



# International Co-operation and Defence Policies

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Master's of Politics of International Co-operation  
Autumn 2018

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## Topic

This seminar focuses on international co-operation in the arena of defence policy, mainly in Europe. There is a wide literature in the field of international relations theory on political-military coalitions that involve governments and their armies in the context of peacekeeping operations or wars (Prof. Thomas Lindemann's seminar). Nevertheless, international collaborations that bring together states and private companies to produce armaments, such as combat aircrafts, tanks or frigates, to meet the needs of states' armed forces are less well known. This seminar is dedicated to these types of international collaborations and situates at the crossroads of theories of international relations, comparative political economy and the sociology of public action.

Do states and companies principally co-operate to produce armaments through bilateral alliances, "minilateral" collaborations or within multilateral organisations such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) or the European Union (EU)? Why do certain states co-operate (or not) with other states? Are these international collaborations shaped by the national interest of states, the economic preferences of private companies or the structure of an individual state's political economy? Who governs the defence industry in Europe - democratically elected political actors or the lobbies that form part of what is called the "military-industrial complex"? How can this type of international public action, which is developed and implemented at the interstices of the civilian and military sectors, of the State and industry, and at the national and international levels, be understood?

## Aim and approach

The objective of this seminar is to prepare students for a professional experience (in the form of an internship) by giving them the means to develop practical skills. Such practical skills are indispensable to the development and implementation of international public action, based on the body of knowledge produced by the field of political science. To this end, this course presents a body of knowledge that constitutes a resource for understanding the forms and transformations of international co-operation in the defence arena and for understanding how decisions are made and implemented, i.e. its governance. This knowledge is mobilized through



several practical exercises in order to reinforce those skills that are essential to act in and have an influence on the international public sphere of action: working in English and in teams, seeking verifiable information through cross-references, producing rigorous and original analyses, taking the initiative, and adapting oneself to an often chaotic and sometimes conflictual work environment.

This seminar promotes a sociological and comparative approach to the analysis of international public action. The sociological approach analyses international defence co-operation by studying the actors (civilian and military, State and industry, national and international) that determine international co-operation, the relationships that these actors maintain and the practices that determine their action. The comparative approach to international defence co-operation studies this phenomenon as another sector of international public policy, i.e. one that is influenced by certain structural political dynamics. For example, these dynamics might include the reconfiguration of the role of the State, the internationalisation of companies, the liberalisation of markets, inter-state negotiations, international trade regulations, or bureaucratic confrontations.

Collaboration between students within the course is encouraged. “Collective play” could be one of the adages of this course: “play” because we learn better and more if we have fun, and “collective” because the course is about learning by and with one’s colleagues, by being collectively active during and between classes. This working spirit aims to strengthen students’ professional attitudes by discouraging a focus on scoring and instead redirecting their attention on the exercises and readings proposed.

### **Assessment**

The evaluation for this seminar will be the same as for the other two courses, that of Prof. Pascal Dauvin and that of Prof. Xavier Crettiez. To successfully pass these three seminars, students are asked to write two ten-page papers, one on international defence co-operation (this seminar) and the other on international co-operation in the fight against terrorism (the seminar of Prof. Xavier Crettiez). For each paper, students must choose a different angle of analysis from the following four options: 1) the structure of an organization, 2) the trajectory of an actor, 3) a specific decision, 4) a norm. For example, a student may decide to analyse international defence co-operation either from the perspective of the structure of an organisation or from the perspective of a specific actor.

This work is carried out in groups (four groups of three students and one group of four students) and is evaluated on the basis of four criteria: 1) students' ability to find and mobilize primary and secondary sources and to reference them rigorously (footnotes and bibliography); 2) the problematisation and conceptualisation of each of the two papers, i.e. they must be analytical and not just descriptive; 3) the writing quality (clear and precise written expression); 4) an oral presentation given at the end of the semester. Each of the two papers, which can be written in English or French, must be between 4,500 and 5,000 words (plus or minus 10%), including footnotes.



For the drafting of these two papers, the formal rules are as follows:

- Times New Roman, 12-point font, single-spaced, justified text, default margins
- Each note must be followed by a bibliography
- Footnotes and bibliography must comply with the rules of use (for this purpose, see note: [How to reference a research paper? Footnotes and bibliography](#))
- The first and last names of students must appear at the top left-hand side of the page
- The document must be paginated at the bottom right-hand side of the page.

## General Reminders

Students are advised to arrive on time and to activate the “silent” mode of their mobile phones before entering the seminar. In addition, students are reminded that the act of plagiarizing is heavily sanctioned. In such a case, the student will receive a zero mark, which will be reported to the Sciences Po Saint-Germain’s administration. During some of the courses, students will be strongly advised not to use their computers to allow for greater concentration on the course material. Students are also advised to prepare for this seminar by regularly following international political news (see the section “specialised information sources”).

## Program

The seminar is organized into six three-hour sessions. Each session is organized into three 55-minute sequences and a five-minute break. Actors involved in international defence co-operations intervene during certain sessions (see below).

### **Session 1. The end or the transformation of international defence co-operation? 11.9, 2-5, D11**

Compulsory Reading Faure, Samuel B.H. La « politique du flexilatéralisme ». Le cas de la politique française d’armement dans le contexte du Brexit. *Les Champs de Mars*. 2018, 30, no. 1 : 73-101.

### **Session 2. Who governs the international co-operation of defence? 18.9, 2-5, D03**

Compulsory Reading Moravcsik, Andrew. Armaments Among Allies. European Weapons Collaboration, 1975-1985, dans Evans, Peter B., Jacobson, Harold K., Putnam, Robert D. (eds.). *Double-Edged Diplomacy. International Bargaining and Domestic Politics*. Berkeley et Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993.

Elective Reading Béraud-Sudreau, Lucie. Un changement politisé dans la politique de défense. Le cas des ventes d’armes. *Gouvernement et action publique*. 2014, vol. 3, no. 3: 79–103.



### **Session 3. How does the governance of international defence co-operation work? 25.9, 2-5, D23**

Compulsory Reading DeVore, Marc, Weiss, Moritz. Who's in the cockpit? The political economy of collaborative aircraft decisions. *Review of International Political Economy*. 2014, vol. 21, no. 2: 497-533.

Elective Reading Hoeffler, Catherine. L'émergence d'une politique industrielle de défense libérale en Europe. Appréhender le changement de la politique d'armement par ses instruments. *Gouvernement et action publique*. 2013, vol. 4, no. 4: 641-65.

### **Session 4. Why do Germany and France (sometimes) co-operate? 2.10, 4.15-7.15, D23**

**Guest: General Henri Bentegeat, Former Chief of French Defence Staff**

Compulsory Reading Krotz, Ulrich. *Flying Tiger: International Relations Theory, and the Politics of Advanced Weapons Production*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011: 28-56.

Elective Reading Genieys, William, Michel, Laura. Au-delà du complexe militaro-industriel. Le rôle d'une élite sectorielle dans le programme du char Leclerc. *Revue française de sociologie*. 2006, vol. 47, no. 1: 117-142.

### **Session 5. Why do the United Kingdom and France co-operate in the context of Brexit? 16.10, 2-5, D23**

**Guest: Dr. Renaud Bellais, MBDA**

Compulsory Reading Faure, Samuel B.H. Franco-British co-operation in the context of Brexit. In Johnson, Robert, Haaland Matlary, Janne (eds.). *The United Kingdom's Defence After Brexit. Britain's Alliances, Coalitions, and Partnerships*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018 [Forthcoming].

Elective Reading Pannier, Alice. La coopération franco-britannique dans le secteur des armes complexes : vers une politique industrielle bilatérale. In Fleurant, Aude-Emmanuelle (ed.). *Quelles stratégies face aux mutations de l'économie de défense mondiale ? Etude de l'IRSEM*, 38, 2015 : 56-67.



## Session 6. Why do some European states strongly regulate arms exports and others less strongly?

23.10, 2-5, D23

**Guests: Dr. Claire Bordes (Ministry of Defence, DGRIS) and Prof. Jean-Vincent Holeindre (University of Paris 2 & Ministry of Defence, IRSEM) [24.10, 10.15-11.45, D10]**

Compulsory Reading Béraud-Sudreau, Lucie, Faure, Samuel B.H., Sladeczek, Michael. Réguler le commerce des armes par le Parlement et l'opinion publique. Comparaison du contrôle des exportations d'armement en Allemagne, France, Royaume-Uni et Suède. *Politique européenne*. 2015, vol. 48, no. 2: 82-121.

Elective Reading Béraud-Sudreau, Lucie, Meijer, Hugo. Déterminants et variations internationales des politiques d'exportation d'armement. Une comparaison franco-américaine. *Revue internationale de politique comparée*. 2016, vol. 23, no. 1: 57-84.

### Bibliography

#### *Books and articles*

Boussaguet, Laurie, Jacquot, Sophie, Ravinet, Pauline. *Dictionnaire des politiques publiques*. Paris : Presses de Sciences Po, 2014, 4<sup>ème</sup> édition.

Devin, Guillaume (dir.). *10 concepts sociologiques en relations internationales*. Paris : CNRS éditions, 2015.

DeVore, Marc. Organizing International Armaments Cooperation : Institutional Design and Path Dependencies in Europe. *European Security*. 2012, 21, no. 3: 432-458.

DeVore, Marc. Producing European armaments: Policymaking preferences and processes. *Cooperation and Conflict*. 2014, 49, no. 4: 438-463.

Hartley, Keith. *White elephants? The political economy of multinational defence projects*. Brussels: New Direction The Foundation for European Reform, 2012.

Hay, Colin, Smith, Andy (dir.). *Dictionnaire d'économie politique. Capitalisme, institutions, pouvoir*. Paris : Presses de SciencesPo, 2018.

Hoeffler, Catherine. European armament co-operation and the renewal of industrial policy motive. *Journal of European Public Policy*. 2012, 19, no. 3: 435-451.

Hoeffler, Catherine, Mérand, Frédéric. Avions de combat: pourquoi n'y-a-t-il pas d'eupéanisation? *Politique européenne*. 2015, 48, no. 2: 52-80.



Faure, Samuel B.H. La coopération internationale dans le secteur de l'armement. Apports et critiques de la littérature à la lumière du cas français. *Questions de recherche, Sciences Po-CERI*. 2015, vol. 46.

Faure, Samuel B.H., Hoeffler, Catherine. L'«européanisation sans l'Union européenne»? Penser le changement des politiques militaires. *Politique européenne*. 2015, 48: 8-27.

Genieys, William (dir.). *Le choix des armes. Théories, acteurs et politiques*. CNRS Science Politique. Paris : CNRS éditions, 2004.

Giovachini, Laurent. *L'armement français au XXème siècle. Une politique à l'épreuve de l'histoire*. Paris : Ellipses, 2000.

Hébert, Jean-Paul, et Hamiot, Jean. *Histoire de la coopération européenne dans l'armement*. Paris : CNRS éditions, 2004.

Joana, Jean. Armée et industrie de défense : cousinage nécessaire et liaisons incestueuses. *Pouvoirs*. 2008, 125, no. 2 : 43–54.

Meijer, Hugo. *Trading with the Enemy. The Making of US Export Control Policy toward the People's Republic of China*. Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2016.

Pannier, Alice. Understanding the workings of interstate cooperation in defence: an exploration into Franco-British cooperation after the signing of the Lancaster House Treaty. *European Security*. 2013, vol. 22, no. 4: 540-558.

Schilde, Kaija. *The Political Economy of European Security*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

Smith, Andy, Jullien, Bernard. Le gouvernement d'une industrie : vers une économie politique institutionnaliste renouvelée. *Gouvernement et Action Publique*. 2012, vol. 1, no. 1 : 107–28.

Smith, Andy, Jullien, Bernard (dir.). *The EU's Government of Industries. Markets, Institutions and Politics*. Londres : Routledge, 2014.

### **Scientific Journals**

Critique internationale	* <i>International Organization</i>
Cultures et Conflits	* <i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i>
Études internationales	* <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i>
<i>European Journal of International Relations</i>	<i>Millenium</i>
<i>European Journal of Political Research</i>	Politique étrangère
<i>European Review of International Studies</i>	Politique européenne
<i>European Union Politics</i>	Revue internationale de politique comparée
<i>Foreign Affairs</i>	Revue internationale et stratégique



<i>Foreign Policy</i>	* <i>Review of International Political Economy</i>
* <i>Gouvernement et action publique</i>	<i>Security Dialogue</i>
<i>International Political Sociology</i>	<i>West European Politics</i>
* <i>International Security</i>	* <i>World Politics</i>

### **Scientific Gateways**

CAIRN - Portail de revues de sciences humaines	<a href="http://www.cairn.info">http://www.cairn.info</a>
JSTOR - <i>The Scholarly Journal Archive</i>	<a href="http://www.jstor.org">http://www.jstor.org</a>
PERSEE - Portail de revues scientifiques en SHS	<a href="http://www.persee.fr">http://www.persee.fr</a>

### **Scientific Associations**

AEGES - Association pour les études sur la guerre et la stratégie	<a href="http://www.guerre-strategie.com/">http://www.guerre-strategie.com/</a>
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### **Think Tanks**

AFRI - Annuaire français des relations internationales	<a href="http://www.afri-ct.org">http://www.afri-ct.org</a>
<i>Brookings Institution</i>	<a href="http://www.brookings.edu/">http://www.brookings.edu/</a>
Bruegel - <i>Brussels European and Global Economic Laboratory</i>	<a href="http://www.bruegel.org">http://www.bruegel.org</a>
<i>Carnegie Endowment for International Peace</i>	<a href="http://www.carnegieendowment.org/">http://www.carnegieendowment.org/</a>
CEPS - <i>Centre for European Policy Studies</i>	<a href="http://www.ceps.be">http://www.ceps.be</a>
CER - <i>Centre for European Reform</i>	<a href="http://www.cer.org.uk">http://www.cer.org.uk</a>
<i>Chatham House (The Royal Institute of International Affairs)</i>	<a href="http://www.riia.org">http://www.riia.org</a>
CSIS - <i>Center for Strategic and International Studies</i>	<a href="http://csis.org/">http://csis.org/</a>
DGAP - <i>Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik</i>	<a href="http://www.dgap.org">http://www.dgap.org</a>
ECFR - <i>European Council on Foreign Relations</i>	<a href="http://www.ecfr.eu/">http://www.ecfr.eu/</a>
EPC - <i>European Policy Centre</i>	<a href="http://www.epc.eu">http://www.epc.eu</a>
Fondation Robert Schuman	<a href="http://www.robert-schuman.eu">http://www.robert-schuman.eu</a>
FRS - <i>Fondation pour la recherche stratégique</i>	<a href="http://www.frstrategie.org/">http://www.frstrategie.org/</a>
<i>German Marshall Fund of the United States</i>	<a href="http://www.gmfus.org">http://www.gmfus.org</a>
IFRI - <i>Institut français des relations internationales</i>	<a href="http://www.ifri.org">http://www.ifri.org</a>
IISS - <i>International Institute for Strategic Studies</i>	<a href="http://www.iiss.org/">http://www.iiss.org/</a>
IRIS - <i>Institut de relations internationales et stratégiques</i>	<a href="http://www.iris-france.org/">http://www.iris-france.org/</a>
IRSEM - <i>Institut de recherche stratégique de l'École militaire</i>	<a href="http://www.defense.gouv.fr/irsem">http://www.defense.gouv.fr/irsem</a>
ISS - <i>Institut for Security Studies of the EU (Chaillot Paper)</i>	<a href="http://www.iss-eu.org">www.iss-eu.org</a>



Notre Europe, Institut Jacques Delors	<a href="http://www.notre-europe.eu/">http://www.notre-europe.eu/</a>
RAND Corporation	<a href="http://www.rand.org/">http://www.rand.org/</a>
SIPRI - <i>Stockholm International Peace Research Institute</i>	<a href="http://www.sipri.org/">http://www.sipri.org/</a>
SWP - <i>Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik</i>	<a href="http://www.swpberlin.org">http://www.swpberlin.org</a>
Woodrow Wilson Center	<a href="http://www.wilsoncenter.org/">http://www.wilsoncenter.org/</a>

### ***Specialized information websites***

<i>Aero Buzz</i>	<a href="https://www.aerobuzz.fr/">https://www.aerobuzz.fr/</a>	Site d'informations spécialisé
<i>Aero Defense News</i>	<a href="https://aerodefenseneeds.net/">https://aerodefenseneeds.net/</a>	Site d'informations spécialisé
Air & Cosmos	<a href="http://www.air-cosmos.com/">http://www.air-cosmos.com/</a>	Site d'informations spécialisé
<i>Aviation Week</i>	<a href="http://aviationweek.com/">http://aviationweek.com/</a>	Site d'informations spécialisé
Bruxelles 2	<a href="http://www.bruxelles2.eu/">http://www.bruxelles2.eu/</a>	Blog du correspondant de <i>Ouest France</i> à Bruxelles (Nicolas Gros)
<i>Defense News</i>	<a href="http://www.defensenews.com/">http://www.defensenews.com/</a>	Site d'informations spécialisé
Défense ouverte	<a href="http://www.lepoint.fr/editos-du-point/jean-guisnel/">http://www.lepoint.fr/editos-du-point/jean-guisnel/</a>	Blog du <i>Point</i> (Jean Guisnel)
<i>Good Morning Africa</i>	<a href="http://goodmorningafrika.blogspot.co.uk/">http://goodmorningafrika.blogspot.co.uk/</a>	Blog de Dr. Sonia Le Gouriellec
Institut des hautes études de défense nationale (IHEDN)	<a href="http://www.ihedn.fr/">http://www.ihedn.fr/</a>	Source gouvernementale
<i>Jane's</i>	<a href="http://www.janes.com/">http://www.janes.com/</a>	Sources ouvertes
La voie de l'épée	<a href="http://lavoiedelepee.blogspot.co.uk/">http://lavoiedelepee.blogspot.co.uk/</a>	Blog du Colonel Michel Goya
Lignes de défense	<a href="http://lignesdedefense.blogspot.fr/">http://lignesdedefense.blogspot.fr/</a>	Blog de <i>Ouest France</i> (Philippe Chapleau)
Opex380	<a href="http://www.opex360.com/">http://www.opex360.com/</a>	Blog
Portail de l'IE	<a href="http://www.portail-ie.fr/">http://www.portail-ie.fr/</a>	Source gouvernementale
RP Défense	<a href="http://rpdefense.over-blog.com/">http://rpdefense.over-blog.com/</a>	Blog de revues de presse
Secret Défense	<a href="http://www.lopinion.fr/blog/secret-defense">http://www.lopinion.fr/blog/secret-defense</a>	Blog de <i>L'Opinion</i> (Dominique Merchet)
<i>The Conversation</i>	<a href="https://twitter.com/thofnung?lang=fr">https://twitter.com/thofnung?lang=fr</a>	Compte Twitter de Thomas Hofnung, chef de rubrique pour <i>The Conversation</i>