# Annual Report 2012





The French Institute of International Relations Knowledge for Action

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## Ifri, the Leading French Think Tank on International Questions

In 2012, IFRI was ranked 22<sup>nd</sup> among the 100 most influential think tanks in the world (and was the only French institute on the list including American think tanks), according to the 2012 Global Think Tank Report from the University of Pennsylvania. The report takes into account some 6,603 think tanks from 182 countries.



Founded in 1979 on the model of Anglo-Saxon think thanks, 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 decisionmakers as well as academics, opinion leaders, and civil society representatives.

### **Analysis, Foresight and Debate**

The research 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.

Ifri is composed of more than 30 permanent researchers (French and foreign) from a wide range of backgrounds and disciplines, who are part of 14 research units based on regional (Europe, Russia/NIS, Asia, United States, North Africa/Middle East, Turkey, and Sub-Saharan Africa) or cross-cutting subjects (security and strategic affairs, energy, space, migration and citizenship).

Ifri publishes its analyses in several languages: French, English, German and Russian. In 2012, Ifri's experts published **11 major reports** and more than **80 policy papers**.

### **Structuring the Debate**

Ifri's research is fuelled 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 2012 Ifri organized more than 125 conferences and debates in Paris and Brussels, 23 large international events in France and abroad, as well as numerous workshops and seminars. Ifri has hosted at its events more than 130 key high-level speakers, among them heads of state and government officials, and a total of approximately 9,000 event participants.

### 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 and bring Ifri's contributions to the attention of European bodies.

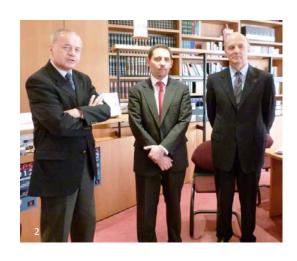
In 2012, Ifri Brussels organized more than 10 high-level events. Among the themes discussed were: Franco-German relations and Europe, the American elections, French and European presidential elections, agriculture and the middle class in Africa, European migratory policy, Turkey in the wake of the Arab spring.



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 annually brings together Brussels's 11 most prestigious think tanks. The third meeting, "Solidarity and Austerity: The 2012 State of the European Union", hosted Martin Schulz, President of the European Parliament, as well as many other notable international figures.

### In 2012, Ifri Notably Hosted ...







Josef Ackermann, President of Deutsche Bank, President of Zurich Insurance Group Robert Badinter, Former President of the Constitutional Council of France

**Stéphane Beemelmans**, Secretary of State, German Federal Ministry of Defense **Marek Belka**, Head of the National Bank of Poland, former Prime Minister of Poland

Thomas P Bostick, Chief of Engineers of the United States Army

Julian Braithwaite, British Ambassador to the EU Political and Security Committee

Bernard Cazeneuve, French Junior Minister for European Affairs

Jean Charest, Prime Minister of Québec (up to 12 Sept 2012)

**Bertrand Collomb,** Honorary Chairman of the Lafarge Group, member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques

**Lahcen Daoudi**, Moroccan Minister for Higher Education and Scientific Research **John Quentin Davies, Baron Davies of Stamford,** former Minister for Defence Equipment, Support and Technology

Ahmet Davutoglu, Foreign Minister of Turkey

Philippe Errera, Permanent Representative of France to NATO

Jesús "Chuy" García, Cook County Commissioner – 7th District, Chicago

**Jean-Louis Georgelin**, Army General, Great Chancellor of the French National Order of the Legion of Honor, former Chief of the Defence Staff

Sylvie Goulard, Member of the European Parliament

**Élisabeth Guigou**, President of the Foreign Affairs Commission, French National Assembly

**Jean-Dominique Giuliani**, President of the Robert Schuman Foundation **Érik Izraelewicz**, † Director and editorial executive of *Le Monde* 

Vaclav Klaus, President of the Czech Republic

**Bassma Kodmani,** Executive Director of the Arab Reform Initiative, Co-Founder of the Syrian National Council

Miroslav Lajcak, Vice-Prime Minister, Foreign Minister of Slovakia

Pascal Lamy, Director-General of the World Trade Organization (WTO)

**Eneko Landaburu**, Ambassador, Head of the Delegation of the European Commission in Morocco

**Joseph Maïla**, Director of Policy Planning Directorate, French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs

Pauline Marois, Prime Minister of Québec



1 / Thierry de Montbrial, Radoslaw Sikorski, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing

2 / Dominique David, Étienne de Durand, General Jean-Louis Georgelin

3/ Pauline Marois

4 / Érik Izraelewicz,† Elisabeth Guigou

Janos Martonyi, Foreign Minister of Hungary

**Francis Mer,** former French Finance Minister, Chairman of the board of Safran **Alexis Morel**, Special Advisor on strategic and defense issues, French Foreign Ministry

**Alexandre Orlov**, Ambassador of the Russian Federation to France **Didier Reynders**, Belgian Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Finance and Institutional Reforms

Sir Peter Ricketts, Ambassador of the United Kingdom to France

**Frank Rose**, United States Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Space and Defense Policy

**Simon Serfaty**, Professor, holder of the Zbigniew Brzezinski Chair in Global Security and Geostrategy at CSIS Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington **Andreas Schockenhoff**, Vice-President of the CDU/CSU Parliamentary Group in the German Bundestag, Chairman of the German-French Parliamentary Friendship Group

Radoslaw Sikorski, Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs
Michael Simpson, Secure World Foundation (SWF)

Maria Van Der Hoeven, Executive Director of the International Energy Agency (IEA)

**Herman Van Rompuy, President of the European Council** 

Hubert Védrine, former French Foreign Minister

Pierre Vimont, Secretary-General of the European External Action Service (EEAS)

Susanne Wasum-Rainer, Ambassador of Germany to France





- 5 / Pierre Vimont
- 6 / Ahmet Davutoglu, Thierry de Montbrial
- 7 / Francis Mer, Pascal Lamy, Bertrand Collomb

### Ifri's 2012 Publications

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

### "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.

Within this framework, Ifri publishes **thematic collections**: Asie.Visions, Notes du Cerfa, Visions franco-allemandes, Notes franco-turques, Potomac Papers, Russie.NEI.Visions, Focus stratégiques, Proliferation Papers, and the collections from the Sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa, Space, and Energy programmes as well as the Centre for Migrations and Citizenship.

In 2012, Ifri's experts published **11 major reports** and more than **85 policy papers**.

- E-notes policy-oriented texts that address issues from all Ifri's programs or centres; they are 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.

### **Two Flagship Publications**

### Politique étrangère

Editor-in-Chief: Dominique David / Deputy Editor-in-Chief: Marc Hecker

A space for background analysis and debate, Ifri's quarterly journal *Politique étrangère* strives to make sense of international events. Articles, current event-related debates, and documents studying the history of relevant issues can be found on the *Politique étrangère* blog: <a href="http://politique-etrangere.com/">http://politique-etrangere.com/</a>

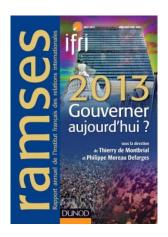
In 2012, the four issues of the journal included reports and articles focusing on current international events, including: *Understanding the debt crisis* (n° 1/2012); *Internet, a tool for power in Asia: the clashing of strategies* (n° 2/2012); *Where is Iran headed?; Central Europe: too far out?* (n° 3/2012); *France and Germany, 50 years after the Élysée Treaty,* and *International Commerce in the 21*<sup>st</sup> *century* (n° 4/2012).

**RAMSES 2013**, 31<sup>st</sup> edition **–2013: Gouverner aujourd-hui?** (Governing today) Co-Directors: Thierry de Montbrial and Philippe Moreau Defarges

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.

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 with particular emphasis on the emergence of a global civil society; this is followed by **7 thematic sections**: Governing today; Global Economy; Europe; the Arab World and its surroundings; Africa; Asia, and the Americas; and finally, the "Compass" offers a huge documentary resource: chronology, statistics, original maps created for RAMSES, and a detailed index.





### Ifri's Business Partners

Ifri offers a unique platform for businesses, many of which are leading players in international relations. Combining research and debate, Ifri offers its partners access to its renowned policy-oriented expertise.

The strategic development team at Ifri works to diversify Ifri's resources and establish firm, long-lasting relationships with its business partners. In 2012, aside from maintaining almost all prior members, the strategic development team welcomed a new member to the program, allowing Ifri to continue to support its research in today's difficult economic context.

Support for Ifri can come in different forms:

- Membership: general membership of Ifri
- Programme support: support for a team of researchers
- Major partner: membership of Ifri and support of multiple research programs

All these forms of support offer tax advantages to donors.



Thomas Gomart, Dominique Venet, individual benefactor member

Ifri partners' motivations for getting and staying involved include: benefiting from illuminating research; participating in discussions with the experts, policymakers, and international personalities that make up Ifri's network; supporting research in international relations, and allowing a French think tank to increase its weight

in international debate.



Jean-Yves Moreau, Sanofi ; Emmanuelle Farrugia

Ifri extends warm thanks to its loyal supporters, including Groupe Chèque Déjeuner, which joined in 2012.

Ifri also would like to recognize *Mazars*, *PricewaterhouseCoopers*, *Eutelsat* and *Caisse des dépôts et consignations*, which generously contributed funds for research.

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

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

Chair: Thierry de Montbrial

**16 February – Pascal LAMY**, Director-General of the World Trade Organization (WTO)

**7 March – Jean PISANI-FERRY**, Director of the European think tank, Bruegel

**21 March – Radoslaw SIKORSKI**, Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs

**2 April – Vaclav KLAUS**, President of the Czech Republic

**24 May – Josef ACKERMANN**, President of *Deutsche Bank* 

**5 July – Pierre VIMONT**, Secretary-General of EEAS

16 October – General Jean-Louis GEORGELIN, Army General, Great Chancellor of the French National Order of the Legion of Honor, former Chief of the Defence Staff

**29 October – Janos MARTONYI**, Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs

**20 December – Bassma KODMANI**, Executive Director of the Arab Reform Initiative, Co-Founder of the Syrian National Council



### Les Mensuelles Ifri/Entreprises

Lunch Debates with Ifri's Researchers Chair: **Dominique David** 

With the support of the Fondation du Crédit Mutuel



11 January - Germany and Europe in Times of Crisis: How will they come together? Hans Stark, Research Fellow, Secretary-General, Study Committee for Franco-German Relations (Cerfa)

### 17 February – Economic Integration in Asia: the New Deal

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

**22 March – Putin III: still in His Prime?**Thomas Gomart, Director of the Russia/NIS Centre

### 18 April – What is the Future for Energy Transitions?

Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin, Director of the Center for Energy

### 31 May – Iran under Sanctions: Is a Military Option Relevant?

Denis Bauchard, adviser on the Middle East

### 3 July – What are the Upcoming Deadlines for the EU?

Vivien Pertusot, Head of Ifri Brussels

### 19 September – Northern Mali, a Hotbed of Lasting Tension?

Alain Antil, Head of the Sub-Saharan Africa program

### 18 October – Armies Facing the Web Michel Baud, Army officer, Defense Research Unit, Security Studies Center, and Marc Hecker, Research Fellow, Security Studies Center

### 22 November – Middle East: Giving Hierarchy to Crisis

Dorothée Schmid, Head of the Contemporary Turkey Program

### 18 December – France-Germany: Fifty Years after the Elysée Treaty

Yann-Sven Rittelmeyer, research fellow, Study Committee for Franco-German Relations (Cerfa)



### **Ambassadors' Table**

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

Chair: Thierry de Montbrial

**29 February – Alexandre ORLOV**,
Ambassador of the Russian Federation

### Conferences Reserved for Members of Ifri

**15 March – Philippe Moreau Defarges,** Researcher and Co-Director of *RAMSES Europe, a Shipwreck of Globalization?* 

### **12** April – Thierry de Montbrial, President of Ifri 2012: Between Globalization and Domestic Policies

**22 November – Alain Antil,** Head of the Sub-Saharan Africa program, Ifri *Intervening in Mali: What are the Goals and Risks?* 

### **Ifri's Partners**

ACCOR HOSPITALITY AIR FRANCE AIR LIQUIDE AREVA

ARIANESPACE AXA

BANQUE DE FRANCE

BOSTON CONSULTING GROUP (THE)

BEARINGPOINT FRANCE

BNP PARIBAS BOUYGUES BURELLE SA CAISSE DES DÉPÔTS

CAISSE DES DEPOTS ET CONSIGNATIONS

**CASSIDIAN** 

CHENIÈRE LNG INTERNATIONAL

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COGES COLAS

COMMISSARIAT À L'ÉNERGIE ATOMIQUE ET AUX ÉNERGIES

ALTERNATIVES (CEA)

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LVMH MARKAZ MAZARS MEDEF MICHELIN OCP

OSÉO PERNOD RICARD PRONUTRI

PRICEWATERHOUSECOOPERS

RENAULT

ROTHSCHILD & C<sup>IE</sup> BANQUE

RTE SAFRAN SANOFI

SOCIÉTÉ GÉNÉRALE

**SODEXO** 

SSB CORPORATIONS

TOTAL UNIGRAINS VALLOUREC

VEOLIA PROPRETÉ

VIEL & C<sup>IE</sup> VINCI 3M

### **Member Organizations**

BREWERS OF EUROPE (THE) (Belgium)
COMMANDEMENT DE LA DÉFENSE AÉRIENNE
ET DES OPÉRATIONS AÉRIENNES (CDAOA)
CENTRAL EUROPE ENERGY PARTNERS (Belgium)
CENTRE DE TRADUCTION DU MINEFE ET MBCPFP
CONSEIL SUPÉRIEUR DU NOTARIAT
INSTITUT D'ÉTUDES DE SÉCURITÉ DE L'UNION
EUROPÉENNE (EUISS)

INSTITUT DE RECHERCHE STRATÉGIQUE DE L'ÉCOLE MILITAIRE (IRSEM)

JAPAN BANK FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION (JBIC)
JETRO (JAPANESE EXTERNAL TRADE ORGANIZATION)

PRS CONSULTING (Portugal) SECOURS CATHOLIQUE

VOJVODINA EUROPEAN OFFICE (Serbia) YALTA EUROPEAN STRATEGY (YES) (Ukraine)

### **Member Embassies**

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ARAB STATES, LEAGUE
OF
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AZERBAIJAN
BELGIUM
BRAZIL
CANADA
CHINA
CROATIA
CYPRUS
CZECH REPUBLIC
DENMARK

EGYPT
FINLAND
GEORGIA
GERMANY
GREECE
HUNGARY
INDIA
INDONESIA
IRAQ
IRELAND
ISRAEL
ITALY
JAPAN
KAZAKHSTAN

KOREA
KUWAIT
LUXEMBOURG
MALAYSIA
MEXICO
MONACO
NETHERLANDS
NEW ZEALAND
NORWAY
OECD POLAND
POLAND
PORTUGAL
QUEBEC
ROMANIA

RUSSIA
SERBIA
SINGAPORE
SLOVAKIA
SWEDEN
SWITZERLAND
TAIPEI
TURKEY

UNITED KINGDOM UZBEKISTAN VIETNAM

### Ifri and the Media: An Ongoing Dialogue

Ifri offers the French and foreign media a forum for meeting and debating, an independent platform where ideas and analyses can be shared and further developed.

In 2012, Ifri was active in the national and international media: its researchers authored 350 articles and interviews, were quoted approximately 4,200 times, and made 300 television and radio appearances. Moreover, Ifri hosted more than 520 journalists, not including press conferences.

Ifri strengthened its international position in 2012, and its influence on the media landscape, in France and abroad: 30% of the year's articles and interviews were undertaken by foreign media.

During the year, more than a dozen journalists and editorial writers took part in Ifri's conferences, notably from *Le Monde, Le Monde Diplomatique, Le Figaro, Libération, Marianne, La Croix, L'Express, The New York Times, European Voice,* and *EurActiv*.



Press conference RAMSES 2013, CAPE

Ifri continued and expanded its collaboration and partnerships with the media, especially with *Le Monde* for the launch of *RAMSES 2013*; with *Libération* for the "Power and Responsibility" Rennes Forum; with *Marianne* for "L'Assemblée" in Marseille; with *The Economist* for "The Brazil Business Summit" and "The Colombia Business Summit" conferences; with *LCI* for the launch of *RAMSES 2013* and regular collaboration on Michael Field's "Le 17/20"; with the *Centre d'accueil de la presse étrangère* (CAPE); and with *EurActiv France* and *EurActiv Brussels* on issues dealing with Europe. Ifri also works with *Maghreb Confidential*, *Africa Energy* and *Jeune Afrique*. Ifri published regularly in the "Debates" section of *Le Figaro*, with more than ten columns in 2012.



### **A Growing Digital Presence**

In 2012, Ifri significantly increased its presence on the Internet. Ifri's conferences are now filmed and broadcast through *Dailymotion*. Over 160 videos were made available to the public in 2012 and together they received more than 100,000 views. Ifri is active in major social networks including Facebook, Twitter, and LinkedIn, where it has a group called "Friends of Ifri". It was also 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. Digital publications from Ifri's researchers are also available 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 75th anniversary.

### **World Policy Conference**

### Fifth Annual Conference

### 9-10 December 2012, Cannes, France



The World Policy Conference (WPC) held its fourth meeting in Cannes, from 7 to 10 December 2012. 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 current events and global governance.

The meeting began with an introduction by Ifri's president, Thierry de Montbrial, and a talk by Alassanne Ouattara, President of the Republic of Côte-d'Ivoire.

The eight plenary sessions were devoted to the challenges of global governance and the management of various areas including international finance, European integration, and crises in the Middle East. Among the distinguished speakers were Angel Gurria (Secretary General of the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD]), Mario Monti (President of the Italian Council of Ministers), Radoslaw Sikorski (Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs), and Meir Sheetrit (former Israeli Minister for the Interior).

The working groups focused on three main issues – Finance, Energy and Environment, and Major Risks – viewed from a global-governance perspective. Discussions were particularly constructive, with participants including Josef Ackermann (former President of Deutsche Bank), Riad Toufic Salame (Governor of the Bank of Lebanon), Jean-David Levitte (former diplomatic advisor and sherpa to President Nicolas Sarkozy), and Godefroy Beauvallet (Director of AXA Research Fund).

With distinguished guests including Pascal Lamy (Director General of the WTO), Christophe de Margerie (President of Total), Jean-Claude Trichet (former President of the European Central Bank [ECB]) and Adil Abd al-Mahdi (former Vice-President of the Republic of Iraq), lunch and dinners debates provided an opportunity for dialogue to continue on topics covered in other sessions and workshops, such as international finance and the futures of Europe and the Middle East.

The fifth annual conference of the WPC, which maintained a very positive atmosphere, generated new insights in several areas, helping to create a clearer picture of the specific challenges posed to global governance today. The speakers and participants, coming from a wide range of backgrounds and nationalities, demonstrated sincerity, moderation and openness. The success of this conference came from both its intellectual and human dimensions.





#### **Sponsors:**

OCP, Total, Lafarge, Alcen, EADS, Zinsou Foundation, Latsis Foundation, Renault Nissan, Caisse des dépôts et consignations, GDF Suez, EximBank, Grampet Group, PWC, Axa

#### Media Parteners:

An-Nahar, BFM Business, Bloomberg Businessweek, France 24, Jeune Afrique, Le Nouvel Observateur, Maeil Business, Monte Carlo Doualiya, RFI, WanSquare, L'Orient Le Jour

Website: www.worldpolicyconference.com/www.worldpolicyconferencetv.com

1 / Thierry de Montbrial,
Mario Monti
2/ Gala dinner, Pascal Lamy
3 / Alassanne Ouattara, President of
the Republic of Côte-d'Ivoire

### The Team as of 31 December 2012

**Thierry de Montbrial,** President, member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques

Florence Richomme, Administrative Assistant Doïna Romanenko, Coordinator of Activities, Office of the President

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

Dominique Moïsi, Special Advisor

Song-Nim Kwon, Director of WPC Programs

Natacha Crance, Communication/Media Relations Officer

#### Research

#### Europe

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

Hans Stark, Secretary General Yann-Sven Rittelmeyer, Research Fellow Nele Katharina Wissmann, Junior Research Fellow

Sandrina Delgrange, Assistant

#### French-Austrian Center (CFA)

Hans Stark, Advisor Nele Katharina Wissmann, Junior 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

#### **Ifri Center for Asian Studies**

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

### Middle East/North Africa/Mediterranean

#### Middle East/North Africa Program

Denis Bauchard, Advisor Mansouria Mokhefi, Head

#### Maghreb Facing New Global Challenges Program

Mansouria Mokhefi, Head

### **Contemporary Turkey Program**

Dorothée Schmid, Head

### Sub-Saharan Africa Program

Alain Antil, Head Hélène Quénot-Suarez, Research Fellow

#### elations Officer

United States Program
Laurence Nardon, Head

### **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, Director Michel Baud (Major), Research Fellow Guillaume Gamier (Major), Research Fellow

Aline Leboeuf, Research Fellow Corentin Brustlein, Research Fellow

### **Economic Studies Program**

Jacques Mistral, Economic Advisor

#### **Center for Energy**

Jacques Lesourne, Chairman of the Scientific Committee William Ramsay, Advisor Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin, Director Maïté de Boncourt, Research Fellow Laura Parmigiani, Associate Researcher Martine Breux, Assistant

### **Space Program**

Laurence Nardon, Head Martine Breux, Assistant

### **Center for Migrations and Citizenship**

Christophe Bertossi, Director Dorothée Prud'homme, Research Fellow Emma Broughton, Research Fellow

Researchers' biographies are available online at www.ifri.org.

### **Ifri's Executive Committee**

Thierry de Montbrial, President Dominique David, Executive Vice-President Valérie Genin, Secretary General Thomas Gomart, Vice-President for Strategic Development

#### 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, Head of Editing Aude Jeanson, Head of Distribution

#### **Library and Resource Services**

Daniel Marier, Archivist Azra Isakovic, Archivist

### **Strategic Development**

Thomas Gomart, Vice-President for Strategic Development Emmanuelle Farrugia, Deputy Manager Dominique Desgranges, Research and Prospect Management and Relations with Benefactor Members Cécile Campagne, Corporate and Embassy Members Relations Barbara M'Chiri, Individual Members Relations

### **Secretary General**

**Valérie Genin**, Secretary General Françoise Henry, Assistant

### Accounting

Annie Acher, Accountant Nathalie Reculon-Dupont, Accountant

### **Facilities and Security**

Nathalie Magnier-Hartmann, Head Mhenna Larbes, General Services Technician Charles Renault, Technician Barbara M'Chiri, Houria Mabrouk, Receptionists Alex Maleau, Technician

### **Information Systems**

Daniel Safon, IT Manager

### **Board of Directors**

December 2012

#### Chairman

**André Lévy-Lang**, Associate Professor Emeritus, University of Paris-Dauphine

### **Deputy Chairman and Secretary**

**Louis Schweitzer**, Chairman and former CEO of Renault, President of Initiative France

#### **Deputy Chairman and Treasurer**

**Olivier Poupart-Lafarge**, Member of the Autorité des marchés financiers (AMF) and the Autorité des normes comptables (ANC)

#### **Members**

Robert Badinter, former Minister, Senator Marianne Bastid-Bruguière, President of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques Catherine Bréchignac, Permanent Secretary of the

Academy of Sciences

**Hélène Carrère d'Encausse**, Permanent Secretary of the Académie française

Jean-Pierre Chevènement, former Minister, Senator Alain Dejammet, Ambassadeur de France Mireille Delmas-Marty, Professor at Collège de France François Drouin, President-Director General of OSEO Jean-Pierre Elkabbach, Journalist, President of Lagardère News

**Jean-Pierre Hansen**, Member of the Executive Committee of GDF Suez

Danièle Hervieu-Léger, Director of Studies, EHESS-CESPRA Pierre Jacquet, President of Global Development Network Stanislas de Laboulaye, Ambassador of France to the Holy See

**Alain Lamassoure**, Former Minister, Chair of the Budgets Committee, European Parliament

**Jean-Claude Meyer**, Deputy Chairman of Rothschild Europe **Yvette Nicolas**, Founding President of the Humanitarian Association Le Pélikan

**Georges-Henri Soutou**, Professor Emeritus, Sorbonne, Member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques

Mostafa Terrab, President and CEO of the OCP Group

### **Advisory Board**

December 2012

#### Chairman

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

#### **Members**

**Vladimir Baranovski**, Deputy Director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), Moscow

Christian de Boissieu, Professor, University Paris I Jean-Claude Casanova, Member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques, Director of the journal Commentaire

**Alain Dejammet**, Ambassadeur de France **Vincent Desportes**, Major-General

Karl Kaiser, Adjunct Professor of Public Policy at the Harvard Kennedy School of Government, United States Jean Klein, Professor Emeritus, University of Paris I André Lévy-Lang, Associate Professor Emeritus, University of Paris-Dauphine

Dominique Moïsi, Special Advisor, Ifri Jean-Christophe Romer, Professor, Sciences Po Strasbourg, University of Strasbourg III Simon Serfaty, Professor, University of Norfolk, Virginia, holder of the Zbigniew Brzezinski chair in Global Security and Geostrategy at CSIS, Washington

### Research

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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 involving 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, University Professor Areas of expertise: history of Franco-German relations and European integration, Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), 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**, Junior Research Fellow, head of the "Dialogue for the Future" program

Areas of expertise: Franco-German relations, European integration, civil society in Germany

Sandrina Delgrange, Assistant

#### **Publications**



Franco-German relations in a divided Europe. Myths and realities, Gilbert Ziebura, Bordeaux, Presses universitaires de Bordeaux



Franco-German relations in a unified Europe. Achievements and challenges, Hans Stark, Martin Koopmann and Joachim Schild (ed.), Bordeaux, Presses universitaires de Bordeaux

### **Digital Publications**

#### "Notes du Cerfa"

Germany's Policies Towards Africa: How can they Converge with France?, Andreas Mehler and Christian von Soest, n° 92, January.



Removing Nuclear Energy from Germany: Energy Policy Scenarios, Brigitte Knopf, Hendrik Kondziella, Michael Pahle, Mario Götz, Thomas Bruckner and Ottmar Edenhofer, n° 93, February.

France and Germany Facing the Crisis: Doubts about Diagnostics and Methods, Sylvie Goulard, n° 94a, March.

**European Global Governance: the Union at a Crossroads**, *Pervenche Berès*, n° 94b, April.

**Europe and the Debt Crisis: German Policy Debates**, *Daniela Schwarzer*, n° 95, June.

The Issues of Strategic Dialogue between France and Germany, Lothar Rühl, n° 96, July.

Changes in the German Party System: are Pirates coming Aboard? Stephan Klecha, n° 97, September.

German-Russian Relations: Balance Sheet since 2000 and Perspectives until 2025, Hannes Adomeit, n° 98, October.

**German-British Relations in the Moment of Truth**, *Roderick Parkes*, n° 99, November.

### Articles and Contributions Outside of Ifri

Germany's Policies on Europe during the Euro Crisis, Yann-Sven Rittelmeyer and Hans Stark, Allemagne d'aujourd'hui, n° 199, January-March 2012.

Between Domination and Debate. Merkel's Second Government at a Crossroads, Hans Stark, Allemagne d'aujourd'hui, n° 200, April-June 2012.

France's Partner on a Pedestal: A View Driven by Pragmatism and Envy, Yann-Sven Rittelmeyer (with Claire Demesmay), in Almut Möller and Roderick Parkes (ed.), Germany as Viewed by other EU Member States, EPIN Paper, n° 33, June.

Franco-German Cooperation on European Security. Fifty Years of Misunderstandings, Hans Stark, Allemagne d'aujourd'hui, n° 201, July-September 2012.

**Europapolitik: Der SKS-Vertrag polarisiert**, *Yann-Sven Rittelmeyer*, Berlin, DGAP, Dossier "Wahlkampf Frankreich 2012".

France and the Deepening of the Eurozone: Is There a Way for Franco-German Convergence? Yan-Sven Rittelmeyer, in Elzbieta Kaca, Dorota Lisczyk and Roderick Parkes (ed.), France and the Future of the European Union, PISM Report, December.

### **Conferences and Breakfast Debates**

### 18 October – Franco-German and European Cooperation in Research and Innovation

Conference organised in collaboration with the Franco-German Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

With *Peter Fisch*, Head of Unit for "Ex-Post Evaluation and Reporting", Directorate General for Research and Innovation, European Commission; *Volker Tippmann*, Center for Research Programming, Fraunhofer-Gesellschaft; *Jacques Larrouy*, Head of Industrial Relations, Association des instituts Carnot.

Chair: Yann-Sven Rittelmeyer, Cerfa, Ifri.

#### **Seminars**

### **27 January – The Future of Transatlantic Relations**, Bordeaux

Seventh Franco-German Dialogue on Europe, organized by the Goethe-Institut Bordeaux in partnership with Cerfa.

Principal themes discussed: The Franco-German relationship in a transatlantic context – The transatlantic link and commercial stakes – The interests of Europe and the United States concerning the south and east of the EU – The future of the transatlantic Alliance.

With the participation of *Dominique David*, Executive Vice-President, Ifri; *Claire Demesmay*, Program Manager France/German-French Relations, The German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP), Berlin; *Pascal Kauffmann*, Professor of Economic Sciences, University Montesquieu Bordeaux IV; *Ronja Kempin*, Head of EU External Relations Research Division, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), Berlin; *Hans Stark*, Secretary General of Cerfa, Ifri.

### 2 April - France, Germany and the Future of Europe

Seminar organised in partnership with the Department of Foreign and European Affairs and the Planning staff of the Federal Foreign Office.

Principal themes discussed: What role for the Franco-German relationship in tomorrow's Europe? – The means to overcome the debt crisis – Europe, a failed project? – What ambitions for European architecture after the crisis?

Opening by Reinhard Schäfers, German Ambassador to France, and Dominique David, Executive Vice-President, Ifri. With special guests Thomas Bagger, Director, Planning staff of the Federal Foreign Office, Berlin; Ansgar Belke, Professor, University of Duisburg-Essen, Director of Research at the Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung; Jean-Michel Casa, Director, European Union Office, MAEE, Paris; Jean-Dominique Giuliani, President, Robert Schuman Foundation; Sylvie Goulard, Member of the European Parliament; Ulrike Guérot, Director, Berlin Bureau of the European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR); Christian Lequesne, Director, International Research and Study Center (CERI), Sciences Po Paris; Joseph Maïla, Director, Office of Forward Planning, MAEE, Paris; Peter Schoof, Director for Basic Issues of EU External Relations and Relations with EU Member States, Federal Foreign Office, Berlin; Hans Stark, Secretary General of Cerfa, Ifri; Álvaro de Vasconcelos, Director, Institute for EU Security Studies, Paris; Werner Weidenfeld, Professor, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Munich.

#### 22 May - German Political Llife: Balance and Stakes

Seminar organized in partnership with the Diplomatic and Consular Institute of the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs.

Principal themes discussed: "Chancellor Democracy" versus the party system? – The limits of the consensus culture in Germany

Opening by *Christophe Le Rigoleur*, Head of Diplomatic and Consular Institute.

With Jérôme Vaillant, Professor, University of Lille 3; Hélène Miard-Delacroix, Professor, University of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne; Alain Lattard, Professor, University of Paris 3 Sorbonne Nouvelle; Hans Stark, Secretary General of Cerfa, Ifri.

### 23 October – Deepening the Franco-German Relationship 50 Years after the Elysée Treaty

In collaboration with the Robert Schuman Foundation and the French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs.

Principal themes discussed: Youth, training, and employment: what scope of action for France and Germany during the crisis? – What institutional framework for Franco-German cooperation in Europe's future? – The future of the CSDP: is a Franco-German avant-garde possible?

Opening by Susanne Wasum-Rainer, German Ambassador to France; Jean-Dominique Giuliani, President, Robert Schuman Foundation; Hubert Védrine, Former Minister for Foreign Affairs; Alfred Grosser, Professor Emeritus, Sciences Po Paris, President of the Centre of Information and Research on Contemporary Germany (CIRAC).

Conclusions by *Bernard Cazeneuve*, Junior Minister for European Affairs.

Special guests: Béatrice Angrand, Secretary General, Franco-German Youth Office (OFAJ); René Lasserre, Director, CIRAC, Paris, Professor, University of Cergy-Pontoise; Claude Le Gal, Secretary General, Club économique franco-allemand; Bernard de Montferrand, French Ambassador to Germany; Catherine Troendlé, President, Franco-German Interparliamentary Friendship Group; Christian Heldt, Deputy Director, E10 division, Department of European Affairs, Head of the Coordination Unit "50 years of the Elysée Treaty", Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Berlin; François Vandeville, Deputy Director, Germany and Alpine and Adriatic Europe, European Union Department, MAEE, Paris; Michael Ohnmacht, Deputy Secretary General for Franco-German Cooperation, MAEE, Paris; Andreas Schockenhoff, President, Franco-German Friendship Group, Bundestag, Berlin; Patrick Maisonnave, Director, Directorate of Strategic Affairs, Security and Disarmament, MAEE, Paris; Renaud Bellais, Senior Manager, Economic Affairs, Department of French Public Affairs, EADS; Ronja Kempin, Director of Research, EU Foreign Relations Program, SWP, Berlin; Yves Boyer, Deputy Director, Foundation for Strategic Research (FRS), Professor, École polytechnique; Hans Stark, Secretary General of Cerfa, Ifri.

### **International Conferences**

28-29 November – Can Europe Still Defend Itself? Possibilities of Action for France, Germany and the EU, Berlin

14<sup>e</sup> Franco-German Strategic Forum In collaboration with Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS). Issues addressed: Why do we need the CSDP? – How can France and Germany cooperate within the CSDP? – How can we improve?

With Andreas Schockenhoff, Vice-President of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group, President of the Franco-German Friendship Group, Bundestag, Berlin; Roderich Kiesewetter, Vice-President of the Sub-Committee of Disarmament, Arms Control and Non-Proliferation, member of the Foreign Affairs and European Affairs Commissions, Bundestag, Berlin; Gerhard Wahlers, Deputy Secretary General and Director of the Department of European and International Cooperation, KAS, Berlin; Frank Priess, Deputy Director of the Department of European and International Cooperation, KAS, Berlin; Wolfgang Ischinger, former Secretary of State, Foreign Affairs, President of the Munich Conference on Security and Head of Governmental Relations at Allianz SE; Yves Fromion, Député, assemble nationale, member of the National Defense and Armed Forces Commission, Paris; Jean-Dominique Giuliani, President, Robert Schuman Foundation; Céline-Agathe Caro, European Policy Coordinator, KAS, Berlin; Stéphane Beemelmans, Secretary of State, Federal Ministry of Defence, Berlin; Étienne de Durand, Director, Security Studies Center, Ifri; Claudia Major, Deputy Director of Research, Security Policy Program, SWP, Berlin; Dominique David, Executive Vice-President, Ifri, Paris; Robin Allers, Senior Research Fellow, Centre for Norwegian and European Security, Norwegian Institute for Defense Studies, Oslo; Jean-Marc Duquesne, Lieutenant-General, Director of the Institute for Higher National Defense Studies and of Advanced Military Training (IHEDN), Paris; Jens Paulus, Head of the Europe/North America group, KAS, Berlin.

### **Dialogue on the Franco-German Future**

Project in partnership with the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (DGAP) and the Robert Bosch Foundation.

### **12-14 April** – Stuttgart

Issues addressed: France and Germany, two different business models and the debt crisis – Germany, France, Great Britain: a triangle for Europe? – Competitors or Partners? Energy policy in France and Germany – France and Germany in campaign mode.

Opening by *Peter Theiner*, Head of the Western Europe, USA, Japan, India, Turkey, International Relations Program, Robert Bosch Foundation.

Special guests: Claire Demesmay, Head of Franco-German Relations Program, DGAP; Henrik Uterwedde, Deputy Director, Franco-German Institute, Ludwigsburg; Philippe Mutricy, Director of Strategy and Planning, CDC Enterprises; Roderick Parkes, Director, SWP Brussels; Jacques Reland, Director, Europe Department, Global Policy Institute, London Metropolitan University; Stephen Krieger, Director of International Relations, Federal Association of Energy and Water Industries (BDEW), Berlin; Ulrich Eith, Working Group on Elections, University of Fribourg; Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin, Director, Center for Energy, Ifri.

#### 29 June-1 July - Marseille

Issues addressed: Libya: consequences for France and Germany's security and defense policies - Reform of the Schengen Agreement: French and German positions -Debates on integration in France and Germany - France, Germany and Morocco – Euro-Mediterranean cooperation. With special guests: Guillaume Lagane, Ministry of Defence, Paris; Henning Riecke, Head of the United States Program/Transatlantic Relations, DGAP; Andreas Pudlat, Research Fellow, University of Hildesheim; Isabelle Verdier-Büschel, Associate Researcher, Center of International and Community Research and Studies (CERIC), University of Aixen-Provence; Kamel Remache, local mission, Integration and Equal Opportunity Network, Taverny; Gülay Kizilocak, Director, Stiftung für Türkeistudien Integrationsforschung, Essen; Souad Bensalah-Mekkes, Head of Communication Group, Network of Germano-Moroccan Competences; Mohamed El Oïfi, Sciences Po Paris.

#### **10-14 October –** Rabat

Principal themes discussed: Foreign Policy of the EU – Morocco, France and Germany face the past – Regionalisation in France, Germany and Morocco – Euro-Mediterranean relations.

Opening by Lahcen Daoudi, Moroccan Minister for Higher Education and Scientific Research, and Peter Theiner, Head of the Western Europe, USA, Japan, India, Turkey, International Relations Program, Robert Bosch Foundation. With special guests: Eneko Landaburu, Ambassador, Delegation of the European Union to Morocco; Pamela Stenzel, attorney, intercultural trainer, member of the Orientation Council of the Franco-German Future Dialogue; Latifa Jbabdi, Commissioner, Equity and Reconciliation Commission; Stephan Martens, Rector, Academy of Guadeloupe, member of the Orientation Council of the Franco-German Future Dialogue; Jacques Walter, university Professor, Director of the Center of Mediation Research, University of Lorraine; Ali Bouabid, general delegate, Abderrahim Bouabid Foundation, "Reinforcing the capacities of regional elected officials" project; Romain Pasquier, Director of Research, CNRS, member of the Institute of Decentralization; Wolfgang Renzsch, Professor, University of Magdeburg; Nadia Salah, journalist, L'Économiste; Salma Semmami, Program Coordinator, Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Rabat; Christian Stoffaës, Chief Economist of the High Council for the Economy, Industry, Energy and Technology; Ingénieur General des mines at the Ministry of Economy, Finance and Industry, Executive Director of the Mediterranean Solar Plan; Dominique David, Executive Vice-President, Ifri.

### Europe

## French-Austrian Center for European Convergence (CFA)

The French-Austrian Center for European Convergence (CFA) is an intergovernmental organization created in 1978 to pursue bilateral meetings for the consolidation of French-Austrian relations. The CFA focuses 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 concentrated on countries that envisage their future within a European context, in particular those in the Western Balkans and bordering the Black Sea.

### **Team**

Peter Jankowitsch (Vienna), Secretary General Thierry de Montbrial, President Hans Stark, Advisor to the CFA, Ifri Éliane Mossé, Advisor on Central and Eastern Europe, Ifri Nele Katharina Wissmann, Project Manager

### **Digital Publications**

• "Analyses du CFA"

The Polish Presence at the Council of the European Union, Agnieszka Lada, n° 2, March.



The European Future of Serbia, Florent Marciacq, n° 3, December.

### **Conferences and Breakfast Debates**

### 4 April - Hungary and Europe

With Robert Badinter, former chair of the Constitutional Council; Sandor Richter, Research Fellow, Institute of Economic Studies (WIIW), Vienna; Thomas Schreiber, journalist, Associate Professor at École militaire spéciale de Saint-Cyr; Dominique Moïsi, Special Advisor, Ifri; Peter Jankowitsch, Secretary General, CFA.

### 13 September – Enlargement of the Euro Crisis: What Future for the EU?

With *Miroslav Lajčák*, Vice-Prime Minister, Foreign Minister of Slovakia.

Chair: Dominique David, Executive Vice-President, Ifri.

### 15 November – What Strategies to Stabilise the Euro Zone in 2013? French and Austrian Positions

With *Franz Nauschnigg*, Director, Department of European Affairs and International Financial Organisations,

Österreichische Nationalbank; *Christian Stoffaës*, chair, Council of Franco-German Economic Analysis; Honorary Chair, Centre of International Prospective and Economic Studies (CEPII).

Chair: *Peter Jankowitsch*, Secretary General, CFA, Vienna; *Hans Stark*, Advisor to the CFA, Ifri.

### **International Conferences**

### 14 May - What Security and Defense Policies for What Europe? - Vienna

Issues addressed: Assessment of the situation – Identify the status quo of the CSDP – The CSDP, a model to reinvent? – Does Europe run the risk of structural demilitarization? – European security in a transatlantic context.

Opening by *Peter Jankowitsch*, Secretary General, CFA, Vienna; *Dominique David*, Executive Vice-President, Ifri; General *Johann Pucher*, Director of Security Policy, Federal Ministry of National Defense, Vienna.

Special guests: Jan Havranek, Deputy Director of the Policy and Defense Strategy division, Ministry of Defense and Armed Forces of the Czech Republic; Louis Gautier, Professor, University of Jean-Moulin Lyon III; Krzyztof Lisek, Vice-President of the Sub-Commission on Security and Defense, European Parliament; General Maurice de Langlois, Advisor, French Military Representation to the EU, Brussels; Gerhard Jandl, Chief of the Security Policy Department, Ministry of European and International Affairs, Vienna; Florent Marciacq, Associate Researcher, European Governance Program, University of Luxembourg; Political Science Department, University of Vienna; Werner Fasslabend, former Minister for Defense, President of the Austrian Institute for European Security Policy (AIES); Arnaud Migoux, Delegation on Strategic Affairs (DAS), Ministry of Defence, Paris; Rastislav Kacer, President, Slovak Atlantic Commission, Bratislava; Heinz Gärtner, Institute of Political Science; Senior Fellow, Austrian International Policy Institute (OIIP), Vienna; Yves Boyer, Professor, École polytechnique; Deputy Director, Foundation for Strategic Research (FRS), Paris.

### 19 June – "Merkollande?" New Constellation for France and Europe – Vienna

With Hans Stark, Secretary General, Cerfa, Ifri; Dominique David, Executive Vice-President, Ifri; Joëlle Stolz, correspondent, Le Monde, Vienna.

Chair: *Peter Jankowitsch*, Secretary General, CFA, Vienna; *Éliane Mossé*, Advisor, Ifri.

### 11 October – Towards a European Strategy on the Alpine Space – Innsbruck

Issues addressed: Macro-regional strategies: a continuous process – Macro-regional strategy and organization of Alpine space: land unit versus destiny unit? – The European territorial cooperation program, "Alpine Space": a platform for the development of strategies and projects promoting cooperation – The role of civil society – The contribution of the Alpine Convention to a macro-regional strategy for the Alps – A macro-regional strategy for the Alps: a European approach to the mountains? – Towards a new solidarity between cities and the Alps.

#### Opening:

Peter Jankowitsch, Secretary General, CFA, Vienna; Éliane Mossé, Advisor on Central and Eastern Europe, Ifri; Fritz Staudigl, Director, South Tyrol department, Europe and Foreign Relations, Tyrolean Regional Government, Innsbruck.

Conclusion: Peter Jankowitsch, Secretary General, CFA, Vienna.

Special guests: Herwig Van Staa, President, Tirol Regional Parliament, Vice-President, Committee of Regions, Innsbruck; Hubert Heiss, Head of the EU Coordination and Economic Affairs department, Ministry of European and International Affairs, Vienna; José Ruiz De Casas, DG REGIO E1, Program Manager, Transnational and Interregional European Cooperation, Brussels; Marie-Christine Fourny, Professor, Institute of Alpine Geography, Joseph Fourier University, Grenoble 1; Michl Ebner, President, Regional Chamber of Commerce, Bolzano; Christian Salletmaier, Director General, Alpine Space Program, Salzburg; Alexandre Mignotte, Director, CIPRA France, Grenoble; Isabelle Paillet, specialist, Alpine Convention, for France, Ministry of Ecology, Sustainable Development and Energy, Paris; Marco Onida, Secretary General, Alpine Convention, Bolzano; Veronika Holzer, Federal Ministry of Agriculture, Forests, the Environment, and Water Management, Vienna; Xavier Chauvin, Mission Leader, DATAR, Paris; Bruno Stephan Walder, Director, CIPRA International, Schaan.

### Europe Ifri Brussels

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, as well as some of their activities at certain times.

At the heart of the Brussels think-tank network, Ifri Brussels, along with nine other think tanks, is responsible for organizing the Brussels Think Tank Dialogue, an annual event devoted to the state of the Union, and whose third meeting was held in January 2012.

#### **Team**

Vivien Pertusot, Head of Ifri Brussels

Areas of expertise: security and defense questions (NATO and CSDP); European affairs; relations between the United Kingdom and the European Union

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

**Nathalie Urbanczyk,** Assistant (until end of December 2012)

### **Conferences – Debates**

### 2 February – The EU and Migration: The Challenges of Demographic Change

With the support of the United States Mission to the European Union.

With *Jack Goldstone*, Professor, George Mason University; *Philippe Legrain*, Director, Analysis Team, Bureau of European Policy Advisers (BEPA).

### 14 February – Turkey and The Arab World: Natural Partners?

With *Marc Pierini*, Senior Advisor to the European Commissioner for Enlargement; *Dorothée Schmid*, Head of the Contemporary Turkey Program, Ifri; *Sinan Ülgen*, Guest Researcher, Carnegie Europe, Brussels, Executive Director, EDAM, Istanbul; *Ian Lesser*, Director, German Marshall Fund, Brussels; *Nourredine Fridhi*, journalist, *Al Arabiya*; *Marc Semo*, journalist, *Libération*.

Chair: *Bahadir Kaleagasi*, International Coordinator, Turkish Industry and Business Association, Istanbul, President, Institut du Bosphore, Paris.

#### 28 February – European Deconstruction?

Presentation of *Politique étrangère* 1/2012 at the Filigranes bookstore, Brussels.

With *Cécile Leconte*, Senior Lecturer, University Lille 2; *Gaël Veyssière*, spokesperson, Permanent Representation of France to the EU.

#### 2 May - Russia: Changes and Continuity

Presentation at the Filigranes bookstore, Brussels. With *Thierry de Montbrial*, President, Ifri.

### 7 May - France and Europe: What Changes Presidential Elections?

With *Dominique David*, Executive Vice-President, Ifri. Chair: *Vivien Pertusot*, Head, Ifri Brussels.

### 5 June - ICTs and Agriculture in Africa: An Unexpected Alliance

With Léon-Charles Ciss, Marketing Director, Africa, Middle East, Asia, Orange France Telecom; Anna Bon, VU University Amsterdam, Centre for International Cooperation & Network Institute.

Chair: *Hélène Quénot-Suarez*, Research Fellow, Sub-Saharan Africa Program, Ifri.

### 11 October - RAMSES 2013: Governing Today?

Presentation at the Filigranes bookstore, Brussels, with *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, Research Fellow, Co-Director of RAMSES; *Véronique de Keyser*, Member of the European Parliament, Vice-President of the Socialists and Democrats group.

Chair: Vivien Pertusot, Head, Ifri Brussels.

#### 16 November - After The US Elections: What Now?

Conference organized in collaboration with the Brussels office of the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF).

With *John Harris*, Editor-in-Chief, *Politico*; *Laurence Nardon*, Head of the United States Program, Ifri.

Chair: Ian Lesser, Executive Director, GMF Brussels.

### **International Conferences**

### 31 January – Think Tank Dialogue Solidarity and Austerity: The 2012 State of European Union Agenda, Brussels

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

Issues discussed: The State of the EU in 2012. Setting the Political Priorities - Getting the EU Back on Track -European Solidarity in Action: A Young Generation's Perspective – The Post-Crisis EU: Phoenix from the Ashes? Special guests: Martin Schulz, President of the European Parliament; Andreas Mavroyiannis, Vice-Minister for European Affairs, Cyprus; Danuta Hübner, Member of the European Parliament; Poul Skytte Christoffersen, Ambassador of Denmark to Belgium; Paul Taylor, Editor-in-Chief for European Affairs, Reuters; Aart De Geus, Member of the Executive Office, Bertelsmann Stiftung; Pierre Defraigne, Executive Director, Madariaga College of Europe Foundation; Janis Emmanouilidis, Program Director and senior policy analyst, EPC; Philippe Herzog, President, Confrontations Europe; Giles Merritt, Secretary General, Friends of Europe; Dominique Moïsi, Special Advisor, Ifri; Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin, Director, Center for Energy, Ifri; Thomas Fischer, Executive Director, Brussels Bureau, Bertelsmann Stiftung; Fabian Zuleeg, Chief Economist, EPC; Jo Coelmont, Senior Associate Researcher, Egmont; Sergio Carrera, Senior Researcher, CEPS; Farid Tabarki, founder and Director, Studio Zeitgeist; Dimitrios Doutsas, Member Volker Perthes, Director, SWP; Jean Pisani-Ferry, Director, Bruegel; Arif Havas Oegroseno, Ambassador of Indonesia to Belgium, Luxembourg and the European Union.

**17 October – Smart Defense: Going Beyond Concepts**, Paris With the support of Allied Command Transformation (ACT), EADS, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Opening by French Air Force General *Jean-Paul Paloméros*, SACT, NATO.

Special guests: Patrick Auroy, Assistant Secretary General for Defense Investment, NATO; Benoît d'Aboville, former NATO Ambassador; Tomas Valasek, President, Central European Policy Institute, Bratislava; Graham Muir, Head of the Policy and Planning unit, European Defense Agency; Bertrand de Cordoue, Director of Public Security and Defense, EADS France; Vincent Fournier, Program Coordinator for Smart Defence, Capacity Building division, ACT, NATO; Étienne de Durand, Director, Security Studies Center, Ifri; Dominique David, Executive Vice-President, Ifri.

## Russia/NIS Center

Both Russia and the Newly Independent States (NIS) show all the characteristics of areas 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 Areas of expertise: civil-military relations, interaction between foreign policy and energy policy, European Union/Russia ②partnerships, 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**, Research Assistant (until May 2012) 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 policy in Russia

### **Digital Publications**

• "Russie.Nei.Visions"

(collection published in English, French and Russian)



**Decoding Russia's WTO Accession**, *Dominic Fean*, n° 64, February.

Russia's Arctic Policy and the Northern Fleet Modernization, Pavel Baev, n° 65, August.

The WTO and the Customs Union: What Consequences for the Russian Banking Sector? *Dmitri Miroshnichenko*, n° 66, October.

• "Russie.Nei.Reports" (collection published in English or French)

Federal University of the Urals, a Future "Regional Harvard"?, Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean and Tatiana Mechkova, n° 9, January.

The Web in Russia: From Virtual Reality to Political Reality? *Julien Nocetti*, n° 10, March.



Ukraine at the Crossroads: Between the EU DCFTA and Customs Union, Olga Shumylo-Tapiola, n° 11, April.

The Religious Diplomacy of the Russian Federation, Alicja Curanovic, n° 12, June.

Russian business and universities: from Cooperation to Recruitment, *Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean*, n° 13, October.

Kazakhstan and Eurasian Economic Integration: Quick Start, Mixed Results and Uncertain Future, Nargis Kassenova, n° 14, November.

WTO: Implications for the Russian Agricultural Sector, *Pascal Grouiez*, n° 15, December.

#### **Articles and Contributions Outside of Ifri**

Vladimir Putin's Power Projects (2000-2008): an Expert Historian's Reading, Thomas Gomart, in L'Historien et les relations internationales. Autour de Robert Frank, Jean-Michel Guieu and Claire Sanderson (ed), Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne.

**Vladimir Putin: Dominant Male of all Russias?** *Thomas Gomart, Revue des deux mondes,* January.

**Universities and Business: Two Worlds Moving Closer**, *Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean, Revue internationale des études pédagogiques*, n° 59, April.

La France, charnière centrale de l'Europe, Thomas Gomart (avec Étienne de Durand), Revue des deux mondes, April.

**Internet in Russia, Strong Growth**, Julien Nocetti, Les Cahiers de l'ARCEP, n° 8, June.

**Russia: How Read the Syrian Crisis?** *Julien Nocetti, Diplomatie,* n° 58, September.

Russians and Political Mobilization Through the Internet, *Julien Nocetti, Questions internationales,* n° 57, September-October.

Russia: in the Process of Redefining its International Position, *Thomas Gomart, Questions internationales* n° 57, September-October.

#### **Seminars**

### 30 May – The Eurasian Trade Task Force, Trade and Foreign Policy

Themes discussed: The Eurasian Customs Union, Allying Trade and Foreign Policy – Challenges for Investing in Russia – Russian Economic Policy in the New Putin Era – Protecting Intellectual Property Rights in a Changing Environment – WTO, Customs Union, Eurasian Union: The Sectoral Impact – New Challenges for the Russian Agriculture Industry within the Customs and WTO? – The Russian Banking and Insurance Industry – Preparing for New Levels of Foreign Competition – What Consequences for the Industrial and Consumer Good Markets?

Opening by *Thomas Gomart*, Director, Russia/NIS Center, Ifri.

Special guests: *Evgeny Nadorshin*, Chief Economist, JSFC Sisterna, Moscow; *Vladimir Entin*, attorney, Director, Center for Intellectual Property Legal Protection; *Douglas Lillpoldt*, Senior Economist, Development, Exchange and Agriculture division, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Paris; *Pascal Grouiez*, Senior Lecturer, University of Nantes; *Dmitry Miroshnichenko*, Senior Expert, Economic Development Centre; *Dr Stephane David*, Scientific Director, Solution Center-CIS.

### **International Conference**

**14-15** June – The New Eurasian Union Integration-Process. How Should the European Union React? – Berlin International Conference of the Club Valdaï, European section, co-organized by Ifri/DGAP/Club Valdaï.

### Asia

### 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.

#### **Team**

Françoise Nicolas, Director
Céline Pajon, Research Fellow
Areas of expertise: Japan
John Seaman, Research Fellow
Area of expertise: China, energy issues
Alice Ekman, Associate Researcher
Area of expertise: China

Isabelle Saint-Mézard, Associate Researcher

Area of expertise: South Asia

### **Digital Publications**

#### • "Asie.Visions"

Internet Companies in China: Dancing between the Party Line and the Bottom Line, Min Jian, n° 47, January.



Doors Wide Shut? An Update on FDI Regulations in China, Françoise Nicolas, n° 48, January.

The Expanding Chinese Footprint in Latin America – New Challenges for China and Dilemmas for the US, Evan Ellis, n° 49, February.

The Economic Opportunities and Constraints of Green Growth – The Case of South Korea, Jae-Seung Lee and Jung-Min Yu, n° 50, February.

New Economic Development Opportunities for Taiwan in the Post-EFCA Era, Da-Nien Liu and Hui-Tzu Shih, n° 51, April.



China and Cleaner Coal: A Marriage of Necessity Destined for Failure? *John Seaman*, n° 52, April.

**Rereading the stakes for India and China** in Burma, *Renaud Egreteau*, n° 53, September.

Globalization of Japanese firms – Long-run Trends, Crosssectional Variations, and Policy Implications, Eiichi Tomiura, n° 54, October.

An EU-Japan Free Trade Agreement – Toward More Solid Economic Relations, *Hiromasa Kubo*, n° 55, November.

Challenges and Opportunities of an EU-Taiwan ECA: A Review of Political-Economic Perspectives, *Tseng Yea Jen*, n° 56, November.

Negotiating for a Malaysia-EU FTA: Contesting Interests from Malaysia's Perspective, Tham Siew Yean, n° 57, November.



China's Two-Track Foreign Policy – From Ambiguous to Clear-Cut Positions, Alice Ekman, n° 58, December.

Ballistic Missile Defense in Japan: Deterrence and Military Transformation, Sugio Takahashi, n° 59, December.

#### "Canon-Ifri Paper Series"

The Fukushima Nuclear Accident and a Long-Term Energy Vision for Japan, Tetsuo Yuhara, n° 6, April.

The Ongoing Economic Crisis -1 & 2: Comments on the EU Strategy / The Causes of the Crisis, Daisuke Kotegawa, n° 7 and 8, May.

The Ongoing Economic Crisis – 3 & 4: The US Authorities and the Financial Crisis / Fiscal Austerity as a Mistake, Daisuke Kotegawa, n° 9 and 10, June.

The Ongoing Economic Crisis – 5: What Precipitated the Economic Bubble in Europe, and How Did It Collapse? Daisuke Kotegawa, n° 11, July.

### **Articles and Contributions Outside of Ifri**

Chinese ODI in France: Motives, Strategies and Implications, Françoise Nicolas, China Economic Policy Review, vol. 1, n° 1, 2012.

Korea and East Asian Economic Integration: The Way Forward, Françoise Nicolas, Korea's Economy 2012, Washington, DC, Korea Economic Institute.

Economic integration: towards the End of the Asian Exception? Françoise Nicolas, in Sophie Boisseau du Rocher (ed.), Asie 2012-2013. Une Asie toujours plus centrale, Paris, La Documentation française.

China and linternational Investments – toward Normalization, Françoise Nicolas, in Mathieu Arès and Éric Boulanger (ed.), L'Investissement et la nouvelle économie mondiale: trajectoires nationales, réseaux mondiaux et normes internationales, Bruylant, Brussels.

China and Post-Crisis Regional Financial Cooperation in East Asia, Françoise Nicolas, in Jean-Pierre Cabestan, Jean-François DiMeglio and Xavier Richet (ed.), China and the

Global Economic Crisis: A Comparison with Europe, London and New York, Routledge.

Drafting an Agenda for Asia – Europe Cooperation – Thinking Outside the Box, Françoise Nicolas, in Malte Boecker and Armando Garcia-Schmidt (ed.), The Asian-European Agenda – Ideas for Crisis Prevention and Effective Cooperation, Europe in Dialogue, Gütersloh, Bertelsmann Stiftung.

Between Opportunity and Anxiety: Asia in the Eyes of France, John Seaman, in Sebastian Bersick, Michael Bruter, Natalia Chaban, Sol Iglesias and Ronan Lenihan (ed.), Asia in the Eyes of Europe: Images of a Rising Giant, Baden-Baden, Nomos.

**Poverty in Chinese Cities: the Case of Immigrants**, *Alice Ekman, CERISCOPE Pauvreté*, January 2012, available at: <a href="http://ceriscope.sciences-">http://ceriscope.sciences-</a>

po.fr/pauvrete/content/part2/la-pauvrete-dans-les-villes-chinoises-le-cas-des-migrants>.

How will Security for the Indian Ocean be Structured? *Isabelle Saint-Mézard, Hérodote,* n° 145, 2<sup>nd</sup> trimester.

Abuses of Governance and New Balance in India, Isabelle Saint-Mézard, Études, November.

The United States, China, and Pakistan: is Strategic Convergence Impossible? Isabelle Saint-Mézard, in Sophie Boisseau du Rocher (ed.), Asie 2012-2013. Une Asie toujours plus centrale, Paris, La Documentation française.

### **Conferences – Debates**

### 5 April – Ambiguities and Pragmatism of Chinese Foreign Policy

With *Alice Ekman*, Associate Researcher, Center for Asian Studies, Ifri; *Valérie Niquet*, Senior Researcher, Head of the Asia division, FRS.

Chair: *Françoise Nicolas*, Director, Center for Asian Studies, Ifri.

### 20 April – Confronting Rising Inequality in Asia – Asian Development Outlook 2012

With Joseph Zveglich, Deputy Chief Economist, Asian Development Bank; Kiichiro Fukasaku, Counselor, Coordinator, Business for Development, OECD.

Chair: Françoise Nicolas, Director, Center for Asian Studies, Ifri.

### 25 May – China and Technological Innovation, Strategic Dynamo or Paper Dragon?

With Cong Cao, Associate Professor, School of Contemporary Chinese Studies, University of Nottingham; Léo Sun, Head, Brussels Bureau and Department of European Affairs, Huawei Technologies; Eric Van Kooij, Science and Technology Counselor, Embassy of the Netherlands in France, former Science and Technology Counsellor, Embassy of the Netherlands in Beijing.

Chair: Françoise Nicolas, Director, Center for Asian Studies, Ifri.

### 18 June – The EU through the Eyes of Asia; Asia in the Eyes of Europe

In collaboration with the Asia-Europe Foundation.

With Martin Holland, National Centre for Research on Europe (NCRE), University of Canterbury, UK; Sebastien Bersick, Associate Professor, School of International Relations and Public Affairs (SIRPA), Fudan University, Associate Researcher, DGAP, Berlin; John Seaman, Research Fellow, Center for Asian Studies, Ifri.

### 21 June – The Growing Chinese Presence in Japan: What Impact on the Bilateral Relationship?

With *Reinhard Drifte*, Professor Emeritus, University of Newcastle, UK.

Chair: Céline Pajon, Research Fellow, Center for Asian Studies, Ifri.

### 4 July – Controlling The South China Sea, a Chinese Monroe Doctrine?

With *James R. Holmes*, Associate Professor of Strategy, US Naval War College, Senior Researcher, University of Georgia, School of Public and International Affairs.

Chair: *Céline Pajon*, Research Fellow, Center for Asian Studies, Ifri.

### 25 September - China, India, and the Issue of Burma

With *Renaud Egreteau*, Research Fellow, Senior Lecturer, Hong-Kong Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Hong Kong; *Sophie Boisseau du Rocher*, Research Fellow, Southeast Asia specialist.

Chair: *Françoise Nicolas*, Director, Center for Asian Studies, Ifri.

### 27 November – Leadership Change in East Asia and Implications for Regional Stability

With *Ryo Sahashi*, Associate Professor, University of Kanagawa, Research Fellow, Japan Center for International Exchanges (JCIE); *Marie-Orange Rivé-Lasan*, Professor, University Diderot, Paris; *Alice Ekman*, Associate Researcher, Center for Asian Studies, Ifri.

Chair: Françoise Nicolas, Director, Center for Asian Studies, Ifri.

#### Seminars

### 2 July - Japan's Defense Posture and Strategic Asia

With support of CEA and in collaboration with the Security Studies Center, Ifri.

With Étienne de Durand, Director, Security Studies Center, Ifri; Corentin Brustlein, Research Fellow, Security Studies Center, Ifri; Sugio Takahashi, Research Fellow, National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS), Deputy Director, Office of Strategic Planning, Japanese Ministry of Defence; Bruce Klingner, Senior Researcher, Asian Studies Center, The Heritage Foundation; Ken Jimbo, Senior Researcher, Canon Institute for Global Studies; Marianne Péron-Doise, Senior Analyst, Ministry of Defence, Paris, Senior Lecturer, INALCO; Tetsuo Kotanu, Researcher, Asian Studies Center, The Heritage Foundation; James R. Holmes, Associate Professor, US Naval War College; Vice-Admiral Hideaki Kaneda, JMSDF (ret.), Director, Okazaki Institute; Valérie Niquet, Director of Asia department, FRS; Masako Ikegami, Professor, University of Stockholm; Jeffrey Lewis, Director,

East Asia Non-Proliferation Program, Center for Non-Proliferation Studies (CNS); Arthur S. Ding, Director, International Relations Institute, National Chengchji University, Taipei; Céline Pajon, Research Fellow, Center for Asian Studies, Ifri; Ryo Sahashi, Assistant Professor, University Kanagawa, Yokohama, Researcher, Japan Center for International Exchanges (JCIE); Rajaram Panda, former Senior Researcher, Institute for Defense Studies and Analysis (IDSA), New Delhi; Thomas Wilkins, Senior Lecturer, University of Sydney, Researcher, Japan Foundation, University of Tokyo.

## 24 July – Economic Dialogue Ifri–Macroeconomic Research Academy/National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC)

Principal themes addressed: Chinese provinces going into debt – Industrial restructuring for the internal provinces – Urbanization – China's Energy Situation.

With Chen Donggi, Vice-President, Macroeconomic Research Academy, NDRC; Dai Yande, Deputy Director, Energy Research Institute, NDRC; Gao Guoli, Deputy Director, Institute of Spatial Planning and Regional Economy, NDRC; Liu Lifeng, Researcher, Institute of Research Investment, NDRC; Zeng Zhizhe, Division Chief, Institute of Industrial Economy and Technology, NDRC; Liu Guoyan, Division Chief, Institute of Economic Research; Lu Jie, Division Chief, Macroeconomic Research Academy; Su Fengli, Deputy Division Chief, Macroeconomic Research Academy; Dominique David, Executive Vice-President, Ifri; Françoise Nicolas, Director, Center for Asian Studies, Ifri; John Seaman, Research Fellow, Center for Asian Studies, Ifri; Alice Ekman, Associate Researcher, Center for Asian Studies, Ifri; Maïté de Boncourt, Research Fellow, Center for Energy, Ifri.

#### 13 November - Trading Freely with East Asia

Seminar organized with the support of the Taipei Representation Office in France.

Themes discussed: The Evolution of "Global Europe" – Analyzing Shifts in the EU's Free Trade Strategy – Lessons Learned from Ongoing FRA Negotiations – The Way Forward: Challenges and Prospects of Future Agreements – The Cases of Japan and Taiwan – Economic Impact of EU-Asia FTAs – Consequences for Business.

Opening: Ambassador *Michel Ching-Long Lu*, Taipei Representation Office in France; *Francois Brottes*, President, Commission of Economic Affairs, National Assembly, France; *Dominique David*, Executive Vice-President, Ifri.

Conclusion: *Thierry de Montbrial*, President, Ifri.

Special guests: Vital Moreira, President, European Parliament Committee on International Trade; Mauro Petriccione, Director-Asia and Latin America, DG Trade, European Commission; Patrick Messerlin, Professor of Economics, Sciences Po, Global Economy Group; Jan Wouters, Jean Monnet chair ad personam EU and Global Governance, University of Louvain; Étienne Oudot de Dainville, Deputy Director for commercial and investment policy, Treasury Department, France; Heungchong Kim, Director of Research, Korean Institute for Economic Policy; Lay Hwee Yeo, Director, EU Centre in Singapore; Raphael Leal-Arcas, Professor,

International Economic Law, Queen Mary, University of London; *Kenji Goto*, Deputy Director General, Office of Economic Affairs, MOFA, Japan; *Chun-fang Hsu*, **E**conomic Advisor, Ministry of Economic Affairs, Taiwan; *Fredrik Erixon*, Director, European Center for International Political Economy; *Erik Bergelin*, Director of Commerce and the Economy, European Association of Automobile Builders; *Koshi Noguchi*, Vice-President, Department of Foreign Relations, Brussels, Toshiba Europe Ltd; *Moonkoo Hur*, Director of European office, Korean Association for international Commerce; *Françoise Nicolas*, Director, Center for Asian Studies, Ifri.

#### **International Conferences**

### 17 April – The Evolution of Greater China in our Time: A European Perspective – Hong Kong

In collaboration with the Central Policy Office, Special administrative region, Hong Kong.

Themes discussed: Changing Trade and Investment Relations Within Greater China – Implications for Europe: The Presence of Chinese Firms Across Europe – Characteristics, Strategies and Impacts: Educational Exchange and Regional Integration in the European Union and Greater China Area.

Special guests: *Christian Milelli*, researcher, CNRS; *Shen Wei*, Associate Dean for China, ESSCA School of Management; *Sun Wen-bin*, Senior Researcher, Central Policy Office, Special administrative region Hong Kong; *Françoise Nicolas*, Director, Center for Asian Studies, Ifri.

### 9 July – 1<sup>st</sup> CIIS (China Institute of International Studies) / Ifri Annual Policy Discussion – Beijing

Themes discussed: Regional and Peripheral Affairs – International Hot Spot Issues – China-Europe and China-France Relations.

With Wang Zhenyu, Deputy Director, Department of European Studies, CIIS; Song Juniying, Researcher, Asia and Pacific Region department, CIIS; Cui Hongjian, Director, Center for Middle-Eastern Questions, CIIS; Jin Ling, Researcher, Department of European Studies, CIIS; Xin Hua, Senior Fellow, CIIS; Qu Xing, President, CIIS; Françoise Nicolas, Director, Center for Asian Studies, Ifri; John Seaman, Research Fellow, Center for Asian Studies, Ifri; Alice Ekman, Associate Researcher, Center for Asian Studies, Ifri; Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin, Director, Center for Energy. Ifri.

# North Africa/Middle East/Mediterranean Middle East/North Africa Program

Ifri's 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 anticipate new directions for each country and decode the risks and potential outcomes. The program draws upon a network of researchers and experts on a variety of crucial subjects stretching from Northern Africa to the Gulf.

### **Team**

Mansouria Mokhefi, Research Fellow, Program Head Denis Bauchard, Special Advisor on the Middle East

### **Digital Publications**

"Notes de l'Ifri"

Brazil and the Arab World: the Limits of a South-South Rapprochement, *Bruno Muxagato*, September.

Al-Qaeda in a Changing Region, Alia Brahimi, September.



**Russia in the Middle East,** *Denis Bauchard*, November.

### **Articles and Contributions Outside of Ifri**

**North Africa: Unfinished Revolutions**, *Mansouria Mokhefi*, *Politique étrangère*, vol. 77, n° 1, spring.

**Qatar: Strengths and Weaknesses of Activism**, *Mansouria Mokhefi, Politique étrangère*, vol. 77, n° 4, winter.

The Choice of an Institutional (R)evolution, Mansouria Mokhefi, Le Magazine de l'Afrique, March-April.

**The Algerian "Difference",** Mansouria Mokhefi, Le Magazine de l'Afrique, March-April.

Tunisia and Libya in the North African Dynamic and the Arab Spring, Mansouria Mokhefi, in Annuaire de la Méditerranée 2012, IEMed.

The Persian Gulf: What Power do the Arabs have? *Mansouria Mokhefi, Moyen-Orient,* July-September.

Arab Revolts: between National Re-claiming and International Implications, in Hasni Abidi (ed.), Où va le monde arabe? Les enjeux de sa transition, Paris, Érick Bonnier Éditions.

### **Conferences and Breakfast Debates**

### 8 February – Arab Diplomacy in Qatar

With Hasni Abidi, Director, Cermam, Geneva; Nadine Addallah, Researcher, Arab Forum for Alternatives (AFA); Youcef Bouandel, Professor of Political Science, University of Qatar; Fatiha Dazi-Heni, Political Scientist.

Chair: *Denis Bauchard*, Special Advisor on the Middle East, Ifri.

## North Africa/Middle East/Mediterranean North Africa Facing New Global Challenges Program

This program, conducted in partnership with the OCP Group, seeks to monitothe 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. The program seeks to reframe the relationships North African countries have with the Western world and the traditional powers in the region, as well as those that emerge within the Muslim world and developing countries. 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

### **Book**



Le Maghreb et son Sud: vers des liens renouvelés, *Mansouria Mokhefi* and *Alain Antil* (ed.) Paris, CNRS Éditions/Ifri, December.

### **Digital Publications**

• "Notes de l'Ifri"

**Is Africa's Recent Economic Growth Sustainable?** *Shanta Devarajan* and *Wolfgang Fengler*, October.



Beyond the Arab Spring: Russia's Security Interests in the Middle East, *Irina Zvyagelskaya*, November.

The new Relationships between India and North African Countries, Isabelle Saint-Mézard, November.

#### International conference

### 13 March – The International Consequences of the Arab Spring: Regional and Global Implications

In partnership with Casa Arabe (Spain), with the support of the Office chérifien des phosphates (OCP) and the cooperation of the Embassy of Canada in France.

Themes discussed: The world facing the Arab Spring – Western diplomacy put to the test with the Arab Spring – The diplomacy of emerging countries – Regional dynamics in the Middle East and North Africa.

Special guests: Germa Martin-Munoz, Director General, Casa Arabe; Hervé de Charette, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, President of the Franco-Arab Chamber of Commerce; Nassif Hitti, Ambassador of the Arab League in France; Janice Stein, Director of the Munk Centre for Global Affairs, University of Toronto; Pierre Razoux, NATO College, Rome; Alexandre Choumiline, Director, Middle East Study Centre, Institute of the USA and Canada, Moscow; James Dorsey, Researcher, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore; Hélène Thiollet, Researcher, Geostrategic Centre, École normale supérieure; Alain Dieckhoff, Research Director, CNRS/CERI Sciences Po; Ghazi Gherairi, Secretary General, International Academy of Constitutional Law; Aimi Lourimi, member of Ennahda's Executive Office, Tunisia; Omar el-Mourabet, Representative in France of the Justice and Development Party, Morocco; Ghazi Hidouci, former Algerian Minister for the Economy; José Antonio Sabadell, Deputy Director General for North Africa, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, Spain.

Chair: *Mansouria Mokhefi*, Head, Middle East/North Africa Program, Ifri; *Denis Bauchard*, Special Advisor on the Middle East. Ifri.

## North Africa/Middle East/Mediterranean Contemporary Turkey Program

The activities of the Contemporary Turkey Program, established in 2007, have 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;
- 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

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

**Julien Cécillon**, Research Assistant (until March 2012) Areas of expertise: public diplomacy in Turkey, Turkish politics, the Kurdish question

### **Digital publications**

"Repères sur la Turquie"

The AKP and the Kurdish movement: a time of confrontation, Julien Cécillon, n° 8, March.

### **Articles and Contributions Outside of Ifri**

Is the Turkish Army Playing Offside?, Dorothée Schmid, Politique internationale, autumn.

The Great Ambitions of Turkish Diplomacy, Dorothée Schmid (with Marc Semo), interview with Ahmet Davutoğlu, Politique internationale, autumn.

Tensions in the Middle East and North Africa: Can Turkey and the EU Get Along? Dorothée Schmid, in Europe, Turkey and the Mediterranean: Fostering Cooperation and Strengthening Relations, Europe in Dialogue 2012, Gütersloh, Bertelsmann Stiftung.

Turkey, the EU and the Middle East Puzzle: Cooperation or Mutual Testing Ahead? Dorothée Schmid, Turkey, the European Union, and the Transatlantic Partnership: Strategic Allies or Drifting Apart? Workshop Paper, Atlantic Council, Transatlantic Relations Program, February.

The Turkish Model Put to the Arab Spring Test, Dorothée Schmid, Questions internationales, January-February.

**Turkey: a Restless Ally**, *Dorothée Schmid, Cahiers de l'Orient*, January-March.

### **Conference-Debate**

### 5 July – Turkish-French Relations in an Evolving Environment

With Ahmet Davutoğlu, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey. Chair: Thierry de Montbrial, President, Ifri.

### **Seminars**

### 14 February — Turkey and the Arab World: Natural Partners?

Seminar in Brussels marking the release of the book *Turkey* in the Middle East, the return of a regional power? (Paris, CNRS Éditions/Ifri).

With *Marc Pierini*, Special Advisor, DG Enlargement, European Commission; *Sinan Ülgen*, Guest Researcher, Carnegie Europe, Brussels, Director of EDAM, Istanbul; Nourredine Fridhi, journalist, *Al Arabiya*, Brussels; *Ian Lesser*, Executive Director, Transatlantic Center, German Marshall Fund of the United States, Brussels; *Marc Semo*, journalist, *Libération*; *Bahadir Kaleagasi*, TÜSIAD/Institut du Bosphore.

#### 28 November - The Syrian Crisis: a Regional Crisis?

Themes discussed: Middle East: a new hierarchy of crises — The Syrian Crisis and Arab divisions — Can Turkey act?
With Dorothée Schmid, Head, Contemporary Turkey Program, Ifri; Ziad Majed, Professor, American University of Paris; Kadri Gürsel, Columnist, Milliyet.

Chair: *Christian Makarian*, Executive Manager of the Editorial Board, *L'Express*.

# Africa Sub-Saharan Africa Program

Created in 2007, the objective of the Sub-Saharan Africa Program 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 for better-informed and more effective analysis of the African continent.

#### Team

Alain Antil, 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

Thierry Vircoulon, Associate Researcher

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

Benjamin Augé, Associate Researcher

Areas of expertise: petroleum, gas, electricity, border

conflicts related to hydrocarbons **Cyril Musila**, Associate Researcher

Areas of expertise: DRC, Great Lakes zone, Central Africa, regional cooperation, post-conflict reconstruction, cross-border economic dynamics

Matthieu Pellerin, Associate Researcher

Areas of expertise: Madagascar, safety/risk countries,

corporate social responsibility

Sylvain Touati, Associate Researcher

Areas of expertise: electoral processes, emerging African

countries, Sahel, French policy in Africa

**Kathryn Nwajiaku-Dahou,** Associate Researcher Areas of expertise: Nigeria, nationalism, Niger delta

#### **Digital publications**

#### • "Notes de l'Ifri"



The Recent Blossoming in Relations between China and Madagascar, *Matthieu Pellerin*, February.

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



Consumer in an Uncertain Environment: The Paradox of African Middle Classes, Hélène Quénot-Suarez, March.

How to Create a Public Policy in a Failed State – The Challenge of Securing Land Rights, Florence Liégeois and Thierry Vircoulon, April.

The Cross Border Insecurity in Cameroun and Chad Lake, *Cyril Musila*, July.



How to Create a Public Policy in a Failed State – The Challenge of Securing Land Rights in Eastern Congo, Florence Liégeois and Thierry Vircoulon, October.

When Traffic Jams "create" the City – The Influence of Congestion on the Structure and Urban Economy of Accra (Ghana), Hélène Quénot-Suarez, October.



Oil in East Africa, a high geopolitical risk, Benjamin Augé, November.

Behind the Mirror: "Hybrid Regimes" and Traditional Authorities in Fragile States, François Gaulme, December.

### **Articles and Contributions Outside of Ifri**

One Swallow does not make a Summer. Grammar of Social and Political Mobilization and the Return of the Black Mauritanian Issue, Alain Antil and Céline Lesourd, in L'Année du Maghreb, VIII.

Cocaine Trafficking in the Sahel, Alain Antil, Études, October 2012.

The Sahel, between Rent and an Economy of Subsistence, Alain Antil and David Vigneron, Questions internationales, November-December.

**Agribusiness: Continent for Sale**, Alain Antil, Afrique Méditerranée Business, December.

#### **Conferences-Debates**

#### 24 January - Elections in DRC: an Assessment

With *Cyril Musila*, Associate Researcher, Ifri; *Jean-Claude Willame*, Professor Emeritus, Université Catholique de Louvain.

Chair: Alain Antil, Head, Sub-Saharan Africa Program, Ifri.

### 7 February – Telecommunications in Africa: Economic Issues and Social Changes

With *Marc Rennard*, Director EMEA, Orange; *Jean-Michel Huet*, Associate Director of Emerging Markets, BearingPoint; *Laura Recuero-Virto*, Researcher, OECD; *Annie Chéneau-Loquay*, Director of Research, CNRS.

Chair: *Hélène Quenot-Suarez*, Research Fellow, Sub-Saharan Africa Program, Ifri.

#### **Seminars**

### 5 June – ICTs and Agriculture in Africa: An Unexpected Alliance – Brussels

With *Léon-Charles Ciss*, Marketing Director, Africa, Middle East, Asia, Orange France Télécom; *Anna Bon*, VU University Amsterdam, Centre for International Cooperation & Network Institute.

Chair: *Hélène Quénot-Suarez*, Research Fellow, Sub-Saharan Africa Program, Ifri.

### 22 June – The Sahel in 2012: Evolutions, Security, Development

In collaboration with the Agence française de développement (AFD), CCFD-Terre solidaire, the Institute of Strategic Research of the École militaire (IRSEM) and the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs (MAEE).

Themes discussed: The crisis of the postcolonial state: sovereignty, territory, citizenship – Savings and Sahelian societies – What legitimacy do security actors have?

With Céline Lesourd, anthropologist, Laboratory of Social Anthropology (LAS), École des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS); Ferdaous Bouhlel-Hardy, doctoral student, CNRS/CERI Sciences Po; Soumeylou Boubeye-Maïga, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mali, President of the Sahel-Saharan Geopolitical and Geostrategic Observatory; Vincent Brossel, Director, Institutional Information Communication, CCFD-Terre solidaire; Mohamed Fall Ould Bah, Anthropologist, Director of the Saharan Research Centre (RESA); Caroline Bah, Director, Afrique Verte International; André Marty, Iram; Amandine Gnanguênon, Head of African studies, IRSEM; Flavien Bourrat, Program Head, Regional Securities, IRSEM; Zobel Behalal, Peace and Conflicts Advocacy Officer, CCFD-Terre solidaire; Dominique Gentil, socio-economist; Yvan Guichaoua, Professor, Researcher, University of East Anglia; Yahia Zoubir, Director of Geopolitical Research, Euromed Management; Paul Melly, Associate Researcher, Chatham House; Laurent Bigot, Deputy Director, West Africa, MAEE; François Gaulme, Head of Crises and Conflict division, AFD; Benjamin Augé, Associate Researcher, Ifri; Alain Antil, Head, Sub-Saharan Africa Program, Ifri.

### 27 November – Economic Development in Africa: The Middle-Class Solution

Themes discussed: The middle classes in Africa: the illusion of a pro-democracy political involvement – The emergence of local SMEs, a sign of a growing middle class? – A "middle class" culture in Africa?

With *Dominique Darbon*, Professor, LAM-IEP, Bordeaux; *Jean-Sébastien Bergasse*, Business Manager, Proparco; *Jean-Christophe Servant*, journalist, *Géo*, *Le Monde diplomatique*.

Chair: *Hélène Quénot-Suarez*, Research Fellow, Sub-Saharan Africa Program, Ifri.

### **12 December – Hybrid Regimes for Sustainable Peace?** In collaboration with the AFD.

With *Alice Sindzingre*, Anthropologist and economist, and *François Gaulme*, AFD.

Chair: Alain Antil, Head, Sub-Saharan Africa Program, Ifri.

## 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.

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.

#### **Team**

Laurence Nardon, Research Fellow, Program Head Areas of expertise: domestic policy, social evolution Anne-Lorraine Bujon, Associate Researcher Areas of expertise: political theory, social and cultural questions

Alexandra De Hoop Scheffer, Associate Researcher Areas of expertise: Foreign policy and security issues François Vergniolle de Chantal, Associate Researcher Areas of expertise: institutions and domestic policy

### **Digital Publications**

• "Potomac Papers"



**Texan Conservatism**, Laurence Nardon, n° 10, January.

**Is J Street a Passing Phenomenon?** *Gilbert N. Khan,* n° 11, February.

The Democratic Party under Obama and beyond, *Nicol C. Rae*, n° 12, March.

Money and Elections in the United States: The 2012 Campaign, Anne Deysine, n° 13, June.



The Irresistible Rise of the American Mormons, Anne-Lorraine Bujon, n° 14, July.

Don't Bank on Change: Finance and Regulatory Reform in the US, Herman Schwartz, n° 15, September.

### **Articles and Contributions Outside of Ifri**

The Values Divide in the United States, Laurence Nardon, in Julian Fernandez (ed.), Élections américaines, un bilan, Paris, Pedone.

The Tea Party Infusing the American Right, Anne-Lorraine Bujon, Alternatives internationales, January.

#### **Seminars**

### Seminar Series "The Obama Presidency – Year 4: Toward a Second Term?"

In collaboration with the French-American Foundation France; in partnership with the Embassy of the United States in France.

### 1<sup>er</sup> February - Republican Primaries: Who will face Obama?

With *Donald Morrison*, former Editor-in-Chief of *Time Magazine*, Europe, Author of *How Obama lost America* (Kindle Edition, 2012); *Thomas McGrath*, Chair of Republicans Abroad, France; *Connie Borde*, Chair of Democrats Abroad, France.

Chair: Laurence Nardon, Program Head, United States Program, Ifri.

### 3 May - United States: can the Economic Recovery be Confirmed?

With *Paul Horne*, former Managing Director and European equity market economist, Salomon Smith Barney (Citigroup); *Thomas McGrath*, Executive Director of TD Bank, USA; *Jean-Michel Six*, Executive Director, Standard & Poor's France.

Chair: *Philippe Manière*, Footprint Consultants and French American Foundation, France.

### 3 October – La rentrée politique à Washington, deux mois avant l'élection

With *Bruce Stokes*, Director, Global Economic Attitudes project, Pew Research Center; *Frédéric Tardy*, President-Director General, L'Atelier, BNP Paribas Group; *Gilles Biassette*, journalist, *La Croix*.

Chair: Laurence Nardon, Head, United States Program, Ifri.

#### **Annual Conference**

### 7 December – Obama Re-elected: "the Best is to come?"

In partnership with the Embassy of the United States in France and the German Marshall Fund of the United States. With the support of Viel & Cie, BNP Paribas, Davis Polk, 3M and the Clarence Westbury Foundation.

Themes discussed: The political outlook of President Obama's second term: The social and political evolutions of US public opinion as shown by the November vote — Will President Obama and the new Congress break the institutional deadlock? Can bipartisanship be renewed? — The role of the Supreme Court in US politics: what can we expect from upcoming decisions? — The economy: how to bounce back to growth? — Can we trust the current signs of a macroeconomic improvement? — Will the new energy mix boost the US economy? — Is there a future for blue-collar jobs in America; is re-industrialization possible? — Will

Obama's foreign policy be different in the next four years? – Cyber threats and cyber weapons: a US perspective – The pivot toward Asia and command of the seas – US perceptions and policies as to the risk of nuclear and ballistic proliferation – The enduring relevance of the transatlantic perspective.

With Jeff Rosen, Professor of Law, George Washington University; Corine Lesnes, Washington correspondent, Le Monde; Florence Pisani, Economist, Dexia Asset Management; Antoine Halff, Head of Oil Industry and Markets division, International Energy Agency (IEA); Rob Carnell, International Chief Economist, ING UK; David Sanger, principal Washington correspondent, The New York Times; Thomas Rid, Lecturer, King's College; Ely Ratner, Researcher, Center for a New American Security; Alex Lennon, Senior Researcher, International Security program, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS); Alexandra De Hoop Scheffer, Director of the Paris office, German Marshall Fund of the United States; Laurence Nardon, Head, United States Program, Ifri.

Conclusion: *Simon Serfaty*, Professor Emeritus, holder of the Zbigniew Brzezinski chair, CSIS.

# 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, 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 *Secret défense* blog, received widespread attention.

#### **Team**

**Étienne de Durand,** Director of the Security Studies Centre and the Defense Research Unit (LRD)

Areas of expertise: European security, French and American 22222defense policies, the "transformation" of force structures, contemporary military interventions, counterinsurrection, nuclear deterrence and proliferation

**Michel Baud,** Major (on secondment to Ifri), Research Fellow at the LRD

Areas of expertise: strategic and military questions, French defense policy

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

Areas of expertise: antimissile defense, nuclear deterrence, American defense policy, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, military transformation

**Guillaume Garnier,** Lieutenant Colonel (on secondment to Ifri), Research Fellow at the LRD

Areas of expertise: amphibious operations, urban combat, counter-insurgency, intelligence

Marc Hecker, Research Fellow at the Security Studies Center, Deputy Editor-in-Chief of *Politique étrangère* Areas of expertise: terrorism, asymmetrical conflicts, wartime communication

**Aline Lebœuf,** Research Fellow at the LRD Areas of expertise: changes in world conflicts, stabilization and post-conflict reconstruction, African conflicts

**Benoît Michel,** Major (on secondment to Ifri), Research Fellow at the LRD

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

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

#### **Book**



French Intifada? Importing the Israel-Palestine conflict, Marc Hecker, Paris, Ellipses.

Investment in and use of the Internet by the military sphere, *Marc Hecker* and *Thomas Rid*, Paris, IRSEM, "Étude de l'IRSEM", n° 13.

### **Digital Publications**

• "Focus stratégiques"



Helicopter Warfare. The Future of Airmobility and Rotary Wing Combat, Étienne de Durand, Benoît Michel and Élie Tenenbaum, n° 32 bis, January.



Between Sky and Earth. The Air-Ground Debate and the Challenges of Fire Support, Élie Tenenbaum, n° 35, February.

Budget in France, between Denial and Decline, Martial Foucault, n° 36, April.

**Airborne Operations: Strategic Depth in Question**, *Benoît Michel*, n° 37, May.

Establishing the Rule of Law: The UN Challenge in Kosovo, *Jean-Christian Cady*, n° 34 bis, June.

**Building Security Institutions: Lessons Learned in Afghanistan**, *Olivier Neola*, n° 38, July.

Reserves in the Frontlines? The Citizen-Soldier in the Interim, *Michel Baud*, n° 39, September.

The Battle over Fire Support: The CAS Challenge and the Future of Artillery, *Élie Tenenbaum*, n° 35 bis, October.

**Containing Piracy: Complex Responses to a Persistent Threat**, *Hugues Eudeline*, n° 40, November.

The Defense Budget in France, between Denial and Decline, *Martial Foucault*, n° 36 bis, December

• "Proliferation Papers"

Dancing with the Bear: Managing Escalation in a Conflict with Russia, Forrest E. Morgan, n° 40, March.

Cruise Missiles and NATO Missile Defense: Under the Radar? *Dennis M. Gormley*, n° 41, April.



Proliferation and Nonproliferation in the Early Twenty-First Century:
The Permanent Five Hold the Key to Success, David Santoro, n° 42, May.

**Deterring the Weak: Problems and Prospects**, *James J. Wirtz*, n° 43, October.

Ballistic Missile Defense in Japan: Deterrence and Military Transformation, Sugio Takahashi, n° 44, December.

### **Articles and Contributions Outside of Ifri**

From Virtual to Reality: The limpact of Social Forces on the Web, Marc Hecker, Nicolas Vanbremeersch, Marguerite de Durand and Thibault Souchet, Revue Défense Nationale, December.

Learning from Allies. Reflections on the Movement of Irregular Strategic Knowledge in the West, Élie Tenenbaum, in Michel Goya and Camille Sicourmat (eds.), L'Académie de la Boue. Regards croisés sur l'apprentissage des forces armées, Paris, IRSEM, "Laboratoire de l'IRSEM", n° 10.

South-East Asia, a Strategic Laboratory of Irregular Warfare from 1945 to Today, Élie Tenenbaum, in Pierre Journoud (ed.), L'Évolution du débat stratégique en Asie du Sud-Est depuis 1945, Paris, IRSEM, "Étude de l'IRSEM", n° 14.

### **Seminars**

#### **Brown-bag Seminars**

In partnership with the Foundation for Strategic Research (FRS) and the blog *Secret Défense*.

**19 January – The European Union: a Player in Defense?** With *Jolyon Howorth*, Professor, Yale University.

**26** January – Across the Channel or across the Rhine? With *Alastair Cameron*, Associate Researcher, RUSI and FRS; *Claudia Major*, Research, SWP.

**16 February – A Vision for the Future of French Defense**With *Louis Gautier,* Professor, University Jean-Moulin Lyon III, Chief Counsellor at the *Cour des Comptes*.

**22** March – One Vision for the Future of French Defense With *Arnaud Danjean*, Member of European Parliament.

10 May – What Scenarios for French Nuclear Capabilities and Positioning?

With Bruno Tertrais, Senior Researcher. FRS.

#### 20 September - French Defense after the Elections

With Camille Grand, Director, FRS; Jean-Dominique Merchet, journalist, Marianne; Étienne de Durand, Director, Security Studies Center, Ifri.

### 22 November – Lessons for the Future 20 Years of Air and Ground Operations

With *Colonel Michel Goya*, Director of the Nouveaux Conflits division, IRSEM, and *Colonel Jean-Christophe Noël*, Direction de la prospective (DP), Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs.

#### FRUK Defence Forum

This program of seminars and round tables is a joint initiative by Ifri, the Center for European Reform, Chatham House, the Foundation for Strategic Research (FRS) and the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI).

### 22 February – Year two of the Franco-British Bilateral Defence Cooperation

Launch seminar

With Alexis Morel, Technical Advisor for Political and Security Affairs, Presidency of the French Republic; Bob Regan, Head of International Policy – France at UK Ministry of Defence; Rear Admiral Pascal Ausseur, Head of the International Organizations Division, Army Staff, French Department of Defence; Patricia Lewis, Director of Research, International Security, Chatham House; Camille Grand, Director of the FRS; John Louth, Senior Researcher, Deputy Director, Defence Industries and Society Program, RUSI; Tomas Valasek, Director of Foreign and Defense policy, CER; Étienne de Durand, Director, Security Studies Centre, Ifri.

#### 17 July – Fruk Defense Forum Roundtable

Seminar organised at the FRS, with *Camille Grand*, Director, FRS, and *Étienne de Durand*, Director, Security Studies Centre, Ifri.

**19 September – Politics and Strategy –** Chatham House, London

Round table with *Sir Peter Ricketts*, Ambassador of the UK in France.

### 17 December – The European Dimensions of Franco-British Defence Cooperation – CER, Brussels

Round table with *Philippe Errera*, Permanent Representative of France to NATO; *Julian Braithwaite*, UK Representative to the Political and Security Committee (PSC) of the EU; Lieutenant General *Ton Van Osch*, Director General of the General Staff of the EU.

### **Conferences at the Eurosatory Exhibition**

### 12 June – The Strategic Environment and its Capability Implications

Seminar with *Michael Codner*, Director, Military Science Department, RUSI; *John Louth*, Director, Defence, Industries and Society Program (DISP), RUSI; *Philippe Gros*, Head of Research, FRS; *Riad Kahwaji*, Director, Inegma; *Corentin Brustlein*, Research Fellow, Security Studies Center, Ifri.

### 13 June – Franco-British Outlook for Defence and Industrial Cooperation

With Heinrik Heidenkamp, Researcher, DISP, RUSI; Alastair Cameron, Director, European Security Program, RUSI; Étienne de Durand, Director, Security Studies Center, Ifri.

### 14 June – What are the Prospects for Defence Industries in Europe?

With Camille Grand, Director, FRS; Étienne de Durand, Director, Security Studies Center, Ifri; Hélène Masson, Senior Researcher, FRS.

### **Seminars of the Proliferation Program**

In collaboration with the CEA

### 25 October – US Nuclear Strategy in an Era of Budget Constraints

With *Jon Wolfsthal*, Deputy Director, Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey.

#### 19 November - The Future of Deterrence in Europe

With *Sir Lawrence Freedman*, Vice-President and Professor of War Studies, King's College, London.

#### **LRD Conferences and Seminars**

### 31 May – What Defence Budget for What Ambitions?

With General Jean-Louis Georgelin; Camille Grand, Director, FRS; Jean-Dominique Merchet, journalist, Marianne.
Chair: Étienne de Durand, Director, Security Studies Center, Ifri.

#### 13 July - Libya: an American Perspective on Operations

With Stephen E. "Wilbur" Wright, former Dean of Academic Affairs, US Air War College, Professor, School of Advanced Air and Space Studies; Étienne de Durand, Director, Security Studies Center, Ifri.

### 3 December – The Army after Afghanistan: Careers, Employment and Challenges

With Lieutenant Colonel *Guillaume Garnier*, Research Fellow, LRD, Ifri; *Philippe Gros*, Head of Research, FRS; Colonel *Michel Goya*, IRSEM; General *Serge Garrigues*, Head of the Paris Security Defense Zone (SGZDS); *Dominique David*, Executive Vice-President, Ifri; *Étienne de Durand*, Director, Security Studies Center, Ifri.

### **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 2012 were dedicated in particular to the future of the French Army and the war in Libya.

### Space Program

Ifri's Space Program seeks to establish the importance of space as a political subject among policymakers 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, Space Program

Areas of expertise: American space policy, space and security

Christophe Venet, Associate Researcher

Areas of expertise: European space policy, space and

security

### **Book**



European Identity through Space: Space Activities and Programmes as a Tool to Reinvigorate the European Identity, Christophe Venet and Blandina Baranes (eds.), Vienne, Springer.

### **Digital Publications**

• "The Europe & Space Series"

**2012, A Turning Point for Europe in Space**, *Christophe Venet*, March.

The European Space Industry, an Endangered Species? *Christophe Venet*, April.

Launcher Policy in Europe: From Symbol to the Market? *Christophe Venet*, June.

### Articles and contributions outside of Ifri

**European Space Governance, the Outlook,** *Christophe Venet, Space Policy,* vol. 28, n° 1.

The European Union as an Emerging Actor in Space Security? Christophe Venet and Max Mutschler, Space Policy, vol. 28, n° 2.

Europe in the Stars: The Franco-German Relationship in Space, Christophe Venet, Dokumente/Documents, n° 3.

### **International Conferences**

11 September – International Relations and Space: The European Approach – Brussels

Annual conference, in collaboration with the Secure World Foundation (SWF).

Themes discussed: International Relations in Space: Challenges and Opportunities in Europe — Which Governance for Europe's Global Leadership? — The EC's View on a European Strategy for International Relations in Space — ESA's International Relations Strategy — National Strategies for IR in Space: the Case of Germany — Space and the EEAS — Cooperation in Space Security between Europe and the US.

Space Cooperation for Europe's Global Leadership – Which Role for Europe in the Global Space Exploration Strategy? – Space Security: Is Europe a Credible Diplomatic Actor? – Space and Global Environment Stewardship – The Rationale of Cooperating in Space: Finding a Balance between Cooperation, Competition and Autonomy – The Geographic Priorities of European Space Cooperation.

What it Means to be Partners in Space – Which Cooperation Strategy between ESA and non-ESA European States? Space for Africa: Which Content for the Partnership? Europe as a Cooperation Partner: an Outsider's View – The Way Forward: Building Blocks for a European Strategy for International Relations in Space.

With special guests Agnieszka Lukaszczyk, Director, Brussels office, Secure World Foundation; Augusto Gonzalez, Head, EC Directorate-General Enterprise and Industry's Space Policy Unit; Géraldine Naja, Head, Strategic Studies, European Space Agency (ESA); Christoph Becker, Director of strategy and the IR division, German Space Agency (DLR); Frank Asbeck, Principal Adviser for Security and Space Policy, European External Action Service, EEAS; Frank Rose, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Space and Defense Policy, US Department of State; Kevin Madders, Associate Director, Systemics Network International; Vincent Sabathier, Senior Associate Researcher, Technology and Public Policy Program, CSIS; Kazuto Suzuki, Guest Professor, Woodrow Wilson School of International Relations, Princeton University; Jean-Paul Malingreau, Scientific Adviser to DG on Foresight and Anticipation at European Commission, Joint Research Center; Jean-Louis Fellous, Executive Director, Committee on Space Research; Peter Hulsroj, Director, ESPI; Maciej Staniak, Senior Expert, Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Stefano Carda, European Commission; Rajeswari Pillai Rajagopalan, Researcher, Observer Research Foundation; Gérard Brachet, Member, Advisory Committee, SWF, independent aerospace policy consultant, Vice-President, International Astronautical Federation; Christophe Venet, Research Associate, Space Program, Ifri.

30 October – European On-Orbit Satellite Servicing and Active Debris Removal – Brussels

In collaboration with the SWF.

Themes discussed: European OOS and ADR Activities -

Summary of DARPA's Conference on Sustainable Satellite Servicing – Overview of the International Security and Stability Challenges with OOS and ADR – Legal Challenges with OOS and ADR – Commercial Sector Perspectives – International Cooperative Initiatives on Space.

With special guests Michael Simpson, SWF; Luisa Innocenti, ESA HQ; Bernd Sommer, DLR/CNES; Muriel Richard, Swiss Space Center; David Barnhart, DARPA; Tiffany Chow, SWF; Tanja Masson-Zwan, Leiden University; Martha Mejia-Kaiser, International Institute of Space Law; Yaw Nyampong, McGill University; Lesley-Jane Smith, Weber-Steinhaus & Smith; Stewart Sanders, SES Eutelsat; Didier Alary, EADS Astrium; Antoine Bavandi, Argo Assurances; Joerg Kreisel, JKIC; Laura Gatti, Thales Alenia Space; Agnieszka Lukaszczyk, SWF; Richard Buenneke, US Department of State; Pierre-Louis Lempereur, European External Action Service, SEAE; Richard Crowther, United Kingdom Space Agency; Christophe Venet, Research Associate, Space Program, 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. Particular attention is paid to European debates; identifing energy strategies at the Community level while respecting the energy choices of member states and the new environmental constraints on public policy is a challenge in implementing an energy policy at European level.

#### **Team**

Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin, Director

Areas of expertise: Kyoto Protocol, carbon governance,

renewable energy, European energy policy

Jacques Lesourne, President of the Center's Scientific

Committee

Maïté de Boncourt, Research Fellow

Areas of expertise: transportation, Middle East Laura Parmigiani, Research Fellow (Brussels)

Area of expertise: gas markets **Martine Breux**: Assistant

### **Digital Publications**

• "Notes de l'Ifri"



The European Power System – Decarbonization and Cost Reduction: Lost in Transmissions, Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin, January.

**Evolution of Germany's Energy Situation**, *Michel Cruciani*, April.

Support Growth, reduce Emissions: Could China be a Model for Climate Policy? *Thibaut Voïta*, May.

An Overview of Italy's Energy Mix, Corrado Camni et Mattia Assanelli, June.



Powering Kuwait into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Adopting a Sustainable Strategy, *Maïté* de Boncourt, September.

The CGG States of the Persian Gulf and Asia Energy Relations, *Thierry Kellner*, September.

The European Coal Market: Will Coal Survive the EC's Energy and Climate Policy?, Sylvie Cornot-Gandolphe, October.

**Positioning of Nuclear in the Japanese Energy Mix**, *Tatsui Masuda* and *Ryiochi Komiyama*, October.

The UK's Electricity Mix, Charlotte Trébuchet, November.

#### • "Éditos"

Energy in Germany: Three Possible Trajectories from 2012 to 2022, Jacques Lesourne, January.

February Gas Pains in Europe – Coping is not Managing. The Italian Response to the Gas Crisis, Laura Parmigiani, February.

**Energy in 2040 according to Exxon-Mobil,** *Jacques Lesourne*, March.

**Gas and Geopolitics**, *Jacques Lesourne* and *Laura Parmigiani*, May.

Reading the "RIO + 20" Declaration, Jacques Lesourne, July.

**Towards a New Geopolitics of Energy?** *Laura Parmigiani,* September.

Towards Gas-on-Gas Competition in Europe: From Trends to Reality? Laura Parmigiani, October.

What Role for the EU in Doha? Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin, November.

Organizing the "Energy Transition": What the French can learn from the Germany "Turning Point?", Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin. December.

#### **Articles and Contributions Outside of Ifri**

Verbotene Liebe – Eine Französische Position zur Zukunft der Kernergie, Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin, "DGAP Analyse", n° 14, October.

#### **Conferences-Debates**

## 17 January – Climate and Energy in Europe at the Threshold of 2012

With Emmanuel Guérin, Director, Climate Program, Institute for Sustainable Development and International Relations (IDDRI); Jacques Lesourne, President of the Scientific Committee, Center for Energy, Ifri; William Ramsay, Senior Advisor, Center for Energy, Ifri; Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin, Director, Center for Energy, Ifri.

Chair: *Jacques Lesourne*, President of the Scientific Committee, Center for Energy, Ifri.

#### 12 October - France: What Energy Efficiency?

With Yamina Saheb, Senior Analyst, International Energy Agency (IEA); *Thibaud Voïta*, Energy Consultant, International Partnership for Energy Efficiency Cooperation (IPEEC).

Chair: *Jacques Lesourne*, President of the Scientific Committee, Center for Energy, Ifri; *Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin*, Director, Center for Energy, Ifri.

#### The Ifri Energy Breakfast Roundtables (Brussels)

## 14 March – After Durban: US and Japan Climate Change Approaches and Actions

With *Jun Arima*, Director General, JETRO London, Special Advisor on Global Environmental Affairs, METI (Japan); *Dale Eppler*, Advisor, Environment, Science and Technology, American Mission to the EU.

Chair: *Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin*, Director, Center for Energy, Ifri; *Jacques Lesourne*, President of the Scientific Committee, Center for Energy, Ifri.

## 7 June – Unconventional Fuels: An Energy Revolution that Is also about Oil

With *Michael Cohen*, Senior Oil Market Analyst, IEA; *Marcus Lippold*, Coordinator, International Energy Relations and Oil Dialogue and International Cooperation, DG Energy, European Commission; *Roland Vially*, Project Leader Unconventional Hydrocarbon, IFPEN.

Chair: William C. Ramsay, Senior Advisor, Center for Energy, Ifri; Jacques Lesourne, President of the Scientific Committee, Center for Energy, Ifri.

## 12 July - Nuclear Phase-Out In Germany: Lessons To Be Drawn

With *Mathias Dürr*, Head of Brussels Office, RWE AG; *Luc Van Nuffel*, Head of Regulatory Affairs, Department of Strategy and Sustainable Development, Electrabel GDF Suez; *Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin*, Director, Center for Energy, Ifri.

Chair: *Jacques Lesourne*, President of the Scientific Committee, Center for Energy, Ifri.

## 19 September – Reshuffling Energy Cards in the Middle East and North Africa: Snapshots

With Antoine Halff, Head, Oil Industry and Markets Division, Editor, Oil Market Report, International Energy Agency (IEA); Françis Perrin, President/Director of Publication and Redaction of Stratégies et Politiques énergétiques, Paris, Chief Editor, Arab Petroleum Research Center; Maïté de Boncourt, Research Fellow, Center for Energy, Ifri.

Chair: *Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin*, Director, Center for Energy, Ifri; *Jacques Lesourne*, President of the Scientific Committee, Center for Energy, Ifri.

#### 18 October - The Golden Age Of Coal?

With Sylvie Cornot-Gandolphe, Energy Economist; Brian Ricketts, Secretary General, European Association for Coal and Lignite (Euracoal); Mechtild Wörsdörfer, Head of Unit, Energy Policy and Monitoring of Electricity, Gas, Coal and Oil Markets, DG Energy, European Commission.

Chair: Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin, Director, Center for Energy, Ifri, Jacques Lesourne, President of the Scientific Committee, Center for Energy, Ifri.

## 13 December – Distribution: The Forgotten Constellation of the European Power Network

With *Valérie Le Peltier*, Pôle Utilities, Smart Cities Program, Orange; *Jean-Baptiste Galland*, Director, Strategy and Smart Grids, ERDF Distribution, CEZ Distribution expert.

Chair: *Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin*, Director, Center for Energy, Ifri, *Jacques Lesourne*, President of the Scientific Committee, Center for Energy, Ifri.

#### **Huis-Clos Seminar (Brussels)**

#### 11 July - Capacity Mechanism: EU or National Issue?

Themes discussed: The Swedish Strategic Reserve – The Spanish Capacity Payments System.

With *Cecilia Hellner*, Director, European Affairs, Vattenfall AB; *Diego Samuel Roldan Cabanillas*, Electricity Market Management Analyst, CNE; *Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin*, Director, Center for Energy, Ifri.

#### **Seminars**

#### 14 November - World Energy Outlook 2012

In partnership with the Paris School of International Affairs (PSIA) and the Association of Students, Sciences Po.

Themes discussed: Which are the Current Trends in Energy Markets? — What Do Energy Security, Environmental Protection and Economic Development at Global Level Mean?

With *Dan Dorner*, Senior Energy Analyst, IEA; *Giacomo Luciani*, Scientific Advisor to the Master's in International Energy, PSIA, Co-Director of the Executive Master's in International Oil and Gas Leadership at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva; *Eleanor Morrison*, Visiting Lecturer for the Master's in International Energy, PSIA, Senior Consultant, Commodity Reach Consulting; *Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin*, Director, Center for Energy, Ifri.

#### **International Conferences**

## **16 February – Energy Tectonics: The Plates Are Shifting –**Brussels

Annual conference

Themes discussed: Fossil Fuels Back in The Game – A Sustainable Energy Mix Even After Fukushima? – Technologies: What's in The Pipe? – Global Warming – Going too Slow, but Still Going?

Opening by *Thierry de Montbrial*, President, Ifri, and *Urban Rusnak*, Secretary General, Energy Charter.

With special guests *William Ramsay*, Special Advisor, Center for Energy, Ifri; *Dominique Maillard*, Executive Director, RTE; *Olivier Appert*, President-Director General, IFP Energies nouvelles (IFPEN); *Claude Mandil*, Former Executive Director, AIE; *Jacques Lesourne*, President of the Scientific Committee, Center for Energy, Ifri.

## 27 March – Natural Resources: The New Geopolitical Great Game

With *Geoffrey Kemp*, Director, Regional Strategic Programs, Center for the National Interest; *Stacy Vandeveer*, Associate Professor and Director of the Master's in Political Science, University of New Hampshire; *Corey Johnson*, Assistant Professor of Geography, University of North Carolina, Greensboro.

## 13 April – The Role of Azerbaijan in the European Energy Security Strategy – Paris

Opening by *Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin*, Director, Center for Energy, Ifri, and *Gulshan Pashayeva*, Deputy Director, SAM Center for Strategic Studies.

With Jean-Marie Bockel, Senator; Nathalie Komatitsch, Vice-President Azerbaijan, Total SA; Gulmira Rszaveya, Research Fellow, SAM; Konstantin Simonov, Director General, The National Energy Fund, Moscow.

#### 26 October – Energy Perspectives for Iraq – Paris

In collaboration with the IEA

Opening by *Thierry de Montbrial*, President, Ifri; *Maria Van Der Hoeven*, Executive Director, IEA; *Pierre-Franck Chevet*, Director General Energy and Climate, Ministry of Ecology, Sustainable Development, Transport and Housing.

With Fatih Birol, Chief Economist, IEA; Thamir Ghadhban, Chair, Prime Minister's Advisory Committee, Iraq; Fareed Yasseen, Ambassador of Iraq in France; Olivier Appert, President, IFP-EN; Laith Hayawi, Country President Iraq, Alstom; Pierre-Marie Abadie, Director of Energy, DGEC; Dorothée Schmid, Research Fellow, Head of Contemporary Turkey Program, Ifri.

## 28 November - Accessing Oil, Gas and Minerals in a Changing World - Brussels

Conference co-organized with the Research Department of the European Commission for the Polinares project, *EU Policy on Natural Resources*.

Themes discussed: Grappling with natural resources complexity: The aims, structure and approach of Polinares – Broadening the perspective on access to oil, gas and minerals: Polinares results – Future mineral availability: tensions and gaps – Current challenges and opportunities in energy and uncertain futures – Policy choices for better access to oil, gas and minerals – From projects to policies: fostering the debate among institutions on access to resources – Broadening NATO's Strategic Horizon: Understanding the key drivers of international security – Internalizing natural resources challenges into European policies – Preparing for an uncertain future: What we have learnt from Polinares.

With Octavi Quintana, Director, European Commission, DG RTD; Domenico Rossetti, European Commission, DG RTD; Philip Andrews-Speed, Polinares Scientific Coordinator, University of Westminster; Peter Buchholz, Head of Mineral Economics Unit, BGR; Coby Van Der Linde, Director, CIEP; Peter Styles, University of Dundee; João Marques de Almeida, European Commission, BEPA; Michael Rühle, Head, Energy Security Section, Emerging Security Challenges Division, NATO; Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin, Director, Center for Energy, Ifri.

# Center for Migrations and Citizenship

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 (the 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, Columbia University; Social Science Research Council), and the Mediterranean region (American University of Beirut, Mohammed V University in Rabat).

#### **Team**

Christophe Bertossi, Director

Areas of expertise: citizenship, ethnicity, institutions (armies and health), migration policies

Emma Broughton, Junior Research Fellow

Areas of expertise: migration policies (Europe and developing countries), migration and companies **Dorothée Prud'homme**, Junior Research Fellow

Areas of expertise: discrimination and health, ethnicity,

migration policies

Danièle Joly, Associate Researcher

Areas of expertise: migration policies, asylum,

discrimination, multiculturalism **Marie Bassi**, Associate Researcher

Areas of expertise: migration policies, immigration in

Southern Europe

Imad Bou Akl, Associate Researcher

Areas of expertise: culture and health, multiculturalism,

Lebanon

Jan Willem Duyvendak, Associate Researcher Areas of expertise: citizenship, multiculturalism, social

movements

#### **Book**



As Cruzadas da Integração na Europa, Christophe Bertossi, Lisbonne, Principia/Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian.

#### **Digital Publications**

• "Notes de l'Ifri"



Migration Policy and Irregular Workers in the United Kingdom, Danièle Joly, Khursheed Wadia, February.



Greece: How a State in Crisis Manages its Migration Crisis, Anna Tryandafillidou, March.

Undocumented Workers in Spain and the Politics of Regularization, *Inara Stürckow*, May.

Temporary Workers or Permanent Migrants? The Kafala System and Contestations over Residency in the Arab Gulf States, *Noora Lori*, November.

#### **Articles and Contributions Outside of Ifri**

The Problems of National Models of Integration: A Franco-Dutch Comparison, Christophe Bertossi (with Jan Willem Duyvendak and Martin Schain) (ed.), special issue of Comparative European Politics, vol. 10, n° 5.

National Models of Integration and the Crisis of Multiculturalism: A Critical Comparative Perspective, Christophe Bertossi (with Jan Willem Duyvendak and Martin Schain) (ed.), special issue of Patterns of Prejudice, vol. 46, n° 5.

The Performativity of Colour Blindness: Race Politics and Immigrant Integration in France (1980-2012), Christophe Bertossi, Patterns of Prejudice, vol. 46, n° 5.

French Republicanism and the Problem of Normative Density, Christophe Bertossi, Comparative European Politics, vol. 10, n° 5.

Beyond the Crisis of Citizenship: The New Discourse on Immigrants' Integration and its Performative Effects in France, Britain and the Netherlands, Christophe Bertossi, in M. Verea (ed.), Anti-immigrant Sentiments, Actions and Policies in the North American Region and the European Union, Mexico City, CISAN-UNAM.

#### **Seminars**

## January-December – The "Employers and Migrations" Working Group

Series of closed-door seminars of the "Employers and Migrations" working group that brings together 12 representatives from the CAC 40 companies to discuss the future of migratory policy in France, with the support of Veolia Propreté.

With special guests *Valérie Klein*, Synhorcat, and *Raymond Chauveau*, CGT (January 25); Étienne Delpit, Ministry of Labour, and *Philippe Garabiol*, Ministry of the Interior (February 16); *Louis-Georges Tin*, CRAN (March 13); *Yannick Blanc*, Regional Council of Ile-de-France (March 27); *George Pau-Langevin*, Deputy (May 10); *Sandrine Mazetier*, Vice-President of the Assemblée nationale, and *Mathilde Bazy*, Minister for the Economy (November 22); *Pierre-Aimery Clarke de Dromantin*, AFEP (December 4); *Raphaël Sodini*, Immigration Advisor to the Ministry of the Interior (December 19).

**30** November-1 December – Equality in our Neighbourhoods Starts now! – Paris, Palais du Luxembourg 2012 edition of "Pari(s) du vivre ensemble", in partnership with Ifri's Center for Migrations and Citizenship.

With special guests *Cécile Duflot*, Minister for Territorial Equality and Housing; *Esther Benbassa*, Senator; *Jean-Christophe Attias*, Head of Studies, EPHE; *Christophe Bertossi*, Director, Center for Migrations and Citizenship, Ifri.

#### **International Conferences**

## 26-27 January – Belonging and Participation in Multicultural Europe – Lisbon

International symposium in the framework of the European project SUCCESS, led by Ifri and funded by the Europe for Citizens Program of the European Commission, in partnership with the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.

Theme discussed: The relationship between young people from immigrant families with political institutions: comparisons between the EU and the United States.

With William D. Burns, Alderman, City of Chicago; Dominique Voynet, Mayor of Montreuil; Rosário Farmhouse, Portuguese High Commissioner for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue; Christophe Bertossi, Director, Center for Migrations and Citizenship, Ifri.

## January-December – Ateliers SUCCESS – Voicing Democracy in Successful Societies

26 meetings to discuss citizenship and multiculturalism held in Palermo, Birmingham, Lisbon and Montreuil, as part of the SUCCESS project, funded by the European Commission. With special guests *Khursheed Wadia*, University of Warwick; *Helder Delgado*, IPAV; *Maria Chiara Monti*, University of Palermo; *Marie Bassi*, Sciences Po; *Esther Benbassa*, Senator; *Tara Dickman*, "Contre le contrôle au faciès" collective; *Rui Marques*, IPAV; *Guillaume Capelle*, Head of the www.voicingsuccess.eu project website.

#### **Conferences and Breakfast Debates**

## 13 January – Business and the State: Migration Policies, Diversity and Integration

Conference in collaboration with the Embassy of the United States in France and with the support of Veolia Propreté. With Lieutenant General *Thomas Bostick,* Deputy Chief of Staff, G-1, US Army; *Jesús "Chuy" García,* Cook County Commissioner, Chicago; *Pascal Decary,* Executive Director in charge of Human Relations, Veolia Propreté; *Kathleen Newland,* Co-Founder, Migration Policy Institute.

## Publications - 2012

#### Works Published Outside of Ifri or Co-Published

**Journal de Russie – 1977-2001,** *Thierry de Montbrial,* Éditions du Rocher, March.

Utilisation et investissement de la sphère Internet par les militaires, *Marc Hecker* and *Thomas Rid*, Paris, IRSEM, 2012, "Études de l'IRSEM", n° 13, March.

Intifada française? De l'importation du conflit israélopalestinien, *Marc Hecker*, Paris, Ellipses.

Le Nouveau Monde arabe. Enjeux et instabilités, Denis Bauchard, Brussels, André Versaille, publisher.

**Journal de Roumanie,** *Thierry de Montbrial,* Bucharest, Editura RAO.

The Problems with National Models of Integration: A Franco-Dutch Comparison, Christophe Bertossi, Jan Willem Duyvendak and Martin A. Schain (ed.), Comparative European Politics, vol. 10, n° 3, July 2012.

As Cruzadas da Integração na Europa, Christophe Bertossi, Lisbon, Principia/Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian.

**European Identity Through Space,** *Christophe Venet* and *Blandina Baranes*, Vienna, Springer.

Les Relations franco-allemandes dans une Europe divisée, *Gilbert Ziebura*, Paris/Bordeaux, Ifri/Presses universitaires de Bordeaux.

Les Relations franco-allemandes dans une Europe unifiée, Hans Stark, Martin Koopmann and Joachim Schild (ed.), Paris/Bordeaux, Ifri/Presses universitaires de Bordeaux.

Le Maghreb et son Sud: vers des liens renouvelés, Mansouria Mokhefi and Alain Antil (ed.), Paris, Ifri/CNRS Éditions.

#### **Digital Publications, Articles**

#### **Europe**

#### • Cerfa Publications

#### "Notes du Cerfa"

Germany's Policies towards Africa: How can They converge with France? Andreas Mehler et Christian von Soest, n° 92, January.

Removing Nuclear Energy from Germany: Energy Policy Scenarios, Brigitte Knopf, Hendrik Kondziella, Michael Pahle, Mario Götz, Thomas Bruckner and Ottmar Edenhofer, n° 93, February.

France and Germany facing the Crisis: Doubts about Diagnostics and Methods, Sylvie Goulard, n° 94a, March.

European Global Governance: the Union at a Crossroads, *Pervenche Berès*, n° 94b, April.

**Europe and the Debt Crisis: German Policy Debates,** *Daniela Schwarzer,* n° 95, June.

The Issues of Strategic Dialogue between France and Germany, Lothar Rühl, n° 96, July.

Changes in the German party system: are pirates coming aboard? Stephan Klecha, n° 97, September.

German-Russian Relations: Balance Sheet since 2000 and Perspectives until 2025, Hannes Adomeit, n° 98, October. German-British relations in the moment of truth, Roderick Parkes, n° 99, November.

#### CFA Publications

#### "Analyses du CFA"

The Polish Presence at the Council of the European Union, *Agnieszka Lada*, n° 2, March.

The European Future of Serbia, Florent Marciacq, n° 3, December.

#### • Ifri Brussels Publications

#### **Articles and Contributions Outside of Ifri**

Antimissile Defense: American surely, European maybe, Vivien Pertusot, Revue Défense Nationale, July.

France and the EEAS: A Give-and-Take Relationship, Vivien Pertusot, in Reviewing Member States' Commitment to the European External Action Service, EPIN Paper, n° 34, November.

The Next French President on European Defense: Working out a Framework to Move Forward, Vivien Pertusot, Carnegie Europe Commentary, May.

Hollande and Afghanistan: A Delicate Balance, Vivien Pertusot, Atlantic Community, May.

#### Russia/NIS

#### "Russie.Nei.Visions"

(collection published in English, French and Russian)

**Decoding Russia's WTO Accession,** *Dominic Fean,* n° 64, February.

Russia's Arctic Policy and the Northern Fleet Modernization, Pavel Baev, n° 65, August.

The WTO and the Customs Union: What Consequences for the Russian Banking Sector? *Dmitri Miroshnichenko*, n° 66, October.

#### "Russie.Nei.Reports"

(collection published in English or French)

Federal University of the Urals, a future "regional Harvard"? *Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean* and *Tatiana Mechkova,* n° 9, January.

The Web in Russia: from virtual reality to political reality? *Julien Nocetti*, n° 10, March.

Ukraine at the Crossroads: Between the EU DCFTA and Customs Union, Olga Shumylo-Tapiola, n° 11, April.

The Religious Diplomacy of the Russian Federation, *Alicja Curanovic*, n° 12, June.

Russian Business and Universities: from Cooperation to Recruitment, Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean, n° 13, October.

Kazakhstan and Eurasian Economic Integration: Quick Start, Mixed Results and Uncertain Future, Nargis Kassenova, n° 14, November.

WTO: Implications for the Russian Agricultural Sector? *Pascal Grouiez*, n° 15, December.

#### **Articles and Contributions Outside of Ifri**

Vladimir Putin's Power Projects (2000-2008): an Expert Historian's Reading, Thomas Gomart, in L'Historien et les relations internationales. With Robert Frank, Jean-Michel Guieu and Claire Sanderson (ed.), Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne.

**Vladimir Putin: Dominant Male of all Russias?** *Thomas Gomart, Revue des deux mondes,* January.

Universities and Business: Two Worlds Moving Closer, *Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean, Revue internationale des études* pédagogiques, n° 59, April.

**France, a Central Hinge for Europe,** *Thomas Gomart* (with *Étienne de Durand*), *Revue des deux mondes,* April.

**Internet in Russia, Strong Growth,** *Julien Nocetti, Les Cahiers de l'ARCEP,* n° 8, June.

Russia: How to read the Syrian Crisis? Julien Nocetti, Diplomatie, n° 58, September.

Russians and Political Mobilization through the Internet, Julien Nocetti, Questions internationales, n° 57, September-October.

**Russia: in the Process of Redefining its linternational Position,** *Thomas Gomart, Questions internationales,* n° 57,
September-October.

#### Asia

#### "Asie.Visions"

Internet Companies in China: Dancing between the Party Line and the Bottom Line, Min Jian, n° 47, January.

Doors Wide Shut? An Update on FDI Regulations in China, *Françoise Nicolas*, n° 48, January.

The Expanding Chinese Footprint in Latin America – New Challenges for China and Dilemmas for the US, Evan Ellis, n° 49, February.

The Economic Opportunities and Constraints of Green Growth – The Case of South Korea, Jae-Seung Lee and Jung-Min Yu, n° 50, February.

New Economic Development Opportunities for Taiwan in the Post-EFCA Era, Da-Nien Liu and Hui-Tzu Shih, n° 51, April.

China and Cleaner Coal: A Marriage of Necessity Destined for Failure? *John Seaman*, n° 52, April.

Rereading the Stakes for India and China in Burma, Renaud Egreteau, n° 53, September.

Globalization of Japanese firms – Long-run Trends, Crosssectional Variations, and Policy Implications, Eiichi Tomiura, n° 54, October.

A EU-Japan Free Trade Agreement – Toward More Solid Economic Relations, *Hiromasa Kubo*, n° 55, November.

Challenges and Opportunities of an EU-Taiwan ECA: A Review of Political-Economic Perspectives, *Tseng Yea Jen,* n° 56, November.

Negotiating for a Malaysia-EU FTA: Contesting Interests from Malaysia's Perspective, Tham Siew Yean, n° 57, November.

China's Two-Track Foreign Policy – From Ambiguous to Clear-Cut Positions, *Alice Ekman*, n° 58, December.

Ballistic Missile Defense in Japan: Deterrence and Military Transformation, Sugio Takahashi, n° 59, December.

#### "Canon-Ifri Paper Series"

The Fukushima Nuclear Accident and a Long-Term Energy Vision for Japan, Tetsuo Yuhara, n° 6, April.

The Ongoing Economic Crisis – 1 & 2: Comments on the EU Strategy / The Causes of the Crisis, Daisuke Kotegawa, nos 7 and 8, May.

The Ongoing Economic Crisis – 3 & 4: The US Authorities and the Financial Crisis / Fiscal Austerity as a Mistake, Daisuke Kotegawa, n° 9 and 10, June.

The Ongoing Economic Crisis – 5: What Precipitated the Economic Bubble in Europe, and How Did It Collapse? Daisuke Kotegawa, n° 11, July.

#### Middle East/North Africa/Mediterranean

#### • Middle East/North Africa

#### "Notes de l'Ifri"

Brazil and the Arab World: the Llimits of a South-South Rapprochement, Bruno Muxagato, September.

Al-Qaeda in a Changing Region, *Alia Brahimi*, September. Russia in the Middle East, *Denis Bauchard*, November.

#### **Articles and Contributions Outside of Ifri**

**North Africa: Unfinished Revolutions,** *Mansouria Mokhefi, Politique étrangère,* vol. 77, n° 1, spring.

**Qatar: Strengths and Weaknesses of Activism,** *Mansouria Mokhefi, Politique étrangère,* vol. 77, n° 4, winter.

Tunisia and Libya in the North African Dynamic and the Arab Spring, Mansouria Mokhefi, dans Annuaire de la Méditerranée 2012, IEMed.

The Persian Gulf: What Power do the Arabs have? *Mansouria Mokhefi, Moyen-Orient,* July-September.

Arab Revolts: between National Re-claiming and International Implications, in Hasni Abidi (ed.), Où va le monde arabe? Les enjeux de sa transition, Paris, Érick Bonnier Éditions.

#### • Maghreb Facing New Global Challenges Program

#### Book

Le Maghreb et son Sud: vers des liens renouvelés, Mansouria Mokhefi and Alain Antil (ed.), Paris, Ifri/CNRS Éditions, December.

#### "Notes de l'Ifri"

**Is Africa's Recent Economic Growth Sustainable?** *Shanta Devarajan* and *Wolfgang Fengler*, October.

Beyond the Arab Spring: Russia's Security Interests in the Middle East, *Irina Zvyagelskaya*, November.

The New Relationships between India and North African Countries, Isabelle Saint-Mézard, November.

North Africa seen from China, Alice Ekman, December.

#### Contemporary Turkey

#### "Repères sur la Turquie"

The AKP and the Kurdish Movement: A Time of Confrontation, Julien Cécillon, n° 8, March.

#### **Articles and Contributions Outside of Ifri**

**Is the Turkish Army Playing Offside?** *Dorothée Schmid, Politique internationale,* autumn.

The Great Ambitions of Turkish Diplomacy, Dorothée Schmid (with Marc Semo), interview with Ahmet Davutoğlu, Politique internationale, autumn.

Tensions in the Middle East and North Africa: Can Turkey and the EU Get Along? Dorothée Schmid, in Europe, Turkey and the Mediterranean: Fostering Cooperation and Strengthening Relations, Europe in Dialogue 2012, Gütersloh, Bertelsmann Stiftung.

Turkey, the EU and the Middle East Puzzle: Cooperation or Mutual Testing Ahead? Dorothée Schmid, Turkey, the European Union, and the Transatlantic Partnership: Strategic Allies or Drifting Apart? Workshop Paper, Atlantic Council, Transatlantic Relations Program, February.

The Turkish Model put to the Arab Spring Test, Dorothée Schmid, Questions internationales, January-February.

**Turkey: a Restless Ally,** Dorothée Schmid, Cahiers de l'Orient, January-March.

#### **Africa**

#### "Notes de l'Ifri"

The Recent Blossoming in Relations between China and Madagascar, Matthieu Pellerin, February.

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

Consumer in an Uncertain Environment: the Paradox of African Middle Classes, Hélène Quénot-Suarez, March.

How to Create a Public Policy in a Failed State – The Challenge of Securing Land Rights, Florence Liégeois and Thierry Vircoulon, April.

The Cross-border linsecurity in Cameroun and Chad Lake, *Cyril Musila*, July.

How to Create a Public Policy in a Failed State – The Challenge of Securing Land Rights in Eastern Congo, Florence Liégeois and Thierry Vircoulon, October.

When Traffic Jams "create" the City – The linfluence of Congestion on the Structure and Urban Economy of Accra (Ghana), Hélène Quénot-Suarez, October.

Oil in East Africa, a High Geopolitical Risk, Benjamin Augé, November.

Behind the Mirror: "Hybrid Regimes" and Traditional Authorities in Fragile States, François Gaulme, December.

#### Articles and Contributions Outside of Ifri

One Swallow does not make a Summer. Grammar of Social and Political Mobilization and the Return of the Black Mauritanian Issue, Alain Antil and Céline Lesourd, in L'Année du Maghreb, VIII.

Cocaine Trafficking in the Sahel, Alain Antil, Études, October 2012.

The Sahel, between Rent and an Economy of Subsistence, Alain Antil and David Vigneron, Questions internationales, November-December.

**Agribusiness: Continent for Sale,** Alain Antil, Afrique Méditerranée Business, December.

#### **United States**

#### "Potomac Papers"

**Texan Conservatism,** Laurence Nardon, n° 10, January.

**Is J Street a Passing Phenomenon?** *Gilbert N. Khan,* n° 11, February.

The Democratic Party under Obama and beyond, Nicol C. Rae, n° 12, March.

Money and Elections in the United States: Tthe 2012 Campaign, Anne Deysine, n° 13, June.

The Rise of American Mormons, Anne-Lorraine Bujon, n° 14, July.

Don't Bank on Change: Finance and Regulatory Reform in the US, Herman Schwartz, n° 15, September.

#### **Articles and Contributions Outside of Ifri**

The values divide in the United States, Laurence Nardon, in Julian Fernandez (ed.), Élections américaines, un bilan, Paris, Pedone.

The Tea Party Infusing the American Right, Anne-Lorraine Bujon, Alternatives internationales, January.

#### Security

#### "Focus stratégique"

Helicopter Warfare. The Future of Airmobility and Rotary Wing Combat, Étienne de Durand, Benoît Michel and Élie Tenenbaum, n° 32 bis, January.

**Between Sky and Earth. The Air-Ground Debate and the Challenges of Fire Support,** *Élie Tenenbaum,* n° 35, February.

The Defense Budget in France, between Denial and Decline, Martial Foucault, n° 36, April.

Airborne Operations: Strategic Depth in Question, Benoît Michel, n° 37, May.

Establishing the Rule of Law: The UN Challenge in Kosovo, *Jean-Christian Cady*, n° 34 bis, June.

**Building Security Institutions: Lessons Learned in Afghanistan,** *Olivier Neola*, n° 38, July.

Reserves in the Frontlines? The Citizen-Soldier in the linterim, *Michel Baud*, n° 39, September.

The Battle over Fire Support: The CAS Challenge and the Future of Artillery, *Élie Tenenbaum*, n° 35 bis, October.

Containing Piracy: Complex Responses to a Persistent Threat, Hugues Eudeline, n° 40, November.

The Defense Budget in France, between Denial and Decline, Martial Foucault, n° 36 bis, December.

#### "Proliferation Papers"

Dancing with the Bear: Managing Escalation in a Conflict with Russia, Forrest E. Morgan, n° 40, March.

Cruise Missiles and NATO Missile Defense: Under the Radar? Dennis M. Gormley, n° 41, April.

Proliferation and Nonproliferation in the Early Twenty-First Century: The Permanent Five Hold the Key to Success, David Santoro, n° 42, May

**Deterring the Weak: Problems and Prospects,** *James J. Wirtz,* n° 43, October.

Ballistic Missile Defense in Japan: Deterrence and Military Transformation, Sugio Takahashi, n° 44, December.

#### **Articles and Contributions Outside of Ifri**

From Virtual to Reality: The Impact of Social Forces on the Web, Marc Hecker, Nicolas Vanbremeersch, Marguerite de Durand and Thibault Souchet, Revue Défense Nationale, December.

Learning from Allies. Reflections on the Movement of Irregular Strategic Knowledge in the West, Élie Tenenbaum, in Michel Goya and Camille Sicourmat (ed.), L'Académie de la Boue. Regards croisés sur l'apprentissage des forces armées, Paris, IRSEM, "Laboratoire de l'IRSEM", n° 10.

South-East Asia, a Strategic Laboratory of Irregular Warfare from 1945 to today, Élie Tenenbaum, in Pierre Journoud (ed.), L'Évolution du débat stratégique en Asie du Sud-Est depuis 1945, Paris, IRSEM, "Étude de l'IRSEM", n° 14.

#### **Space**

#### "The Europe & Space Series"

**2012, A Turning Point for Europe in Space,** *Christophe Venet,* March.

The European Space Industry, an Endangered Species? *Christophe Venet*, April.

Launcher Policy in Europe: From Symbol to the Market? *Christophe Venet,* June.

#### **Articles and Contributions Outside of Ifri**

**European Space Governance, the Outlook,** *Christophe Venet, Space Policy,* vol. 28, n° 1.

The European Union as an Emerging Actor in Space Security? Christophe Venet and Max Mutschler, Space Policy, vol. 28, n° 2.

Europe in the stars: the Franco-German Relationship in Space, Christophe Venet, Dokumente/Documents, n° 3.

#### **Energy**

#### "Notes de l'Ifri"

The European Power System – Decarbonization and Cost Reduction: Lost in Transmissions, Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin, January.

**Evolution of Germany's Energy Situation,** *Michel Cruciani,* April.

Support Growth, Reduce Emissions: Could China be a Model for Climate Policy? *Thibaud Voïta*, May.

An Overview of Italy's Energy Mix, Corrado Camni and Mattia Assanelli, June.

Powering Kuwait into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Adopting a Sustainable Strategy, Maïté de Boncourt, September.

The CGG States of the Persian Gulf and Asia Energy Relations, *Thierry Kellner*, September.

The European Coal Market: Will Coal Survive the EC's Energy and Climate Policy? Sylvie Cornot-Gandolphe, October.

**Positioning of Nuclear in the Japanese Energy Mix,** *Tatsui Masuda* and *Ryiochi Komiyama*, October.

The UK's Electricity Mix, Charlotte Trébuchet, November.

See also the Center for Energy's *Éditos*, available at www.ifri.org

#### **Articles and Contributions Outside of Ifri**

Verbotene Liebe – Eine Französische Position zur Zukunft der Kernergie, Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin, "DGAP Analyse", n° 14, October.

#### **Migration and Citizenship**

#### "Notes de l'Ifri"

Migration Policy and Irregular Workers in the United Kingdom, Danièle Joly, Khursheed Wadia, February.

Greece: How a State in Crisis Manages its Migration Crisis, Anna Tryandafillidou, March.

Undocumented Workers in Spain and the Politics of Regularization, Inara Stürckow, May.

Temporary Workers or Permanent Migrants? The Kafala System and Contestations over Residency in the Arab Gulf States, *Noora Lori*, November.

#### **Articles and Contributions Outside of Ifri**

#### Revues

The Problems of National Models of Integration: A Franco-Dutch Comparison, Christophe Bertossi (with Jan Willem Duyvendak and Martin Schain) (ed.), special edition of Comparative European Politics, vol. 10, n° 3.

National Models of Integration and the Crisis of Multiculturalism: A Critical Comparative Perspective, Christophe Bertossi (with Jan Willem Duyvendak and Martin Schain) (ed.), special edition of Patterns of Prejudice, vol. 46, n° 5.

#### • Articles and Contributions

The Performativity of Colour Blindness: Race Politics and Immigrant Integration in France (1980-2012), Christophe Bertossi, Patterns of Prejudice, vol. 46, n° 5.

French Republicanism and the Problem of Normative Density, Christophe Bertossi, in Comparative European Politics, vol. 10, n° 3.

Beyond the Crisis of Citizenship: The New Discourse on Immigrants' Integration and its Performative Effects in France, Britain and the Netherlands, Christophe Bertossi, in M. Verea (ed.), Anti-immigrant Sentiments, Actions and Policies in the North American Region and the European Union, Mexico City, CISAN-UNAM.

### **Conferences and Debates**

#### January

## 13 January – Business and the State: Migration Policies, Diversity and Integration

Conference in collaboration with the Embassy of the United States in France and with the support of Veolia Propreté. With Lieutenant General *Thomas Bostick,* Deputy Chief of Staff, G-1, US Army; *Jesús "Chuy" García,* Cook County Commissioner, Chicago; *Pascal Decary,* Executive Director in charge of Human Relations, Veolia Propreté; *Kathleen Newland,* Co-Founder, Migration Policy Institute.

## 17 January — Climate and Energy in Europe at the Threshold of 2012

With Emmanuel Guérin, Director, Climate Program, Institute for Sustainable Development and International Relations (IDDRI); Jacques Lesourne, President of the Scientific Committee, Center for Energy, Ifri; William Ramsay, Senior Advisor, Center for Energy, Ifri; Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin, Director, Center for Energy, Ifri.

Chair: *Jacques Lesourne*, President of the Scientific Committee, Center for Energy, Ifri.

#### 24 January - Elections in DRC: An Assessment

With *Cyril Musila*, Associate Researcher, Ifri; *Jean-Claude Willame*, Professor Emeritus, Université Catholique de Louvain.

Chair: Alain Antil, Head, Sub-Saharan Africa Program, Ifri.

#### **February**

## 1<sup>st</sup> February – Republican Primaries: Who will face Obama?

With *Donald Morrison*, former Editor-in-Chief of *Time Magazine*, Europe, Author of *How Obama lost America* (Paris, Denoël, 2012); *Thomas McGrath*, Chair, Republicans Abroad, France; *Connie Borde*, Chair, Democrats Abroad, France.

Chair: *Laurence Nardon*, Program Head, United States Program, Ifri.

## 7 February – Telecommunications in Africa: Economic Issues and Social Changes

With *Marc Rennard,* Director EMEA, Orange; *Jean-Michel Huet,* Associate Director, Emerging Markets, BearingPoint; *Laura Recuero-Virto,* Researcher, OECD; *Annie Chéneau-Loquay,* Director of Research, CNRS.

Chair: *Hélène Quenot-Suarez*, Research Fellow, Sub-Saharan Africa Program, Ifri.

#### 8 February – Arab Diplomacy in Qatar

With Hasni Abidi, Director, Cermam, Genève; Nadine Addallah, Researcher, Arab Form for Alternatives (AFA); Youcef Bouandel, Professor of Political Science, University of Qatar; Fatiha Dazi-Heni, Political Scientist.

Chair: *Denis Bauchard*, Special Advisor on the Middle East, Ifri.

#### 22 February – European Deconstruction?

With Alain Richard, Senator, former French Minister for Defence; Maxime Lefebvre, Director of International Relations, ENA.

Chair: *Marc Hecker*, Deputy Editor-in-Chief, *Politique* étrangère.

#### March

#### 2 March - The Euro Crisis As Seen by Poland

With *Marek Belka*, President of the National Bank of Poland, former Polish Prime Minister.

Chair: Thierry de Montbrial, President of Ifri.

## 14 March – Quebec on the International Scene: Stakes and Perspectives

With *Jean Charest*, Prime Minister of Quebec. Chair: *Dominique David*, Executive Vice-President, Ifri.

#### 15 March - Europe, a Shipwreck of Globalization?

Conference reserved to Ifri's members.

With *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, Research Fellow, Co-Director of RAMSES.

Chair: Dominique David, Executive Vice-President, Ifri.

#### 20 March - Russia: Change and Continuity

With Thierry de Montbrial, President, Ifri.

#### 27 March - Understanding the Debt Crisis

With Jean-Yves Grenier, Director of Research, EHESS, Professor at the École polytechnique; Norbert Gaillard, Doctor of Economics, Sciences Po and Princeton University. Chair: Marc Hecker, Deputy Editor-in-Chief, Politique étrangère.

#### April

#### 4 April – Hungary and Europe

With Robert Badinter, former Chair of the Constitutional Council; Sandor Richter, Research Fellow, Institute of Economic Studies (WIIW), Vienna; Thomas Schreiber, journalist, Associate Professor at École militaire spéciale de Saint-Cyr; Dominique Moïsi, Special Advisor, Ifri; Peter Jankowitsch, Secretary General, CFA.

## 5 April – Ambiguities and Pragmatism of Chinese Foreign Policy

With *Alice Ekman*, Associate Researcher, Center for Asian Studies, Ifri; *Valérie Niquet*, Senior Researcher, Head of the Asia Division, FRS.

Chair: Françoise Nicolas, Director, Center for Asian Studies, Ifri.

## 12 April – 2012: Between Globalization and Domestic Policies

Conference reserved to Ifri's members With *Thierry de Montbrial*, President, Ifri.

## 20 April – Confronting Rising Inequality in Asia – Asian Development Outlook 2012

With Joseph Zveglich, Deputy Chief Economist, Asian Development Bank; Kiichiro Fukasaku, Counselor, Coordinator, Business for Development, OECD.

Chair: Françoise Nicolas, Director, Center for Asian Studies, Ifri.

#### May

## 3 May - United States: Can the Economic Recovery be Confirmed?

With *Paul Horne*, former Managing Director and European Equity Market Economist, Salomon Smith Barney (Citigroup); *Thomas McGrath*, Executive Director of one of TD Bank, USA; *Jean-Michel Six*, Executive Director, Standard & Poor's France.

Chair: *Philippe Manière*, Footprint Consultants and French American Foundation, France.

#### 23 May - Europe Facing its Destiny: a Belgian Vision

With *Didier Reynders*, Vice-Prime Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Exterior Commerce and European Affairs, Belgium.

Chair: Dominique David, Executive Vice-President, Ifri.

#### June

## 18 June – The EU through the Eyes of Asia; Asia in the Eyes of Europe

In collaboration with the Asia-Europe Foundation.

With *Martin Holland*, National Centre for Research on Europe (NCRE), University of Canterbury; *Sebastien Bersick*, Associate Professor, School of International Relations and Public Affairs (SIRPA), Fudan University, Associate Researcher, DGAP, Berlin; *John Seaman*, Research Fellow, Center for Asian Studies, Ifri.

#### 28 June - Internet Armies: Social Networks of Cyberwar

With *Marc Hecker*, Research Fellow, Security Studies Center, Ifri; *Michel Baud*, Major (on secondment to Ifri), Research Fellow at the LRD, Ifri.

Chair: Dominique David, Editor-in-Chief, Politique étrangère.

#### July

## 4 July - Controlling the South China Sea, a Chinese Monroe Doctrine?

With *James R. Holmes*, Associate Professor of Strategy, Naval War College, Senior Researcher, University of Georgia, School of Public and International Affairs.

Chair: Céline Pajon, Research Fellow, Center for Asian Studies, Ifri.

## 5 July - Turkish-French Relations in an Evolving International and Regional Environment

With Ahmet Davutoğlu, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey. Chair: Thierry de Montbrial, President, Ifri.

#### September

#### 12 September - Governance today?

Presentation RAMSES 2013

With *Élisabeth Guigou*, President, Foreign Affairs Commission, Assemblée nationale; *Érik Izraelewicz*, Editorial Director, *Le Monde*.

Chair: *Thierry de Montbrial*, President, Ifri; *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, Co-Director of RAMSES, Ifri.

## 13 September – Enlargement of the Euro Crisis: What Future for the EU?

With *Miroslav Lajčák*, Vice-Prime Minister, Foreign Affairs Minister of Slovakia.

Chair: Dominique David, Executive Vice-President, Ifri.

## 18 September – Politics of the Web and Web Policy: is Social Media making the Laws?

With Séverine Arsène, Doctor of Political Science, IEP de Paris; Gilles Babinet, French "Digital Champion", European Commissioner for Information Society; Olivier Fecherolle, Strategy and Development Director, Viadeo; Julien Nocetti, Associate Research Fellow, Russia/NIS Center, Ifri; Natalie Rastoin, Director General, Ogilvy France.

Chair: *Alban Martin*, Vice-President, Social Media Club France.

#### October

## 3 October – Back to Politics in Washington, two Months before the Election

With *Bruce Stokes*, Director, Global Economic Attitudes project, Pew Research Center; *Frédéric Tardy*, President-Director General, L'Atelier, BNP Paribas Group; *Gilles Biassette*, journalist, *La Croix*.

Chair: Laurence Nardon, Head, United States Program, Ifri.

#### 12 October - France: What Energy Efficiency?

With Yamina Saheb, Senior Analyst, International Energy Agency (IEA); *Thibaud Voïta*, Energy Consultant, International Partnership for Energy Efficiency Cooperation (IPEEC).

Chair: Jacques Lesourne, President of the Scientific Committee, Center for Energy, Ifri; Maïté Jauréguy-Naudin, Director, Center for Energy, Ifri.

## 16 October - Quebec: Challenges of Identity and the Economy

With *Pauline Marois*, Prime Minister of Quebec. Chair: *Dominique David*, Executive Vice-President, Ifri.

## 18 October — Franco-German and European Cooperation in Research and Innovation

Conference organized in collaboration with the Franco-German Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

With *Peter Fisch*, Head of Unit for Ex-Post Evaluation and Reporting, Directorate General for Research and Innovation, European Commission; *Volker Tippmann*, Research Planning Center, Fraunhofer-Gesellschaft; *Jacques Larrouy*, Head of Industrial Relations, Association des instituts Carnot.

Chair: Yann-Sven Rittelmeyer, Cerfa, Ifri.

#### November

## 15 November – What Strategies to stabilize the Euro Zone in 2013? French and Austrian Positions

With Franz Nauschnigg, Director, Department of European Affairs and International Financial Organizations, Österreichische Nationalbank; Christian Stoffaës, Chair, Council of Franco-German Economic Analysis, Honorary Chair, Prospective and International Economic Studies Center (CEPII).

Chair: *Peter Jankowitsch*, Secretary General, CFA; *Hans Stark*, Advisor to the CFA, Ifri.

#### 20 November - Where is Iran going?

With *Denis Bauchard*, Special Advisor on the Middle East, Ifri; *Bernard Hourcade*, Director Emeritus of Research, CNRS.

Chair: Georges Malbrunot, reporter, Le Figaro.

## 22 November – Intervening in Mali: What are the Goals and Risks?

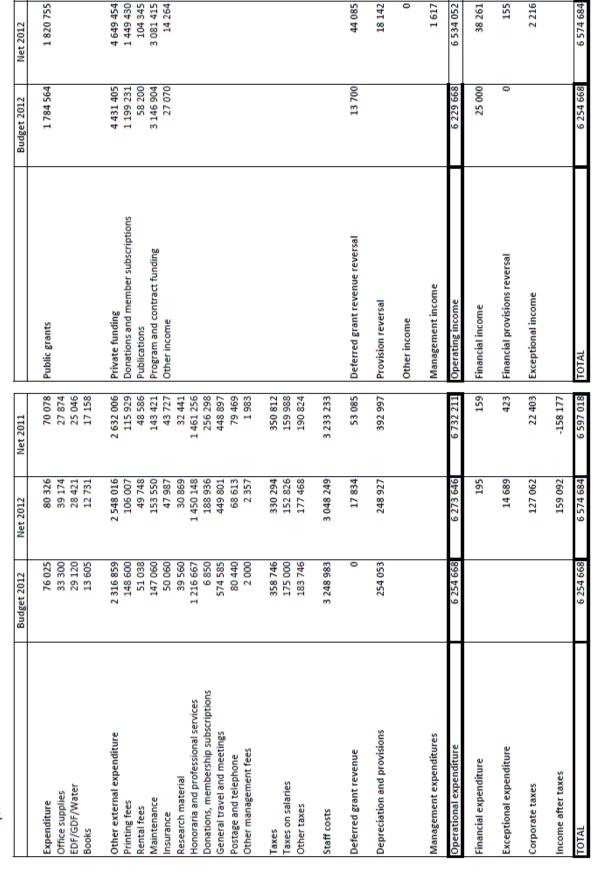
Conference reserved for Ifri's members With *Alain Antil*, Head, Sub-Saharan Africa Program, Ifri. Chair: *Dominique David*, Executive Vice-President, Ifri.

## Financial Appendix

# Accounts 2012

1939458

Net 2011



89

6 597 018

3 978

37 500



				2012		2011						
	Assets	tt.	gross	accumulate d	net	net		Liabilities	ities		2012	2011
ciaced Passels							6					
Intangil	Intangible assets							General funds			8 470 553	8 470 553
	Software		75 393	38 177	37 216	0		Restricted fund	P		47	47
Tangib	Tangible assets							Reserve			1005929	1164107
	Land		3 886 345		3 886 345	3 886 345		Reserve - ass	Reserve – association project		150 000	150000
	Buildings		5815058	3 363 678	2 451 380	2 614 587		Net income for the year	vr the year		159 092	-158 177
	General facilities		583 861	460309	123 552	132 283		Tax depreciation	ion		14549	0
	Transportation equipment	ment	31240	31240	0	2 455		Funds	spi		9 800 170	9 626 529
	Office equipment, fun	Office equipment, furniture, computer hardware	575 628	482 288	98 840	129 909						
							Provisions					
Financial assets	ssets							General risks			0	155
	Deposits		17 109		17 109	17 109		Retirement expenditure	xpenditure		211960	215 037
	Interest		11		11	11		Other provisions	Suc		160 631	175 036
	Loans		2 660		2 660	2 800						
	Other investments		23		23	23	Deferred grant revenue	nt revenue				
								Deferred grant revenue	it revenue		40 614	66 865
							Creditors					
			10 987 328	4 375 692	6 617 136	6 785 522		Bank			0	0
Current assets	Đị.						Accounts pay	Accounts payable and other liabilities	liabilities			
								Accounts paya	Accounts payable and other liabilities	abilities	387 252	356767
	Inventories		16 081		16 081	5375		Accrued expenses	uses		27 694	120911
	Other debtors/pre-payments	yments	231806		231806	155 467		Advances and	Advances and downpayments		13 225	900
	Receivables and related accounts	ed accounts	394 620		394 620	310 663						
							Taxes and social security	cial security				
	Investment securities		4314580		4314580	4 080 005		Staff and accounts payable	vunts payable		169 825	176141
	Bank balances		28/624		28/ 624	3/4 285		Social and tax	Social and tax administration/state	state	622 /24	555 030
	Accrued Income		203 100		203 106	20/1/6						
			5 453 817	0	5 453 817	5 023 500	Accruals and	Accruals and deferred income	Je		631358	516 107
urrency co	Currency conversion adjustment		0		0	155	Currency cor	Currency conversion adjustment	ment		0	0
										T		

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