

## International Co-operation and Defence Policies

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Seminar, Wednesday 2.30pm – 5.30pm

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### Topic

This seminar focuses on international co-operation in the arena of defence policy. After the fourth year seminar on the defence industry, which is at the crossroads of political economy and sociology of elites, this seminar analyses military 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 in a post-Afghanistan era? Could China change military alliances and balance of power in a context of the return of the great powers?

These issues will be tackled from the angle of a specific topic: 'European strategic autonomy' was the topic in 2020-1, 'France as a strategic actor in the world' is the one for 2021-2. This angle of analysis, which is part of the political context (a presidential election is looming in France in April 2022), will be the common thread from one session to the next. It is therefore not only a question of analyzing international military cooperation but also of understanding this political phenomenon from the perspective of the French presidential election.

This theme was chosen because while international politics is usually not discussed much during an election campaign in France, some recent events (Trump's election, Brexit) have shown the direct effect of national politics on global politics. Moreover, France being a presidentialist regime, the election of Marine Le Pen would produce a very different reality than the re-election of Emmanuel Macron, for example.

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. 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.

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 anything<sup>1</sup>), and the regularity of your participation by being active at each session.

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

i) *What are the main features of this exercise?*

- The students are divided into five 'task forces' of three or four people. The professor decides the composition of the groups randomly
- How can France *reinforce its strategic position on the international stage*? In the perspective of the presidential election that will take place in France in 2022, answering this question is your mission
- Each task force will formulate a proposal (neither two, nor three) that must be both disruptive and realistic so that it can be taken up by the presidential candidates. This proposal must be presented as clearly and precisely as possible on one strategic issue:
  - Governance (session 1)
  - The EU (session 2)
  - NATO (session 3)
  - Climate Change (session 4)
  - China (session 5)
- Each task force has to answer this question: Can our proposal make a difference/shake the world and at the same be implemented? If so, then you are on the right track
- The entire seminar (see the programme below) is designed to help you prepare for this difficult task, by suggesting readings (some required, some optional) and by allowing you to discuss with the best specialists on these issues

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



ii) *How shall you present your proposal?*

- Each task force shall send a draft of its proposal (.docx format) no later than the 30 October at midnight to the following email address: [samuel.faure@sciencespo-saintgermain.fr](mailto:samuel.faure@sciencespo-saintgermain.fr). You will get feedback before session 4 to improve your proposal
- The final working document has to be sent no later than 30 November at midnight, i.e. one week after session 5 and one week before session 6. Please send your document (.docx format) to the same email address. Each hour of delay will result in a penalty of one point
- Your final draft written in English or French must not exceed 1,000 words (two pages). The introduction sets out the *problématique*, its context and the main policy issue you decide to tackle (one short paragraph). Then, the development can be structured in two or three parts. You must insist on the added value and originality of your proposal, and how to implement it (in terms of agenda-setting, policy instruments used, budget, etc.)
- 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. The draft you have to hand in will count for part of the grade (20%) and the final version for another part (50%)

iii) *How will you participate in the conference organized in session 6?*

- In session 6 (the last one), you will present your proposal to a jury composed of high-level policy-makers. The format of the conference is similar to that of a *Grand O* or –let's be more ambitious– a parliamentary hearing. Therefore, you must dress as you would in a professional environment related to defence policies and international partnerships
- The members of the jury will have received your policy paper before the conference. You will have only five minutes to present your proposal (you can use a Powerpoint if you want but it is not mandatory). If you exceed 5'30, you will be cut off
- Afterwards, each member of the jury will ask you questions about the weaknesses, misunderstandings or limitations of your proposal, to which you will have to respond succinctly. Each task force will need to organize who will do the opening remarks, who will defend the strengths of the initiative, and who will respond to criticism. You must answer the questions in the language in which they were asked (French or English). In total, the Q&A session will last 20 minutes for each task force



→ The exercise is evaluated by the members of the jury and myself on the following three criteria: 1) originality and realism of the proposal formulated; 2) clarity of the presentation; 3) precision and conviction in the answers given to questions

iv) *How to succeed in this exercise?*

Three tips for success in this exercise:

- Work regularly, i.e. every week, by doing all the compulsory readings and completing them with additional readings (in particular in relation to the theme for which your task force is responsible)
- Work as a team by organizing regular meetings and defining a clear work program to meet the October 30, November 30 and December 8 deadlines
- Start writing drafts as soon as possible: a good idea may come while taking a shower but after writing and rewriting sentences, paragraphs; and doing it again

The main mistake would be to think that ultimately a team of four or five students has 'only' two pages to write and has two months to get it done: easy. Also, since there are a number of guests (session 2 to 5), some might think that the required readings are actually optional. This would be a serious mistake that can have two consequences: i) not taking the opportunity of an original (and demanding) exercise; ii) being ridiculed in front of the jury who will dismantle your proposal in a few questions.

iv) *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 scenarios/simulations that focus on the development of skills; but this one is real
- May be useful for your next work experience and hopefully, it will be fun!

### **3) Getting bonus points**

In addition, you can improve your (collective) grade by performing one non-mandatory exercise.

- This is actually a dry run (*galop d'essai*) for the final exercise, which will take the form of a five-minute briefing during the seminar by one of the task forces, to whom I will then ask a series of questions for five minutes, and the students will then have five minutes to answer them (15 minutes in total)
- The same rules apply as for the D-day. Students are asked to send in a draft of their proposal 24 hours before the session in which they will be speaking



- Students who choose this exercise must do it on the day that corresponds to the theme of their task force (for example, during session 5 for the China task force)

You will get one bonus point on your grade 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 keynotes:
  - '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'.
- The professor will accept requests for letters of recommendation if your final average is 15/20 or higher

### Programme

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

#### Session 1 (29 Sep) – Introduction: France and its allies

Main question	What are the main strategic challenges facing France? How does the State respond to them?
Keywords	Alliances, bilateralism, flexilateralism, unilateralism, multilateralism, strategic autonomy
Compulsory readings	FAURE, SAMUEL B.H. Varieties of international co-operation: France's 'flexilateral' policy in the context of Brexit. 2019, <i>French Politics</i> , vol 17, no 1, p. 1-25. PANNIER, Alice, SCHMITT, Olivier. To Fight Another Day. France between the Fight against Terrorism and Future Warfare. <i>International Affairs</i> . 2019.



- Elective readings
- BOZO, Frédéric. Sarkozy's NATO policy: Towards France's atlantic realignment? *European Political Science*, 2010, no 9, p. 176-188.
- BOZO, Frédéric. Explaining France's NATO 'normalisation' under Nicolas Sarkozy (2007–2012). *Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, 2014, vol. 12, no 4, p. 379-391.
- 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.
- HOFMANN, Stephanie C. NATO's Institutional Transformation: Revisiting France's Relationship with NATO (and the Common Wisdom on Gaullism). *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 2017, vol. 40, no 4, p. 505-531.
- HOLEINDRE, Jean-Vincent, ROBIN, Marie. Qu'est-ce qu'un allié? *Inflexions*. 2019, vol. 41, no 2, p. 67–76.
- MOREL, Camille, RICHTER, Friederike. Légitime ou efficace: le dilemme de toute coopération de défense au XXIe siècle? *Les Champs de Mars*. 2019, vol. 32.
- MICHELIN, Jean. Quel allié sommes-nous? *Inflexions*. 2019, vol. 41, no 2, p. 117–122.
- MINISTERE DES ARMEES, *Revue stratégique de défense et de sécurité nationale* 2017.
- IRONDELLE, Bastien. Europeanization without the European Union? French military reforms 1991-1996. *Journal of European Public Policy*. 2003, vol. 10, no 2, p. 208–226.
- 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, 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.
- SCHMITT, Olivier. The Reluctant Atlanticist: France's Security and Defence Policy in a Transatlantic Context. *Journal of Strategic Studies*. 2017, vol. 40, no 4.

## Session 2 (13 Oct) – The European Union

- Guest      Léonard Colomba-Petteng, Centre for International Studies (CERI), Sciences Po Paris.
- Main question      Who governs the CSDP and how is a CSDP mission implemented? Can we talk about a 'European' strategic culture and a 'strategic autonomy'?
- 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'européanisation de la défense et l'intervention militaire EUFOR Tchad/RCA. *Politique européenne*. 2011, vol. 34, no 2, p. 201–230.

Elective  
readings

### ***On European defence policies***

BISCOP, Sven. *Differentiated Integration in Defence: A Plea for PESCO*. Rome: Istituto Affari Internazionali, 2017.

EEAS. *A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy*. 2016.

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

HAROCHE, Pierre. Retour sur l'échec de l'armée européenne' (1950-1954): quelles leçons pour demain ? *Les Champs de Mars*. 2018, vol. 30, p. 47–72.

HOWORTH, Jolyon. Differentiation in security and defence policy. *Comparative European Politics*. 2019, vol. 17, p. 261–277.

MÉRAND, Frédéric. *European Defence Policy: Beyond the Nation State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

MÉRAND, Frédéric, BARRETTE, Patrick, CHICOS, Olivia-Larisa. Du champ de Mars au rond-point Schuman. Genèse et structure de l'Europe militaire. In Didier GEORGAKAKIS (ed.) *Le champ de l'Eurocratie. Une sociologie politique du personnel de l'UE*. Paris: Economica, 2012. p. 131–150.

MAURO, Frédéric, SANTOPINTO, Federico. *La coopération structurée permanente: perspectives nationales et état d'avancement*. Bruxelles: Parlement européen, 2017.

MEIJER, Hugo, WYSS, Marco. *Upside Down. Reframing European Defences Studies. Cooperation and Conflict*. 2019, vol. 54, no 3.

MÉRAND, Frédéric, BONNEU, Mathias, FAURE, Samuel. What do ESDP Actors Want? An Exploratory Analysis. *European Security*. 2009, vol. 19, no 3, p. 327–344.

MÉRAND, Frédéric, HOFMANN, Stéphanie C., IRONDELLE, Bastien. Governance and State Power: A Network Analysis of European Security. *Journal of Common Market Studies*. 2011, vol. 49, no 1, p. 121–147.

RAYROUX, Antoine. L'Europe de la défense. In Costa, Olivier, MÉRAND, Frédéric (eds.) *Études européennes*. Bruxelles: Bruylant, 2017. p. 465–504.

### ***On EU peacekeeping missions and military operations***

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



FAURE, Samuel B.H. Fifty Sociological Shades of International Relations Theories. The case of the EU Peacekeeping Policy. *European Review of International Studies*. 2018, vol. 5, no 2, p. 41–55.

MÉRAND, Frédéric, RAKOTONIRINA, Mireille. La force européenne au Tchad et en Centrafrique: le baptême du feu. *Politique africaine*. 2009, vol. 114, no 2, p. 105–125.

### ***On strategic autonomy***

LE GLEUT, Ronan, CONWAY-MOURET Hélène, *Défense européenne: le défi de l'autonomie stratégique*. Sénat. 2019, Information report 626.

BRUSTLEIN, Corentin. *European Strategic Autonomy: Balancing Ambition and Responsibility*. IFRI, 2018. Editoriaux de l'IFRI.

FRANKE, Ulrike, VARMA, Tara. *Independence play: Europe's pursuit of strategic autonomy*. Paris, Bruxelles : ECFR, 2018.

HOWORTH, Jolyon. 2018. *EU-NATO Cooperation and Strategic Autonomy: Logical Contradiction or Ariadne's Thread? Freie Universität Berlin*. KFG Working Paper No 90, August 2018.

Howorth, Jolyon. 2019. Strategic Autonomy and EU-NATO Cooperation: Threat or Opportunity for Transatlantic Defence Relations. *Journal of European Integration* no 1, p. 523–537.

MAURO, Frédéric. *Autonomie stratégique: le nouveau Graal de la défense européenne*. Bruxelles: GRIP, 2018. Les rapports du GRIP.

### **Session 3 (27 Oct) – NATO**

Guests	Christelle CALMELS, Centre for International Studies (CERI), Sciences Po Paris. Amélie ZIMA, IRSEM, French Ministry of Armies.
Main question	How does NATO work and is it still relevant in the 21st century?
Keywords	Bargaining, governance, 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. "Les structures civiles et militaires" in <i>L'OTAN</i> . Paris: PUF, 2021 [ <a href="https://www.cairn.info/l-otan--9782715406179-page-31.htm?contenu=resume">https://www.cairn.info/l-otan--9782715406179-page-31.htm?contenu=resume</a> ].
Elective readings	BESCH, Sophia. 2018. <i>Defence Spending in NATO: Stop Convincing Trump: Start Convincing Europeans</i> . London: Centre for European Reform. HAALAND MATLARY, Janne, JOHNSON, Rob. <i>Military Strategy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. The Challenge for NATO</i> . London, Hurst, 2020. HOFMANN, Stephanie C. <i>European Security in NATO's Shadow. Party Ideologies and Institution Building</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.



HOFMANN, Stephanie C. The Politics of Overlapping Organizations: Hostage-taking, Forum shopping, and Brokering. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2019, vol. 26, no 6, p. 883-905.

OSTERMANN, Falk. *Security, Defense Discourse and Identity in NATO and Europe. How France changed foreign policy*. London: Routledge, 2018.

POULIOT, Vincent. *International Security in Practice: The Politics of NATO-Russia Diplomacy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

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. 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.

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

### ***On Afghanistan***

SCHMITT, Olivier. L'Union ou la force? Les défis des opérations multinationales contemporaines. *Focus Stratégique: IFRI*. 2015, vol. 55.

SCHMITT, Olivier. International Organization at War: NATO practices in the Afghan Campaign. *Cooperation and Conflict*. 2017, vol. 52, no 4.

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.

SCHMITT, Olivier. Européanisation ou otanisation? Le Royaume-Uni, la France et l'Allemagne en Afghanistan. *Politique européenne*. 2015, vol. 48, no 2, p. 150–177.

SCHMITT, Olivier. French Military Adaption in the Afghan War: Looking Inward or Outward? *Journal of Strategic Studies*. 2017, vol. 40, no 4.

## **Session 4 (10 Nov) – Climate Change**

Guest	Jean-Marie Fiévet, MP, LREM, Assemblée nationale.
Main question	What are the stakes of the ecological transition on the defense policy?
Keywords	Climate change, ecological transition, France, Ministry of Armies, strategy
Compulsory reading	FIÉVET, Jean-Marie, SANTIAGO, Isabelle. <i>Le ministère des Armées face aux défis de la transition écologique</i> . 2021. Commission de la défense, Assemblée nationale, Rapport d'information n°4145.



- Elective readings ALEX, Bastien, ESTEVE, Adrien. Les acteurs de la défense face au changement climatique : itinéraire d'une nouvelle contrainte stratégique en France et aux États-Unis. *Revue internationale et stratégique*. 2018, vol. 109, no 1, p. 93–103.
- BAILLAT, Alice. Quel(s) lien(s) entre les luttes contre le terrorisme et le changement climatique ? *Les Champs de Mars*. 2018, vol. 30, no 1, p. 439–447.
- ESTEVE, Adrien. Penser la protection de l'environnement en temps de guerre : les apports de la tradition de la guerre juste. *Raisons politiques*. 2020, vol. 77, no 1, p. 55–65.
- MAERTENS, Lucile. Le changement climatique en débat au Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU. *Revue internationale et stratégique*. 2018, vol. 109, no 1, p. 105–114.

### Session 5 (24 Nov) – China

- Guests Pierre HAROCHE, IRSEM, French Ministry of Armies.  
Hugo MEIJER, Centre for International Studies (CERI), Sciences Po Paris.
- Main question European states in a global competition: China as a game-changer?
- 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.
- Elective readings BONDAZ, ANTOINE. France in the Indo-Pacific : A credible strategy in the making ?, *9Dashline*, 2021, <https://www.9dashline.com/article/france-in-the-indo-pacific-a-credible-strategy-in-the-making>.
- CHARON, PAUL, JEANGÈNE-VILMER, JEAN-BAPTISTE. *Les opérations d'influence chinoises*, IRSEM, 2021.
- LANOSZKA, Alexander, MEIJER, Hugo, SIMON, Luis, Nodal Defence : The Changing Structure of US Alliance Systems in Europe and East Asia, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 2019.
- DIAN, Matteo, MEIJER, Hugo, Networking Hegemony: Alliance Dynamics in East Asia. *International Politics*, 2020, vol. 57, no. 2, p. 131-149.
- TERTRAIS, Bruno, La France, l'Amérique et l'Indopacifique : après le choc, Institut Montaigne, 2021, <https://www.institutmontaigne.org/blog/la-france-lamerique-et-lindopacifique-apres-le-choc>.

### Session 6 (8 Dec) – Conclusion: Conference



## Handbooks and dictionaries

BADIE, Bertrand, VIDAL, Dominique (eds.). *La France, une puissance contrariée*. Paris : La Découverte, 2021.

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

CHARILLON, Frédéric. *La France dans le monde*. Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2021.

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

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

Gheciu, Alexandra, Wohlforth, William C. (eds). *The Oxford Handbook of International Security*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.

HAALAND MATLARY, Janne, JOHNSON, Rob. *Military Strategy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. The Challenge for NATO*. London, Hurst, 2020.

HENROTIN, Joseph, SCHMITT, Olivier, TAILLAT, Stéphane. *Guerre et Stratégie. Approches, Concepts*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France (PUF), 2015.

HOWORTH, Jolyon. *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*. 2e édition. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

MEIJER, Hugo, WYSS, Marco. *The Handbook of European Defence Policies and Armed Forces*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.

PANNIER, Alice, SCHMITT, Olivier. *French Defence Policy Since the End of the Cold War*. London: Routledge, 2021.

ZIMA, Amélie. *L'OTAN*. Paris: PUF (Que sais-je ?), 2021.

