

International Co-operation and Defence Policies

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Master's of Politics of International Co-operation

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Topic

This seminar focuses on international co-operation in the arena of defence policy, mainly in Europe. After the fourth year seminar on the defence industry, which is at the crossroads of political economy and sociology of elites, this seminar analyses international partnerships and alliances based on European studies and Strategic studies.

What are the varieties of defence co-operation in the 21st century? Who governs the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) of the European Union (EU)? Does NATO remain a useful arena of collaboration for European states, and how could and should it be linked to the EU? How is a CSDP and a NATO mission implemented on the battlefield? What role for women in the development of defence policies at the international scale? Could China change military alliances and balance of power in a context of the return of the great powers?

Aim

These issues will be tackled from the angle of sovereignty and more precisely of 'European strategic autonomy'. This angle of analysis will be the common thread from one session to another. The aim is therefore not just to analyse international military cooperation but to grasp this political phenomenon through the enigma of sovereignty and 'European strategic autonomy'. This theme was chosen because it is at the heart of the international political news linked to the Covid-19 crisis but also to the return of conflictual relations between the 'great' powers.

More broadly, the objective of this seminar is to prepare students for a professional experience (in the form of an internship), and then for the job market, by giving them the means to develop practical skills. Such practical skills are useful 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 is based on two pillars: a sociological and comparative approach, and practical exercises.

Approach

On the one hand, by sociological approach, it is meant a simple assumption: political-military actors, their interests, perceptions and practices matter to understand international defence co-operation. To do this, it is essential to continue to read the scientific literature in European studies and Strategic studies. This body of knowledge constitutes a resource for understanding the forms and transformations of international co-operation in the defence arena and how decisions are made and implemented (i.e. its governance). Moreover, comparison is an old and classic method in social sciences. The comparison can be synchronous, but also diachronic, and can be used at different levels of analysis. If its use is not obvious, it is a question of making it an analytical habit, making it possible to contextualize international public action.

On the other hand, students will be required to work during each session through practical exercises. The objective is to articulate and not to oppose theoretical and practical knowledge, hard and soft skills: 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. Other essential skills could be added to this list: contextualizing a political event, mapping the actors who participate in it, analysing the discourse held by the decision-makers and understanding the weight of words, being able to propose a set of explanatory elements, making recommendations to stakeholders.

To sum up, this seminar which is conceived as a crossroads between academic and political worlds and so aims to articulate academic and practical knowledge, is demanding for students. As a result, 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 colleagues, by being collectively active during and between classes. This working spirit aims to reinforce the students' professional spirit by discouraging them from focusing on grades and redirecting their attention instead to reading and exercises.

Assessment

The knowledge and skills developed during the seminar are assessed through two mandatory exercises, one individual exercise (oral participation), and one collective exercise (drafting a paper and its oral presentation in session 6).

1) Oral participation in sessions 1 to 5 (30%)

Students are considered as young professionals and each session is framed as a working meeting. In this state of mind, it might be interesting to dress as you would in a professional environment related to defence policies and international partnerships.

Therefore, it is expected that the student has read the compulsory readings and is strongly advised to read some of the elective readings. However, reading these texts is not an end in itself, but a prerequisite for active participation in the seminar. It is also an incentive to work regularly and prepare your final assignment (see below, point 2).



→ 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.

2) Drafting a paper and its oral presentation in session 6 (70%)

What are the main features of this exercise?

- The students are divided into six groups of four people. The instructor decides the composition of the groups at random. Each group includes young experts specialised in military policy and international alliances. Each group represents a task force based in a capital city: Berlin, DC, Madrid, London, Paris, and Warsaw
- These six groups of experts are taking part in an ideas competition recently launched by the European Commission. Since her election at the head of the European Commission in 2019, Ursula von der Leyen has been stressing the importance for the Commission - and through it the European Union - playing a 'geopolitical' role. It is the European Union's politico-military position on the international stage in the 21st century and the international governance of defence policies that are being questioned through the lens of sovereignty and European strategic autonomy
- In order to achieve this ambitious goal, institutional/political/military/etc. changes must be made, but... how? How can the European Commission become a geopolitical player and the European Union clarify its role on the international stage? Answering this question is your mission
- More precisely, your goal is to work on a proposal/idea (not two, not three) that you are going to defend to President von der Leyen. It is a matter of crafting about a proposal/idea that is innovative/different/creative (i.e. thinking out of the box). It must be presented as clearly and precisely as possible so that the President von der Leyen knows what the interests and drawbacks of your proposal/idea are and what strategy you suggest to her to implement it (in terms of agenda-setting, political/financial/military tools). Each task force has to answer this question: Can our proposal/idea make a difference/shake the world? If so, then you are on the right track

How will the international conference (session 6) be organised?

The sixth and final session (3 December) will take the form of an 'international conference' at which each group/task force will give an oral presentation. The professor will play the role of the President of the European Commission.

Each group will have 24 minutes to convince the President of the European Commission:

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



- 8 minutes of oral presentation with a Powerpoint developing the interest of your proposal to make the Commission a geopolitical actor in the military field and thus strengthen the position of the EU on the international scene
- 8 minutes of questions/answers with the other groups of experts who will ask you questions aimed at pointing out the limits of your proposal (it is therefore advisable for each student to work with his or her team from the beginning of this assignment, but avoiding communication with the other groups of experts)
- 8 minutes of questions/answers with the President of the European Commission who will ask you questions aimed at pointing out the weaknesses of your proposal

How shall you prepare the international conference?

You shall send your written working document no later than 23 November, i.e. 10 days after the last working session (session 5) and 10 days before the international conference (session 6). Please send your document to the President's assistant: samuel.bh.faure@alumni.harvard.edu Each hour of delay will result in a penalty of one point. Then, all the policy papers will be sent on the same day (23 November) to all so that the Q/A sessions can be prepared in advance of the international conference on 3 December.

The policy paper written in English or French must not exceed 2,000 words (five pages). The introduction sets out the *problématique*, its context and the main policy issue you decide to tackle. Then, the development can be structured in two or three parts. You must insist on the added value and originality of your proposal, how to implement it, any difficulties or weaknesses and how to respond to them.

For the drafting of your paper, the formal rules are as follows:

- Times New Roman, 12-point font, single-spaced, justified text, default margins
- 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

→ This exercise is evaluated according to three criteria: 1) the consistency of the choices made, 2) the clarity of the presentation (and therefore the understanding of the issues) and 3) the ability to answer the questions of other students.

What are the main interests of this exercise for a Grad student?

- Working on change in international relations and policy-making
- Working with the same team for two full months
- This exercise is complementary to other simulations that focus on the development of negotiation skills
- May be useful for your next work experience and hopefully, it will be fun!



3) Getting bonus points

In addition, you can improve your grades by performing one of the following two non-mandatory exercises:

- To improve your oral participation grade: 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 three minutes and can be uploaded to my [Youtube](#) channel and/or on [OERI](#)'s website
- To improve your policy paper grade: The drafting of an op-ed of 800 words (in English or in French). Objective: to take a position on a topical issue by defending an opinion. No footnotes are expected but it is possible to integrate hypertext links,

You will get one bonus point on your grade (oral participation and/or policy paper) if you do a good job and two bonus point if you do a terrific job.

General Reminders

- Students are advised to arrive on time and to activate the 'silent' mode of their mobile phones before entering the classroom
- Students are advised to prepare for this seminar by regularly following international political news
- 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
- The Chatham House rules must be scrupulously respected during conferences:
 - 'When a meeting, or part thereof, is held under the Chatham House Rule, participants are free to use the information received, but neither the identity nor the affiliation of the speaker(s), nor that of any other participant, may be revealed'.

Programme

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

If you are looking for a main reference for the seminar:

- **In English:** HOWORTH, Jolyon. *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*. 2e édition. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- **In French:** FAURE, Samuel B.H. *Défense européenne. Émergence d'une culture stratégique commune*. Montreal: Athena editions, 2016.



Session 1 (9.22 – 1-4 pm – D27) – The State and its allies: What are the varieties of defence co-operation?

Keywords Bilateralism, CSDP, EU, flexilateralism, NATO, multilateralism, strategic autonomy

Compulsory reading FAURE, SAMUEL B.H. Varieties of international co-operation: France's 'flexilateral' policy in the context of Brexit. *French Politics*, vol 17, no 1, p. 1-25.
LE GLEUT, Ronan, CONWAY-MOURET Hélène, *Défense européenne: le défi de l'autonomie stratégique*. Sénat. 2019, Information report 626.

Elective readings BRUSTLEIN, Corentin. *European Strategic Autonomy: Balancing Ambition and Responsibility*. IFRI, 2018. Editoriaux de l'IFRI.
DESCHAUX-DUTARD, Delphine. La coopération militaire franco-allemande et la défense européenne après le Brexit. *Les Champs de Mars*. 2019, vol. 32.
FAURE, Samuel B.H. 2019. Franco-British Defence Co-operation in the Context of Brexit in Johnson Rob, Matlary Janne Haaland (eds.), *The United Kingdom's Defence After Brexit. Britain's Alliances, Coalitions and Partnerships*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 103-125.
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PANNIER, Alice. From one exceptionalism to another: France's strategic relations with the United States and the United Kingdom in the post-Cold War era. *Journal of Strategic Studies*. 2017, vol. 40, no 4, p. 475–504.
PANNIER, Alice. *Operations lessons and cooperation among allies: State of play and avenues for improvement*. Paris: IRSEM, 2017. Research Paper 48.
PANNIER, Alice. La France et ses alliés les plus proches : évolutions, opportunités et défis d'un engagement multiple. *Les Champs de Mars*. 2018, vol. 30, p. 9–17.



PANNIER, Alice, SCHMITT, Olivier. Institutionnalised Cooperation and Policy Convergence in European Defence: Lessons from the Relations between France, Germany and the United Kingdom. *European Security*. 2014, vol. 23, no 3.

PANNIER, Alice, SCHMITT, Olivier. To Fight Another Day. France between the Fight against Terrorism and Future Warfare. *International Affairs*. 2019.

Session 2 (10.6 – 1-4 pm – D27) – The European Union: Who governs the CSDP, how is a CSDP mission implemented and could we talk about a ‘European’ strategic culture?

Keywords Africa, Commission, COREPER, Council, CSDP, EDA, EEAS, Parliament, Strategic Culture

Compulsory readings FAURE, Samuel B.H. *Défense européenne. L'émergence d'une culture stratégique commune*. Montréal: Athéna Editions, 2016, p. 55-100. [in the library] /or/ Faure, Samuel B.H. The Nation, Bureaucratic Functionality, and EU Institutions: Three Socialization Worlds of CSDP Actors. *St Antony's International Review*. 2017, 12 (2): 190-206.

RAYROUX, Antoine. L'Union européenne et le maintien de la paix en Afrique. Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal. 2018, Chapter 2 /or/ RAYROUX, Antoine. Adaptation, projection, convergence? L'eupéanisation de la défense et l'intervention militaire EUFOR Tchad/RCA. *Politique européenne*. 2011, vol. 34, no 2, p. 201–230.

Elective readings BAZIN, Anne, TENENBAUM, Charles eds. *L'Union européenne et la paix*. Paris: Presses de SciencesPo, 2017.

BEAUDOUIN, Charles. L'interopérabilité multinationale. *Inflexions*. 2019, vol. 41, no 2, p. 101–109.

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- MEIJER, Hugo, WYSS, Marco. *Upside Down. Reframing European Defences Studies. Cooperation and Conflict*. 2019, vol. 54, no 3.
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- SCHMITT, Olivier. L'Union ou la force? Les défis des opérations multinationales contemporaines. *Focus Stratégique: IFRI*. 2015, vol. 55.
- SCHMITT, Olivier. French Military Adaption in the Afghan War: Looking Inward or Outward? *Journal of Strategic Studies*. 2017, vol. 40, no 4.
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- SCHMITT, Olivier. *Allies that Count: Junior Partners in Coalition Warfare*. Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2018.
- SCHMITT, Olivier. More Allies, Weaker Missions? How Junior Partners Contribute to Multinational Military Operations. *Contemporary Security Policy*. 2019, vol. 40, no 1.

Session 3 (10.15 – 2-5 pm – D10) – NATO: Still relevant in the 21st century?

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| Guests | Christelle CALMELS, Centre for International Studies (CERI), Sciences Po Paris
Amélie ZIMA, Centre de civilisation française, University of Warsaw |
| Keywords | Bargaining, NATO, enlargement, East and Central Europe |
| Compulsory reading | CALMELS, Christelle. NATO's 360-degree approach to security: alliance cohesion and adaptation after the Crimean crisis. <i>European Security</i> . 2020. |



ZIMA, Amélie. La construction politique de l'atlantisme en Europe centrale. *Études internationales*, vol. 49, no 2, p. 391-418.

Elective readings

BESCH, Sophia. 2018. *Defence Spending in NATO: Stop Convincing Trump: Start Convincing Europeans*. London: Centre for European Reform.

BOZO, Frédéric. Sarkozy's NATO policy: Towards France's atlantic realignment? *European Political Science*, 2010, no 9, p. 176-188.

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ZIMA, Amélie. L'Acte fondateur OTAN-Russie, Négociations et influences sur la politique d'élargissement de L'OTAN À L'Europe centrale. *Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest*. 2013, vol. 44, no 3, p. 9–34.

ZIMA, Amélie. *D'ennemi à allié. L'adhésion de la Hongrie, de la Pologne et de la République tchèque à l'Alliance atlantique (1989-1999)*. Bruxelles: Peter Lang, 2019.

ZIMA, Amélie. La fabrique des négociations d'adhésion. Le cas de l'élargissement de l'OTAN en 1999. *Les Champs de Mars*. 2018, vol. 31, p. 31–57.

Session 4 (10.22 – 2-5 pm – D10) – 'Gendering' international co-operation and defence policies?

Guest Johanna Möhring, ENS Paris & WIIS France

Keywords EU, Gender studies, NATO, OSCE, strategic studies, women

Compulsory reading ENLOE, Cynthia. *Interview*. E-International Relations, 13 March 2013.
VON HLATKY, Stéphanie. Les femmes et la sécurité internationale: perspectives canadiennes. *Études internationales*. 2017, vol. 48, no 1, p. 7-18.



- Elective readings BASTICK, Megan, DUNCANSON, Claire. Agents of Change? Gender Advisors in NATO Militaries, *International Peacekeeping*, 2018, vol. 25, no 4, p. 554-577.
 COMPAORE, Nadège W. 'Voici la jeune femme qui veut poser des questions': composer avec le genre et une positionnalité changeante durant l'enquête de terrain. *Études internationales*, 2017, vol. 48, no 1, p. 105–116.
 DEIANA, Maria-Adriana, McDONAGH, Kenneth. 'It is important, but...': translating the Women Peace and Security (WPS) Agenda into the planning of EU peacekeeping missions, *Peacebuilding*, 2018, vol. 6, no 1, p. 34-48.
 JENICHEN, Anne, JOACHIM, Jutta, SCHNEIKER, Andrea. 'Gendering' European security: policy changes, reform coalitions and opposition in the OSCE, *European Security*, 2018, vol. 27, no 1, p. 1-19.

Session 5 (11.12 – 2-5 pm – D10) – European states in a global competition: China as a game-changer?

- Guest Pierre HAROCHE, IRSEM, French Ministry of Armies
 Hugo MEIJER, Centre for International Studies (CERI), Sciences Po Paris
- Keywords Bipolar World, China, Geopolitical Commission, Great Powers, Russia, USA
- Compulsory readings HAROCHE, Pierre. Is Europe ready for a bipolar world? IRSEM Research Paper N° 88, 2020.
 HAROCHE, Pierre. The quest for European medical autonomy: The moment of truth for the 'geopolitical Commission', IRSEM Strategic Brief N° 2, 2020.
 MEIJER, Hugo, Shaping China's Rise: The Reordering of US Alliances and Defense Partnerships in East Asia, *International Politics*, 2020, vol. 57, no. 2, p. 166-184.
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 DIAN, Matteo, MEIJER, Hugo, Networking Hegemony: Alliance Dynamics in East Asia. *International Politics*, 2020, vol. 57, no. 2, p. 131-149.

Session 6 (12.3 – 2-5 pm – D27) – International Conference

Oral presentations



References

Multilingual glossary

<https://iate.europa.eu/home>

Information database

<http://www.europresse.com/fr/>

MOOC

'Géopolitique de l'Europe' (SciencesPo): <https://www.coursera.org/learn/geopolitique>

Handbooks and dictionaries

BALZACQ, Thierry, DOMBROWSKI, Peter, REICH, Simon eds. *Comparative Grand Strategy. A Framework and Cases*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.

Boussaguet, Laurie, Jacquot, Sophie, Ravinet, Pauline. *Dictionnaire des politiques publiques*. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po, 2019, 5^{ème} édition.

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DESCHAUX-DUTARD, Delphine. *Introduction à la sécurité internationale*. Grenoble: Presses universitaires de Grenoble, 2018.

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