
POLITICAL ECONOMY OF SECURITY

FROM CORRUPTION TO TERRORIST FINANCING

ACADEMIC YEAR 2025-2026

MONDAY
11:30AM – 1PM

INSTRUCTOR : ANTHONY AMICELLE

Course Description

This course is designed to introduce and discuss some of the key debates and on-going processes at the interface of politics, economy and security across the globe. In the light of international corruption and financial scandals, as well as the prevalence of terrorism, its financing, and the laundering of ‘dirty money’ in relation to criminal networks, there will be a specific focus on the making of global policies against economic, financial and white collar crimes, from tax evasion to proliferation financing of weapons of mass destruction.

Course Goals

The overall aim of the seminar is to provide students advanced understanding of the current interdependence between domestic and international security issues and those traditionally related to economy and finance.

By the end of this seminar, the students will have developed their empirical and analytical grasp of the core aspects of politics, economy and security, with a critical focus on contemporary global policies against financially related crimes and threats. Furthermore, they will have advanced their capacity to engage critically with the interdisciplinary academic literature in the topics examined by the course, in order to master the normative implications of multiple connections between politics, economy and security.

Through discussions of the readings and oral presentation as well as writing of analytical papers, students will further improve their synthesis and reflexive ability.

Course Structure and Expectations

Each topic of the seminar will be organized in two sessions. The first session will be in the form of a student oral presentation and a collective discussion of the assigned reading. The second session will mainly involve lecturing about the session content.

More generally, full participation is expected of students throughout the course. In particular, each student is expected to 'come' to the seminar having completed the readings, and being prepared to discuss them in class. While it is impossible to be comprehensive, either in the selection of course themes or assigned material, the readings provide a broad and diverse overview of topics of theoretical and empirical interest in the study of economy and security.

Assessment Methods

1) Class preparation and participation (20%)

The level and quality of seminar preparation and participation will be considered for final grades.

2) Oral presentation (40%)

Each student will contribute to one oral presentation (15/20 minutes). The aim is to present and analyse the work of an international organization dedicated to the global fight against economic and financial related crime as well as corruption. In addition to each oral presentation, students will have to submit a written document (5 pages).

3) Writing an analytical paper (40%)

Each student will write an analytical paper (3,000 words maximum) to be submitted by the end of April. The paper will be focused on a specific topic of economy and security to be agreed with the instructor. Further detailed instructions will be provided in class.

Plagiarism and Academic Integrity

Students are reminded that plagiarism and other forms of academic misconduct will be referred to the disciplinary section of Sciences Po Bordeaux.

CLASS 1 – 12/01/2026

INTRODUCTION

- **General introduction** to the course.

CLASS 2 – 19/01/2026

CORRUPTION AND ANTI-CORRUPTION – 1

- **Oral presentation about Transparency International**
- **Assigned Reading**
 - o Bayle, E., & Rayner, H. (2016). Sociology of a scandal: the emergence of ‘FIFAgate.’ *Soccer & Society*, 19(4), 593–611.

CLASS 3 – 26/01/2026

CORRUPTION AND ANTI-CORRUPTION – 2

- **Corruption(s) : social reaction and techniques of neutralization**

CLASS 4 – 02/02/2026

THE DIFFERENTIAL MANAGEMENT OF ILLEGALISMS – 1

- **1) Oral presentation about the role of the OECD against tax evasion**
- **Assigned Reading**
 - o Amicelle, A. & Bérard, J. (2026). ‘Exposed impunity : leaks, scandals and dominant class solidarity’. *Security Dialogue*.

CLASS 5 – 09/02/2026

THE DIFFERENTIAL MANAGEMENT OF ILLEGALISMS – 2

- **The Management of Ruling Elites’s Illegalisms : historical transformation**

CLASS 6 – 23/02/2026

**THE FIGHT AGAINST 'DIRTY MONEY' :
GLOBAL POLICYMAKING AT THE INTERFACE OF ECONOMY & SECURITY – 1**

- 1) Oral presentation about the Financial Action Task Force
- **Assigned Reading**
 - G. Favarel-Garrigues. « Domestic reformulation of the moral issues at stake in the drive against money laundering: the case of Russia ». *International Social Science Journal*, 57 : 529-540.

CLASS 7 – 02/03/2026

**THE FIGHT AGAINST 'DIRTY MONEY' :
GLOBAL POLICYMAKING AT THE INTERFACE OF ECONOMY & SECURITY – 2**

- 1) Follow the Money : from a U.S. political catchphrase to a concrete global policy

CLASS 8 – 09/03/2026

FROM THE WAR ON DRUGS TO THE WAR ON TERROR – 1

- 1) Oral presentation about the UN Security Council ISIL (Da'esh) and Al-Qaida Sanctions Committee
- **Assigned Reading**
 - o M. de Goede. « Risk, Preemption and Exception in the War on Terrorist Financing », In M. de Goede and L. Amoore, *Risk and the War on Terror*. London : Routledge, 2008.

CLASS 9 – 16/03/2026

FROM THE WAR ON DRUGS TO THE WAR ON TERROR – 2

- Questioning public-private partnerships against money laundering, terrorist and proliferation financing.

CLASS 10 – 23/03/2026

FINANCIAL SURVEILLANCE & INTELLIGENCE IN THE NAME OF SECURITY – 2

- 1) Oral presentation about the Egmont Group
- *Assigned Reading*
 - o Amicelle, A. & Chaudieu, K. (2018). 'In search of transnational financial intelligence : questioning cooperation between financial intelligence units'. In C. King, C. Walker & J. Gurule (eds.), Handbook of criminal and terrorism financing law (pp. 649-675). London : Palgrave.

CLASS 11 – 30/03/2026

FINANCIAL SURVEILLANCE & INTELLIGENCE IN THE NAME OF SECURITY – 2

- Suspicion and traceability in the name of security

CLASS 12

CONCLUSION

- Conclusion

References

- A. Amicelle. « Towards a New Political Anatomy of Financial Surveillance ». *Security Dialogue*, vol. 42, n°2, 2011, pp. 161-178.
- P. Andreas & R. Friman (Eds.). *The Illicit Global Economy and State Power*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999.
- M. Beare (Ed.). *Critical Reflections on Transnational Organized Crime, Money Laundering, and Corruption*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003.
- T. Biersteker & S. Eckert (Eds.). *Countering the Financing of Terrorism*. New York: Routledge, 2008.
- W. A. Bonger. *Criminality and Economic Conditions*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969 (1905).
- J. Braithwaite. « White Collar Crime ». *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 11, 1985.
- C. Chavagneux, R. Murphy & R. Palan. *Tax havens: How Globalization Really Works*. London: Cornell University Press, 2010.
- H. Croall. *Understanding White Collar Crime*. Buckingham: Open University Press, 2001.
- B. Cruver B. *Anatomy of Greed: Telling the Unshredded Truth from Inside Enron*. New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 2002.
- M. de Goede, C. Westermeier, « Infrastructural Geopolitics », *International Studies Quarterly*, Volume vol. 66, n°3, 2022.
- M. de Goede. *Speculative Security: The Politics of Pursuing Terrorist Monies*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012.
- R. Friman. *Crime and the Global Political Economy*. London: Lynne Rienner, 2009.
- B. L. Garrett. *Too Big to Jail. How Prosecutors Compromise with Corporations*. Harvard University Press, 2016.
- W. C. Gilmore. *Dirty Money : The evolution of international measures to counter money laundering and the financing of terrorism*. Strasbourg: Editions du Conseil de l'Europe, 2011.
- K. Haggerty & M. Razavy. « Hawala under Scrutiny: Documentation, Surveillance and Trust ». *International Political Sociology*, vol. 3, n° 2, 2009, p. 139-155.
- B. Hayes & G. Sullivan. *Blacklisted: Targeted Sanctions, Preemptive Security and Fundamental Rights*. ECCHR: 10 years after 9/11 Publication Series, 2010.
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- J. Katz. « The Social Movement against White-Collar Crime ». *Criminology Review Year book*, vol. 2, 1980, pp. 161-184.
- C. King, C. Walker, J. Gurulé. *The Palgrave Handbook of Criminal and Terrorism Financing Law*. Palgrave.
- M. Levi. *The Phantom Capitalists. The Organization and Control of Long-Firm Fraud*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008 (2nd ed.)
- M. Levi. « Combating the Financing of Terrorism. A History and Assessment of the Control of 'Threat Finance' ». *British Journal of Criminology*, vol. 50, n°4, 2010, pp. 650-669.
- M. Levi & M. Reuter. « Money Laundering », In M. Tonry (Ed.). *Crime and Justice. A review of Research*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2006, pp. 289-375.
- V. Mitsilegas. « Countering the Chameleon Threat of Dirty Money: 'Hard' and 'Soft' Law in the Emergence of a Global Regime against Money Laundering and Terrorist Finance », In A. Edwards & P. Gill (Eds.). *Transnational Organised Crime: Perspectives on Global Security*. London, New York: Routledge, 2003, pp. 195-211.
- R. T. Naylor. *Wages of Crime: Black Markets, Illegal Finance and the Underworld Economy*. Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press (Revised edition), 2004.
- L. T. Nichols. « Social Problems as Landmark Narratives: Bank of Boston, Mass Media and 'Money Laundering' ». *Social Problems*, vol. 44, n°3, 1997, pp. 324-341.
- N. Passas. « Fighting Terror with Error: The Counter-Productive Regulation of Informal Value Transfers ». *Crime, Law & Social Change*, vol. 45, n°4-5, 2006.
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- E. Sutherland. « Is 'White Collar Crime' Crime? ». *American Sociological Review*, n° 10, 1945, pp. 132-139.
- P.C. Van Duyne, K. Von Lampe & J. Newell (Eds.). *Criminal Finances and Organising Crime in Europe*. Nijmegen: Wolf Legal Publishers, 2003.
- P.C. van Duyne, J.H. Harvey and L.Y. Gelemerova, *The Critical Handbook of Money Laundering: Policy, Analysis and Myths*. Palgrave Macmillan.