

THOMAS FRAISE

Post-doctoral researcher (*Ritual Deterrence, University of Copenhagen*)

Affiliated Researcher (*Nuclear Knowledges, CERI-Sciences Po*)

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ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

RITUAL DETERRENCE Project, Department of Political Science, University of Copenhagen 2024-2027

Post-doctoral researcher

Security Studies Program, Massachusetts Institute of Technology 2023-2024

Stanton Nuclear Security Post-Doctoral Fellow

Centre de Recherches Internationales (CERI), Sciences Po 2019-2023

Doctoral Researcher

EDUCATION

PhD in International relations 2019 - 2023

Sciences Po, Paris

- Dissertation: *Restricted democracies : nuclear weapons programs, secrecy, and democracy in the United Kingdom, France, and Sweden (1939-1974)*, under the supervision of Benoit Pélodidas.
- Visiting researcher at the Hans Blix Center for International History, Stockholm University (September 2021 – March 2022).

Master's in international relations 2016 - 2018

Sciences Po, Paris

- Master thesis: *Constructing the "unbearable" in international relations – Wartime sexual violence since 1949*.
- Recipient of the [Kuwait Student Paper Award](#) for: *Shades of jihad: Variation of military ethics between ISIS and al-Qaeda* ([Link](#)).

Bachelor's in law and political science, cum laude 2013 - 2016

Université d'Auvergne, Clermont-Ferrand

SCIENTIFIC ACTIVITIES

Publications

- **Articles**

- *In English*

with Kjølvs Egeland, "Able Archer: How close of a call was it", *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, Volume 79, Issue 3, May 2023, p. 155-160.

with Kjølvs Egeland and Hebatalla Taha, «Casting the Atomic Canon: (R)evolving Nuclear Strategy» *European Journal of International Security*, volume 7, Issue 3, August 2022, pp. 382-399.

- *In French*

« Comment cacher un nuage. L'organisation du secret des essais atmosphériques français (1957 – 1974) » (*How to hide a cloud. The organisation of secrecy around french atmospheric testing (1957 – 1974)*), *Relations Internationales*, n°194, 2023, (forthcoming).

« Le problème du secret nucléaire : armes nucléaires, secret d'Etat, démocratie » (*The problem of nuclear secrecy : nuclear weapons, state secrecy, democracy*), *Critique Internationale*, n°95, avril-juin 2022, pp.171-182.

- **Book chapter:**

With Benoît Pelodidas, "France and the Cuban Missile Stasis", in Benoît Pelodidas (ed.), *The Cuban Missile Crisis and global nuclear vulnerability*, (chapter submitted, volume in progress).

« De sombres nuages : les essais nucléaires français en Algérie » (*Dark clouds: French Nuclear Testing in Algeria*) in Yannick Denoël and Renaud Meltz (eds.), Mensonges d'Etat : une autre histoire de la Ve République, Paris, Editions Nouveau Monde, 2023, pp. 14-20

« De l'inévitable à l'intolérable : La construction des normes relatives aux violences sexuelles en temps de guerre depuis 1949 » (*From inevitable to unbearable: constructing norms against wartime sexual violence since 1949*) in Nicolas Handfield and Philipp Portelance (eds.), De la violence à l'extrême. Discours, représentations et pratiques de la violence chez les combattants, Paris, Edition Hermann, 2022, pp. 257-280.

- **Book review:**

Charles-Philippe David, Olivier Schmitt, *La Guerre et la Paix. Approches et Enjeux de la Sécurité et de la Stratégie* (4e édition), Paris : Presses de Sciences Po, 2020 », *European Review of International Studies*, vol. 8, n°1, pp. 97-103.

Marc le Page, *La bombe atomique. D'Hiroshima à Trump*, Passés Composés, Paris, 2021, *Revue Française de Science Politique*, (forthcoming).

Renaud Meltz, Alexis Vrignon, *Des bombes en Polynésie. Les essais nucléaires français dans le Pacifique*, Paris : Vendémiaire, 2022, *Histoire@Politique*. ([Link](#))

- **Work in progress**

Restricted Democracies. How Nuclear Weapons Shape Democratic States, book project (working title)

“How do nuclear weapons affect democratic government? A conceptual framework for the nuclear-democratic question”, under review (*European Journal of International Relations*)

“A global order of secrecy? US hegemony and the making of nuclear secrecy regimes in European states (France, Sweden, the UK – 1946-1967”, working paper.

With Benoit Pélopidas & Sterre van Burren, “Existential Silos: In Search of Blind Spots in the Scholarship on the Future of Climate Change and the Nuclear Threat”, working paper presented at the CGSC-EJIS Conference on “Security in a time of ‘polycrisis’, Leeds, May 19th, 2023.

“Wizards of Armageddon? Magic, Rituals, and the Epistemic Authority of Nuclear Experts”, working paper presented at the CEEISA-ISA Joint International Conference 2024, Rijeka, June 17th, 2024.

“We live in fear. Democratic vulnerabilities in the nuclear age”, working paper

Participation in scientific events

- **Conferences & roundtables**

“We live in fear. Democratic vulnerabilities in the nuclear age”, paper presented at ISA 2024, panel on *Unseen vulnerabilities in the Anthropocene*, San Francisco (CA), April 3rd, 2024.

“Delegitimising Disarmament: Reactionary Rhetoric in Non-Proliferation Discourses”, paper presented at BISA Global Nuclear Order annual conference, Zoom, March 22nd, 2024.

“How Deterrence got extended. NATO strategic concerns and the origins of a category”, paper presented at ISA Northeast 2023, panel on *Ritual Specters of Deterrence and Diplomacy*, Providence (RI), November 3rd, 2024.

“How to hide a cloud. The organization of secrecy around French nuclear test sites (1957-1974)”, paper presented at the conference on *Tests in the Desert? Towards a Comparative and Transnational History of Nuclear Test Sites*, Paris, January 19th, 2022

Participant in the roundtable *Building a Coalition for Intergenerational Fairness in the European Green Deal*, organized by the School of International Futures, online, December 14th, 2021.

“Democracy, secrecy and the nuclear state: how do nuclear weapons affect democratic states?”, paper presented at the conference *Reassessing Key Debates in the Nuclear Field*, organized by the British International Studies Association Global Nuclear Order Group, December 3rd, 2021.

“Looking for the nuclear State. Political science and the (missing) domestic effects of nuclear weapons”, paper presented at the conference *Surviving the Next 70 years?*, organized by the British International Studies Association Global Nuclear Order Group, December 16th, 2020.

“De l’information au renseignement. Evolution des doctrines historiques de l’ONU” (*From information to intelligence. Historical evolution of UN’s doctrines*), *Gagner la guerre ou gagner la paix ?*, annual convention of the Association for the Studies on War and Strategy (AEGES), Lille, December 7th, 2018.

“Violences de guerre et normes morales : la construction des normes relatives aux violences sexuelles en temps de guerre au XXe siècle” (*Wartime violences and moral norms : the construction of norms regarding wartime sexual violence in the XXth century*), presentation at *De la violence à l’extrême*, International convention on military history, Montréal, October 23rd, 2018

- **Seminars**

“Nuclear weapons and domestic change: technology, security, secrecy, and the French pursuit of nuclear weapons”, presentation at the MIT International Relations Work in Progress Seminar, Cambridge (MA), December 11th, 2023.

“Exporting Nuclear Secrecy. The consequences of US non-proliferation policies on European democracies (1945-1953)”, presentation at the MIT Security Studies Working Group, Cambridge (MA), November 21st, 2023.

“A global order of secrecy? US hegemony and the making of nuclear secrecy regimes in European states (France, Sweden, the UK) – 1946-1967”, presentation at the LSE-Sciences Po International History Seminar, London School of Economics, October 5th, 2022.

“Back from Sweden: Investigating nuclear secrecy in the land of transparency”, presentation at the seminar “Back from the field”, CERI-Sciences Po, September 22nd, 2022.

“Hiding the clouds. Nuclear testing, secrecy, and the problem of nuclear harm”, presentation at the seminar “Writing Social Sciences”, CERI-Sciences Po, 20th June 2022.

“Looking for the nuclear state: nuclear weapons and domestic politics”, presentation at the General Seminar in International Relations, Departement of Economic History and International Relations, Stockholm University, 3rd March 2022.

“Nuclear Secrecy and the Global Nuclear Order, 1945–1974”, presentation at the Hans Blix centrum International History Seminar, Stockholm University, February 23rd, 2022.

Discussion of Alex Wellerstein’s book, *Restricted Data: The history of nuclear secrecy in the United States* (UCP, 2021), Nuclear Knowledges program seminar, April 1st, 2021.

“Looking for the nuclear state: International relations and the (missing) domestic effects of nuclear weapons”, presentation at the seminar “Writing Social Sciences”, CERI-Sciences Po, March 23rd, 2021.

Policy engagement

- **Op-eds**

With Austin Cooper, “France struggled to relinquish Algeria as a nuclear test site, archives reveal”, *The Conversation* ([link](#)). 3rd August 2022. Published in French under the title « Les obstinations nucléaires des dirigeants français en Algérie indépendante », *The Conversation France*, 5th July 2022. ([Link](#))

« Jusqu’à quand l’État doit-il garder ses « secrets » ? » (*Until when should the State keep its “secrets”?*), *The Conversation France*, 28th June 2021 ([Link](#))

- **Media appearances**

Vers un troisième âge nucléaire ? (*Toward a third nuclear age?*), debate on *France Info*, 21st November 2022

“No longer the unthinkable? Putin repeats nuclear threats as Russia retreats in Ukraine”, debate on *France 24 World*, 5th October 2022

RELEVANT PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND

Center for International Research (CERI)

2018 - 2019

Research assistant

- Assistant to Jacques Semelin, senior research fellow (CNRS/Sciences Po): comparative analysis of genocide and mass violence, civil resistance, history of Holocaust in France

EU-Logos Athena

May 2018 – July 2018

European policy analysts

- Analysis of the activity of the European Parliament.
- Redaction of notes on current European political events

Archives d'histoire contemporaine, Sciences Po History Center

October 2018 – December 2018

Assistant archivist

- Inventory of Dominique Parodi's (French intellectual) familial and professional correspondence (1899-1954)

Homeland Ministry (*Ministère de l'Intérieur*)

July 2018 –

August 2018

Substitute in charge of the strategic supervision of State agencies

- Redaction of notes regarding the financial activities of homeland security agencies
- Redaction of a "handbook" on the activities of the Bureau in charge of the Supervision of State agencies

TEACHING

Method seminars:

- Introduction to political science, Collège Universitaire de Sciences Po, Paris (Spring semester, 2020 & 2021)

Teaching assistant:

- Security in a nuclear-armed world, Professors Benoit Pelopidas and Kjolv Egeland, Paris School of International Affairs (2018 – present)
- Understanding the use of force in the XXIst century, Professor Ronald Hatto, Paris School of International Affairs (2018 – 2021)
- From peacekeeping to peacebuilding, Professor Ronald Hatto, Paris School of International Affairs (2018)

Summer schools:

- Organization, with Prof. Benoit Pélopidas, of a summer program on "Collective security and climate change", Collège Universitaire de Sciences Po, Paris (July 2022)

OTHER RESPONSIBILITIES

Managing Editor for the Political Anthropological Research on International Social Sciences (PARISS) journal (Brill).

LANGUAGE SKILLS

French: Native

English: Fluent

Swedish: Professional skill (B2)