

## International Co-operation and Defence Policies

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Seminar, Tuesday 2.30pm – 5.30pm

### Contact

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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' was the one for 2021-2, 'The war in Ukraine' is the one for 2022-3. The analysis of the war in Ukraine against Russia will be the common thread running from one session to the next.

Since 24 February 2022 and the attack by Russian armed forces on the orders of Vladimir Putin against Ukraine, this war has been the major international event for European states, including France. This war also has multiple effects: forced population displacement, energy dependency, inflation on the world economy, etc. Finally, this war in Ukraine is likely to be a political issue not only for months but for years. For all these reasons, it seems essential and useful to focus time on understanding what is happening on the borders of the EU.

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 and international relations. To this end, this course is based on two pillars: a sociological and comparative approach, and case studies.

## **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 case studies. 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. 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 three mandatory exercises, one individual exercise (oral participation), and two collective exercise (drafting a paper and a report).

### **1) Oral participation in sessions 1 to 5 (25%)**

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) Writing a paper (25%) and a report (50%)**

### ***Final objective (50%)***

The objective is to write a report (50%) on the war in Ukraine from the perspective of political-military cooperation.

The report should be between 70 and 90 pages without bibliography and annexes (maximum 40,000 words). The report should be written along the lines of the Senate or National Assembly information reports with a precise analysis of an international policy issue before making recommendations in the conclusion (or last part).

This report must be accompanied by another document corresponding to a five-page summary of the report (maximum 3,000 words) which will be sent to the [Observatoire du multilatéralisme et des organisations internationales](#) for publication.

Both documents should be sent in a Word and Pdf documents, before 15 January at 6pm to the following address: [samuel.faure@sciencespo-saintgermain.fr](mailto:samuel.faure@sciencespo-saintgermain.fr)

### ***Intermediate objective (25%)***

In order to achieve this ambitious goal, a note is also requested to be written and sent in a Word document, before 15 November at 6pm to the following address: [samuel.faure@sciencespo-saintgermain.fr](mailto:samuel.faure@sciencespo-saintgermain.fr)

This intermediate note should not exceed eight pages (5,000 words maximum). Its purpose is to present the outline of the report.

### ***Work organisation***

To achieve these objectives, a working method is proposed.

The seminar students are divided into five teams (each team has four or five students). Each team nominates a leader who will be the teacher's main point of contact.

Each team is in charge of a theme: Ukraine (session 2), Russia (session 3), NATO (session 4), the EU (session 5). The fifth team is in charge of a transversal work of monitoring and disseminating sources on Twitter.

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



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 and practitioners on these issues.

The formal rules for writing your note and report 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

### ***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 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 a few 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.

### ***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!

### **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 (27 Sep) – Beyond multilateralism: Towards a ‘flexilateral’ world?

Main question	How do states cooperate in an increasingly interdependent world?
Keywords	Alliances, bilateralism, flexilateralism, minilateralism, multilateralism, strategic autonomy
Compulsory readings	FAURE, SAMUEL B. H. Anatomie du flexilatéralisme par ses alliances. 2021, <i>Revue défense nationale</i> . Tribune n°1321. 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.
Elective readings	DIAN, Matteo, MEIJER, Hugo. Networking Hegemony: Alliance Dynamics in East Asia. <i>International Politics</i> , 2020, vol. 57, no. 2, p. 131-149. HOLEINDRE, Jean-Vincent, ROBIN, Marie. Qu’est-ce qu’un allié? <i>Inflexions</i> . 2019, vol. 41, no 2, p. 67–76. LANOSZKA, Alexander, MEIJER, Hugo, SIMON, Luis. Nodal Defence : The Changing Structure of US Alliance Systems in Europe and East Asia, <i>Journal of Strategic Studies</i> , 2019. MOREL, Camille, RICHTER, Friederike. Légitime ou efficace: le dilemme de toute coopération de défense au XXIe siècle? <i>Les Champs de Mars</i> . 2019, vol. 32. MICHELIN, Jean. Quel allié sommes-nous? <i>Inflexions</i> . 2019, vol. 41, no 2, p. 117–122. MINISTERE DES ARMEES, <i>Revue stratégique de défense et de sécurité nationale</i> 2017. ZIMA, Amélie, La politique de défense de la Pologne dans le contexte du Brexit : Bilatérale, multilatérale ou flexilatérale ?, <i>Politique européenne</i> , 2020, vol 70, no 4, p. 116-142.
Podcasts and video	TV5 Monde, Comment sortir de l’indépendance au gaz russe ?, 11 March 2022, <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ISb-y-cONQ">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ISb-y-cONQ</a> Sciences Po Paris (CERI), La France dans le monde fin de cycle ou renouveau ?, 7 March 2022, <a href="https://www.sciencespo.fr/cei/fr/content/la-france-dans-le-monde-fin-de-cycle-ou-renouveau.html">https://www.sciencespo.fr/cei/fr/content/la-france-dans-le-monde-fin-de-cycle-ou-renouveau.html</a>



## Session 2 (11 Oct – D21-22) – War in Ukraine: Where does it come from?

Main question	How can we understand the return of war to Europe through the Russian-led war in Ukraine since 2014 and the new attack by the Russian armed forces in 2022?
Guest speaker	Alexandra Goujon, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Burgundy
Keywords	Democracy, nation, Russia, Ukraine, war
Compulsory readings	<p>Goujon, Alexandra. <i>L'Ukraine : de l'indépendance à la guerre</i>. Paris: Le Cavalier Bleu Editions, 2021. Click on 'Lire un extrait' on this page (obviously, if you can read the whole book, it is even better): <a href="http://www.lecavalierbleu.com/livre/lukraine-de-lindependance-a-guerre/">http://www.lecavalierbleu.com/livre/lukraine-de-lindependance-a-guerre/</a></p> <p>Goujon, Alexandra. Ukraine : affirmation d'une nation. 2022a, <i>Études</i>, vol 6, p. 7-18.</p> <p>Goujon, Alexandra. Pour l'Ukraine, le défi de la préservation de la démocratie en temps de guerre. 2022b, <i>Le Monde</i>.</p> <p>Goujon, Alexandra. L'histoire ukrainienne : enjeux politiques. 2022c, <i>Balises, le magazine de la Bpi</i>, <a href="https://balises.bpi.fr/alexandra-goujon/">https://balises.bpi.fr/alexandra-goujon/</a></p> <p>Goujon, Alexandra. L'Ukraine, de l'indépendance à la guerre, 2022d, <i>Diploweb.com</i>, <a href="https://www.diploweb.com/L-Ukraine-de-l-independance-a-la-guerre-Entretien-avec-Alexandra-Goujon.html">https://www.diploweb.com/L-Ukraine-de-l-independance-a-la-guerre-Entretien-avec-Alexandra-Goujon.html</a></p>
Elective readings	<p>GOUJON, Alexandra. Anthropologie et gestion des nationalités en Russie. <i>Raisons politiques</i>. 2006, vol. 22, no 2, p. 73–94.</p> <p>---. La Révolution orange en Ukraine : enquête sur une mobilisation postsoviétique. <i>Critique internationale</i>. 2005, vol. 27, no 2, p. 109–126.</p> <p>---. L'Europe élargie en quête d'identité. <i>Politique européenne</i>. 2015, vol. 15, no 1, p. 137–163.</p> <p>---. <i>L'Ukraine : de l'indépendance à la guerre</i>. Paris : Le Cavalier Bleu Éditions, 2021.</p> <p>GOYA, Michel. Guerre en Ukraine : Schumpeter au pays des Soviets ? <i>Politique étrangère</i>. 2022, vol. 2, p. 25–38.</p> <p>Yekelchyk, Serhy, <i>Ukraine: What Everyone Needs to Know</i>, 2020, Oxford, Oxford University Press.</p> <p>See this page: <a href="https://samuelbhfaure.com/2022/02/28/guerre-en-ukraine-des-analyses-pour-comprendre-ce-qui-se-passe/">https://samuelbhfaure.com/2022/02/28/guerre-en-ukraine-des-analyses-pour-comprendre-ce-qui-se-passe/</a></p>
Podcasts and video	See media references (podcasts, op-ed and video) on this page: <a href="http://www.lecavalierbleu.com/livre/lukraine-de-lindependance-a-guerre/">http://www.lecavalierbleu.com/livre/lukraine-de-lindependance-a-guerre/</a>



### Session 3 (25 Oct – D16) – Ukraine/Russia: Impossible peace?

Main question	Why is peace between Ukraine and Russia so difficult to achieve for today and tomorrow?
Guest speaker	Ana Colin Lebedev, Associate Professor, University of Paris Nanterre. (tbc) /or/ Adrien Estève, Postdoctoral Researcher, Sciences Po Paris (CERI).
Keywords	Crimea, Donbass, Russia, Soviet Union, Ukraine, war
Compulsory readings	Colin Lebedev, Anna. <i>Jamais frères? Ukraine et Russie: une tragédie post-soviétique</i> . Paris: Seuil, 2022. If you can read the whole book, it is even better. Otherwise; read this article ( <a href="https://legrandcontinent.eu/fr/2022/09/01/maidan-le-basculement/">https://legrandcontinent.eu/fr/2022/09/01/maidan-le-basculement/</a> ), and her threads on Twitter ( <a href="https://twitter.com/colinlebedev">https://twitter.com/colinlebedev</a> ). /or/ Estève Adrien. La construction d'une stratégie d'influence épistémique dans les négociations internationales : le cas de l'International Military Council on Climate and Security. <i>Négociations</i> . 2020, vol. 34, no 2, p. 33-46. Estève Adrien. De la sécurité environnementale à la prévention des risques : le changement climatique dans les politiques de défense aux États-Unis. <i>Les Champs de Mars</i> . 2020, vol. 35, no 2, p. 27-48.
Elective readings	AUBIN, Lukas. <i>Géopolitique de la Russie</i> . Paris : La Découverte, 2022. COLIN LEBEDEV, Anna. <i>Le coeur politique des mères: analyse du mouvement des mères de soldats en Russie</i> . Paris : Éditions de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2013. ---. <i>Les combattants et les anciens combattants du Donbass : profil social, poids militaire et influence politique</i> . Paris : IRSEM, 2017. Etudes de l'IRSEM 3. Estève Adrien, <i>Guerre et écologie. L'environnement et le climat dans les politiques de défense</i> . 2022, Paris: PUF. FACON, Isabelle. La menace militaire russe : une évaluation. <i>Les Champs de Mars</i> . 2017, vol. 29, no 1, p. 31–57. ---. Que vaut l'armée russe ? <i>Politique étrangère</i> . 2016, vol. 1, p. 151–163. FACON, Isabelle, MARANGE, Céline. Introduction - L'ambivalence de la puissance russe. <i>Revue Défense Nationale</i> . 2017, vol. 802, no 7, p. 11–14. Kappeler, Andreas, <i>Russes et Ukrainiens, les frères inégaux : du Moyen-Age à nos jours</i> . 2022. Paris, CNRS Éditions. LEBEDEV, Anna. Femmes en Russie : une inégalité qui ne dit pas son nom. <i>Après-demain</i> . 2007, vol. 2, no 2, p. 5–8. MARANGE, Céline. De la difficulté de négocier avec la Russie. <i>L'ENA hors les murs</i> . 2021, vol. 504, no 3, p. 31–33. SCHMITT, Olivier. <i>Pourquoi Pontine est notre allié ? Anatomie d'une passion française</i> . Paris : Hikari éditions, 2017.





## Session 4 (8 Nov – D16) – NATO: No longer a ‘brain death’?

Main question	What is the historical relationship between NATO and Russia and how is NATO involved in the war in Ukraine?
Guest speaker	Amélie Zima, Researcher, NATO, IRSEM.
Keywords	‘Brain death’, collective security, enlargement, European defence, Finland, military alliance, NATO, Sweden
Compulsory readings	ZIMA, Amélie. <i>L’OTAN</i> . Paris: PUF (Que sais-je ?), 2021 (available on Cairn). ZIMA, Amélie. OTAN-Ukraine: quelle perspective d’adhésion ?, 2022, IRSEM: <a href="https://www.irsem.fr/publications-de-l-irsem/breves-strategiques/breve-strategique-n-32-2022-otan-ukraine-quelle-perspective-d-adhesion.html">https://www.irsem.fr/publications-de-l-irsem/breves-strategiques/breve-strategique-n-32-2022-otan-ukraine-quelle-perspective-d-adhesion.html</a> ZIMA, Amélie. La guerre en Ukraine : quel rôle pour l’OTAN ?, 2022, Le Club des juristes: <a href="https://blog.leclubdesjuristes.com/la-guerre-en-ukraine-quel-role-pour-lotan/">https://blog.leclubdesjuristes.com/la-guerre-en-ukraine-quel-role-pour-lotan/</a>
Elective readings	BESCH, Sophia. 2018. <i>Defence Spending in NATO: Stop Convincing Trump: Start Convincing Europeans</i> . London: Centre for European Reform. CALMELS, Christelle. NATO’s 360-degree approach to security: alliance cohesion and adaptation after the Crimean crisis. <i>European Security</i> . 2020. 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. <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> , 2019, vol. 26, no 6, p. 883-905. OSTERMANN, Falk. <i>Security, Defense Discourse and Identity in NATO and Europe. How France changed foreign policy</i> . London: Routledge, 2018. POULIOT, Vincent. <i>International Security in Practice: The Politics of NATO-Russia Diplomacy</i> . 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. <i>Revue d’études comparatives Est-Ouest</i> . 2013, vol. 44, no 3, p. 9–34. ZIMA, Amélie. <i>D’ennemi à allié. L’adhésion de la Hongrie, de la Pologne et de la République tchèque à l’Alliance atlantique (1989-1999)</i> . Bruxelles: Peter Lang, 2019. ZIMA, Amélie. La construction politique de l’atlantisme en Europe centrale. <i>Études internationales</i> , vol. 49, no 2, p. 391-418.
Podcasts and video	See this page: <a href="https://samuelbhfaure.com/2022/02/28/guerre-en-ukraine-des-analyses-pour-comprendre-ce-qui-se-passe/">https://samuelbhfaure.com/2022/02/28/guerre-en-ukraine-des-analyses-pour-comprendre-ce-qui-se-passe/</a>



## Session 5 (22 Nov – D16) – The European Union: A strategic global actor?

Main question	How can we understand the return of war to Europe through the Russian-led war in Ukraine since 2014 and the new attack by the Russian armed forces in 2022?
Guest speaker	Pierre Haroche, Researcher, European Security, IRSEM.
Keywords	EU, European Sovereignty, Geopolitical Commission, Strategic Autonomy
Compulsory readings	Haroche, Pierre, <i>Why the EU needs a wartime investment plan</i> , 2022, LSE Blog : <a href="https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/europpblog/2022/09/08/why-the-eu-needs-a-wartime-investment-plan/">https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/europpblog/2022/09/08/why-the-eu-needs-a-wartime-investment-plan/</a> Haroche Pierre, <i>Aux armes, Européens !</i> , 2022, <i>Le Rubicon</i> : <a href="https://lerubicon.org/publication/aux-armes-europeens/">https://lerubicon.org/publication/aux-armes-europeens/</a>
Elective readings	BAZIN, Anne, TENENBAUM, Charles eds. <i>L'Union européenne et la paix</i> . Paris: Presses de SciencesPo, 2017. BRUSTLEIN, Corentin. <i>European Strategic Autonomy: Balancing Ambition and Responsibility</i> . IFRI, 2018. Editoriaux de l'IFRI. Chopin, Thierry, Lequesne, Christian. <i>L'Union européenne dans un continent en guerre</i> . <i>Politique étrangère</i> , 2022, vol 3, p. 75-87. FAURE, Samuel B. H. <i>Défense européenne. L'émergence d'une culture stratégique commune</i> . Montréal: Athéna Editions, 2016, p. 55-100. [in the library] /or/ Faure, Samuel B. H. <i>La relance de la défense européenne : par les États, pour les États</i> , 2022, <i>Le Rubicon</i> : <a href="https://lerubicon.org/publication/la-relance-de-la-defense-europeenne-par-les-etats-pour-les-etats/">https://lerubicon.org/publication/la-relance-de-la-defense-europeenne-par-les-etats-pour-les-etats/</a> FRANKE, Ulrike, VARMA, Tara. <i>Independence play: Europe's pursuit of strategic autonomy</i> . Paris, Bruxelles : ECFR, 2018. Gressel, Gustav, Loss, Rafael, Puglierin, Jana, <i>The Leopard plan: How Europeans tanks can help Ukraine take back its territory</i> , 2022, ECFR: <a href="https://ecfr.eu/article/the-leopard-plan-how-european-tanks-can-help-ukraine-take-back-its-territory/">https://ecfr.eu/article/the-leopard-plan-how-european-tanks-can-help-ukraine-take-back-its-territory/</a> Howorth, Jolyon. 2019. <i>Strategic Autonomy and EU-NATO Cooperation: Threat or Opportunity for Transatlantic Defence Relations</i> . <i>Journal of European Integration</i> no 1, p. 523–537. LE GLEUT, Ronan, CONWAY-MOURET Hélène, <i>Défense européenne: le défi de l'autonomie stratégique</i> . Sénat. 2019, Information report 626. Ridel Chloé, <i>D'une guerre à l'autre. L'Europe face à son destin</i> , 2022, Paris, Éditions de l'Aube. MAURO, Frédéric. <i>Autonomie stratégique: le nouveau Graal de la défense européenne</i> . Bruxelles: GRIP, 2018. Les rapports du GRIP.
Podcasts and video	See this page: <a href="https://samuelbhfaure.com/2022/02/28/guerre-en-ukraine-des-analyses-pour-comprendre-ce-qui-se-passe/">https://samuelbhfaure.com/2022/02/28/guerre-en-ukraine-des-analyses-pour-comprendre-ce-qui-se-passe/</a>



## Session 6 (24 Jan – D16) – Conclusion

### Handbooks and dictionaries

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

DAVID, Charles-Philippe, SCHMITT, Olivier. *La guerre et la paix. Approches et enjeux de la sécurité et de la stratégie*. Paris : Presses de Sciences Po, 2020.

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.

