

Arms, Business and Politics in the 21st century

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Topic

This seminar aims to analyse the dynamics of the defence industry and the making of armament policies mainly in Europe and through a comparative perspective, at the crossroads of political economy, public policy analysis and the sociology of elites. The study of this rather little-known topic makes it possible to ask classic questions of political science and international relations in order to gain a better understanding of the interdependent relations between states and companies in the 21st century.

How is the defence industry structured: still dominated by the United States and Russia or should China be taken into account? In Europe, do companies matter and are they national or European champions? Who governs the defence industry – 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? What are the brakes and drivers of European co-operation to build a 'strategic autonomy'? What do we think of military technological innovations like drones or AI: new (economic) opportunities, new (strategic) risks? How does the state regulate the arms trade and why do some states regulate more than others?

Aim and approach

This seminar has a twofold objective:

- i) On the one hand, to share data and analyses on a sector of industry and public policy that is little known despite the major economic, political, military and democratic stakes involved. This seminar allows students to obtain solid knowledge on the field of armaments in the 21st century from a social science perspective;
- ii) On the other hand, the study of defence capitalism in the 21st century is conceived as a laboratory to reflect on global issues such as the internationalisation of companies and their supply chain, the interventionist or liberal policies of States to regulate this industrial sector,

the governance of this policy or the strategic, commercial and ethical issues related to the development of new military technologies.

Ultimately, the goal is to obtain a more concrete vision of (a part of) world politics in the perspective of a first long professional experience (internship): knowledge is an asset to develop a professional practice.

To achieve these objectives, the approach of this seminar is based on three pillars:

- i) Preparing each session by reading social science articles and expert papers (think tank studies or parliamentary reports);
- ii) Participating – even though I know that it is not an easy task to do it online and in English – in each session which represents as many opportunities to speak ‘in public’ and to defend an argument during the debates;
- iii) Interacting with practitioners from the world of defence and armaments to strengthen your practical know-how.

Assessment

The knowledge developed during the seminar is mobilised through several exercises in order to reinforce the skills that a young professional needs to integrate into working life: 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. Students are evaluated through three compulsory exercises, two individual (50%) and one collective (50%).

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) Oral Participation (25%)

Students are considered as young professionals and each session is framed as a working meeting. It is expected that students have read the compulsory readings and are strongly advised to read some of the elective readings. Reading these texts is a prerequisite for active participation in the seminar. It is also an incentive to work regularly and prepare your final assignment (see below).

The first part of sessions 2, 3 and 5 will consist of a debate in which you will have to defend one of the two arguments framed in the title of each session (argument #1, from Amour to Ducos; argument



#2 from Ferber to Violleau). Oral participation in sessions 4, 6 and 7, during which we will welcome guests, will consist of interventions (comments and/or questions) during the Q/A session. If you are on Twitter, it could be another way to participate (#InfArms).

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 of a paper (25%)

Each student chooses one of four different options:

- i) A policy paper
- ii) A speech
- iii) A factsheet/summary sheet
- iv) A review article

This paper written in English or French must not exceed 1,000 words (two pages), without footnotes and bibliography (plus or minus 10%). This note should be sent before Monday, February 15 at 9 pm. Each hour of delay will result in a penalty of one point.

i) Policy paper

The objective of a policy paper is to advise a stakeholder in the field of armaments policy. The introduction to the policy paper presents the *problématique*, its context and the main policy challenge that result from it. Then, the development can be structured in two or three parts. Each part presents a strategy (what to do?) or a scenario (what will happen?). The last part should present a few recommendations/guidelines. Beyond the respect of the rules of form, three criteria are taken into account to evaluate this paper: the coherence, originality and realism of the strategies, scenarios and recommendations.

ii) Speech

The purpose of a speech is to craft a narrative on a strategic issue related to the field of armaments policy. The objective of this exercise is twofold: to get a message across and to use the power of words to do so. Beyond the respect of the rules of form, three criteria are taken into account to evaluate this paper: the quality of the drafting, the originality and realism of the speech.

iii) Factsheet/Summary sheet

The aim of a factsheet/summary sheet is to highlight and to explain a strategic issue in an educational way based on definitions, key figures, diagrams, tables, references, etc. Anything that can simplify (without being simplistic) a complex issue so that it is understandable by as many people as possible (how to make a first year student understand this political challenge?). These factsheets will be

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



proposed to the [OERI](#) to upload them on the website. Beyond the respect of the rules of form, three criteria are taken into account to evaluate this paper: the quality of the writing, the problematization and the originality of the paper.

iv) 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, 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.

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

A group of six or seven 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 type 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 the first week of February. 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 1,500 words (3 pages) 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, to turn on their camera and to turn off their microphone except when you want to ask a question or make a comment. You could also and always use the chat,
- 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,
- Students are also advised to prepare for this seminar by regularly following international political news,
- The Chatham House rules must be scrupulously respected during stakeholder 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

Session 1 (16 Dec) – Introduction: armaments, actors, issues

Keywords Armaments, Drone, EU Politics, Fighter Jet, Frigate, Helicopter, International Relations, Missile, Nuclear Deterrence, Tank.

Elective readings Béraud-Sudreau, Lucie. Covid-19: A new wave of European arms industry consolidation. *SIPRI Commentary*, 2020.
DeVore, Marc. Military-Industrial Complexes and Their Variations. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020.
Hay, Colin, Smith, Andy. Introduction. Le rapport capitalisme-politique. In Hay, Colin, Smith, Andy (dir.). *Dictionnaire d'économie politique*. Paris : Presses de Sciences Po, 2018 : 19-49.
Malizard, Julien, Rademacher, Benoît. Économie de défense : problématiques contemporaines. *Revue défense nationale*. 2020, vol. 832, no 7: 7-11.

Podcasts & Videos Fondation Jean Jaurès, *Covid-19 : quels impacts sur les budgets de la défense en Europe ?*, 2020 : <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AGDh02lqaGc>

Session 2 (6 Jan) – Firms: national or European champions?

Keywords Airbus, BAe Systems, Dassault Aviation, Differentiated Integration, KNDS, Leonardo, MBDA, Naval Group, Rolls-Royce, Sociology of Elites.

Compulsory readings Faure, Samuel B.H., Joltreau, Thibaut, Smith, Andy. The differentiated integration of defence companies in Europe. A sociology of (trans)national economic elites. *European Review of International Studies*. 2019, vol. 6, no 2: 135-162.



Faure, Samuel B.H., Joltreau, Thibaut, Smith, Andy. Qui gouverne les grandes entreprises de la défense ? Contribution sociologique à l'étude des capitalismes en France et au Royaume-Uni. *Revue internationale de politique comparée*. 2019, vol. 26, no 1 : 11-45.

Elective readings

Bellais, Renaud, Lagasse, Marie. Boeing et Airbus, des géants aux pieds d'argile ? *Revue internationale et stratégique*. 2010, vol. 79, no 3 : 86-96.
Bellais, Renaud. Restructuration et coopération, l'avenir des industries de défense française ? *Géoéconomie*. 2011, vol. 57, no 2 : 109-119.
Bellais, Renaud. Une irrésistible ascension des entreprises des pays émergents ? Crise économique et nouveau paysage industriel mondial. *Revue internationale et stratégique*. 2012, vol 86, no 2 : 67-76.
Bellais, Renaud. Les entreprises peuvent-elles être protectionnistes aujourd'hui ? *Revue internationale et stratégique*. 2017, vol. 108, no 4 : 101-109.
Coutant, Hadrien. Et le ministre approuva l'union. Histoire de la décision de fusion entre Sagem et Snecma (2005). *Entreprises et histoire*. 2019, vol. 97, no 4 : 23-39.
Coutant, Hadrien. Un capitalisme d'ingénieurs : domestication de la financiarisation dans un groupe aéronautique. *Sociologie*. 2020, vol. 11, no 1 : 73-89.
Fiott, Daniel. What does it mean to be a European defense company today? *Éditoriaux de l'IFRI*. 2019.
Masson, Hélène. Comprendre le profil des principaux fournisseurs européens d'équipements de défense. *Revue défense nationale*. 2015, vol. 780, no 5 : 40-45.
Masson, Hélène. Défense et armement : des leaders industriels mondiaux sous contraintes. *Géoéconomie*. 2011, vol. 57, no 2 : 25-35.

Podcasts & Videos

Faure, Samuel B.H. Qui est aux manettes des grandes industries de défense ? *Le Collimateur, le podcast de l'IRSEM*, 2020.
Malizard, Julien. L'économie de défense en France. *Signal sur Bruit, le podcast du CDEM*, 2020.

Session 3 (13 Jan) – Governance: who runs the game, states or companies?

Keywords

A400M, Britain, Capitalism, France, Germany, Interventionism, Liberalism, Political Economy, Public Policy Analysis, Rafale, Regulation, Typhoon.

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.
Faure, Samuel B.H. The choice for a minilateral Europe. A historical sociology of defence-industrial capitalism. *European Review of International Studies*. 2019, vol. 6, no 2: 92-114.

Elective readings

Inside Europe



Chovancik, Martin. Defence industrialization in small countries: Policies in Czechia and Slovakia. *Comparative Strategy*. 2018, vol. 37, no 4: 272-285.

Giry, Benoit, Smith, Andy. Defence capability in the UK since 2010: explaining change in procurement practices. *British Politics*. 2019.

Hoeffler, Catherine. Les réformes des systèmes d'acquisition d'armement en France et en Allemagne : un retour paradoxal des militaires ? *Revue Internationale de Politique Comparée*. 2008, 15, no 1 : 133–50.

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.

Joana, Jean. La démocratie face à ses militaires. Où en est l'analyse des relations civils-militaires ? *Revue française de sociologie*. 2007, vol. 48, no 1, p. 133–159.

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

Joana, Jean, Mérand, Frédéric. Politiques de défense et variétés du militarisme libéral. *Gouvernement et action publique*, 2013, vol. 4, no 4 : 549-66.

Larrieu, Violette. Quand la sécurité maritime vire de bord. Sa mise en marché par l'État : désengagement ou nouvel interventionnisme ? *Gouvernement et action publique*. 2017, vol. 4 no 4 : 29-49.

Mawdsley, Jocelyn. Armaments decision-making: Are European states really different? *Comparative Strategy*. 2018, vol. 37, no 4, p. 260-271.

Outside Europe

Béraud-Sudreau, Lucie, Nouwens, Meia. Weighing Giants: Taking Stock of the Expansion of China's Defence Industry. *Defence and Peace Economics*. 2019.

Borchert, Heiko. The Arab Gulf defense pivot: defense industrial policy in a changing geostrategic context. *Comparative Strategy*. 2018, vol. 37, no 4, p. 299-315.

Gouvea, Raul. Brazil's defense industry: challenges and opportunities. *Comparative Strategy*. 2018, vol. 37, no 4, p. 346-359.

Mukherjee, Anit. *The Absent Dialogue. Politicians, Bureaucrats, and the Military in India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.

Weiss, Moritz. State vs. market in India: How (not) to integrate foreign contractors in the domestic defense-industrial sector. *Comparative Strategy*. 2018, vol. 37, no 4, p. 286-298.

Wright Mills, Charles. *The Power Elite*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956.

Podcasts & Videos Faure, Samuel B.H. Avec ou sans l'Europe. Le dilemme de la politique française d'armement. *Fondation Jean Jaurès*, 2020.

Faure, Samuel B.H. Avec ou sans l'Europe. Le dilemme de la politique française d'armement. *La minute recherche, Sciences Po Saint-Germain-en-Laye*, 2020.

Session 4 (20 Jan) – Alliances: what are the brakes and drivers of European co-operation?

Guests Dr Renaud Bellais, MBDA
 Axel Nicolas, GICAT



Keywords	Bilateralism, Britain, Brexit, EU, France, Germany, KNDS, MBDA, MGCS, unilateralism, SCAF, Storm Shadow, USA.
Compulsory reading	<p>Bellais, Renaud. Royaume-Uni et Union européenne, un mariage de raison dans l'armement. <i>Revue défense nationale</i>. 2020, vol. 832, no 7 : 73-78.</p> <p>Devaux, Jean-Pierre, Richard, Ford. Scalp EG / Storm Shadow : les leçons d'une coopération à succès. 2018, <i>FRS. Recherches et documents</i> 8.</p> <p>Puhl, Detlef. La coopération en matière d'armement entre la France et l'Allemagne. Une entente impossible ? <i>Notes de l'IFRI, Visions franco-allemandes</i>. 2020, 31.</p>
Elective readings	<p>Abécassis, Adrien, Howroth, Jolyon. La coopération militaire franco-britannique après le Brexit. <i>Politique étrangère</i>. 2020, 4.</p> <p>Bellais, Renaud, Païtard, Xavier. Un modèle industriel gagnant pour la défense européenne. <i>Les Champs de Mars</i>. 2019, vol. 32, no 1 : 139-148.</p> <p>Bellais, Renaud. L'avenir des systèmes de combat aériens, un enjeu partagé pour la France et le Royaume-Uni. <i>Revue défense nationale</i>. 2020, vol. 834, no 9 : 81-86.</p> <p>Calcara, Antonio. Differentiated integration in the European defence field: the Italian case. <i>European Review of International Studies</i>. 2019, vol. 6, no 2.</p> <p>DeVore, Marc. Organizing International Armaments Cooperation: Institutional Design and Path Dependencies in Europe. <i>European Security</i>. 2012, 21, no. 3: 432-458.</p> <p>DeVore, Marc. Explaining European Armaments Cooperation: Interests, Institutional Design and Armaments Organizations. <i>European Foreign Affairs Review</i>. 2013, vol. 18, no. 1: 1-28.</p> <p>DeVore, Marc. Producing European armaments: Policymaking preferences and processes. <i>Cooperation and Conflict</i>. 2014, 49, no. 4: 438-463.</p> <p>Dumas, Françoise, Straumann, Eric. <i>Les enjeux européens de l'industrie de défense</i>. Rapport d'information 1672. Paris: Assemblée nationale, 2019.</p> <p>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. <i>Questions de recherche, Sciences Po-CERI</i>. 2015, vol. 46.</p> <p>Faure Samuel B.H. L'ambivalence de la politique d'armement britannique vis-à-vis de l'Europe. <i>Les Études du CERI</i>. 2019, 244.</p> <p>Faure, Samuel B.H. Franco-British co-operation in the context of Brexit. In Johnson, Robert, Haaland Matlary, Janne (eds.). <i>The United Kingdom's Defence After Brexit. Britain's Alliances, Coalitions, and Partnerships</i>, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018: 103-125.</p> <p>Faure Samuel B.H. Souverainistes et libéraux en lutte au sein du champ de l'Eurocratie. Le cas de l'adoption du « paquet défense ». <i>Critique internationale</i>. 2020, vol. 89, no 4 : 143-163.</p> <p>Faure Samuel B.H. Defeating the Austerians of the warfare state. French arms policy through the lens of the Programmatic Action Framework. <i>European Policy Analysis</i>. 2020, vol. 6, no 1 [Early View: DOI:10.1002/epa2.1081].</p>



Faure, Samuel B.H. Quitter la défense européenne. Le choix de la France pour l'avion de combat *Rafale*. *Politique européenne*. 2020, vol. 67, no 1 : 84-115.

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

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

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

Le Gleut, Ronan, Conway-Mouret, Hélène. Le système de combat aérien du futur (SCAF). *Sénat*. 2020, Rapport d'information 642.

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.

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.

Pannier, Alice. Complémentarité ou concurrence ? La coopération franco-britannique et l'horizon européen de la défense française. *Études de l'IFRI*. 2020, Focus stratégique 96.

Session 5 (27 Jan) – Innovations: new (economic) opportunities, new (strategic) risks?

- Keywords** AI, China, Drones, Israel, Military Innovation, New Technologies, Robots, RPAS, USA.
- Compulsory readings** Jeangène Vilmer, Jean-Baptiste. Introduction : robotisation et transformations de la guerre. *Politique étrangère*. 2013, vol. 3 : 80-89.
Kunertova, Dominika. *Military Drones in Europe*. SDU: Center for War Studies, 2019.
- Elective readings** Bellais Renaud. Technology and the defense industry: real threats, bad habits, or new (market) opportunities? *Journal of Innovation Economics and Management*, 2013, vol. 12, no 2: 59-78.
Calcara, Antonio, Csernatori, Raluca, Lavallée, Chantal. *Emerging security technologies and EU governance*. London: Routledge, 2021.
Coutant, Hadrien. La « technique » comme activité ou comme représentation partagée. Une ethnographie de la R&D dans une entreprise aéronautique. *Gérer et comprendre*. 2014, vol. 117, no 3 : 49-58.
Droff, Josselin, Rademacher, Benoît. L'innovation dans la politique de soutien des équipements militaires en France : l'apport des technologies de l'industrie 4.0. *Revue défense nationale*, 2020, vol. 832, no 7: 103-109.
Malizard, Julien. L'innovation comme facteur de croissance, l'exemple de grands groupes industriels de défense français. *Revue défense nationale*, 2015, vol. 780, no 5 : 34-39.



Kunertova, Dominika. Military Drones in Europe. *The European Defense Market and the Spread of Military UAV technology*. SDU: Center for War Studies, 2019.

Podcasts & Videos Fondation Jean Jaurès, *L'innovation dans le domaine de la défense : une singularité française*, 2020 : <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=889R70Op2oU>

Session 6 (3 Feb) – Arms trade and export control: what is the right balance?

- Guest Dr Lucie Béraud-Sudreau, SIPRI
- Keywords Arms trade, Britain, China, Export Control, France, Germany, Middle East, Parliament, Public Opinion, Saliency, Russia, Sweden.
- Compulsory readings 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.
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.
Béraud-Sudreau, Lucie. *French Arms Exports. The Business of Sovereignty*. London: Routledge (IISS), 2020. Introduction: <https://www.iiss.org/blogs/analysis/2020/03/french-arms-exports-introduction>
- 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.
---. *La politique française de soutien aux exportations d'armement : raisons et limites d'un succès*. Paris : IFRI, 2017. Focus stratégique 73.
---. Les exportations de défense dans un nouvel environnement stratégique : quels contrôles dans des marchés de défense en mutation ? *Les Champs de Mars*. 2018, vol. 30, no 1, p. 397–405.
---. Les exportations d'armement : quelle place pour des discussions à l'échelle de l'UE ? *Revue défense nationale*. 2018, vol. 815, no 10 : 59-64.
---. Building Franco-German Consensus on Arms Exports. *Survival*. 2019, vol. 61, no 4, p. 79–98.
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.
Meijer, Hugo, Béraud-Sudreau, Lucie, Holtom, Paul, et al. Arming China: Major powers' arms transfers to the People's Republic of China. *Journal of Strategic Studies*. 2018, vol. 41, no 6, p. 850–886.
Mielcarek, Romain. *Marchands d'armes. Enquête sur un business français*. Paris : Éditions Talandier, 2017.



Vokar, Benjamin (dir.). *Le commerce des armes : un business comme un autre ?* Bruxelles : GRIP, 2019.

On the nuclear deterrence

Egeland, Kjolv, Pelopidas, Benoit. European nuclear weapons? Zombie debates and nuclear realities. *European security*. 2020.

Guisnel, Jean, Tertrais Bruno. *Le Président et la bombe*. Paris: Odile Jacob, 2016.

Haupais, Nicolas (ed). *La France et l'arme nucléaire*. Paris: CNRS éditions, 2019.

Pelopidas, Benoit. L'insoutenable légèreté de la chance: trois sources d'excès de confiance dans la possibilité de contrôler les crises nucléaires. In Meszaros, Thomas (ed.) *Repenser les Stratégies Nucléaires. Continuités et Ruptures. Un hommage à Lucien Poirier*. Bruxelles: Peter Lang, 2019, p. 351-384.

Pelopidas, Benoit. Conclusion: Dépasser le panglossisme nucléaire. In Meszaros, Thomas (ed.) *Repenser les Stratégies Nucléaires. Continuités et Ruptures. Un hommage à Lucien Poirier*. Bruxelles: Peter Lang, 2019, p. 441-464.

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Session 7 (10 Feb) – Conclusion: Back to the simulation and mapping out research avenues

Guests Prof. Jean-Vincent Holeindre, University of Paris 2 & IRSEM-Ministry of Defence
Aurélie Biard, DGRIS-Ministry of Defence (tbc)

No compulsory reading

Bibliography

Books

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Hartley, Keith, Belin, Jean (eds.). *The Economics of the Global Defence Industry*. London: Routledge, 2019.

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Calcara, Antonio. *European defence decision-making. Dilemmas of collaborative arms procurement*. London: Routledge, 2020.



Faure, Samuel B.H., Smith, Andy (eds.). *Differentiated Integrations. Lessons from political economies of European defence. European Review of International Studies*, 2019.

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Fiott, Daniel. *Defence industrial cooperation in the European Union. The State, the Firm and Europe*. London : Routledge, 2019.

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

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

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>

