

**SciencesPo**  
CENTRE DE RECHERCHES  
INTERNATIONALES

**AEGES**  
ASSOCIATION POUR LES ÉTUDES  
SUR LA GUERRE ET LA STRATÉGIE



3<sup>rd</sup> Annual Conference  
27-28 June 2019 — Sciences Po

# EUROPEAN INITIATIVE ON SECURITY STUDIES

**ADDRESS**

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**CONTACT INFORMATION**

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**NEW WEBSITE**

eiss-europa.com

### THE AIMS OF THE EISS

The European Initiative on Security Studies is a Europe-wide network of scholars from over eighty universities that share the goal of consolidating security studies in Europe. Specifically, the aims of the EISS are two-fold. The first is to develop and sustain a Europe-wide network in the field of security studies. This gives visibility to the range of individual and collective research projects that are currently underway in Europe. The second goal is to establish a forum for the exchange of ideas in order to foster new joint research projects and develop international research partnerships.

The EISS has three main characteristics: it is (1) thematically-driven and open to all theoretical approaches, (2) multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary, and (3) geographically inclusive. Firstly, the EISS is not limited to one specific theoretical approach to security studies, but instead seeks to be inclusive. This is reflected, for instance, in the EISS Conference's panels, which cover a large range of themes in the broad field of security studies. The EISS welcomes contributions on both so-called 'traditional' and 'non-traditional' security issues. Secondly, the EISS is multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary in that it gathers, among others, historians, political scientists, economists, geographers, anthropologists and sociologists sharing an interest in developing security studies in Europe. Finally, the EISS seeks to be as inclusive as possible from a geographical perspective. The EISS welcomes projects focusing on any region of the world. It aims to establish a European network of scholars and institutions working on a broad range of themes and geographical areas in the field of security studies. By doing so, its ambition is to help overcoming the existing fragmentation in European security studies, and thereby to foster and consolidate a European field of security studies.

### THE 2019 EISS CONFERENCE

The third annual conference of the European Initiative on Security Studies will be held at Sciences Po, Paris, on 27-28 June 2019. It is organized by the EISS board, within the framework of the French Association for the Study of War and Strategy (AEGES) and in collaboration with the Center for International Studies (CERI) of Sciences Po, Paris.

ADDRESS: SCIENCES PO, 28 RUE DES SAINTS-PÈRES, 75007 PARIS

## THURSDAY 27 JUNE 2019

### SIMONE VEIL LECTURE HALL

9H-9H30	<b>Introductory Remarks</b> Alain Dieckhoff, Director of the Center for International Studies (CERI) <i>Sciences Po</i> Hugo Meijer, Founding Director of the EISS, <i>Sciences Po-CERI</i>	
	<b>SIMONE VEIL LECTURE HALL</b>	<b>ROOM H 101</b>
9H30-11H	Defense Cooperation and Military Assistance	Climate Change and Security Actors
11H-11H30	Coffee Break <b>MAIN HALL</b>	
11H30-13H	Military Innovation in the Long Peace	The Domestic Politics of Security and Defense
13H-14H	Lunch <b>MAIN HALL</b>	
14H-15H30	Intelligence	What Do You Want to Die For? Military Recruitment in Comparative Perspective
15H30-16H	Coffee Break <b>MAIN HALL</b>	
16H-17H30	Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism	Military Technology
17H30-19H30	Cocktail <b>MAIN HALL</b>	

## FRIDAY 28 JUNE 2019

	<b>SIMONE VEIL LECTURE HALL</b>	<b>ROOM H 101</b>
9H30 -11H	Military Interventions	Arms Procurement and Transfers
11H-11H30	Coffee Break <b>MAIN HALL</b>	
11H30-13H	The Past, Present and Future of Transatlantic Security	WMD Non-Proliferation and Arms Control
13H-14H	Lunch <b>MAIN HALL</b>	
14H-15H30	History and Prospect for a European Deterrent	Private Actors, Armed Conflict and the State

### SIMONE VEIL LECTURE HALL

15H30-17H30	<b>Concluding Keynote Panel</b> <i>Pulling Back or Staying In? US Grand Strategic Options and their Implications for Europe</i> Chair: Thierry Balzacq, <i>Sciences Po-CERI</i> Speakers: Stephen Brooks, <i>Dartmouth College</i> , Barry Posen, <i>Massachusetts Institute of Technology</i> Discussants: Stephanie Hofmann, <i>Graduate Institute Geneva</i> , Adrian Hyde-Price, <i>University of Gothenburg</i>
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## THURSDAY 27 JUNE 2019

**DEFENSE COOPERATION AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE**

SIMONE VEIL LECTURE HALL

9H30

— Chair &amp; Discussant: Adrian Hyde-Price, University of Gothenburg

1. *The Discreet Evolution of Collective Defense within the European Union.*

Elie Perot, Vrije Universiteit Brussel

2. *Lifting Pooling and Sharing to a Higher Level: The European Air Transport Command.*

Carolyn Moser, Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law

3. *Stronger Together? Austria's Strategy of Defense Cooperation.*

Laure Gallouet, University of Toulouse – Jean Jaurès

4. *The Sino-Russian Rapprochement and Its Implications for Europe.*

Simon Saradzhyan, King's College London

**CLIMATE CHANGE AND SECURITY ACTORS**

ROOM H 101

9H30

— Chair &amp; Discussant: Krystel Wanneau, Free University Brussels (ULB) / Laval University

1. *Norway and the Arctic: Climate Policy and Energy Paradigm.*

Florian Vidal, Paris Diderot University.

2. *Regionalization of Environmental Security and the Role of the Military: South Asia as a Case in Point.*

Dhanasree Jayaram, Manipal Academy of Higher Education/University of Lausanne

3. *Climate Change and the US Military: Changes and Continuities Under the Trump Administration.*

Adrien Estève, Sciences Po

4. *Money Rather Than Muscles: China's Approach to Post-Polar Arctic Security.*

Mikaa Mered, Free Institute for the Study of International Relations (ILERI)/NEOMA Business School

**MILITARY INNOVATION IN THE LONG PEACE**

SIMONE VEIL LECTURE HALL

11H30

— Chair and Discussant: Maaïke Verbruggen, Vrije Universiteit Brussel

1. *Modelling the Role of 'Hype' in the Development Trajectory of 'Long-Fuse' Defense Technologies.*

Ash Rossiter, Khalifa University

2. *Failing to Succeed: The KPz 70 and German Innovation in Armored Warfare, 1963-71.*

Michael Carl Haas, ETH Zurich

3. *Keeping Pace: Technological Change and Military Innovation in the Italian Armed Forces.*

Leopoldo Nuti and Niccolò Petrelli, Roma Tre University

4. *Planning to Escalate to Deescalate: Military Alliances and Innovation during France's Cold War.*

Marc R. De Vore, University of St Andrews

**THE DOMESTIC POLITICS OF SECURITY AND DEFENSE**

ROOM H 101

11H30

— Chair: Alice Pannier, Johns Hopkins University

1. *Parties, Exit and European Security and Defense.*

Stephanie Hofmann, Graduate Institute Geneva

2. *Debating Military Interventions: Party-Political Patterns of Justifications for Using Armed Force in Canada, Germany and the United Kingdom.*

Wolfgang Wagner, Free University of Amsterdam

3. *Not Whether but When: The Influence of Leaders on Foreign Policy.*

Jonas Schneider, ETH Zurich

4. *When do Legislatures Matter in Civil-Military Relations?*

Stephen Saideman, Carleton University

## INTELLIGENCE

SIMONE VEIL LECTURE HALL

— Chair & Discussant: Claudia Hillebrand, Cardiff University

14H

1. *Globalized Authoritarianism, Intelligence Cooperation and Transnational Repression.*  
Fiona B. Adamson, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS)
2. *Libyan Covert Actions in Europe, the Palestinian Armed Struggle, and Western Intelligence (1972-74).*  
Aviva Guttman, King's College London
3. *Of Ticking Bombs: Intelligence in the Counter-Terrorism Domain, 1970-Present.*  
Constant Hijzen, Leiden University
4. *Is Pessimism Well-Founded? Intelligence Analysis and the Intentions of Competitor States.*  
Andreas Lutsch, Federal University of Applied Administrative Sciences

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## WHAT DO YOU WANT TO DIE FOR?

ROOM H 101

### MILITARY RECRUITMENT IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

14H

— Chair & Discussant: Joakim Berndtsson, University of Gothenburg

1. *We Are Army After All? Military Recruitment in the Netherlands and Germany.*  
Jutta Joachim, Radboud University; Andrea Schneiker, University of Siegen
2. *The Visuality of Military Recruitment: US and UK Militaries and PMSCs Compared.*  
Eugenio Cusumano, Leiden University
3. *Masculine Cultures, Exclusion Mechanisms and Retention of Female Personnel in the Military.*  
Chiara Ruffa, Uppsala University
4. *Neoliberal Governmentality and Military Recruitment: Governing the Working Class Male Soldier.*  
Matthew Kearns, Newcastle University

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## TERRORISM AND COUNTER-TERRORISM

SIMONE VEIL LECTURE HALL

— Chair & Discussant: Peter Neumann, King's College London

16H

1. *Little Ado About Something: A Gender Perspective of EU and UN Counter-Terrorism Strategies.*  
Laura Berlingozzi, Sant'Anna School of Advanced Studies
2. *Al-Baghdadi's Revenge: Identifying the Strategic Value of Vengeance Narratives in the Islamic State's Propaganda.*  
Marie Robin, Panthéon-Assas University/University of Southern Denmark
3. *Negotiations with Terrorist Groups and the "No Talks" Paradigm.*  
Anna Muehlhausen, University of Erfurt
4. *Hostages and Counter-Terrorism: The Fallacies of the Realist Approach.*  
Étienne Dignat, Sciences Po

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## MILITARY TECHNOLOGY

ROOM H 101

— Chair & Discussant: Moritz Weiss, Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich

16H

1. *The Military-Entrepreneurial Complex: Commercial Innovation and State Access.*  
Sophie-Charlotte Fischer, ETH Zurich
2. *China's Efforts in Civil-Military Integration and International Implications.*  
Tai Ming Cheung, University of California San Diego
3. *Making the U.S. Defense Innovation Base More Effective in the Digital Arms Race with China: The Increasing Engagement of the Pentagon and Traditional Defense.*  
James Cross, Franklin Venture Partners
4. *NATO, Emerging Technologies, and Future Warfare: Overcoming the Alliance's Strategic Dilemma.*  
Olivier Schmitt, University of Southern Denmark

**FRIDAY 28 JUNE 2019**

**MILITARY INTERVENTIONS**

**SIMONE VEIL LECTURE HALL**

**9H30**

- Chair & Discussant: Chiara Ruffa, Uppsala University
- Discussant: Stephen Saideman, Carleton University

**1. *A Case Study: Russia's Special Operations Command in Military Interventions.***

Emmanuel Dreyfus, Panthéon-Assas University/National Institute for Oriental Languages and Civilizations (INALCO);  
Michael Gjerstad, University of Southern Denmark

**2. *Converging and Conflicting Dynamics of Cooperation: European Security Efforts in Sahel.***

Silvia D'Amato, European University Institute

**3. *Analyzing the Individual Strategic Practices of Deployed Officers in Multilateral Military Operations: An Analytical Framework.***

Jon Rahbek-Clemmensen and Annemarie Peen Rodt Poucher, Royal Danish Defense College

**4. *Reluctant to Intervene? The Ambiguous Politics of Peacekeeping in the Case of Emerging Powers.***

Nicole Jenne, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile; Rafael Duarte Villa, Universidade de São Paulo

**ARMS PROCUREMENT AND TRANSFERS**

**ROOM H 101**

**9H30**

- Chair & Discussant: Jocelyn Mawdsley, Newcastle University

**1. *Exports of Second-Hand Arms: Increasing the Competition for Arms Producing Firms.***

Eva Ziegler, Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich

**2. *Understanding the Politics of European Naval Procurement: Always Just Beyond the Horizon?***

Brendan Flynn, National University of Ireland Galway

**3. *The Political Economy of Drones on the European Defense Market.***

Dominika Kunertova, University of Southern Denmark

**4. *Between Power and Plenty: The New EU Defense-Industrial Initiatives and the Transatlantic Relationship.***

Antonio Calcara, LUISS Rome

**THE PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE OF TRANSATLANTIC SECURITY**

**SIMONE VEIL LECTURE HALL**

**11H30**

- Chair & Discussant: Mario Del Pero, Sciences Po

**1. *Private Diplomacy and Transatlantic Burden Sharing During Detente: A View from the Netherlands.***

Albertine Bloemendal, Leiden University

**2. *Theories of Balancing and US Grand Strategy: Unpacking the Europe vs. East Asia Tradeoff.***

Linde Desmaele and Luis Simón, Vrije Universiteit Brussel

**3. *Inhibition or Control: European Autonomy and US Grand Strategy.***

Paul van Hooft, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT)

**4. *The Future of European Security Architecture: Back to Lady Thatcher and her Ententes.***

Liviu Horowitz, Johns Hopkins University

**WMD NON-PROLIFERATION AND ARMS CONTROL**

**ROOM H 101**

**11H30**

- Chair & Discussant: Eliza Gheorghe, Bilkent University

**1. *The Violation that Strengthens the Norm: India's 1974 Nuclear Explosion and the Global Nonproliferation Regime.***

Joseph O'Mahoney, University of Reading

**2. *The Politics of the Nuclear Fuel Cycle: The Carter Administration, the INFCE Program, and Italy.***

Giordana Pulcini, Roma Tre University

**3. *Uninsured Allies: When Do States Divest from Nuclear Latency?***

Ulrich Kuehn, University of Hamburg, and Tristan A. Volpe, US Naval Postgraduate School

**4. *Implications of the Current Frictions within the Alliance and the Further Build-up of European Defense for Nuclear Deterrence in Europe.***

Tom Sauer, University of Antwerpen

## HISTORY AND PROSPECT FOR A EUROPEAN DETERRENT

SIMONE VEIL LECTURE HALL

— Chair & Discussant: Frédéric Gloriant, University of Nantes

14H

1. *The Franco-German Security Dialogue as a First Step for a Deeper French European Engagement.*

Ilaria Parisi, École normale supérieure

2. *European Perceptions of Nuclear Deterrence in the Era of Trump and Putin and the Path to European Strategic Autonomy.*

Tara Varma, European Council of Foreign Relations

3. *German View on a European Deterrent: Post-Cold War and Prospects.*

Julia Berghofer, European Leadership Network

4. *France, European Defense and Deterrence Since the End of the Cold War.*

Guillaume de Rougé, École normale supérieure

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## PRIVATE ACTORS, ARMED CONFLICT, AND THE STATE

ROOM H 101

— Chair & Discussant: Jutta Joachim, Radboud University

14H

1. *Discursive Practices and the Construction of Mercenaries as Illegitimate Fighters.*

Helene Olsen, King's College London

2. *The Normative Limits on Counter-violence by Discretionary States.*

Luis de la Calle, Center for Research and Teaching in Economics (CIDE)

3. *Local State-Society Transformations and Everyday Security Provisioning in San Salvador.*

Chris van der Borgh, Utrecht University

4. *Offshore Balancing, Special Operations Forces (SOF) and the Hybrid Agencies of Democratic Warfare.*

Evren Eken and Eylem Özkaya Lassalle, Suleyman Demirel University, Galatasaray University



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- Vrije Universiteit Brussel

**BRAZIL**

- Universidade de Sao Paulo

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- Laval University

**CHILE**

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- University of Hamburg
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- University of Newcastle
- University of Reading
- University of St Andrews

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- Stanford University/CISAC
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- US Naval Postgraduate School





#### HUGO MEIJER

FOUNDING DIRECTOR. Hugo Meijer is CNRS Research Fellow at Sciences Po, Center for International Studies (CERI). Previously, he was Marie Skłodowska-Curie Fellow at the European University Institute (EUI, Florence), Lecturer in Defence Studies at King's College London and a Researcher at the Institute for Strategic Research (IRSEM, Paris). He received his Ph.D. in International Relations from Sciences Po in 2013 (cum laude). Recent publications: *The Handbook of European Defence Policies and Armed Forces* (Oxford University Press, 2018), co-edited with Marco Wyss; *La politique étrangère: approches disciplinaires* [Foreign Policy: Disciplinary Approaches], (Montreal University Press, 2018), co-edited with Christian Lequesne; *Trading with the Enemy: The Making of US Export Control Policy toward the People's Republic of China* (Oxford University Press, 2016); *Origins and Evolution of the US Rebalance toward Asia: Diplomatic, Military, and Economic Dimensions* (ed.) (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015). He has also published in such journals as *Cooperation and Conflict*, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, *European Journal of International Security* and the *Journal of Cold War Studies*.



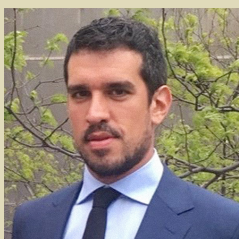
#### ISABELLE DUYVESTEYN

BOARD MEMBER. Isabelle Duyvesteyn is Professor of International Studies/Global History at the Institute of History at Leiden University. She completed her PhD at the Department of War Studies at King's College in London. Previously she has worked at the Royal Military Academy in the Netherlands, the Netherlands Institute for International Relations and the Department of History of International Relations at Utrecht University. Between 2012 and 2017 she held the special chair in Strategic Studies at the Institute of Political Science at Leiden University. She is a member of the Netherlands Advisory Council for International Affairs which advises the Netherlands government on issues of peace and security, a member of the Scientific Advisory Board of the Netherlands Defence Academy and a member of several book and journal editorial boards, notably the *Journal of Strategic Studies* and *Small Wars and Insurgencies*.



#### FLAVIA GASBARRI

BOARD MEMBER. Flavia Gasbarri holds a PhD in War Studies from King's College London, where she is Teaching Fellow in International History and co-Chair of the KCL Africa Research Group. In April-September 2012 she was Junior Visiting Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington DC. Her research interests and publications focus on the history of the Cold War in the Third World, US-Africa relations and post-Cold War US foreign policy. She has also researched and published on US policy in the Rwandan genocide and in the Great Lakes region.



#### MAURO GILLI

BOARD MEMBER. Mauro Gilli is a Senior Researcher in Military Technology and International Security at the Center for Security Studies of ETH-Zurich (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, Zurich). He has a B.A. in Political Science from the University of Turin, an M.A. in International Relations and International Economics from Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, and a Ph.D. in Political Science from Northwestern University. In 2015-2016, he was a Post-Doctoral Fellow at the John Sloan Dickey Center for International Understanding of Dartmouth College. His research has been published or is forthcoming in *International Security* and *Security Studies*.



#### MARINA HENKE

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BOARD MEMBER. Marina E. Henke is an Assistant Professor of International Relations and the Co-Chair of the War & Society Working Group at Northwestern University in Chicago (USA). Marina holds a Ph.D. in Politics and Public Policy from Princeton University, a Double-MSc in Development Studies and International Political Economy from Sciences Po Paris and the London School of Economics, and a B.A. (summa cum laude) in Economics and Politics from Sciences Po Paris. Her research focuses on military interventions, peacekeeping and European Grand Strategy. Her academic work has been published in *Security Studies*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *International Peacekeeping*, *Providing for Peacekeeping*, and *Conflict Management and Peace Science* among others. Her book *Constructing Allied Cooperation: Diplomacy, Payments and Power in Multilateral Military Coalition Building* is forthcoming with Cornell University Press.



#### BEATRICE HEUSER

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BOARD MEMBER. Beatrice Heuser holds the Chair in International Relations at the University of Glasgow. She was previously at the Dept. of War Studies, King's College London, then the University of Reading; she has also taught at French and German universities (most recently Sciences Po Paris). In 1997-1998 she worked at NATO HQ in Brussels. She holds degrees from the Universities of London (BA, MA), Oxford (DPhil), Marburg (Habilitation). Her publications include *The Evolution of Strategy* (2010), *Reading Clausewitz* (2002), *Strategy before Clausewitz* (2017), with Eitan Shamir (eds), *Insurgencies and Counterinsurgencies: National Styles and Strategic Cultures* (2017) and many works on nuclear strategy, NATO, Transatlantic Relations.



#### ULRICH KROTZ

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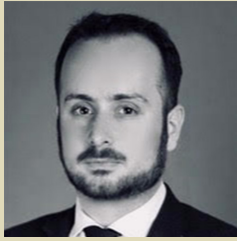
BOARD MEMBER. Ulrich Krotz is Professor at the European University Institute, where he holds the Chair in International Relations in the Department of Political and Social Sciences and the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, and founding director of the EUI's programme on *Europe in the World: International Relations, International Security, World Politics*. He received his Ph.D. from Cornell University, has taught at Oxford University and Brown University, and held research positions at Princeton University, the EUI, and Harvard University. He is the author of *Shaping Europe: France, Germany, and Embedded Bilateralism from the Elysée Treaty to Twenty-First Century Politics* (with Joachim Schild) (Oxford, hardback 2013, paperback 2015); *History and Foreign Policy in France and Germany* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); and *Flying Tiger: International Relations Theory and the Politics of Advanced Weapons* (Oxford, 2011). His articles have appeared in journals such as *World Politics*, *International Security*, *International Affairs*, the *European Journal of International Relations*, *Foreign Policy Analysis*, *West European Politics*, the *Journal of European Public Policy*, and the *Journal of Common Market Studies*.



#### ALICE PANNIER

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BOARD MEMBER. Alice Pannier is an Assistant Professor of International Relations and European Studies at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University, Washington, D.C. She earned her Ph.D. in Political Science from Sciences Po Paris with joint supervision from King's College London. Her work has appeared, inter alia, in the *Journal of Strategic Studies*, *Global Affairs*, and *European Security*. Prior to joining SAIS, she was Postdoctoral Fellow at the French Institute for Strategic Research (IRSEM, Paris). She is currently preparing a book on French defense policy since the end of the Cold War (co-authored with Olivier Schmitt), as well as a manuscript based on her dissertation on Franco-British defense relations.



#### OLIVIER SCHMITT

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BOARD MEMBER. Olivier Schmitt is an associate professor at the Center for War Studies, University of Southern Denmark. His work focuses on transatlantic security, multinational security cooperation, and military change. He currently directs the research project “Transforming Armed Forces in the 21st Century” supported by the Carlsberg Foundation and the Danish Research Council. His recent publications include *Allies that Count, Junior Partners in Coalition Warfare* (Georgetown University Press, 2018) and *Raymond Aron and International Relations* (Routledge, 2018).



#### LUIS SIMON

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BOARD MEMBER. Luis Simón is research professor at the Institute for European Studies and director of the Brussels office of the Elcano Royal Institute. He is also an Associate Fellow at the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI, London) and the Baltic Defence College, and a member of the editorial board of *Parameters: The US Army War College Quarterly*. Luis is a frequent lecturer on geopolitical and strategic affairs at several universities and defence colleges, and his research has appeared in prestigious journals, such as *Security Studies*, *International Affairs*, *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, *Geopolitics*, *Survival*, *Orbis*, *The RUSI Journal*, *Comparative Strategy*, *Parameters* or *The International Spectator*. He holds a PhD in International Relations from the University of London, and a Masters degree from the Institute d’Études Politiques de Paris (Sciences Po).



#### MARCO WYSS

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BOARD MEMBER. Dr Marco Wyss, FRHistS, FHEA, is Lecturer in the International History of the Cold War at Lancaster University, a Research Fellow at the University of the Free State, an Associate Fellow at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, editor of the *International Journal of Military History and Historiography*, and co-editor of Brill’s ‘New Perspectives on the Cold War’ book series. Among many other publications, he is the author of *Arms Transfers, Neutrality and Britain’s Role in the Cold War* (Brill, 2013), and co-editor of *Peacekeeping in Africa* (Routledge, 2014), *Neutrality and Neutralism in the Global Cold War* (Routledge, 2016), and *The Handbook of European Defence Policies and Armed Forces* (co-edited with Hugo Meijer, OUP, 2018).