largest economy in the world), and what looks like a race to the bottom for the Europeans. This double movement was the unintentional symbol of the November G20 meeting in Cannes.

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*From left to right:*

*6 April 2011: European Parliament, The Greens/European Free Alliance Group*

*Le Havre, Chinese container ship*

*3 November 2011: G20, Cannes, Barack Obama, Hu Jintao*

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*“Risk aversion does not justify the renunciation of nuclear, non-conventional resources, CO<sub>2</sub> reservoirs, high-voltage lines, etc. That does not mean we ignore environmental problems, which can still be treated by adopting economically and socially acceptable regulations.”*

*Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin, Le Figaro, 10 November 2011*

*“Could it be that in the Japanese genetic code there exists a unique blend of fatalism and resistance, collective discipline and attention to others, which takes the place of ‘individualism’ in the Western sense?”*

*Dominique Moïsi, Les Échos, 14 March 2011*

*“The United States recognizes China as the military alter-ego and economic and financial power with whom they have to work. This change in attitude extends back to the first term of George W. Bush, whereas in Europe we do not always realize the importance of China.”*

*Laurence Nardon, L'Écho, Belgique, 21 May 2011*

*“China is a developing economic power. We must take this into account, but China has a fundamental difference compared with other economic powers: it is still relatively poor. Usually, newcomers on the international scene see not only an increase in their economic weight but also in their wealth, and this is not the case for China.”*

*Françoise Nicolas, Métro, 16 February 2011*

*“It is premature to imagine that the G20 could soon become a true forum for global governance. The Cannes summit did not mark the entrance into a ‘new world’ but was rather a more modest step in a certainly slow and convoluted process, but in which each new step adds a little more coherence.”*

*Jacques Mistral, Les Échos, 17 November 2011*

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# 2011: An Intense Year on All Fronts

At the end of 2010 and in 2011, the European crises spread to the point where they seemed to challenge the most innovative international project of the second half of the 20th century: the building of the European Union. The year 2011 has shown that “the European crisis” in fact consists of a currency crisis, a financial crisis, an economic crisis, an institutional crisis and, worse, a crisis of European democracy.

Europeans certainly continue to be present on the international stage: more richly and more actively than they think. The Libyan case remains under investigation. It reflects the complexity of the revolts in the South-Mediterranean; the impotence of international institutions, including the EU; the diplomatic caution exercised by the US in the region, following the lesson of Iraq; the removal of Mubarak; Obama’s failure with respect to Netanyahu; the will of Paris and London to take on a leading role that seemed to be challenged by the Arab revolts. The question remains open regarding the exemplary, or erratic, character of the intervention in Libya. In this area, much will depend on the stabilization of the country itself... and the exit from Afghanistan; for the Allied intervention, the year 2011 was hardly positive in Afghanistan, and the announcement of an overall failure precipitated hasty announcements of withdrawal, with consequences for the future of NATO that may be imagined.

From left to right:

11 February 2012: demonstration in front of the Greek Parliament

26 July 2011: Madrid, walk of the “Indignants” to Brussels

19 March 2011: Paris Summit on Libyan crisis



*“It is urgent to resolve the crisis in Greece, but equally urgent to take the operating procedures of the Union, monetary and otherwise, into consideration. Concerning the current functioning of the Union, does it not lead to impotence and progressively put distance between the different populations? The risk is enormous.”*  
Dominique David, *Le Monde.fr*, 3 November 2011



*“The unbearable public debt crisis is the most obvious sign of the inexorable deterioration of the European economic and social models. The lack of legitimacy of European institutions very poignantly embodies the confusion of the states themselves, in which each expects everything... without providing anything in return.”*

Philippe Moreau Defarges, *Cercle Les Échos*, 28 October 2011

*“The idea that multiculturalism has failed shifts the left-right conflict to a conflict between right and extreme right. The issue, once social, has been replaced by the idea of a conflict of identity [...] It is on this ground that elections are won – the notions of identity, borders, sovereignty, which are nevertheless out of sync with the realities of Europe and globalization.”*  
Christophe Bertossi, *L’Humanité*, 3 March 2011

*“The debate about integration has its roots in the construction of the European project. With the events taking place in the economic sphere, the political side has experienced many setbacks and remains the weakest link in the European project.”*  
Vivien Pertusot, *L’UE face à la crise*, Ifri, December 2011

*“Today’s strategic and military realities make interventions complex and risky: our adversaries locally adapt and adopt asymmetric modes of action (use of terrorism, instrumentalization of civilians, etc), which makes our military superiority somewhat inoperative.”*  
Étienne de Durand, *Euractiv.fr*, 15 September 2011



More generally, 2011, which sought the beginnings of global governance, has called traditional power relations into question. In Europe, France and the UK have partnered on issues of defense, with the aftermath of the Lancaster Agreement and Berlin's withdrawal from the Libyan conflict. But France and Germany have partnered on structuring institutional advances and the management of crisis in the EU, after London's withdrawal from governance arrangements with respect to the crisis. The United States is dealing with its failures in the Middle East, watching Asia, especially China, by drafting a strategic shift that tempts and worries it, and by distancing itself from Europeans who seem as incomprehensible and unreliable as ever. Other powers are preparing to throw their weight around in the future, at least in their regions; Turkey has reinvested in the Arab world, while Iran is disappointed that revolutions have not been inspired by its model, but, isolated in the middle of diplomatic exchanges, Iran could soon prove to be more dangerous.

The year 2011 closed with the Russian enigma: the Medvedev-Putin tactics for the presidential election, manipulation of legislators, and protests in major cities, all of which push us to imagine a different future for Russia's political system, which has been remarkably static until now. But in what direction will Russian political society move?

Full of uncertainty, 2011 suggests at least that global governance does not match the complexity of new policy issues relayed by means of modern technology. In this context, it is hoped that our analyses contribute, at least modestly, to the emergence of this governance.

*From left to right:*

*18 December 2011: demonstration of the Communist Party of Russia*

*4 November 2011: G20, Cannes, Angela Merkel, Barak Obama*

*30 May 2011: 1<sup>st</sup> anniversary of the death of nine Turks in the Free Gaza flotilla*



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*“Too great not to risk upsetting the European balance, too small to feed global ambitions, Germany is a ‘power against herself’. Her position in the EU is comparable to the role of the United States in NATO, and raises expectations that it is doomed to disappoint.”*

Hans Stark, *La Politique internationale de l'Allemagne*, 2011

*“There is ambivalent fascination about the Turkish case in the Middle East [...] It will be up to the next Turkish government to resolve this ambiguity by stabilizing an as yet uncertain political model, under the watchful eye of its allies.”*

Dorothee Schmid, *Le Monde*, 7 June 2011

*“Digital technology is becoming a central issue of global governance. It must be thought in terms of a fine sociology of international relations and traditional interstate relations, as the strategic, political, economic and socio-cultural mechanisms mingle in cyberspace.”*

Thomas Gomart, *Le Monde*, 31 October 2011

*“Putin had emerged as the dominant male of the regime. Doubt is now creeping in within the ruling oligarchy. The oligarchs are questioning his ability to control the machine and the endurance of his power. Nobody thinks he can remain in place until 2024, even if re-elected president in March.”*

Thomas Gomart, *Libération*, 26 December 2011

*“The difficult conditions that currently exist throughout the western world, both politically and economically, are not offset by emerging countries and can not be [...] The leadership deficit that currently threatens the world as a whole must be primarily addressed by the very people who have centuries of practice behind them, which is to say, Westerners.”*

Thierry de Montbrial, *Le Figaro*, 9 November 2011

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# In 2011, Ifri Notably Hosted...



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1 / Danilo Türk

2 / Jacob Zuma, Thierry de Montbrial

3 / Thomas Gomart, Petr Necas

4 / Dominique Moisi, Antoine Basbous,  
Joseph Maïla

5 / Michel Foucher, Dominique David



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**Pierre Bernard-Reymond**, Vice-President of the Commission on European Affairs, Member of the Finance Commission, Senate

**Michel Barnier**, European Commissioner for Internal Market and Services

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

**Antoine Basbous**, Director, Observatory of Arab Countries

**Patriarch Bartholomew I**, Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople

**Jérôme Cahuzac**, President of the Finance Commission, Assemblée nationale

**Jean-Pierre Chevènement**, Senator, former Minister

**Jos Delbeke**, Deputy Director-General of DG Environment, European Commission

**Mikołaj Dowgiałewicz**, Secretary of State for European Affairs and Economic Policy, Republic of Poland

**Taïb Fassi-Fihri**, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, Kingdom of Morocco

**Vlad Filat**, Prime Minister, Republic of Moldova

**Michel Foucher**, Director of Education, IHEDN

**Štefan Füle**, Commissioner responsible for Enlargement and European Neighborhood Policy

**Louis Gallois**, President of EADS

**Sylvie Goulard**, European Deputy, Member of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs of the European Parliament, Rapporteur on Budgetary Surveillance in the Euro Zone

**Élisabeth Guigou**, former Minister, Founding President of Europartenaires

**Enver Hoxhaj**, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Republic of Kosovo

**Valentin Inzko**, High Representative to the international community, European Union Special Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina

**Paul Kagame**, President of the Republic of Rwanda

**Kingsley Kuku**, Special Advisor to the President of Nigeria on the Niger Delta  
**Corinne Lepage**, European Deputy, former Minister for the Environment  
**Gérard Longuet**, Minister for Defense and Former Combatants  
**Joseph Maïla**, Director of the Policy Planning Directorate of the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs  
**János Martonyi**, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Hungary  
**Nikolai Mladenov**, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Bulgaria  
**Narayana Murthy**, President of Infosys, India  
**Petr Necas**, Prime Minister, Czech Republic  
**Günther Oettinger**, Energy Commissioner, European Commission  
**Michèle Pappalardo**, General Commissioner, Sustainable Development, Ministry of Ecology, Energy, Sustainable Development and Spatial Planning  
**Jean-Pierre Raffarin**, former Prime Minister, Vice-President of the Senate  
**Bechara Boutros Raï**, Maronite Patriarch, Lebanon  
**Nirupama Rao**, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Republic of India  
**Bako Sahakian**, President-elect of Nagorno-Karabakh  
**Macky Sall**, President and Founder of the Alliance for the Republic, former Prime Minister, former President of the National Assembly, Senegal  
**Angelica Schwall-Düren**, Minister Plenipotentiary for Federal, European and North Rhine-Westphalia Media Affairs  
**Jean-Michel Six**, Chief European Economist, Standard & Poor's France  
**Jean-Claude Thébaud**, Director-General of the Bureau of European Policy Advisors (BEPA), European Commission  
**Jean-Claude Trichet**, former President of the European Central Bank (ECB)  
**Danilo Türk**, President of Slovenia  
**Herman Van Rompuy**, President of the European Council  
**Jacob G. Zuma**, President of the Republic of South Africa




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6 / Patriarch Bechara Boutros Raï  
7 / Patriarch Bartholomew I  
8 / Nikolai Mladenov  
9 / Narayana Murthy  
10 / Gérard Longuet  
11 / Michel Barnier  
12 / Jean-Pierre Raffarin,  
Thierry de Montbrial  
13 / Jean-Claude Trichet,  
Jacques Mistral  
14 / Vlad Filat  
15 / Taïb Fassi-Fihri  
16 / Nirupama Rao

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# Ifri's 2011 Publications

Ifri's research is almost entirely available in digital format, with free access for all.

- **E-notes** – policy-oriented texts that address issues from all Ifri's programs or centers; they are also distributed in a targeted way so as to reach a specialist readership.
- **Études de l'Ifri** – longer texts that 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.

## Publication Service:

Aude Jeanson and Cécile Tarpinian,  
Copy-editors

## E-notes de l'Ifri

(digital collections)

Broken up into diverse thematic collections and overseen by Ifri's researchers, the E-notes present policy-oriented analyses by French and international experts. Applying expertise to current events, they provide summaries of debates and suggest possibilities for action.

### Series

#### Asie.Visions

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

**Editor:** *Françoise Nicolas*, assisted by *Céline Pajon* and *John Seaman*.

#### Europe.Visions

Ifri Brussels series dedicated to various dimensions of European public policies.

**Editor:** *Olivier Jehin*, followed by *Vivien Pertusot*.

#### Perspectives MOM

The Middle East/North Africa Center series dedicated to the analysis of 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.

**Editors:** *Louis-Marie Clouet*, followed by *Yann-Sven Rittelmeyer*, 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 that confront Franco-German relations.

**Editors:** *Louis-Marie Clouet*, followed by *Yann-Sven Rittelmeyer*, and *Hans Stark*.

#### Notes franco-turques

Series of the Contemporary Turkey Program dedicated to the analysis of current events involving Franco-Turkish relations.

**Editor:** *Dorothee Schmid*, assisted by *Julien Cécillon*.

#### 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.Visions

The Russia/NIS Center's trilingual publication (French, English and Russian) dedicated to Russia's positions and strategies in 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 focused on themes of defense and security (terrorism, the transformation of defense systems, complex stabilization operations).

**Editors:** *Étienne de Durand* and *Marc Hecker*, followed by *Élie Tenenbaum*.

## Prolifération Papers

Series of the Center for Security Studies, published in cooperation with the French Alternative Energies and Atomic Energy Commission (CEA), that deals with issues relating to disarmament and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

**Editors:** *Étienne de Durand* and *Corentin Brustlein*.

**Apart from 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.

**Editor:** *Alain Antil*, assisted by *Hélène Quénot-Suarez*.

## North Africa Program

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

**Editor:** *Mansouria Mokhefi*.

## Space Program

Analyses of space-related developments.

**Editor:** *Laurence Nardon*, assisted by *Christophe Venet*.

## Center for Energy

Analyses of and perspectives on energy issues.

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

## Center for Migrations & Citizenship

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

**Editor:** *Christophe Bertossi*, assisted by *Dorothee Prudhomme* and *Emma Broughton*.

# Two Flagship Publications

## Politique étrangère

A space for background analysis and debate, Ifri's quarterly journal *Politique étrangère* strives to help readers to make sense of international events.

To mark the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the journal, a blog has been specially created (exclusive interviews, online articles, book reviews, important archives, etc): <http://politique-etrangere.com>

Editor-in-Chief: *Dominique David* • Deputy Editor-in-Chief: *Marc Hecker*

In 2011, the four issues of the journal included reports and articles on major issues that have made international news. The four issues were as follows: Fragile States; Japan, From One Model to Another (No. 1/2011); Al-Qaeda and the War Against Terror; The Future of the European Agriculture Policy (No. 2/2011); After 11 September: the United States and the Greater Middle East (No. 3/2011); The Deconstruction of Europe? (No. 4/2011).

*"The crisis in the euro area does not lend itself to lyricism. The latest issue of the journal Politique étrangère, published by the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri), attests to this. Entitled 'The Deconstruction of Europe?', six authors analyze the events of the last three years. Most conclude that tomorrow will not be easy but that political will must continue to advance the projects undertaken."*  
Jean-Christophe Ploquin, *La Croix*, 27 January 2012



## RAMSES (Annual Global Report on the Economic System and Strategies)

This annual reference book, which comes out every September, offers indispensable tools for elucidating global developments.

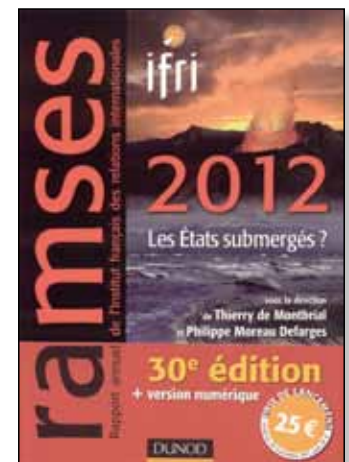
**RAMSES 2012: 30<sup>th</sup> édition – Les États submergés ?**

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

As an introduction, Thierry de Montbrial's "**Perspectives**" presents an original synthesis of the trends of the past year, covering the entire field of international relations; this is followed by **8 thematic sections**: Global Economy; Security and Defense; The Submerged State; Europe; the Arab World; Africa; Asia, and the Americas; and finally, the **Compass** offers a vast documentary resource: chronology, statistics, original maps created for RAMSES, and a detailed index.

*"Global governance is fossilized, while interdependence of all kinds, non-linear, as I said, are multiplying and creating conditions of terrible crises, some of which may be difficult to imagine. Under these conditions, globalization leads to anxiety, and protectionist responses start to multiply, paradoxically contributing to the generation of new crises. But the reality is for globalization as it is for the EU itself: by learning to share sovereignty, by multiplying the bridges and not walls, humanity will succeed in creating conditions for its sustainable development. This is the issue of the twenty-first century."* - Thierry de Montbrial, "Perspectives", RAMSES 2012.

*"2012 could have been the year that followed the Arab Spring when the world reorganized itself around a new center south of the Mediterranean. It will be the one after the nuclear disaster at Fukushima, after the beginning of the debt crisis in Europe and the United States, or the one after the breakup of the euro as the single currency, or of Europe itself. Despite the fact that 193 states are recognized by the UN, the world has not been this fragmented since the beginning of the twentieth century. 'The fragmentation is probably only beginning,' stated Thierry de Montbrial, President of Ifri (French Institute of International Relations), who presented the 30th edition of RAMSES yesterday at the CAPE (Foreign Press Center) in Paris."* - Jacques Hubert-Rodier, *Les Echos.fr*, 13 September 2011.



# Ifri's Business Partners

Ifri offers a unique platform for businesses, some of which are leading players in international relations. Combining research and debate, Ifri has renowned expertise and is well placed to bring together key players. This policy-oriented capability benefits the business partners who have the opportunity to interact with Ifri's different teams according to their needs.

Shocks to the international system are a source of risks as well as opportunities. Ifri's business partners operate in a highly competitive environment, often affected by political decisions and international agendas. For these reasons they require understanding and foresight. This is where Ifri comes in: Ifri delivers objective issue analysis, helpful for developing business strategies, from a general interest perspective.

Our members, program supporters and major partners clearly express their desire to support Ifri on international issues. They help us work to increase Ifri's presence within, and help to shape, international debate. Corporate support in 2011 made up over 70% of our resources. Without the loyalty of its members and the trust of new businesses, Ifri could not maintain a growing, active presence at the global level.

This growing presence is particularly possible through the expansion of links with business partners. In November 2011, businesses were invited to discuss the role of a think tank such as Ifri. This new endeavor, *Les Entreprises de l'Ifri*, is planned to become a recurring event.

*Ifri extends warm thanks to its loyal supporters, including Equancy, Michelin, Veolia Propreté and Vinci, which joined in 2011.*

## Strategic Development Team:

*Thomas Gomart*, Vice-President for Strategic Development

*Emmanuelle Farrugia*, Deputy Manager for Strategic Development

*Cécile Campagne*, Corporate Members Relations

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

*Barbara M'Chiri*, Individual Members

*Doïna Romanenko*, Embassy Members Relations



1/ *Marianne Sieg-de Maintenant, Émeric d'Arcimoles, Thomas Gomart*

2/ *Emmanuelle Farrugia, Francis Mer*

3/ *Henri Thomé, Thierry Sueur*



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## The First Meeting of *Les Entreprises de l'Ifri* 22 November 2011

### Corporate Partner

#### Hubert Loiseleur des Longchamps

Senior Vice-President of Public Affairs, responsible for International Public Affairs, **Total Group**



*"There is a deliberate intention on our part to support this French reference center in the international field, as our major foreign competitors do the same in their countries in much larger proportions. Ifri, in many ways representing a national voice in the international arena, must maintain its independence and standing on national and international scales."*

*"The relationship between the world of research and Total is not one-way [...] it is an exchange. The fruitful dialogue that has been established goes beyond basic professional aspects."*

*"We must work towards having foresight [...] Discovering new challenges is also a matter of importance for us. [...] Because we are operating very close to the field, we can miss some aspects that are less visible, some of which are weak signals, and Ifri can detect these [...] through its analyses."*

### Program Sponsor

#### Pascal Decary

Director of Human Resources, Executive Vice-President for Asia and Eastern Europe, **Veolia Environmental Services**

*"The Environmental Services branch of Veolia appealed to Ifri in order to have a broader insight into a particular topic, that of foreign workers, migration, and the role of the company [...] but also to put this issue into perspective and to be able to exchange with different actors."*

#### Dinah Louda

Advisor to the President on International Relations, **Veolia Environment**

*"Ifri is a place for informed and balanced debate. The concept of balance is important for us to be able to move forward and find solutions."*

### New Corporate Member

#### Rémi Dorval

Director, President of The City Factory (La Fabrique de la Cité), **Vinci**

*"For a large group such as Vinci, supporting a think tank concerned with international relations such as Ifri is a societal action. For companies that work internationally, with systems more geared toward establishing a presence in, rather than exporting to, other countries, the most common difficulties are often related to cultural understanding within the countries in which they are trying to establish themselves. It is on this basis that we have taken action in common with Ifri through which operational managers are able to benefit from knowledge about international cultures."*

*"For our group, a relationship like the one we have with Ifri must be built, and I think the important parts of this relationship lie in its flexibility."*



Hubert Loiseleur des Longchamps



Pascal Decary



Dinah Louda



Rémi Dorval



# Ifri's Business Partners

## Events Reserved for Ifri's Members and Partners



### Dinners and Lunch-Debates

Chair: **Thierry de Montbrial**

**10 January** – **Michel Barnier**, European Commissioner for Internal Market and Services

**12 February** – **Petr Necas**, Prime Minister, Czech Republic

**1 March** – **Narayana Murthy**, President of Infosys

**12 April** – **Patriarch Bartholomew I**, Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople

**15 June** – **Joseph Maïla**, Director of the Policy Planning Directorate of the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs

**11 October** – **Gérard Longuet**, Minister for Defense and Former Combatants

**14 December** – **Jean-Claude Trichet**, former President of the European Central Bank (ECB)

### Les Mensuelles Ifri / Entreprises

Lunch-debates with Ifri's Researchers

With the support of  **Crédit Mutuel**  
la banque à qui parler  
[www.creditmutuel.com](http://www.creditmutuel.com)

**28 February** – **Is India a Global Economic Power?**

With **Gilles Boquérat**, Associate Researcher, Ifri

**22 March** – **Japan: Before and After**

With **Céline Pajon**, Research Fellow, Center for Asian Studies, Ifri

**28 April** – **Will Afghanistan Be the End of NATO?**

With **Étienne de Durand**, Director of the Security Studies Center, Ifri

**26 May** – **The Ivorian Crisis and African Electoral Processes**

With **Alain Antil**, Head of the Sub-Saharan Africa Program, Ifri

**30 June** – **Russian Elites in Search of a Model Political Framework**

With **Thomas Gomart**, Director of the Russia/NIS Center, Ifri

**18 October** – **Turkey Facing the Arab Spring: A New Regional Center?**

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

**10 November** – **One Year Until the Elections: The American Political Landscape**

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

**13 December** – **2012, Year of All Dangers?**

With **Jacques Mistral**, Director of the Economic Studies Program, Ifri

### Decision-makers Circle

Trimestrial meetings for corporate members launched in 2009.

In partnership with the Institut de l'entreprise since 2010.



**11 March** – **Jean Lemierre**, Advisor to the President, BNP Paribas  
The breakup of the Euro Zone

**24 May** – **Louis Gallois**, President of EADS  
1 € = 2 \$

### Ambassadors' Table

Meetings for ambassador members, businesses, and individual benefactors, launched in 2010.

**17 March** – **Quan Kong**, Ambassador of the People's Republic of China

**8 June** – **Reinhard Schäfers**, Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany

**4 October** – **Peter Westmacott**, Ambassador of the United Kingdom

### Conferences Reserved for Members of Ifri

**2 May** – **Thierry de Montbrial**, President, Ifri  
The upheavals of 2011

**6 October** – **Marc Hecker, Élie Tenenbaum**, Research Fellows, Security Studies Center, Ifri  
10 years after September 11<sup>th</sup>: Al-Qaeda and the War Against Terrorism

**28 November** – **Dominique Moïsi**, Special Advisor, Ifri

The Israel/Palestine Relationship – Between the UN and Arab Revolutions



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## Corporate Partners

ACCOR HOSPITALITY	COGES	FRANCE TÉLÉCOM ORANGE	MICHELIN
AIR FRANCE	COLAS	GDF SUEZ	OCP
AIR LIQUIDE	COMMISSARIAT À L'ÉNERGIE	GIDE LOYRETTE NOUËL	OSEO
AMERICAN EXPRESS	ATOMIQUE ET AUX ÉNERGIES	GROUPAMA	PERNOD RICARD
AREVA	RENOUVELABLES (CEA)	GROUPAMA ASSET	PRICEWATERHOUSE COOPERS
ARIANESPACE	CONSEIL RÉGIONAL	MANAGEMENT	PRONUTRI
AXA	ÎLE-DE-FRANCE	HSBC FRANCE	RENAULT
BANQUE DE FRANCE	CONVICTIONS ASSET	IFP ÉNERGIES NOUVELLES	ROTHSCHILD & CIE BANQUE
BARROW CADBURY TRUST	MANAGEMENT	INDUSTRIES ET FINANCES	RTE
(THE)	CRÉDIT MUTUEL	PARTENAIRES	RUSAL
BEARINGPOINT FRANCE	DAVIS POLK & WARDWELL	JAXA	SAFRAN
BOSTON CONSULTING GROUP	PARIS	JETRO	SANOFI
(THE)	DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE	JOHN S. LATSIS PUBLIC	SOCIÉTÉ GÉNÉRALE
BNP PARIBAS	INTERNATIONAL	BENEFIT FOUNDATION	SODEXO
BOUYGUES	EADS FRANCE	L'ORÉAL	SSB CORPORATIONS
BURELLE SA	EDF	LAFARGE	TOTAL
CAISSE DES DÉPÔTS	EQUANCY	LA POSTE	UNIGRAINS
ET CONSIGNATIONS	ERAMET	LAZARD FRÈRES	VALLOUREC
CASSIDIAN	ESA	LVMH	VEOLIA PROPRETÉ
CHENIÈRE LNG INTERNATIONAL	EUTELSAT	MARKAZ	VIEL & CIE
CITIGROUP FRANCE	FONDATION CLARENCE	MAZARS	VINCI
COFACE	WESTBURY	MEDEF	3M

## Institutional Members

BASE AÉRIENNE 117	HIGH COUNCIL OF FRENCH NOTARIAT	PRS CONSULTING (Portugal)
CENTRAL EUROPE ENERGY PARTNERS	INSTITUT DE RECHERCHE STRATÉGIQUE	SECOURS CATHOLIQUE
(Brussels)	DE L'ÉCOLE MILITAIRE (IRSEM)	VOJVODINA EUROPEAN OFFICE (Serbia)
CENTRE DE TRADUCTION DU MINEFE	JAPAN BANK FOR INTERNATIONAL	YALTA EUROPEAN STRATEGY (YES) (Ukraine)
ET MBCFPF	COOPERATION (JBIC)	
EUROPEAN UNION INSTITUTE FOR	JAPAN EXTERNAL TRADE ORGANIZATION	
SECURITY STUDIES	(JETRO)	

## Embassy and Representation Office Members

ALGERIA	GEORGIA	MALAYSIA	SINGAPORE
ANDORRA	GERMANY	MEXICO	SLOVAKIA
ARAB LEAGUE	GREECE	MONACO	SLOVENIA
ARMENIA	HUNGARY	MONGOLIA	SOUTH AFRICA
AUSTRIA	INDIA	NETHERLANDS	SRI LANKA
AZERBAIJAN	INDONESIA	NEW ZEALAND	SWEDEN
BELGIUM	IRAQ	NORWAY	SWITZERLAND
BRAZIL	IRELAND	POLAND	TAIPEI
CANADA	ISRAEL	POLAND OECD	TURKEY
CHINA	ITALY	PORTUGAL	UNITED KINGDOM
CROATIA	JAPAN	QUEBEC	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
CYPRUS	KAZAKHSTAN	ROMANIA	UZBEKISTAN
DENMARK	KOREA	RUSSIA	
EGYPT	KUWAIT	SAUDI ARABIA	
FINLAND	LUXEMBOURG	SERBIA	

# 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 2011, Ifri was active in the national and international press: its researchers authored 460 articles and interviews, were quoted approximately 5,000 times and made 400 television and radio appearances.

Philippe Moreau Defarges,  
Thierry de Montbrial,  
Maité Jauréguy-Naudin



In a year rich in international events, Ifri confirmed its role as France's leading think tank through its wide media presence on the ground both in France and abroad; 30% of articles and interviews were published in the foreign press.

Ifri maintained and extended its collaboration and partnerships with the media, notably with France Culture – Plateformes for the rebroadcast of lectures and debates; with *Le Monde* to launch *RAMSES*; with *Libération* for the *Forum de Lyon* "The New Frontiers"; with *The Economist* for "The Second Brazil Business Summit" conference; with France 24 for three major international conferences: "The United States and the Arab World", "Green Growth", and the United States Program's annual conference; with CAPE (Foreign Press Center) for the *RAMSES 2012* press conference; with EurActiv France and EurActiv Brussels for all European issues. Ifri also collaborated with *Maghreb confidentiel* and *Jeune Afrique*.

More than twenty columnists and journalists were involved in Ifri's conferences in 2011, coming from French and foreign news sources such as *Le Monde*, *Le Figaro*, *Les Échos*, *Libération*, *Marianne*, *Le Point*, France Inter, *New York Times*, *The European Voice*, EurActiv France, Voice of America, Al-Jazeera, etc.

On the eve of Turkey's parliamentary elections in June 2011, the Contemporary Turkey Program and Ifri's press service organized a meeting of Franco-Turkish journalists, within the framework of the Franco-Turkish Media Dialogue, which took place from 9 to 11 June in Istanbul and Gaziantep. Journalists from six French media outlets attended: RTL, *Marianne*, France 24, *Les Échos*, France Info, *Libération*, as well as a dozen major Turkish journalists and columnists.

## A Widening Digital Presence

In 2011, Ifri significantly increased its presence on the Internet. Ifri's conferences are now filmed and broadcast through Dailymotion. Over 70 videos were made available to the public in 2011.

Ifri is present in the major social networks: Facebook and Twitter. During the year, a LinkedIn group called "Friends of Ifri" was founded and Ifri was the first French think tank to open a page on Google+.

Social networks are used not only to make the institute's publications and conferences available to a wider audience, but also to develop a community of experts qualified to offer commentary and enhance the quality of Ifri's work.

Ifri also offers its digital publications on other digital media platforms: *Scribd*, *Le Cercle des Échos*.

Finally, Ifri has expanded its visibility in the blogosphere: *Ultima Ratio*, a blog written by Ifri's Security Studies Center, is now one of the leading blogs in France on defense issues. Ifri's renowned publication, *Politique étrangère*, also has its own blog, established on the occasion of its 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary.



## Media Relations Team:

Natacha Crance, Communications/  
Media Relations Officer

Azra Isakovic, Archivist

Nicolas Obrist, in charge of social  
networks

# World Policy Conference

## Fourth Annual Conference

9-11 December 2011, Vienna, Austria



Plenary session: "Arab spring and global governance"

The World Policy Conference (WPC) held its 4th annual meeting in Vienna from 9 to 11 December 2011. As it has done for the past three years, the conference brought together political and economic decision-makers, experts, opinion leaders, and representatives from the media to discuss their visions of and hopes for future global governance.

The meeting began with an introduction by Ifri President Thierry de Montbrial, followed by opening speeches by Heinz Fischer, President of the Republic of Austria, and Abdullah Gül, President of the Republic of Turkey, guest of honor of the 4th year of the WPC.

The 11 plenary sessions were devoted to the challenges of global governance and the major events of 2011 (euro crisis, Arab Spring, major disasters, etc). Jean-David Levitte, Diplomatic Advisor and Sherpa of President Nicolas Sarkozy, came to the WPC following the meeting of the European Council to present its results. Four parallel workshops focused on more specific issues: energy and environment, food security, and health, as well as on global governance.

Lunch and dinner discussions provided an opportunity for key figures to speak. These included Herbert Stepic, CEO of Raiffeisen International Bank; Kishore Mahbubani, Dean and Professor at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore; Martti Ahtisaari, former President of the Republic of Finland, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 2008; Anatoly Torkunov, Rector of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Russia, and Adam Daniel Rotfeld, former Minister for Foreign Affairs of Poland, both Co-Presidents of the Polish-Russian Group on Difficult Matters.

The success of this fourth conference confirmed the WPC's credibility in the international arena. Important as a forum for reflection, discussion and meetings, the WPC is now a key event on the agenda of global governance.

The fifth WPC will be held in December 2012.



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



### Sponsors:

OCP Group, Total, RUSAL, Lafarge, EADS, Sanofi Aventis, Novartis, Fondation Zinsou, International Latsis Foundation, Poongsan, Renault Nissan, Raiffeisen Bank International, GDF Suez.

### Media Partners:

Bloomberg Businessweek, The Chosun Ilbo, CNBC, El País, France 24, Jeune Afrique, L'Express

### Website:

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

1 / Gala dinner at the Rathaus, Martti Ahtisaari

2 / HRH Prince Turki Al Faisal, Fu Ying, Heinz Fischer, Thierry de Montbrial, Ehud Barak, Mary Robinson, Toomas Hendrik Ilves, Martti Ahtisaari, Sakong II

3 / Conference room

# The Team

As of December 31, 2011

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

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

**Dominique Moïsi**, Special Advisor

Song-Nim Kwon, Director of WPC Programs

Natacha Grance, Communication/Media Relations Officer

## Ifri's Executive Committee

**Thierry de Montbrial**, President

**Dominique David**, Executive Vice-President

**Valérie Genin**, Secretary-General

**Thomas Gomart**, Vice-President for Strategic Development

## Research

### Europe

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

Hans Stark, Secretary-General

Yann-Sven Rittelmeyer, Research Fellow

Nele Katharina Wissmann, in charge of the program "Dialogue for the Future"

Sandrina Delgrange, Assistant

#### French-Austrian Center (CFA)

Hans Stark, Advisor

Éliane Mossé, Advisor for Central and Eastern Europe

Nele Katharina Wissmann, Assistant Research Fellow

### Ifri Brussels

Vivien Pertusot, Head

Laura Parmigiani, Research Fellow

Nathalie Urbanczyk, Assistant

### Russia/NIS Center

Thomas Gomart, Director

Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean, Research Fellow

Dominic Fean, Assistant Research Fellow

### Ifri Center for Asian Studies

Françoise Nicolas, Director

Céline Pajon, Research Fellow

John Seaman, Assistant Research Fellow

### Middle East/North Africa/Mediterranean

#### Middle East/North Africa Program

Denis Bauchard, Advisor

Mansouria Mokhefi, Research Fellow

#### Maghreb Facing New Global Challenges 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, Research Fellow

### United States Program

Laurence Nardon, Head

Jacques Mistral, Scientific Advisor

### Security Studies Center

Étienne de Durand, Director

Marc Hecker, Research Fellow

Aline Leboeuf, Research Fellow

Corentin Brustlein, Research Fellow

Élie Tenenbaum, Assistant Research Fellow

### Defense Research Unit (LRD)

Étienne de Durand, Head

Benoît Michel (Major), Research Fellow

Michel Baud (Major), Research Fellow

Aline Leboeuf, Research Fellow

### Economic Studies Program

Jacques Mistral, Director

### Center for Energy

Jacques Lesourne, Chairman of the Scientific Committee

Maité Jauréguy-Naudin, Director

Maité de Boncourt, Research Fellow

Martine Breux, Assistant

### Space Program

Laurence Nardon, Head

Martine Breux, Assistant

### Center for Migrations and Citizenship

Christophe Bertossi, Director

Dorothee Prudhomme, Assistant Research Fellow

Emma Broughton, Assistant Research Fellow

### Health and Environment Program

Aline Leboeuf, Head

Emma Broughton, Assistant Research Fellow

*Research fellows' biographies are available online at [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

Marc Hecker, Deputy Editor-in-Chief

### Publications

Cécile Tarpinian, Assistant Editor

Aude Jeanson, Assistant Editor

### Library and Resource Services

Daniel Marier, Archivist

Azra Isakovic, Archivist

## Strategic Development

**Thomas Gomart**, Vice-President for Strategic Development

Emmanuelle Farrugia, Deputy Manager for Strategic Development

Cécile Campagne, Corporate Members Relations

Dominique Desgranges, Prospect Research and Management, Individual Benefactor Relations

Barbara M'Chiri, Individual Members

Doina Romanenko, Embassy Members Relations

## Secretary General

**Valérie Genin**, Secretary-General

Françoise Henry, Assistant

### Accounting

Annie Acher, Accountant

Nathalie Reculon-Dupont, Accountant

### Facilities and Security

Nathalie Hartmann, Head

Mhenna Larbes, Technician

Charles Renault, Technician

Barbara M'Chiri, Houria Mabrouk, Receptionists

Alex Maleau, Service Engineer

### Information Systems

Daniel Safon, IT Manager

# Research

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## Regional Programs

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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**, 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



**Yann-Sven Rittelmeyer**, Research Fellow  
**Areas of expertise:** European integration, Franco-German relations



**Nele Katharina Wissmann**, in charge of the Franco-German Program "Dialogue for the Future"  
**Areas of expertise:** Franco-German relations, European Neighborhood Policy (ENP)

**Sandrina Delgrange**, Assistant

## Research Areas

**Franco-German Relations:** Political, economic, and security issues.

**Political and Societal Developments in Contemporary Germany:** Political system and social and economic dynamics.

**European Integration:** Institutional debate, economic and monetary integration, European security and defense policies.

## Dialogue for the Future

Encouraged by the success of the first four years of "The Franco-German Dialogue for the Future", the project was renewed by Ifri and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (German Council on Foreign Relations) (DGAP) for 2011. 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 with the financial support of, the Robert Bosch Foundation. Over the course of three seminars (Berlin, Paris, Hamburg), the 20 participants in the 2011 program discussed current issues in Franco-German cooperation and debated with renowned experts. They then delved deeper into particular aspects of a number of 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.

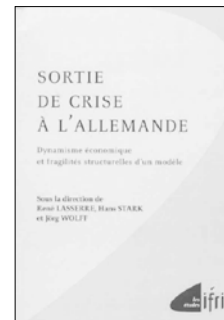
The two institutes analyze, from a Franco-German perspective, the institutional tools that the EU currently has at its disposal and look into the future in order to propose new means of action. The researchers work in bi-national teams on joint projects ranging from the organization of seminars to the drafting of publications.

In addition to an in-depth study of the Treaty of Lisbon and the changes it could involve, the initial phase of the research program, launched in 2008, consisted 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 focused 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.

The year 2011 marked the culmination of this research program, particularly through the publication of two books in French and German.

## Major Publications

**Sortie de crise à l'allemande – Dynamisme économique et fragilités structurelles d'un modèle**, René Lasserre, Hans Stark and Jörg Wolff (eds.), "Les Études de l'Ifri", April.



**Europa und die Welt 2020. Entwicklungen und Tendenzen**, Louis-Marie Clouet and Andreas Marchetti (eds.), in collaboration with the Center for European Studies, Baden-Baden, Nomos.

**La politique internationale de l'Allemagne – Une puissance malgré elle**, Hans Stark, Paris/Villeneuve d'Ascq, Ifri/Septentrion University Press, October.



## Electronic Publications

### • "Notes du Cerfa"

**Les Balkans vus de Berlin aujourd'hui**, Franz-Lothar Altmann, n° 81, January.

**Mieux gouverner la zone euro : le fragile compromis franco-allemand**, Christian Deubner, n° 82, March.

**Les mythes sur le déclin de la classe moyenne en Allemagne**, Roman Herzog Institut, Dominik H. Enste, Vera Erdmann, Tatjana Kleineberg, n° 83a, April.

**Équité sociale dans l'OCDE : où se situe l'Allemagne ? Indicateurs de gouvernance durable 2011**, Thorsten Hellmann, Daniel Schraad-Tischler, Robert Schwartz, n° 83b, April.

**Les relations Inde-Allemagne, entre dynamisme économique et déphasage géopolitique**, Christian Wagner, n° 84, May.

**La crise du parti libéral allemand**, Oskar Niedermayer, n° 86, June.

**L'Allemagne et les « clubs G »**, Katharina Gnath and Claudia Schmucker, n° 85, May.

**La réorganisation de la Bundeswehr – La quadrature du cercle**, Franz-Josef Meiers, n° 87, June.

L'Allemagne face au Printemps arabe, *Almut Möller*, n° 88, July.

Le budget européen à l'heure de la crise – Positions allemandes relatives au CFP 2014-2020, *Robert Kaiser*, n° 89, October.

La culture stratégique de la politique étrangère allemande, *Henning Riecke*, n° 90, November.

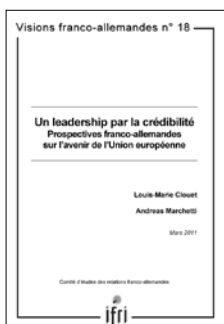
L'interaction civilo-militaire dans la politique de sécurité allemande : le cas de l'Afghanistan, *Hans-Georg Ehrhart*, n° 91, December.



#### • “Visions franco-allemandes”

Un leadership par la crédibilité – Prospectives franco-allemandes sur l'avenir de l'Union européenne, *Louis-Marie Clouet* and *Andreas Marchetti*, n° 18, March.

Incertitudes sur la PSDC – Une nécessaire réflexion franco-allemande, *Louis-Marie Clouet* and *Andreas Marchetti*, n° 19, July.



## Conferences and Breakfast-Debates

6 June – Seminar with the Diplomatic and Consular Institute of the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs

With *Sabine Stoehr*, Director, German Diplomatic Academy; *Christophe Le Rigoleur*, Head of the Diplomatic and Consular Institute; *Andreas Marchetti*, Research Fellow, Zentrum für Europäische Integrationsforschung (ZEI), University of Bonn; *François Géré*, Director, French Strategic Analysis Institute (IFAS); *Dorothee Schmid*, *Louis-Marie Clouet*, *Hans Stark* and *Jacques Mistral*, Iffri.

9 September – Going beyond the Sovereign Debt Crisis: How Should the European Economy Be Managed? What are Germany and France's Roles?

With *Sylvie Goulard*, Member of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs of the European Parliament, Rapporteur on Budgetary Surveillance in the Euro Zone.

26 September – Trains of the Future: What Skills Does Europe Have to Offer the Globalization of the Rail System?

In collaboration with the Franco-German Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

With *Éric Cazeaux*, Director of the Mobility Division, Siemens France, and *Pierre Messulam*, Director of Strategy, SNCF.

7 November – Germany and Europe Facing the Crisis

With *Isabelle Bourgeois*, Editor-in-Chief, *Regards sur l'économie allemande*, and *René Lasserre*, Director, Research and Information Center on Contemporary Germany (Cirac).

9 November – Industrial Espionage: French and German Approaches to the Protection of Businesses' Sensitive Information

In collaboration with the Franco-German Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

With *Guillaume Capois*, Director of Security, EADS, and *Gilles Gray*, Chief of Economic Security and Domestic Affairs, Interministerial Delegation of Economic Intelligence.



*Yann-Sven Rittelmeyer*, *Guillaume Capois*, *Gilles Gray*, *Wolfgang Krill de Capello*

## International Conferences

19 January – Franco-German Prospectives, Brussels Conference co-organized by Cerfa and ZEI.

Subjects addressed: What potential developments are in store for the European Union? – For “leadership by credibility”.

With the participation of *Ludger Kühnhard*, Director, ZEI; *Andreas Marchetti*, Research Fellow, ZEI; *Michael Stabenow*, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung; *Jacques Lesourme*, Futuribles International; *Jean-Dominique Giuliani*, Robert Schuman Foundation; *Martin Koopman*, Executive Director, Stiftung Genshagen; *Claire Demesmay*, DGAP; *Gérard Foussier*, Editor-in-Chief, Dokumente; *Roderick Parkes*, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), and *Dominique David*, Iffri.

8-10 April – Dialogue on the Franco-German Future, Lyon In collaboration with the Robert Bosch Foundation and the DGAP.

With *Claire Demesmay*, DGAP, and *Irene Weinz*, “Relations internationales Europe de l'Ouest, Amérique, Turquie, Japon, Inde” Program, Robert Bosch Foundation.

11-12 May – 12th Franco-German Strategic Forum – Uprisings in the Arab World: What Are the Roles of France, Germany, and the EU?, Berlin

In collaboration with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

With the participation of *Lothar Rühl*, Former Secretary of State for the Federal Ministry of Defense, Bonn; *Jens Paulus*, Head of Europe/North America for the European and International Cooperation Department, Konrad Adenauer Foundation; *Beate Neuss*, Professor, Chemnitz University, Vice-President, Konrad Adenauer Foundation; *Jean-Christophe Peaucelle*, Deputy

Director of the North Africa and Middle East Division, Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, Paris; *Denis Bauchard*, former Ambassador, former Director of the Arab World Institute and Advisor on the Middle East, Iffri; *Hardy Ostry*, Head of Africa and Middle East for the European and International Cooperation Department, Konrad Adenauer Foundation; *Céline-Agathe Caro*, European Policy Coordinator, Konrad Adenauer Foundation; *Carlo Masala*, Professor, Institute of Political Science, Bundeswehr University, Munich; *Charles King Mallory IV*, Director, Aspen Institute, Berlin; *Andreas Schockenhoff*, Vice-President of the CDU/CSU group, Bundestag, Berlin; *Gerhard Sabathil*, Director of the European External Action Service, Coordinator for the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations, Brussels; *Nicolas Suran*, Deputy Chief of Services for the Department for External Relations with the EU, French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, Paris; *Patrick Keller*, Foreign and Defense Policy Coordinator, Konrad Adenauer Foundation; *Dorothee Schmid*, *Dominique David* and *Hans Stark*, Iffri.

7-9 July – Dialogue on the Franco-German Future, Berlin

In collaboration with the Robert Bosch Foundation and the DGAP.

With *Peter Theiner*, Director of “Bringing people together”, Head of department, International Relations 1, Robert Bosch Foundation; *Maurice Gourdault-Montagne*, Ambassador of France in Germany; *Sami Ben Sassi*, Founder of the Tunisian Citizens' Association, Tunis; *Bélgli Nablil*, Research Director at the Institute for International and Strategic Relations, Paris; *Klemens Semtner*, Director of the Transformation Partnership with Tunisia Unit, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Berlin; *Lise Jolly*, Permanent Special Envoy, Radio France, Berlin; *Gerd Langguth*, former Secretary of State, Professor, University of Bonn; *Vincent Chatellier*, Research Director, National Institute of Agronomic Research, Nantes; *Rudolf Buntzel*, Evangelischer Entwicklungsdienst (EED), Berlin; *Pascal Thibaut*, Journalist, and *Anna Royon-Weigelt*, Respea Network.

13-16 October – Dialogue on the Franco-German Future

In collaboration with the Robert Bosch Foundation and the DGAP.

With *Jean-Luc Racine*, Research Director, CNRS; *Michael Köberlein*, former Director of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, New Delhi; *Franz-Josef Meiers*, Institute of Political Science, University of Erlangen-Nuremberg; *Peter Theiner*, Director of “Bringing people together”, Head of department, International Relations 1, Robert Bosch Foundation; *Katrin M. Arnold*, National Expert at the Directorate-General for Economic and Financial Affairs of the European Commission, Brussels; *Mathieu Peyraud*, G20 and G8 Project Manager under the Director-General of Globalization, Development and Partnerships, Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, Paris; *Robert Kaiser*, Institute of Political Science, University of Munich; *Samantha Bonbayl*, European Union Department, Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, Paris; *Petra Dachtler*, Deputy Director of Turkey, Norway, Iceland, Liechtenstein and Switzerland Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Berlin; *Nicolas Monceau*, Professor and Research Fellow, Sciences Po Paris, University of Fribourg; *Hans Stark* and *Dominique David*, Iffri.

3 November – 13th Franco-German Strategic Forum – France, Germany and the Nuclear Question

In collaboration with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

With *Norbert Wagner*, Director, Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Paris; *Henning Wins*, Planning Group, the CDU/CSU, Bundestag, Berlin; *Michel Derdevet*, Lecturer, Science Po, Paris; *Christoph Grams*, Advisor on Foreign and European Affairs, Office of Deputy Rode-



rich Kiesewetter, Bundestag, Berlin; *Michael Kuxenko*, Energy Department, Federal Chancellery, Berlin; *Lothar Rühl*, former Secretary of State, Federal Ministry of Defense; *Thérèse Delpech*, Atomic and Renewable Energy Commission (CEA), Paris; *Michael Rühle*, Director, Energy Security Section, Emerging Security Challenges Division, NATO; *Camille Grand*, Director, Foundation for Strategic Research, Paris; *Hans Stark*, *Jacques Lesourme*, *Maité Jauréguy-Naudin* and *Dominique David*, Ifri.

12 December – Germany, France, Poland and the Crisis in Europe: Issues, Challenges and Responsibilities Cerfa's annual conference organized in collaboration with the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, the Polish Embassy in France and Europartenaïres.

With *Tomasz Orłowski*, Polish Ambassador to France; *Paweł Zalewski*, Member, European Parliament, former President of the European Affairs Committee in the Polish Sejm; *Angelica Schwall-Düren*, Minister for Federal Affairs on Europe and the Media, Plenipotentiary of North Rhine-Westphalia; *Élisabeth Guigou*, former Minister, President of Europartenaïres; *Markus Meckel*, former Foreign Minister of the GDR; *Christian de Boissieu*, Professor, University of Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne; *Sebastian Dullien*, Professor, HTW Berlin – University of Applied Sciences; *Witold Orłowski*, Warsaw University of Technology Business School, Economic Advisor to the Prime Minister of the Republic of Poland; *Martin Koopmann*, Executive Director "Dialogue européen", Genshagen Foundation; *Karsten Voigt*, former Government Advisor on German-American relations; *Bogdan Klich*, former Minister for Defense, Strategic Studies Institute, Krakow; *Hans Stark* and *Dominique David*, Ifri.



*Andrzej Byrt, Angelica Schwall-Düren, Tomasz Orłowski, Hans Stark, Markus Meckel*

EUROPE

# French-Austrian Center for European Convergence (CFA)

**The French-Austrian Center for European Convergence (CFA) is a Franco-Austrian intergovernmental organization created in 1978. 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. Today the CFA's activities are focused on countries that envisage their future within a European context, in particular those in the Western Balkans and bordering the Black Sea.**

## Team

**Thierry de Montbrial**, President (Paris)  
**Peter Jankowitsch**, Secretary-General (Vienna)



**Hans Stark**, Advisor to the CFA, Ifri



**Éliane Mossé**, Advisor on Central and Eastern Europe

**Nele Katharina Wissmann**, Assistant Research Fellow

## Publications

• "Analyses du CFA"

Kosovo – Une indépendance supervisée, *Odile Perrot*, n° 1, October.

## International Conferences

4 April – Hungary and Europe, Budapest

With *Peter Jankowitsch*, Secretary-General, CFA; *René Roudaut*, French Ambassador to Hungary; *Michael Zimmermann*, Austrian Ambassador to Hungary; *Franz Cede*, Andrassy University, Budapest; *Ellen Bos*, Professor, Andrassy University, Director of the Institute for the Danube Region, Budapest; *Balint Odor*, Deputy Secretary of State for European Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Budapest; *András Inotai*, Director, Institute for World Economics, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest; *Karoly Gruber*, Representative to the Committee on Politics and Security, Permanent Representative of the Republic of Hungary to the EU, Brussels; *Sandor Richter*, Research Fellow, Institute of Economic Studies (WIIW), Vienna; *Beata Wojna*, Research Director, Polish Institute of International Affairs, Warsaw; *Magdalena Vasaryova*, Deputy, Member of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, Bratislava; *Zsuzsa Ludvig*, Research Fellow, Institute for World Economics, Budapest; *Peter Schieder*, President, International Institute for Peace, Vienna; *François Pugeaut*, Deputy Director for Balkan Europe, Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, Paris; *Damir Grubisa*, Director, Center for European Studies, Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb; *Anton Pelinka*, Center for Conflict Studies, Vienna; *Anita Orban*, Ambassador at Large for Energy Security, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Budapest; *Maurice Guyader*, Sorbonne University Paris III; *Thomas Schreiber*, Journalist and Associate Professor at the École spéciale militaire de Saint-Cyr; *Éliane Mossé*, *Hans Stark* and *Dominique David*, Ifri.



*Ellen Bos, Dominique David, Peter Jankowitsch*



27 April – Bruno Kreisky, a Life for Europe and for Peace

With *Peter Jankowitsch*, Secretary-General, CFA; *Robert del Picchia*, Senator, Vice-Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs; *Thomas Angerer*, Professor, Institute of History, University of Vienna; *Pierre Mauroy*, former Prime Minister, President, Jean Jaurès Foundation, and *Hans Stark*, Ifri.

## 2 May – Bosnia and Herzegovina between Dayton and Europe

With *Valentin Inzko*, High Representative of the international community and EU Special Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and *Peter Jankowitsch*, Secretary-General, CFA.

## 31 May – The State-Building Process in Kosovo

With *Enver Hoxhaj*, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kosovo; *Dominique David*, and *Hans Stark*, Ifri.

## 15 September – The Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) Looking Towards 2013: the Stakes of the Transition, Brussels

With *Andrzej Babuchowski*, Permanent Representative of Poland to the EU, Brussels; *Yves Madre*, Office of the Commissioner for Agriculture and Rural Development; *Hervé Guyomard*, Scientific Director, National Institute of Agronomic Research (INRA), Paris; *Marian Brestic*, Vice-Rector, Agricultural University, Nitra, Slovak Republic; *Edith Klauser*, Ministry of Agriculture, Vienna; *Guilhem Brun*, General Directorate on Agricultural, Agro-Alimentary and Territorial Policies, Ministry of Agriculture, Paris; *Catherine Moreddu*, Trade and Agriculture Directorate, OECD, Paris; *Markus Hofreither*, University of Natural Resources and Applied Sciences, Vienna; *Gerfried Gruber*, Austrian Chamber of Agriculture, Brussels Office; *Pierre Boulanger*, Research Fellow, Groupe d'économie mondiale (GEM), Sciences Po, Paris; *Andras Czeti*, Permanent Representative of Hungary to the EU, Brussels; *Andr  Rupprecht*, Director, Directorate-General B II, European Commission, Brussels, and *Dominique David*, Ifri.

## EUROPE

# Ifri Brussels

For Ifri, participation in the debate on ideas about the European Union, and therefore a presence in the exchanges taking place in Brussels, is of vital importance. The Ifri Brussels office creates an interface between Ifri Paris's activities, debates organized in the European capital, institutions located in Brussels, the vast network of think tanks and researchers present in the city, and the private sector. Ifri's research programs regularly organize presentations of their work in Brussels, and at times some of their activities.

At the heart of the Brussels think-tank network, Ifri Brussels, along with nine other think tanks, is responsible for the organization of the Brussels Think Tank Dialogue, an annual event devoted to the state of the Union, and whose second meeting was held in January 2011.

## Team



**Vivien Pertusot**, Head of Ifri Brussels (beginning September 2011)

Areas of expertise: security and defense questions (NATO and CSDP); European Neighborhood Policy with the South Mediterranean

**Olivier Jehin**, Head of Ifri Brussels (until August 2011)



**Laura Parmigiani**, Research Fellow, Ifri's Center for Energy  
Area of expertise: gas markets

**Melanie Diermann**, Research Fellow, TAPIR Fellow (beginning December 2011)  
Area of expertise: governmental communication

**Nathalie Urbanczyk**, Assistant

## Electronic Publications

### • "Europe.Visions"

Final Call for a European Space Strategy, *Joao M. Santos*, n° 8, January.



### • "Europe du Sud-Est"

The Governance of Energy Poverty in South-Eastern Europe, *Stefan Bouzarovski*, *Robert Sarlamenov*, *Saska Petrova*, n° 4, March.

### • "Programme Geremek"

Integration or Imitation? EU Policy towards Its Eastern Neighbours, *Katarzyna Pelczynska-Nalecz*, May.

### • "Notes de l'Ifri"

L'UE face à la crise. Faut-il plus d'intégration ?, *Vivien Pertusot*, *Jacques Mistral*, *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, *Françoise Nicolas*, *Yann-Sven Rittelmeyer*, *Nele Katharina Wissmann*, November.



## Seminars, Conferences-Debates

### "Ifri's Tuesdays in Brussels"

18 January – Dynamics of Euroscepticism and Institutions' Responsibilities

With *Cécile Leconte*, Lecturer, Institute of Political Studies at Lille and Sciences Po Paris.

1 February – Immigration and Integration in Europe: A Crisis of Citizenship

With *Christophe Bertossi*, Director, Center for Migrations and Citizenship, Ifri.

22 February – What Are the Priorities for the European Defense Agency in 2011?

With *Claude France Arnould*, Executive Director, European Defense Agency (EDA).

1 March – How to Boost E-health and Personal Medicine?

With *Meni Styliadou*, Head of European Affairs, Novartis.

**8 March – Does Europe Have a Strategic Future?**

With *Nicole Gnesotto*, Professor of European Union, Institution and Policy Studies, Conservatoire national des arts et métiers.

**22 March – Russia Searching for “Soft Power”**

With *Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean*, Research Fellow, Russia/NIS Center, Ifri, and *Agata Wierzbowska*, Research Fellow, Centre for Eastern Studies (OSW), Warsaw.

**12 April – Security in the Sahel**

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

**3 May – How to Reach a Lasting Peace in the Niger Delta?**

With *Benjamin Augé*, Associate Researcher, Sub-Saharan Africa Program, Ifri, and *Comrade Sunny Ofehe*, Founder and President, Hope for Niger Delta Campaign.

**17 May – An Evaluation of Global Spatial Policies. Is Space Strategic for Europe?**

With *Bertrand de Montluc*, Associated Expert, Center for International Studies and Research (CERI).

**31 May – The First Steps of the European External Action Service in a Changing World**

With *Pierre Vimont*, Secretary-General, European External Action Service.

**14 June – The Challenges of Russian Energy Policy**

With *Thomas Gomart*, Director, Russia/NIS Center, Ifri, and *William C. Ramsay*, Director, Center for Energy, Ifri.

**13 September – Geopolitics in the Arctic: Energy and Security Challenges in the Making**

With *Lassi Heininen*, Associate Professor, and *Regis Rouge-Oikarinen*, Director of Research, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Lapland, Finland.

**27 September – Undocumented Migrants in Europe: The Limits of Immigration Policies**

With *Hector Cebolla Boado*, National University of Distance Education, Madrid, Spain; *Danièle Joly*, University of Warwick, United Kingdom; *Johannes Knickenberg*, Catholic Forum on Life in Illegality (Katholisches Forum Leben in der Illegalität), Berlin, and *Christophe Bertossi*, Director, Center for Migrations and Citizenship, Ifri.

**18 October – Raw Materials and Environment in Greenland**

With *Damien Degeorges*, Paris-Descartes University, Research Fellow, Strategic Research Institute of the Ecole Militaire (Irsem), Paris.

**8 November – 10 Years after September 11<sup>th</sup>, Al-Qaeda and the War on Terrorism**

With *Marc Hecker* and *Élie Tenenbaum*, Research Fellows, Security Studies Center, Ifri.

## International Seminar

**24 January – Belarusian Election: Lessons to Learn for the EU**

Seminar in the framework of the joint program Ifri/The Centre for Eastern Studies (OSW), Warsaw.

With *Alyksandr Lahviniec*, Movement for Freedom; *Tatiana Poshevalova*, Belarus National Platform for the EaP Civil Society Forum; *Vitali Silitski*, Belarusian Institute for Strategic Studies; *Andrei Vardomatski*, Director, NOVAL Laboratory, and *Katarzyna Pelczynska-Nalecz*, OSW.

## International Conferences



*Dominique Moisi, Giles Merritt, Philippe de Schoutheete, Philippe Herzog, Michael Emerson, Nicolas Véron*



*Herman Van Rompuy*

**25 January – State of the Union: Brussels Think Tank Dialogue 2011. Europe 3.0: Building a Viable Union**

Annual conference organized by Ifri and European think tanks Bertelsmann Stiftung, Bruegel, Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS), Confrontations Europe, European Policy Centre (EPC), Egmont Institute, Friends of Europe, Madariaga College of Europe, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), in partnership with Agence Europe.

Subjects addressed: The state of the European Union in 2011; What role for the EU in global climate governance?; The role of the EU budget in European economic governance; The future of European workers immigration policy; The external representation of the European Union.

With the participation of *José Manuel Barroso*, President, European Commission; *Herman Van Rompuy*, President, European Council; *János Martonyi*, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Republic of Hungary; *Mikolaj Dowgiewlewicz*, Secretary of State for European Affairs, Government Plenipotentiary for the Polish Presidency of the EU; *Jos Delbeke*, Director-General, DG Climate Action, European Commission; *Krisztina Berta*, Deputy Secretary of State for EU and International Relations, Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Hungary; *Vasco Cal*, Economic Advisor, Bureau of European Policy Advisors of the European Commission (BEPA), European Commission; *Poul-Skytte Christoffersen*, Ambassador and former Special Advisor to the High Representative Catherine Ashton; *Jean Lambert*, Member of the European Parliament; *Claude Moraes*, Member of the European Parliament; *Franziska Brantner*, Member of the European Parliament; *Thomas Fischer*, Executive Director, Brussels office, Bertelsmann Stiftung; *Nicolas Véron*, Senior Fellow, Bruegel; *Michael Emerson*, Senior Fellow, CEPS; *Philippe Herzog*, President, Confrontations Europe; *Philippe de Schoutheete*, Ambassador,

Director of European Studies, Egmont Institute; *Giles Merritt*, Secretary-General, Friends of Europe; *Jacki Davis*, Director-General, Meade David Communication (MDC); *Christian Egenhofer*, Director of Energy and Climate Change Program, CEPS; *Franz-Detlef Drake*, Director of Research and Development, RWE AG; *Susanne Dröge*, Head of the Research Division on Global Issues, SWP; *Willy De Backer*, Head of the Greening Europe Forum, Friends of Europe; *Benedicta Marzinotto*, Research Fellow, Bruegel; *Fabian Zuleeg*, EPC; *Carole Ulmer*, Project Manager, Confrontations Europe; *Joachim Fritz-Vannahme*, Director of the Europe's Future Program, Bertelsmann Stiftung; *Jean-Louis de Brouwer*, Director of Migrations and Frontiers, European Commission; *Sergio Carrera*, Research Fellow, CEPS; *Dora Kostakopoulou*, Professor of European Law and European Integration, Jean Monnet Chair, University of Manchester; *Christal Morehouse*, Project Director, Bertelsmann Stiftung; *Jan Wouters*, Director, Leuven Centre for Global Governance Studies, University of Louvain; *Rosa Balfour*, EPC; *Toby Vogel*, Correspondent, The European Voice; *Dominique Moisi* and *Maité Jauréguy-Naudin*, Ifri.

**5 May – What Kind of Future for the ENP? The View from the EU and Neighboring Countries**  
Conference organized in collaboration with the OSW, Warsaw; in partnership with Agence Europe and Banca Monte Paschi Belgio.

With *Amine Ait-Chaalal*, Director, Centre for International Crisis and Conflict Studies (CECRI), Catholic University of Louvain (UCL); *Leonid Litra*, Deputy Director, IDIS Viitorul, Moldova; *Katarzyna Pelczynska-Nalecz*, Head, OSW Brussels; *Ahmed Driss*, Director of the Centre for Mediterranean and International Studies, Professor of Law at the Faculties of Law and Economic Sciences and Management, Tunis; *John O'Rourke*, Coordination of the European Neighborhood Policy I, European External Action Service (EEAS); *Olaf Osica*, Deputy Director, OSW; *Elizabeth Collett*, Transatlantic Council on Migration, Migration Policy Institute, Brussels; *Ralph Genetzke*, Head of Mission, International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD), Brussels; *Ibrahim Awad*, Director, Center for Studies on Migration and Refugees, American University in Cairo, Egypt; *Sabine Fischer*, European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS); *Olga Shumylo-Tapiola*, Carnegie Endowment; *Philippe Cuisson*, Deputy Head of Unit, DG Trade, European Commission; *Ahmed Ghoneim*, Associate Professor, Economics Department, Faculty of Economics and Political Science, Cairo University, Egypt; *Madeleine Majorenko*, coordination of the European Neighborhood Policy II, EEAS; *Pavlo Klimkin*, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, Ukraine; *Anna Raduchowska-Brochwicz*, Plenipotentiary of the Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs in charge of the Barcelona Process: Union for the Mediterranean; *Miroslav Lajcak*, Deputy Director-General for Europe and Central Asia, EEAS; *Richard Youngs*, Director-General, FRIDE (Fundación para las Relaciones Internacionales y el Diálogo Exterior), Spain; *Dominique David* and *Christophe Bertossi*, Ifri.

**10 October – Presentation of RAMSES 2012**  
At the *Filigranes* bookstore in Brussels.

With *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, Co-Director, *Ramses*; *Maité Jauréguy-Naudin* and *Vivien Pertusot*, Ifri.

**15 November – Russian and NATO Strategies toward Afghanistan**

In partnership with OSW, Warsaw.

With *Gilles Vanders Ghinst*, Political Affairs and Security Policy Division, NATO, and *Marek Menkiszak*, Head of the Russia Division, OSW.

7 December – European and Global Economic and Financial Governance

In partnership with the SWP, Berlin. With the support of Asko Europa Stiftung.

With *Jean-Patrick Yanitch*, Head of the G20 Task Force, Banque de France; *Carsten Pillath*, Director-General of Economic and Social Affairs of the Council of the European Union; *Daniela Schwarzer*, SWP; *Philippe Gudin de Vallerin*, Department of Macroeconomic Policy and European Affairs, French Ministry of Economy, Industry and Employment; *Wolfgang Scheremet*, Program Leader, European and International Economic and Monetary Issues, Federal Ministry of Economics and Technology, Berlin, and *Jacques Mistral*, Ifri.

RUSSIA/NIS

## Russia/NIS Center

**Both Russia and the Newly Independent States (NIS) show all the characteristics of an area marked by strong potential and chronic instability. An obvious and 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. 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**, Director of the Russia/NIS Center, Director of Strategic Development, Ifri  
**Areas of expertise:** civil-military relations, interaction between foreign policy and energy policy, European Union/Russia partnerships, nation branding, digital power



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



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

**Julien Nocetti**, Associate Researcher  
**Areas of expertise:** Russian Middle East policy, Internet and politics in Russia

## 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 leaderships. 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 creates a bridge where there are problems of trust. A specific task force was formed within the Russia/NIS Center to formulate operational recommendations. Since 2011, a Eurasian Trade Task Force has been set up to study the process of creation of a Eurasian Economic Union. This area of study also permits the Center to look into the question of Russia's integration into global governance (WTO), as well as the consequences of the Eastern Partnership.

### Interaction Between Russia's Foreign and Energy Policies

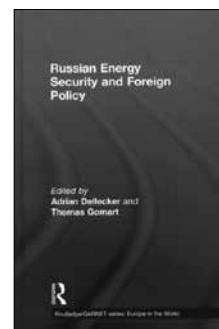
This research area examines the restructuring of the Russian energy landscape and its implications for neighboring countries, along with the use of energy supplies for political ends.

### Human Capital

This field of research analyzes the restructuring under way in the domain of higher education, and seeks to identify the niches of excellence and the scientific training that can enable Russia to participate in international competition.

## Major Publication

*Russian Energy Security and Foreign Policy*, *Adrian Dellecker* and *Thomas Gomart* (eds.), London, Routledge.



## Electronic Publications

### • “Russie.Nei.Visions”

(series published in English, French, and Russian)

*Developing Research in Russian Universities*, *Irina Dezhina*, n° 57, February.

*Doing Business in Russia: Informal Practices and Anti-Corruption Strategies*, *Alena Ledeneva* and *Stanislav Shekshnia*, n° 58, March.

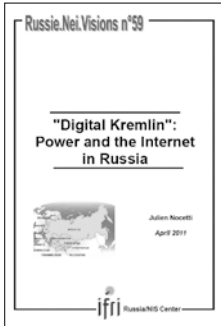
“Digital Kremlin”: *Power and the Internet in Russia*, *Julien Nocetti*, n° 59, April.

The Caucasus: A Hotbed of Terrorism in Metamorphosis, *Pavel Baev*, n° 60, July.

What the North Caucasus Means to Russia, *Aleksey Malashenko*, n° 61, July.

Italy, Russia's Voice in Europe?, *Nadezhda Arbatova*, n° 62, September.

Russian Digital Dualism: Changing Society, Manipulative State, *Alexey Sidorenko*, n° 63, December.



• **“Russie.Nei.Reports”**

(series published in English or French)

Economic Constraint and Ukraine's Security Policy, *Dominic Fean*, n° 7, May.

L'université Goubkine : réservoir de cadres pour le secteur pétrolier et gazier, *Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean*, n° 8, June.



Articles and Contributions

“La Russie et l'Europe”, *Dominic Fean*, in *Louis-Marie Clouet and Andreas Marchetti* (eds.), *L'Europe et le monde en 2020. Essai de prospective franco-allemande*, Paris/Villeneuve d'Ascq, Ifri/Septentrion University Press.

“Obama's Diplomacy as Showcased by Web 2.0”, *Julien Nocetti*, *Politique étrangère*, 1-2011.

“Transnistrian Conflict after 20 Years”, *Dominic Fean*, in *Witold Rodkiewicz* (ed.), *A Report by an International Expert Group*, OSW/IDIS Viitorul.

“Russian Civil-Military Relations: Is There Something New with Medvedev?”, *Thomas Gomart*, in *Stephen J. Blank* (ed.), *Civil-Military Relations in Medvedev's Russia*, Army War College (US), Strategic Studies Institute.

“Écrire l'histoire des relations internationales après WikiLeaks”, *Thomas Gomart*, *Revue des deux mondes*, May.

“Wrong Road to Harvard”, *Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean*, *Research Europe*, November.

“Russia's Virtual: The New Reality?”, *Julien Nocetti*, *OpenDemocracy Russia*, December.

Conferences-Debates

14 March – Informal Practices and Anti-Corruption Strategies in Russia

With *Alena Ledevena*, Professor, School of Slavic and East European Studies, University College, London, and *Stanislav Shekshnia*, Program Director, INSEAD Global Leadership Center.

11 May – Russia-Europe: Threats to the Stalemate in Afghanistan

With *Victor Ivanov*, Director, Russian Federal Service for Drug Control.

11 July – What the North Caucasus Means to Russia

With *Pavel Baev*, Professor and Research Fellow, Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO), and *Alexei Malachenko*, Director, “Religion, Society and Security” Program, Carnegie Moscow Center.

15 September – The Internet in China and Russia: Interactions Between States, Firms, and Users

With *Min Jiang*, Lecturer, University of North Carolina; *Emily Parker*, Policy Planning, State Department, Washington; *Alexei Sidorenko*, Editor, *Global Voices Online*, Moscow; *Milton Mueller*, Professor, School of Information Studies, University of Syracuse; *Ilya Ponomarev*, Member of the Duma, Director of the Subcommittee on the Development of New Technologies, Assistant Director of Marketing at Skolkovo, Moscow, and *Julien Nocetti*, Associate Researcher, Ifri.



*Julien Nocetti, Françoise Nicolas*

17 October – The Eurasian Trade Task Force: Interactions Between Trade and Foreign Policy

With *David Dyker*, Honorary Professor, Science and Technology Policy Research, University of Sussex; *Timotei Bodarchev*, Associate Dean, Department of International Affairs and the Global Economy, Higher School of Economics – National Research University, Russia; *Nargis Kassenova*, Professor, Department of Political Science, Kazakhstan Institute of Management, Economics and Strategic Research (KIMEP); *Olga Shumylo-Tapiola*, Guest Professor, Carnegie Europe Center, Belgium; *Thomas Gomart* and *Dominic Fean*, Ifri.

24 October – The Arab Revolutions and the Politics of the Powers

XVI<sup>th</sup> Seminar Ifri/MGIMO, Moscow.

With *Anatoly Torkunov*, Rector, State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO University), Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences; *Joseph Maïla*, Director of Policy Planning, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; *Jean-Pierre Chevènement*, Senator, former Minister; *Aslambek Aslakhonov*, Vice-President, Foreign Affairs Committee of the Council of the Russian Federation, and *Thierry de Montbrial*, President, Ifri.



*Dominique David, Irina Zviaguelskaïa*



*Thierry de Montbrial, Anatoly Torkunov, Joseph Maïla*



*Thomas Gomart, Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean*

13 December – The Transnistrian Conflict, Twenty Years Later

With *Oleg Serebriani*, Ambassador of the Republic of Moldova in France; *Oazu Nantoi*, Public Policy Institute of Moldova; *Cornel Ciurea*, Institute for Development and Social Initiatives (IDIS), Viitorul, Moldova, *Witold Rodkiewicz*, OSW/Centre for Eastern Studies, Warsaw, and *Dominic Fean*, Ifri.

# Ifri Center for Asian Studies

The emergence of Eastern and Southern Asia on the international scene has intensified the already complex issues the region faces; the 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 forum 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



**Françoise Nicolas**, Director of the Center for Asian Studies

**Gilles Boquérat**, Research Fellow (until June 2011)

Areas of expertise: India, South Asia



**Céline Pajon**, Research Fellow  
Area of expertise: Japan



**John Seaman**, Research Fellow  
Areas of expertise: China, energy issues

## Associate Researchers

**Alice Ekman** (China), **Isabelle Saint-Mézard** (India, Pakistan), **Éric Frecon** (South-East Asia, maritime issues), **Antoine Sautenet** (regionalization, EU-Asia relations), **Wei Shen** (China)

## Research Areas

The Center for Asian Studies organizes its research around three main subjects.

### Internal Organization in the Asian Region (Eastern and Southern Asia)

The main relationships considered here are the bilateral relationships between the great powers in the region – including Japan and India, and India and Russia – as well as the emergence of new actors such as Australia. Within the framework of this research area, one meeting was devoted to the major geostrategic players in Asia and the implications for Japan's strategic stance. Economic integration in East Asia, its methods and recent developments following the 2008-2009 crisis, was also a subject of special attention. The study of regional production networks and intra-Asian direct investment, particularly in South-East Asia, led to a publication and a seminar.

### Relations between Major Asian Powers and the Rest of the World

The objective here is to analyze the strategies of power projection, through diplomatic initiatives and the internationalization of companies. The growing role of China in Africa and South America was discussed at various seminars. The place held by Asian countries in international organizations and multilateral forums was analyzed through a study that offered a Franco-Korean perspective on the G20.

### Internal Dynamics – Political, Economic and Social – of East and South Asian Countries

The central issues of energy strategies and green growth of large emerging countries in the region are subjects of special examination. Several articles and events also looked into developments in Japan since the tsunami of March 2011, and cast light on the conflict-ravaged politics of Thailand and Sri Lanka. Finally, a study was conducted on the evolution of China's economic strategy and an event was held to examine the liberalization efforts in Vietnam.

## Strategic Observatory on North-East Asia

The triennial Observatory on North-East Asia, in partnership for 2011 with the Strategic Affairs Delegation of the French 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 and other states. This year's conferences brought together Asian, European and American experts in order to debate subjects such as the evolution of Japanese defense strategies and the changes in the Asian security environment.

## Partnership with the Canon Institute

Ifri forged a partnership in 2011 with the Canon Institute for Global Studies, a Japanese think tank specializing in international relations. The two institutes have launched a series of notes published in an electronic collection (the "Canon-Ifri Paper Series"). These notes have helped spread the ideas of Japanese researchers on the impacts of the 11 March disaster on the economy, crisis management, and Japan's environmental and energy policies. In the framework of this partnership, *John Seaman*, a research-

er at the Ifri Center for Asian Studies, was invited to the Canon Institute during the summer of 2011 to work on research to be published by the two think tanks.

## Electronic Publications

### • "Asie.Visions"

La coopération militaro-industrielle au cœur de la relation indo-russe, *Gilles Boquérat*, n° 37, April.

No Longer the "Reactive State": Japan's Pro-Active Free Trade Posture, *Aurelia George Mulgan*, n° 38, May.

Thaïlande : le tourment démocratique, *Charuwan Lowira-Lulin*, n° 39, June.

The Evolving Role of Southeast Asia in Global FDI Flows, *Stephen Thomsen, Misuzu Otsuka, Boram Lee*, n° 40, July.

Toward Higher Household Consumption? An Up-to-date Analysis of China's Economic Transition, *Alice Ekman*, n° 41, July.

Dreams and Nightmares – Australia's Past, Present and Future in Asia, *Tom Conley*, n° 42, August.

East Asian Regional Economic Integration: A Post-Crisis Update, *Françoise Nicolas*, n° 43, September.

Japon/Inde : vers une coopération nucléaire ?, *Céline Pajon*, n° 44, October.

Innovation Policy Challenges for Japan: An Open and Global Strategy, *Kazuyuki Motohashi*, n° 45, November.

From "Looking" to Engaging – India and East Asia, *G.V.C. Naidu*, n° 46, December.



### • "Canon-Ifri Paper Series"

Economic Policies Following the Great East Japan Earthquake, *Keiichiro Kobayashi*, n° 1, June.

Restoring Health Care and Welfare Services after the Great East Japan Earthquake, *Yukihiro Matsuyama*, n° 2, July.

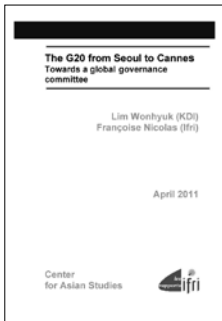
Special Farming Zones and Land-use Planning for Reviving the Agricultural Industry, *Kazuhiro Yamashita*, n° 3, August.

Japan: How Should Funds Be Raised for Rebuilding after the Disaster?, *Megumi Kashiwagi*, n° 4, September.

The Great East Japan Earthquake and Sino-Japanese Reconciliation, *Yoshiki Mine*, n° 5, October.

• “Rapport de l’Ifri”

The G20 from Seoul to Cannes: Towards a Global Governance Committee, *Lim Wonhyuk, Françoise Nicolas*, April.



Articles and Contributions

• Françoise Nicolas

“Les relations économiques du Maghreb avec la Chine et l’Inde : un état des lieux”, *Afkar/idées*, n° 29, March.

“Les économies asiatiques face à la crise économique et financière”, *Questions internationales*, n° 48, March-April.

“Faire du G20 un comité de gouvernance mondiale, mission impossible ?”, with *Lim Wonhyuk*, in *Jacques Mistral* (ed.), *Le G20 et la nouvelle gouvernance économique mondiale*, Paris, Presses universitaires de France.

“Chine et Inde, deux nouveaux acteurs économiques dans l’espace nord-africain”, in *Khadija Mohsen-Finan* (ed.), *Le Maghreb dans les relations internationales*, Paris, CNRS Éditions.

“Le système économique mondial à l’horizon 2020”, in *Louis-Marie Clouet* and *Andreas Marchetti* (eds.), *L’Europe et le monde en 2020 – Essai de prospective franco-allemande*, Paris/Villeneuve d’Ascq, Ifri/Septentrion University Press. Published in German: « Die EU im Weltwirtschaftssystem », in *Europa und die Welt 2020*, Baden-Baden, Nomos.

• Céline Pajon

“L’ambivalence du Japon face au nucléaire : une approche pragmatique du désarmement global”, *Monde chinois-nouvelle Asie*, n° 26, summer.

“Les relations nippono-russes : derrière la recrudescence des tensions, *business as usual* ?”, *Monde chinois-nouvelle Asie*, n° 28, winter 2011-2012.

Conferences-Debates

20 January – Economic Developments and Future Challenges in South-East Asia

With *Kiichiro Fukasaku* and *Kensuke Tanaka*, Development Center of OECD, and *David Camroux*, Research Fellow, Center for International Studies and Research (CERI), Paris.

7 March – What Economic Solution Does Japan Have?

With *Richard Collasse*, President and CEO of CHANEL K.K., Japan.

30 March – Japan after the Disaster: What Are the Economic and Energy Consequences?

With *Claude Meyer*, Research Fellow, Groupe d’économie mondiale, Professor, Sciences Po Paris, and *William C. Ramsay*, Director, Center for Energy, Ifri.

16-17 May – Japan after the Guidelines: The New Strategic Posture

Annual conference of the Strategic Observatory on North-East Asia. With the support of the Strategic Affairs Delegation (DAS), French Ministry of Defense.

With *Yasushi Masaki*, Minister, Embassy of Japan; *Va-lérie Niquet*, Fondation pour la recherche stratégique (FRS); *Yoshiki Mine*, Director of Research, Canon Institute for Global Studies, Senior Research Fellow, Waseda University; *Dmitry Streltsov*, Head of the Department of Oriental Studies, MGIMO, Moscow; *Sugio Takahashi*, Deputy Director, Policy Planning Office, Japanese Ministry of Defense; *Christopher Hughes*, Professor, University of Warwick; *Katsuhisa Furukawa*, Research Institute of Science and Technology for Society (RISTEX); *Paul Jean-Ortiz*, Director of the Asia Division, French Ministry of Foreign Affairs; *Alessio Patalano*, King’s College, London; *Tetsuo Kotani*, The Okazaki Institute, Non-resident Research Fellow, CSIS Pacific Forum; *Admiral Xavier Magne*, Deputy Chief of Staff, Naval Air Operations, Chief of Staff of the Navy, French Ministry of Defense; *Andrew Oros*, Associate Professor, Washington College; *Tomonori Yoshizaki*, National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS), Japan; *Paul Midford*, Norwegian University of Science and Technology; *Thérèse Delpech*, Atomic and Renewable Energy Commission (CEA); *Isabelle Saint-Mézard*, DAS, French Ministry of Defense; *Hideshi Takesada*, NIDS, Japan; *Vijay Sakhuja*, Director of Research, Indian Council of World Affairs; *Taro Yamato*, Director of Policy Planning, the Japanese Ministry of Defense; *Takako Hirose*, Senshu University; *Cheol-Hee Park*, Graduate School of International Studies, Seoul National University, and *Nicolas Regaud*, Deputy Director, DAS, French Ministry of Defense.

18 May – Cutting Red Tape in Vietnam: Administrative Simplification and Better Regulation

With *Daniel Trnka* and *Christiane Arndt*, Committee on Regulatory Policy, OECD, and *Jean-Raphaël Chaponnière*, Economist, French Development Agency (AFD).

20 May – Re-thinking China’s Role in Africa

With *Chris Alden*, London School of Economics (LSE); *Daniel Large*, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, and *Zhu Ming*, Shanghai Institute of International Studies.

15 June – Promoting Job-Rich Growth in Asia: Local Employment, Skills Development and Social Protection

In collaboration with the OECD.

With *Christina Martinez-Fernandez*, Employment and Skills Strategies in Southeast Asia Initiative (ESSSA), Local Economic and Employment Development Programme (LEED), OECD; *Aurelio Parisotto*, Economist, Department of Policy Integration, International Labor Organization (ILO); *Kees Van Der Ree*, Green Jobs

Program Coordinator, ILO, and *Jean-Pierre Cling*, Professor of Economics, University of Paris 13.

15 September – The Internet in China and Russia: Interactions Between States, Firms, and Users

With *Min Jiang*, Lecturer, University of North Carolina; *Emily Parker*, Policy Planning, State Department, Washington; *Alexei Sidorenko*, Editor, *Global Voices Online*, Moscow; *Milton Mueller*, Professor, School of Information Studies, University of Syracuse; *Ilya Ponomarev*, Member of the Duma, Director of the Subcommittee on the Development of New Technologies, Assistant Director of Marketing at Skolkovo, Moscow, and *Julien Nocetti*, Associate Researcher, Ifri.



*Julien Nocetti, Françoise Nicolas, Min Jiang*

29 September – China’s Growing Presence in Latin America. New Dynamics and Emerging Challenges

With *Jiang Shixue*, Vice-President, Chinese Association of Latin American Studies, Director of Research, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), Beijing, and *R. Evan Ellis*, Assistant Professor, Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies, National Defense University, Washington.

9 December – Post-War Sri Lanka Roads to Reconciliation

With *Dayan Jayatilaka*, Sri Lankan Ambassador to France, Spain, and Portugal; *Éric Paul Meyer*, Professor, National Institute of Oriental Languages and Civilizations; *Jean-Luc Racine*, Senior Research Fellow, CNRS; *Jean-François Bouffandeau*, former French Ambassador to Sri Lanka, Assessor to the National Court of Asylum; *Chandra Sriram*, Professor, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London; *Isabelle Saint-Mézard*, Associate Researcher, Center for Asian Studies, Ifri, and *Amaia Sanchez Cacedo*, Research Fellow, SOAS, London.

# Middle East/ North Africa Program

The Arab world is currently going through unprecedented changes, which are fundamentally transforming the balance and dynamics of the region. The rising-up of Arab societies, and the political, strategic and economic consequences thereof, call for changes in understanding and interaction on the part of people in the West. The Middle East/North Africa Program's objective is to further investigate the specificities of each country in the Maghreb and the Middle East, by analyzing local, regional and international dynamics that may help to guide the development of new policies. The program aims to provide a new way of understanding North Africa and the Middle East, taking all parties into account, from civil society actors to political leaders. The program combines long-term research and operational objectives with a strong analytical capacity able to rapidly address the upheavals in the Arab world.

## Team



**Mansouria Mokhefi**, Research Fellow, Program Head



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

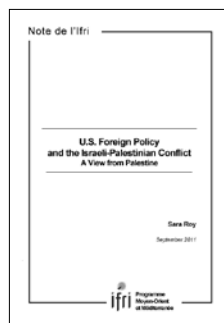
## Research Areas

In 2011 the program dedicated itself to understanding the Arab Spring: the internal dynamics, national models, the effects on regional equilibriums, changes in balances of power, the implications for the strategies of external actors (the United States, European Union, etc).

## Electronic Publications

### • "Notes de l'Ifri"

**U.S. Foreign Policy and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: A View from Palestine**, Sara Roy, August.



## Article

**Après le 11 Septembre : les États-Unis et le Grand Moyen-Orient**, Mansouria Mokhefi, *Politique étrangère*, 3-2011.

## Conferences-Debates

**15 February – What Perspectives for the New Tunisia?**

With *Majid Bouden*, President, Association des avocats en droit international; *Serge Degallaix*, former French Ambassador to Tunisia, and *Jean-Pierre Tuquoi*, *Le Monde*.



*Majid Bouden, Dominique David, Serge Degallaix, Jean-Pierre Tuquoi*

**16 March – Demands for Democracy in the Arab World: How Will They Be Answered?**

With *Mathieu Guidère*, Professor, University of Toulouse 2; *Jean-Yves Moisseron*, Research Fellow, Institut de recherche pour le développement (IRD), and *Dominique Moisi*, Special Advisor, Ifri.

**28 June – The Libyan Crisis: Consequences and Repercussions in Neighboring Countries**

With *André Bourgeot*, Research Director Emeritus, CNRS; *François Gouyette*, former French Ambassador to Libya; *Mohammad Mahmoud Ould Mohamedou*, Guest Professor, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva, Associate Researcher, Center for Security Policy, Geneva, former Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Mauritania; *Saad*

*Adoum*, Senior Analyst, International Crisis Group (ICG), and *Dominique David*, Ifri.



*André Bourgeot, Dominique David, Mansouria Mokhefi, Alain Antli*

**3 October – Transitions to the South of the Mediterranean: Engaging Civil Society**

Seminar in collaboration with the Bureau of European Policy Advisors (BEPA), European Commission.

With *Jean-Claude Thebault*, Director-General, BEPA; *Bernardino Leon*, Special Representative of the European Union for the Southern Mediterranean region; *Margaritis Schinas*, Deputy Head, BEPA; *Eneko Landaburu*, EU delegation to Morocco; *Sana Ben Achour*, former President, Association des femmes démocrates en Tunisie; *Hisham Kassem*, Journalist/Editor, *Al-Masry Al-Youm*; *Stefan Füle*, European Commissioner for Enlargement and Neighborhood Policy; *Claire Spencer*, Program Director, Middle East and North Africa, Chatham House; *Mokhtar Trifi*, President, Tunisian League for Human Rights; *Ragia Omran*, Hisham Mubarak Law Center, Cairo; *Khadija Ryadi*, President, Association marocaine des droits humains (AMDH); *Antonio Missiroli*, Advisor, BEPA; *Hasni Abidi*, Director, Studies and Research Center for the Arab and Mediterranean World (CERMAM), Geneva; *Andrew Jacobs*, Directorate-General for Development and Cooperation (DG DEVCO), European Commission; *Nouredine Fridhi*, *Al-Arabiya*, Brussels; *Dominique David* and *Mansouria Mokhefi*, Ifri.



MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/  
MEDITERRANEAN

# North Africa Facing New Global Challenges Program

This program, conducted in partnership with the OCP Group, seeks to monitor the transformed regional dynamics, the changes in relations between the north and south shores of the Mediterranean, and the inclusion of a rapidly evolving Maghreb in an international setting, with respect to the Mediterranean, the Atlantic, Sub-Saharan Africa and beyond. The program wishes to go beyond the usual limits of analysis by offering an approach that is both geographic and theme-based, in order to offer constructive solutions to the issues at hand. The North Africa Facing New Global Challenges Program calls on various research programs within Ifri as well as outside researchers.

## Team

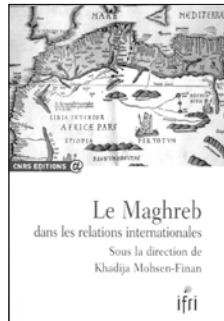


**Mansouria Mokhefi**, Research Fellow, Program Head

## Major Publications

**Le Maghreb dans les relations internationales**, *Khadija Mohsen-Finan* (ed.), Paris, Ifri/CNRS Éditions, July.

**La Turquie au Moyen-Orient : le retour d'une puissance régionale ?**, *Dorothee Schmid* (ed.), Paris, Ifri/CNRS Éditions, December.



## Electronic Publications

### • "Notes de l'Ifri"

La ruée sur les terres agricoles. Quel impact pour l'Afrique ?, *Alain Antil*, January.

Un schéma migratoire reconfiguré, dans les faits et dans l'approche politique, *Mehdi Lalou*, February.

Migration et développement : l'enjeu environnemental et l'avenir des politiques migratoires, *François Gemmene*, March.

La coopération Europe/Maghreb face aux mutations géostratégiques mondiales, *Abderrahmane Mebtoul*, April.

US-Algerian Security Cooperation and Regional Counterterrorism, *Alexis Arieff*, July.

Quand le vent du « printemps arabe » souffle sur le golfe Persique, *Mohammad-Reza Djallili* and *Thierry Kellner*, September.

US-Moroccan Relations. How Special?, *Carol Migdalovitz*, October.

Brésil-Maghreb : globalité nécessaire et enjeux économiques stratégiques, *Élodie Brun*, October.



## Articles and Contributions

"Le rôle des femmes dans les révolutions arabes", *Mansouria Mokhefi*, *L'ENA hors les murs*, n° 44, September.

"Élections législatives au Maroc : enjeux, défis et perspectives", *Mansouria Mokhefi*, *Euromed*, Focus article, December.

## Conferences-Debates

28 February – France's Policies Toward the Arab World

With *Thierry de Montbrial*, President, Ifri; *Yves Aubin de la Messuzière*, former French Ambassador to Tunisia; *Bassma Kodmani*, Director-General, Arab Reform Initiative; *Pierre-Jean Luizard*, CNRS; *Bernard Guetta*, France Inter; *Charles Cogan*, Associate at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs (BCSIA) at the Kennedy School, Harvard University; *Fatiha Dazi-Héni*, Associate Researcher, CERI-FNSP; *Hubert Védrine*, former French Minister for Foreign Affairs; *Elias Sanbar*, Palestinian Ambassador to UNESCO; *Daniel Shek*, former Israeli Ambassador to France; *Monique Cerisier Ben-Guiga*, Secretary of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defense and Armed Forces, Senate; *Nathalie Nougayrède*, *Le Monde*; *Sid Ahmed Ghozali*, former Prime Minister of Algeria; *Hugh Roberts*, former Director of the North Africa Program, International Crisis Group; *Jean-François Daguzan*, Editor-in-Chief, Maghreb-Machrek; *Denis Bauchard* and *Mansouria Mokhefi*, Ifri.



*Daniel Shek, Mansouria Mokhefi, Elias Sanbar*



*Fatiha Dazi-Héni, Charles Cogan, Bassma Kodmani, Bernard Guetta, Pierre-Jean Luizard*

23 May – The United States and the Arab World: Power and Influence of the United States in the Arab World

With *Marwan Bishara*, Al Jazeera; *Hussein Hassouna*, Ambassador of the Arab League in the US; *Richard Jones*, Director, International Energy Agency; *Charles Rivkin*, US Ambassador to France, and *James Zogby*, President, Arab American Institute.



*Mansouria Mokhefi, Charles Rivkin, Dominique David*



*Ofer Bronstein, Denis Bauchard, Sara Roy, Henry Laurens*



Charles Rivkin, Dominique Moisi

**20 September – The US and France Facing the North African Revolution**

With *Charles Cogan*, Harvard University, and *Dominique Moisi*, Special Advisor, Ifri.

**12 October – The United States, France, and the New Security Challenges in the Maghreb**

With *Yahia Zoubir*, Professor, Euromed Management, Marseille; *Alexis Arief*, Research Fellow, Congressional Research Service, Washington, and *Marc Hecker*, Research Fellow, Security Studies Program, Ifri.

**21 November – The United States and France Facing Political Islam in the Maghreb**

With *Mathieu Guidère*, Professor, University of Toulouse 2; *William Jordan*, former Senior Advisor, US Embassy in Algeria; *Daniel Brumberg*, Advisor, Center for Conflict Analysis and Prevention, United States Institute for Peace, and *Isabelle Mandraud*, *Le Monde*.

**7 December – Women and Arab Revolutions: What Are the Hopes and Challenges?**

With *Ouhmani Alaoui*, Research Director, OCP Foundation; *Sophie Bessis*, Historian, Deputy Secretary-General, International Federation of Human Rights, and *Margot Badran*, Professor, Georgetown University.

**14 December – The New Situation in the Maghreb: Revolutions, Elections, Democratization?**

With *Hala Kodmani*, Journalist; *Nicolas Beau*, Director, *La lettre du Sud.fr*, and *Lisa Bryant*, Journalist, *Voice of America*.

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/  
MEDITERRANEAN

# Contemporary Turkey Program

Aside from occasionally strained bilateral relations, France and Turkey are experiencing a real development in terms of economic and cultural exchange and diplomatic cooperation. The activities of the Contemporary Turkey Program, established in 2007, are rooted in this context. It has two main objectives: 1) to develop new tools for analyzing the political, economic and social dynamics within Turkey itself, and to comprehend the rise of the country in the international arena, and 2) to strengthen the instruments of Franco-Turkish dialogue between the political and economic decision-makers of both countries and between civil societies. The program also aims to stimulate public debate in both countries through conferences, seminars and publications; to identify relevant actors in France and Turkey, in both civil society and institutional circles; and to organize activities that encourage socialization, particularly among media professionals (“Franco-Turkish Media Dialogue”).

## Team



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

**Julien Cécillon**, Assistant Research Fellow  
Areas of expertise: public diplomacy in Turkey, Turkish politics, the Kurdish question

## Research Areas

The program revolves around two axes.

### Franco-Turkish Dialogue

- “Political Dialogue”: conferences and seminars aimed at exchanging views on political or socio-economic subjects;
- “Media Dialogue”: conferences and seminars aimed at exchanging views on political or socio-economic subjects;
- “Business Dialogue”: opportunities for socializing by business representatives and sharing of professional experiences, to improve the Franco-Turkish business climate.

**The Observatory of Contemporary Turkey** – which offers a space for expression to Turkish, French and other foreign experts through online publication of articles on contemporary topics.

## Major Publication

*La Turquie au Moyen-Orient : le retour d’une puissance régionale ?*, Dorothee Schmid (ed.), Paris, Ifri/CNRS Éditions, December.



## Electronic Publications

### • “Notes franco-turques”

*Les Arméniens de France et la Turquie : la possibilité d’un dialogue ?*, Michel Marian and Christian Makarian, n° 5, January.

*La République : visions franco-turques. Interview avec Baskin Oran*, Dorothee Schmid, n° 6, May.



## Articles and Contributions

### • Dorothee Schmid

“After the ‘Arab Spring’: Is It Time for the Euro-Mediterranean Order to be Re-thought?”, in *Euromed Survey, Qualitative Report, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition*, Barcelona, IEMED.

“La Turquie après la guerre froide. Cavalier seul ?”, *Grande Europe*, n° 37, October, “L’Europe sans l’URSS” dossier.

“Europe Confronting the Degradation of Turkish-Israeli Relations: Is There Room for Arbitration?”, *Israeli European Policy Network Papers*, May.

“Un « modèle turc » pour les révoltes arabes ?”, with *Marc Semo*, *Politique internationale*, n° 131, spring.

## Conferences-Debates

**14 April – Turkey/Arab World: What Role for Turkey?**  
With the support of the OCP Group and Groupama.

With *William Hale*, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London; *Hugh Pope*, International Crisis Group, Istanbul; *Esen Çağlar*, Turkish Foundation for Economic Policy Research (TEPAV), Ankara; *Nora Seni*, French Institute of Anatolian Studies, Istanbul; *Michel Naoufal*, Journalist, *Al Mustaqbal*, Beirut; *Henri Guirchoun*, *Le Nouvel Observateur*; *Marwa Daoudy*, Professor, University of Oxford; *Sima Baidya*, Center for West Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi; *Ali Kazancigil*, former Director of the Social Sciences Program, UNESCO; *Marc Semo*, *Libération*; *François Dopffer*, former French Ambassador to Turkey; *Meliha Altunisik*, Professor, Middle East Technical University, Ankara; *Samir Aïta*, President of the Circle of Arab Economists; *Jean Marcou*, Professor, Grenoble Institute of Political Studies; *Julien Cécillon*, *Dorothee Schmid* and *Dominique David*, Ifri.



*Hugh Pope, Michel Naoufal, Nora Seni, Dorothee Schmid, Esen Çağlar*



*Marc Semo, Ali Kazancigil, Marwa Daoudy, Henri Guirchoun*



*Dorothee Schmid, Dominique David, William Hale*

**9-11 June – A Meeting of French and Turkish Journalists, Istanbul**

In partnership with the Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey, Ankara (TEPAV), with the support of Gaziantep Chamber of Commerce.

With *Nora Seni*, Director, TEPAV; *Seyfettin Gürsel*, *Radikal*, Professor, University of Bahçesehir; *Ahmet Insel*, *Radikal*, Professor, Galatasaray University; *Ragıp Duran*, Journalist/Analyst; *Ibrahim Kaboglu*, Professor, Marmara University; *Umut Oran*, Diplomatic Advisor of the CHP party; *Jacques Hubert-Rhodier*, *Les Échos*; *Murat Yetkin*, *Radikal*, Editor-in-Chief, *Turkish Daily News*; *Sedat Ergin*, *Hürriyet*; *Nadire Matter*, Editor-in-Chief, *Bianet*; *Adil Konukoglu*, President, Gaziantep Chamber of Industry; *Esen Çağlar*, Economist, TEPAV; *Mehmet Aslan*, President, Gaziantep Chamber of Commerce; *Falk Demir*, Professor, Galatasaray University, and *Dorothee Schmid*, Ifri.

**6 December – Is Turkey an Economic Exception?**

With *François Faure*, Head of the Country Risk Division, BNP Paribas; *Esen Çağlar*, Economist, Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey (TEPAV); *Denis Ünal*, Economist, Centre for Prospective Studies and International Information (CEPII), and *Rémi Bourgeot*, Economist.

## AFRICA

# Sub-Saharan Africa Program

Ifri's Sub-Saharan Africa Program was created within Ifri at the end of 2007. Its objective is to revise the tools that political and economic decision-makers, journalists and the general public use to analyze and understand the African continent, notably by highlighting French and international research on the subject and bringing together different types of expertise (researchers, military actors, bureaucrats, business people, NGO representatives, etc), who are 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 give decision-makers new tools to provide better-informed and more effective analysis of the African continent.

## Team



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



**Hélène Quénot-Suarez**, Research Fellow  
Areas of expertise: Ghana, Burkina Faso, West Africa, African cities, middle classes, urban governance, waste management

### Associate Researchers

**Benjamin Augé**

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

**Cyril Musila**

Areas of expertise: Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Great Lakes area, Central Africa, regional cooperation, post-conflict reconstruction, cross-border economic dynamics

**Matthieu Pellerin**

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

**Thierry Vircoulon**

Areas of expertise: South Africa, DRC, mineral issues, prevention and conflict resolution in Africa

**Tobias Koepf**

Areas of expertise: French military presence in Africa, European security policies toward Africa

## 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. These include former colonial powers, former superpowers and emerging powers: China, Libya, Algeria, Morocco, India, Turkey, Brazil, Japan, South Korea, etc.

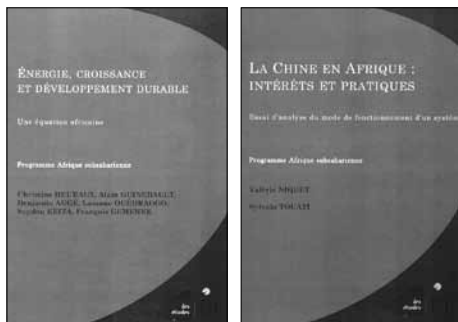
## Major Publications

Le Brésil, un partenaire de l'Afrique qui s'affirme. Les relations Brésil/Afrique sous les gouvernements Lula (2003-2010), *Thomas Cooper Patriota*, "Les Études de l'Ifri", September.



Énergie, croissance et développement durable : une équation africaine, *Christine Heuraux, Alain Guinebault, Benjamin Augé, Lassane Ouédraogo, Seydou Keita, François Gemmene*, "Les Études de l'Ifri", September.

La Chine en Afrique : intérêts et pratiques, *Valérie Niquet and Sylvain Touati*, "Les Études de l'Ifri", December.



## Electronic Publications

### • "Notes de l'Ifri"

Le nouvel essor des relations entre la Chine et Madagascar, *Mathieu Pellerin*, March.

A Victorious Anti-insurrection Strategy? The Insurrections of 2010 in the Jonglei State of South-Sudan, *Marc-André Lagrange*, July.

Involving "Neo-urbans" in the Political Game. The Example of Senegal, *Alain Antil*, August.



Le Ghana : une démocratie pétrolière en devenir, *Mathieu Pellerin*, December.

L'architecte et les États fragiles : l'aide au développement dans la sécurité mondiale, *François Gaulme*, "Les Études de l'Ifri", December.



## Articles and Contributions

"Analyse des stratégies des élites économiques au Sahel", *Alain Antil*, in *Transition démographique et emploi en Afrique subsaharienne*, French Development Agency, "À savoir" series, n° 5, April.

"Le Sahel, une zone grise aux portes du Maghreb", in *Khadija Mohsen-Finan* (ed.), *Le Maghreb dans les relations internationales*, Paris, CNRS Éditions.

"Le Sahel comme espace de transit des stupéfiants. Acteurs et conséquences politiques", *Alain Antil, Hérodote*, n° 142 ("Géopolitique du Sahara"), 3<sup>rd</sup> trimestre.

"Chronique de l'année de braise : les multiples dimensions de la "guerre" au terrorisme", *Alain Antil, L'Année du Maghreb VII*, Paris, CNRS Éditions.

"L'enjeu pétrolier dans un Soudan éclaté", *Benjamin Augé, Politique africaine*, n° 122, June.

"L'Islam et les ONG islamiques au Niger", *Sylvain Touati, Les Carnets du CAP*, n° 15, fall-winter.

"De la citadelle assiégée à une vision continentale : la pensée stratégique sud-africaine", *Thierry Vircoulon, Revue internationale et stratégique*, 2011/12.

"Éthique et commerce des matières premières", *Thierry Vircoulon, Études*, 2011/12.

## Seminars and Symposia

11 February – Electoral Processes in Africa: A Vehicle for Democratization or for Instability?

With *Nicholas Cheeseman*, Research Fellow, Centre of African Studies, Oxford; *Mathieu Mérino*, Research Fellow, CREPAO-CREAN, Head of Election Observation Missions, and *Gilles Yabi*, Director, Dakar Office, International Crisis Group.

4 March – French Presence in Africa: The Ancient Versus the Modern

With *Yves Gounin*, Master of Appeals to the State Council, former Legal Advisor to the President of the Republic of Senegal (2006-2009).

20 April – Building Peace across Borders: The Example of the African Great Lakes

With *Sophie Haspelslagh*, Conciliation Resources; *Ben Shepherd*, British Foreign and Commonwealth Office; *François Gaulme*, Project Manager, French Development Agency, and *Cyril Musila*, Associate Researcher, Ifri.

20 May – Rethinking China's Role in Africa

With *Chris Alden*, London School of Economics (LSE); *Daniel Large*, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, and *Zhu Ming*, Shanghai Institute for International Studies.

22 June – Between Inner Balance and International Standings: Whither Independence for South Sudan?

In collaboration with the French Development Agency (AFD).

With *François Gaulme*, AFD; *Douglas H. Johnson*, Editorial Director at James Currey; *Jean-Bernard Véron*, AFD; *Stéphane Gompertz*, Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs; *Louise Avon*, AFD; *Frank van Acker*, Consultant, Anvers; *Markus Hoehne*, Max Planck Institute; *Teresa Dumasy*, Conciliation Resources; *Christian Delmet*, CNRS; *Nicolas Vercken*, Oxfam France; *Sophie Vanhaeverbeke*, European Community Humanitarian Office (ECHO); *Mawan Muortat*, Sudanese Political Commentator; *Laurent d'Ersu*, Policy Planning Directorate, Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, and *Cyril Musila*, Ifri.

10 October – Issues and Outlooks in the Niger Delta  
With *Kingsley Kuku*, Special Advisor to the President of Nigeria on the Niger Delta.

25 November – Ivory Coast, Six Months after the Arrival of Alassane Ouattara: Political and Security Challenges to Socio-Economic Priorities

With *François Gaulme*, AFD; *Amandine Gnanguènon*, Irsem; *Juana de Catheu*, OECD; *Richard Banégas*, University of Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne; *Christian Bouquet*, University of Bordeaux III; *Stéphane Gompertz*, Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs; *Jérôme Spinoza*, Strategic Affairs Delegation (DAS), Department of Defense; *Franck Afanyiakossou*, Commission of the CEDEAO; *Denis Maugenest*, Center for Research and Action for Peace, Abidjan; *Serge Michailof*, Sciences Po Paris; *Jean-Bernard Véron*, AFD; *Marie Miran*, EHES; *Claude-Hélène Perrot*, University of Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne; *Magali Chelpi-den Hamer*, Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research; *Laurent d'Ersu*, Policy Planning Directorate, Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, and *Alain Antil*, Ifri.

29 November – Which Foreign Policy for Senegal?

With *Macky Sall*, President-Founder of the Alliance for the Republic (APR), former Prime Minister and former President of the National Assembly of the Republic of Senegal.

## UNITED STATES

# United States Program

Europeans see many cultural similarities between themselves and the United States. Despite this, however, the US remains founded on a political philosophy and a reference system that is very different from those of the old continent. Moreover, the American institutions, political system and economic conditions contribute to a framework never before seen in the world, and, during the coming presidential election, will undergo significant developments. How will this culture and practice translate into US actions internationally? Ifri's United States Program seeks to understand and explain the US from the inside and to illuminate the way toward more productive interactions with its partners, primarily Europe. The program relies on a multidisciplinary team and maintains close working ties with French Americanists – academics and other actors in the transatlantic debate – as well as with a network of officials, researchers and American journalists.

## Team



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



**Jacques Mistral,**  
Research Fellow, Scientific Advisor

**Constance Maury,** Assistant

### Associate Researchers

**Anne-Lorraine Bujon** (political theory, cultural and social issues), **Alexandra De Hoop Scheffer** (foreign policy and security questions), **François Vergniolle de Chantal** (institutions and domestic policy)

## Research Areas

The political philosophy and reference systems specific to the United States are central determinants of US foreign policy and, as such, need to be understood. For this reason, the program's first research area attempts to characterize and monitor the developments of these internal processes.

The country's institutions, political system and economic situation are experiencing significant changes. Institutional barriers, challenging economic circumstances, and the emergence of new forms of political action are also influencing the outlines of the US's stance throughout the world.

How will American culture and political practice translate into US action internationally? Ifri's United States Program follows the debates on the role of the United States in the world and analyzes developments in the US position with respect to major changes in the international system.

## Electronic Publications

### • "Potomac Papers"

**What Now for Obama?**, *Larry J. Sabato*, n° 6, January.

**La Californie en 2011 : entre dynamisme et entraves**, *Gabrielle Durana*, n° 7, June.

**L'« anti-environnementalisme », nouveau thème des conservateurs américains**, *Yves-Marie Pereon*, n° 8, September.

**US Demographics: The Hispanic Boom**, *Navtej S. Dhaliwal*, n° 9, September.



## Conferences-Debates

### The Obama Presidency – Year 3: Gridlock or Opportunity?

Seminar series organized in collaboration with the French-American Foundation France (FAF), with the support of BNP Paribas, American Express, VIEL & Cie, 3M.

### 9 February – The Speech on the State of the Union: Can Obama Regain Control?

With *Anton Brender*, Economist, Dexia Asset Management; *François Vergniolle de Chantal*, Editor-in-Chief, *Politique américaine*; *Thomas McGrath*, President, Republicans Abroad, France; *Joseph Smallhoover*, Democrats Abroad, Member of Democratic National Committee, and *Jacques Mistral*, Ifri.

### 8 March – US Foreign Policy in Spring 2011

With *François Lafond*, Director of the Paris office, The German Marshall Fund; *Alexander Lennon*, Editor-in-Chief, *The Washington Quarterly*, and *Jacques Mistral*, Ifri.

### 27 May – The Place of the Muslim Community in the United States since 9/11

With *David Kaplan*, Associate Professor, Kent State University, University of Paris 8; *Djelloul Beghouara*, Producer, France Télévision, and *Mansouria Mokhefi*, Ifri.

### 6 July – Unemployment, Double Dipping, Debt and Deficit: A Worrying Situation in America

With *Clotilde L'Angevin*, Head of international diagnosis and forecasts, French DG Treasury, Ministry of Economy and Finance; *Eric Le Boucher*, Editing Director, *Les Échos*, and *Jean-Michel Six*, Chief Economist Europe, Standard & Poor's France.

### 16 September – The Political Season in Washington

With *Don Rose*, Consultant, Don Rose Communications; *Phillippe Gelle*, International Editor-in-Chief, *Le Figaro*, and *Anne-Lorraine Bujon*, Editorial Director, Institut des hautes études sur la justice (IHEJ).

### 19 October – Ten Years of US Policy in the Middle East

On the occasion of the publication of n° 3/2011 of *Politique étrangère*, and with the support of the University of Montpellier III and the Chercheurs d'avenir Program, Languedoc-Roussillon.

With *Antoine Coppolani*, Professor, University of Montpellier III; *Fredéric Encel*, Sciences Po Paris, and *Yves Aubin de la Messuzière*, Former Director of North Africa/Middle East Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

## Annual Conference: Year 10

### 15-16 December – One Year Before the Elections: Countdown to a Second Term?

In partnership with the French-American Foundation France, the US Embassy in Paris and France 24.

With *Thierry de Montbrial*, President, Ifri; *Antoine Garapon*, Secretary-General, Institut des hautes études sur la justice (IHEJ); *Andres Gil*, Associate, Davis Polk; *Fredrick Davis*, Attorney at law in Paris and New York, Board Member of the French-American Foundation, France; *Vincent Michelot*, Professor, Institut d'études politiques (IEP), Lyon; *Sylvie Kauffmann*, Editorial Director, *Le Monde*; *Norman Ornstein*, Research Fellow, American Enterprise Institute; *Larry Sabato*, Professor, University of Virginia, Director, The UVA Center for Politics; *François Vergniolle de Chantal*, Lecturer, University of Burgundy; *Anton Brender*, Chief Economist, Dexia Asset Management; *Angel Ubide*, Director of Economic Studies, Tudor Investment Corporation; *Greg Ip*, *The Economist*; *Wendy Moore*, Minister Counselor for Economic Affairs, US Embassy, Paris; *François Bujon de l'Estang*, former French Ambassador in Washing-

ton, Special Advisor, Citigroup France; *Alexandra de Hoop Scheffer*, Director, German Marshall Fund of the United States-France; *Charles Kupchan*, Research Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations; *Derek Flood*, Analyst, The Jamestown Institute; *Bruno Tertrais*, Lecturer, Foundation for Strategic Research; *Jacques Mistral* and *Dominique Moisi*, Ifri.



*Laurence Nardon, Thierry de Montbrial*



*Larry J. Sabato, François Vergniolle de Chantal, Sylvie Kauffmann, Norman Ornstein*



*Angel Ubide, Wendy Moore, Jacques Mistral, Anton Brender, Greg Ip*



*Derek Flood, Alexandra De Hoop Scheffer*

## Security Studies Center Defense Research Unit (LRD)

For more than twenty years, the Security Studies Center has contributed to strategic security analysis in France and throughout the world through its original research, publications (with two series, “Focus stratégiques” and “Proliferation Papers”, available online) and participation in debate through research and seminars.

The center is also working to develop a far-reaching presence in new media (Ultima Ratio blog, Twitter, videos on Dailymotion). Devoted to the subject “French defense in question”, the 2011-2012 brown-bag seminar cycle, organized in partnership with the Foundation for Strategic Research (FRS) and the blog *Secret défense*, received lots of attention.

### Team



**Étienne de Durand**, Director of the Security Studies 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



**Marc Hecker**, Research Fellow, Deputy Editor-in-Chief of *Politique étrangère*

**Areas of expertise:** terrorism, asymmetrical conflicts, wartime communication



**Aline Leboeuf**, Research Fellow at the LRD

**Areas of expertise:** changes in world conflicts, stabilization and post-conflict reconstruction, African conflicts



**Corentin Brustlein**, Research Fellow at the LRD and in the Proliferation Program

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



**Élie Tenenbaum**, Assistant Research Fellow at the LRD  
**Areas of expertise:** guerrillas and counter-insurgency, military doctrine, communication of strategic intelligence

**Michel Baud**, Major (on secondment to Ifri), Research Fellow at the LRD  
**Areas of expertise:** strategic and military issues, French defense policy

**Benoît Michel**, Major (on secondment to Ifri), Research Fellow at the LRD  
**Areas of expertise:** contemporary stabilization operations, French and European defense and security policy, Middle East

Associate Researcher

**Thomas Rid**, Reader at King's College, London  
**Areas of expertise:** counter-insurgency, communication, cyber-ware

### Research Areas

The Security Studies Center does long-term analyses of defense issues and works to understand future conflict developments. The center focuses on four main research areas.

#### Radicalization and terrorism.

**Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction**, in cooperation with the Atomic Energy Commission (CEA).

**National strategies and major security policies** (transatlantic relations and European security).

**The evolution of force structures and methods of intervention**, within the framework of the LRD, in partnership with the French Army and industrial partners.

### Defense Research Unit (LRD)

While the US seems to be turning toward Asia and European countries are reducing their defense budgets, the LRD seeks to contribute to the maintenance of an ongoing debate on defense issues in France and worldwide, and to propose and promote solutions that will transform and strengthen French defense.

The LRD is an original model, a joint venture between Ifri and French Army staff. It brings together civilian and military researchers from Ifri and the Army, as well as special contributors. Developing original works free of any institutional affiliation, the LRD seeks to provide recommendations relevant to all actors involved in security.

In addition to several key publications, including the “Focus stratégique” series, the LRD organizes both open and restricted events, conferences, lunches, and dinners with international experts. Events in 2011 were dedicated in particular to the Battle of Sadr City, drones, and mentoring in Afghanistan.

### Electronic Publications

#### • “Focus stratégique”

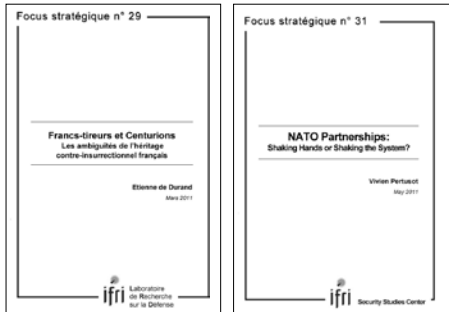
**Les camps de réfugiés et la guerre. Du sanctuaire à l'enfermement humanitaire**, *Marc-Antoine Pérouse de Montclos*, n° 27, January.

**La posture stratégique indienne face au défi pakistanais**, *Guillem Monsonis*, n° 28, February.

Francs-tireurs et Centurions. Les ambiguïtés de l'héritage contre-insurrectionnel français, *Étienne de Durand*, n° 29, March.

Hoplites numériques. Le combat d'infanterie à l'âge de l'information, *Pierre Chareyron*, n° 30, April.

NATO Partnerships: Shaking Hands or Shaking the System?, *Vivien Pertusot*, n° 31, May.



La guerre des hélicoptères. L'avenir de l'aéromobilité et de l'aérocombat, *Étienne de Durand, Benoît Michel, Élie Tenenbaum*, n° 32, June.

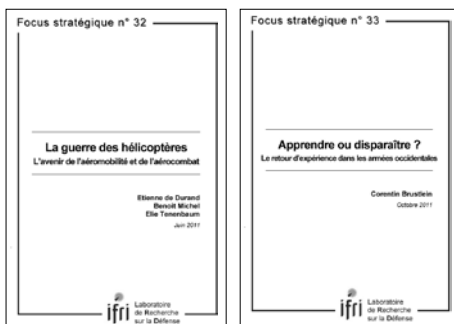
Toward the End of Force Projection? I. The Anti-Access Threat, *Corentin Brustlein*, translation of n° 20, July.

Toward the End of Force Projection? II. Operational Responses and Political Perspectives, *Corentin Brustlein*, translation of n° 21, September.

Apprendre ou disparaître ? Le retour d'expérience dans les armées occidentales, *Corentin Brustlein*, n° 33, October.

Établir l'état de droit au Kosovo. Succès et échecs des Nations unies, *Jean-Christian Cady*, n° 34, November.

Digital Hoplites. Infantry Combat in the Information Age, *Pierre Chareyron*, translation of n° 30, December.



• **“Proliferation Papers”**

Strategic Stability in the Cold War. Lessons for Continuing Challenges, *David S. Yost*, n° 36, February.

Russia's Nuclear Forces: Between Disarmament and Modernization, *Pavel Podvig*, n° 37, May.

Intelligence and Nuclear Proliferation: Lessons Learned, *Keith A. Hansen*, n° 38, August.

In Defense of Deterrence: The Relevance, Morality and Cost-Effectiveness of Nuclear Weapons, *Bruno Tertrais*, n° 39, October.

Articles and Contributions

“Sionisme: oppositions militantes autour d'un terme à géométrie variable”, *Marc Hecker*, *Mots. Les langages du politique*, n° 96, July.



“Militants sans frontières? Les voyages en Israël et dans les Territoires palestiniens organisés depuis la France”, *Marc Hecker*, in *Stéphanie Latte Abdallah and Cédric Parizot* (eds.), *À l'ombre du Mur. Israéliens et Palestiniens entre séparation et occupation*, Arles, Actes Sud.

“France: The Evolution of a Nuclear Exception”, *Corentin Brustlein*, in *Harsh Pant* (ed.), *Handbook of Nuclear Proliferation*, Abingdon, Routledge, “Routledge International Handbooks” series.

“The Unquiet Allies. French-American Intelligence Relations during the First Indochina War”, *Élie Tenenbaum*, *Studies in Intelligence*, vol. 55, n° 3.

“L'Amérique en guerre : grandeurs et décadence de la contre-insurrection”, *Élie Tenenbaum*, *Politique étrangère*, 3-2011.

“Protection des expatriés : bonnes pratiques des entreprises et des ONG”, *Aline Leboeuf*, *Sécurité & Stratégie*, n° 7.

“La « mère » de toutes nos batailles”, *Étienne de Durand*, in *Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains*, n° 244, Paris, Presses universitaires de France, December.

Brown Bag Seminars

13 January – Guinea-Bissau: The Complex Civil-Military Relations of a “Narco-State”

With *Vincent Foucher*, Research Fellow, CNRS.

10 February – The New “Strategic Defense and Security Review”

With *Alastair Cameron*, Chief of the European Security Programme, Royal United Services Institute for Defense and Security Studies (RUSI), and *Christophe Goussot*, Project Manager, Strategic Affairs Delegation, Ministry of Defense.

17 March – European Jihadists in Afghanistan and Pakistan: The Case of the Germans in Waziristan

With *Yassin Musharbash*, Analyst, *Der Spiegel*.

28 April – Reform of the Bundeswehr in Midstream: The Final Incarnation of a Long Adjustment?

With *Louis-Marie Clouet*, Research Fellow, Cerfa, Ifri.

19 May – Reforming the French Armies

With *Bastien Irondelle*, Researcher, CERI, Sciences Po.

16 June – Endgame in Afghanistan?

With *Gilles Dorronsoro*, Guest Researcher, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP), Washington.

22 September – Lessons from a Decade of Operations

With *Camille Grand*, Director, Foundation for Strategic Research (FRS); *Philippe Gros*, Researcher, FRS, and *Jean-Dominique Merchet*, Journalist, *Marianne*.

27 October – Assessment of 10 Years of War on Terrorism

With *Alain Chouet*, former Intelligence Chief (2000-2002), DGSE (French Directorate-General for External Security); *Camille Grand*, Director, FRS; *Philippe Gros*, Researcher, FRS, and *Jean-Dominique Merchet*, Journalist, *Marianne*.



Alain Chouet



Marc Hecker, Camille Grand, Étienne de Durand

17 November – Defence White Paper: Assessment and Perspectives

With *François Heisbourg*, President, International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS); *Camille Grand*, Director, FRS; *Philippe Gros*, Researcher, FRS, and *Jean-Dominique Merchet*, Journalist, *Marianne*.

8 December – NATO, Is It Still Reliable?

With *Benoît d'Abouville*, former Permanent Representative of France to NATO (2001-2005); *Camille Grand*, Director, FRS; *Philippe Gros*, Researcher, FRS; *Jean-Dominique Merchet*, Journalist, *Marianne*, and *Diego Ruiz Palmer*, Section Head for Operations Planning Division, International Secretariat, NATO.

Seminars within the framework of the Proliferation Program

(in collaboration with the Atomic Energy Commission)

21 March – Escalation in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

With *Forrest E. Morgan*, Defense Policy Expert, Rand Corporation.

6 May – Who Controls the Bomb? Iran and China

With *Sharham Chubin*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP), and *Bates Gill*, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI).

8 July – Detering the Weak: Principles, Lessons Learned and Options

With *James Wirtz*, Naval Postgraduate School (NPS), Monterey; *Bruno Tertrais*, Senior Researcher, FRS; *Victor Utgoff*, Institute for Defense Analyses (IDA), Alexandria; *Malcolm Chalmers*, RUSI; *William Burr*, George Washington University; *George Perkovich*, CEIP; *Kongdan Oh*, IDA, and *Michael Eisenstadt*, Washington Institute for Near-East Policy.

## 10 October – Cruise Missiles and NATO Missile Defense: Under the Radar?

With *Dennis Gormley*, University of Pittsburgh.

## 25 November – Turkey and Nuclear Weapons: Between NATO and the Middle-East

With *Mustafa Kibaroglu*, Director, Center for Eurasian Studies, Okan University, Turkey.

## LRD Conferences and Seminars

### 24 March – French-UK Defense Cooperation

In collaboration with the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI).

With *Ben Jones*, Interel Consulting UK; *Ben Fender*, Advisor on Strategic Affairs, Embassy of the United Kingdom; *Muriel Domenach*, Directorate of Strategic Affairs and Disarmament, French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs; Air Vice-Marshal *Paul Colley*, Assistant Chief of Defence Staff (Development, Concepts & Doctrine), Ministry of Defence, London, and Division General *Philippe Got*, Head of Employment Division, French Joint Staff.

### 5 April – Mentoring for Civil Cooperation in Afghanistan: Policy Assessment and Strategic Perspectives

With Colonel *Bruno Frémin du Sartel*, former Head of Détachement d'instruction opérationnelle (DIO), Opération Épидote in Afghanistan; Lieutenant-Colonel *Philippe Savary de Beauregard*, former OMLT Officer; *Vianney Basse*, former POLAD Afghanistan and Deputy Diplomatic Counselor to the Defense Minister; Colonel *Stéphane Bras*, Commanding Officer of POMLT for the La Fayette 2 Task Force, and *Olivier Neola*, former POLAD NATO/EU in Afghanistan.

### 2 May – Rethinking Urban Combat. The Case of the Battle of Sadr City in 2008

With *David Johnson*, Analyst, RAND Corporation.

### 14 December – France Facing the Challenge of Drones

With Commander *Benoît Michel*, LRD; Colonel *Ayméric Bonnemaison*, Bureau Coordinator of CMI (Planning Office); Lieutenant-Colonel *Jean-Patrice Le Saint*, French Air Force Staff; Commander *Vincent Chevalier*, French Navy Staff; *Patrick Fabiani*, Director, Department of Systems Control and Flight Dynamics, National Office for Aerospace Studies and Research (ONERA), and *Elisabeth Quintana*, Research Fellow, RUSI.

## Other Conference

### 9 June – After Bin Laden: A “New Wave” of Terrorism? Potential Implications for the Armed Forces

In collaboration with the Association of the United States Army and the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI).

With *John L. Clarke*, Georges C. Marshall Center; *Michael Clarke*, Director, RUSI; *Roland Gilles*, former Commander of the Gendarmerie nationale; *Mathieu Guidère*, University of Toulouse; *Peter Lavoy*, Office of the Director of National Intelligence (ODNI), and *Kevin J. Mullaly*, US European Command, Joint Interagency Counter Trafficking Center.

# Space Program

Beyond considerations of science and technology, space has become a tool for implementing “terrestrial” policies in fields as varied as the environment, development, transportation, agriculture and defense. With this in mind, Ifri’s Space Program seeks to establish the importance of space as a political subject among policy-makers and the general public, to highlight the central role it plays in our societies and economies. It also aims to situate national, regional and international space policies in the broader context of the dynamics currently affecting international relations. Finally, the project seeks to define and illustrate the strategic opportunities of space, to establish and understand its importance in international politics. The Space Program focuses its analyses on Europe, since its ability to cope with the challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century will depend in part on the development of a coherent and ambitious space strategy.

## Team



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

Associate Researcher



**Christophe Venet**  
Areas of expertise: changes in European space governance

## Research Areas

### Space and Security

In 2011, the Space Program continued with its work on space security. *Laurence Nardon* participated in the annual conference held by the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) on this theme, and *Christophe Venet* presented on the role of Europe in space security during one of the experts’ meetings. In the domain of space and security, the Space Program enlarged the debate by addressing the role of space in maritime and civilian security by way of its collection of online articles, the “Europe and Space Series”.

### European Space Policy

In 2011, the Space Program focused on Europe. Europe’s ability to address major international challenges in the 21<sup>st</sup> century will depend in part on the development of a coherent and ambitious European space strategy. The “Europe and Space Series” articles have addressed various aspects of European space policy, and the program’s annual conference explored the challenges of European space governance.

### Monitoring Major Space Applications

The applications of space (navigation, telecommunications and satellite observation) play an increasingly important role in providing solutions to many “terrestrial” problems. The Space Program seeks to highlight these strategic possibilities of space, especially in Europe.

## Articles and Contributions

“Guerre des étoiles”, *Laurence Nardon*, in *Dominique Pestre* and *Gérard Azoulay* (eds.), *C’est l’espace*, Paris, Gallimard.

“The Impact of the European Space Policy on Space Commerce”, *Christophe Venet* and *Kai-Uwe Schrogl*, in *Lesley Jane Smith* and *Ingo Baumann* (eds.), *Contracting for Space: Contract Practice in the European Space Sector*, Farnham, Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

“Economic Dimension of Space”, *Christophe Venet*, in *Christian Brünner* and *Alexander Soucek* (eds.), *Outer Space – An Ever Growing Issue in Society and Politics*, Vienna and New York, Springer.

“Political Dimension of Space”, *Christophe Venet*, in *Christian Brünner* and *Alexander Soucek* (eds.), *Outer Space – An Ever Growing Issue in Society and Politics*, Vienna and New York, Springer.

“Space in the Financial and Economic Crisis”, *Christophe Venet*, in *Kai-Uwe Schrogl*, *Blandina Baranes* and *Spyros Pagkratis* (eds.), *Yearbook on Space Policy 2009/2010*, Vienna and New York, Springer.



## International Seminar

12 September – European Space Governance: The Outlook, Brussels Annual conference.

With *Agnieszka Lukaszczyk*, Secure World Foundation; *Gaëlle Michélier*, Program Head, Space Policy and Coordination Unit, DG Enterprise and Industry, European Commission; *Tanja Masson-Zwaan*, Deputy Director, International Institute of Air & Space Law, Leiden University; *Maria Buzdugan*, Legal Counselor, European Satellite Navigation Programs, European Commission; *Rik Hansen*, Research Fellow, Leuven Centre for Global Governance Studies, Catholic University of Leuven; *Pierre-Henri Pisani*, Representative to the European institutions, National Center for Space Studies (CNES); *Gérard Brachet*, Vice-President, International Astronautical Federation; *Josef Aschbacher*, Head of GMES (Global Monitoring for Environment and Security) Space Office, European Space Agency; *Olivier Jehin*, Europe Diplomacy and Defence; *Pierre-Louis Lempereur*, President, CODUN Space Chair, Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Directorate, European External Action Service; *Jan Kolar*, Director, Czech Space Office; *Denis Trioulaire*, Capability Manager Knowledge, European Defence Agency; *Patrick Chatard-Moulin*, Space Policy and Coordination Unit, DG Enterprise and Industry, European Commission; *Michael Simpson*, Senior Research Director, Secure World Foundation; *Laurence Nardon* and *Christophe Venet*, Ifri.

# Center for Energy

The Center for Energy 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. Identifying common energy strategies while respecting EU member states' energy choices is one of the challenges of implementing energy policy at a EU level. At the same time, new environmental constraints are weighing on the public policy goals. To better address these issues and their impacts in particular on competitiveness, energy security and energy costs, the center is structured around five research areas:

- The new stakes surrounding hydrocarbon resources, particularly concerning the growing demand from emerging economies and the development of unconventional fossil fuels;
  - The struggle against climate change with respect to the impact of environmental constraints on public policy, the creation of new instruments (EU ETS), and international climate negotiations;
  - Global energy governance: how new players alter modes of operation;
  - The integration of European energy, gas, and electricity markets;
  - The geopolitical implications of changing energy markets and the relationship between producers and consumers.
- Most of the Energy Center's events take place in Brussels.

## Team



**Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin**, Research Fellow, Director (since October 2011)  
Areas of expertise: Kyoto Protocol, carbon governance, renewable energy, European energy policy

**William C. Ramsay**, Director (until October 2011); Advisor since November 2011



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



**Maïté de Boncourt**, Research Fellow  
Areas of expertise: transportation, Middle East



**Laura Parmigiani**, Research Fellow (Ifri Brussels)  
Areas of expertise: gas markets

**Martine Breux**, Assistant

## Research Areas

### The New Stakes in the Game 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, particularly with respect to the growing demands of emerging economies and the development of non-conventional fossil fuels.

### 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.

### The Integration of European Gas and Electricity Markets

The program looks at the obstacles to integrated gas and electricity markets, both at European and member state levels. Diversification of routes and better use of gas pipelines are essential when the external dimensions of the use of gas are taken into account, given that it is mainly produced outside the EU. While it is necessary to develop new electrical capacities and to facilitate energy circulation, there is a lack of cooperation between member states, and environmental policy objectives blur the long-term visibility that is essential for investors.

### Geopolitical Implications of Global Developments in Energy Markets

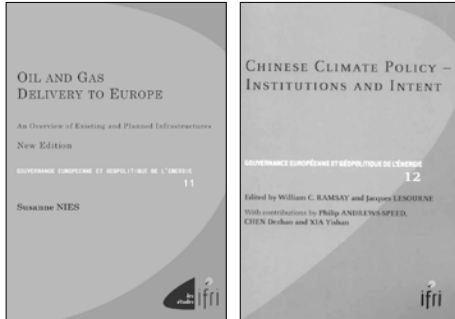
The emergence of China and India has added a new dimension to the geopolitics of gas and oil. The program examines the evolution of the relationships between producers and consumers, and studies the impact on the geopolitics of energy as well as developments such as the growing LNG (liquefied natural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

## Major Publications

### • “Les Études de l’Ifri”

Oil and Gas Delivery to Europe – An Overview of Existing and Planned Infrastructures, *Susanne Nies*, January.

Chinese Climate Policy – Institutions and Intent, *William C. Ramsay* and *Jacques Lesourne* (eds.), with contributions from *Philip Andrews-Speed*, *Chen Dezhaoh*, *Xia Yishan*, July.



## Electronic Publications

### • “Notes de l’Ifri”

The Electric Vehicle in the Climate Change Race. Tortoise, Hare or Both?, *Maité de Boncourt*, January.

Arctic Solutions: The Frozen (Thawing) Relations of the High North, *Christopher Summers*, February.

Decoupling the Oil and Gas Prices – Natural Gas Pricing in the Post-financial Crisis Market, *Miharu Kanai*, May.

Unconventional Gas: A Game Changer for Transport Too?, *Maité de Boncourt*, July.

Gas Exports in Turkmenistan, *Luca Vasanczki*, November.

Évolution des prix de l’électricité aux clients domestiques en Europe occidentale, *Michel Cruciani*, November.



### • “Éditos Énergie”

Energy Efficiency: Smart but not Sexy, *Yamina Saheb*, January.

German Energy Policy, *Jacques Lesourne*, January.

EU Council Feb. 4: Strength in Unity, *William C. Ramsay*, February.

Will There Ever Be a European Gas and Electricity Market?, *Jacques Lesourne*, February.

Renewable in Transport: Directive 2009/28/EC - Devils in its Details, *Sam Wilkin*, February.

The Effects of Baghdad Politics on Kurdistan Gas Prospects, *Sam Wilkin*, March.

Energy Efficiency: The Commission’s Complicated Calculations, *Jacques Lesourne*, March.

Japan’s Nuclear Crisis – A Time for Support, *William C. Ramsay*, March.

The Water in a Cup of Tea – A Water and Energy Primer, *William C. Ramsay*, March.

Rising (Oil-linked) Gas Price – A Message from Shale Gas, *William C. Ramsay*, March.

European Energy Policy: Energy Savings Glass 2/3 Empty, *Yamina Saheb*, March.

Obama Remarks on Energy: Ball in Congressional Court, *William C. Ramsay*, April.

Gas Pains – What to Do about France’s Shales, *William C. Ramsay*, April.

Political Oil Prices – A Measured Response If Any, *William C. Ramsay*, May.

Fukushima et la démocratie, *Jacques Lesourne*, May.

German Nuclear: Green Is Good, *William C. Ramsay*, May.

Protecting Nuclear Installations: The Difference Between Industrial Safety and National Security, *William C. Ramsay*, May.

Europe, Energy and Chaos, *Jacques Lesourne*, June.

Transportation: Will Unconventional Gas Put the Brakes on Electric?, *Maité de Boncourt*, June.

OPEC: It Is About More Oil – Not Quotas, *William C. Ramsay*, June.

The EU Internal Market – A Stake or a Tool in European-Russian Gas Relations. The Case of New Member States Gas Policy, *Agata Loskot-Strachota*, June.

A Tragic Tale of Corn and Congress, *William C. Ramsay*, July.

Management – Evolving with the Risks, *William C. Ramsay*, July.

Energy Efficiency versus the EU ETS: Counterproductive Tribalism in the Commission, *Maité Jauréguy-Naudin*, July.

Kanal Istanbul: Pipedream or Politics?, *Christian Keller*, July.

A Look at the IEA 2011 Release of Strategic Oil Reserves, *Devin Glick*, July.

IEA Crisis Management – Evolving with the Risks, *William C. Ramsay*, July.

Changes in the Geopolitical Landscape of Energy, *Jacques Lesourne*, August.

Trans-Caspian Gas – A Worthy Teething Ring for Europe’s Energy Diplomats, *William C. Ramsay*, September.

Communication of the EU Energy External Policy: Was There an Alternative?, *Laura Parmigiani*, September.

Gazprom and the EU: Raiding the Gas Companies, *William C. Ramsay*, September.

France Facing Germany’s Pull Away from Nuclear, *Jacques Lesourne*, November.

L’Europe de l’énergie : des politiques à contre-courant, *Jacques Lesourne*, November.

En matière d’énergie, l’idéologie est mauvaise conseillère, *Maité Jauréguy-Naudin*, November (text published on *Le Monde.fr* on 21/11/2011).

## Seminars, Roundtables

26 January – Rare Earths and Other Critical Raw Materials: Towards a Security of Supply?, Brussels

With *Roderick Eggert*, Professor and Director, Economics and Business Division, Colorado School of Mines; *Paul Anciaux*, Project Manager, DG Enterprise and Industry, European Commission; *René Van Slooten*, President, BusinessEurope Market Access Working Group, and *Alan Price*, Partner and Co-President of the International Trade Group, Wiley Rein, LLP, Washington DC.

23 February – US Energy & Climate Policy: What to Expect under the New Congress?, Brussels  
Huis-Clos Seminar.

With *John W. Jimison*, Director-General, The Energy Future Coalition.

### • The Ifri Energy Breakfast Roundtable

5 April – Carbon Markets: Down But Not Out, Brussels

With *Sarah Ladislav*, Senior Fellow, Energy and National Security Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS); *Oliver Sartor*, Research Fellow, European climate policy, CDC Climate, Paris, and *Isabelle Curien*, Carbon Analyst, Deutsche Bank France.

27 April – Low-hanging Efficiency Fruit: Still Hanging, Brussels

With *Claude Breining*, Director of European Affairs and Strategic Influence, Schneider Electric, and *Yamina Saheb*, Building Expert, Energy Efficiency Unit, International Energy Agency.

7 June – Rare Metals: Markets, Policies and Challenges, Brussels

With *Christian Hocquard*, Economist, Mineral Raw Materials, BRGM; *François Bersani*, Secretary-General of the Comité pour les métaux stratégiques (COMES), and *Gwenole Cozigou*, Director, Raw Materials, DG Enterprise, European Commission.

15 June – Gas Prices: Divorcing Oil?, Brussels

With *Miharu Kanai*, Senior Associate, Menecon Far Eastern Markets, and *Jean-Arnold Vinois*, Head of Unit, Security of Supply and Energy Markets, DG Energy, European Commission.

7 July – Nein to Nuclear – Now What?, Brussels

With *Matthias Dürr*, Senior Manager, European Affairs, RWE AG; *Susanne Nies*, Head of Energy Policy and Generation Unit, Eurelectric, and *Fabien Roques*, Director, European Power, IHS Cambridge Energy Research Associates (CERA).

22 September – Power Storage: Smoothing Intermittence to Maximize Renewables, Brussels

With *Stéphane Biscaglia*, Department of Renewable Energy, Smart Grids and Storage Engineer, ADEME, and *Louis-Marie Jacquelin*, ENEA Consulting.

18 October – Energy Efficiency: Now More Than Ever, Brussels

With *Markus Becker*, European Energy Executive, General Electric; *Adrian Joyce*, Secretary-General, EuroAce, and *Claudes Thurmes*, Member of the European Parliament.

**21 November – European Electricity Pricing: Lost in Translation, Brussels**

With *Michel Cruciani*, Project Manager, Centre of Geopolitics of Energy and Raw Materials (CGEMP), Paris-Dauphine University; *Matti Supponen*, Project Manager, Electricity and Gas Unit, DG Energy, European Commission, and *Nicolas Pierreux*, Market Development Manager, Belpex.

**14 December – Nord Stream: A Tale of Mutual Dependence, Brussels**

With *Anthony Livanios*, PDG, Energy Stream CMG; *Christof Van Agt*, Senior Fellow, Clingendael International Energy Program, and *Maciej Wozniak*, Independent Expert, Poland.

## International Conferences

**9 February – Speed Bumps on the Road to Sustainability, Brussels**  
Annual conference.

Introduction by *Thierry de Montbrial*, President, Ifri, and *Herman Van Rompuy*, President of the European Council; closing speech by *Günther Oettinger*, Energy Commissioner, European Commission.

With the participation of *Claude Mandil*, former Executive Director of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA); *Peter Taylor*, Chief, Technology of Energy Division, IAEA; *Coby Van Der Linde*, Director, Clingendael International Energy Program; *Barbara Buchner*, Director, CPI (Climate Policy Initiative), Venice Office; *Juho Lipponen*, Chief, Carbon Capture and Storage Unit, IAEA; *Alan Meier*, Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory; *Jean-Luc di Paola-Galloni*, Vice-President for Foreign Affairs and Sustainable Development, Valeo; *Jean-Michel Charpin*, Inspector General of Finance; *Chris Segar*, Analyst, Middle East and North Africa, IAEA; *Pierre Zaleski*, Executive Director, Center for Geopolitics of Energy and Raw Materials, Paris-Dauphine University; *Antonio Pires Santos*, Director, Europe Energy & Utilities Team, IBM; *Dominique Ménard*, Associate, Hogan Lovells (Paris) LLP, and *Karsten Neuhoff*, Director, CPI (Climate Policy Initiative), Berlin Office, Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung, Berlin.



*William Ramsay, Herman Van Rompuy, Thierry de Montbrial*



*William Ramsay, Juho Lipponen, Alan Meier, Jean-Luc di Paola-Galloni, Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin*



*Günther Oettinger*

**14 March – European Unconventional Gas Developments: Environmental Issues and Regulatory Challenges in the EU and the US, Brussels**  
In collaboration with the Atlantic Council.

With the participation of General *Richard Lawson*, Vice-President, Atlantic Council; *Michael Sullivan*, Senior Advisor, Bureau for International Energy Affairs, US Department of State; *Heinz Hilbrecht*, Director, Security of Supply and Energy Markets, DG Energy, European Commission; *Chris Hopkins*, Vice-President, Unconventional Gas, Schlumberger; *Brenda Pierce*, Energy Resources Program Coordinator, US Geological; *Michael Schaal*, Director, Office of Petroleum, Natural Gas and Biofuels Analysis, Energy Information Administration; *Brian Horsfield*, GFZ German Research Centre for Geosciences; *Sally Kornfeld*, International Oil and Gas Activities, US Department of Energy; *Scott Kell*, former President, Ground Water Protection Council (GWPC); *Mark Boling*, Executive Vice-President, Southwestern Energy; *John Lyman*, Director, Energy and Environment Program, Atlantic Council of the United States; *Amy Mall*, Natural Resources Defense Council; Dr. *Stephan Singer*, Director of Global Energy Policy, WWF International; *Michèle Rivasi*, Greens/European Free Alliance, European Parliament; *Lena Kolarska-Bobinska*, European People's Party, European Parliament; *Michael Schuetz*, Project Manager, DG Energy, European Commission; *Mihai Tomescu*, Project Manager, DG Environment, European Commission; *Marta Wagrodzka*, Ministry of the Environment, Poland; *Klaus Söntgerath*, Director of Facility Monitoring and Energy Conservation, State Authority for Mining, Energy and Geology, Lower Saxony; *Malcom Fergusson*, Chief of Climate Change, UK Environment Agency; *Carole Mercier*, Head of Department, Hydrocarbons Exploration and Production, Ministry of Ecology, Sustainable Development, Transportation and Housing, France, and *William C. Ramsay*, Ifri.

# 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+, G20, etc), 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). The various dimensions of the European crisis were particular objects of interest in 2011.

## Team



**Jacques Mistral**, Program Director

## Electronic Publications

### • “Notes de l’Ifri”

Peut-on gouverner la mondialisation ?, *Jacques Mistral*, February.

La réorientation de la croissance chinoise, *Jacques Mistral*, March.



## Conferences-Debates

25 January – After 2010, Annus Horribilis, What Is the Future of the Euro in 2011?

With *Christian de Boissieu*, Président délégué, Council of Economic Analysis; *Olivier Garnier*, Chief Economist, Société Générale group; *Pierre Jaillet*, Director-General, Economics and International Relations, Banque de France, and *Jean-Michel Six*, Chief Economist Europe, Standard & Poor's.

12 May – The Lessons to Learn from Russian Financial Crisis of the 1990s

With *Martin Gilman*, former IMF Representative in Moscow, Director, Higher School of Economics – National Research University, Moscow, and *Michel Camdessus*, former Director-General of the IMF.

# Center for Migrations and Citizenship

Ifri's Center for Migrations and Citizenship was created in 2011, as a continuation of the Migrations, Identities & Citizenship Program, which had existed since 2005. By observing migration as a structuring reality of contemporary international relations, and practices of citizenship in a world becoming increasingly interdependent, the center offers fresh thinking on migration and “diversity” in order to contribute to international research, and promote public debate on these complex issues. The center is a place for the development of innovative research through several international research networks in Europe (University of Amsterdam, University of Warwick, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung), the United States (City University of New York/CUNY, Washington University in Saint Louis, Council for European Studies, Social Science Research Council), and the Mediterranean region (American University of Beirut, Mohammed V University in Rabat).

## Team



**Christophe Bertossi**,  
Research Fellow, Program  
Director

Areas of expertise: citizenship,  
ethnicity, institutions, migratory  
policies



**Dorothee Prud'homme**, Junior  
Research Fellow

Areas of expertise:  
discrimination, institutions  
(health), ethnicity, migratory  
policy

**Emma Broughton**, Junior Research Fellow  
Areas of expertise: migratory policies,  
discrimination

### Associate Researchers

**Marie Bassi**  
Areas of expertise: migratory policy, immigration  
in Southern Europe

**Imad Bou Akl**  
Areas of expertise: religious and cultural diversity,  
institutions (health), Lebanon

**Jan Willem Duyvendak**  
Areas of expertise: multiculturalism, social  
cohesion, urban renovation and affiliation

**Danièle Joly**  
Areas of expertise: migratory policy, asylum,  
discrimination, minorities

## Research Areas

### Employers and Migration

Since September 2011, the program has sought to identify French employers' perceptions of national and European migration policies, and to study the relationship between these policies and organizations in the economic market. To what extent are employers willing to participate in the determination of migration policies, and what would these policies look like if they met the employers' expectations?

### Ethnicity and Islam in Institutions, International Comparisons

This program focuses on institutions in Western countries, based on comparative study. After a focus on the French army and gendarmerie, the program turned to public and private hospitals in France, with a study entitled “*Diversity at the Hospital: Social Identities and Discrimination in a French Institution*”.

### Rethinking European Citizenship

Citizenship is now faced with the challenge of a populist discourse that stigmatizes particular immigrant populations, along with questioning of multiculturalism and traditional forms of integration such as the French “republican model”. The program puts these discourses into perspective, using comparative social sciences and an active research tool that involves “ordinary citizens” in several EU cities. To this end, a new project, “SUCCESS”, was launched by the European Commission in partnership with the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.

### Migration Policies and International Relations

Over the past two decades, the impact of migration on inter-state relations has been the subject of much scientific literature. However, less studied is the impact of states' responses to these international relations questions. This research area has produced a series of publications, of which the first is entitled, *Migrations and Revolutions: Reflections on the Recent Events in North Africa in an International Relations Perspective*.

## Electronic Publications

### • “Notes de l’Ifri”

Un schéma migratoire reconfiguré, dans les faits et dans l'approche politique, *Mehdi Lalou*, February.

Migration et développement : l'enjeu environnemental et l'avenir des politiques migratoires, *François Gemmene*, March.

European Task Force on Irregular Migrations (ETFIM), Five Country Reports, September: Germany, *Barbara Laubenthal, Patricia Pielage* ; Italy, *Arianna Cascelli* ; United Kingdom, *Danièle Joly, Khursheed Wadia* ; Spain, *Gemma Pinyol, Hector Cebolla Boado* ; France, *Emma Broughton*.

Migrations and Revolutions: Reflections on the Recent Events in North Africa in an International Relations Perspective, *Emanuela Paoletti*, October.



## Articles and Contributions

“The Influence of Identification with Terrorism on the Integration Process: The Case of French Gendarmes with a Migrant Origin”, *Dorothee Prud’homme*, in *G. M. Ruggiero et al. (eds.), Perspectives on Immigration and Terrorism*, NATO Science for Peace and Security Series, Human and Societal Dynamics, vol. 78.

“Immigration, Incorporation, and Diversity in Western Europe and the United States: Comparative Perspectives”, special issue led by *Christophe Bertossi* and *Nancy Foner*, *American Behavioral Scientist*, vol. 55, n° 12.

“National Models of Integration in Europe: A Comparative and Critical Analysis”, *Christophe Bertossi*, *American Behavioral Scientist*, vol. 55, n° 12.

“Et si les modèles nationaux n’existaient pas ?”, *Christophe Bertossi*, in *E. Benbassa, J. C. Attias (eds.), Les Minorités visibles en politique*, Paris, CNRS Éditions.

## Seminars and Symposia

15 June – The Crisis of Undocumented Migrants in Europe

With the support of the Conseil régional d’Île-de-France and the Barrow Cadbury Trust.

With *Arianna Cascelli*, Sapienza-Università, Rome; *Hector Cebolla Boado*, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Madrid; *Danièle Joly*, University of Warwick; *Barbara Laubenthal*, Bochum Universität; *Patricia Pielage*, Bochum Universität; *Gemma Pinyol*, Secretary of State for Immigration and Emigration, Spain; *Sarah Toucas*, Sciences Po Paris; *Khurshheed Wadia*, University of Warwick; *Stefano Bertozzi*, Council of Europe, and *Christophe Bertossi*, Ifri.

29 June – Islam, Secularism and Discrimination in Hospitals

With *Jean Baubérot*, Director Emeritus of Research, École pratique des hautes études, and *John Bowen*, Dunbar-Van Cleve Professor, Washington University, Saint Louis.

7 September – Asylum and Immigration Policies in France

With *Étienne Pinte*, Deputy for Yvelines, and *Danièle Joly*, Director, Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations, University of Warwick.

22 September – Racism and Discrimination at the Hospital

With *Dorothee Prud’homme* 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 the possibilities for improvement. The program is supported by the Taipei Representative Office in France.

## Team

**Aline Leboeuf**, Research Fellow, Program Head

**Areas of expertise:** health sector, issues of stabilization and reconstruction in Sub-Saharan Africa



**Emma Broughton**, Junior Research Fellow

**Areas of expertise:** climate, biodiversity, international negotiations

## Research Areas

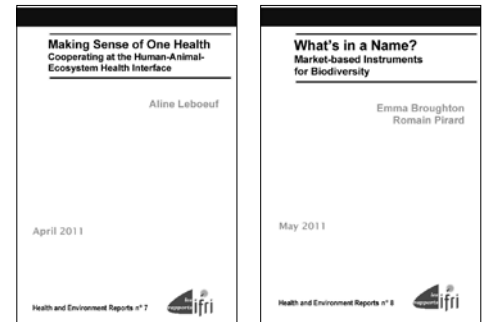
From 2008-2009, the program focused on the governance methods and tools deployed to manage various global health and environment problems, which resulted in three reports on industrial pollution, the avian flu crisis, and a study of the Global Environment Facility (GEF). From 2009-2010, research focused on the production, implementation and impact of international standards, with two reports on REACH (on chemicals) and the place of the environment in Japan’s foreign policy. In 2010-2011, the program focused on the study of emerging trends in global governance of health and the environment.

## Electronic Publications

### • “Notes de l’Ifri”

**Making Sense of One Health. Cooperating at the Human-Animal-Ecosystem Health Interface**, *Aline Leboeuf*, Health and Environment Reports, n° 7, April.

**What’s in a Name? Market-based Instruments for Biodiversity**, *Emma Broughton* and *Romain Pirard*, Health and Environment Reports, n° 8, May.



## International Conference

30 May – Practicing Green Growth. Challenges and Opportunities

With *Thierry de Montbrial*, President, Ifri; *Michèle Pappalardo*, Auditor of the Cour des comptes, former Commissioner General for Sustainable Development, Department of Ecology, Sustainable Development, Transportation and Housing; *Lu Ching-long Michel*, Ambassador, Taipei Representative Office in France; *Nathalie Girouard*, Green Growth Coordinator, OECD, France; *Robert Yang*, Advisor, Industrial Technology Research Institute (ITRI), Taiwan; *Paul Watkinson*, Chief of the Climate Negotiating Team, Department of Ecology, Sustainable Development, Transportation and Housing; *Gilles Vermot-Desroches*, Director of Sustainable Development, Schneider Electric, France; *Chun-fang Hsu*, Economic Advisor, Ministry of Economic Affairs, Taiwan; *Patricia Crifo*, Economist, University of Paris-Ouest-Nanterre-La-Défense and École polytechnique, France; *Guillaume Duval*, Editor-in-Chief, *Alternatives économiques*, France; *Yann Laurans*, Associate Researcher, Institut du développement durable et des relations internationales (IDDRI), France; *Suhyong Chung*, Associate Professor, Division of International Studies, Korea University; *Tsuyoshi Kawakami*, former Chief of the Strategic Research in Economics and Environment Bureau, Ministry of the Environment, Japan; *Stefan Ulrich Speck*, Project Head, Economics and Environmental Policy, European Environment Agency (EEA), Denmark; *Manuel Flam*, Project Manager “Green Economy”, Commissioner General for Sustainable Development, Department of Ecology, Sustainable Development, Transportation and Housing; *Maria Wetterstrand*, Spokesperson, Green Party, Sweden; *Corinne Lepage*, Vice-President of the Committee on Environment, Health and Food Protection, European Parliament; *Maité Jauregui-Naudin* and *John Seaman*, Ifri.



Emma Broughton, Corinne Lepage



Emma Broughton, Jean de Kervasdoué, Antoine Reverchon

# Publications

## Major Publications

### “Les Études de l’Ifri”

Oil and Gas Delivery to Europe – An Overview of Existing and Planned Infrastructures, *Susanne Nies*, January.

Sortie de crise à l’allemande – Dynamisme économique et fragilités structurelles d’un modèle, *René Lasserre, Hans Stark and Jörg Wolff* (eds.), April.

Chinese Climate Policy – Institutions and Intent, *William C. Ramsay, Jacques Lesourne* (eds.), with contributions from *Philip Andrews-Speed, Chen Dezha, Xia Yishan*, July.

Le Brésil, un partenaire de l’Afrique qui s’affirme. Les relations Brésil/Afrique sous les gouvernements Lula (2003-2010), *Thomas Cooper Patriota*, September.

Énergie, croissance et développement durable : une équation africaine, *Christine Heuraux, Alain Guinebault, Benjamin Augé, Lassane Ouédraogo, Seydou Keita, François Gemmene*, September.

La Chine en Afrique : intérêts et pratiques, *Valérie Niquet and Sylvain Touati*, December.

### Publications Outside Ifri

La Turquie au Moyen-Orient. Le retour d’une puissance régionale ?, *Dorothee Schmid* (ed.), Paris, Ifri/CNRS Éditions, December.

La politique internationale de l’Allemagne – Une puissance malgré elle, *Hans Stark*, Paris/Villeneuve d’Ascq, Ifri/Septentrion University Press, October.

L’Europe et le monde en 2020. Essai de prospective franco-allemande, *Louis-Marie Clouet and Andreas Marchetti* (eds.), Paris/Villeneuve d’Ascq, Ifri/Septentrion University Press.

Europa und die Welt 2020. Entwicklungen und Tendenzen, *Louis-Marie Clouet and Andreas Marchetti* (eds.), in collaboration with the Center for European Studies, Baden-Baden, Nomos.

Le Maghreb dans les relations internationales, *Khadija Mohsen-Finan* (ed.), Paris, Ifri/CNRS Éditions.

Russian Energy Security and Foreign Policy, *Adrian Dellecker and Thomas Gomart* (eds.), London, Routledge.

## Electronic Publications, Articles

### Europe

#### • Cerfa Publications

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La culture stratégique de la politique étrangère allemande, *Henning Riecke*, n° 90, November.

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Doing Business in Russia: Informal Practices and Anti-corruption Strategies, *Alena Ledeneva and Stanislav Shekshnia*, n° 58, March.

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Innovation Policy Challenges for Japan: An Open and Global Strategy, *Kazuyuki Motohashi*, n° 45, November.

From “Looking” to Engaging – India and East Asia, *G. V. C. Naidu*, n° 46, December.

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Restoring Health Care and Welfare Services after the Great East Japan Earthquake, *Yukihiro Matsuyama*, n° 2, July.

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## Middle East/North Africa/Mediterranean

### • Middle East/North Africa

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#### “Notes de l’Ifri”

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# Conferences and Debates

## January

### 25 January – The 2008 Georgia/Russia Conflict: Information and Perspectives

With *Heidi Tagliavini*, Head of Mission of the Independent International Inquiry into the Conflict in Georgia.

Chair: *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, Ifri.

## February

### 15 February – What Perspectives for the New Tunisia?

With *Majid Bouden*, President, Association des avocats en droit international; *Serge Degallaix*, former French Ambassador to Tunisia; *Jean-Pierre Tuquoi*, *Le Monde*, and *Marwane Ben Yahmed*, Editor-in-Chief of *Jeune Afrique*.

Chair: *Dominique David*, Ifri.

## March

### 3 March – South Africa and Africa in a Changing World

With *Jacob G. Zuma*, President of the Republic of South Africa.

Chair: *Thierry de Montbrial*, Ifri.

### 8 March – What Is the Status of Nagorno-Karabakh?

With *Bako Sahakian*, President of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Chair: *Dominique David*, Ifri.

### 9 March – Europe's Foreign Policy Gaps, Risks and Opportunities?

With *Nikolai Mladenov*, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Bulgaria.

Chair: *Dominique David* and *Hans Stark*, Ifri.

### 23 March – The Russian Financial System: Illusions and Reality

With *Jacques de Larosière*, Advisor to the Chairman of BNP Paribas, former Director-General of the IMF, former Governor of the Banque de France, former President of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), and *Gueorguy Matiukhine*, former Governor of the Central Bank of the Russian Federation.

Chair: *Thierry de Montbrial*, Ifri.

### 28 March – Morocco: A Dynamic State in a Shifting Regional Context

With *Taïb Fassi-Fihri*, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Morocco.

Chair: *Thierry de Montbrial*, Ifri.

## April

### 12 April – Moldova and the European Union

With *Vlad Filat*, Prime Minister of the Republic of Moldova.

Chair: *Thierry de Montbrial*, Ifri.

### 27 April – Bruno Kreisky, a Life for Europe and for Peace

With *Peter Jankowitsch*, Secretary-General, CFA; *Robert del Picchia*, Senator, Vice-President of the Foreign Affairs Committee; *Thomas Angerer*, Professor, Institute of History, University of Vienna; *Pierre Mauroy*, former Prime Minister, President of the Jean Jaurès Foundation.

Chair: *Hans Stark*, Ifri.

## May

### 2 May – The Major Upheavals of the Year 2011

With *Thierry de Montbrial*, President of Ifri.

Conference reserved exclusively for members of Ifri.

### 2 May – Bosnia and Herzegovina between Dayton and Europe

With *Valentin Inzko*, High Representative of the International Community and EU Special Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Chair: *Peter Jankowitsch*, Secretary-General, CFA.

### 5 May – India's Role in Global Affairs

With *Nirupama Rao*, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of India.

Chair: *Thierry de Montbrial*, Ifri.

### 9 May – What Solutions for the Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict? The Point of View of the Azerbaijani Community

With *Tabib Huseynov*, Representative of the Azerbaijani community of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Chair: *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, Ifri.

### 11 May – Russia-Europe: Threats to the Stalemate in Afghanistan

With *Victor Ivanov*, Director, Russian Federal Service for Drug Control.

Chair: *Thomas Gomart*, Ifri.

### 23 May – 20 Years after Independence: Experiences in Slovenia (and Why We Are Still Optimistic)

With *Danilo Türk*, President of the Republic of Slovenia.

Chair: *Thierry de Montbrial*, Ifri.

### 24 May – Second Meeting Parliament/Ifri: The Future of the Euro and International Financial Regulation

With *Jérôme Cahuzac*, President of the Finance Commission, Assemblée nationale; *Jacques Mistral*, Director of Economic Studies, Ifri; *Pierre Bernard-Reymond*, Vice-President of the Commission on European Affairs, member of the Finance Committee, Senate, and *Christian de Boissieu*, President Delegate of the Board of Economic Analysis, member of the Advisory Board, Ifri.

Chair: *Thierry de Montbrial*, Ifri.

### 31 May – State-Building Process in Kosovo

With *Enver Hoxhaj*, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kosovo.

Chair: *Dominique David* and *Hans Stark*, Ifri.

## June

### 15 June – The Crisis of Undocumented Migrants in Europe

With the support of the Conseil régional d'Île-de-France and the Barrow Cadbury Trust.

With *Arianna Cascelli*, Sapienza-Università, Rome; *Hector Cebolla Boado*, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Madrid; *Danièle Joly*, University of Warwick; *Barbara Laubenthal*, Bochum Universität; *Patricia Pielage*, Bochum Universität; *Gemma Pinyol*, Secretary of State for Immigration and Emigration, Spain; *Sarah Toucas*, Sciences Po Paris; *Khurshed Wadia*, University of Warwick; *Stefano Bertozzi*, Council of Europe, and *Christophe Bertossi*, Ifri.

### 28 June – The Libyan Crisis: Consequences and Repercussions in Neighboring Countries

With *André Bourgeot*, Research Director Emeritus, CNRS; *François Gouyette*, former Ambassador of France in Libya; *Mohammad Mahmoud Ould Mohamedou*, Guest Professor, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva, Associate Researcher, Center for Security Policy, Geneva, former Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Mauritania; *Saad Adoum*, Senior Analyst, International Crisis Group (ICG), and *Dominique David*, Ifri.

Chair: *Alain Antil*, *Mansouria Mokhefi*, Ifri.

## July

### 11 July – What the North Caucasus Means to Russia

With *Pavel Baev*, Professor and Research Fellow, Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), and *Alexei Malachenko*, Religion, Society and Security Program Director, Carnegie Moscow Center.

Chair: *Thomas Gomart*, Ifri.

## September

### 7 September – Asylum and Immigration Policies in France

With *Étienne Pinte*, Deputy for Yvelines, and *Danièle Joly*, Director, Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations, University of Warwick.

Chair: *Christophe Bertossi*, Ifri.

### 9 September – Going Beyond the Sovereign Debt Crisis: How Should the European Economy Be Managed? What Are Germany and France's Roles?

With *Sylvie Goulard*, Member of the European Parliament, Member of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs of the European Parliament, Rapporteur on Budgetary Surveillance in the Euro Zone.

Chair: *Hans Stark*, Ifri.

### 12 September – Africa's Role in a New Global Reality

With *Paul Kagame*, President of the Republic of Rwanda.

Chair: *Thierry de Montbrial*, Ifri.

### 14 September – Sogmerged States?

Presentation of *RAMSES 2012*.

With *Jean-Pierre Raffarin*, former Prime Minister; *Thierry de Montbrial*, President, Ifri; *Phillippe Moreau Defarges*, Co-Director, *RAMSES*; *Maité Jauréguy-Naudin*, Research Fellow, Coordinator of the Center for Energy, Ifri; *Jean-François Daguzan*, Senior Researcher, Foundation for Strategic Research (FRS), Editor of *Maghreb-Machrek*; *Hocine Malti*, Oil Consultant, former Vice-President of Sonatrach; *Denis Bauchard*, Middle East Advisor, Ifri; *Mansouria Mokhefi*, Head of the North Africa/Middle East Program, Ifri; *Jean de Kervasdoué*, Professor at CNAM; *Antoine Reverchon*, Journalist, *Le Monde*; *Olivier Tesquet*, Journalist, *Slate.fr*; *Emma Broughton*, Research Fellow, Health and Environment Program, Ifri.

### 20 September – The US and France Facing the North African Revolution

With *Charles Cogan*, Harvard University, and *Dominique Moisi*, Special Advisor, Ifri.

Chair: *Mansouria Mokhefi*, Ifri.

## October

### 6 October – 10 Years after September 11<sup>th</sup>: Al-Qaeda and the War on Terrorism

With *Marc Hecker* and *Élie Tenenbaum*, Research Fellows, Security Studies Program, Ifri.

Chair: *Dominique David*, Ifri.

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### 10 October – Issues and Outlooks in the Niger Delta

With *Kingsley Kuku*, Special Advisor on the Niger Delta to the President of Nigeria.

Chair: *Benjamin Augé*, Ifri.

### 12 October – The United States, France, and the New Security Challenges in the Maghreb

With *Yahia Zoubir*, Professor of International Relations and Management, Euromed Management, Marseille; *Alexis Arieff*, Research Fellow, Congressional Research Service, Washington.

Chair: *Marc Hecker*, Ifri.

## November

### 7 November – Germany and Europe Facing the Crisis

With *Isabelle Bourgeois*, Editor-in-Chief, *Regards sur l'économie allemande*, and *René Lasserre*, Director, Center for Information and Research on Contemporary Germany (Circ).

Chair: *Hans Stark*, Ifri.

### 21 November – The United States and France Facing Political Islam in the Maghreb

With *Mathieu Guidère*, Professor, University of Toulouse 2; *William Jordan*, former Senior Advisor, US Embassy in Algeria; *Daniel Brumberg*, Advisor, Center for Conflict Analysis and Prevention, United States Institute for Peace, and *Isabelle Mandraud*, Journalist, *Le Monde*.

Chair: *Dominique David*, Ifri.

### 28 November – Israeli/Palestinian Relations: Between the UN and the Arab Revolutions

With *Dominique Moisi*, Special Advisor, Ifri.

Chair: *Dominique David*, Ifri.

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### 29 November – Which Foreign Policy for Senegal?

With *Macky Sall*, President-Founder of the Alliance for the Republic (APR), former Prime Minister and former President of the National Assembly of the Republic of Senegal.

Chair: *Alain Antil*, Ifri.

## December

### 7 December – Women and Arab Revolutions: What Are the Hopes and Challenges?

With *Ouhmani Alaoui*, Research Director, OCP Foundation; *Sophie Bessis*, Historian, Deputy Secretary-General, International Federation of Human Rights, and *Margot Badran*, Professor, Georgetown University.

Chair: *Mansouria Mokhefi*, Ifri.

### 14 December – The New Situation in the Maghreb: Revolutions, Elections, Democratization?

With *Hala Kodmani*, Journalist; *Nicolas Beau*, Director, *La lettre du Sud.fr*, and *Lisa Bryant*, Journalist, Voice of America.

Chair: *Denis Bauchard*, Ifri.

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December 2011

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# Financial appendix

## Balance Sheet as of December 31, 2011

ASSETS	2011			2010
	Gross	Accumulated depreciation	Net	Net
<b>Fixed assets</b>				
Intangible assets				
Software	32 459	32 459	0	0
Tangible assets				
Land	3 886 345		3 886 345	3 886 345
Buildings	5 815 058	3 200 471	2 614 587	2 777 794
General facilities	566 708	434 425	132 283	129 633
Transportation equipment	31 240	28 784	2 455	8 703
Office equipment, furniture, computer hardware	572 517	442 608	129 909	121 537
Financial assets				
Deposits	17 109		17 109	17 109
Interest	11		11	11
Loans	2 800		2 800	2 800
Other investments	23		23	23
	<b>10 924 269</b>	<b>4 138 748</b>	<b>6 785 522</b>	<b>6 943 956</b>
<b>Current assets</b>				
Inventories	5 375		5 375	20 363
Other debtors/pre-payments	155 467		155 467	247 330
Receivables and related accounts	310 663		310 663	192 293
Investment securities	4 080 005		4 080 005	4 175 404
Bank balances	374 285		374 285	368 944
Accrued income	97 705		97 705	81 509
	<b>5 023 500</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>5 023 500</b>	<b>5 085 844</b>
Currency conversion adjustment	155		155	68
<b>TOTAL ASSETS</b>	<b>15 947 925</b>	<b>4 138 748</b>	<b>11 809 177</b>	<b>12 029 867</b>

LIABILITIES	2011	2010
<b>Funds</b>		
General funds	8 470 553	8 470 553
Restricted fund	47	47
Reserve	1 164 107	1 118 672
Reserve - association project	150 000	50 000
Net income for the year	-158 177	145 435
	<b>9 626 529</b>	<b>9 784 706</b>
<b>Provisions</b>		
General risks	155	68
Retirement expenditures	215 037	196 527
Other provisions	175 036	44 402
<b>Deferred grant revenue</b>		
Deferred grant revenue	66 865	51 280
<b>Creditors</b>		
Bank	0	0
<b>Accounts payable and other liabilities</b>		
Accounts payable and other liabilities	356 767	430 893
Accrued expenses	120 911	77 305
Advances and downpayments	600	1 820
<b>Taxes and social security</b>		
Staff and accounts payable	176 141	163 824
Social and tax administration/state	555 030	517 154
<b>Accruals and deferred income</b>	516 107	761 635
Currency conversion adjustment	0	254
<b>TOTAL LIABILITIES</b>	<b>11 809 177</b>	<b>12 029 868</b>

## Accounts 2011

<b>EXPENDITURES</b>	<b>Budget 2011</b>	<b>Net 2011</b>	<b>Net 2010</b>
Expenditures	78 010	70 078	69 612
Office supplies	35 500	27 874	40 783
EDF/GDF/Water	28 000	25 046	19 454
Books	14 510	17 158	9 374
<b>Other external expenditures</b>	<b>2 293 464</b>	<b>2 632 006</b>	<b>2 343 723</b>
Printing fees	158 280	115 929	179 011
Rental fees	50 500	48 586	48 685
Maintenance	143 450	143 421	205 049
Insurance	43 281	43 727	41 212
Research material	39 950	32 441	33 701
Honoraria and professional services	1 122 448	1 461 256	1 107 578
Donations, membership subscriptions	5 950	256 298	67 405
General travel and meetings	633 435	448 897	480 652
Postage and telephone	93 170	79 469	75 731
Other management fees	3 000	1 983	104 698
<b>Taxes</b>	<b>392 631</b>	<b>350 812</b>	<b>353 853</b>
Taxes on salaries	200 000	159 988	161 991
Other taxes	192 631	190 824	191 862
<b>Staff costs</b>	<b>3 071 997</b>	<b>3 233 233</b>	<b>3 405 689</b>
<b>Deferred grant revenue</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>53 085</b>	<b>37 500</b>
<b>Depreciation and provision</b>	<b>232 466</b>	<b>392 997</b>	<b>274 818</b>
<b>Management expenditures</b>			
<b>Operational expenditures</b>	<b>6 068 567</b>	<b>6 732 211</b>	<b>6 485 194</b>
Financial expenditures		159	799
Exceptional expenditures		423	35
Corporate taxes		22 403	48 413
Income after taxes		-158 177	145 435
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>6 068 567</b>	<b>6 597 018</b>	<b>6 679 876</b>

<b>INCOME</b>	<b>Budget 2011</b>	<b>Net 2011</b>	<b>Net 2010</b>
<b>Public grants</b>	<b>1 836 922</b>	<b>1 939 458</b>	<b>1 868 252</b>
<b>Private funding</b>	<b>4 167 500</b>	<b>4 575 354</b>	<b>4 611 279</b>
Donations and member subscriptions	869 000	1 327 783	1 064 205
Publications	83 400	73 705	99 104
Program and contract funding	3 169 300	3 125 923	3 419 122
Other income	45 800	47 942	28 849
<b>Deferred grant revenue reversal</b>	<b>40 000</b>	<b>37 500</b>	<b>26 000</b>
<b>Provision reversal</b>		<b>3 978</b>	<b>136 626</b>
<b>Other income</b>		<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Management income</b>		<b>1 218</b>	<b>11 224</b>
<b>Operational income</b>	<b>6 044 422</b>	<b>6 557 508</b>	<b>6 653 381</b>
Financial income	18 000	39 441	22 124
Financial provisions reversal	0	68	724
Exceptional income		1	3 647
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>6 062 422</b>	<b>6 597 018</b>	<b>6 679 876</b>



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