

# Brexit Reader in Security & Defence

*Compiled by Benjamin Kienzle and Inez von Weitershausen*

## I. Strategy and Doctrine

Strategy and, more broadly, strategic thinking are crucial to understand the security and defence policies of both nation states and larger entities such as the European Union. They inform how these policies are made, which goals they have and what influences them. In the context of Brexit, the key question is in how far the EU informs British strategic thinking and, vice versa, in how far the UK informs EU strategic thinking. Understanding the mutual influence of national and EU-wide strategies and strategic thinking reveals to what extent the two are interdependent in strategic terms. To this end, this section lists three types of literature that are relevant in this context:

- (a) The literature on British strategy and strategic thinking, both formal and informal;
- (b) The literature on EU strategy, in particular the European Security Strategy and European grand strategy;
- (c) The literature on European strategic culture(s).

In each of these three sections three particularly useful texts are highlighted as key reading. This is followed by a longer list of further reading. In general terms, the literature on strategy reveals fairly little interaction between British and EU strategic thinking, in terms of both the actual strategies and the analyses of these strategies. The most notable exception in this regard is the *International Affairs* article on ‘Transatlantic triage? European and UK “grand strategy” after the US rebalance to Asia’ by Stoke and Whitman (as listed below). This is a very rare study that explores the European and British strategic synergies well before the British EU referendum on 23 June 2016.

### **(a) Academic literature on British strategy**

The first set of academic publications lists key texts on British strategies and British strategic thinking since the early 2000s, when European security and defence policies became more well established. First, it considers the literature that analyzes

formal UK strategy documents, as listed below:

1998: [Strategic Defence Review](#)

2008: [The National Security Strategy of the United Kingdom: Security in an interdependent world](#)

2009: [The National Security Strategy of the United Kingdom: Update 2009: Security for the Next Generation](#)

2010: [A Strong Britain in an Age of Uncertainty: The National Security Strategy](#)  
[Securing Britain in an Age of Uncertainty: The Strategic Defence and Security Review](#)

2015: [National Security Strategy and Strategic Defence and Security Review 2015 A Secure and Prosperous United Kingdom](#)

Second, this part considers the broader literature on UK strategic thinking, for example the evolution of strategic ideas in successive UK governments. With the notable exception of David Blagden’s piece in *International Affairs*, the large majority of the texts listed below share a relative lack of references to the EU. The EU is almost absent as a strategic referent object for the UK.

**KEY reading**

<b>Journal</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Details</b>	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Access</b>
<i>International Affairs</i>	‘Global multipolarity, European security and implications for UK grand strategy: back to the future, once again’	Blagden, David	91, no. 2 (2015): 333–350	UK national strategy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>International Affairs</i>	‘Complex security and strategic latency: the UK Strategic Defence and Security Review 2015’	Cornish, Paul and Andrew M. Dorman	91, no. 2 (2015): 351–370	UK national strategy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>International Affairs</i>	‘Complexity, strategy and the national interest’	Edmunds, Timothy	90, no. 3 (2014): 525–539	UK national strategy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>

## Further reading

<b>Journal</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Details</b>	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Access</b>
<i>British Journal of Politics and International Relations</i>	‘British Conservatism and Foreign Policy: Traditions and Ideas Shaping Cameron's Global View’	Beech, Matt	13, no. 3 (2011): 348–363	British strategic thinking	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>International Affairs</i>	‘Blair’s wars and Brown’s budgets: from Strategic Defence Review to strategic decay in less than a decade’	Cornish, Paul and Andrew M. Dorman	85, no. 2 (2009): 247–261	UK national strategy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>International Affairs</i>	‘Breaking the mould: the United Kingdom Strategic Defence Review 2010’	Cornish, Paul and Andrew M. Dorman	86, no. 2 (2010): 395–410	UK national strategy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>International Affairs</i>	‘Smart muddling through: rethinking UK national strategy beyond Afghanistan’	Cornish, Paul and Andrew M. Dorman	88, no. 2 (2012): 213–222	UK national strategy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>International Affairs</i>	‘Dr Fox and the Philosopher’s Stone: the alchemy of national defence in the age of austerity’	Cornish, Paul and Andrew M. Dorman	87, no. 2 (2011): 335–353	UK national strategy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>International Affairs</i>	‘Fifty shades of purple? A risk-sharing approach to the 2015 Strategic Defence and Security Review’	Cornish, Paul and Andrew M. Dorman	89, no. 5 (2013): 1183–1202	UK national strategy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>The Political Quarterly</i>	‘The Use of Force in British Foreign Policy: From New Labour to the Coalition’	Daddow, Oliver	84, no. 1 (2013): 110–118	British strategic thinking	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Cambridge Review of International Affairs</i>	‘Liberal intervention in the foreign policy thinking of Tony Blair and David Cameron’	Daddow, Oliver and Pauline Schnapper	26, no. 2 (2013): 330–349	British strategic thinking	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>The RUSI Journal</i>	‘Britain’s National Security - Compulsion and Discretion’	Gray, Colin	153, no.6 (2008): 12–18	UK national strategy	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>The RUSI Journal</i>	‘Why Britain doesn’t do Grand	Porter, Patrick	155, no.4	UK national	<a href="#">Paywall</a>

<i>International Affairs</i>	Strategy’ ‘Rethinking security: a critical analysis of the Strategic Defence and Security Review’	Ritchie, Nick	(2010): 6-12 87, no. 2 (2011): 355– 376	strategy UK national strategy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Parameters</i>	‘British National Strategy: Who Does It? Vol.	Strachan, Hew	43, no.2 (2013): 43- 52	UK national strategy	<a href="#">Open</a>

**(b) Academic literature on EU strategy**

EU scholars have developed an extensive body of literature on strategy and strategic thinking in the context of the EU, especially since the adoption of the 2003 European Security Strategy, the EU’s landmark strategic document. This literature focuses mainly on the analysis and interpretation of the formal EU strategies as listed below:

2003: [European Security Strategy: A Secure Europe in a Better World](#)

2008: [Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy: Providing Security in a Changing World](#)

2016: [EU Global Strategy: Shared Vision, Common Action: A stronger Europe](#)

In addition to the main strategies, the European Union Institute for Security Studies has also published regularly collections of the EU’s most important strategic documents since the 1998 Anglo-French Saint-Malo declaration, which kick-started the EU’s security and defence policy:

<b>Publisher</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Access</b>
European Union: Institute for Security Studies	<i>Strategy matters – EU key documents 2015 - 2016</i>	European strategy	<a href="#">Open</a>
European Union: Institute for Security Studies	<i>Strategy matters – EU key documents 2013 - 2014</i>	European strategy	<a href="#">Open</a>
European Union: Institute for Security Studies	<i>Defence matters – EU key documents 2013</i>	European strategy	<a href="#">Open</a>
European Union: Institute for Security Studies	<i>European Union Security and Defence. Core Documents 2010 – Vol. XI</i>	European strategy	<a href="#">Open</a>

European Union: Institute for Security Studies	<i>European Union Security and Defence: Core Documents 2009 – Volume X</i>	European strategy	<a href="#">Open</a>
European Union: Institute for Security Studies	<i>EU security and defence: core documents 2008 – Volume IX</i>	European strategy	<a href="#">Open</a>
European Union: Institute for Security Studies	<i>EU Security and Defence: Core Documents 2007 – Volume VIII</i>	European strategy	<a href="#">Open</a>
European Union: Institute for Security Studies	<i>EU security and defence – Core documents 2006 – Volume VII</i>	European strategy	<a href="#">Open</a>
European Union: Institute for Security Studies	<i>EU security and defence – Core documents 2005 - Volume VI</i>	European strategy	<a href="#">Open</a>
European Union: Institute for Security Studies	<i>EU security and defence – Core documents 2004 – Volume V</i>	European strategy	<a href="#">Open</a>
European Union: Institute for Security Studies	<i>From Copenhagen to Brussels - European defence: core documents, Volume IV</i>	European strategy	<a href="#">Open</a>
European Union: Institute for Security Studies	<i>From Laeken to Copenhagen - European defence: core documents – Volume III</i>	European strategy	<a href="#">Open</a>
European Union: Institute for Security Studies	<i>From Nice to Laeken - European defence: core documents – Volume II</i>	European strategy	<a href="#">Open</a>
European Union: Institute for Security Studies	<i>From St-Malo to Nice: European defence: core documents</i>	European strategy	<a href="#">Open</a>

More recently, several scholars have also discussed to what extent the EU possesses a ‘grand strategy’, even though none of the formal strategies qualifies as such and the concept is usually associated with nation states. All this literature has offered useful insights into the EU as a strategic actor, but it has remained narrowly focused on the EU as such (with the exception of the literature on European strategic culture, see below). As in the case of the literature on British strategy, it has paid fairly little attention to the relation between EU strategies and the national strategies of the EU member states. Apart from the article by Stoke and Whitman in *International Affairs* (see Key reading below), there is a real mis-connect between the bodies of literature on British and EU strategy. This has only started to change with the EU Global Strategy, which has been adopted in the wake of the British EU referendum.

## KEY reading

Publication	Title	Author(s)	Details	Theme	Access
<i>Contemporary Security Policy</i>	Special issue: The EU Global Strategy	Dijkstra, Hylke (ed.)	37, no. 3 (2016)	Global Strategy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Journal of European Public Policy</i>	'A liberal grand strategy in a realist world? Power, purpose and the EU's changing global role'	Smith, Michael E.	18, no. 2 (2011): 144-163	EU Grand Strategy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>International Affairs</i>	'Transatlantic triage? European and UK "grand strategy" after the US rebalance to Asia'	Stokes, Doug and Richard Whitman	89, no. 5 (2013): 1087-1107	European strategy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>

## Further reading

Publication	Title	Author(s)	Details	Theme	Access
<i>SIPRI Policy Paper</i>	The European Security Strategy: An Evolutionary History	Bailes, Alyson J. K.	10 (2005)	European Security Strategy	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>European Security</i>	'Has-Been, Wannabe, or Leader: Europe's Role in the World After the 2003 European Security Strategy'	Becher, Klaus	13, no. 4 (2004): 345-359	European Security Strategy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>European Foreign Affairs Review</i>	'In Search of a Strategic Concept for the ESDP'	Biscop, Sven	7, no. 4 (2002): 473-490	European strategy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Egmont Paper</i>	Audit of European Strategy	Biscop, Sven, ed.	3 (2008)	European strategy	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>Survival</i>	'Europe's Strategic Ambitions: The Limits of Ambiguity'	Heisbourg, François	42, no. 2 (2000): 5-15	European strategy	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>A European Way of War</i> (Eds. Steven Everts, et al.)	'The "European Security Strategy" is not a Security Strategy'	Heisbourg, François	London: Centre for European Reform (2004): 27-39	European Security Strategy	<a href="#">Open</a>

<i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i>	‘The EU as a Global Actor: Grand Strategy for a Global Grand Bargain?’	Howorth, Jolyon	48, no. 3 (2010): 455–474	EU Grand Strategy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>European Journal of International Relations</i>	‘Building agreements upon agreements: The European Union and grand strategy’	Kornprobst, Markus	21, no. 2 (2015): 267-292	EU Grand Strategy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Readings in European Security</i>	‘European Security Strategy: Is It for Real?’	Menotti, Roberto	2 (2004): 165-175	European Security Strategy	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i>	‘From ‘Civilian Power’ to ‘Global Power’: Explicating the European Union’s ‘Grand Strategy’ Through the Articulation of Discourse Theory’	Rogers, James M.	47, no. 4 (2009): 831–862	EU Grand Strategy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>European Foreign Affairs Review</i>	‘The 2003 European Union Security Strategy: A Critical Appraisal’	Toje, Asle	10, no. 1 (2005): 117–133	European Security Strategy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>European Foreign Affairs Review</i>	‘Competing Visions for the European Union Grand Strategy’	Vennesson, Pascal	15, no. 1 (2010): 57–75	EU Grand Strategy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>

**(c) Academic literature on European strategic culture(s)**

Since the early 2000s, numerous scholars have examined in how far the national strategic thinking converges in Europe and creates, thus, a common European strategic culture. This body of literature offers the most in-depth insights into strategic divergence and overlaps among EU member states. The large majority of studies conclude that there is some degree of convergence, but few argue that there exists a European strategic culture as such. In the context of Brexit, the insights into European strategic culture(s) are important, as they highlight both the embeddedness of British strategic thinking in wider European strategic thinking and the relative independence of the UK from the EU in strategic terms.

### **KEY reading**

<b>Publication</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Details</b>	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Access</b>
Schriftenreihe des Zentrums für Militärgeschichte und Sozialwissenschaften der Bundeswehr (Wiesbaden: Springer)	<i>Strategic Cultures in Europe: Security and Defence Policies Across the Continent</i>	Biehl, Heiko, Bastian Giegerich and Alexandra Jonas, eds.	13 (2013)	European strategic culture	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>European Journal of International Relations</i>	'Convergence Towards a European Strategic Culture? A Constructivist Framework for Explaining Changing Norms'	Meyer, Christoph O.	11, no. 4 (2005): 523–549	European strategic culture	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Contemporary Security Policy</i>	Special issue: European Security Policy: Strategic Culture in Operation?	Schmidt, Peter and Benjamin Zyla, eds.	32, no. 3 (2011)	European strategic culture	<a href="#">Paywall</a>

### **Further reading**

<b>Journal</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Details</b>	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Access</b>
<i>International Affairs</i>	'The Strategic Culture of the European Union: A Progress Report'	Cornish, Paul and Geoffrey Edwards	81, no. 4 (2005): 801-820	European strategic culture	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>International Affairs</i>	'Beyond the EU/NATO dichotomy: the beginnings of a European strategic culture'	Cornish, Paul and Geoffrey Edwards	77, no. 3 (2001): 587–603	European strategic culture	<a href="#">Paywall</a>



<i>A European Way of War</i> (Eds. Steven Everts, et al.)	'Can the EU develop an effective military doctrine?'	Freedman, Lawrence	London: Centre for European Reform (2004): 13-26	European strategic culture	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>European Security</i>	'European Security, Strategic Culture, and the Use of Force'	Hyde-Price, Adrian	13, no. 4 (2004): 323 - 343	European strategic culture	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Survival</i>	'Military force and European strategy'	Kaldor, Mary and Andrew Salmon	48, no. 1 (2006): 19-34	European strategic culture	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Security Dialogue</i>	'When Soft Power Turns Hard: Is an EU Strategic Culture Possible?'	Matlary, Janne Haaland	37, no. 1 (2006): 105-121	European strategic culture	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Security Dialogue</i>	'The European Union: Towards a Strategic Culture?'	Rynning, Sten	34, no. 4 (2003): 479-496	European strategic culture	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Oxford Journal on Good Governance</i>	Special issue: A Strategic Culture for Europe	Toje, Asle, ed.	2, no. 1 (2005)	European strategic culture	<a href="#">Open</a>

## II. British Contributions

The potential effects of Brexit in the area of foreign, security, and defence can hardly be understood without a thorough knowledge of what the UK has actually contributed so far to EU policies in terms of political support and capability commitment. As the lists below show, the academic literature on British contributions to European foreign, security, and defence policies is ample. It can largely be divided into two blocks: One suggests that Britain has been of considerable value for EU foreign, security, and defence cooperation due to its support for key policies such as EU enlargement, its ‘special relationship’ with the United States and initiatives to bring Europe closer to NATO, and attempts to further the development of the CSDP in cooperation with France. A second body of works suggests, by contrast, that the influence of the UK in the area of CFSP/CSDP has been either minimal or even negative, in particular in recent years as London ‘blocked’ Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) and EU defence procurement. The literature listed below reflects these contradictions. It focuses on three main areas:

- (a) UK support for key EU foreign and security policies such as enlargement and transatlantic relations;
- (b) UK contributions to European defence cooperation efforts;
- (c) UK contributions to EU defence cooperation in terms of capabilities.

### **(a) *Academic literature on British contributions to EU policies in selected issue areas***

The United Kingdom has been a prominent supporter of various major foreign and security policies of the EU, most notably EU enlargement and the EU-US strategic partnership. In the early 1990s, support for EU enlargement, i.e. the incorporation of the former communist nations of central and Eastern Europe, was a shared priority among British foreign policy elites. Under the catchphrase ‘wider, rather than deeper’ the UK undertook considerable efforts to promote the expansion of the EU – with all the costs and benefits associated with this policy. The influence of the UK in this area has been recognized by the relevant academic literature. Likewise, the literature on transatlantic relations recognizes – explicitly or implicitly - the consequences of the UK’s close relationship to the United States and NATO for the EU’s ties with the United States. Yet, this body of literature also shows the tensions created in the EU by the UK’s special relationship with the United States as well as the tensions between US- and EU-focused priorities in British foreign, security, and defence policies.

## KEY Reading

Publication	Title	Author(s)	Details	Theme	Access
Monograph	<i>The making of EU foreign policy: the case of Eastern Europe</i>	Smith, Karen E.	Basingstoke: Palgrave (2 <sup>nd</sup> ed. 2004)	Enlargement	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Chatham House Papers</i>	'Divided West: European Security and the Transatlantic Relationship'	Forsberg, Tuomas and Graeme Herd	Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell (2006)	Transatlantic relations	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>International Affairs</i>	Transatlantic triage? European and UK 'grand strategy' after the US rebalance to Asia	Whitman, R. and Stoug, D.	89, Issue 5 September 2013 Pages 1087–1107	Transatlantic relations	<a href="#">Paywall</a>

## Further reading

Publication	Title	Author(s)	Details	Theme	Access
<i>European Security</i>	'Continuity in the Face of Upheaval—British Strategic Culture and the Impact of the Blair Government'	Miskimmon, Alister	13, no. 3 (2004): 273-299	Transatlantic relations	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Centre for Policy and Research on Turkey (ResearchTurkey)</i>	'The Role of Member States in EU Enlargement Policy: The Eastern Enlargement and Turkey's Accession Process'	Öner, Selcen	London: Research Turkey, vol. II, no. 8 (Oct. 2013): 63-71	Enlargement	<a href="#">Open</a>
Edited volume	<i>British Foreign and Security Policy: Historical Legacies and Current Challenges</i>	Oppermann, Kai	Augsburg: Wißner Verlag (2012)	Transatlantic relations	<a href="#">Open</a>

<i>The politics of EU enlargement: theoretical and comparative perspectives</i> (Eds. Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier)	'Institutions, policy communities and EU enlargement: British, Spanish and Central European accession negotiations in the agricultural sector'	Ruano, Lorena	Abingdon: Routledge (2005): 258-276	Enlargement	<a href="#">Open</a>
Report	<i>Europe after the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union: 2004-2014</i>	Sedelmeier, Ulrich	Heinrich-Böll Stiftung (2014)	Enlargement	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>International Affairs</i>	'The outsiders: The European neighbourhood policy'	Smith, Karen E.	81, no. 4 (2005): 757-773	Enlargement	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>MAXCAP (Maximizing the integration capacity of the European Union: Lessons of and prospects for enlargement and beyond) Working Paper Series</i>	'The "Old" and the "New" Europeans: Analyses of Public Opinion on EU Enlargement in Review'	Toshkov, Dimiter, Elitsa Kortenska, Antoaneta Dimitrova and Adam Fagan	02 (April 2014)	Enlargement	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>Atlantic Alliance under Stress</i> (Ed. David M. Andrews)	'The Iraq crisis and the future of the Western alliance'	Trachtenberg, Mark	Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2009): 135- 151	Transatlantic relations	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>Atlantic Alliance under Stress</i> (Ed. David M. Andrews)	'A Bridge too far: The United Kingdom and the Transatlantic Relationship'	Wallace, William and Tim Oliver	Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2005): 152-176	Transatlantic relations	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>International Affairs</i>	'Reassessing the special relationship'	Wallace, William and Phillips, Christopher	85, no. 2 (2000): 263-284	Transatlantic relations	<a href="#">Open</a>

**(b) Academic literature on British policy contributions to European defence cooperation**

Ranging from assessments of the UK as a ‘pioneer’ in defence matters to its perception as a major impediment to the ESDP, this part of the literature engages with how, when and under what conditions Britain’s contributions impacted on the development of EU capabilities and effective policies. The literature covers key developments between the 1998 Anglo-French Saint-Malo declaration, which kick-started EU defence cooperation, and more recent British attempts to block permanent military structures in the EU.

**KEY reading**

<b>Publication</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Details</b>	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Access</b>
<i>International Affairs</i>	‘The UK and European Defence: Leading or Leaving?’	Biscop, Sven	88, no. 6, (2012): 587–603	UK-EU defence relations	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>The new British politics and Europe: Conflict or cooperation?</i> (Ed. Adam Hug)	‘Two’s company, but not enough: Reflections on Anglo-French defence cooperation’	Menon, Anand	London: Foreign Policy Centre (2011): 29-34	Franco-British cooperation	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>International Affairs</i>	‘Britain’s coalition government and EU defence cooperation: undermining British interests’	O’Donnell, Clara Marina	87, no. 2 (2011): 419–433	UK-EU defence relations	<a href="#">Paywall</a>

**Further reading**

<b>Publication</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Details</b>	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Access</b>
Journal of Common Market Studies	‘Renationalizing or Regrouping? EU Foreign Policy Since 11 September 2001’	Hill, Christopher	42, no. 1 (2004): 143–163	UK-EU defence relations	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>Survival</i>	‘Britain, France and the European Defence Initiative’	Howorth, Jolyon	42, no. 2 (2000): 33-55	Franco-British cooperation	<a href="#">Paywall</a>

<i>European Union Institute for Security Studies, Occasional Paper</i>	‘Franco-British military cooperation: a new engine for European defence?’	Jones, Ben	88 (2011)	Franco-British cooperation	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>The RUSI Journal</i>	‘The UK, the EU and European Security: A German Perspective’	Kempin, Ronja and Jocelyn Mawdsley	158, no. 4 (2013): 32-36	CSDP	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>ZIF Policy Briefing</i>	‘Pioneering the Comprehensive Approach: How Germany’s Partners Do It’	Wittkowsky, Andreas and Ulrich Wittkamp	Zentrum für Internationale Friedenseinsätze (ZIF) (2013)	British contr	<a href="#">Open</a>

### (c) **British capability contributions to European defence policies**

There are only few studies that address systematically the capabilities in terms of personnel, military hardware, or logistics that the UK has contributed in the context of European security and defence cooperation. Most studies have been conducted by the International Institute for Security Studies. There are even fewer studies on intelligence capabilities, reflecting arguably the low degree of European cooperation in this area. A lot of the studies are also slightly outdated and/or do not focus specifically on the EU. In fact, official government publications remain a key source in the area of capabilities, e.g. the 2015 Ministry of Defence policy paper on ‘[2010 to 2015 government policy: international defence commitments](#)’.

#### **KEY reading**

<b>Publication</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Details</b>	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Access</b>
<i>IISS Strategic Dossier</i>	‘European Military Capabilities: Building Armed Forces for Modern Operations’	Giegerich, Bastian, and Alexander Nicoll	London: International Institute for Strategic Studies (2008)	Capabilities	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i>	‘The Effect of International Terrorism on EU Intelligence Co-operation’	Müller-Wille, Björn	46, no. 1 (2008): 49–73	Capabilities	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
Edited volumes	<i>The Military Balance: The</i>	Various	London: International	Capabilities	<a href="#">Paywall</a>

	<i>annual assessment of global military capabilities and defence economics</i>		Institute for Strategic Studies (yearly publication)		
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### ***Further reading***

<b>Publication</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Details</b>	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Access</b>
<i>International Affairs</i>	'What are armed forces for? The changing nature of military roles in Europe'	Edmunds, Timothy	82, no. 6 (2006): 1059–1075	Capabilities	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Survival</i>	'Not such a soft power: the external deployment of European forces'	Giegerich, Bastian and William Wallace	46, no. 2 (2004): 163-182	Capabilities	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Interim RUSI Campaign Report</i>	'Accidental Heroes: Britain, France and the Libya Operation'	Various	London: Royal United Service Institute (2011)	Capabilities	<a href="#">Open</a>

### III. Europeanisation

During the process of European integration, scholars have realized that national and EU-level policies have become increasingly intertwined. In other words, national policies have been carried out increasingly with a European dimension attached to them. The academic concept to capture this phenomenon is Europeanisation. In the case of an EU member state leaving the Union, it is important to be aware of the existence of Europeanisation, as it might affect the separation process and the future relationship between the EU and its former member state. The Europeanisation of UK policy, i.e. the penetration of British systems of governance through the dual processes of ‘uploading’ and ‘downloading’ between the British and European levels has been addressed in the scholarly literature in numerous ways. While some scholars stress converging policy contents as well as institutional changes meant to increase the UK’s relationship with and its influence in the EU, others underline that London has maintained a sceptical attitude towards EU foreign, security, defence policies and sought to resist the latter’s influence on UK positions and activities. Whether and how Europeanisation will still be possible after Brexit remains to be seen, as the tools, forums, and mechanisms which have been crucial in this context so far are likely to undergo a number of changes once the UK is no longer a regular member of the EU.

In order to comprehend the status quo of the Europeanisation in the specific area of foreign, security, and defence affairs as of 2016, the Brexit Reader focusses on three areas, i.e.:

- a) The literature on the status and processes of Europeanisation of British politics in general;
- b) The literature on the Europeanisation of British foreign policy;
- c) The literature on the Europeanisation of British security and defence policy.

In each of these three sections three particularly useful texts are highlighted as key reading. This is followed by an extended list of complementary readings.

#### ***(a) Academic literature on the Europeanisation of British politics***

In order to comprehend the extent, functioning, and mechanisms of Europeanisation of UK policies in the areas of foreign, security, and defence affairs, the analysis of the Europeanisation of British politics overall can provide relevant insights.

The subsequent works thus elaborate on the evolution of this trend and its effects.



### **KEY reading**

<b>Publication</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Details</b>	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Access</b>
Monograph	<i>The Europeanization of British Politics</i>	Bache, Ian and Andrew Jordan (eds.)	Basingstoke: Palgrave (2006)	British politics	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
Monograph	<i>The Europeanisation of Whitehall: UK Central Government and the European Union</i>	Bulmer, Simon and Martin Burch	Manchester: Manchester University Press (2009)	British politics	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
Monograph	<i>The European Union and British Politics</i>	Geddes, Andrew	New York: Palgrave (2003)	British politics	<a href="#">Paywall</a>

### **Further reading**

<b>Publication</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Details</b>	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Access</b>
<i>The Member States of the European Union</i> (Eds. Simon Bulmer and Christian Lequesne)	'The United Kingdom: A Europeanized Government in a non-Europeanized Polity'	Allen, David	Oxford: Oxford University Press (2005): 119-141	British politics	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Fifteen into one? The EU and its member states</i> (Eds. Wolfgang Wessels, Andreas Maurer and Jürgen Mittag)	'The UK: between political controversy and administrative efficiency'	Armstrong, Kenneth A. and Simon Bulmer	Manchester: Manchester University Press (2002): 388-410	British politics	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>Political Studies</i>	'Structuring Europe: Powersharing Institutions and British Preferences on European Integration'	Aspinwall, Mark	48, no. 3 (2000): 415-442	British politics	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
Monograph	<i>Europeanization and</i>	Bache, Ian	Rowman and	British politics	<a href="#">Paywall</a>

	<i>Multilevel Governance: Cohesion Policy in the European Union</i>		Littlefield (2008)		
Edited volume	<i>Britain For and Against Europe: British Politics and the Question of European Integration</i>	Baker, David and David Seawright (eds.)	Oxford: Oxford University Press (1998)	British politics	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Public Administration</i>	'Organizing for Europe: Whitehall, the British State and the European Union'	Bulmer, Simon and Martin Burch	76, no. 4 (1998): 601-628	British politics	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>The rules of integration: Institutional approaches to the study of Europe</i> (Eds. Gerald Schneider and Mark Aspinwall)	'The "Europeanisation" of Central Government: the UK and Germany in historical institutionalist perspective'	Bulmer, Simon and Martin Burch	Manchester: Manchester University Press (2001): 73-96	British politics	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Public Administration</i>	'The Europeanisation of UK government: from quiet revolution to explicit step-change'	Bulmer, Simon and Martin Burch	83, no. 4 (2005): 861-890	British politics	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Publius</i>	'UK Devolution and the European Union: A Tale of Cooperative Asymmetry?'	Bulmer, Simon, Martin Burch, Patricia Hogwood and Andrew Scott	36, no. 1 (2006), 75-94	British politics	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
Monograph	<i>Euroscepticism in Contemporary British Politics: Opposition to Europe in the Conservative and Labour Parties since 1945</i>	Forster, Anthony	London: Routledge (2002)	Euroscepticism	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
Edited Volume	<i>Britain in the European Union: Law, Policy and Parliament</i>	Giddings, Philip James and Gavin Drewry (eds.)	Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan	British politics	<a href="#">Paywall</a>

			(2004)		
<i>The national co-ordination of EU policy: the domestic level</i> (Eds. Hussein Kassim, B. Guy Peters and Vincent Wright)	‘The United Kingdom’	Kassim, Hussein Guy Peters and Vincent Wright	Oxford: Oxford University Press (2000)	British politics	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>British Politics</i>	‘The Blair Government and Europe: the Policy of Containing the Salience of European Integration’	Oppermann, Kai	3, no. 2 (2008): 156-182	British politics	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>The British Journal of Politics &amp; International Relations</i>	‘Adapting to Europe: Is it Harder for Britain?’	Schmidt, Vivien A.	8, no. 1 (2006): 15-33	Euroscepticism	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>The British Journal of Politics &amp; International Relations</i>	‘Confronting Europe: UK Political Parties and the EU 2000–2005 Relations’	Sherrington, Philippa	8, no. 1 (2006): 69-78	Euroscepticism	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Edited volume</i>	‘The UK Challenge to Europeanization. The Persistence of British Euroscepticism’	Tournier-Sol, Karine and Chris Gifford (eds.)	New York: Palgrave (2015)	Euroscepticism	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Adjusting to Europe: The impact of the European Union on national institutions and policies</i> (Eds. Yves Mény, Pierre Muller and Jean-Louis Quermonne)	‘Relations between the European Union and the British administration’	Wallace, Helen	London: Routledge (1996): 61-72	British politics	<a href="#">Paywall</a>

**(b) Academic literature on the Europeanisation of British foreign policy**

In light of the UK's close cooperation with the USA, its Atlanticist orientation, and its emphasis on national autonomy, British foreign policy elites are often seen as reluctant towards closer cooperation in the EU, and sceptical of any developments that did not fall into the 'uploading' category. Among the suggested reasons for this outcome are geopolitical considerations, institutional blockages, and a Eurosceptic population. Yet, evidence suggests that the impact between the EU and UK has been a mutual one.

**KEY reading**

<b>Publication</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Details</b>	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Access</b>
<i>National and European Foreign Policies: Towards Europeanization</i> (Eds. Reuben Wong and Christopher Hill)	'Europeanization and British Foreign Policy'	Aktipis, Michael and Tom Oliver	London: Routledge (2011): 72-92	Foreign policy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>The Foreign Policies of European Union Member States</i> (Eds. Ian Manners and Richard G. Whitman)	'Britain'	Forster, Anthony	Manchester: Manchester University Press (2000): 44-63	Foreign policy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Journal of European Integration</i>	'Atlantic dreams and European realities: British foreign policy after Iraq'	Hood, Frederick	30, no. 1 (2008): 183-197	Foreign policy	<a href="#">Open</a>

**Further reading**

<b>Publication</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Details</b>	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Access</b>
<i>Foreign Ministries in the European Union</i> (Eds. Brian Hocking and David Spence)	'The United Kingdom: Adapting to the European Union within a transformed world'	Allen, David	Basingstoke: Palgrave (2005): 250-272	Foreign policy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>

<i>The Europeanization of British Politics</i> (Eds. Ian Bache and Andrew Jordan)	'Foreign Policy'	Allen, David and Tim Oliver	Basingstoke: Palgrave (2006): 187-200	Foreign policy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>The Europeanization of British Politics (eds. Ian Bache and Andrew Jordan)</i>	'The Foreign and Commonwealth Office'	Allen, David and Tim Oliver	Basingstoke: Palgrave (2006): 52-66	Foreign policy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
Monograph	<i>The making of Britain's European foreign policy</i>	Forster, Anthony and Alasdair Blair	New York: Longman (2002)	Foreign policy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
Monograph	<i>The Europeanization of National Foreign Policy: Continuity and Change in European Crisis Management</i>	Gross, Eva	Basingstoke: Palgrave (2009)	Foreign policy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>The Actors in Europe's Foreign Policy</i> (Ed. Christopher Hill)	'United Kingdom: Sharpening Contradictions'	Hill, Christopher	London: Routledge (1996): Chapter 3	Foreign policy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
Monograph	<i>Europeanization and Foreign Policy. State identity in Finland and Britain</i>	Jokela, Juha	London: Routledge (2011)	Foreign policy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Paper presented at the Second Pan-European Conference, Standing Group on EU Politics, Bologna</i>	'Europeanization of National Foreign Policy Making: Comparing the patterns of impact in Britain and Germany'	Lüddecke, René	24-26 June, 2004	Foreign policy	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>International Affairs</i>	'Choosing between America and Europe: A new context for British Foreign Policy'	Niblett, Robin	83, no. 4 (2007): 627-641	Foreign policy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Actors and Models: Assessing the European Union's External Capability and Influence</i> (Eds. Pierre Willa and	'Foreign policy capacities and state preferences in CFSP: Assessing the rationalist explanation of German, French, and British CFSP policies'	Wagner, Wolfgang	University of Geneva (2001): 20-52	Foreign policy	<a href="#">Open</a>

Nicolas Levrat)					
<i>Paper given to the FORNET workshop, London School of Economics</i>	'The Europeanization of British Foreign Policy and the Crisis in Zimbabwe'	Williams, Paul	5 June, 2002	Foreign policy	<a href="#">Open</a>

**(c) Academic literature on the Europeanisation of British defence and security policy**

After initial moves towards greater cooperation, British policy makers have largely resisted further Europeanisation of defence and security policies more strongly than in other areas and even institutionalised cooperation did hardly lead to policy convergence in the realm of defence. Some traces of Europeanisation can be found nonetheless, as the UK has turned increasingly to Europe towards the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

**KEY reading**

Publication	Title	Author(s)	Details	Theme	Access
Monograph	<i>Europeanization of British Defence Policy</i>	Dover, Robert	Aldershot: Ashgate (2007)	Defence Policy	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>The Development of British Defence Policy: Blair, Brown, and Beyond</i> (Ed. David Brown)	'Blair, Brown and Brussels. The European Turn in British Defence Policy'	Shepherd, Alistair J. K.	London: Routledge (2010): 39-62	Defence Policy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>The Polish Quarterly of International Affairs</i>	'The Europeanisation of British Security Policy'	Turpin, Lee	24, no. 3 (2015): 85-IV	Security Policy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>

**Further reading**

Publication	Title	Author(s)	Details	Theme	Access
<i>The European Union and National Defence</i>	'The United Kingdom'	Chuter, David	London: Routledge (1997): 103-	Defence policy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>

<i>Policy</i> (Eds. Jolyon Howorth and Anand Menon)			117		
<i>European Security</i>	‘The EU, NATO and Europeanisation: The Return of the Architectural Debate’	Croft, Stuart	9, no.3 (2000): 1-20	Security and defence policy	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>Defence Analysis</i>	‘Reconciling Britain to Europe in the Next Millennium: The Evolution of British Defence Policy in the post-Cold War Era’	Dorman, Andrew	17, no. 2 (2001): 187-202	Defence policy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>The British Journal of Politics &amp; International Relations</i>	‘The Prime Minister and the Core Executive: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Reading of UK Defence Policy Formulation 1997-2000’	Dover, Robert	7, no. 4 (2005): 508-525	Defence policy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Security Studies</i>	‘Convergence and Divergence in Post-Cold War British, French and German Military Reforms: Between International Structure and Executive Autonomy’	Dyson, Tom	17, no. 4 (2008): 725-774	Security policy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Survival</i>	‘Britain, France and the European Defence Initiative	Howorth, Jolyon	42, no. 2 (2000): 33-55	Defence policy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>German Politics</i>	‘Same challenges, diverging responses: Germany, the UK and European security’	Longhurst, Kerry and Alister Miskimmon	16, no. 1 (2007): 79-94	Security policy	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>European Security</i>	‘Institutionalised cooperation and policy convergence in European defence: lessons from the relations between France, Germany and the UK’	Pannier, Alice and Oliver Schmitt	23, no. 3 (2014): 270-289	Defence policy	<a href="#">Open</a>

## IV. EU Policy-Making

The potential roles of the UK in European foreign, security, and defence policies after Brexit depend on how the EU works and functions in this area. Research over the last few decades has shown that EU policy-making is influenced by myriads of factors ranging from formal legal arrangements to unwritten norms and rules. The objective of this section is to highlight the academic literature that is crucial to understand EU policy-making in foreign, security and defence affairs. The literature has been divided into three categories:

- 1) The legal literature that focuses on the interpretation of the written rules and formal institutions of European foreign, security, and defence policy, in particular as established in the most recent EU Treaty, the 2009 Lisbon Treaty;
- 2) The different theories that political scientists have developed to explain and understand EU policy-making beyond the formal rules and regulations;
- 3) The emerging literature on informal cooperation in the form of the E3 (Germany, France, and the United Kingdom), different 'contact groups', or non-EU country participation in EU civilian and military missions.

In-depth knowledge in each of these three categories will allow to devise schemes for UK participation in EU foreign, security, and defence policy, which are both legally and politically feasible. In general, the literature shows that from a legal and procedural perspective the UK can cooperate with the remaining EU member states in a number of ways. In principle, this can be both effective and efficient, not least if it builds on the EU's previous experiences with informal forms of cooperation. However, the theories of policy-making also show that it is necessary to treat this with caution in terms of political practicality.

In each of the three sections listed above three particularly useful texts are highlighted as key reading. They are mainly standard textbook chapters. This is followed by a longer list of further reading.

### **(a) Legal aspects**

The EU is a highly legalized international organization, i.e. its functioning is regulated by particularly detailed written laws, rules, and procedures, all of which are published in the [Official Journal of the European Union](#). In order to identify opportunities for the UK to participate in EU foreign, security, and defence policies it is necessary to interpret these laws, rules, procedures and to develop a thorough understanding of how the EU works in formal terms. In this regard, the 2009 [Treaty of Lisbon amending the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty establishing the European Community](#) plays a key role, as it is the most recent treaty that has altered the basic functioning of the EU in foreign, security, and defence affairs.



### **KEY reading**

<b>Publication</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Details</b>	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Access</b>
<i>Edited volume</i>	<i>European Defence Cooperation in EU Law and International Relations Theory</i>	Dyson, Tom and Theodore Konstadinides	Basingstoke: Palgrave (2015)	Law	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>The Oxford Handbook of European Union Law</i> (Ed. Anthony Arnall and Damian Chalmers)	‘External Action: Common Commercial Policy, Common Foreign and Security Policy, Common Security and Defence Policy’	Koutrakos, Panos	Oxford: Oxford University Press (2015): 271-299	Law	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Edited volume</i>	<i>European Foreign Policy: Legal and Political Perspectives</i>	Koutrakos, Panos	Cheltenham: Edgar Elgar (2011)	Law	<a href="#">Paywall</a>

### **Further reading**

<b>Publication</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Details</b>	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Access</b>
<i>European Foreign Affairs Review</i>	‘Permanent Structured Cooperation and the Future of the ESDP: Transformation and Integration’	Biscop, Sven	13, no. 4 (2009): 431–448	Institutions	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Common Market Law Review</i>	‘Some reflections on the CFSP legal order’	Gosalbo Bono, Ricardo	43, no. 2 (2006): 337–394	Law	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Common Market Law Review</i>	‘The meaning of Petersberg: Some considerations on the legal scope of ESDP operations’	Graf von Kielmansegg, Sebastian	44, no. 3 (2007): 629–648	Law	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>European Foreign Affairs Review</i>	‘The European Draft Constitutional Treaty and the Future of the European Defence’	Howorth, Jolyon	9, no. 4 (2004): 483–508	Institutions	<a href="#">Open</a>

	Initiative: A Question of Flexibility’				
Edited volume	<i>The European Defence Agency: Arming Europe</i>	Karampekios, Nikos and Iraklis Oikonomou, (eds.)	Abingdon: Routledge (2015)	Institutions	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
Monograph	<i>The EU Common Security and Defence Policy</i>	Koutrakos, Panos	Oxford: Oxford University Press (2013)	Institutions	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
Edited volume	<i>European Security Law</i>	Trybus, Martin and Nigel White (eds.)	Oxford: Oxford University Press (2007)	Law	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Common Market Law Review</i>	‘EU External Action after the Collapse of the Pillar Structure: In search of a New Balance between Delimitation and Consistency’	Van Elsuwege, Peter	47, no. 4 (2010): 987–1019	Institutions	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>International Relations and the European Union</i> (Ed. Christopher Hill and Michael Smith)	‘The Institutional Framework’	Vanhoonacker, Sophie	Oxford: Oxford University Press (2 <sup>nd</sup> edition, 2011)	Institutions	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Common Market Law Review</i>	‘A legal-institutional perspective on the European External Action Service’	Van Vooren, Bart	48, no. 2 (2011): 502	Institutions	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>European Foreign Affairs Review</i>	‘The Lisbon Treaty and the Foreign, Security and Defence Policy: Reforms, Implementation and the Consequences of non-Ratification’	Whitman, Richard and Ana Juncos	14, no. 1 (2009): 25–46	Institutions	<a href="#">Paywall</a>

## (b) Theories

Theories are helpful tools to simplify and understand better the complex realities of policy-making in EU foreign, security, and defence affairs. All strands of Political Science and International Relations theories have developed important insights in this area, including the different variants of realism, liberal institutionalism, and constructivism. Likewise, the study of European integration has informed the development of the general Political Science and International Relations theories. The introductory article to a recent special issue in the *Journal of Common Market Studies* and the textbook chapters in the key readings offer useful overviews of the current state of the theoretical debate. Key debates include, but are not limited to, issues of ‘power’ and how they influence the cooperation between EU member states, e.g. in the form of ‘soft balancing’ against the United States (Posen 2006); the role of ‘institutions’ in the policy-making process; and the development and influence of informal norms and rules.<sup>1</sup> Interestingly, many theory-based studies focus on the three largest EU member states, the so-called ‘big 3’ (Germany, France, and the United Kingdom). This includes not only realist studies (Jones 2007), but also constructivist (Wagnsson 2010) and institutionalist analyses (Mérand et al. 2011). The focus on the ‘big 3’ allows to distil the concrete roles that the UK plays in European foreign, security, and defence policy, which – in turn – is useful to reflect upon the UK’s roles after Brexit.

### KEY reading

Publication	Title	Author(s)	Details	Theme	Access
<i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i>	‘Security Co-operation beyond the Nation-State: The EU’s Common Security and Defence Policy’	Bickerton, Chris J., Bastien Irondelle, and Anand Menon	49, no. 1 (2011): 1-21	Policy-making	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Policy-Making in the European Union</i> (Ed. Helen Wallace, Mark A. Pollack and Alasdair R. Young)	‘Foreign and Security Policy: Civilian Power Europe and American Leadership’	Giegerich, Bastian	Oxford: Oxford University Press (7 <sup>th</sup> edition, 2015): 436-463	Policy-making	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>The Oxford Handbook of the European Union</i>	‘Defense Policy’	Menon, Anand	Oxford: Oxford University Press (2012): 585-599	Policy-making	<a href="#">Paywall</a>

<sup>1</sup> The debate about a European strategic culture has been included in the section on strategy.

(Eds. Erik Jones,  
Anand Menon and  
Stephen Weatherill)

### **Further reading**

<b>Publication</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Details</b>	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Access</b>
<i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i>	‘Towards a Social Theory of EU Foreign and Security Policy’	Bickerton, Chris J.	49, no. 1 (2011): 171–190	Institutions	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
Edited volume	<i>International Relations Theory and European Security: We Thought We Knew</i>	Cladi, Lorenzo and Andrea Locatelli (eds.)	Abingdon: Routledge (2016)	Policy-making	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
Monograph	<i>Policy-Making in EU Security and Defense: An Institutional Perspective</i>	Dijkstra, Hylke	Basingstoke: Palgrave (2013)	Policy-making	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i>	‘European Defence and the Changing Politics of the European Union: Hanging Together or Hanging Separately?’	Howorth, Jolyon	39, no. 4 (2001): 765–789	Institutions	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
Monograph	<i>Security and Defence Policy in the European Union</i>	Howorth, Jolyon	Basingstoke: Palgrave	Institutions	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Journal of Conflict Resolution</i>	‘Still Not Pushing Back Why the European Union Is Not Balancing the United States’	Howorth, Jolyon and Anand Menon	53 issue: 5, page(s): 727-744	ESDP	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
Monograph	<i>The Rise of European Security Cooperation</i>	Jones, Seth G.	Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2007)	Realism	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i>	‘Manufacturing <i>Esprit de Corps</i> : The Case of the European External Action Service’	Juncos, Ana E. and Karolina Pomorska	52, no. 2 (2014): 302–319	Norms and ideas	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
Edited volume	<i>The Foreign Policies of European</i>	Manners, Ian and	Manchester:	Member	<a href="#">Paywall</a>

	<i>Union Member States</i>	Richard Whitman (eds.)	Manchester University Press (2001)	states	
<i>International Affairs</i>	‘Empowering Paradise? The ESDP at ten’	Menon, Anand	85, no. 2 (2009): 227-246	Institutions	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i>	‘Power, Institutions and the CSDP: The Promise of Institutional Theory’	Menon, Anand	49, no. 1 (2011): 83-100	Institutions	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i>	‘Governance and state power: a network analysis of European security’	Mérand Frédéric, Stéphanie C. Hofmann and Bastien Irondelle	49, no. 1 (2011): 121-147	Governance	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
Monograph	<i>European Defence Policy: Beyond the Nation State</i>	Mérand, Frédéric	Oxford: Oxford University Press (2008)	Institutions	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i>	‘Solidifying Constructivism: How Material and Ideational Factors Interact in European Defence’	Meyer, Christoph O. and Eva Strickmann	49, no. 1 (2011): 61-81	Norms and ideas	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>European Foreign Affairs Review</i>	‘Institutionalization or Intergovernmental Decision-Taking in Foreign Policy: The Implementation of the Lisbon Treaty’	Morillas, Pol	16, no. 2 (2011): 243-257	Institutions	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i>	‘Beyond Intergovernmentalism: European Security and Defence Policy and the Governance Approach’	Norheim-Martinsen, Per M.	48, no. 5 (2010): 1351-1365	Governance	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Security Studies</i>	‘European Defense and Security Policy: Response to Unipolarity?’	Posen, Barry R.	15, no. 2 (2006): 149-186	Competition	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i>	‘Realism and the Common Security and Defence Policy’	Rynning, Sten	49, no. 1 (2011): 23-42	Realism	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
Monograph	<i>Europe’s Foreign and Security Policy: The Institutionalization of</i>	Smith, Michael E.	Cambridge: Cambridge	Institutions	<a href="#">Paywall</a>

	<i>Cooperation</i>		University Press (2004)		
<i>Journal of European Public Policy</i>	‘The European External Action Service and agenda-setting in European foreign policy’	Sophie Vanhoonacker and Karolina Pomorska	20, no. 9 (2013): 1316-1331	Institutions	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Security Dialogue</i>	‘The Consensus-Expectations Gap: Explaining Europe’s Ineffective Foreign Policy’	Toje, Asle	39, no. 1 (2008): 121-141	Institutions	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>Journal of European Public Policy</i>	‘Divided power Europe: normative divergences among the EU “Big Three”’	Wagnsson, Charlotte	17, no. 8 (2010): 1089-1105	Norms and ideas	<a href="#">Paywall</a>

**(c) *The UK and informal groups of states in European foreign and security policy***

Since the inception of European foreign, security, and defence policies in the late 1970s, informal arrangements have played a central role in the development of these policies. Due to their sensitive nature, EU member states have often avoided the restrictions of legally binding rules and the rigidity of formal institutions by cooperating outside the established EU structures. Precedents include the leadership role of so-called core groups of a small number of EU member states or the division of labour that has developed in certain issue areas between EU member states. One of the most well-know and arguably most successful example of informal cooperation are the E3 negotiations with Iran on its nuclear programme. Once the UK leaves the formal structures of the EU after Brexit, informal cooperation between the UK and the remaining EU member states will be crucial to maintain foreign, security, and defence cooperation in Europe. The literature listed below helps to understand to what extent informal arrangements might useful post-Brexit and how they could work in practice.

***KEY reading***

<b>Publication</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Details</b>	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Access</b>
<i>Journal of European Public Policy</i>	‘Informal division of labour in EU foreign policy-making’	Delreux, Tom and Stephan Keukeleire	28 Sep. (2016)	Informal arrangements	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>International Politics</i>	‘Squaring the Circle? Leadership and Legitimacy	Giegerich, Bastian, and Eva	43.4 (2006): 500-509	Informal arrangements	<a href="#">Paywall</a>

	in European Security and Defence Cooperation’	Gross			
<i>Informal Governance in the European Union</i> (Ed. Thomas Christiansen and Christine Neuhold)	‘Informal governance and networks in EU foreign policy’	Justaert, Arnout and Stephan Keukeleire	Cheltenham: Edgar Elgar (2004): 433-456	Informal arrangements	<a href="#">Paywall</a>

### ***Further reading***

<b>Publication</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Details</b>	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Access</b>
<i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i>	‘The Quint: Acknowledging the Existence of a Big Four -US Directoire at the Heart of the European Union’s Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process’	Gegout, Catherine	40, no. 2 (2002): 331-344	Informal arrangements	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>CFSP Forum</i>	‘The Directoire and the Problem of a Coherent EU Foreign Policy Fornet’	Hill, Christopher	4, no. 6 (2006): 1-4.	Informal arrangements	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>International Affairs</i>	‘Leadership coalitions and change: the role of states in the European Union’	Janning, Josef	81, no. 4 (2005): 821-833	Informal arrangements	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>European Foreign Affairs Review</i>	‘Directorates in the CFSP/CESDP of the European Union: A Plea for Restricted Crisis Management Groups’	Keukeleire, Stephan	6, no. 1 (2001): 75–101	Informal arrangements	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>CEPS Working Document</i>	‘EU Core Groups Specialisation and Division of Labour in EU Foreign Policy’	Keukeleire, Stephan	252 (2006)	Informal arrangements	<a href="#">Open</a>

<i>Journal of European Public Policy</i>	'Informal Governance in the European Union'	Kleine, Mareike	21, no. 2 (2014): 303-314	Informal arrangements	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
Edited volume	<i>On Cores and Coalitions in the European Union; The Position of Some Smaller Member States</i>	Pijpers, Alfred (ed.)	The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations (2000)	Informal arrangements	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>European Union Institute for Security Studies, Occasional Paper</i>	'The Contact Group and its impact on the European institutional structure'	Schwegmann, Christoph	16 (2000)	Informal arrangements	<a href="#">Open</a>



## V. EU-NATO Coordination

Due to its self-perception as a ‘transatlantic bridge’, the UK has traditionally been one of the staunchest supporters of a close relationship with NATO while other member states sought to push the EU towards the primary place in providing military security in Europe. Brexit hence raises questions about the future development of the EU-NATO relationship and about the extent to which the latter will be characterized by coordination, cooperation or competition. This section provides an overview of the relevant literature in four areas which are paramount to the understanding of the relations between the EU and NATO:

- a) Literature on the harmonization of ESDP and NATO policies;
- b) Literature on the competition between ESDP and NATO structures;
- c) The literature on institutional deadlocks and problems in EU-NATO relations;
- d) The literature on current and past national policies of European countries regarding EU-NATO relations, including Turkey and Norway.

For each of these areas, this overview will highlight three key readings which are complemented by a list of further readings.

### ***(a) Academic literature on the harmonization of ESDP and NATO policies***

The formative phases of post-Cold War ESDP and NATO strategies were characterised by an enlargement of institutional bodies and by an increasing convergence with respect to their respective aims and scope. In the new millennium, terrorist attacks and the financial crisis further contributed to greater cooperation between the two institutions. Much of the scholarly literature has therefore underlined successes in the cooperation between NATO and EU institutions within the ESDP framework.

### KEY reading

Publication	Title	Author(s)	Details	Theme	Access
<i>European Security</i>	'The EU, NATO and Europeanisation: The Return of the Architectural Debate'	Croft, Stuart	9, no.3 (2000): 1-20	Harmonisation	<a href="#">Open</a>
Monograph	<i>The EU-NATO Relationship: A legal and political perspective</i>	Reichard, Martin	Abingdon: Routledge (2006)	Harmonisation	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Journal of Transatlantic Studies</i>	'NATO and EU in conflict regulation: interlocking institutions and division of labour'	Schleich, Caja	12, no. 2 (2014): 182-205	Harmonisation	<a href="#">Paywall</a>

### Further reading

Publication	Title	Author(s)	Details	Theme	Access
<i>The International Spectator</i>	'The Reform of ESDP and EU-NATO co-operation'	De Wijk, Rob	39, no.1 (2004): 71-82	Harmonisation	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
Clingendael Report	<i>New Threats, New EU and NATO Responses</i>	Drent, Margriet, Rob Hendriks and Dick Zandee	The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael (July 2015)	Harmonisation	<a href="#">Open</a>
RAND Monograph Reports	<i>European Security and Defense Policy: NATO's Companion or Competitor?</i>	Hunter, Robert E.	Santa Monica: RAND Corporation (2002)	Harmonisation	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>European Security and Defence Policies: The first</i>	'ESDP and NATO'	Keohane, Daniel	Paris: European Union Institute for Security Studies	Harmonisation	<a href="#">Open</a>

<i>ten years (1999-2009)</i> (Eds. Giovanni Grevi, Damien Helly and Daniel Keohane)			(2009): 127-138		
<i>The International Spectator</i>	‘The growing EU-NATO relationship: Beyond Berlin’	Messervy-Whiting, Graham	40 (2005), 63-73	Harmonisation	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
Monograph	<i>The EU, NATO and the Integration of Europe: Rules and Rhetoric</i>	Schimmelfennig, Frank	Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2004)	Harmonisation	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
Thesis	<i>The European Union and NATO: Beyond Berlin Plus: The institutionalization of informal cooperation</i>	Smith, Simon J.	Loughborough: Loughborough University (2013)	Harmonisation	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>European Union Institute for Security Studies, Occasional Paper</i>	‘The EU, NATO and European defense – a slow train coming’	Toje, Asle	74 (2008)	Harmonisation	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>European Security</i>	‘EU-NATO Relations: How Close to “Strategic Partnership”?’	Touzovskaia, Natalia	15, no. 3 (2006): 235-258	Harmonisation	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Contemporary Security Policy</i>	‘NATO, the EU, and ESDP: an emerging division of labour?’	Whitman, Richard G.	25, no. 3 (2004): 430-451	Harmonisation	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Contemporary Security Policy</i>	‘Overlap or Opposition? EU and NATO's Strategic (Sub-) Culture’	Zyla, Benjamin	32, no. 3 (2011): 667-687	Harmonisation	<a href="#">Paywall</a>

**(b) Academic literature on the competition between ESDP and NATO structures**

Despite the cooperation and coordination that exist between the EU and NATO, some authors see the relationship between the two mainly in terms of competition, stressing that ESDP and NATO cover the same political areas and compete for political space, influence and resources.

**KEY reading**

<b>Publication</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Details</b>	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Access</b>
<i>Politique Etrangère</i>	‘NATO and ESDP: Institutional Complexities and Political Realities’	Howorth, Jolyon	no. 5 (2009): 95-106	Competition	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>European Union’s Emerging International Identity: Views from the Global Arena</i> (Eds. Jan-Jaap Kuipers and Henri de Waele)	‘Arma fero, ergo sum? The European Union, NATO and the Quest for ‘European Identity’	Larik, Joris	Leiden Studies in EU External Relations Vol. 6 (2013): 43-71	Competition	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i>	‘The EU and NATO: Two Competing Models for a Common Defence Policy’	Ojanen, Hanna	44, no. 1 (2006): 57-76	Competition	<a href="#">Paywall</a>

**Further reading**

<b>Publication</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Details</b>	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Access</b>
Egmont Paper 111	<i>NATO, ESDP, and the Riga Summit: No transformation without re-equilibration</i>	Biscop, Sven	Gent: Academia Press (2006)	Competition	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>Perspectives on Politics</i>	‘Overlapping Institutions in the Realm of International Security: The Case of NATO and ESDP’	Hofmann, Stephanie C.	7, no. 1 (2009): 45-52	Competition	<a href="#">Paywall</a>

<i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i>	'Why Institutional Overlap Matters: CSDP in the European Security Architecture'	Hofmann, Stephanie C.	49, no 1 (2011): 101–120	Competition	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
Security & Defense Agenda Discussion Paper	<i>Revisiting NATO-ESDP relations</i>	Giles Merritt (ed.)	Brussels: Security & Defence Agenda (2008)	Competition	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>Journal of Conflict Resolution</i>	'Still Not Pushing Back Why the European Union Is Not Balancing the United States'	Howorth, Jolyon and Anand Menon	53 issue: 5, page(s): 727-744	ESDP	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Journal of European Integration</i>	'EU foreign policy: No major breakthrough despite multiple crises'	Müller, Patrick	38, no. 2 (2016): 359-374	ESDP	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Security Studies</i>	'European Defense and Security Policy: Response to Unipolarity?'	Posen, Barry R.	15, no. 2 (2006): 149-186	Competition	<a href="#">Open</a>

**(c) Academic literature on institutional deadlocks and problems in EU-NATO relations**

Most authors agree that the relation of the EU and NATO faces serious problems that potentially range from a lack of innovation to insoluble geopolitical and resource conflicts. The following list gives an overview of academic papers that are concerned with this topic.

**KEY reading**

<b>Publication</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Details</b>	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Access</b>
<i>Journal of European Integration</i>	The Future of EU–NATO Relations: A Case of Mutual Irrelevance Through Competition?	Duke, Simon	30, no. 1 (2008): 27-43	Coordination problems	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
Monograph	<i>Geopolitical Change, Grand Strategy and European Security: The EU-NATO Conundrum</i>	Simón, Luis	Basingstoke: Palgrave (2014)	Coordination problems	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
Monograph	<i>NATO, the European Union, and the Atlantic Community: The</i>	Sloan, Stanley R.	Lanham, MD: Rowman and	Coordination problems	<a href="#">Paywall</a>

	<i>Transatlantic Bargain Challenged</i>		Littlefield (2005)		
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### **Further reading**

<b>Publication</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Details</b>	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Access</b>
<i>Journal of European Integration</i>	'The EU's Performance with and within NATO: Assessing Objectives, Outcomes and Organisational Practices'	Græger, Nina and Kristin M. Haugevik	33, no. 6 (2011): 743-757	Coordination problems	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>Cooperation and Conflict</i>	'ESDP and NATO: Wedlock or Deadlock?'	Howorth, Jolyon	38, no. 3 (2003): 235-254	Coordination problems	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
Edited volume	<i>Defending Europe: The EU, NATO, and the Quest for European Autonomy</i>	Howorth, Jolyon and Keeler, John T.S. (eds.)	New York: Palgrave (2003)	Coordination problems	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Journal of European Integration</i>	'EU-NATO cooperation: A case of institutional fatigue?'	Smith, S.J.	30, no. 1 (2008): 243-264	Coordination problems	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Contemporary Security Policy</i>	'Capabilities Gaps and Traps: Symptom or Cause of a Troubled Trans-Atlantic Relationship?'	Sperling, James	25, no.3 (2004): 457-58	Coordination problems	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>The Federalist</i>	'Slippery Slope: The Need to Reverse the Re-Atlantisation of European Defence'	Vincze, Hajnalka	Single Issue (Year LV, 2013): 103-125	Coordination problems	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>Journal of Contemporary European Research</i>	'The EU-NATO Syndrome: Spotlight on Transatlantic Realities'	Vincze, Hajnalka	3, no. 2 (2007):	Coordination problems	<a href="#">Open</a>
Edited volume	<i>Friends reunited? EU-US relations after the crisis</i>	Zaborowski, Marcin (ed.)	Paris: European Union Institute for Security Studies (2006)	Coordination problems	<a href="#">Open</a>

**(d) Academic literature on national policies regarding NATO relations**

Most of the features of both NATO and ESDP can be explained with reference to the national strategies of European countries and the respective importance they ascribe to their membership in NATO. This section provides an overview of key EU member states (France, Germany, and Great Britain) as well as Turkey and Norway. In light of Brexit, the general reluctance of French and German policy-makers to engage in transatlantic security politics in the past as well as the British endorsement of NATO activities are especially noteworthy. Turkey and Norway are relevant as examples of non-EU NATO member states – a status that will also apply to the United Kingdom after leaving the EU.

**KEY reading**

<b>Journal</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Details</b>	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Access</b>
Monograph	<i>European Security in NATO's Shadow: Party Ideologies and Institution Building</i>	Hofmann, Stephanie C.	Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2013)	European Parties	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Journal of Transatlantic Studies</i>	'The Euro-Atlantic Security Dilemma: France, Britain and the ESDP'	Howorth, Jolyon	3, no. 1 (2005): 39-54	France; UK	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>European Foreign Policy in an Evolving International System</i> (Eds. Nicola Casarini and Constanza Musu)	'European Positions and American Responses: ESDP-NATO Compatibility'	Giegerich, Bastian	Basingstoke: Palgrave (2007): 43-56	UK; France; Germany; USA	<a href="#">Paywall</a>

**Further reading**

<b>Journal</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Details</b>	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Access</b>
<i>The RUSI Journal</i>	'France and NATO after the Cold War: Old French problem – or new transatlantic debate?'	Andréani, Gilles	144, no. 1 (1999): 20-24	France	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Security Studies</i>	'From NATO to ESDP: A social	Berenskoetter,	19, no. 3	Germany	<a href="#">Paywall</a>

	constructivist analysis of German strategic adjustment after the end of the Cold War'	Felix and Bastian Giegerich	(2010): 407-452		
<i>Security Dialogue</i>	'The Peculiarity of Turkey's Position in EU/NATO Military/Security Cooperation: A Rejoinder to Missiroli'	Bilgin, Pinar	34, no. 3 (2003): 345-349	Turkey	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>International Affairs</i>	'The UK and European Defence Policy: Leading or Leaving?'	Biscop, Sven	88, no. 6 (2012): 1297-1313	UK	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
Edited volume	<i>EU Enlargement and the Transatlantic Alliance: A Security Relationship in Flux</i>	Biscop, Sven and Lembke, Johan (eds.)	Boulder: Lynne Rienner (2008)	Eastern European Countries	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>PRIO Policy Brief</i>	'International Collaboration on Societal Security: NATO, the EU, the UN and Norway'	Burgess, J. Peter and Naima Mouhle	2 (2008)	Norway	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>Defence Studies</i>	'European Security and Defence Policy in the American Security Policy Debate: Counterbalancing America or Rebalancing NATO?'	Dunn, David H.	1, no. 1 (Spring, 2001): 146-155	National Strategies: USA	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Cambridge Review of International Affairs</i>	'Norway between NATO, the EU, and the US: A Case Study of Post-Cold War Security and Defence Discourse'	Græger, Nina	18, no.1 (2005): 85-103	Norway	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Survival</i>	'France, Britain and the Euro-Atlantic Crisis'	Howorth, Jolyon	45 (2003): 173-192	France; UK	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>European Security</i>	'Prodigal Son or Trojan Horse: What's in it for France?'	Howorth, Jolyon	19, no. 1 (2010), 11-28	France	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>European Security</i>	'France's return to NATO: the death knell for ESDP?'	Irondelle, Bastien and Frédéric Mérand	19, no. 1 (2010): 29-43	France	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>European Union</i>	'Franco-British military	Jones, Ben	88 (2011)	France; UK	<a href="#">Open</a>



<i>Institute for Security Studies, Occasional Paper</i>	cooperation: A new engine for European defence?’				
<i>Security Dialogue</i>	‘EU-NATO Cooperation in Crisis Management: No Turkish Delight for ESDP’	Missiroli, Antonio	33, no. 1 (2002): 9-26	Turkey	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>European Security</i>	‘France’s “return” to NATO: implications for transatlantic relations’	Pesme, Frédéric	19, no. 1 (2010): 1-10	France	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Southeast European Politics</i>	‘New Capabilities, Old Relationships: Emergent ESDP and EU-Turkish Relations’	Terzi, Özlem	3, no. 1 (2002): 43-61	Turkey	<a href="#">Open</a>

## VI. Brexit Research

Before and after the referendum on Britain’s membership in the European Union, publications on the consequences of Brexit have mushroomed in a wide variety of media outlets. This section lists a selection of the most thoughtful research publications that address the foreign, security & defence implications of Britain leaving the EU. It focuses on academic journals, dedicated websites by think tanks, and relevant blogs.

### (a) Academic Journals

The relevant European journals in security & defence have already published a number of research articles by respected scholars and practitioners in the field. The articles cover a wide variety of themes and are generally sceptical about the positive impact of Brexit.

Journal	Title	Author(s)	Details	Theme	Access
<i>British Journal of Politics and International Relations</i>	‘UK diplomacy at the UN after Brexit: Challenges and Opportunities’	Dee, Megan and Karen E. Smith	19, no. 3 (August 2017): 527-542	British strategy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>British Journal of Politics and International Relations</i>	‘America, Brexit and the security of Europe’	Rees, Wyn	19, no. 3 (August 2017): 558-572	Transatlantic relations	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>British Journal of Politics and International Relations</i>	‘Brexit, Trump and the special relationship’	Wilson, Graham K.	19, no. 3 (August 2017): 543-557	Transatlantic relations	<a href="#">Paywall</a>

<i>Contemporary Security Policy</i>	'All or nothing? The EU Global Strategy and defence policy after the Brexit'	Biscop, Sven	37, no. 3 (Oct. 2016): 431-445	Defence cooperation	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>E-International Relations</i>	Brexit: Global Perspectives	Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, Mette (ed.)	3 January 2017	Defence cooperation	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>Foreign Policy</i>	'Europe Is Still a Superpower'	Moravcsik, Andrew	13 April 2017	Wider implications	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>Global Affairs</i>	'European security and defence in the shadow of Brexit'	Kienzle, Benjamin and Ellen Hallams	2, no. 5 (2016): 465-469	Wider implications	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>Global Affairs</i>	'The UK, the European Union and NATO: Brexit's unintended consequences'	Dunn, David Hastings and Mark Webber	2, no. 5 (2016): 471-480	Transatlantic relations	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>Global Affairs</i>	'The Anglo-French defence partnership after the "Brexit" vote: new incentives and new dilemmas'	Pannier, Alice	2, no. 5 (2016): 481-490	Anglo-French relations	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>Global Affairs</i>	'Contingent choices: the future of United Kingdom defence procurement and defence industries in the post-Brexit era'	Uttley, Matthew R.H. and Benedict Wilkinson	2, no. 5 (2016): 491-502	Defence procurement	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>Global Affairs</i>	'UK–Russia relations and the Brexit debate: advancing integration or mutual mistrust?'	German, Tracey	2, no. 5 (2016): 503-511	UK-Russia relations	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>Global Affairs</i>	'German leadership between change and continuity: reflections on the possible effects of "Brexit"'	Weitershausen, Inez von	2, no. 5 (2016): 513-520	Anglo-German relations	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>Global Affairs</i>	'Epilogue: European security and defence in the shadow of Brexit'	Whitman, Richard G.	2, no. 5 (2016): 521-525	Wider implications	<a href="#">Open</a>

<i>Global Society</i>	‘Europe’s British Question: The UK–EU Relationship in a Changing Europe and Multipolar World’	Oliver, Tim	29, no. 3 (2015):	UK-EU relations	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>International Affairs</i>	‘Special relationships in flux: Brexit and the future of the US–EU and US–UK relationships’	Oliver, Tim and Michael John Williams	92, no. 3 (May 2016): 509–529	Transatlantic relations	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>International Affairs</i>	‘A spin of the wheel? Defence procurement and defence industries in the Brexit debates’	Uttley, Matthew R. H. and Benedict Wilkinson	92, no. 3 (May 2016): 569–586	Defence procurement	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>International Affairs</i>	‘Brexit or Bremain: What Future for the UK’s European Diplomatic Strategy?’	Whitman, Richard G.	92, no. 3 (May 2016): 509–529	British strategy	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>International Politics</i>	‘Britain and the world after Brexit’	Blagden, David	54, no. 1 (January 2017): 1–25	British strategy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>International Politics</i>	Special Issue ‘Europe and the world: Rethinking Europe’s external relations in an age of global turmoil’	Falkner, Robert and Helmut Anheier (eds)	54, no. 4 (2017): 389–532	Wider implications	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>International Politics</i>	‘The world after Brexit: From British referendum to global adventure’	Oliver, Tim	53, no. 6 (November 2016): 689–707	UK-EU relations	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Journal of European Public Policy</i>	‘European and international views of Brexit’	Oliver, Tim	(April 2016): 1–8	Outside perspective	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>National Institute Economic Review</i>	‘The UK and EU foreign, security and defence policy after Brexit: integrated, associated or detached?’	Whitman, Richard	238 (Nov. 2016)	UK-EU relations	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>Survival</i>	‘Brexit and the Law of Unintended Consequences’	Freedman, Lawrence	58, no. 3 (May 2016): 7–12	Wider implications	<a href="#">Open</a>

<i>Survival</i>	‘Brexit and European Security’	Heisbourg, François	58, no. 3 (May 2016): 13–22	Implications for Britain	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Survival</i>	‘Brexit, Intelligence and Terrorism’	Inkster, Nigel	58, no. 3 (May 2016): 23–30	Intelligence cooperation	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>Survival</i>	‘Brexit: What Have We Learned So Far?’	Besch, Sophia and James Black	58, no. 5 (Sep. 2016): 59-67	Wider implications	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>RUSI Newsbrief</i>	‘UK and EU Foreign Policy Cooperation after Brexit’	Dijkstra, Hylke	36, no. 5 (Sep. 2016)	UK-EU relations	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>The Political Quarterly</i>	‘The UK and EU Foreign and Security Policy: An Optional Extra’	Whitman, Richard G.	87, no. 2 (2016): 254–261	Implications for Britain	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>The RUSI Journal</i>	“‘Who Only England Know’”	Coker, Christopher	161, no. 3 (May 2016): 10–12	Wider implications	<a href="#">Open</a>
<i>The RUSI Journal</i>	‘Britain and the Origins and Future of the European Defence and Security Mechanism’	Heuser, Beatrice	162, no. 2 (2017): 16-23	Defence Cooperation	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>The RUSI Journal</i>	‘Britain, the European Union and the Future of Europe: A Geostrategic Perspective’	Simón, Luis	160, no. 5 (3 September 2015): 16–23	Geostrategy	<a href="#">Paywall</a>
<i>The RUSI Journal</i>	‘European Defence: An Open Goal for Britain’	Witney, Nick	160, no. 5 (3 September 2015): 12–15	Defence cooperation	<a href="#">Paywall</a>

**(b) Think Tanks**

The leading British think tanks on both security & defence and EU affairs maintain specific websites on Brexit. The websites provide direct access to the think tanks’ publications on the security & defence implications of Brexit.

<b>Think Tank</b>	<b>Brexit Website</b>
<i>Centre for European Reform</i>	<a href="http://cer.org.uk/research-topics/foreign-policy-defence">http://cer.org.uk/research-topics/foreign-policy-defence</a>
<i>Chatham House</i>	<a href="https://www.chathamhouse.org/research/regions/europe/uk/after-brexit-britain-future">https://www.chathamhouse.org/research/regions/europe/uk/after-brexit-britain-future</a>
<i>European Council on Foreign Relations</i>	<a href="http://www.ecfr.eu/debate/responses_to_the_british_referendum">http://www.ecfr.eu/debate/responses_to_the_british_referendum</a>
<i>Royal United Service Institute</i>	<a href="https://rusi.org/BrexitBriefings">https://rusi.org/BrexitBriefings</a>
<i>The UK in a Changing Europe Initiative</i>	<a href="http://ukandeu.ac.uk/theme/security-and-defence/">http://ukandeu.ac.uk/theme/security-and-defence/</a>

From each think tank website, the Brexit Reader editors have selected a couple key publications to watch out for. They cover a wide array of themes and offer different levels of depth and breadth in their analyses.

<b>Think Tank</b>	<b>Publication</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Brexit Theme</b>
<i>Centre for European Reform</i>	<a href="#">Brexit and foreign policy: Divorce?</a>	Bond, Ian	18 July 2016	Wider implications
<i>Centre for European Reform</i>	<a href="#">Security of supply in EU defence: Friends in need?</a>	Besch, Sophia	17 August 2016	Defence procurement
<i>Chatham House</i>	<a href="#">Britain’s Military Standing Would Not Suffer After Brexit</a>	Menon, Anand	27 April 2016	Defence cooperation
<i>Chatham House</i>	<a href="#">Britain, Europe and the World: Rethinking the UK’s Circles of Influence</a>	Niblett, Robin	19 October 2015	Implications for Britain
<i>Chatham House</i>	<a href="#">The EU’s Crisis of Governance and European Foreign Policy</a>	Chryssogelos, Angelos	November 2016	EU decision-making
<i>CIDOB Barcelona Centre for International Affairs</i>	<a href="#">The Brexit Scenarios: Towards a New UK-EU Relationship</a>	Morillas, Pol (ed.)	June 2016	UK-EU relations

<i>Centre for Security Studies, ETH Zurich</i>	<a href="#">Strategic Trends 2017: Key Developments in Global Affairs (Chapter 3)</a>	Keohane, Daniel	3 March 2017	Defence cooperation
<i>Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik</i>	<a href="#">The United Kingdom and the European Union: What would a “Brexit” mean for the EU and other States around the World?</a>	Möller, Almut and Tim Oliver (eds.)	September 2014	Outside perspective
<i>European Council on Foreign Relations</i>	<a href="#">Brexit: The foreign policy implications</a>	Leonard, Mark	24 June 2016	Wider implications
<i>European Council on Foreign Relations</i>	<a href="#">Brexit and defence: Time to dust off the ‘letter of intent’?</a>	Witney, Nick	14 July 2016	Defence cooperation
<i>European Leadership Network</i>	<a href="#">The UK, France and the Challenge of Brexit to European Security</a>	Dobbs, Joseph	December 2016	Defence cooperation
<i>European Leadership Network</i>	<a href="#">Don’t assume CSDP will flourish without the UK</a>	Menon, Anand	14 November 2016	Defence cooperation
<i>European Leadership Network</i>	<a href="#">European Defence: Do not confuse speed with haste</a>	Pertusot, Vivien	27 October 2016	Defence cooperation
<i>ISIS Europe and NATO Watch</i>	<a href="#">The Consequences of a British Exit from the EU and CSDP: An Analytical Timeline</a>	Worré, Philip	January 2013	Defence cooperation
<i>LSE IDEAS</i>	<a href="#">The 14 Brexit Negotiations</a>	Hammond, Andrew and Tim Oliver	March 2017	UK-EU relations
<i>LSE IDEAS</i>	<a href="#">A European Union without the United Kingdom: The Geopolitics of a British Exit from the EU</a>	Oliver, Tim	June 2016	UK-EU relations
<i>LSE IDEAS</i>	<a href="#">Brexit: What Happens Next?</a>	Oliver, Tim	June 2016	UK-EU relations
<i>Quilliam Foundation</i>	<a href="#">The EU and Terrorism: Is Britain Safer In or Out?</a>	Nawaz, Maajid and Julia Ebner	30 May 2016	Terrorism
<i>RAND Europe</i>	<a href="#">Defence and Security after Brexit</a>	Hall, Alexandra and James Black	5 March 2017	Defence cooperation

<i>Royal United Service Institute</i>	<a href="#">Brexit Decision: The UK Needs to Become the EU's New Best Friend</a>	Chalmers, Malcolm	24 June 2016	Wider implications
<i>Royal United Service Institute</i>	<a href="#">UK Foreign and Security Policy after Brexit</a>	Chalmers, Malcolm	January 2017	Defence cooperation
<i>Royal United Service Institute</i>	<a href="#">An EU HQ? Let Them At It</a>	Keohane, Daniel	11 October 2016	Defence cooperation
<i>Royal United Service Institute and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung</i>	<a href="#">The consequences of Brexit for European security and defence</a>	Lain, Sarah and Veerle Nouwens	1 December 2016	Defence cooperation
<i>Royal United Service Institute and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung</i>	<a href="#">The Future of Post-Brexit: Germany–UK Security Relations</a>	Lain, Sarah	September 2016	Bilateral relations
<i>Royal United Service Institute</i>	<a href="#">The Ministry of Defence's Post-Brexit Spending Power: Assumptions, Numbers, Calculations and Implications</a>	Taylor, Trevor	12 August 2016	Defence procurement
<i>SWP German Institute for International and Security Affairs</i>	<a href="#">European Defence in View of Brexit</a>	Major, Claudia and Alicia von Voss	April 2017	Defence cooperation
<i>SWP German Institute for International and Security Affairs</i>	<a href="#">Europe without Britain Assessing the Impact on the European Union of a British Withdrawal</a>	Oliver, Tim	September 2013	UK-EU relations
<i>The Policy Institute at King's College London</i>	<a href="#">Can the UK retain global influence after Brexit? Policies and structures for a New Era</a>	Fraser, Simon	January 2017	British Strategy
<i>The UK in a Changing Europe Initiative</i>	<a href="#">Defence procurement: The forgotten battleground in the EU conflict</a>	Wilkinson, Ben and Matt Uttley	20 June	Defence procurement
<i>The UK in a Changing Europe Initiative</i>	<a href="#">Brexit: Six months on (chapter 9)</a>	Whitman, Richard	December 2016	Wider implications
<i>The UK in a Changing Europe Initiative</i>	<a href="#">EU's military forward march has been halted</a>	Whitman, Richard	20 May 2016	Defence cooperation



**(c) Blogs**

Although the Brexit Reader focuses on academic publications, a few relevant blogs have published a number of insightful entries by academic scholars.

<b>Blog</b>	<b>Publication</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Brexit Theme</b>
<i>Defence Matters</i>	<a href="#">Brexit: What now for Europe?</a>	Manea, Octavian (interview with Luis Simón)	20 & 22 July 2016	Defence cooperation
<i>European Geostrategy</i>	<a href="#">Brexit: Europe at a strategic crossroads?</a>	Rogers, James and Luis Simón	5 July 2016	Wider implications
<i>Judy Dempsey's Strategic Europe (Carnegie Europe)</i>	<a href="#">Judy asks: is Brexit good for NATO?</a>	Various	6 July 2016	Defence cooperation
<i>Judy Dempsey's Strategic Europe (Carnegie Europe)</i>	<a href="#">Revisiting EU Defense Is a Bad Idea</a>	Michta, Andrew A.	7 October 2016	Defence cooperation
<i>Judy Dempsey's Strategic Europe (Carnegie Europe)</i>	<a href="#">Why EU Defense Policy Is in the UK's Interest</a>	Keohane, Daniel	10 May 2016	Defence cooperation
<i>LSE Brexit</i>	<a href="#">UK security will both gain and suffer from Brexit. The EU will only lose</a>	Davies, Philip HJ	7 November 2016	Security cooperation
<i>The Conversation</i>	<a href="#">Explainer: does the EU need its own intelligence agency?</a>	Galbreath, David J.	6 May 2016	Intelligence cooperation
<i>The Conversation</i>	<a href="#">Is the EU anywhere near getting its own army?</a>	Galbreath, David J. and Simon J. Smith	25 May 2016	Defence cooperation
<i>The Conversation</i>	<a href="#">Why the EU is suddenly marching to a different drumbeat on defence</a>	Whitman, Richard	16 September 2016	Defence cooperation
<i>War on the Rocks</i>	<a href="#">Britain and the Fate of the Europe We Know</a>	Simón, Luis	24 October 2016	Wider implications

<i>War on the Rocks</i>	<a href="#"><u>Will Brexit Unravel the European Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy?</u></a>	Hillison, Joel	12 September 2016	Defence cooperation
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