

Welcome to IRSEM's newsletter !

Foreword by Océane Zubeldia

IRSEM's Director of the "Armament and Defence Economics" domain (ADE)



Hello everyone! My name is Dr. Océane Zubeldia and I am absolutely thrilled to be opening the fifth edition of the IRSEM newsletter as the new Director of the "Armament and Defence Economics" domain (ADE), a post I have held since last April. .

I succeed ICA Benoît Rademacher, our acting Director, and I am committed to maintaining the multidisciplinary approach that has been a hallmark of ADE.

Multidisciplinary research is the foundation of my domain and I am proud of it! Indeed, ADE is distinctive at IRSEM in that it combines hard and soft skills with the practice of sciences from a wide range of disciplines, including political science, geography, cyber, and information and communication sciences.

In this context, my team and I are engaged in a research agenda that addresses strategic studies related to technological innovation, industrial issues, strategic resources, and environmental concerns.

A member of my team, Dr. Captain Yves Auffret, who specialises in information security and its influence on international relations, is developing an AI algorithm to analyse discourses related to the war in Ukraine. Dr. Clotilde Bômont, whose PhD dissertation in geography was recently awarded the first prize of IHEDN (Institut des hautes études de défense nationale), is opening a fruitful research agenda while working on the integration of new technologies in government and military organisations, as well as on digital sovereignty issues. In light of the growing intersection of environmental and strategic issues, ADE has recently welcomed Dr. Marine de Guglielmo Weber, a researcher specialising in environmental, energy and strategic raw materials. Are you interested in the geopolitics of clouds and the use of solar geoengineering in conflict or for security purposes? If so, make sure you keep an eye on our publications and upcoming scientific events.

As a former researcher on drones in ADE for several years, I have been personally involved in fostering our institutional relationship with NIDS (National Institute for Defense Studies) based in Japan. At the top of the agenda for autumn 2024 is a multifaceted project with NIDS, including a joint publication on Robistation in Indopac.

Dr. Océane Zubeldia was appointed Head of the “Armament and defense Economics” department

Prior to her nomination last April as Head of the ADE department, Dr. Zubeldia was a researcher specialising in drones at IRSEM and a former Officer in the French Air and Space Force. Indeed, she has been engaged in research on drones since her PhD dissertation in the history of techniques and innovation (University of Sorbonne Paris-IV), but her research agenda has since expanded to encompass unmanned systems, employment and industrial policies, and green technology. Her major scientific publications include *Histoire des drones*, published by Perrin in 2012. In addition, Dr. Zubeldia regularly contributes to the French debate by publishing articles in renowned reviews of expertise.



IRSEM welcomed Dr. Marine de Guglielmo Weber as researcher in environment, energy and strategic raw materials



Dr. Marine de Guglielmo Weber holds a doctorate in Information and Communication Sciences from the University of Paris 8, and is a researcher in environment, energy and strategic raw materials at the Armament and Defence Economics (ADE) department. She works on climate security for populations and armed forces, and specializes in issues linked to weather and climate modification techniques (geoengineering).

Dr. Victor Violier, a post-doctoral fellow at IRSEM, has been appointed as a researcher in Comparative politics, and institutional sociology

Good news! We are pleased to announce that **Dr. Victor Violier**, who has been working at IRSEM as a postdoctoral fellow since 2022, will continue to contribute to the enrichment of IRSEM expertise on Russia and the academic debate in comparative politics, military and institutional sociology in his capacity as Researcher per se.



During his post-doctoral fellowship, Victor focused his research agenda on the consensus of the Russian elite in the face of the war in Ukraine. He published a Strategic brief with IRSEM on the "Intimidation of the elites and population control in Russia", and a study written in French entitled " L'Académie russe de l'économie nationale et de l'administration publique au service de la modernisation autoritaire du régime de Vladimir Poutine".

In his new position, Victor Violier will be engaged in two new research projects. The first concerns American expertise on contemporary Russia; the second is a comparative analysis of the ways in which military elites are trained (France, USA, Russia).

IRSEM welcomed Dr. Mathieu Mérino as Researcher on West Africa



Mathieu Mérino is a senior political expert in African studies, with over twenty-five years of experience in international organisations, universities and think-tanks. His current research interests include political regimes and electoral processes, as well as environmental issues in Africa.

Prior to joining IRSEM, Dr. Mérino held teaching or research positions at several universities and research institutes in Africa and France. He also worked as a political analyst and electoral advisor for various international and regional organisations, including the EU, AU, UN, SADC and Francophonie. Mathieu holds a Ph.D. in political science in African studies from Pau University.

Mathieu Mérino is also an associate senior fellow at the Academic Research institute "Les Afriques dans le Monde" (LAM – Sciences Po Bordeaux) and a part-time lecturer at "Institut de relations internationales et stratégiques de Paris" (IRIS Sup'). He recently co-edited a book with Dr. Saïkou Baldé that examines electoral processes in Guinea, see *Quelles perspectives pour les processus électoraux en République de Guinée*, Paris, Les Éditions du Panthéon, 2023

International development and institutional partnerships



3 to 6 April 2024: An IRSEM panel attending the Annual conference of the International Studies Association in San Francisco

The annual conference of the International Studies Association (ISA) was held in San Francisco from 3 to 6 April 2024. ISA is the oldest interdisciplinary association dedicated to the understanding of global, transnational and international studies. It represents 100 countries and has 6,500 members.

A 100% IRSEM panel, which is a first, brought together Dr. Béatrice Hainaut, Dr. Maxime Audinet, Dr. Wendy Ramadan-Alban, Dr. Carine Pina and Dr. Elie Baranets. The IRSEM researchers presented their work and discussed the theme of "Restoring Agency: Great Power Competition from a Global South Perspective". This discussion was part of a cross-domain cooperation project being developed at IRSEM on how great power competition is interpreted by peripheral actors, particularly those identified as being part of the Global South. For his part, Dr. Paul Charon, who is the Director of the "Intelligence, Strategy foresight and Influence" department at IRSEM, also presented a paper on the "Narratives of Democracy on China Global Television Network (CGTN) during the 2024 US Elections".

[Read the full article online](#)

16 May 2024: Meeting at IRSEM with a Qatari delegation from the Strategic Studies Center

On 16 May 2024, IRSEM welcomed a Qatari delegation from the Strategic Studies Center (SSC), led by its director, General Rashid Hamad Al-Nuaimi. This strategic studies centre, attached to the Qatar Armed Forces and set up in 2004, is tasked with carrying out military and strategic studies to meet the needs of the country's armed forces and national security.



[Read the full article online](#)

21 May 2024: the IRSEM-US Army War College Annual Conference



On Tuesday 21 May, Assistant Professor Maud Quessard, Director of Transatlantic Studies at the Institute for Strategic Research at IRSEM, hosted the IRSEM-US Army War College Annual Conference. This one-day conference in the Chatham House format is part of the curriculum of the Advanced Strategic Art Program (ASAP) for American officers in training.

It took place during their visit to Europe, where they took part in a staff tour of Sicily and Normandy in the year of D-Day commemorations. During the day, American officers and French researchers from IRSEM had the opportunity to exchange views at three round tables: the first on lessons learned from the war in Ukraine; the second on national mobilisation for war; and the third on strategic autonomy.

[Read the full article online](#)

30 May 2024: Visit from a delegation of students from George Washington University

On Thursday 30 May 2024, a delegation of approximately twenty students enrolled in the Master of International Relations programme at George Washington University (GWU) undertook a visit to the Strategic Institute of Research (IRSEM) as part of a broader European tour.



[Read the full article online](#)



7 June 2024: IRSEM welcomes Mrs. Neema Chusi, Head of the Peace and Security Council secretariat of the African Union

On 7 June 2024, within the framework of the programme of invitations to prominent figures (PIPA for its French acronym) under the authority of the French Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs, our Institute was honoured to receive and welcome the visit of Mrs. Neema Chusi, Head of the Peace and Security Council secretariat of the African Union (AU).

[Read the full article online](#)

27 June 2024: IRSEM hosts Mrs. Lia Quartapelle, a prominent Italian parliamentarian

On 27 June 2024, the Institute for Strategic Research (IRSEM) hosted Mrs Lia Quartapelle, an Italian Member of Parliament (Democratic Party) and Vice-Chairwoman of the Committee on Foreign and European Affairs, as part of the French Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs' programme of invitations to prominent figures (PIPA).



[Read the full article online](#)

Latest publications



L'exploitation des ressources minières des grands fonds marins internationaux dans le Pacifique

Brève stratégique - 72

13 Juin 2024

Brève stratégique n°72 - « L'exploitation des ressources minières des grands fonds marins internationaux dans le Pacifique : Le rêve de Nauru, de la Chine... et des États-Unis»

by Carine Pina et Nolwenn Gueguen

Une demande de contrat d'exploitation des ressources minières des fonds marins situés au-delà des limites de la juridiction nationale (la Zone), en particulier dans le Pacifique, devrait être déposée devant l'Autorité internationale des fonds marins (AIFM) en juillet prochain, ouvrant potentiellement une période de compétition pour ces ressources jugées stratégiques. Celle-ci concerne les îles de Nauru, de la Chine et des États-Unis.

En effet, cette demande, qui viserait à exploiter les gisements de minéraux de fer et de cobalt dans la Zone, pourrait entraîner une période de compétition entre les deux pays. La demande de Nauru, qui a été déposée il y a quelques mois, vise à obtenir la concession pour l'exploitation des gisements de fer et de cobalt dans la Zone, alors que la Chine et les États-Unis ont également déposé des demandes de concessions pour ces mêmes gisements. Les deux parties sont actuellement en cours de négociations pour déterminer les termes de leur demande.

Les trois parties doivent faire face à de nombreux défis pour assurer la réussite de leur demande. La première étape consiste à démontrer la faisabilité technique et économique de l'exploitation des gisements de fer et de cobalt dans la Zone. Les deux parties doivent également prendre en compte les implications environnementales et sociales de l'exploitation des gisements de fer et de cobalt dans la Zone. La troisième étape consiste à négocier un contrat avec l'AIFM pour assurer la gestion et la distribution des bénéfices de l'exploitation des gisements de fer et de cobalt dans la Zone.

Enfin, il est important de souligner que l'exploitation des gisements de fer et de cobalt dans la Zone peut avoir des implications pour l'environnement et les communautés locales. Il est donc essentiel de prendre en compte ces facteurs lors de la négociation du contrat.



[Read the full strategic brief](#)

Will Russia denounce the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Seas (UNCLOS)?*

Lukas B. Wahden

*Russia has threatened to denounce the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Seas, known as UNCLOS, if it fails to be adopted by the UN General Assembly. This brief analyzes the potential impact of such a move on international maritime law and policy.

Will Russia denounce the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Seas (UNCLOS)?*

Lukas B. Wahden

This brief has been written to analyze the potential impact of Russia's threat to denounce the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Seas (UNCLOS) if it is not adopted by the UN General Assembly. The brief discusses the history of UNCLOS, its key provisions, and the potential consequences of its non-implementation. It also examines the specific concerns expressed by Russia regarding UNCLOS and the implications for international maritime law and policy.

The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Seas (UNCLOS) is an international treaty that governs the use of the world's oceans. It was adopted in 1982 and entered into force in 1994. The Convention covers a wide range of issues, including territorial sea limits, exclusive economic zones, and the rights and responsibilities of states in the high seas. It also addresses issues such as marine pollution, the protection of marine resources, and the regulation of maritime activities.

Russia has threatened to denounce UNCLOS if it is not adopted by the UN General Assembly. This brief analyzes the potential impact of such a move on international maritime law and policy. It also examines the specific concerns expressed by Russia regarding UNCLOS and the implications for international maritime law and policy.

The brief concludes with recommendations for how the international community can address Russia's concerns and ensure that UNCLOS remains a key tool for managing international maritime affairs.

Brève stratégique n°68 - "Will Russia denounce the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Seas (UNCLOS)?"

by Lukas B. Wahden

Russia has threatened to denounce the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Seas. However, it is unlikely that Moscow will make good on its threat. Russia's hostility towards UNCLOS does not derive from maritime strategy, but from its pursuit of great power prerogatives. Nevertheless, Russia's actions undermine UNCLOS.

[Read the full strategic brief](#)



Eté 2024

NOTE DE RECHERCHE - n° 143

L'OBIGATION DE LOYAUTÉ ENVERS LA CONSTITUTION DES SOLDATS DE LA BUNDESWEHR ET L'OBIGATION DE RÉSERVE DES SOLDATS FRANÇAIS : DEUX MÉCANISMES D'ENCADREMENT DES COMPORTEMENTS ANTIDÉMOCRATIQUES AU SEIN DES FORCES ARMÉES

Leonor Belk

Juriste à la Bundeswehr; chercheuse invitée à l'IRSEM

RÉSUMÉ

A l'heure où les sociétés européennes enregistrent une flambée des tendances populistes, voire antidémocratiques, la question de leurs conséquences sur les forces armées et les comportements de certains soldats devient très importante. Cette note met en lumière les origines des actes antidémocratiques répertoriés en France et en Allemagne et compare l'obligation de loyauté envers la Constitution des soldats allemands à l'obligation de réserve des militaires français. Ensuite, les conséquences disciplinaires de la violation de ces deux obligations par de tels comportements sont examinées.

SOMMAIRE

1. Introduction	3
2. L'obligation de loyauté envers la Constitution des soldats allemands et l'obligation de réserve des soldats français	3
3. Comparaison entre l'obligation de loyauté envers la Constitution des soldats allemands et l'obligation de réserve des soldats français	10
4. Conséquences disciplinaires	12
5. Conclusion	15

IRSEM Institut de recherche sur les événements stratégiques et la mondialisation

Note de recherche n°143 - « L'obligation de loyauté envers la constitution des soldats de la Bundeswehr et l'obligation de réserve des soldats français : Deux mécanismes d'encadrement des comportements antidémocratiques au sein des forces armées »

by ORR Leonie Belk

À l'heure où les sociétés européennes enregistrent une flambée des tendances populistes, voire antidémocratiques, la question de leurs conséquences sur la Bundeswehr et l'armée française se pose de plus en plus. Dans ce contexte, les réglementations et les mécanismes de prévention et de lutte contre les comportements antidémocratiques de certains soldats jouent un rôle important. Cette note met en lumière les origines des actes antidémocratiques répertoriés en France et en Allemagne et compare l'obligation de loyauté envers la Constitution des soldats allemands à l'obligation de réserve des militaires français. Ensuite, les conséquences disciplinaires de la violation de ces deux obligations par de tels comportements sont examinées.

[Read the full research paper](#)

**LA GUERRE À GAZA
ET LE RETOUR DE LA QUESTION PALESTINIENNE
QUELS IMPACTS SUR LE RÔLE DE L'ARABIE SAOUDITE
ET SUR LES ACCORDS ABRAHAM ?**

Dr Fatiha Dazi-Héni

RÉSUMÉ

Cette note de recherche porte essentiellement sur les impacts de la guerre à Gaza en Arabie saoudite et sur les accords Abraham, depuis les échéances du 7 octobre 2023. Les entretiens menés à Riyad et à Abha (province de l'Asir), lors d'une mission de terrain, ont révélé un écart de plus en plus marqué entre les perceptions de l'Arabie saoudite, du Moyen-Orient en général et de l'Occident sur le conflit israélo-palestinien. Les États arabes signataires des accords Abraham sont restés hors-jeu et assument une position embarrassante vis-à-vis de leur population et du monde arabo-musulman. De son côté, Riyad cache mal son impuissance à peser sur le cours de la guerre ainsi que ses multiples contradictions face à une question palestinienne qui refait brutalement surface. L'émotion que le nombre de victimes civiles à Gaza a suscitée auprès d'une jeunesse saoudienne accaparée par la société des loisirs, promue par la Vision 2030, met le pouvoir saoudien au défi de gérer les impacts du conflit sur son rapprochement esquissé avec Israël. De même, l'élargissement de la guerre en mer Rouge par les houthistes du Yémen accentue la vulnérabilité du royaume, compte tenu de la concentration de ses très ambitieux mégaprojets sur son littoral.

SOMMAIRE

Introduction	3
Le changement de la question palestinienne préalablement renouvelé pour la guerre de Gaza	3
Accords Abraham : que la guerre sur la question palestinienne va-t-elle nécessairement faire évoluer ?	4
Etat d'esprit des Jeunes assaillis dans le contexte de la guerre à Gaza	10
Conclusion	11

MINISTÈRE DES ARMÉES | Direction générale de l'armement | Direction de l'armement et de l'industrie militaire | Direction des armes et de l'industrie militaire | Direction de l'armement et de l'industrie militaire | Direction de l'armement et de l'industrie militaire

Note de recherche n°142 - « La guerre à Gaza et le retour de la question palestinienne : quels impacts sur le rôle de l'Arabie saoudite et sur les accords Abraham ? »

by Fatiha Dazi-Héni

Cette note de recherche porte essentiellement sur les impacts de la guerre à Gaza en Arabie saoudite et sur les accords Abraham, depuis les attaques du 7 octobre 2023. Les entretiens menés à Riyad et à Abha (province de l'Asir), lors d'une mission de terrain, ont révélé un écart de plus en plus marqué entre les perceptions de l'Arabie saoudite, du Moyen-Orient en général et de l'Occident sur le conflit israélo-palestinien. Les États arabes signataires des accords Abraham sont restés hors-jeu et assument une position embarrassante vis-à-vis de leur population et du monde arabo-musulman. De son côté, Riyad cache mal son impuissance à peser sur le cours de la guerre ainsi que ses multiples contradictions face à une question palestinienne qui refait brutalement surface. L'émotion que le nombre de victimes civiles à Gaza a suscitée auprès d'une jeunesse saoudienne accaparée par la société des loisirs, promue par la Vision 2030, met le pouvoir saoudien au défi de gérer les impacts du conflit sur son rapprochement esquissé avec Israël. De même, l'élargissement de la guerre en mer Rouge par les houthistes du Yémen accentue la vulnérabilité du royaume, compte tenu de la concentration de ses très ambitieux mégaprojets sur son littoral.

[Read the full research paper](#)

**LES JEUNES ET LA GUERRE
REPRÉSENTATIONS ET DISPOSITIONS
À L'ENGAGEMENT**

Anne Muxel
Directrice de recherche émérite au CNRS
et directrice déléguée du CEVPPC



Etude n°116 - « Les jeunes et la guerre : représentations et dispositions à l'engagement »

by Anne Muxel

Cette étude vise à cerner le rapport que les jeunes entretiennent avec la réalité de la guerre et évalue, sous l'angle du lien armée-nation, leurs dispositions à l'engagement en cas de conflit majeur impliquant la France, y compris sur son territoire. Elle rend compte de la vision que les jeunes ont des armées françaises, engagées dans les guerres passées, présentes mais aussi futures. Leurs positionnements quant à la dissuasion nucléaire, l'appartenance à l'OTAN ou encore la création d'une Europe de la défense sont aussi explorés. Enfin, elle éclaire leurs capacités d'anticipation des menaces qui se profilent dans le monde de demain. Elle s'appuie sur une enquête quantitative inédite menée en ligne auprès d'un large échantillon représentatif de la jeunesse française âgée de 18 à 25 ans et établit un ensemble de résultats permettant de répondre à ces interrogations. Elle fournit aux armées un cadre d'interprétation des attitudes et des opinions les plus significatives dans les jeunes générations au sujet de la guerre. Dans le

champ de la sociologie militaire comme dans le champ des études sur la jeunesse, c'est un sujet qui a été peu exploré et qui pourtant, en raison des reconfigurations internationales des conflits et de la diffusion des menaces hybrides auxquelles les armées comme les populations sont confrontées, est plus que jamais d'actualité. Il en ressort un ensemble de résultats qui fournit des indications inédites sur l'état d'esprit des nouvelles générations face à la montée des périls guerriers pouvant concerner la France et sur leurs dispositions d'engagement. L'un des enseignements les plus marquants de cette étude est le constat de la vitalité des dispositions de la jeunesse française envers l'engagement, y compris l'engagement militaire et l'éventualité d'une mobilisation dans des conflits armés de haute intensité. La réalité d'un regain de patriotisme connaît plus ou moins d'intensité selon les segments de la jeunesse, mais elle laisse présager un solide potentiel de résilience et de soutien de la part des jeunes générations en cas de guerre ou de conflit majeur.

[Read the full report](#)



ESTABLISHING NORMS
OF BEHAVIOUR IN OUTER SPACE
FROM THE EARTH TO THE MOON, AND BEYOND

Béatrice Hainaut, PhD
Researcher on space policies at IRSEM



November 2023

REPORT - No. 110

Report No 110 - "Establishing norms of behaviour in outer space from the earth to the moon, and beyond"

by CNE Béatrice Hainaut

Ongoing space revolutions (change in the relationship between state and private partners, access to space technologies facilitated for many players, technological evolutions, etc.) modify risks and threats players using space are confronted with. It would be useless to try to describe with certainty the space landscape of tomorrow, as evolutions are rapid, and the consequences of the latter more or less known, understood and controlled. Despite these uncertainties, it seems essential for most of the space players to establish new norms in order to ensure the long-term sustainability of space, i.e. to perpetuate its use to the benefit of everyone. To this end, the promotion of binding and non-binding norms is carried out through a number of initiatives under different formats, such as the United Nations Open-ended Working Group on reducing space threats through norms, rules and principles of responsible behaviours, which held in May 2022 and September 2023 four distinct sessions. The precise analysis of the third session permits, through interstate exchanges, to grasp current space challenges, and to notice the impact of the international context on space discussions. In this regard, the report that should result from these exchanges will not be published. In fact, the states did not succeed in coming to an agreement, by consensus, on its content. If this can be seen as a failure, the favourable evolution of the positions of certain states, once reluctant to accept non-binding norms of behaviour, suggests the discussions are not closed. The purpose of this study is to analyse the mechanisms for the emergence and

cascade of norms of behaviour in space, be it for terrestrial orbits, the cislunar space, or the Moon. It also outlines the role and influence of each of the state actors in the promotion of these norms.

[Read the full report](#)

IRSEM-Europe: What's new?

This semester, IRSEM-Europe, under the direction of Dr. Philippe Perchoc, has significantly expanded its activities, organising 17 scientific events and gathering together 19 nationalities of speakers on a variety of security issues. These events were a great success, with an audience of 500 people. Well done Philippe, for making this semester so special!

In addition to Philippe, the new branch of IRSEM based in Brussels and inaugurated last February, hosted Dr. Ariane Bachelet (postdoctoral fellow in geography at IRSEM Europe, and specialising in the South Caucasus region) and Mrs Sophie Kurtz (intern) for its first year.

Among the most successful events of 2024 were the following:

16 April: Joint Seminar of « Confrontation Europe » and IRSEM on the challenges of financing the defense industrial base



IRSEM-Europe organised a conference in collaboration with the European think tank "Confrontation Europe" on the financing of European strategic autonomy and the challenges of long-term investment in the space and defence sectors. ICA Benoît Rademacher, the acting Director of IRSEM, opened the event with a few words of introduction. Among the panellists was Dr. Captain Béatrice Hainaut, a researcher at IRSEM, who specialises in space activities.

28 May: One-day Conference on "Information warfare and foreign interference"



On 28 May, IRSEM-Europe brought together around sixty people to discuss the theme of "Information warfare and foreign interference". The multiple challenges raised by interference in electoral processes were examined at three round tables. The speakers highlighted the influence of disinformation carried out by state and non-state actors. These new perspectives broadened our understanding of contemporary information warfare.

Among the IRSEM speakers were Dr. Paul Charon, Director of "Intelligence, Strategy foresight and Influence" department and Dr. Maxime Audinet, presenting at the first roundtable dealing with the information influence strategies of authoritarian regimes. Assistant Professor Maud Quessard, director of the Transatlantic Studies department, participated in the second round table on the fight against the manipulation and interference of foreign information in an electoral context.

IRSEM-Europe was very honoured to benefit from the expertise of guest speakers for the day Mr. Marek Kohv from the International Centre for Defence and Security



27 June 2024: Joint conference on the Triangle de Weimar, IRSEM-Europe/SWP/PISM

IRSEM-Europe, SWP (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik) and PISM (Polish Institute of International Affairs) jointly organised a conference on the EU's "strategic sovereignty" from the perspective of the Weimar Triangle. The first part of the conference looked at the role of the EU-NATO defence relationship. This was followed by a discussion of how Europe can work together to ensure an effective nuclear deterrent. The closing address was given by Alexandre Escoria, Deputy director for Defence policy at the French Ministry of the Armed Forces.

[Unsubscribe](#)

