

International Co-operation and Defence Policies

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Seminar, Tuesday 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' 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 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 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%)

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

- The students are divided into five 'task forces' of four or five people. The professor decides the composition of the groups randomly
- *How can we help bring peace to Europe when the war between Russia and Ukraine has been going on for over six months?* 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 decision-makers. This proposal must be presented as clearly and precisely as possible on one strategic issue:
 - Governance (session 1)
 - Ukraine (session 2)
 - Russia (session 3)
 - NATO (session 4)
 - EU (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 and practitioners on these issues

¹ 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 29 October at midnight to the following email address: 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 15 December at midnight. 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:
 - o Times New Roman, 12-point font, single-spaced, justified text, default margins
 - o The first and last names of students must appear at the top left-hand side of the page
 - o 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 alliances
- 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 29, November 29 and December 15 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 3 on Russia)

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 (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, *Revue défense nationale*. Tribune n°1321.
FAURE, SAMUEL B. H. Varieties of international co-operation: France’s ‘flexilateral’ policy in the context of Brexit. 2019, *French Politics*, vol 17, no 1, p. 1-25.

Elective readings DIAN, Matteo, MEIJER, Hugo. Networking Hegemony: Alliance Dynamics in East Asia. *International Politics*, 2020, vol. 57, no. 2, p. 131-149.
HOLEINDRE, Jean-Vincent, ROBIN, Marie. Qu’est-ce qu’un allié? *Inflexions*. 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, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 2019.
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.
ZIMA, Amélie, La politique de défense de la Pologne dans le contexte du Brexit : Bilatérale, multilatérale ou flexilatérale ?, *Politique européenne*, 2020, vol 70, no 4, p. 116-142.

Podcasts and video TV5 Monde, Comment sortir de l’indépendance au gaz russe ?, 11 March 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ISb-y-ycONQ>
Sciences Po Paris (CERI), La France dans le monde fin de cycle ou renouveau ?, 7 March 2022, <https://www.sciencespo.fr/ceri/fr/content/la-france-dans-le-monde-fin-de-cycle-ou-renouveau.html>



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): http://www.lecavalierbleu.com/livre/lukraine-de-lindependance-a-guerre/</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>, https://balises.bpi.fr/alexandra-goujon/</p> <p>Goujon, Alexandra. L'Ukraine, de l'indépendance à la guerre, 2022d, <i>Diploweb.com</i>, https://www.diploweb.com/L-Ukraine-de-l-independance-a-la-guerre-Entretien-avec-Alexandra-Goujon.html</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: https://samuelbhfaure.com/2022/02/28/guerre-en-ukraine-des-analyses-pour-comprendre-ce-qui-se-passe/</p>
Podcasts and video	See media references (podcasts, op-ed and video) on this page: http://www.lecavalierbleu.com/livre/lukraine-de-lindependance-a-guerre/



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 (https://legrandcontinent.eu/fr/2022/09/01/maidan-le-basculement/), and her threads on Twitter (https://twitter.com/colinlebedev). /or/ Estève Adrien, <i>Guerre et écologie. L'environnement et le climat dans les politiques de défense</i> . 2022, Paris: PUF.
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. 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. ROUSSELET, Kathy. Le patriarcat de Moscou face à la guerre. <i>Études</i> . 2022, vol. 5, p. 17–28. SCHMITT, Olivier. <i>Pourquoi Poutine est notre allié ? Anatomie d'une passion française</i> . Paris : Hikari éditions, 2017.
Podcasts and video	See on Youtube: https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=Anna+Colin+Lebedev



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: https://www.irsem.fr/publications-de-l-irsem/breves-strategiques/breve-strategique-n-32-2022-otan-ukraine-quelle-perspective-d-adhesion.html ZIMA, Amélie. La guerre en Ukraine : quel rôle pour l’OTAN ?, 2022, Le Club des juristes: https://blog.leclubdesjuristes.com/la-guerre-en-ukraine-quel-role-pour-lotan/
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 21st 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: https://samuelbhfaure.com/2022/02/28/guerre-en-ukraine-des-analyses-pour-comprendre-ce-qui-se-passe/



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 : https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/europpblog/2022/09/08/why-the-eu-needs-a-wartime-investment-plan/ Haroche Pierre, <i>Aux armes, Européens !</i> , 2022, <i>Le Rubicon</i> : https://lerubicon.org/publication/aux-armes-europeens/
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. 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> : https://lerubicon.org/publication/la-relance-de-la-defense-europeenne-par-les-etats-pour-les-etats/ 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: https://ecfr.eu/article/the-leopard-plan-how-european-tanks-can-help-ukraine-take-back-its-territory/ Howorth, Jolyon. 2019. <i>Strategic Autonomy and EU-NATO Cooperation: Threat or Opportunity for Transatlantic Defence Relations. 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: https://samuelbhfaure.com/2022/02/28/guerre-en-ukraine-des-analyses-pour-comprendre-ce-qui-se-passe/



Session 6 (tbc) – Conclusion: Conference

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 21st 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.

