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## ABSTRACTS (\*)

### **« Religions and international security. From Huntington's implicit victory to the securitization of religions », Delphine ALLÈS**

References to religion have increasingly permeated the worldviews and initiatives of international security actors. Religion has also emerged as an important factor in international security (IS) literature and policy initiatives, in which it is commonly addressed as an autonomous variable, explicative of contemporary conflicts and insecurities. Beyond the « religious revival » narrative, this chapter exposes the resilient influence of the assumption according to which Westphalian secularism is a necessary condition for international peace and security. It addresses the roots and consequences of the confessionalization of IS, arguing that this evolution symptomizes an implicit victory of the controversial « clash of civilizations » thesis. Having progressively permeated the worldviews and initiatives of international security actors, this approach has been performatively validated through multiple initiatives aimed at regulating the « revival of religion » and mitigating its anticipated security consequences. This evolution, it is argued, has led to an increasing securitization of religion and religious identities in contemporary world politics.

### **« Navigation regimes in the 1919 Treaty of Versailles », Niki ALOUPI**

The Treaty of Versailles predates all major conventions on the law of the sea and is contemporary to the Paris Convention of 1919 on air navigation. The legal regime of international rivers is the only one that had already been the object of conferences and international treaties prior to the Versailles one. Consequently, in matters of navigation, the Treaty of Versailles plays an important role for each of these three types of navigation. Firstly, it takes part in the birth of the legal regime of air navigation, but partly *a contrario*, *i. e.* by derogating from its general principles as *lex specialis*. Secondly, it lays down, once again *a contrario* and by means of a derogatory *lex specialis*, the very first legal milestones for a future regime of sea navigation, until then uncertain and mainly customary. Finally, it develops international river law, which was already relatively consolidated at the time.

(\*) Abstracts are classified by the authors' names' alphabetical order.

**« Does the Russian Federation practice lawfare? Some illustrated observations of the conflict between the Russian Federation and Ukraine regarding the situation in Crimea », Julien ANCELIN**

The strategic doctrines of States contain elements of international law. Lawfare, as a tool of foreign legal policy, is a means of presenting, questioning and challenging the conditions under which international norms shape contemporary conflicts. By considering law as a method of combat for achieving a military objective, the term helps to decentralize the analysis and provide a serious critique of its current role in preventing or controlling armed violence. The Russian Federation is not the originator of this construction, however, its strategic approach considers how law is used in the « hybrid » forms of conflictuality it faces. The relationship of this doctrine to the law provides an opportunity to examine the existence of a possible shared strategic trend. The study will be informed by examples drawn from the conflict between the Russian Federation and Ukraine from 2014, with particular reference to the situation in the Crimea.

**« Côte d'Ivoire and collective security in West Africa », Arthur BANGA**

By concentrating 40% of the gross domestic product (GDP) of the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU), as well as millions of West African foreigners, Côte d'Ivoire is undoubtedly a heavyweight in the Economic Community of West-African States (ECOWAS). At a time when this sub-region, in the eye of the « terrorist » cyclone, is also under attack from pirates on its coasts, it is essential to analyze its collective security and to reflect on the conditions for an effective sub-regional architecture which would be able to respond to security challenges. In this reflection, the Ivorian strategy and theater cannot be ignored as the country counts in West Africa. How does Côte d'Ivoire contribute to regional security? Asking this amounts to wondering about its contributions to the various collective security mechanisms in the sub-region and the lessons from the « ECOWAS experience » in the Ivorian conflict. Adopting a systemic approach and mobilizing realistic theories in the analysis contribute lead us to build our response in two main parts. The first one attempts to elucidate the transition from « collective defense » to « collective security » between 1960 and 2011. The second is devoted to building a sub-regional response to threats that have become increasingly transnational since 2011.

**« Changes in the collective security of the African Union », Yann BEDZIGUI**

The creation of the African Union and of the African Peace and Security Architecture in 2003 symbolised an African ambition in terms of security and collective defence which followed the inaction of the Organisation of African Unity in the face of the conflicts in Liberia, Sierra Leone and the Great Lakes (Zaire, Rwanda and Burundi). Twenty years after the adoption of the Constitutive Act of the African Union, the state of affairs of this African ambition for collective security raises many questions.

Indeed, the nature of instability on the African continent has changed significantly with the advent of terrorist insurgencies and new forms of challenges related to internal governance. The question therefore arises about the adequacy of the above-mentioned normative framework and the different instruments. Beyond the normative framework and related instruments, the main question has to do with the conception of security in Africa. The thesis defended by this article is that the African Peace and Security Architecture, initially conceived on the premise of human security, is gradually sliding towards a more traditional conception of security

**« Arms exports to East Asia: an instrument of industrial policy or a tool of foreign policy? », Lucie BÉRAUD-SUDREAU**

The emergence of East Asian states in the arms trade generates several strategic challenges for regional stability, and potentially beyond. To what extent do arms-producing Asia countries perceive their arms sales as an industrial policy or as a foreign policy tool? With what consequences on regional relations? This chapter sets out three criteria to determine whether China, Japan and South Korea pursue a so-called « restrictive », « industrial » or « hegemonic » export policy. The main result is that South Korea falls into the so-called « industrial » category, while China and Japan pursue so-called « hegemonic » policies, although Tokyo lags behind Beijing.

**« The relationship between Turkey and the European Union: is a new start possible? », Tolga BILENER**

The long journey of the relations between Turkey and the European Union (EU) is approaching a pivotal moment when both sides will have to decide on the future of these multidimensional relations, while the accession negotiations launched in 2005 have reached the break-even point. The negotiations to make Turkey a permanent member of the Union, which began in an atmosphere of euphoric, are practically frozen, for reasons that stem from both Turkey and the European Union, and with little hope of resuming in the near future. A climate of recurrent crises and mutual distrust has set in between Ankara and Brussels, hampering the *ad hoc* attempts of cooperation, while the parties share a certain number of common interests, particularly in the economic and security fields. In this context, it is up to the protagonists to reflect on instruments to break the current deadlock so that they can take full advantage of the potential of their relations.

**« The telescope rather than the microscope: the European Union's response to the covid-19 crisis. Towards a solidarity pact? », Didier BLANC**

LIKE many national and international public institutions, the European Union appears to be weakened by the health situation resulting from the spread of a virus affecting, albeit to varying degrees, all its Member

States. While the means of dealing with it reach its very essence, since it is built on the mesh of a plurality of freedoms of movement, the diversity and scope of the Union's responses underline the bonds of solidarity it is capable of building. To the point of drawing the contours of a possible Solidarity Pact covering an area without internal borders.

**« Donald Trump's quest of honor in foreign policy », Vincent BOUCHER**

An important source of conflict in international politics, honor makes some leaders take great risks to avenge perceived or inflicted humiliations. Honor considerations are central to Donald Trump's vindictive and revisionist foreign policy. Preoccupied by America's international image, Trump plays the part of the vindicator-in-chief: he seeks retribution equally from allies and partners who have taken advantage of the United States, and from rivals and enemies who do not respect American power anymore. Reestablishing respect and avenging repeated humiliations have been, since 2017, prime objectives of Trump's « foreign policy of grievances ». Yet, it is in 2020 – an election year – that we can take full stock of the centrality of honor considerations for Trump's singular approach, as demonstrated by his handling of US relations with Iran and China.

**« Where is NATO going? », Yves BOYER**

The defensive alliance sealed in 1949 between the two sides of the Atlantic against common threats saved Europe from war. Nearly three-quarters of a century after it was concluded, none of the thirty signatory countries is calling for the repeal of the Washington Treaty creating the Atlantic Alliance. The treaty is a kind of « tablet of law » for Western security in the Euro-Atlantic area. However, the status of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is not as secure. Since the collapse of the Soviet bloc and the Warsaw Pact, the cards of the international game have been radically reshuffled and NATO has been unable, or unwilling, to find a stable footing in a world far more fluid than the frozen world of the Cold War. Deprived of the threat that had originally justified it, it finds itself searching for a new identity and struggling to find it. For nearly thirty years, its objectives have been fluctuating, to say the least. The changes that NATO will undergo in the coming years will come from its principal actor, who has defined NATO's political postures and military doctrines from the outset. Its future is linked to transatlantic relations that are subject to increasingly strong internal contradictions.

**« Developments in the common European asylum system. Developments in the form of a paradox: between reinforced protection and gradual distancing of asylum seekers », Claire BRICE-DELAJOUX**

The Common European Asylum System – as it was called in 2013 – was in fact built from 2000 on, with the communitarization of European asylum policy by the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997. In the twenty years of its existence, this system has undergone major changes as the institutional

and political frameworks have changed in the Communities and then in the European Union. In the light of the two successive « asylum packages » and the proposals initiated in 2016 to reform the Common European Asylum System, two major developments have emerged. The first reflects the creation of a European asylum system based on a standard of protection which has gradually risen but which could be weakened by the reform under discussion. The second shows the constant development – which the current reform reinforces – of externalization logics, either by denying the possibility of seeking protection when a third state can take it over, or by organizing the maintenance of potential applicants outside the Union's territory.

**« Towards and against the West: the drivers of the strategic relationship between China and Venezuela », Élodie BRUN et Victor MIJARES**

The bilateral relationship between China and Venezuela, officially named « Strategic Association » since 2001, has grown in unprecedented ways after Hugo Chávez came to power. Based on the oil factor, the Association has diversified so much that the People's Republic now constitutes a fundamental external actor for the resolution of the Latin American country's crisis. As far as Venezuela is concerned, China symbolizes the diversification of its economic and political international links. And China is crucial for the Bolivarian Revolution implementation, as well as for Nicolás Maduro's government survival. Regarding China, the financial resources invested in Venezuela matters in order to ensure that its energetic and mineral needs are satisfied in the long term. At the same time, the rapprochement with Venezuela allows to balance the United States presence in its Asian surroundings. However, the bilateral relation does not escape challenges that are exacerbated by the Venezuelan crisis and the uncertain position of the Venezuelan opposition towards the Asian power.

**« China and international conflict resolution. The rule of law and the test of authoritarianism? », Matthieu BURNAY**

Whether the international rule of law materializes in the simple existence of international norms or gets translated into a more ambitious quest of justice in international affairs, it is important to recognize the centrality of dispute resolution institutions in the promotion of the rule of law at the international level. The objective of this article is to account for the growing influence of China in dispute resolution mechanisms at the international level. Anchored in the tradition of comparative studies of international law, this article considers China's interpretation of norms as well as its participation or rejection of international jurisdiction influence as much the ontology as it does impact the implementation of international law.

**« Between resilience and major challenges, the attempts to consolidate the power of the Syrian regime », Joseph DAHER**

The Damascus government has used the war-induced crisis as an opportunity to deepen its neoliberal policies and austerity measures, despite the growing deterioration of the living conditions of the majority of the population. This economic orientation has strengthened the patrimonial character of the regime. At the same time, the Syrian regime currently lacks the capacity to resolve this economic crisis, to improve the living conditions of vast segments of the Syrian population and to provide adequate social services. The void has been partially filled thanks to international humanitarian aid and/or networks linked to the government in Damascus. This is not enough, however, and the basic needs of the local populations continue to grow. The resilience of the Syrian regime through the assistance of its state allies is combined with great difficulty in re-imposing a form of passive hegemony on the Syrian populations under its rule, creating a situation of continuing instability.

**« The challenges of post-Brexit free trade agreements », Louise DALINGWATER**

As the United Kingdom prepares its full departure from the European Union beyond the transitional period, its key objective is to strengthen its position « as one of the greatest trading nations of the XXI<sup>st</sup> century ». It intends to achieve this goal by advocating greater trade openness through the negotiation of numerous free trade agreements (FTAs) with major trading partners. However, British negotiators are sidestepping some important issues. First of all, it seems rather illusionary to imagine that a free trade agreement, however comprehensive it may be, can give the United Kingdom as many benefits as the European common market. Second, there seems to be a lack of awareness of the complexities of FTAs on the part of the British negotiators. Indeed, XXI<sup>st</sup> century FTAs are no longer limited to purely economic aspects, with the emergence of so-called « new generation » agreements. This article therefore aims to analyze the challenges arising from the negotiation of these new agreements that the United Kingdom is seeking to conclude.

**« The relationship between Japan and South Korea: the burden of history », Guibourg DELAMOTTE**

The relationship between Japan and the Korean peninsula is old and one tends to forget that it has been very successful. It is usually through this peninsula, which is divided into three kingdoms, that continental – Chinese – influences (culture, inventions...) reach Japan. The Japanese Emperor Akihito recalled in his time (in 2001) that the Japanese imperial family had a Korean princess. His father Hirohito had deplored a « regrettable past » in 1984. At a time when South Korea, like Japan, is feeling the pressure of Chinese expansion, memory hinders cooperation in the field of security in spite of converging security interests. This

contribution examines the sources and consequences of « historical problems » (*rekishi mondai*) on Japanese-South Korean relations.

**« The Russian policy of France: what are the prospects for strategic rapprochement? », Laure DELCOUR**

The article analyses the factors that led president Macron to relaunch the strategic dialog with Russia in the summer of 2019. It also draws up an initial assessment of the Franco-Russian rapprochement, one year after the meeting of Emmanuel Macron and Vladimir Putin at the fort of Brégançon. The article shows that president Macron's initiatives do not reflect a substantial shift in France's Russian policy. They rather reflect the French president's reading of the international context and his long-term views about Europe's security architecture. However relevant Macron's analysis may be, his approach is fraught with contradictions and limitations, whether in the European arena or in the relationship with Russia.

**« Belgium and the fight against terrorism. The place of the Belgian military », André DUMOULIN**

Following the terrorist attacks in Belgium and abroad, the Belgian army enlisted outside the traditional framework of its missions. This had doctrinal and operational implications as well as effects on equipment. With the concerted approach « Diplomacy, defense, development, law and stability », different ministerial departments are involved in external missions. However, the events in Belgium in May 2014 at the Jewish Museum in Brussels, the police intervention in Verviers in January 2015 with the help of equipment from the Intervention Group of the National Gendarmerie (France) and, above all, the terrorist attacks in Saventem and in the Brussels metro in 2015 have upset all the patterns. The commitment of the Belgian soldiers in the fight against terrorism was first of all a learning to overcome the difficulties of the federal police in terms of resources. The difficulties were of a legal, political, budgetary and civic nature within country as well as in the solidarity participation of Belgium in external operations in Afghanistan, Mali and against Daesh in the Levant.

**« "Climatization" of international arenas and natural resources », Émilie DUPUIS**

Since the 15<sup>th</sup> Conference of the Parties (COP15) on climate change in Copenhagen in 2009, the mobilization of global civil society has increased significantly. Indeed, the collaboration between traditional non governmental organizations (NGOs) and transnational civil society movements represents a major paradigm shift. In addition, COP21, which was held in Paris in 2015, marked a turning point in the adoption by civil society actors of framings and strategies linked to a climatization process. This article aims to answer the following research question: to what extent is the climatization of international arenas a new political opportunity for



the defense of community management of natural resources? Through two case studies on water resources and forests, this article seeks to identify the different climatization dynamics at work in relation to the complex of forest regimes and the global water governance, as well as the strategies and framings mobilized by transnational civil society movements in order to position the issue of community management of natural resources internationally.

**« Developments in the fight against terrorist financing », Nicolas ESKENAZI**

Initiated in the 1990s, the fight against the financing of terrorism became a priority in the global fight against terrorism as of 11 September 2001. The legal arsenal designed to fight the financing of terrorism that was then developing involved a variety of private and public actors and consisted essentially in identifying major movements of funds towards zones of conflict. With the emergence of Daech on the international scene, it is clear that if the devil is in the details, he also is in insignificant financial transactions. The most negligible amounts can now be used to carry out high-intensity terrorist action, making the financial aspect of the global fight against terrorism essential and central.

**« International protection, national and public order. Interstices and crevices in international refugee law », Thibaut FLEURY GRAFF**

To deal with the terrorist threat, international and national laws have undergone significant changes in recent years. This is especially the case for the law of international protection, according to which a person who fears persecution is entitled to the protection of a state other than the one of which this person is a national. But the fear that such a protection could benefit a « terrorist », or even be granted to a person constituting a threat to national security or public order, has led to an evolution of this law and to the adoption of new acts to protect national security. This shows how such concerns slowly but surely penetrate legal regimes and ultimately undermine their integrity without improving their efficiency.

**« The dazzling greenness of intentions while awaiting deeds: European pacts on the environment and climate. A renewed ambition at the heart of the Union's policies », Laurent FONBAUSTIER**

The Green Deal is a very ambitious text. It is intended to have a lasting effect on all the Union's overall and sectoral policies. Based on an acute awareness of the environmental et climatic situation, the communication of the European Commission proclaims exemplary, just and cooperative objectives. A period of transition will be necessary for their concretization, with the hope that the implementation of the Pacts will not be hampered by a lack of transparency and coherence of the European institutions and by the attitude of the member states of the European Union themselves.

**« United states and the world through the populist prism of conservative Christians », Marie GAYTE-LEBRUN**

The aim of this contribution is to explore the religious dimension of populism, by looking at a little-studied aspect of it: the adoption by many white Christians in the United States of a « populist » view of their country's relationship to the world. We try to shed light on the paradox which sees many white Christians support a « populist » foreign policy, consisting of a rejection of cooperative internationalism, cosmopolitanism and immigration and focused on the exclusive support for Christians abroad, in apparent contradiction with their religious traditions and their churches' official teachings. For some, the advent of a populist president, Donald Trump, is key to understanding this phenomenon. Yet, we believe these anti-internationalist stances have deeper roots and stem, among other things, from Christian nationalism, which prioritizes for believers the defense of a besieged Christian America. This leads inevitably to conflicts with churches steeped in universalism, which to some denote an « intrareligious populism ». We will also see the extent to which this vision is reflected in current US foreign policy through the example of international religious freedom promotion.

**« “War” on terror and international humanitarian law », Julia GRIGNON**

While the « war » on terrorism does not refer to a notion of international humanitarian law, it has had nonetheless a number of consequences regarding the understanding of some of its provisions. Exploring a few controversies that are emblematic of the interplay between the law of armed conflict and the fight against terrorism, this contribution highlights the renewed capacity of international humanitarian law to apprehend any new form of conflict. From the essential initial stage of the classification of any situation of violence, to the questions related to the delivery of humanitarian assistance and to « foreign fighters », international humanitarian law has been able to provide realistic answers to the singularities born out of the conflicts that have been generated by twenty years of « war » on terrorism.

**« Donald Trump and exceptionalism: the end of the American century? », Frédéric HEURTEBIZE**

After a campaign marked by transgressive foreign policy views, the Trump administration's foreign policy, beyond the rhetoric, was more one of continuity than rupture. Donald Trump, to be sure, has shifted from traditional republican positions on international trade, arguably for a long time to come. However, this apparent reversal should be tempered by the fact that free trade is now challenged from both the left and the right. On most matters related to defense and alliances, however, the existing framework so far has remained in place; the foundations of America's hard power aren't challenged from within. Nevertheless, the bedrock of US soft power seems jeopardized. US credibility and predictability have

been battered by Trump's purposefully erratic behavior and his rejection of exceptionalism and moral values is undercutting America's moral license for interventionism abroad.

**« Where is NATO going? », Jean-Vincent HOLEINDRE**

NATO was created in the context of the Cold War to protect its members from possible military attack, particularly nuclear. After the fall of the USSR, it managed to reinvent itself and adapt, expanding and diversifying its missions. Today, it has an autonomous bureaucracy that defends the organization's own interests, but it is now politically weakened because its member states do not agree on the present and the future. In a context of China's rise to power, Russia's revival and Turkey's autonomy, the organization must reinvent itself and redefine a strategic project that reaffirms liberal principles in a world subject to authoritarian temptation and assume a military ambition.

**« The year of the coronavirus: turning point or accident in international relations? », Maxime LEFEBVRE**

2020 will remain in the history of international relations as the year of the Coronavirus pandemic. It marks an unprecedented sanitary and environmental crisis which has affected all countries of the World despite various situations and reactions, and constitutes a new salutary warning on the state of our planet. The economic crisis is the first one in modern history that originates in a natural disaster. This disaster, which could be contained by the cooperation between States (in particular within the European Union), shows and accelerates the digital transition and the debate about the « strategic autonomy ». Finally, in geopolitical terms, the pandemic resonates with the new Sino-American rivalry, the growing opposition between liberal values and the authoritarian model, and the weakening of multilateralism.

**« The fight against terrorism: an economic perspective », Julien MALIZARD**

The fight against terrorism has been the subject of intense academic research over the last twenty years. The aim of this article is to provide a synthesis of the main studies, which makes it possible to question the effectiveness of counter-terrorism policies. The so-called « cost-benefit » analysis provides a relevant framework for understanding how political authorities and terrorist groups base their decisions. Three options are possible: to increase the cost of attacks, to decrease the benefits of terrorism and finally to increase the opportunity cost of terrorism. It appears that the effects of policies depend on the context in which they are implemented. Moreover, it is essential to take into account the dynamic effects, i.e. the capacity of terrorist groups to internalize the policies implemented in order to circumvent them to their advantage.

**« “War” on terror and collective security », Jean-Christophe MARTIN**

The military aspect of the so-called « war on terror » is analyzed, in terms of collective security, with regard to *jus contra bellum*. Although ambiguous, the practice of the Security Council shows that it has rarely authorized the use of armed force against terrorists, letting states invoke other legal basis unilaterally. Self-defence holds a major place in the arguments of states, particularly that developed by the United States in its doctrine since 2001, involving an evolution of international law – in particular to take into account the lack of capacity or willingness of other states as well as preventive issues – which remains doubtful to this day. However, several States have requested or consented to the conduct of military operations on their territory, establishing an *a priori* valid unilateral legal basis.

**« The World Health Organization’s response to coronavirus: a historical perspective », Chloé MAUREL**

In 2020, the new coronavirus, born in China, spreads widely in the world and affects the world population. A historical analysis makes it possible to consider this event in the chronological continuity: in 1918, the « spanish flu » had already caused millions of victims, then in 1957 and 1968, the world experienced two serious influenza epidemic peaks. The current Covid-19 crisis must give United Nations and its agencies, such as the World Health Organization (WHO) and the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), a leading role, as this global crisis can only be solved multilaterally. It is essential, in order to overcome this virus and prevent it from increasing social inequalities in the world, that public health services be strongly developed in each state and that the United Nations play an active role in coordinating and supervising the response to the pandemic (manufacture and distribution of protection, treatment and vaccines, which must be designed as global public goods).

**« Europe’s difficult 5G choices », Winston MAXWELL et Alain SIBILLE**

The European Commission has imposed ambitious 5G roll-out objectives on Member States, including 5G coverage in all major urban areas by 2025. Expensive to build, 5G networks are intended to become the « eyes and ears » of artificial intelligence (AI), permitting the connection of up to 1 million connected devices per km<sup>2</sup>, as well as providing highly secure, low latency, communications needed for critical applications like autonomous vehicles. But 5G raises new challenges for society. Though generally more secure than 4G, 5G networks remain vulnerable to state-sponsored actors capable of highly sophisticated cyber warfare. The controversy involving Huawei highlights the complexity of the subject. Health concerns relate to the lack of reliable data on the biological effects of exposure to new 5G frequencies such as millimeter waves. Finally, the combination of 5G and AI create the conditions for a storm in privacy protection in spite of Europe’s General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR). The connection of

billions of sensors to IA platforms might erode this privacy through an infrastructure that could be misused by governments or private companies, calling for a solid legal framework circumscribing 5G networks exploitation and use.

**« The political intervention of the military in Latin America. A theoretical and diachronic approach », Anaís MEDEIROS PASSOS**

This paper addresses the issue of military intervention in politics in Latin America. Oriented by a historical approach rooted in Latin America, it critically reviews the literature about civil-military relations. Finally, the paper analyses the main ruptures and continuities since regime transitions concerning the role of the military. We can observe to a new politization of the armed forces in Latin América at the present date.

**« The effects of the European Union's policies on political and economic developments in Eastern Europe », Hugues MINGARELLI**

As soon as Gorbachev called for a dialogue with Western Europe in the mid-80s, the European Union (EU) expressed a clear interest in close relations with Eastern Europe. During the Eltsine decade, as well as during the first fifteen years of the Putin regime, the EU took a number of initiatives to launch a political dialogue and promote economic integration with the Russian Federation, the new independent states of Central and Eastern Europe and the South Caucasus states. The ideology and political practice of the Putin regime led Russia to infringe the sovereignty of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, and to hinder any rapprochement with the EU. Nevertheless, the EU was to support the democratization and economic transition of its Eastern neighbors, but failed when it came to ensuring their security. The necessary strategic strengthening of the EU requires the ability to approach in a realistic way the Putin regime, to clearly define the basic principles of any security architecture in Europe, to accelerate the development of the European defense, and to better mobilise internal policies and instruments to achieve its foreign policy objectives.

**« Psychological informational warfare in Russian military thought and its applications in Ukraine and Russia », Dimitri MINIC**

Russian military campaigns in Ukraine and Syria disclosed a certain mastering by Moscow in the conduct of informational warfare. However, the analysis of the Russian military literature and strategic doctrines would lead to a relativization of its importance and scope since this concept is experiencing a kind of rejection. Driven by ideological and historical considerations inherited from the Soviet Union, the Russian military first assigned to this type of war irrational and unlimited psychological and subversive capacities which made its content poor and its implementation difficult. Nevertheless, the Russian military tried to move beyond these pitfalls by developing the concepts of « informational confrontation » and

« psycho-informational confrontation », more in line with their conceptual apparatus, in de-ideologized and rational versions. These two types of confrontation are respectively related to military deception in support of armed action, and to a kind of sophisticated non-military deception, applicable both in wartime and in peacetime. Some applications of these concepts can be noticed in Ukraine and Syria, where Moscow has been able to undertake a consistent and eclectic information strategy to achieve decisive operational objectives.

**« The monetary civilization and its discontents. The political and geopolitical consequences of the rise of cryptocurrencies », Yorick DE MOMBYNES**

Since the creation of Bitcoin in 2009, cryptocurrencies have grown in proportions that could hardly have been predicted just a few years ago. Although seemingly limited, progress in this area is numerous and significant. Benefiting in particular from the erosion of confidence in currencies, the growth of cryptocurrencies is based on open and decentralized blockchains. If it were to continue, there could be far-reaching industrial, monetary, political and geopolitical consequences. The increasing use of cryptocurrencies could challenge the current monetary paradigm and the financing model of modern welfare states. Cryptocurrency projects promoted by large companies or central banks are part of this multidimensional revolution, but their centralized nature keeps them far away from the innovative and destabilizing potential of traditional cryptocurrencies. Among the latter, Bitcoin retains a special place. It has still not been dethroned and its position is even tending to strengthen.

**« One hundred years of universalist multilateralism. Back to square one? », Philippe MOREAU DEFARGES**

Universalist multilateralism is the result of initiatives by American presidents after the two world wars. The aim of these initiatives is to transcend the exceptional imperial centrality of their country into a global order based on democratic principles under the guard of an oligarchic policeman, the winners of the last great war. A society of states must replace the jungle of centuries-old geopolitics. However, multilateralism always gets bogged down, first of all because of divisions between winners. Moreover and above all, multilateralism, that involves sovereign states, must be conceived as a-ideological. However, it is constantly caught up by ideology, with all major conflicts between powers drawing their influence both from their strength and their ideological exemplarity. Thus, while global issues require an a-ideological multilateral governance, multilateralism finds itself once again trapped in another total conflict, this time between China and the United States, both of which combine coups d'éclat and ideological discipline.

**« The crisis in the World Trade Organization's Dispute Settlement Body. Can multilateralism still be saved? », Arnaud DE NANTEUIL**

The crisis of the Dispute Settlement Body of the World Trade Organization (WTO), which stems from the United States' refusal to appoint new members to the Appellate Body, poses a very serious threat to an institution that can be considered as one of the most effective in contemporary international law. It is therefore multilateralism as a whole that is under threat. However, some solutions exist and this crisis could also be an opportunity for the European Union to become the real leader of world trade. Hence, the US refusal to participate to the Appellate Body might in the end prove to be harmful for the US themselves rather than for the WTO.

**« What energy transitions for the XXI<sup>st</sup> century? », Christophe-Alexandre PAILLARD**

The 25<sup>th</sup> Conference of the Parties (COP25) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) once again demonstrated the difficulty of initiating a credible energy transition on a global scale. State and non-state actors clash over which technologies to use, what kind of energy to develop, and what budget it seems reasonable to pay. There is no consensual response to these three issues, while the current debates focus more on ideological considerations than on the practical realities of implementing the energy transition. However, we must now return to pragmatic considerations and see that there are no ideal solutions, but rather realistic options which would allow us to embark further on the path of this transition. Contrary to current ideas on this subject, civilian nuclear power and natural gas remain two key elements for the success of this transition, much more than renewable energies which regularly make the headlines.

**« Covid-19 and the sea », Jean-Paul PANCRACIO**

All maritime activities have been affected by the Covid-19 pandemic, on an unprecedented scale in contemporary history: military and civil activities, as well as freight transport, cruises, shipbuilding and port activity. In the end, the whole world economy, and not just the sea economy, has been affected by the pandemic. This article, written in the form of a chronicle, aims to provide a first, albeit non-exhaustive, overview of the effects that this health episode has produced on one year on the maritime economy but also on seafarers, with a view to the innovative effects that this crisis could open up.

**« The crisis between the Patriarchate of Constantinople et the Patriarchate of Moscow », Kathy ROUSSELET**

On October 15, 2018, after having suspended the liturgical commemoration of the Patriarch of Constantinople a few weeks

earlier, the Moscow Patriarchate declared unilaterally it would break its Eucharistic communion with the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Major disputes have arisen between these two patriarchates over the proclamation of autocephaly by the Patriarchate of Constantinople of an Orthodox Church of Ukraine in the autumn of 2018. The so-called, perhaps improperly, Russian Orthodox diaspora in Western Europe has undergone major jurisdictional changes in recent years. All Orthodox Churches are now affected by this multifaceted crisis. This is a testimony to political rivalries and is part of the international context marked by power games. It is also explained by different interpretations of Orthodox ecclesiology.

**« The international health system facing Covid-19: a historical perspective », Marie Roy**

On December 31, 2019, China alerts the World Health Organization (WHO) of several cases of severe pneumonia caused by an unknown virus in Hubei province. Within a few weeks, Covid-19 spreads and the whole world is affected by this new unknown disease. Fear, panic, extreme reactions: so many millennial reflexes, which were thought to be anachronistic, resurface. And everyone wonders: how can an infectious disease be contained without effective treatment? As of March 2020, in order to cope with the hundreds of thousands of patients, the affected states will fall back on the only defensive arsenal at their disposal, quarantine and lockdown. However, the Pasteurian revolution of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the construction of a true multilateral regime to fight epidemics gave hope that the world was « protected » against viruses. Covid-19 proves the contrary and shows that between tension and cooperation, a new balance will have to be found so that the international health system can regain its effectiveness

**« An unrecognizable world », François SAINT-BONNET**

The policies aiming at fighting against terrorism since 2001 have led to the reconsideration of liberal principles that constituted the legal framework of advanced democracies. By trying to act before the worst happens and to regain control of the territory inside the houses of suspected jihadists, by monitoring certain individuals and their loved ones without regard for their privacy, they give up the model that had made them proud and successful since the fall of the Berlin Wall. In defending themselves against those who embody the « evil », they think they can free themselves, in the name of good, from certain dogmas stemming from the philosophy of human rights. However, this renunciation does not concern so much the fight against organizations such as Al Qaeda or the Islamic State (Daesh). A question remains: is terrorism a cause or a symptom of the decline of freedom that transfigures contemporary democracies to the point of making them unrecognizable?



**« Western Pacific maritime issues », Alexandre SHELDON-DUPLAIX**

Three chains of islands run along the Western Pacific. They allow the United States to prevent China, Russia or North Korea from accessing freely to the ocean and to weaken the credibility of their sea-based deterrence. The Western Pacific is a sensitive area where stakeholders are aware of the risks and measure their responses. The future of Pyongyang's nuclear program and the emergence of a North Korean strategic submarine force depends on the future of negotiations with the United States. The excessive media coverage of the South China Sea dispute makes Chinese concessions impossible, but Beijing is showing its willingness to find a mutually beneficial economic ground with the other parties through the One belt One road Initiative. While the Chinese presence overseas seems to justify the development of a blue navy, the issue of Taiwan remains the central reason for this effort, Beijing wanting to demonstrate to the United States that it could win if Washington wanted to interfere. In seeking to expand the Atlantic Alliance to the East, the United States has lost the opportunity of a partnership with Russia to counter the growing Chinese power. The Sino-Russian quasi-alliance aims to deter Western interventions that Beijing and Moscow would consider contrary to their interests.

**« Telling the story of the Hirak. A non-exhaustive exploration of one of the survival mechanisms of the Algerian regime », Farida SOUIAH**

The Hirak, that began in February 2019, is a protest movement against the Algerian political regime. The movement was initially structured around the opposition to the candidacy of Abdelaziz Bouteflika for a fifth term, but the demands quickly evolved: refusal of a fourth extended term, rejection of the interim government of Abdelkader Bensalah, rejection of the electoral calendar imposed by the army staff, etc. More generally, the demonstrators expressed a rejection of political personnel and demanded a democracy and a civilian government. However, despite the scale and duration of the demonstrations, which lasted more than a year, men fell but not the regime. By placing discourse at the heart of the analysis, this article aims to question the Algerian regime's discursive and communicational survival strategies, that are closely intertwined with the repression. It aims to contribute to the literature devoted to the survival or resilience of authoritarian or hybrid regimes faced with popular protest.

**« The very long restart of the Franco-German 'Engine'. Paris, Berlin and Europe facing the coronavirus crisis », Hans STARK**

For the past three years, Franco-German relations have been going through a crisis of confidence. Despite the signing of the Treaty of Aachen, which is intended to create opportunities for the two countries to work together in the fields of foreign and security policy, economic policy and

regional policy, bilateral cooperation is a source of disappointment and frustration in both countries. However, the health crisis of 2020 and its political and especially economic consequences could change this situation. The Franco-German recovery plan of 18 May 2020 is the first major initiative of the two countries since the election of Emmanuel Macron in 2017. The dual health and economic crisis could indeed threaten to break up the single market and the euro zone if the 27 (and the Franco-German couple) do not manage to control the centrifugal forces within the EU, to redress the economic situation and to give the EU strategic autonomy at the political and economic level in a context marked by the resurgence of rivalries between the leading powers.

**« Lebanese media between entre permanence and change. The influence of faith-based logics et the rise of digital technology », Nadine TAMER**

The Lebanese media sector has changed significantly in recent years as a result of new information and communication technologies, while remaining faithful to its community and partisan affiliations. After having underlined the impact of the rise of Internet and social media on traditional media, we try to show, on the basis of the growing contestation of authority in the streets, that the political and sectarian cleavages between the Lebanese media still persist. The way in which events are reported gives rise to two antagonistic readings of reality. It also shows a lack of objectivity in the treatment of the facts. Through it the Lebanese media appear as tools at the service of the various political parties.

**« The year of ox », Bruno TERTRAIS**

Six months after the official declaration of a pandemic by the World Health Organization (WHO), what can be said about the major geopolitical and strategic trends? For the first time in history, a massive pandemic has had more economic than health effects, whereas few major political effects are attributable to the pandemic itself. Covid-19 is not a break in the international order. It is only a developer or an amplifier of trends. It has not been the main cause of major crises, even if risks remain possible. No political model has proved itself capable of cushioning the health effects of the pandemic, no major power will emerge from the crisis, but Europe has finally risen to the occasion and liberal democracies may have more assets than others. « Government populism » may end up being on the losing side. This is not the end of globalization, but it would be risky to bet on a revival of multilateralism. The State's revenge has sounded, and a decline in freedoms is likely. At the same time, we are undoubtedly entering an era of digital individualism. The question of whether SARS-CoV-2 is a « black swan » can be debated endlessly. But once again, a scenario frequently considered by specialists by specialists has taken our modes of governance into default. Will we do better next time?

**« A renewed interpretation of the grounds for persecution », Marion TISSIER-RAFFIN**

In order for someone to be recognized as refugee, Article 1A of the 1951 Refugee Convention requires that the fear of persecution be causally linked to one of the following five conventional grounds: race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group. This list of grounds is exhaustive and the causal link with one convention ground is a specific criteria for eligibility for refugee status. Its main and historical effect is to circumscribe *de jure* the personal scope of the refugee status. However, asylum judges have developed an evolutionary, dynamic and systemic interpretation of all these grounds, making it possible to adapt them to increasingly diverse and inextricably linked migratory flows. Even though this evolutive interpretation is not free from criticism, it has allowed the figure of the refugee to evolve from the male political activist to those persecuted because of their gender identity or because of alleged disloyal political opinion.

**« The reconfiguration of global value chains in the light of the Sino-American trade war and the global pandemic », Corinne VADCAR**

The trade war between the United States and China from 2018 and the health crisis linked to Covid-19 from 2020 on show how much the global value chain (GVC) model has structured the organization of industrial production and trade on a global scale since the 1990s. However, these value chains have already undergone major shifts: as the advantages of distant chains faded, firms have begun to move their production chains to countries or regions other than China or Asia. Today, because proximity to the customer is strategic, the reconfiguration of value chains goes even further: geographic reorientations and chain restructuring are being combined. In this movement, technological and societal factors are much more important than is generally thought, while geopolitical events are accelerating corporate strategies.

**« Intelligence facing terrorist threats », Damien VAN PUYVELDE**

The rise of the terrorist threat over the last twenty years has prompted Western countries to adapt the organisation and the practices of their intelligence services. The recurrence of terrorist attacks, despite multiple reforms and an increase in the resources devoted to intelligence, sheds light on the complex nature of the challenges terrorism poses. The transnational character of the terrorist threat questions the distinction between national and international security and has pushed intelligence services to better coordinate at the local and national levels and cooperate at the international level. New resources have allowed intelligence services to considerably expand their activities, specifically to collect and process increasingly vast amounts of information. This expansion has, in turn, required an evolution of the legal framework for intelligence activities.

In France, intelligence has now become a public policy. Yet the central role intelligence plays in the struggle against terrorism should not overshadow the importance of other political instruments such as education and diplomacy.