



The Political Economy of European Security

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Topic

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”? Are France, Germany and the UK’s decision-making shaped by the same political economy? Why does a State sometimes decide to acquire armaments such as a combat aircraft, tank or drone, sometimes through European co-operation, and sometimes through a transatlantic partnership with the USA? How does the state regulate the arms trade and why do some states regulate more than others? Etc.

This seminar focuses on the political economy of European security which is the study of State-defence industry relationships 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, interdependent relations that bring together states and private companies to produce armaments to meet the needs of states’ armed forces are less well known. This seminar is dedicated to these power relations that shape security and defence policies in Europe and situates at the crossroads of theories of international relations, comparative political economy and the sociology of public action.

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 political economy in the European security 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, developing creative strategies, taking the initiative, and adapting oneself to an often chaotic and sometimes conflictual work environment.

This seminar promotes a sociologist and comparative approach to the political economy of European security. The sociological approach analyses the political economy of European security by studying the actors (civilian and military, State and industry, national and international) that determine decision-making, the relationships that these actors maintain and the practices that determine their action. The comparative approach to defence procurement policies in Europe 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 knowledge and skills developed during the seminar are assessed through three mandatory exercises, two individual exercises (drafting of a summary note and oral participation) and one collective exercise (drafting of a position note).

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.

1) Drafting of a summary note (25%)

Each student writes one summary note (in English or in French), either a policy paper or a review article. This summary note must not exceed 6000 space characters without footnotes and bibliography (plus or minus 10%). This note should be sent before Friday, January 4 at 9am. Each hour of delay will result in a penalty of one point.

Drafting of a policy paper

The objective of the policy paper is to advise an actor in European armaments policy (a company, a State, an army, an institutional governmental body, etc.) on its decision-making.



The introduction to the policy paper presents the *problématique*, its context and the two or three policy challenges that result from it. Then, the development can be structured in two or three parts. Each part presents a strategy or scenario.

→ Beyond the respect of the rules of form and the quality of the drafting, three criteria are taken into account to evaluate the summary note: the coherence, originality and realism of the strategies or scenarios developed.

Drafting of a review article

In all scientific journals of political science, researchers can publish articles, book reviews, and review articles. The objective of the review article is to formulate an analysis based on the evaluation of two or three bibliographic references (articles or books) that relate to the same subject of study. The first part of a review article presents the argument and results of the scientific articles or books selected. The second part outlines the contributions and limitations of each bibliographic reference. In this second part, additional references can be mobilized to support your demonstration and formulate a research agenda.

→ Beyond the respect of the rules of form and the quality of the writing, three criteria are taken into account to evaluate the review article: the clarity of the presentation of the arguments resulting from the bibliographical references discussed, the originality and the scientific relevance of the theoretical and methodological discussion.

2) Oral participation (25%)

Students are considered as young professionals and each seminar is thought of as a working meeting. Therefore, it is expected that the student has read the compulsory readings and is strongly advised to read the elective readings. However, reading these texts is not an end in itself, but a prerequisite for active participation in the seminar.

→ The oral participation of each student is evaluated according to two criteria: the quality of the speeches and not their number (one can make a lot of noise without saying anything¹), and the regularity of your participation by being active at each session.

In addition, the oral participation score can be improved by performing one of the following two non-mandatory exercises:

- The writing of an op-ed of 2000 characters including spaces (in English or in French). Objective: to take a position on a topical issue by defending an opinion. No footnotes are expected. On the other hand, it is possible to integrate hypertext links,
- Making a video (with your smartphone and the help of an application such as [Quik](#)). Objective: either to present a topical issue or to defend an opinion on a topical issue. The video must not exceed one minute and can be uploaded to my [Youtube](#) channel.

¹ Pierre Bourdieu. *Ce que parler veut dire: l'économie des échanges linguistiques*. Paris: Fayard, 1982.



3) Drafting of a position paper in a team and in 24h (50%)

A group of five or six students writes a position paper in English or in French that aims to define the position formulated by an actor according to a major political issue that is summarized in the form of a scenario by the professor. In this scenario, each group of students embodies one of the four types of actors that make up the defence industry: politicians, civil servants, military and industrialists. The position paper is structured in three parts: the first part (the shortest) summarizes in one paragraph the strategy to be developed to achieve a clearly defined objective; the second part (the longest) develops the contextualized implementation of the strategy by revealing its strengths; the third part highlights the risks of this strategy, in order to anticipate the reactions of other actors. This last part should include a section that briefly defines the structure of the discourse ("language elements") to be followed when dealing with the media.

To carry out this work, each group of students has 24 hours from the moment the professor sends the scenario electronically. The composition of each group is decided by the professor and not by the students. During the exercise time, the professor does not answer any questions (except for the first thirty minutes). Depending on the students' schedule, this simulation will be carried out between Wednesday 16 and Monday 21 January 2019. The objective of this exercise is threefold: to use the knowledge presented in the first six sessions of the seminar, to work as a team in a stressful situation and to develop a strategy by implementing a set of skills. The position paper should not exceed 12,000 space characters without footnotes and bibliography (plus or minus 10%). Each hour of delay will result in a penalty of one point.

→ Three criteria are taken into account to evaluate this exercise: the coherence, originality and realism of the strategy developed.

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 eight three-hour sessions. Each session is organized into three 55-minute sequences and a five-minute break.

Session 1. Conferences given by decision-makers September & October



- [General Henri Bentegeat](#), former Chief of Defence Staff (CEMA)
- [Fabien Carlet](#), IRIS (*think tank*)
- [Dr Claire Bordes & Prof. Jean-Vincent Holeindre](#), Ministry of Defence
- [Dr Renaud Bellais](#), MBDA (industry)

Session 2. Introduction: What's the political economy of European security?
26.11, 4.30-7.30, D01

Elective Reading Hay, Colin, Smith, Andy. Introduction. [Le rapport capitalisme-politique](#). dans Hay, Colin, Smith, Andy (eds.). *Dictionnaire d'économie politique*. Paris : Presses de SciencesPo, 2018: 19-49.

Session 3. Who governs the defence industry in Europe?
10.12, 4.30-7.30, D01

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

Session 4. How does the governance of defence industry work?
17.12, 4.30-7.30, D01

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 5. Why does the State co-operate (or not) to acquire armaments?
7.1, 4.30-7.30, D01

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.



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 6. Will France and the United Kingdom co-operate after Brexit?
14.1, 4.30-7.30, D01

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: 103-125.

Elective Reading 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: 540-58.

Session 7. Why do some European states strongly regulate arms exports and others less strongly?
21.1, 4.30-7.30, D01

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 Readings 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.
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.

Session 8. Conclusion: Back to the simulation and mapping out research avenues
28.1, 4.30-7.30, D01

No compulsory reading



Bibliography

Books and articles

Boussaguet, Laurie, Jacquot, Sophie, Ravinet, Pauline. *Dictionnaire des politiques publiques*. Paris : Presses de Sciences Po, 2014, 4^{ème} 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. Explaining European Armaments Cooperation: Interests, Institutional Design and Armaments Organizations. *European Foreign Affairs Review*. 2013, vol. 18, no. 1: 1-28.

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'«eupéanisation 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>
* Gouvernement et action publique	<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	http://www.cairn.info
JSTOR - <i>The Scholarly Journal Archive</i>	http://www.jstor.org
PERSEE - Portail de revues scientifiques en SHS	http://www.persee.fr



Scientific Associations

AEGES - Association pour les études sur la guerre et la stratégie	http://www.guerre-strategie.com/
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Think Tanks

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



Specialized Information Websites

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