"A TALE OF TWO CULTURES":

BREXIT AND THE FUTURE OF UK-EUROPEAN SECURITY COOPERATION

BY

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A THESIS PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF

THE SCHOOL OF ADVANCED AIR AND SPACE STUDIES

FOR COMPLETION OF GRADUATION REQUIREMENTS

SCHOOL OF ADVANCED AIR AND SPACE STUDIES

AIR UNIVERSITY

MAXWELL AIR FORCE BASE, ALABAMA

JUNE 2017

APPROVAL

The undersigned certify that this thesis meets master's-level standards of research, argumentation, and expression.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

ABSTRACT

This study is an analysis of the evolution of UK and European security cooperation since 1945 and a forecast of plausible future cooperation in the wake of Britain's withdrawal from the European Union. It considers a variety of theoretical approaches but focuses on developing a framework for strategic culture that is applied to the historical evolution of both European and UK security cooperation. From this foundation, the study engages in constructivist forecasting of plausible pathways of development for future UK-European security cooperation in the post-Brexit context.

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Introduction

A little over six months ago, the British people voted for change.
They voted to shape a brighter future for our country.
They voted to leave the European Union and embrace the world.

British Prime Minister Theresa May, 17 January 2017

On 23 June 2016, the people of the United Kingdom (UK) voted in a referendum by 52% to 48% to leave the European Union (EU). In early March 2017, the UK parliament confirmed this result by voting with clear majorities in both of its Houses for the European Union (Notification of Withdrawal) Bill; the Bill was passed by Parliament on 13 March and on 16 March, it received Royal Assent, becoming an Act of Parliament. In the British Prime Minister's 29 March letter to the European Council, the UK initiated the formal process of exit, or "Brexit" as it is popularly known, by triggering Article 50 of the Treaty on European Union and beginning a two-year negotiation period to reach a final agreed settlement with the remaining 27 nations of the EU bloc (EU27). The letter insisted that this was not a rejection of European values but an assertion of national self-determination; the UK was leaving the EU but not leaving Europe and "wants to remain committed partners and allies to our friends across the continent."[1] Withdrawal from the EU will have momentous strategic consequences for the UK. Although naturally the focus of attention has been on the economic fallout of the pending divorce, there are important implications for the future of UK and European security and defense cooperation.

This paper addresses these implications by conducting a cultural analysis of the historical development of UK-European security cooperation and a forecast of plausible pathways of future development. It seeks to provide some answers to the question: *how will British withdrawal from the European Union affect future UK-European security cooperation?* This introductory chapter will establish the ever-important context for the Brexit decision and provide the reader with an overview of the paper's structure. It will

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[1] See the British Prime Minister's letter to the European Council, 29 March 2017.
https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/prime-ministers-letter-to-donald-tusk-triggering-article-50

also consider some competing theoretical explanations for the nature of the European project before settling on the preferred approach to be taken herein.

Context

The UK's decision to leave the EU, taken by a clear but not overwhelming majority of voters, was an expression of a particular sense of national identity. Pew research data indicates that the EU has never been as popular in the UK as it has been among EU members; just 44% of UK respondents had a favorable view of the EU, compared with a median of 50% who hold a favorable opinion in five other EU nations surveyed by the Pew Research Center.[2] The polling data suggests that the vote to leave the EU reflects the desire of nearly two-thirds of the UK public to bring back some EU powers from Brussels to London; fully 65% of the British said before the referendum that they wanted some EU powers to be returned to their national government.[3] This polling data is in line with separate research conducted by the Lord Ashcroft Polls and captured in their book, *Well, You Did Ask - Why the UK Voted to Leave the EU*, that suggests

> Among leave voters, the biggest single reason for wanting to leave the EU was the principle that decisions about the UK should be taken in the UK. Nearly half (49 per cent) of all leave voters said this was the most important argument for Brexit…This point about sovereignty outweighed even the feeling that voting to leave the EU offered the best chance to regain control over immigration and its own borders, which was chosen as the main reason by one third of all leavers.[4]

Interestingly, the Ashcroft study found that the starkest differences between leave and remain voters was not in their demographic characteristics, albeit older voters in general voted to leave while younger voters elected to remain, but in their pre-existing "social attitudes and general view of the world."[5] Furthermore, and worryingly for the future of the UK, the Brexit vote exposed a rift in public opinion between Scotland and the rest of

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[2] "Brexit vote highlighted UK's discontent with EU, but other European countries are grumbling too." http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/06/24/brexit-vote-highlighted-uks-discontent-with-eu-but-other-european-countries-are-grumbling-too/

[3] "Brexit vote highlighted UK's discontent with EU, but other European countries are grumbling too." http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/06/24/brexit-vote-highlighted-uks-discontent-with-eu-but-other-european-countries-are-grumbling-too/

[4] Michael Ashcroft, *Well, You Did Ask.* (Biteback Publishing, 2016), 125

[5] Ashcroft, *Well, You Did Ask,* 127.

the United Kingdom. The Scottish voted to stay in the EU by an overwhelming margin of 62% to 38%, putting a new Scottish independence referendum on the table.[6] Enthusiasm for Brexit appears to be primarily an English rather than British phenomenon.

Voters who choose to leave the EU were twice as likely as to feel more English than British and were far more pessimistic about the future than those voters who elected to remain.[7] One crucially important observation from the Ashcroft polling and focus group data was that

> a sizable number of voters embraced Brexit even though they thought this might involve an economic cost. They placed more importance on other matters: reducing immigration and, above all, feeling that they – or at least the people they elected – had control over the things that affected their lives.[8]

Brexit was not motivated by the typical voter's desire to improve their material well-being, quite the opposite, it was an expression of identity in spite of rational self-interest. Despite the conventional wisdom of domestic politics, this time it *wasn't* the economy stupid!

Almost completely absent from the Brexit debate leading up to the referendum, and in most of the analysis of the consequences thereafter, has been the question of security and defense. Although the immigration issue proved highly salient in the minds of the Brexit voter, it was disassociated from any wider consideration of the EU's role in foreign policy and specifically Europe's ambition in the realm of security and defense and the UK's place within it. Furthermore, concerns about security were perceived by British voters primarily through the lens of identity. More specifically, questions concerning immigration and free movement of people were highly salient amongst the electorate, indicating a clear concern regarding Britain's place in the world and the question of national autonomy from EU decision-making.

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[6] "Brexit vote highlighted UK's discontent with EU, but other European countries are grumbling too." http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/06/24/brexit-vote-highlighted-uks-discontent-with-eu-but-other-european-countries-are-grumbling-too/
[7] Ashcroft, *Well, You Did Ask,* 127.
[8] Ashcroft, *Well, You Did Ask,* 129.

This paper will argue that the question of identity and the influence of culture is critical to understanding the British electorate's decision to turn their back on the institutions of Europe and the world's largest single market. Culture is also a vital component of the strategic preferences that have determined and will continue to shape the UK and EU's relationship.

The Argument

It is the contention of this paper that to understand the evolution of security cooperation within Europe, including the development of the EU's security and defense institutional architecture, it is necessary to examine strategic culture. The argument is developed in four parts. The remainder of this chapter will briefly consider alternative non-cultural explanations and predictions for UK-European security cooperation. Chapter 2 provides a rationale for the cultural approach and provides a framework of strategic culture to support the analysis.

Using this framework, Chapters 3 and 4 conduct a longitudinal analysis of EU and UK strategic culture respectively. This provides an explanation of the historical development of the EU as a strategic actor and the UK's crucial role in this process. To answer the research question of what UK-European security cooperation will look like following Brexit, this study conducts some prudent forecasting based on the analysis of strategic culture and the institutional framework within which such cooperation will occur.

Constructivist forecasting is performed in Chapter 5 using five scenarios of EU development as proposed for discussion by the European Commission's recent white paper on the future of Europe. Chapter 5 also includes a review of select historical and ongoing common security and defense policy (CSDP) operations and missions. This activity serves not only to validate the cultural analysis of Chapters 3 and 4, but more importantly provides a foundation of strategic behavior from which to build the forecast.

The paper is concluded at Chapter 6 which serves to examine this forecast in light of the Brexit process and provide some answers to the motivating question - how will Brexit influence future UK-European security cooperation? Before proceeding with the argument, however, it is necessary to review the alternative non-cultural explanations of international politics in the post-1945 European context.

A Tragedy of Great Power Politics?

The realist tradition, the oldest in international politics, is based on a pessimistic view of human nature and the tragic consequences of international anarchy on state behavior. As the realist scholar Kenneth Waltz has argued, "since everything is related to human nature, to explain anything one must consider more than human nature."[9] For the modern realist, to understand war and peace one must look beyond human nature and consider either the nature of states, the so-called "second image," or the international level of politics, the so-called "third image."[10] In its more modern form, neorealism has focused on this "third image," the systematic relationship between the states at the international level.

Neorealism has often been associated with balance of power theory, the idea that states will seek to preserve their security by dedicating resources to military capabilities and/or forming alliances with other states to balance against stronger ones. Cold War history has often been explained in terms of the bipolar configuration of power in the international system with Western Europe and the UK playing a subordinate but important role in supporting the US strategy of balancing or containing Soviet power. With the collapse of the Soviet threat to the West in 1991, neorealism has struggled to find an explanation for the development of international politics, in particular the behavior of European states that have acted to sustain rather than balance against US power.

Writing in 1990 and speculating on the possibility of an end to the Cold War, the neorealist scholar John Mearsheimer controversially argued that conflict would inevitably return to Europe as a consequence of a return to a multipolar configuration of power.[11] For Mearsheimer and other realists, it is the distribution and character of military power that are the underlying causes of war and peace. Mearsheimer's scenario envisaged the withdrawal of the two superpowers, the US included, leaving Europe to return to the tragic but unavoidable reality of power politics and inter-state rivalry. This scenario did not of course unfold as US forces have remained on the continent and the American

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[9] Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis* (Columbia University Press, 2001), 80.

[10] Waltz, *Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis*, 81.

[11] John Mearsheimer, "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe After the Cold War," *International Security* (1990), 36.

security guarantee through the NATO alliance has endured. Nevertheless, the realist argument deserves serious consideration for two reasons. Firstly, it is conceivable that in the future the US will retrench its commitment to Europe, perhaps in favor of not just a pivot but a large leap to Asia as a meant to balance growing Chinese power. Secondly, even if the US continues to guarantee European security, realism purports to provide an explanation for the underlying dynamics of international politics and; therefore, could provide insight into how the UK and EU perceive their fundamental security interests and their relationship with each other.

One key implication of the realist prediction for the future development of international politics in Europe is the proliferation of nuclear weapons. In the absence of a US security guarantee, Mearsheimer argues that non-nuclear European states would quickly move to acquire their own capabilities. Indeed, he argues, "given that Germany would have greater economic strength than Britain or France, it might therefore seek nuclear weapons to raise its military status to a level commensurate with its economic status."[12] Mearsheimer's prognosis is of a continent rife with military competition and arms racing. In the event that non-nuclear states like Germany were unwilling or unable to acquire nukes, the absence of the pacifying effects of these weapons would significantly increase the chances of conventional conflict. Mearsheimer's pessimistic prediction for a post-Cold War Europe has fortunately yet to be realized and has been hotly contested.

Anticipating his critics, Mearsheimer considered three optimistic alternatives to his dark and bloody forecast for the future of Europe. The first is based on the role of European institutions in creating economic interdependence that promotes peaceful relations. The second is the argument that for cultural reasons war has become obsolete in Europe. The third is that there has emerged a "perpetual peace" in Europe based on the spread of liberal democracy. Mearsheimer seeks to refute each alternative; his argument is discussed below.

In his rebuttal to the first alternative, Mearsheimer argues that European states will continue to have incentives to pursue armed conflict in order to preserve or expand their power. This is a consequence of his belief that the exigencies of structure in the

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[12] Mearsheimer, "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe After the Cold War," 36.

international system overwhelm any cultural proclivities that might mitigate against war. Modern Europe, however, does indeed have a post-modern political culture that has sought to move beyond power politics. This is a demonstrable reaction to the wars of the twentieth century. As will be argued in Chapter 3 and contrary to Mearsheimer's rebuttal, there is clear evidence that pacifism *has* influenced the development of the EU as a strategic actor and its use of military power. Conversely, in Chapter 4 it will be shown that a more positive norm regarding the use of force has developed within the British strategic cultural experience, which accounts for differences between the British and EU approach to international politics. In short, this paper will argue that culture matters a great deal in explaining the relations between European states.

Mearsheimer's objection to the institutional argument is that in an anarchic international political environment, states will always compete for security and this zero-sum environment will trump efforts to secure absolute gains through cooperative outcomes. As one of his detractors has pointed out, however, anarchy alone cannot account for the absence of peace and the presence of war.[13] Anarchy is a constant feature of the international system, therefore, non-structural factors are needed to account for strategic behavior. Mearsheimer would retort that it is not just anarchy that explains the nature of security cooperation, but also the configuration of power and specifically the military balance. Nevertheless, the clear evidence since the Cold War would suggest that a multipolar Europe has chosen institutional cooperation and overwhelmingly rejected armed conflict. The development of the institutional structure of the EU's common foreign and security (CFSP) construct is important to understanding its likely evolution; this is discussed in some detail in Chapter 3. This study considers institutions important because the historical development of the CFSP's institutions can be explained by referencing the interplay of both British and EU strategic cultures over time. The prospect and nature of *future* UK-European security cooperation, it will be argued, depends on the extent to which these cultures interact to shape the future institutions of Europe.

Mearsheimer's argument against the democratic peace theory is based on a fundamental objection to its causal logic. He rejects the notion that in democracies

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[13] Stanley Hoffmann, Robert Keohane, and John Mearsheimer, "Back to the Future, Part II: International Relations Theory and Post-Cold War Europe," *International Security* 15, No. 2 (1990), 192.

citizens are more sensitive to the costs of war and argues that powerful nationalist or religious forces can overwhelm any international solidarity amongst democratic peoples. He also warns that there exists the possibility that liberal democracies can backslide into authoritarianism, further weakening the pacific effect of the democratic peace theory. His pessimism seems particularly prescient given Brexit and the rise of illiberal populist and nationalist movements across Europe and in the US. Nevertheless, his argument about backsliding is not a serious objection to democratic peace theory. Indeed, arguing that conflict can arise when states backslide into authoritarian government is to validate the democratic peace theory's claim that democracies do not fight *each other*. There is no broader claim made that democracies are less likely to fight non-democratic states. Mearsheimer's argument that other factors such as a common external threat can account for European peace is persuasive for the Cold War period but lacks the explanatory power in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet threat. However, there is a plausible realist explanation of the post-Cold War period that deserves brief consideration, the argument that Europe has been quietly balancing US power.

Robert Art has sought to rehabilitate realist balance of power theory for the post-Cold War period by making the case that the EU has been engaged in a "soft balancing" of American power.[14] In the absence of a Soviet threat to Europe, so the argument goes, European states will seek to balance against the only remaining superpower, the US. It is not Art's contention that the advent of the EU's common security and defense policy (CSDP) represents an attempt to balance American military power in the traditional way. Such behavior would be what Art regards as "hard balancing" or the application of the traditional balance of power theory. On the contrary, Art argues that what has taken place since the end of the Cold War has been "soft balancing." This is defined by Art as "behavior designed to create a better range of outcomes for a state vis-à-vis another state or coalition of states by adding to the power assets at its disposal in an attempt to offset or diminish the advantages enjoyed by that other state or coalition."[15] According to Art, the EU's drive for greater strategic autonomy and ambition is driven ultimately by an attempt to influence US behavior in a manner more favorable to Europe. It is not a convincing

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[14] Robert J. Art et al., "Striking the Balance," *International Security* 30, No. 3 (2005), 177.
[15] Art et al., "Striking the Balance," 183.

explanation, however, particularly when you consider the evolution of the EU's strategic culture as described in Chapter 3.

This study found no empirical evidence to support Art's thesis that the EU has been seeking to balance US power. Europe's commitment to the CFSP and its CSDP subsidiary has been much less enthusiastic than a theory of balancing would suggest. The vast majority of institutional energy within the EU has been spent by the member nations on developing the regulatory framework to establish the free movement of goods, services, capital, and people. Indeed, as will be seen in Chapter 5, the EU remains significantly debilitated in security and defense terms precisely because it has failed to achieve an effective rationalization of pan-European defense capabilities. In many respects, little has fundamentally changed since Mark Eyskens, the then Belgian foreign minister, summed up the state of the EU in 1991 as "an economic giant, a political dwarf and a military worm."[16] Furthermore, if Art is correct, Britain's leading role in developing the CSDP must be explained in terms of trying to balance US power. As will be argued in Chapter 4, however, the UK's strategy was actually an attempt to carefully constrain EU ambition in order not to jeopardize US commitments. Fear of US abandonment has exorcised Europe, and in particular, the UK, far more than a fear of US power.

The fact that post-Cold War European politics has been characterized by cooperation rather than conflict could be attributed to a variety of reasons ranging from institutional constraints, economic interdependence, democratic peace theory, or in the liberal constructivist tradition the emergence of a Kantian culture of anarchy across the Euro-Atlantic region.[17] It is outside the scope of this paper to conduct a thorough review of all of these competing explanations, however, what seems clear is that structural realist explanations that focus on the distribution of military capabilities and the presumptive adverse effects of anarchy are wholly unsatisfying. This study found no evidence of a Hobbesian anarchy lurking beneath the surface of relations amongst the European states or the realistic potential for the outbreak of intra-European armed conflict. Nor is there

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[16] Mark Eyskens is quoted in The Economist, March 25th-31st 2017. Special Report - The Future of the European Union, 10.

[17] Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics (Cambridge Studies in International Relations)* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 299.

any suggestion that either the EU or UK's strategic intent has been to balance US power. As will be revealed, the emergence of a common European institutional and policy framework is highly relevant to the nature of security cooperation that has emerged on the continent since 1945. It has been the product of the interaction of strategic cultures and provides the crucial context within which the future UK-European security and defense relationship will develop post-Brexit.

Institutions

There has been a significant amount of scholarly attention on the EU's unique historical trajectory, mainly focused on the origins and motivating forces that have driven the pursuit of European political and economic integration. Many of the institutions of the EU are characterized by supra-nationality, where individual member states cede sovereign authority over certain policy areas to Brussels. On economic issues ranging from trade to monetary policy and fiscal constraint, members of the EU's Eurozone in particular have transferred national authority via Treaty Law to Europe's institutional structure. What has become known as the neofunctionalist argument for European integration began with Ernst Haas's monograph *The Uniting of Europe.*[18] In this classic explanation of the evolution of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), Haas argues that cooperation is driven by internal pressures associated with the benefits of economic advantage as pursued through the functional cooperation of specific interest groups. His explanation for the formation of Europe's institutional framework sweeps away realist explanations based on balancing or containing the Soviet or German power. For Haas, initial decisions taken by states to integrate economically created economic and political spillovers - the unintended consequences of earlier decisions - which propelled regional integration forward.[19] Functional spillover occurs when cooperation in certain areas creates technocratic pressure for cooperation in adjoining sectors. Political spillover occurs when ongoing cooperation in certain areas empowers supranational officials to act as political entrepreneurs in other areas.[20] In both cases, these spillover effects drive further cooperation rather than a conscious elite or state driven process of political

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[18] Ernst Haas's argument is addressed in Andrew Moravcsik, "The European Constitutional Compromise and the Neofunctionalist Legacy," *Journal of European Public Policy* (2005), 352.

[19] Moravcsik, "The European Constitutional Compromise and the Neofunctionalist Legacy," 352.

[20] Moravcsik, "The European Constitutional Compromise and the Neofunctionalist Legacy," 352.

integration. Neofunctionalism is a convincing explanation of the early political and economic development of the ECSC and its successor the European Economic Community (EEC), which formed the foundations for the modern EU. Nevertheless, as will be argued next, it has little utility in explaining developments in European security and defense.

The EU's CFSP and CSDP domains are characterized by intergovernmental dynamics that reduce the salience of functionalist pressures. As will be argued in the analysis of EU strategic culture in Chapter 3 and in the forecasting conducted in Chapter 5, individual EU member states continue to wield all the power in the security and defense domains. Institutions matter but they matter less because they lack the supranationality found elsewhere in the EU construct. This reduces the efficacy of the spillover effects predicted by Haas. As a consequence, neofunctionalism is an unconvincing explanation of why states choose to cooperate within the EU's CFSP. Furthermore, neofunctionalism has been challenged by alternative liberal intergovernmentalist (LI) theories. These have more relevance in the security and defense domain as instead of focusing on specific interest groups that cooperate for functional advantage, LI theory argues that the forces that drive cooperation are exogenous rather than endogenous. Cooperation becomes the product of inter-state bargaining rather than the functional pressures that arise from spillover effects.[21]

LI is a more persuasive framework for analyzing European security cooperation but its use of a rational actor framework fails to capture the cultural and historical dynamics that have influenced the UK-EU relationship. Theories that focus on the material distribution of capabilities or a strictly rationalist explanation of institutional cooperation are necessary but not sufficient. In the same way that Brexit itself represents a cultural affirmation of a particular notion of British identity, this study will reveal that UK-European security cooperation has been powerfully shaped by ideational influences such as norms regarding the use of force and cultural proclivities such as Atlanticism. In short, by placing strategic culture central to the analysis it is possible to transcend the limitations of much of the existing realist, liberal, and functionalist theories that fail to adequately account for the true nature of cooperation. In the next chapter, the paper will

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[21] Moravcsik, "The European Constitutional Compromise and the Neofunctionalist Legacy," 358.

address the question of culture and provide a framework suitable for subsequent analysis of the nature of UK-European security cooperation.

Chapter 2

A Framework of Strategic Culture

International relations theories that focus on the material factors that constrain state behavior are necessary but not sufficient in explaining the historical pattern and plausible future form of UK-European security cooperation. As was argued in the last Chapter, neorealism envisages strategic choice as ahistorical and acultural; states seek to maximize their utility based on the material distribution of capabilities and the exigencies of international anarchy. Realism provides a powerful explanation of how the structure of the international system constrains states' strategic behavior. Nevertheless, as Kenneth Waltz in his *Theory of International Politics* makes clear, structural realism is not a theory of foreign policy, it can only explain the constraints of the international system on state behavior.[22] As a result, structural neorealism can offer little insight into the specifics of UK-European security cooperation. Similarly, while neofunctional theories that emphasize integration and the supranational autonomy of the EU's institutions have significant utility in explaining other areas of intra-EU cooperation, the peculiarly intergovernmental nature of the CFSP domain limits the applicability of this large source of theory to our problem. While liberal intergovernmentalism has emerged in the literature of European integration as a theoretical perspective in its own right, it is unable to explain under what circumstances and in which functional areas specific cooperation will occur.

An alternative approach, and the one pursued here, is to leverage constructivist theory to explain why the pattern of UK-European security cooperation has changed over time in a way that structural-materialist factors alone cannot account for. This chapter will address the role of culture in determining strategic choice and make the case that a constructivist approach can provide an appropriate framework for assessing historical UK-European security cooperation and forecasting its likely trajectory.[23]

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[22] Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Waveland Press, 2010), 72.

[23] This paper will take up Christoph Meyer's challenge of conducting effective social constructivist forecasting. Christoph Meyer, "The Purpose and Pitfalls of Constructivist Forecasting: Insights from Strategic Culture Research for the European Union's Evolution as a Military Power," *International Studies Quarterly* (2011).

The Role of Culture

Strategic culture scholars regard culture as having an independent influence on strategic preferences, distinct from the exigent material or structural factors also alive in the international security environment. This approach is in line with what Alastair Johnston has categorized as the third generation of strategic cultural studies that use the political and military culture of states, and state-like entities such as the EU, as the independent variable with international behavior as the dependent variable.[24] Nevertheless, there remains the question of how culture relates to choice; does it serve to limit choice by framing the problem or is it a direct determinant of behavior? As Johnston has observed, there is significant disagreement concerning what culture does in a behavioral sense. Some theorists, however, fundamentally dispute the causal link between cultural forms and observable decisions.[25] If culture's explanatory power is limited to being a contextual variable, then it requires an intervening variable to explain any given strategic choice and resulting action. If strategic culture simply sets the agenda or shapes perceptions of the international environment then there is theoretical space for the re-introduction of structural-materialist variables in the causal chain.

It is clear from the strategic culture literature that researchers must handle the issue of causation with care; there are very different perspectives within the theoretical literature on the degree of influence that culture has on state behavior. Isolating the cultural variable from structural-materialist factors is challenging; this problem is particular to the first-generation literature that has an amorphous concept of culture that encompasses many factors. If the concept of strategic culture is so broad as to encompass the vast range of social, psychological, cultural, geographical, structural, and technological factors, then it becomes impossible to identify a non-strategic cultural explanation of strategic choice. As Johnston has argued, this makes testing hypotheses derived from a strategic culture theory impossible.[26] The lack of clear conceptual clarity as to what constitutes a strategic culture and its measurement challenge is partly to blame for the lack of theoretical consensus. As Biava, Drent, and Herd have noted, the term

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[24] Alastair Johnston, "Thinking About Strategic Culture," *International Security* (1995), 46.
[25] Johnston, "Thinking About Strategic Culture," 44-45.
[26] Gray's work on US & Soviet strategic culture during the Cold War (1990) is a good example of 1st generation studies that have an expanded concept of strategic culture. The critique of this approach is taken from Johnston, "Thinking About Strategic Culture," 37.

'strategic culture' is not rigorously defined by theorists, nor is there an agreed theoretical typology or framework for comparing strategic cultures either comparatively or longitudinally. [27]Nevertheless, there is a distinct requirement to clearly define what constitutes strategic culture and to differentiate it from other potential causal drivers of behavior. Achieving this differentiation is challenging but necessary in order to establish whether strategic culture is a useful framework for explaining the historical pattern of UK-European security cooperation and forecasting its possible futures. Where state actors facing common structural factors respond to strategic choice in a different way, there is the possibility that the locus of causality lies in cultural variation.

While there can be no definitive answer to the question of how precisely culture influences choice, the approach taken here is to emphasize culture's normative framing of problems and shaping of preferences. I define strategic culture as *identity-derived norms and behavioral processes that shape a political community's strategic preferences for achieving shared defense and security goals*. Norms are beliefs about the appropriate and legitimate use of instruments of power to achieve strategic outcomes; these are derived from a community's perception of the external security environment and their role within it and can be assessed empirically from policy positions and public articulations of strategic perspectives. Behavioral processes refer to those routine activities that define how a political community plans and acts strategically; the construct of defense and security institutions, military doctrine, and the planning of civilian and military operations provide empirical evidence of this aspect of strategic culture. Strategic preferences are the products of these norms and behavioral processes and represent a ranked set of options for the pursuit of strategic ends. These preferences give normative meaning to structural-materialist changes in the international environment and inform ultimate strategic choice. Given that the EU has self-identified as an international actor, the next section will explore whether the EU has a strategic culture distinct from that of its members.

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[27] Alessia Biava, Margriet Drent, and Graeme Herd, "Characterizing the European Union's Strategic Culture: An Analytical Framework," *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 49, No. 6 (2011), 1229.

Does the EU Possess a Strategic Culture?

Theorists and pundits dispute the question of whether the EU possesses a distinct strategic culture. One simplistic perspective is that because the EU is not a state it cannot act strategically and therefore cannot have a distinctive strategic culture. Given that the EU's CFSP domain has been characterized by intergovernmental dynamics, a convincing case can be made that instead of there being a distinctive EU strategic culture, there exists an amalgam of many different and competing national strategic cultures. Conversely, the fact that the EU self-identifies as an international actor with legal personality, possesses the institutional framework to plan and act strategically, and has conducted military operations, suggests that it has acquired its own distinctive strategic cultural security identity. There is significant debate about whether the EU, as the world's biggest economy, is becoming an increasingly strategic global actor that seeks to wield the traditional prerogatives of state power, including in the foreign and security domains. This question is relevant for both Europeans and non-Europeans alike and has tremendous implications for the likely pattern of future UK-European security cooperation following British exit from the EU.

The trajectory of the European project is not just a question of material and institutional development, but also more importantly, a question of identity and strategic goals. Understanding what these are and how they have evolved is an important first step in defining the characteristics of a particular strategic culture. Before approaching the specifics of a distinct EU strategic culture, however, it is necessary to establish a framework for analysis. A coherent framework that captures the elements of strategic culture as defined above, enables both a longitudinal and comparative approach to UK and EU security cooperation. Understanding the evolution of EU strategic culture facilitates forecasting of plausible futures. A comparison with UK strategic culture, captured within the same framework, should expose areas of likely future security and defense cooperation where the UK and EU align their culture. Similarly, areas of clear cultural divergence suggest areas of friction and disagreement that are likely to frustrate cooperation.

A Framework for Analyzing Strategic Culture

        Biava, Drent, and Herd have developed a framework for analysis of the EU's strategic culture that recognizes the broad academic consensus that the EU plays a distinctive role in international politics and is capable of behaving strategically. The authors, writing in 2011, argue "the EU has elaborated strategic guidelines, the threats against which to act, and developed the capacity to act – including both the tools and the institutional machinery – as well as shared norms on the legitimacy of action that have culminated in 24 CSDP operations."[28] The Biava-Drent-Herd framework captures the identity-derived norms and behaviors that constitute strategic culture, identifying six categories within its typology, which serve to distinguish the norms and behaviors of a political community (see Figure 1). These categories include the formulation of strategic guidelines or a 'framework for action', the political will and capability to act, and the norms that legitimize such action. The framework, therefore, sets out the formal manifestations of strategic culture - policies and strategies, institutions, and behavioral processes, that establish the ways, means, and ends of a political community's foreign and security policy - as well as the informal norms that underpin them.[29]

Figure 1: Biava-Drent-Herd Analytical Framework

-      Strategic Guidelines - *'framework for action'*
-      Strategic Threats - *'against which to act'*
-      Military and Civilian Tool-Building - *'capability to act'*
-      Institutional Machinery - *'capacity to act / to decide to act'*
-      Norms - *'legitimacy to act'*
-      Key Military and Civilian Operations - *'acting'*

Source: Biava, Drent and Herd, "Characterizing the European Union's Strategic Culture: An Analytical Framework." JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies 49, No. 6 (2011): 1227–48.

        Strategic guidelines, including the declaratory aspects of strategic culture, establish the framework for the use of force. These include any formal legal or treaty

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[28] Biava et al., 2011, JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies, 49, 1230.
[29] Biava et al., 2011, JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies, 49, 1230.

commitments, publicly declared policies, and published strategy documents. In the EU context, for example, it includes the relevant provisions of the European Treaties, CSFP and CSDP policy positions and the St Malo declaration, and the 2003 European Security Strategy and 2016 European Union Global Strategy documents. Similarly, the UK has produced a five-yearly National Security Strategy and associated Strategic Defense and Security Review. These documents identify shared norms and agreed strategic direction with respect to the legitimacy and application of the military instrument in support of wider grand-strategy. It also underpins the conceptual approach to identifying security threats.

The identification of security threats flows directly from the strategic guidelines and is an essential aspect of a strategic culture's declaratory policy. Threat guidelines sometimes express security threats in general terms, such as threats from terrorism or criminal activity to challenges such as energy and cyber security, or are specific such as an existential threat from a revisionist state actor. Empirical evidence in this category is readily available for the both the UK and EU; primary sources include official strategy documents, specific official government declarations and UK or EU parliamentary resolutions.

Efforts to develop the capability to act strategically include building the appropriate military and civilian tools to conduct security operations. This goes beyond the declaratory framework to include physical objects of capability such as military forces scaled and resourced for specific missions. Defining this aspect of the UK's strategic culture is relatively straightforward as a state's development of its defense capabilities closely aligns to declaratory strategy. In contrast, applying this aspect of the framework to the EU is complicated by the absence of 'standing' EU military capabilities. Like other intergovernmental organizations such as NATO, the EU has little 'standing' or common funded capabilities. Military forces and capabilities are 'force generated' by the individual nations and then placed under EU operational command and control, with associated caveats on their use, for specific EU missions. Indeed, one of the strategic problems facing the EU is how to coordinate member states' in the pooling and sharing of common defense capabilities; there is significant defense capacity across the EU but this does not directly translate into effective capability to act in a coherent and

unified manner. The approach taken here will be to identify those EU initiatives, such as the European Defense Agency (EDA) and Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO), that provide evidence of attempts to create a coherent set of military and civilian tools for EU employment. Nevertheless, the EU's intergovernmental approach to security and defense cooperation has fundamentally limited the evolution of a holistic EU capability to act strategically.

The capacity to act strategically is a function of an actor's security and defense institutional architecture. Building the institutional machinery necessary to act strategically is a signal of political will and commitment. The nature of these institutional arrangements and the degree to which states align their behavioral processes to declaratory strategy and physical capabilities is an essential component of an actor's strategic culture. This study will examine the UK and EU's respective defense and security architecture in order to understand how the actors are likely to plan and act strategically. Understanding the degree of institutional flexibility in the EU's security architecture is also critically important to analyzing the possibility of integrating UK strategic capabilities in a future post-Brexit context. An analysis of the strategic guidelines, capability, and capacity to act informs our understanding of the norms that underpin an actor's strategic culture.

The normative framework within which operations can occur underpins an actor's strategic culture; they represent the shared understanding of the legitimacy of using force. Actors can derive these norms derived directly from their declaratory policy and indirectly from behavioral processes such as the development of military capabilities and the institutional arrangements that serve to employ them strategically. This study will adopt the Biava-Drent-Herd framework's approach of deriving these directly from the other elements of the typology - the strategic guidelines, capability, and capacity to act.

Designed by the authors primarily to measure the development of a EU strategic culture over time, the Biava-Drent-Herd framework also has utility for comparative analysis. Where perceived UK and EU security threats align, and there is a common normative approach that legitimizes action, there exists the potential for UK-European cooperation. Whether that cooperation can take place will depend not only political will to act but also on whether there exists sufficient institutional capacity and material

capability to act in concert. This will be of particular importance when we are forecasting plausible future pathways of UK-EU security and defense cooperation; once the UK leaves the formal institutions of the EU, there will need to be institutional flexibility to incorporate ad hoc cooperation and joint action. This framework has the advantage of capturing the development of these institutional arrangements as an integral part of the typology; indeed, the evolution of institutions and their declaratory strategies becomes an essential manifestation of changing strategic culture. This raises an important issue and potential limitation of the framework, the problem of differentiating declaratory and operational strategies.

The so-called second generation of strategic culture literature, appearing in the mid-1980s, draws our attention to the possibility of a gap between declaratory strategy that actors could use as a political tool to legitimize decision-making and operational strategy that reflects the specific interests of decision-makers.[30] Bradley S. Klein uses the example of American nuclear policy during the Cold War to illustrate this phenomenon with elites fashioning a declaratory policy to satisfy domestic and international audiences that was de-coupled from the 'real' operational policy of war fighting. The implications of this gap between rhetoric and reality are profound for the interpretation of strategic cultures and their relationship to actual behavior. As Johnston highlights, "it is therefore possible that states speak different strategic-culture languages…but that states' body languages (e.g. operational doctrines) are essentially similar."[31] A significant part of the Biava-Drent-Heard framework focuses on the declaratory aspects of policy such as strategic guidelines contained within European treaties, defense white papers, and published strategy documents. There is clearly risk associated with both explaining and forecasting actual behavior (manifested in key military and civilian operations) based on an assessment of declaratory material.

Nevertheless, there remains a lack of theoretical consensus over the issue of decision-making instrumentality; it is not clear that political elites are able to rise above strategic cultural constraints and exercise unfettered strategic choice. Elites themselves are socialized by their own strategic culture; therefore, one can expect variations in

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[30] Johnston, "Thinking About Strategic Culture," 39.
[31] Johnston, "Thinking About Strategic Culture," 40.

strategic preferences commensurate with cultural differentiation. This socialization is the product of common institutional membership and its effects serve to create or reinforce a common culture. The degree to which the EU's CFSP and CSDP institutions have socialized the elites of member states is an area worthy of further research. Furthermore, declaratory positions provide evidence of shared norms and are the result of organizational consensus; deviation from these norms is possible but should be regarded, by definition, as the exception rather than the norm. As Martha Finnemore has shown in her discussion of the changing norms of military intervention, new beliefs about the purpose of force and its legitimacy reconstitute the rules and meaning of its use, and can ultimately change strategic behavior.[32] In short, new beliefs create new reasons for action; this does not determine a specific behavioral outcome but it does shape the policy preferences of strategic actors and provide potential imperatives for acting in a certain way. By examining both the declaratory and behavioral processes of strategic culture, we can reveal these underlying norms. Nevertheless, in order to preserve a concept of strategic culture as a causal driver of behavior, it is important to keep separate strategic behavior, the actual operations and missions conducted.

In the construct used here, strategic behavior is the dependent variable, which we seek to explain and subsequently forecast (see Figure 2). Much of the first-generation literature falls into the deterministic and arguably tautological trap of including strategic behavior within the strategic culture framework. In contrast, the approach chosen here is to identify EU and UK strategic culture using the Biava-Drent-Herd framework but excluding the actual operations and missions conducted. The ideational components of both EU and UK strategic culture are unpacked based on their respective strategic framework of action, perceived threats and underlying norms. The physical manifestation of these ideational components, in other words the adopted behavioral processes, is comprised of the capability (military and civilian tools) and capacity (institutional architecture) to act strategically. Collectively, these components make up the strategic culture, which will shape strategic preferences. These preferences, acting in concert with structural-materialist imperatives that form the context of strategy, will determine

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[32] Martha Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs About the Use of Force (Cornell Studies in Security Affairs)* (Cornell University Press, 2004), 14-15.

observed strategic behavior. This approach, therefore, follows the ontological tradition of Alexander Wendt's constructivism that culture "supervenes on nature"; it therefore rejects a more radical view that ideational factors are wholly sufficient to explain international behavior.[33] The actors who make up social structures have biologically constituted capacities, needs, and dispositions; they develop material tools and capabilities with which to interact.[34] We should not eliminate traditional structural-materialist explanations from the causal chain of explanation. By including both ideational and material causality in the explanation of strategic behavior, this approach facilitates future competitive theory testing that could expose the relative explanatory power of various IR theories in explaining historical EU and UK strategic action.

Figure 2: Analytical Framework

- Independent Variable 1 - Strategic Culture
  - Strategic framework for action
  - Threats
  - Capabilities
  - Institutions
  - Norms
- Independent Variables 2+ - Contextual Structural-Materialist Imperatives
- Dependent Variable - Strategic Behavior

Source: Author's Original Work

Summary

One advantage of using a framework that charts the longitudinal evolution of strategic culture is that it can capture the dynamics of change and address the question of why particular modes of strategic behavior are prominent at particular times. This is important given a recognition that cultures are not homogenous across time and that individual states are plagued by normative dissonance, often with no single political culture evident. If this is true for an individual EU state, then it can certainly be true for

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[33] Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics (Cambridge Studies in International Relations)*, 189-90.
[34] Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics (Cambridge Studies in International Relations)*, 189.

the EU as a whole. Given the intergovernmental construct of the EU's CFSP it is important to capture the dynamic interaction of competing national strategic cultures in the formulation of a distinctive EU strategic culture. The analysis of the EU's strategic culture in the next chapter will highlight this as a key salient feature; competing and contradictory norms regarding the strategic ambition for the EU and the legitimacy of using force have slowed the emergence of a coherent and dominant strategic culture. A detailed examination of both EU and British strategic culture will make it possible to understand the likely impacts of British withdrawal on the question of European defense and security identity; this provides a theoretical basis for forecasting plausible future pathways of UK-European security cooperation.

Chapter 3

EU Strategic Culture

Europe will not be made all at once, or according to a single plan. It will be built through concrete achievements which first create a de facto solidarity.

Robert Schuman

Europe will be forged in crises, and will be the sum of the solutions adopted for those crises.

Jean Monnet

This chapter will apply the analytical framework developed in the last chapter in order to describe and explain the evolution of the EU's distinctive strategic culture. The analysis will be conducted chronologically, with key milestones in this evolution assessed according to how they influenced the constituent parts of strategic culture: the strategic framework for action; strategic threats; the development of military and civilian capabilities; the development of institutions; and the emerging norms that underpin the legitimacy for strategic action. The chapter draws upon the analytical framework developed in the last chapter but provides an important pre-EU prolog and updates it with key recent developments, in particular the implications of the EU's Global Strategy 2016. Furthermore, as discussed in the previous chapter, the analysis of strategic culture in this chapter excludes the physical operations and missions conducted by the EU. These manifestations of strategic behavior are the outputs of our study; they are based on culturally derived strategic preferences that are modified by contextual constraints and opportunities. We will discuss the specific operations and missions performed by the EU, as part of the CSDP, in Chapter 5, which will assess the impact of culture on EU and British strategic behavior and forecast plausible pathways for future UK-European security cooperation. First, however, it is important to explore the origins of European strategic culture. Our start point is amongst the war ruined cities of Europe in 1945.

Origins

The origins of the EU's strategic culture lie in the European experience of war in the 20th century. A popular argument is that over the course of two cataclysmic world wars, Europe's strategic culture has been transformed from a tradition of *realpolitik* and power politics, into what Robert Kagan has described as a "post-historical paradise of peace and relative prosperity.[1]" For Kagan, the decline of European global power and influence vis-à-vis the US is the important piece of this transformation. In short, the argument goes, Europe has eschewed power politics because over the course of the 20th century Europeans have become militarily weak. European strategic culture has indeed evolved in the context of a decline in the global power of European states. Although the EU bloc collectively is the world's second largest military spender, it is very far from realizing its potential in terms of capability.[2] Inefficiencies in defense spending and lack of interoperability of European forces reflect a prevailing de-emphasis of the military instrument. In part this is the result of 'free riding' on US security commitments, as Kagan and others have argued, but it is also the result of the highly influential and affective experience of 20th century war on the continent and a resulting change in European norms that underpin the legitimacy of the use of force. As Robert Cooper points out, "Europe may have chosen to neglect power politics because it is militarily weak; but it is also true that it is militarily weak because it has chosen to abandon power politics."[3] Furthermore, as Kagan himself admits, his necessary simplification of European strategic culture masks the fact that there is considerable heterogeneity in European attitudes to the use of force.

The great diversity of European history and geography has led to the emergence of different national cultures; these often-competing influences have provided the foundation of what has become a post-modern and distinctive EU strategic culture. The nature of these national cultures relates to but is not wholly determined by material concerns. For example, both France and the UK have developed similar military capabilities, configured for expeditionary global operations; yet as the reaction to US

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[1] Robert Kagan, "Power and Weakness," *Policy Review* (2002), 1.
[2] EPSC Strategic Note - In Defense of Europe,3. Accessed at
https://ec.europa.eu/epsc/sites/epsc/files/strategic_note_issue_4_en.pdf
[3] Robert Cooper, *The Breaking of Nations: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-First Century* (Grove Press, 2004), 159.

policy with respect to Iraq in 2003 highlights, they have a very different perspective on global threats, the legitimacy of the use of force, and the importance of Europe's transatlantic relationship.[4] Adrian Hyde-Price has argued that different European nations' experiences of war in the 20th century, in particular the Second World War and early Cold War have shaped a variety of different strategic cultures.[5] The humiliation of defeat and the moral shame of the Nazi regime have served to create a pacific strategic culture in Germany that emphasizes the deterrent role of their armed forces. France, on the other hand, having experienced occupation twice during the 20th century, drew the lesson that they needed to have sufficient military capabilities to defend their national (including colonial) interests. For the British, their central role in the Allied coalition that defeated the Third Reich has created a very positive view of their own military prowess and the efficacy of military force as a solution in international politics.[6] Nevertheless, despite the variation in national cultures, there are some common themes that have arisen out of the European experience of war and the Cold War; these serve as the foundation of what has become a distinctive EU strategic culture.

An aversion to armed conflict and a belief in the primacy of a deterrent posture are common themes that cut across Europe's national strategic cultures; they form the essential foundations of a European strategic culture that was born out of 20th century war and the resulting Cold War bipolarity. Yet, although Europeans have prioritized their own territorial security and adopted a deterrence posture, US security guarantees and the physical presence of American forces in large numbers on the continent has resulted in a crippling dependence on US power to ensure Europe's physical security. Europeans, hobbled by post-War debt and reconstruction have presided over the decay of their military capabilities and instead have eschewed the traditional tools of 'hard power' by focusing on the construction of a post-modern institutional project as a means of achieving security in a revolutionary new way. European strategic culture has thus emerged with two additional defining characteristics: a dependency on the US to

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[4] Adrian Hyde-Price, "European Security, Strategic Culture, and the Use of Force," *European Security* (2004), 324.
[5] Hyde-Price, "European Security, Strategic Culture, and the Use of Force," 324.
[6] Hyde-Price, "European Security, Strategic Culture, and the Use of Force," 324.

guarantee Europe's *external* security, and faith in institutional Europe's post-modern project to achieve security and prosperity *internally.*

Europe's post-modern project to move international politics beyond the Westphalian construct of the modern nation-state represents a revolutionary method to achieve security and prosperity. In the wake of the Schuman declaration of 1950, the 1951 European Coal and Steel agreement between France, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg sought to pool production of strategic reserves vital to defense industries; the aim was to make war not just unthinkable but "materially impossible."[7] The Treaty of Rome followed in 1957, creating the European Economic Community (EEC) and Europe's first customs union. In the 1960s, European Community (EC) members began to explore greater political integration. In response, foreign ministers introduced the idea of European Political Co-operation (EPC) in the Davignon Report from October 1970. Although a piecemeal approach, all of these initiatives represent early attempts to transcend state sovereignty and move Europe towards a post-modern construct. All of this work was made possible by having a common enemy (the USSR) to unify against through NATO, and a common friend (the US) whose tangible military commitments to the defense of the continent have eliminated the traditional intra-European security dilemma. In short, Kagan's European 'paradise' is defended by US power. There is, therefore, a synergistic relationship between the postmodern project of European integration and NATO; the supply of US military power to Europe through NATO has created a pacific security zone in Europe that provides the trust and confidence needed for Europeans to move forward with their postmodern project. Nevertheless, because the origins of Europe's strategic identity lie in a dependency on US military power and a common unifying external threat, the end of the Cold War marks the birth of a post-modern Europe uncertain about its role as a strategic actor on a global stage.

A Strategic Framework - Maastricht and the Birth of the EU

As the Cold War concluded, the 1992 Maastricht Treaty established the European Union through three pillars of governance; this formally marks the transition of the

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[7] Schuman Declaration, see http://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/symbols/europe-day/schuman-declaration_en

European project beyond purely economic integration and towards a formal architecture of political union. The first pillar created shared sovereignty or supranational integration in the economic domain, including a pathway to monetary union and a single currency. The second pillar created intergovernmental coordination through a common foreign and security policy (CFSP) arena, provided for in Title V of the Treaty on European Union. The third pillar, also intergovernmental in nature, concerned cooperation in the field of justice and home affairs as provided for in Title VI of the Treaty. The establishment of the EU's CFSP was based on the EPC foundation but had significantly more strategic ambition. For example, its Article J.4 stated that CFSP includes "all questions related to the security of the Union, including the eventual framing of a common defense policy, which might in time lead to a common defense." Prior to 1992, given the dominance of the transatlantic alliance, it is difficult to discern a coherent strategic framework much less a distinctive European strategic culture outside of the NATO context. However, with the advent of Maastricht in 1992, and its security and defense 'pillar' the CFSP, the EU established the formal framework of a collective European strategic culture.[8]

The Maastricht Treaty is the foundational document that defines the EU's strategic framework for external action; this formal scaffolding built upon a nascent European strategic culture, which emerged during the 1990s. The Treaty commits the EU to

> conduct, define and implement a common foreign and security policy, based on the development of mutual political solidarity among Member States, the identification of questions of general interest and the achievement of an ever-increasing degree of convergence of Member States' actions.[9]

Title V establishes that the European Council will be responsible for all decisions within the CFSP and it binds member states to uphold the Union's position in all other international organizations, including within the UN Security Council as appropriate. Furthermore, Title V establishes a Foreign Affairs Council, subordinate to the higher European Council and chaired by a High Representative of the Union for Foreign Policy

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[8] CSDP Handbook, 14. Accessed at https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage_en/9113/Handbook%20on%20CSDP
[9] Treaty of the European Union (TEU), Title V, Ch 2

and Security. This council, which represents the strategic decision-making authority in the CFSP domain, is supported by a Political Security Committee that exercises political control and provides strategic direction on behalf of the Council, and an External Action Service to coordinate with member states' national diplomatic services. Within the CFSP framework, the Maastricht Treaty also established the European Security and Defense Policy.

In establishing a European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP), the Maastricht Treaty envisaged the member states providing military capabilities to fulfill the newly minted EU's strategic ambition and a "progressive framing of a common Union defense policy…and a common defense when the European Council, acting *unanimously* decides." [Emphasis added].[10] The lack of unanimous consensus on the direction of the EU's ESDP (that was renamed the CSDP with the 2009 Treaty of Lisbon) is a theme that will recur in this study. At the time of signing, the Maastricht level of strategic ambition was left open for further discussion; nevertheless, it was envisaged that the future ESDP

> shall provide the Union with an operational capacity drawing on civilian and military assets. The Union may use them on missions outside the Union for peacekeeping, conflict prevention and strengthening international security in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter.[11]

Maastricht stipulated that its provisions should not prejudice member states' national identification of security obligations nor those that have arisen through other organizations such as NATO. Although the Treaty recognized through a mutual defense commitment the necessity of common EU action to an external threat, in accordance with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, it made clear that any such action would be compatible with existing arrangements for collective defense as stipulated by membership of NATO. Thus, in the field of the collective defense of Europe, NATO was afforded primacy by the European states.

As a framework for strategic action, Maastricht was careful to avoid competition with NATO, which for many European states, through its Article V commitment, was to

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[10] TEU, Article 42
[11] TEU, Article 42

remain the primary international organization for ensuring the collective territorial defense of Europe. Indeed, although the Maastricht Treaty committed the new EU member states, through the European Council, to "identify the Union's strategic interests, [and] determine the objectives of and define general guidelines for the common foreign and security policy, including for matters with defense implications," it lacked a clear and agreed vision for the level of the EU's strategic ambition. The EU's focus as a post-modernist project developed its economic and political integration in those areas of shared sovereignty; as Kagan has argued, "for Europe the fall of the Soviet Union did not just eliminate a strategic adversary, it eliminated the need for geopolitics…many Europeans took the end of the Cold War as a holiday from strategy."[12] Ironically, it wasn't an external threat that brought Europe back from its 'strategic holiday' but an internal one. The end of the Cold War brought about two key impacts on the development of a nascent EU strategic culture: the significant reduction in an external threat to European security; and the associated fragmentation of political authority in the Balkans that unleashed a decade of secessionist violence. These impacts will be examined in turn.

Changing Norms on the Use of Force

The end of the Cold War transformed the security dynamics across Europe. With the dissipation of the Soviet threat, there was a concomitant reduction in Europe's strategic dependence on US power for external security. For some states, the continued relevance of NATO was called into question. In the triumphalism surrounding what Francis Fukuyama described as "the end of history," the EU would be perceived by European elites as the culmination of the Western liberal project and the end of power politics. It is, therefore, not surprising that the new institutional Europe saw little imperative to develop its nascent common foreign and security policy or identify a coherent vision of its future strategic role. Indeed, if there was any form of consensus it was in a shared faith that through the expansion of the EU into the former Soviet sphere of Eastern Europe, the post-modern experiment would be exported through peaceful enlargement. With the political fragmentation of the Yugoslav federal state, however, Europe would be confronted with violent secessionist forces for which it was unprepared.

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[12] Robert Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order* (Vintage, 2004), 25.

The perceived impotence of Europe to act to prevent internecine violence on a scale not witnessed on the continent since the Second World War, proved instrumental in shattering the post-modernist illusion. European nations, in particular Germany, were forced to confront the dilemma posed by their traditional pacifism and the imperatives of using military force in their neighborhood to restore peace and security. Consequently, Bosnia, and later Kosovo, would lead to profound changes in European norms governing the legitimate use of force. Stine Heiselberg has argued persuasively that the outbreak of violent ethnic conflicts in the Balkans, supported by a high level of media exposure, challenged the more reactive and territorial defense-oriented national security cultures and initiated a process of societal learning in a number of member states towards a more active role in security and defense.[13] In terms of our framework for strategic culture, the Balkan conflicts facilitated the development of a more assertive EU strategic framework for action as a result of the evolution of European norms concerning the legitimate use of force.

The 1992 Petersberg Declaration began the process of operationalizing Europe's military strategic ambition. The so-called 'Petersberg Tasks' became enshrined in the Lisbon Treaty and these continue to be the basis for EU military operations. The 1992 declaration identified three purposes for which military units could be deployed: humanitarian and rescue tasks; peacekeeping tasks; and tasks of combat forces in crisis management, including peacemaking.[14] Despite the end of the Cold War and the dissipation of the Soviet threat, Western military forces found themselves continually engaged across the full spectrum of conflict, from high-intensity warfighting in the Persian Gulf to low-intensity peacekeeping, peace-enforcement, and coercive operations in the Balkans. The Petersberg Tasks naturally focused on the lower-intensity end of the spectrum of conflict but crucially kept open the possibility of using "combat forces in crisis management." Indeed, the explicit recognition that this could include "peace-making" suggests a potential role for EU forces acting offensively in order to impose a political settlement using military power. In recognition of the primacy of NATO as the

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[13] Christoph Meyer, "Convergence Towards a European Strategic Culture? A Constructivist Framework for Explaining Changing Norms," *European Journal of International Relations* (2005), 23-24.
[14] https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/5388/shaping-common-security-and-defence-policy_en#The+Petersberg+Tasks

organizational guarantor of their collective security under Article V, the declaration identified military operations and missions under which EU nations could act independently. Although NATO became the only security organization with the capacity to act in support of Western objectives in the Balkans, the Petersberg Tasks signaled the EU's intent to become an autonomous strategic actor.

Maastricht and the Petersberg Declarations are the foundational documents that define the early EU's strategic framework for action. They also represent an early attempt to identify, albeit indirectly, the norms that underpin the EU's perspective on the legitimate use of force. With NATO afforded primacy for collective security, the nascent CFSP envisaged the US remaining as the guardian of Europe's "paradise," with European nations using force autonomously and primarily in lower-intensity missions such as peacekeeping within a post-conflict stabilization context. This fits the Kagan thesis that aligns European strategic ambition with the lack of European high-intensity warfighting capability and her post-modernist norms. Faith in the power of the European post-modernist experiment to keep peace internally, however, was to face an extended period of severe test with the onset of the Yugoslav wars of secession.

In a hubristic moment of high faith in Europe's ability to repair the unfolding disorder in the Balkans, the Foreign Minister of Luxembourg and then acting President of the European Council, Jacques Poos, responded to the onset of the Yugoslav crisis by declaring, "this is the hour of Europe, not the hour of the Americans. If one problem can be solved by the Europeans, it's the Yugoslav problem. This is a European country and it is not up to the Americans and not up to anybody else."[15] Unfortunately, the experience of the Balkans in the 1990s was to underscore Europe's lack of a coherent strategy for CFSP and the absence of effective capabilities and institutions to exercise force in order to restore order or maintain the subsequent peace. In the face of determined Serbian aggression, the EU's reliance on the diplomatic and economic instruments of power proved insufficient. Furthermore, Bosnia—as well as the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990—underlined the fact that although Western and Central Europe enjoyed a more peaceful and benign security environment, Europe's liberal democracies still had to be

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[15] Hyde-Price, "European Security, Strategic Culture, and the Use of Force," 331.

prepared to use military power in and around its peripheries.[16] In the wake of the Dayton accord that concluded the war in Bosnia, Europe moved to ratify the Petersberg Tasks and strengthen the CFSP pillar of the Union.

The 1997 Amsterdam Treaty, which entered into force in 1999, formalized the Petersberg Tasks as part of the EU's strategic framework for action and created additional institutions that developed capacity to act within the CFSP domain. The creation of the EU's High Representative and EU Special Representatives gave executive authority for EU strategic action on behalf of the European Council. In combination with the formalization via Treaty law of the Petersberg Tasks, the EU's security and defense architecture was established around norms of humanitarian intervention, multilateralism, consensus, and restraint. Despite the fact that the Amsterdam Treaty had created the beginnings of a strategic framework based on some shared norms and had established some institutions of executive authority for action, the EU lacked real incentive to develop the capabilities necessary to act autonomously. In the aftermath of the Kosovo air campaign, however, European states were forced to confront that little had changed since Bosnia; Europe remained impotent in the face of aggression in their own backyard and utterly dependent on U.S power to achieve security.

The experience of Kosovo, in particular the effect this conflict had on a media sensitive European public, served to significantly drive European norms regarding the use of force away from traditional Cold War defense and deterrence and towards a new liberal interventionism. Faced with new Serbian aggression and claims of ethnic cleansing in the breakaway province of Kosovo, European states confronted the dilemma of using coercive diplomacy backed by the threat of force but in the absence of UN Security Council authorization. For Germany in particular, a post-1945 pacific strategic culture was challenged by what German Foreign Minister Joseph Fischer described as the potential for a "second Auschwitz."[17] "We saw in Bosnia," the then NATO Secretary-General Lord Robertson argued, "that economic sanctions or moral condemnation were of little value without the credible backing of military power. In Kosovo, we learned the same lesson once again: our military competence was essential in preventing a

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[16] Hyde-Price, "European Security, Strategic Culture, and the Use of Force," 331.
[17] Meyer, "Convergence Towards a European Strategic Culture? A Constructivist Framework for Explaining Changing Norms," 23.

humanitarian tragedy."[18] The experience of the Balkans had clearly shattered any post-modernist illusions about the utility of force in securing Europe's borders and protecting its citizens from state sanctioned violence. Nevertheless, NATO operations in both Bosnia and Kosovo had served to highlight the startling gap in capabilities between the US military and even the most capable European members of the Alliance.

By 1991 and the Gulf War, the American military had undergone a conceptual, organizational, and technological transformation from the nadir of Vietnam. In comparison, with the possible exception of the UK and France, European militaries were left far behind the US. Not only did the US fly 60% of all sorties in Kosovo, they conducted 80% of all strike missions and provided virtually all of the essential C4ISR[19] support.[20] In particular, few countries in Europe possessed a precision strike capability necessary to conduct air operations with the collateral risk deemed necessary to maintain Alliance cohesion and wider political support for the operation. European states were particularly sensitive to this issue given the lack of clear UN Security Council authorization and the fact that the purpose of intervention was to protect civilians from unlawful state sanctioned violence. In addition, parallel US and NATO command structures complicated operational planning and frustrated unity of command; a significant package of high-end low-observable assets such as the F-117 and B-2 bombers, conducted discrete national operations outside of the NATO effort. This caused significant consternation amongst European allies and reflected the degree of mistrust between the US intelligence community and even the closest NATO nations. More fundamentally, it highlighted the significant difference in capability between European air forces and their US counterparts. To Europe's most respected strategic thinkers in the Center for European Reform, Kosovo had "highlighted the impotence of Europe's armed forces;" indeed, it was embarrassing that in a region as close as the Balkans, Europe's "ability to deploy force" was but "a meager fraction" of America's.[21]

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[18] Hyde-Price, "European Security, Strategic Culture, and the Use of Force," 332.
[19] Command and Control, Communication, Computing, Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance.
[20] Benjamin S. Lambeth, *Transformation of American Air Power.* (Cornell University Press, 2000), 213-16.
[21] Christoph Bertram, Charles Grant, and Francois Heisbourg, "European Defense: The Next Steps," Centre for European Reform, *CER Bulletin 14* is quoted in Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order*, 47.

Differences in strategy over Kosovo also exposed the contrast in strategic cultures between Europe and the US. The USAF favored strategy, articulated by General Short (the US air commander) as the "right way" to deliver airpower based on the experience of the Gulf War, involved the use of overwhelming force to strike at vital centers of the Serbian regime[22]. Conversely, Europeans (including the UK) called for a more "measured approach[23]." The result was a compromised resultant strategy that applied airpower in a gradualist, at times almost astrategic fashion.[24] Given the importance of maintaining Alliance cohesion, arguably the gradualist approach became the only politically viable option. This was a point well understood by SACEUR, General Wesley Clark, much to the frustration of his air commander subordinate[25].

One of the most striking features about the intervention in Kosovo, in spite of American frustrations over strategy, was its unanimous support across a group of European governments that represented the range of the political spectrum. Robert Cooper identifies this consensus of action with the collective memory of the Holocaust and the mass migrant flows created by the nationalism of the Second World War.[26] In strategic culture terms, common European norms had coalesced around the moral imperative to intervene militarily to restore peace and security on the continent. Kosovo, therefore, marks an important waypoint on the evolutionary path of Europe's development of a common strategic culture. With the realization that Europe could and should act with force when necessary, tempered by the overwhelming sense of dependency on American power to defend these norms, Kosovo created a strong impetus to advance the EU's strategic ambition. Adrian Hyde-Price has described war as a "bolt of lightning on a dark night, lighting up the geostrategic topology of global politics, and illuminating the patterns of power and influence amongst the major actors, their formal and informal alliances, and their varying cultural assumptions about strategic theory and practice."[27] The experience of the Balkans, in particular the war in Kosovo, lit up

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[22] Dag Henriksen, *NATO's Gamble: Combining Diplomacy and Airpower in the Kosovo Crisis, 1998-1999* (Naval Institute Press, 2013), 191.

[23] John Andreas Olsen, *A History of Air Warfare* (Potomac Books, 2010), 248.

[24] Colin S. Gray and Air University Press, *Airpower for Strategic Effect* (Military Bookshop, 2012), 220.

[25] Henriksen, *NATO's Gamble: Combining Diplomacy and Airpower in the Kosovo Crisis, 1998-1999*, 13.

[26] Cooper, *The Breaking of Nations: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-First Century*, 61.

[27] Hyde-Price, "European Security, Strategic Culture, and the Use of Force," 323.

Europe's strategic ambition but also illuminated starkly the great challenges that lay ahead for the development of an autonomous EU security and defense policy.

Saint-Malo and Helsinki

The UK-French joint declaration at Saint-Malo marks the evolution of the EU's formal strategic framework into European autonomy in defense and security affairs. In the words of the declaration, "the European Union needs to be in a position to play its full role on the international stage. This means making a reality of the Treaty of Amsterdam, which will provide the essential basis for action by the Union…this includes the responsibility of the European Council to decide on the progressive framing of a common defense policy in the framework of CFSP."[28] The declaration continues, "to this end, the Union must have the capacity for autonomous action, backed up by *credible* military forces, the means to decide to use them, and a readiness to do so, in order to respond to international crises."[29] [Emphasis added]. The experience of the Balkans had convinced both the French and British governments of the imperative to move ahead with "operationalizing" the Amsterdam Treaty commitment towards autonomy in European defense matters. The prevarication of the initial US response to the unfolding Bosnian crisis in 1995, coupled with a collective European shame of being unable to back EU diplomacy with a credible and capable military instrument autonomous from the US led directly to Saint-Malo.

Following the St. Malo Declaration in 1998, numerous European Council summit meetings defined the military and civilian capabilities needed to fulfill the Petersberg Tasks. Examples include the Cologne European Council Meeting (1999) which laid the foundations for European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP), the Helsinki European Council Meeting (1999), which introduced the Headline Goal 2003, and the Santa Maria da Feira European Council Meeting (2000) which identified four civilian priority areas.[30] Of particular note, the Helsinki agreement established the goal of achieving by 2003 the necessary EU institutions to be able to coordinate and deploy a force of 60,000 troops to

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[28] Saint-Malo Declaration. See https://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/French-British%20Summit%20Declaration,%20Saint-Malo,%201998%20-%20EN.pdf

[29] Saint-Malo Declaration. See https://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/French-British%20Summit%20Declaration,%20Saint-Malo,%201998%20-%20EN.pdf

[30] CSDP Handbook, 14. Accessed at https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage_en/9113/Handbook%20on%20CSDP

perform Petersberg Tasks with 60 days notice-to-move and sustainable for up to a year.[31] Instead of creating a supporting parallel EU military structure to command this force, a compromise known as the Berlin-Plus arrangements was agreed to eliminate inefficiencies and reduce any perceived EU institutional competition with NATO.

The structures established by the Helsinki agreement and the Berlin-Plus arrangements marked a significant step in the development of the EU's institutional machinery and created important socializing effects to promote a common strategic culture. The Berlin-Plus compromise gave the EU assured access to NATO planning facilities, the presumed availability of certain NATO assets and capabilities, and provision of a range of European command and control options.[32] The institutional machinery of the EU's nascent strategic culture had been finally established. This included the establishment of a Political and Security Committee (PSC) with competence for all foreign and security affairs at the ambassadorial level in Brussels, in addition to an EU Military Committee (EUMC) of member states' Chiefs of Defense Staff. A supporting EU Military Staff (EUMS) was created by the Berlin-Plus agreement, with an associated EU cell at NATO's Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe in order to conduct strategic planning and harmonize with NATO.[33] Although the development of institutional architecture does not automatically translate into effective strategic planning and direction, we know that it can have important socializing effects on foreign policy and military elites. Christoph Meyer, for example, concluded that the PSC has had an important role in the convergence of Member States' strategic cultures by building confidence, establishing consent and brokering compromises. It is therefore able to forge norm convergence through informational influence as well as peer pressure.[34] Biava provides another example where the EUMS during 2002 and 2003 developed a set of 'concept papers' prior to the mounting of military CSDP operations. These papers were

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[31] Paul Cornish and Geoffrey Edwards, "Beyond the EU/NATO Dichotomy: The Beginnings of a European Strategic Culture," *International Affairs* (2001), 589.
[32] Cornish and Edwards, "Beyond the EU/NATO Dichotomy: The Beginnings of a European Strategic Culture," 590.
[33] Cornish and Edwards, "Beyond the EU/NATO Dichotomy: The Beginnings of a European Strategic Culture," 594.
[34] Biava et al., 2011, JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies, 49, 1239.

all staffed through the EU system, achieving unanimous Member State agreement on topics ranging from strategic planning to rules of engagement[35].

In many ways, Saint-Malo and the resulting institutional initiatives mark a rare convergence of Franco-British policy with respect to the EU's strategic ambition. Historically, as will be discussed in the following chapter, Britain had favored a wholly and exclusively NATO commitment to European defense. Conversely, French strategic culture had emphasized independence from Alliance commitments, which it saw as American dominated and inimical to France's unique post-colonial and global perspective. Indeed, Charles de Gaulle had famously withdrawn France from the Alliance in 1966 and at the time of Saint-Malo France had only rejoined at the political level, remaining outside of the NATO military command structure until as late as 2009.[36] As a result, neither country prior to 1998 had much appetite for progressing the advancement of a pan-European security and defense framework. Saint-Malo, therefore, reflects a unusual convergence of Anglo-French support for the EU. Based on the result of European frustrations with the experience of Bosnia and a new liberal internationalist doctrine espoused by the incoming Tony Blair and Jacques Chirac governments, Saint-Malo signaled that Europe's chief defense contributors were behind the development of a more distinctive EU defense identity.

Saint-Malo's strategic ambition, however, was carefully constrained to appear non-threatening to NATO's primacy in the collective territorial defense of its members. In this sense, it echoed the language of the Amsterdam Treaty in envisaging the EU acting "where the Alliance as a whole is not engaged" and, therefore, implicitly reaffirmed the Petersberg Tasks that carved out a niche for EU military intervention at the lower intensity end of the conflict spectrum. Nevertheless, Saint-Malo unlocked the potential for the development of the EU's ESDP by calling for "appropriate structures and a capacity for analysis of situations, sources of intelligence, and a capability for relevant strategic planning." Furthermore, it argued for "strengthened armed forces that can react rapidly to the new risks, and which are supported by a strong and competitive European defense industry and technology." In short, Saint-Malo sought to drive the

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[35] Biava et al., 2011, JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies, 49, 1239.
[36] http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/03/11/AR2009031100547.html

development of the necessary EU institutions of defense as well as identifying the much harder challenge of increasing future European military capabilities, woefully exposed in terms of capability when measured against their US counterparts in the skies over Iraq and Bosnia. The Saint-Malo declaration is a short but important document; the support of Europe's two major military powers in seeking to realize the strategic ambition vested in the Amsterdam Treaty set the EU on a realistic and viable path to conducting autonomous operations. It also led directly to the formulation of the EU's first security strategy. Nevertheless, before this attempt to distill Europe's collective perspective on its own strategic ambition and intent for the CSDP enterprise could mature, Europe and the US's relationship would face a severe test in their differing approaches to Iraq.

Stress Testing Norms

Contrasting European and American reactions to the post-9/11 security context reveal the normative tensions that underpin European strategic culture. Written at a time when recent relations between the US and Europe were at a historical low ebb, Robert Kagan's caricature of American and European strategic cultures provided ample fodder for foreign policy pundits and academics alike. Although Kagan was at pains to stress the fundamental and historical origins of this divergence in strategic cultures, he wrote the book in the aftermath of the 2003 Iraq war, and therefore captures the essential zeitgeist of that time. If fissures in the transatlantic relationship emerged during NATO's air war over Kosovo, Iraq spotlighted the emerging cultural fault lines of Western norms regarding the legitimate use of force. With Britain's decision to support the US effort to topple Saddam Hussein, the Blair government chose to prioritize the US-UK special relationship above its relations with Europe. Given the Labour Party and Blair's own pro-European credentials, and in light of the Saint-Malo declaration, this seems especially surprising. If anything, it demonstrates just how 'sticky' national strategic cultures can be. The importance of this reaffirmation of British Atlanticism is explored in more detail in the next Chapter but from a European perspective, Iraq highlighted the need to better define the EU's global perspective and strategic ambition.

The Iraq War in 2003 exposed deep divisions within the West as to the legitimacy and efficacy of using coercive military power to bring out political change and address perceived security threats. Fundamentally, the NATO alliance and Europe itself were

unable to reach a workable consensus.[37] The result was a small number of European nations (chief amongst them the UK) joined a US-led coalition to topple Saddam Hussein, while the majority (including both France and Germany) remained steadfastly opposed to any military action. While commentators like Kagan have emphasized a fundamental continuity in the contrasting strategic cultures of both the US and Europe, others have focused on the changes to the international security context wrought by 9/11. Adrian Hyde-Price has argued that 9/11 constituted a significant "rupture" in US strategic culture, resulting in the advent of a policy of prevention at odds with the traditional Cold War strategies of deterrence and containment of threats.[38] In essence, the American strategic calculus of risk changed after 9/11; the potential nexus of weapons of mass destruction, jihadist terrorism, and rogue states such as Iraq, meant a reactive defensive strategy was no longer deemed appropriate by the Bush administration. In contrast, however, Hyde-Price argues that the effect of 9/11 on Europe has been more limited. Writing in 2004, Hyde-Price argued "most European countries continue to feel comfortable with national security strategies developed and refined in the context of post-war bipolarity. Despite the emergence of new threats such as terrorism, proliferation [of weapons of mass destruction], and failed states, the debate in Europe on a security strategy appropriate for the 21st century has barely begun."[39] For Europeans, their perception of threat did not change markedly as a result of the attacks on the World Trade Center; indeed, it was felt that rogue actors like Saddam could be contained and perhaps, given sufficient incentives, rehabilitated.

A greater concern for many Europeans was not the threat of international terrorism or rogue states but the risk to international order of unconstrained and unilateral American power. If there is one consistent and powerful norm that pervades European strategic culture, it is multilateralism. European objections to the war in Iraq, at least in part, were an attempt to exercise restraint of American power and reaffirm a rules-based international system. As Joschka Fisher complained, "a world order cannot function when the national interest of the strongest power is the definitive criterion for the use of

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[37] Hyde-Price, "European Security, Strategic Culture, and the Use of Force," 323.
[38] Hyde-Price, "European Security, Strategic Culture, and the Use of Force," 328.
[39] Hyde-Price, "European Security, Strategic Culture, and the Use of Force," 328.

that country's power."[40] Attempts by Britain to secure a UN security council resolution authorizing the use of force in Iraq is instructive of the power in Europe of this multilateral norm and the efforts Britain would go to in order to create an international legitimacy that was desirable but not essential from a US political perspective.[41] Iraq was not Kosovo; in the absence of a clear humanitarian imperative to intervene, most European nations could not tolerate such a grave violation of the multilateralism norm that provides the necessary legitimacy to employ force. Indeed, multilateralism has arguably replaced sovereignty as the 'master' norm in the European strategic culture.

The norms of European strategic culture have evolved beyond the traditional Westphalian conception of international order. As Kosovo demonstrated, and as the very nature of the EU attests to, Europeans have become comfortable with regarding sovereignty as conditional. Europeans would have been very comfortable in principle with a humanitarian intervention in Iraq if necessary; the important norm is the international legitimacy of action not the presumption of sovereign inviolability.

Kagan is cynical; he argues that the contradictions exposed by European approaches to Kosovo and Iraq expose a hypocrisy with regard to "multilateralism." Kagan points out that the US did enjoy a measure of international support for war in Iraq, it simply lacked pan-European or EU support. Hence, for Kagan the European critique of US unilateralism amounts to hypocrisy. In essence, Kagan argues, Europe was demanding a veto on US action; it was, therefore, the natural European response to American's "unipolar predicament." The US has the power to act alone; Europe does not. Europe, therefore, seeks influence over American power through multilateralism. This is an adaptation of Art's "soft balancing" argument discussed in Chapter 1 but situated within the debate about strategic culture. Whatever the ulterior motive may be, multilateralism is at the heart of European strategic culture, and the EU reflected it in its first attempt, in the aftermath of the Iraqi war, to establish a formal global strategy.

Identifying Threats and Formulating Responses

The European Security Strategy (ESS) of 2003 is central to understanding the development of the EU's strategic culture. It was the first strategy document produced by

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[40] Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order*, 119.
[41] Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order*, 122.

the Union and with the exception of one update in 2008 was in effect until the recently published EU Global Strategy (EUGS) in 2016. The ESS is useful to understanding how the EU perceived the international context it faced in the aftermath of Iraq, how it articulated its strategic ambition, and how it intended to meet this ambition. In terms of the framework for strategic culture, it enhanced the strategic framework for action, identified the threats or challenges to European security, and revealed some of the norms that underpinned the EU's approach. What it did not elaborate upon is the institutional machinery necessary to achieve its stated ambition, although it did signal a need to develop European defense capacity and capability. This section will briefly assess each aspect of the framework in turn.

As a strategic framework document, the ESS articulated the EU's view of an increasingly globalized international environment where non-state actors have increased scope for action and the sources of insecurity stem from poverty, disease, and conflict in the developing world. In particular, the ESS highlighted competition for natural resources and climate change as an aggravator of instability and the cause of migratory flows that threaten the traditional state system. Its discussion of the implications of this global environment on European security, however, is thin on analysis; for example, it identified a link between energy scarcity and Europe's own dependency on imported oil and gas but did not offer any assessment of the impacts of this vulnerability nor provide any normative prescription for alleviating the issue.[42] With respect to key threats to European security, the focus was on non-state actors and the consequences of failed or failing states. This focus is in sharp contrast to the contemporary EUGS, which has to reconcile a resurgent and revisionist Russian state.

The ESS assessment of threats focused on the transnational threat to European security; in particular, the potential nexus of terrorist networks, failing states, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. This is typical of other contemporary threat assessments in the immediate post-9/11 period and notwithstanding Kagan's thesis, illustrates a harmonization of perspective across transatlantic strategic cultures. Indeed, it is precisely this nexus that led the U.S to preventive war in Iraq. What is different,

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[42] European Security Strategy (ESS) 2003. https://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf

however, between the American and European approach and what is central to the ESS is what it terms "effective multilateralism".

If multilateralism, as discussed previously, is the EU's master norm then the ESS articulated how this relates to the EU's three declared strategic objectives at the beginning of the 21ˢᵗ century: addressing global threats, building security in the European neighborhood, and promoting international order. In terms of addressing threats, the ESS identifies the steps the EU has taken since 9/11 to promote counter-terrorism measures such as the adoption of a European Arrest Warrant, steps to attack terrorist financing, and strengthening the WMD proliferation regime globally. In addition, the ESS highlights EU initiatives in the Balkans and the Democratic Republic of Congo to uphold rule of law and promote post-conflict stabilization. All of these steps emphasize the multilateralism norm, promote international law, and affirm the "comprehensive approach."

Indeed, the ESS makes clear "none of the new threats is purely military; nor can any be tackled by purely military means. Each requires a mixture of instruments."[43] The military instrument is not ignored by the ESS, but neither is it afforded primacy. Indeed, the emphasis is on conflict prevention through economic and diplomatic means rather than military intervention to resolve the consequences of disorder. In addition, the ESS envisaged an expanding EU as a means of promoting European values globally; strategic engagement by Europe should aim to create "a ring of well governed countries to the East of the European Union and on the borders of the Mediterranean."[44]

The ESS conception of international order emphasizes a strong international society with multilateral institutions and a rules-based approach. In a clear nod to the prevailing European position on the legitimacy of the Iraq War, it reaffirmed an EU commitment to international law with the United Nations Charter as the fundamental framework of action. Perhaps disingenuously, however, it did not seek to reconcile the inherent contradictions in a vision of global order based on the Westphalian principles upheld by the UN Charter, and the contingent nature of sovereignty when addressing either transnational threats or humanitarian emergencies. The trauma over the legitimate use of force exposed by Kosovo was noticeably absent from the ESS, perhaps

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[43] ESS 2003. https://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf
[44] ESS 2003. https://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf

understandably given the lack of a shared European consensus over the legitimate use of force in circumstances where the UN is unwilling or unable to provide a clear mandate for action. Sten Rynning, writing just after the publication of the ESS, summarized the EU's strategic culture as embodying a "liberal force for the good of democracy within the Union, as well as a mission to promote its 'identity' in world politics…In short, the EU believes that progress in world politics is possible, just as the Union purports to represent progress in Europe."[45]

External action, including the use of military force, would therefore, be acceptable under those circumstances where a global liberal consensus supported it. British Prime Minister Tony Blair had espoused a *jus in bello* doctrine in April 1999 based on the Kosovo experience, laying down criteria for military intervention in order to "establish and spread the values of liberty, the rule of law, human rights and an open society." In September of the same year, the UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan had laid the foundations for a similarly new humanitarian doctrine of intervention by arguing that state sovereignty must give way in exceptional circumstances to "individual sovereignty."[46] The advent of this new "right to protect" norm of military intervention was the direct result of the Balkans experience and although formally sidestepped by the ESS, was increasingly perceived by European states as an integral aspect of the EU's strategy of "effective multilateralism."

In many ways, the ESS was an aspirational document. It focused on how the EU saw the world beyond its borders and what it must aspire to achieve strategically in order to effectively secure its security and prosperity. As a strategy, classically defined as the harmonization of Ends, Ways, and Means, it is light on substantive content.[47] Indeed, a cynic would suggest that it is remarkably short on both the Ways and the Means. Furthermore, it offers no marked evolution in thinking; nothing in the ESS represents a significant departure from previous EU positions or declarations from Member States. Its treatment of international order lacks the nuance to address the interesting questions

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[45] Sten Rynning, "The Divide: France, Germany and Political NATO," *International Affairs* 93, No. 2 (2017), 486.

[46] Rynning, "The Divide: France, Germany and Political NATO," 486.

[47] Colin Gray's definition of strategy in a general sense has considerable support within the discipline. He defines strategy as "the direction and use made of means by chosen ways in order to achieve desired ends." Colin S. Gray, *The Strategy Bridge: Theory for Practice* (Oxford University Press, 2016), 18.

raised by both Kosovo and Iraq as to what constitutes international legitimacy for the use of force. Nevertheless, it is the EU's first attempt at drawing together the topology of a strategic culture that had been developing since Maastricht.

The founding treaty and the subsequent Treaty of Amsterdam had set out the original strategic vision and Saint-Malo had 'operationalized' the emerging ESDP. Indeed, at the time of the ESS's publication, the EU had already completed military stabilization operations in the Congo and Macedonia, initiated a civilian law enforcement operation in Bosnia and was planning a military follow-on campaign to replace NATO's Stabilization Force (SFOR) in 2004 that endures to this day.[48] In an effort to heal the damaging Atlantic rift, the ESS emphasized the importance of the transatlantic relationship and NATO. It also drew attention to regional organizations such as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Association of South East Asian Nations, and the African Union as regional partners in the promotion of global governance. It is a clear articulation of the rules-based multilateral approach to building and maintaining international order.

In addition to the multilateral norm, there is a clear expression in the ESS of the 'democratic peace theory' and advocacy for using economic and diplomatic instruments to promote good governance, social and political reform, and promotion of human rights abroad. By creating a Kantian zone of peace within Europe and promoting democracy globally, the EU aims to reduce the propensity for conflict and achieve both internal and external security for its members. For those 'rogue' states that have placed "themselves outside the bounds of international society," the ESS advocated an incentives-based approach to convince them to rejoin.

This is a distinctly European 'carrot' that contrasts visibly with the traditional US 'big stick' of military power. The aspiration, however, was to forge a revitalized but "balanced partnership" with the US, in order to act in concert as a "formidable force for good in the world." In terms of policy prescriptions, the ESS advocated for the EU to be an enforcer of UN resolutions and called on the Member States to "transform [their] militaries into more flexible, mobile forces…[providing] more resources for defense…[and] the use of pooled and shared assets." Pooling and sharing is a recurring

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[48] Biava et al., 2011, JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies, 49, 1227-1248.

theme across the post-ESS period; it is an effort to unlock the potential of pan-EU defense and security capacity in order to build capable and credible military capabilities to support the ESS's ambition.[49]

Tool Building and Promoting Norms

Under the French presidency of the EU in 2008, the ESS was reviewed by EU member states and its goals made more concrete. In short, the EU would aim to be able to conduct two major stabilization and reconstruction operations with up to 10,000 troops each or two rapid response operations involving EU Battle Groups. These could include an evacuation operation for European citizens, an air or sea monitoring operation and a military–civil operation of humanitarian assistance.[50] Although the EU Battle Group concept had been around since 2004, this was the first serious attempt to define its scale and purpose. Biava *et al* have argued that this constitutes a concerted effort to develop the military tools to exercise coercive or 'hard' power.[51]

Furthermore, the creation of the Crisis Management and Planning Directorate (CMPD), placed civilian-military planning for combined operations into one body. The CMPD reflects the EU's long-standing multilateralism norm and emphasizes the "comprehensive" approach to planning defense and security missions. Along with the EU Battle Groups, the EU agreed in 2005 to establish the European Security and Defense College (ESDC) and the European Defense Agency (EDA). Together, these represent an attempt to pool and share both the physical, conceptual, and organizational aspects of ESDP capabilities.

The EU Battle Group concept represented an early attempt to identify 'standing' EU combat capabilities, provided at specific readiness states, to support rapid deployment in support of EU missions. Becoming operational in 2007, the Battle Groups were supported by an EU Operations Center, a Civilian Planning and Conduct Capability, and a Joint Situation Center.[52] Although these Battle Groups have yet to be deployed to support EU operations, they represent a physical manifestation of the development of EU strategic culture away from 'soft power' and gendarmerie-style capabilities, towards

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[49] ESS 2003. https://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf
[50] Biava et al., 2011, JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies, 49, 1236.
[51] Biava et al., 2011, JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies, 49, 1236.
[52] Biava et al., 2011, JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies, 49, 1236.

'hard power' military capabilities capable of deployed war fighting. Nevertheless, the Battle Group concept remains controversial. As the EU's own *CSDP Handbook* makes clear,

> CSDP is based on the 1999 Helsinki Headline Goal, i.e. 60,000 troops, but this has been overshadowed by the much more limited battle groups. The availability of the forces declared cannot be assessed, because Member States declare numbers that in theory they are willing to deploy for CSDP operation, but no pre-identified units, and have often declared similar numbers to NATO as well. If all ongoing CSDP, NATO, UN and national operations in which EU Member States participate are counted, Europe deploys more than 80,000 troops, but they obviously cannot mobilize 60,000 additional troops for expeditionary operations.[53]

The fact that EU states hold forces "dual hatted" to support CSDP as well as NATO operations is, however, unsurprising and should not be taken as evidence of a lack of commitment. Indeed, the practice of "dual hatting" forces, with both national and NATO commitments, is not uncommon.[54] It simply reflects a prudent assumption that there is a low risk of "dual hatted" commitments being activated concurrently; should they do so, states would have to make hard choices about apportionment for best effect. As a result, controversy over the ambiguous nature of the commitment aside, the EU Battle Groups are a demonstrable example of EU's resolve to create military capability for future war fighting missions.

The ESDC and the EDA similarly represent not only institutions of EU strategic culture but also develop the EU's capability to act. They also serve to reinforce shared norms through socialization effects on policy elites. The ESDC supports the EU's "comprehensive approach" by providing training at the strategic level for civil and military personnel of the Member States and EU Institutions. Training activities of the ESDC bring together diplomats, police, rule of law and civil administration staff and military personnel.[55] This has an important function in preparing personnel to conduct

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[53] CSDP Handbook, 21. Accessed at https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage_en/9113/Handbook%20on%20CSDP

[54] Author's own experience working at SHAPE.

[55] CSDP Handbook, 68. Accessed at https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage_en/9113/Handbook%20on%20CSDP

civilian and military EU missions, reinforcing the tool-building capability of the EU to act collectively on the international stage.

The ESDC also serves an important socialization function in promoting the EU's cultural norms amongst Member States' civilian and military leadership. Indeed, a clearly stated goal of the ESDC is to spread EU strategic culture.[56] Similarly, the EDA acts to develop opportunities for pooling & sharing of defense capabilities, research and development, and the creation of a European defense equipment market to strengthen the European defense, technological and industrial base. In this sense, it has become a part of the standing EU CSDP institutional architecture and an important aspect of civilian and military tool building. It is also, however, another vehicle for socialization and norm promotion. Although the EDA does not generate capabilities itself, by providing a forum for project management and capability development it is able to promote common EU norms and standards amongst civilian and military procurement elites and their industrial partners.

Multi-national armament projects within the EU have remained sporadic and driven primarily by national rather than pan-EU interests. Nevertheless, projects such as the Eurofighter, developed by the UK, Germany, Italy, and Spain, and more recently the A400M transport aircraft, are examples of successful European collaboration in procurement. The 2010 European Air Transport Command (EATC) initiative is also a good example of pooling and sharing of airlift capabilities across a number of European nations; yet large players like France and the UK remained outside of the agreement.[57] The big picture, however, is of a patchwork of bilateral and multilateral commitments with little EU-wide activity. Initiatives are typically "bottom-up" driven by the individual requirements of individual Member States rather than the result of a holistic approach to common EU challenges.

There is, therefore, a gap between rhetoric and reality with respect to the EU's capability to act. Certainly, there have been significant developments in the institutional machinery needed to provide capacity to act, and forums as the EDA and ESDC provide opportunities for collaborative action and promote shared norms. There is, however, a

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[56] Biava et al., 2011, JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies, 49, 1239.
[57] John Andreas Olsen, *Global Air Power* (Potomac Books, 2011), 392.

lack of political will in the national capitals to take the hard decisions needed to unlock the material capacity of the EU bloc. This illustrates the fundamental disagreement below the surface of EU culture that the strategic framework documents and institutions cannot fully conceal.

The European Commission's Political Strategy Center (EPSC) has advocated for a paradigm shift in European defense attitudes in order to respond to this growing gap between rhetoric and reality. The EPSC's 2015 paper, *In Defense of Europe*, outlines the challenge of an increasingly militarized European periphery and the continued failure of Europe to act in an effective and concerted manner to address the ensuing security consequences.[58] The paper makes the convincing point that Europe as the world's second largest defense spender, has tremendous potential to wield 'hard power' commensurate with its economic and political stature. Nevertheless, fragmentation of defense cooperation and lack of political will have frustrated its potential.

The EPSC paper paints a grim but realistic picture of declining European defense spending in relative terms to the rest of the world, and duplication of capabilities across nations' leading to inefficiencies, waste, and lack of interoperability. The paper cites, for example, the fact that in 2013, 84% of all equipment procurement took place at the national level, thereby depriving countries of the cost savings that come with scale.[59] Overall, it makes the claim that the lack of coordinated spending means that, "at a cost of more than half of that of the US, Europeans obtain only a tenth of the capacity."[60] The paper advocates for using the Treaty of Lisbon's framework of PESCO as a vehicle to move forward in resolving these problems.

In establishing a legal vehicle for permitting enhanced political and economic integration within the EU for those nations so disposed, the 2009 Treaty of Lisbon sought to address many of the shortcomings identified above. Article 42(6) of the Treaty provides the possibility for a group of like-minded Member States to take European defense to the next level; the EPSC's 2015 paper describes this Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) as a "potential game changer" for European defense that so far

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[58] EPSC 2015. https://ec.europa.eu/epsc/sites/epsc/files/strategic_note_issue_4_en.pdf
[59] EPSC 2015. https://ec.europa.eu/epsc/sites/epsc/files/strategic_note_issue_4_en.pdf
[60] EPSC 2015. https://ec.europa.eu/epsc/sites/epsc/files/strategic_note_issue_4_en.pdf

remains only on paper.[61] No Member State is mandated to join PESCO but it allows those willing to do so the opportunity to enhance integration of defense industries and capabilities and therefore move beyond the intergovernmental paradigm that has thus far limited defense cooperation. According to the *CSDP Handbook,* "PESCO provides a flexible structure for top-down political steering, and a pragmatic solution with potentially far-reaching consequences."[62] PESCO is, therefore, a useful measurement of the degree of demonstrable commitment to a shared purpose and unity of action that underpins the EU's emerging strategic culture. So far, participation in PESCO has been limited and in the absence of a genuine single European market for defense procurement and a shift away from national mindsets that seek to prioritize domestic defense industries over pan-EU procurement, PESCO is unlikely to deliver upon the promise its advocates ascribe to it. Part of the objection to PESCO also stems from what the EPSC paper identifies as "NATO-first reflexes" and a tendency to see EU vs. NATO collaboration as mutually exclusive.[63]

Many European states have continued to see the emergence of a distinct EU defense identity as a threat to NATO primacy; indeed, as the next Chapter will explore, this view has been a generally consistent one in the UK's strategic culture. The argument rests upon the view that prioritizing European integration in defense will come at the expense of the transatlantic relationship. Given the legacy of the Cold War and the continuing vast disparities in military capabilities between the US and Europe, disturbing the transatlantic relationship is a price that Europeans have thus far been unwilling to pay for EU autonomy. In theory, the incentive to achieve EU autonomy will remain low as long as NATO remains committed to European defense and strategic alignment prevails. This has indeed been the case in the aftermath of the Cold War, with NATO coming forward to resolve conflict in the Balkans and provide a coherent 'check' against renewed Russian revanchism to the East of NATO's border. It is not clear, however, that this will always remain the case.

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[61] https://ec.europa.eu/epsc/sites/epsc/files/strategic_note_issue_4_en.pdf
[62] CSDP Handbook, 127. Accessed at https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage_en/9113/Handbook%20on%20CSDP
[63] EPSC 2015. https://ec.europa.eu/epsc/sites/epsc/files/strategic_note_issue_4_en.pdf

The 2015 EPSC paper highlights the then highly publicized US "pivot" to Asia as indicative of American long-term interests shifting away from Europe as power in the international system diffuses away from the West and towards a rising China and India. A resurgent Russia, however, continues to keep NATO relevant in the provision of European territorial security. Furthermore, NATO has continued to diversify its portfolio of expeditionary operations. In addition to continuing to provide the framework for security support to the reconstruction and development of Afghanistan,[64] NATO conducted operations in Libya in 2011[65] and is providing some limited capabilities to the ongoing coalition operations against Islamic State in Syria and Iraq.[66] NATO, therefore, has remained highly relevant and capable as a vehicle for delivering security for EU member states.

The EU is gradually developing an appetite for autonomy but remains committed to NATO and the transatlantic relationship. EU operations, through the Petersberg Tasks, emphasize lower-intensity missions and can act to support NATO in a complementary fashion. As the EPSC paper argues, support for the EU's CSDP can only strengthen NATO's European pillar and ensure a fairer sharing of the Alliance's cost burden.[67] The recently elected Trump administration in the US has underlined a continued American commitment to NATO but made an unusually public critique of European contributions; the fact that very few NATO members meet the agreed 2% of GDP commitment to defense spending is injurious not only to NATO but to the CSDP too.[68] The development of European collaboration on defense procurement, in particular the possibilities opened up by Lisbon through PESCO, provides a measure of Europe's shared identity (or lack thereof) that underpins the EU's strategic culture.

As a barometer of strategic culture thus far, progress within PESCO reveals a continued lack of Europeanization of national defense industries and policy perspectives. If the health of PESCO is any measure of future performance then without some form of strong external or internal 'shock', EU collaboration is likely to remain ad hoc and

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[64] See NATO website. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_113694.htm
[65] See NATO website. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_71652.htm
[66] NATO is currently providing NATO AWACS to support counter-IS operations. See http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_77646.htm
[67] EPSC 2015. https://ec.europa.eu/epsc/sites/epsc/files/strategic_note_issue_4_en.pdf
[68] https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/feb/15/nato-bedrock-of-us-defence-policy-says-general-james-mattis-defence-secretary-trump

subject to a prevailing nationalization of defense priorities. It is likely that 'NATO-first reflexes' will continue to offer shirking EU states an alibi for not supporting CSDP institutions but they cannot conceal the lack of priority afforded in general to the defense share of national budgets. Furthermore, any evaporation of US political will to support NATO is likely to induce an incentive for Europeans to perform a pivot of their own, away from the transatlantic alliance and towards a more autonomous EU defense identity. All of these factors have propelled EU elites towards an effort to renew the European defense construct. This has led to a very recent attempt to update the EU's security strategy in order to establish a modern and relevant strategic framework for action.

Europe's New Global Strategy

The 2003 ESS proved to be a landmark document in developing the EU's strategic framework for action, identifying common internal and external threats to security, and proposing the evolution of the institutional machinery and capabilities necessary for Europe to act. In 2016, the EU finally brought its strategy up to date for an international context characterized by a resurgent Russia on the EU's periphery and an increasingly destabilizing security situation in the Middle East.

The foreword to the EU's 2016 global strategy (EUGS), written by the current High Representative for the CFSP, states that the Union itself is under threat from those that question its value.[69] The EUGS, composed in the aftermath of the UK's Brexit referendum, aims to establish a clear vision for Europe's place in the world and provide an answer to those who question the very relevance of the Union itself. Updated to reflect the new existential threats to European security posed by Russia, international terrorism, and instability in Europe's Middle Eastern neighborhood, the EUGS is also a response to the internal 'shock' of Brexit. Much like its 2003 predecessor and despite its title, it is an aspirational document, which is big on vision and light on strategy. In common with all previous EU strategic framework documents, it emphasizes the multilateralism norm and a rules-based global order with the UN at its core. The EUGS espouses a "principled pragmatism" of engagement and partnership outside the confines of Europe and with other international organizations and regional bodies.

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[69] EUGS 2016. https://europa.eu/globalstrategy/en/global-strategy-foreign-and-security-policy-european-union

In acknowledging the increasingly contested international context, the EUGS calls for a strengthening of the EU's defense and security. In a revealing line, in light of the discussion above about 'NATO-first reflexes', the EUGS argues that "while NATO exists to defend its members – *most* of which are European – from external attack, Europeans must be better equipped, trained and organized to contribute decisively to such collective efforts, *as well as to act autonomously if and when necessary*." [Emphasis added]. If there is one discernible shift in emphasis between the 2003 and 2016 strategies, it is with respect to the transatlantic relationship and the future autonomy of the EU. Whereas the ESS envisaged the EU acting in partnership with NATO, the 2016 EUGS explicitly references the requirement for the EU to act autonomously when the need arises; indeed, it makes the point that not all EU members are members of NATO and that their security interests must also influence European strategy and not be prejudiced by EU-NATO relations. In this assertion of aspiration for future autonomy from NATO, the EUGS is quick to take the same argument made by the EPSC - that strengthening European defense also reinforces the European pillar of the transatlantic partnership and is, therefore, of mutually beneficial interest to both organizations. In many ways, however, the EUGS language is closer to the Saint-Malo declaration in its robust articulation of the need for "autonomous action, backed up by credible military forces, the means to decide to use them, and a readiness to do so, in order to respond to international crises."[70]

The EUGS marks a decisive re-emphasis of the EU's aspiration to become an increasingly autonomous and strategic actor on the international stage. In the EUGS' description of the "European Security Order" needed to respond to Russian revanchism, there is bizarrely no mention of NATO. Instead, it envisages the potential for a rehabilitation of Europe's relationship with Russia as a result of a strong EU, Russian acceptance of support for existing international norms, and engagement with Russia on issues of mutual interest. Instead of drawing attention to NATO's deterrence power, the EUGS sees the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, a consensual forum for pan-European discussion, "at the heart of the European security order."[71] What emerges from the EUGS is a sense of increasing EU autonomy and strategic

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[70] Saint-Malo Declaration and EUGS 2016.
[71] https://europa.eu/globalstrategy/en/global-strategy-foreign-and-security-policy-european-union

responsibility but in the post-modernist context within which the EU feels most comfortable.

There remains the emphasis, established by the ESS and the founding Treaties, on the "comprehensive" or multi-instrument approach to preventing and resolving conflict with the onus on 'soft power' mechanisms such as dialogue and engagement to resolve disputes. Nevertheless, there is an explicit call for 'hard power' military capabilities to be developed by Member States with a focus on pan-EU interoperability to meet commonly defined capability requirements and be available for both NATO and EU missions. There is no mention of PESCO, perhaps because for many states like the UK, there is no consensus on using this vehicle to create common defense capabilities. Indeed, the EUGS emphasizes the fact that defense will be characterized by intergovernmental politics with defense and security remaining a national sovereign prerogative. The EUGS is on safer more consensual ground here than the more ambitious EPCS paper discussed above. The partnership with the US and NATO remains valued; the EUGS speaks of enhancing the transatlantic partnership but with the EU clearly aspiring to treatment as an equal strategic partner with a distinctively post-modernist approach to defense and security.

Summary

The EU has developed a distinctive strategic culture that has evolved as a consequence of continued European political and economic integration since 1945; the key characteristics are summarized in Table 1. The cultural foundations are based on the experience of war and occupation in the 20ᵗʰ century. Although different European states, in particular France, UK, and Germany, have developed quite different national strategic cultures, there is sufficient convergence within the European context to point towards a distinct European strategic culture. The establishment of the EU and an associated ambition for a common foreign and security policy with the Maastricht Treaty, set the Member States on a path to establishing a distinct strategic framework for action. The Saint-Malo declaration, as a reaction to European impotence in the Balkans, by articulating the shared French and British commitment to the EU's common defense and security project provided the necessary impetus to operationalize the vision of the founding treaties. The 2003 ESS and latterly the 2016 EUGS further develop the strategic framework and advocate for a more assertive and increasingly autonomous EU.

As a distinctive post-modern project, the EU's strategic culture reflects the norms of multilateralism, consensus, democracy, and humanitarian intervention. The EU manifests these norms through its emphasis on 'soft power' and the use of the diplomatic and economic instruments of power. There remains the ongoing issue of developing military power in the context of NATO primacy, an enduring German pacific strategic culture, and the peculiarly post-modernist nature of the EU, which aims to move international relations beyond realpolitik and towards a Kantian zone of shared security. Given this history and context, it is not surprising that the EU as a bloc has failed to realize its theoretical potential as the world's second largest defense spender by converting this into commensurate 'hard power'. Nevertheless, in the wake of the end of the Cold War as well as the traumatic experience of Bosnia and Kosovo, the EU has been forced by events to confront its destiny.

Continuing discussions with regard to the relevance of NATO and the level of support it enjoys on both sides of the Atlantic have forced the EU to continue to review its strategic ambition. The EU's institutional machinery is gradually being assembled to provide the *capacity* to act strategically, even if the *capabilities* to act remain woefully inadequate outside the NATO construct. To its credit, the EU is painfully aware of these limitations. Notwithstanding that the EUGS, like its ESS predecessor, is primarily a document of vision rather than a strategy, there is evidence of a concerted effort to engage the Member States in a discussion to identify the future direction of the CFSP and CSDP domains.

The European Commission has recently produced a White Paper positing five possible scenarios for the future development of the European project.[72] Each one of these scenarios has important consequences for CFSP/CSDP. Chapter 5 will discuss the implications of these developmental pathways on future UK-European security cooperation in the wake of Brexit. In the next Chapter, we will address the specifics of British strategic culture and identify those key areas of commonality and divergence with the EU based on the analysis above. Having described the main characteristics of both EU and British strategic culture, the paper will be in a position to analyze the specific EU

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[72] European Commission White Paper on the Future of Europe, 2017. See http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-17-385_en.htm

operations and missions and conduct some forecasting for what Brexit might mean to their continuation and the nature of future UK-European security cooperation in general.

Table 1: Summary of EU Strategic Culture

Period	Strategic Framework	Threats	Capabilities	Institutions	Norms
Early Cold War	Post-war reconstruction	Resurgent German Militarism Soviet threat to Europe	Nil - dependent on Anglo-American power	WEU NATO	Self-defense Futility of War
Cold War	Bipolarity Nuclear Deterrence Containment	Soviet threat to Europe	Strengthening European pillar of NATO	NATO EEC EPC	Collective Security Multilateralism
Early Post-Cold War	US unipolarity Enhanced European integration (Maastricht & Lisbon Treaties) St Malo - autonomous role for EU defense	European fragmentation Ethnic nationalism	Petersberg Tasks Berlin Plus	NATO ESDP	Multilateralism Soft Power Humanitarian Intervention Right to Protect
Post-9/11	Multipolarity 2003 European Security Strategy 2016 European Global Strategy	Terrorism Resurgent Russia Disengaging U.S?	Petersberg Tasks Berlin Plus EU Battle Groups	NATO CSDP - EDA, ESDC, CMPD, EATC	Multilateralism Comprehensive Approach Expeditionary capabilities Increasing emphasis on hard power

Source: Author's Original Work

Chapter 4

UK Strategic Culture

We are going to liberate Europe, but it is because the Americans are with us. So, get this quite clear. Every time we have to decide between Europe and the open sea, it is always the open sea we shall choose.

Winston Churchill, 1944,

The future of Europe if Britain were to be excluded is black indeed.

Winston Churchill, 1963

This chapter will explore British strategic culture as it has developed over time, drawing upon the framework of strategic culture developed in Chapter 2. The next chapter conducts a comparative analysis of the two strategic cultures; this forms the basis for forecasting plausible pathways of security cooperation in a post-Brexit future. One important qualification to this approach is that by definition, EU strategic culture is an amalgam of different national strategic cultures *including* the UK. As was clear from the exposition of EU strategic culture in the last chapter, British efforts to shape European security strategy and 'operationalize' the EU's strategic ambition are to some extent an attempt to export British norms regarding the use of force on to the EU project. Consequently, it is a fruitless task for the scholar to attempt to *wholly* disentangle EU strategic culture from the influence of Britain as a chief protagonist within the CFSP domain. Nevertheless, in the context of Brexit, it is important to identify the nature of that British influence and whether wider European culture has been permanently shaped as a consequence. Similarly, the degree to which British strategic culture has been 'Europeanized' is of equal importance. Understanding these reciprocal effects is important to the challenge of forecasting post-Brexit pathways of security cooperation.

The analysis will proceed, exactly as the previous chapter did, with a longitudinal assessment of strategic culture to identify the evolution of the strategic framework for action, the identification of threats, the development of capabilities and institutions, and the norms that underpin them. Collectively, these constituents of strategic culture form British strategic preferences that influence responses to specific contextual challenges.

The chapter will start with a pre-EU prolog that identifies the foundations of British strategic culture, before proceeding with a detailed assessment of cultural evolution in the contemporary period of Britain's membership of the EU. In short, the findings are that British strategic culture has been shaped by competing Atlanticist and Europeanist norms set against the legacy of Empire. It is a culture characterized more by continuity rather than change, a feature of the 'stickiness' of all cultures but also peculiar to the British strategic experience. The 1945 settlement and the primacy of NATO in British strategic thinking during the Cold War have elevated the Atlanticist perspective at the expense of Europeanism. Nevertheless, under the Blair government of 1997-2007, Britain adopted a more pro-European policy. As will be seen, however, this pivot to Europeanism was primarily a strategy to reconcile and subordinate the CFSP domain to Britain's prevailing transatlantic conception of European security. As a result, the Blair period indicates more continuity than first appearances might suggest. Overall, British strategic culture's Atlanticism has proved a remarkably resilient normative feature throughout the post-1945 period. As will be seen in the next Chapter, this has important consequences for the development of UK-European security cooperation in the post-Brexit context.

Foundational Norms

Modern British strategic culture has emerged out of the settlement that followed the end of the Second World War. With American power unrivaled and Britain, like the rest of Western Europe, wholly dependent on US economic aid, the post-War settlement marked the final transition of Britain as a nineteenth century global power with global influence to a mid-twentieth century European power with diminished global influence. Although British power had been declining steadily since the turn of the century and had become eclipsed by a rising United States by the end of the First World War, the single most important step towards this transformation in global status was in Britain's refusal to sue for peace with Nazi Germany in 1940. It was a decision to risk the British Empire in order to prevent German hegemony in Europe and it had monumental consequences for world history and a powerful normative influence on the evolution of British strategic culture.

Churchill's determination in 1940 to fight Hitler whatever the cost, as the historian Stephen Bungay argues convincingly, was not based on a sober appreciation of British

interests, but on deep and long-held moral and historical convictions.[1] In the wake of the defeat of the British Expeditionary Force and the humiliation of the Dunkirk evacuation, the government Churchill led was deeply divided over the issue of whether to sue for peace or continue the war. Churchill's great rival, Lord Halifax, had made a convincing appeal to reason based on the futility of continuing to fight against a triumphant continental foe with which Britain had no fundamental conflict of interest.[2]

Britain's long held policy of seeking a balance of power on the continent in order to maintain imperial freedom of action was in ruins following Dunkirk. At a meeting of the War Cabinet on 26 May, Halifax argued that the government's goal must be to "safeguard the independence of our own Empire and if possible that of France."[3] Churchill's response, in Periclean terms, was to make an appeal to both interest and honor. He argued that any terms offered by Hitler would be far too onerous, turning Britain into a 'slave state.' The only option, he articulated, was to fight on. This was a difficult position to take in light of Hitler's dominance of the continent and the long history of pragmatic British diplomacy. Indeed, there were indications from both Mussolini and Hitler that a peace conference might be proposed by Italy and Germany, and compromises extracted through negotiation. Hitler had made clear in *Mein Kampf* that England's position as a colonial power made her unique in Europe and of no interest to Germany in terms of territory. England, Hitler stated, did not want Germany to be a *world* power but had no essential conflict with Germany in Europe. His calculation, reflected in similar arguments made by Halifax, was that Britain's primary interest was in protecting her Empire. Hitler's logic, therefore, gave him confidence to seek every diplomatic means to keep Britain out of the war and secure him the freedom of action in the East to pursue his policy of *lebensraum.* Churchill was to disappoint Hitler and it was his appeal to honor rather than an argument based on reason that was to persuade the British nation to follow his leadership and face Germany alone.[4]

If Halifax represented the pragmatic tradition in British diplomacy, captured in Lord Palmerston's famous remark that Britain had no permanent friends only permanent

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[1] Stephen Bungay, *The Most Dangerous Enemy: A History of the Battle of Britain* (Aurum Press, 2015), 14.
[2] Bungay, *The Most Dangerous Enemy: A History of the Battle of Britain*, 14.
[3] Bungay, *The Most Dangerous Enemy: A History of the Battle of Britain*, 11.
[4] Bungay, *The Most Dangerous Enemy: A History of the Battle of Britain*, 27-34.

interests, Churchill was firmly in the idealist tradition. In Bungay's words, "his loyalty was ultimately to a moral rather than a political principle, and he was prepared to accept that one outcome of the war would be the weakening of Britain and the creation of American hegemony."[5] He saw a deal with Hitler as immoral and decided that it was Britain's fate to confront the threat of tyranny to democracy and the West.[6] Robert Cooper described this seminal moment in British history as a decision based on "an instinct about the sort of country Britain was and the sort of Europe it wanted - or rather, the sort of Europe it did not want…Churchill's policy was based not on a calculus of interest, but on a deep insight into the British people and their history."[7] It was a decision fundamentally shaped by a conception of British identity, the product primarily of culturally derived values rather than of rational strategic self-interest.

There is a mythology surrounding Britain's stand against fascism in 1940 that has imbued British strategic culture with certain normative characteristics that continue to endure. If Britain had given up in 1940, the war would have had one of two possible outcomes: Nazi or Soviet domination of Europe. The British participation in the war, to quote Bungay, "was a condition *sine qua non* of a Western presence in Europe in 1945."[8] Set against this decisive legacy, there has arisen a number of myths that purport to explain British success and continue to influence strategic culture. In Bungay's analysis of the legacy of the 1940 Battle of Britain, he identifies that these myths are constituted by a false belief in 'innate' British national characteristics of self-sacrifice, courage, and improvisation that led the UK to victory against a highly efficient and superior German adversary. The truth however was somewhat different. In Bungay's words, "in their 'finest hour' the British behaved quite differently from the way in which they usually seek to portray themselves. They exhibited a talent for planning and organization which, in its Teutonic thoroughness, far outstripped that of the Germans."[9] Nevertheless, the myth of the 'few' - those small band of heroic airmen who fought valiantly against the odds to save Western civilization - was etched indelibly on the national memory and sense of identity.

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[5] Bungay, *The Most Dangerous Enemy: A History of the Battle of Britain*, 15.
[6] Bungay, *The Most Dangerous Enemy: A History of the Battle of Britain*, 15.
[7] Cooper, *The Breaking of Nations: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-First Century*, 133.
[8] Bungay, *The Most Dangerous Enemy: A History of the Battle of Britain*, 393.
[9] Bungay, *The Most Dangerous Enemy: A History of the Battle of Britain*, 395.

The Second World War also reinforced another important norm that underpins British strategic culture: the efficacy and legitimacy of 'hard power' in the pursuit of national security. This represents a significant divergence from the prevailing postwar European norm, discussed in the previous Chapter that emphasizes the futility of force and the imperative to seek non-violent strategies of conflict resolution. For the continental states, which almost without exception, were subject to military defeat and occupation, a key lesson of the Second World War was that Europe had to move beyond power politics. Conversely, the UK had successfully repelled conquest and thus inculcated a belief in the necessity of force of arms in order to preserve not only national sovereignty but to defend wider liberal values. In this important normative aspect, British strategic culture has more commonality with the United States than it does with the rest of Europe.

The experience of the Second World War also elevated the importance of air power as a national instrument of power. Traditionally, British security had been achieved through its unrivaled naval power. The Royal Navy had served as the historical guarantor of its maritime Empire and secured the English Channel that had kept England free of invasion since the Norman conquest of 1066. The experience of the Battle of Britain and the London Blitz that followed, however, gave credence to those who had argued that since the advent of the aircraft that air power had fundamentally changed a state's security calculus.[10] Indeed, the necessity of the combined bomber offensive as the only offensive strategy available to the Allies until as late as 1944, only served to elevate the importance of air power as an instrument of national power in the post-war national consciousness. The Second World War also served to bind together the Anglo-American powers in a successful wartime partnership that would serve as the foundation for the construction of the post-war international order.

The initial American goal, articulated in the 1941 Atlantic Charter, was to establish an open and multilateral economic order that would be jointly managed through a new set of global institutions. Enjoying a vast preponderance of economic and military power, the US pursuit of this new order-building project would ultimately mean the end of the

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[10] The inter-war theories of Giulio Douhet, and Hugh Trenchard's advocacy for independent air power are instrumental in the British conception of air power.

system of British Imperial preference and the transition of the UK into a post-imperial power. Nevertheless, the Charter was also heavily influenced by Churchill's world-view. It clearly articulated the democratic values of self-government and the principle of self-determination, in addition to calling for an open trading system while preserving language intended to protect the special status of the British dominions. Indeed, the original British draft was penned personally by Churchill and differs only slightly from the final version agreed with Roosevelt.[11]

The Atlantic Charter provides an important normative reference for British strategic culture. In agreeing a shared vision for postwar order based on common principles, the unique Anglo-American wartime bond personified in Churchill and Roosevelt but extending throughout their respective national political and military structures, converted the wartime alliance into an enduring "special relationship" between the US and UK that survives to this day. It also raised the prospect of an Atlantic community of democracies united in shared values and common purpose.

This Atlanticist vision had historical roots going back to the turn of the century and was associated with statesmen and thinkers such as John Hay, the British ambassador to Washington Lord Bryce, American ambassador to London Walter Hines Page, Admiral Mahan, and Henry Adams.[12] In his seminal *The Twenty Years' Crisis,* E H Carr describes this as a "dream that British supremacy, instead of passing away altogether, will be transmuted into the higher and more effective form of an ascendancy of the English-speaking peoples."[13] The reality imposed by the UK's severely weakened position in 1945, however, would mean that as Carr astutely predicted, "a *pax Americana* imposed on a divided and weakened Europe would be an easier contingency to realize than a *pax Anglo-Saxonica* based on an equal partnership of English-speaking peoples."[14] The massive power asymmetry between the US and its allies in 1945 meant that the UK had no choice but to accept a new status as junior partner to American hegemonic leadership.

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[11] Winston Churchill, *The Grand Alliance: The Second World War, Volume 3 (Winston Churchill World War II Collection).* (RosettaBooks, 2010), 577.

[12] G. John Ikenberry, *Liberal Leviathan: The Origins, Crisis, and Transformation of the American World Order (Princeton Studies in International History and Politics)* (Princeton University Press, 2012), 187.

[13] E. H. Carr, *Twenty Years' Crisis 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations: 2nd (Second) Edition* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), 214.

[14] E. H. Carr*, Twenty Years' Crisis 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations: 2nd (Second) Edition*, 215.

John Ikenberry, in his influential study *After Victory*, describes two post-war settlements that were to shape the international system.[15] The first was the containment of the Soviet Union based on power balancing and ideological competition. The second was a multilateral economic and political settlement established primarily across the Euro-Atlantic region based on Western liberal values.[16] Britain played an influential role in both of these projects; in the first case through its contribution to NATO and the defense of Europe, and in the second case through an Atlantic partnership with the US, to implement the shared values enshrined in the Atlantic Charter. Ikenberry's central argument is that the character of post-1945 order is the result of America's highly favorable power position in the aftermath of the Second World War and its nuanced attempt to forge institutional order based on multilateralism and liberal values. The American led international order, therefore, rested on the vital foundations of Atlantic security and shared democratic values. As a result, as Britain's role as a junior partner to the US in building this post-war consensus developed, British strategic culture evolved to emphasize Atlanticism instead of Empire and economic openness instead of imperial preference.

The cultural transition necessary to reflect Britain's more diminished and subordinate global role was not an easy process. The British political establishment was divided between those like Churchill who were sympathetic to free trade and American leadership, and the core of his own Conservative Party and the Labor Party opposition that sought the preservation of a form of Imperial preference within a British-led Commonwealth of Nations.[17] Nevertheless, the conditions surrounding the original 1941 Lend-Lease agreement that stipulated that neither countries would seek to restrict trade or erect protectionist barriers, and the realities of American power were to lead to the Bretton Woods system and the foundations of a new open and managed economic order. Bretton Woods struck a compromise between bilateralism and laissez-faire that in the end

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[15] G. John Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars* (Princeton, NJ, United States: Princeton University Press, 2000), 170.

[16] Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars*, 170.

[17] Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars*, 188.

proved congenial to both American and the prevailing British political interests.[18] More importantly, however, with the monopoly on the atomic bomb and preeminent economic and military power, the US was in a position to decisively shape the terms of European reconstruction and future politics.

In the immediate post-war period, Europe above all else feared a return to US isolationism; this trumped any concern over expanding US hegemony.[19] For influential US policy elites like George Kennan, a united Europe reconstructed using American economic aid and guaranteed by American military power, would act as a bulwark against the threat of Communism and be the best mechanism for containing the revival of German militarism. Britain, and to a degree France, were resistant to the political integration of Europe but were prepared to make the necessary compromises in exchange for essential American succor in the form of Marshall Aid and massive imports to stimulate economic recovery. Britain actively sought US security guarantees to Europe and fearful of the dominance of a future Germany within a united Europe, sought to preserve the special nature of the Anglo-American relationship. Efforts by Britain in 1952 to reduce the roles and functions of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation and transfer its functions to NATO, shows a clear preference for Atlanticism over European unity.[20] In making US security commitments contingent on greater European economic and political integration, however, Britain was forced to wrestle with competing Atlanticist and Europeanist visions. Navigating a policy course between these two perspectives of security and defense reveals an inherent normative tension at the heart of British strategic culture.

Britain feared that the pursuit of European integration would be a precursor to American withdrawal from Europe; the political unification of Europe raised the prospect of renewed German domination and US disengagement. Given these fears, the signing of the North Atlantic Pact in 1949 that added the United States and Canada to the newly established WEU, was a monumental moment in the development of British strategic

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[18] Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars*, 190.

[19] Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars*, 193.

[20] Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars*, 193.

culture and the high-water mark of the Atlanticist vision. By entangling the US in NATO, British security was guaranteed by American power but without the requirement to commit fully to European political integration. Nevertheless, Britain like her continental counterparts, remained heavily dependent on US economic aid to support post-war reconstruction. Marshall Plan aid would not be unconditional; Europeans would be forced, as Kennan argued, to "think like Europeans, and not like nationalists, in this approach to the economic problems of the continent."[21] The Marshall Plan's purpose, therefore, was not to create American satellites in Europe but to encourage Europeans towards self-reliance.[22]

There was no question that Britain would be included in the Marshall Plan, however, there was an acceptance by Kennan and his Policy Planning Staff that there was little point in trying to force Britain into any political or economic union with Europe. It was openly acknowledged by US policy elites that the UK would always prefer alignment with the United States, Canada, and what remained of her Empire.[23] Britain was therefore able to benefit from American economic aid through the Marshall Plan and a security guarantee from the US in the form of NATO, without the necessity of a formal commitment to European unification. The UK's commitment to the Atlantic Alliance ensured the preservation of the UK-US special relationship forged in the Second World War and reflected in the shared principles of the Atlantic Charter. This Anglo-American partnership is the most important feature of the UK's contemporary strategic framework for action. It formed the basis for UK policy throughout the Cold War and was instrumental in shaping British strategic culture for the second half of the twentieth century and beyond.

The Cold War and NATO - The Euro-Atlantic Strategic Framework

If the collective security of the Euro-Atlantic region was to provide the strategic framework upon which British strategic culture evolved after 1945, the chief strategic threat to the UK was the Soviet Union.[24] The heightened Soviet threat in the 1950s

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[21] George Kennan is quoted in Ikenberry, *Liberal Leviathan: The Origins, Crisis, and Transformation of the American World Order (Princeton Studies in International History and Politics)*, 203.

[22] John Lewis Gaddis, *George F. Kennan: An American Life* (Penguin Books, 2012), 279.

[23] Gaddis, *George F. Kennan: An American Life*, 360.

[24] Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars*, 211.

accelerated the process of US security guarantees and led to the deep integration of NATO forces and the permanent stationing of American troops in Europe. Nevertheless, Britain was facing a harsh postwar reality regarding its relative power position and the increasing strain of its imperial commitments.

Under the Atlee administration, facing overstretch overseas and an urgent requirement to boost domestic living standards, the UK began to retrench from its former imperial commitments. This strategic realignment saw it withdraw from India, Palestine, and abandon its commitments to Greece and Turkey[25]. By 1950, in spite of the increasing Soviet threat, British defense expenditure was nevertheless dwarfed by the superpowers; in that year alone, the defense expenditures of Britain, France, and Italy *combined* were less than one-fifth of the United States' and one-third of Russia's.[26] Nevertheless, it was clear that the advent of nuclear weapons had transformed the strategic landscape and for the UK they represented not only an effective guarantee of national survival but also an economic means of retaining great power influence.[27]

Membership in the nuclear club, much like a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council, is inextricably tied to Britain's sense of great power status and is primarily a question of identity rather than *realpolitik.* Indeed, in 1957 when the US cancelled the 'Skybolt' project, directly jeopardizing the UK's planned pathway to continue the British nuclear deterrent, Macmillan's appeal to Kennedy was based on British identity rather than Alliance interests. Indeed, it wasn't at all clear that it was in the United States' interest to have allies with nuclear weapons under their independent control. MacGeorge Bundy records that Macmillan urged the US to open up the Polaris capability by invoking British history, including its resistance to Nazi Germany in 1940, and threatened his own resignation claiming that Britain would no longer be able to play a committed role in NATO or as an ally of the US if it was forced out of the nuclear club.[28] Nuclear weapons mattered to the UK primarily because of their prestige; they were (and remain) weapons that support the narrative of continued British power and influence. Furthermore, since 1962, UK nuclear weapons have also been committed to

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[25] Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers* (Vintage, 1989), 792.
[26] Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, 795.
[27] Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, 797.
[28] Cooper, *The Breaking of Nations: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-First Century*, 128.

NATO, further reinforcing the critical importance of the Euro-Atlantic alliance to British strategic culture.

The history of British strategic culture during the Cold War, reflective of a tussle between competing Atlanticist and Europeanist visions of security priorities, has an important inflection point in the Suez crisis of 1956. The British, French, and Israeli operation to prevent the nationalization of the Suez Canal ended in a humiliating capitulation following firm opposition from the Eisenhower administration. It represented the last gasp of British imperial power and marked a turning point in the UK's relationship with both Europe and the US. Whereas France was to retain a distinctive national policy of strategic independence under De Gaulle, Suez reiterated to the British the importance of preserving influence over US policy through the transatlantic relationship.[29] The retrenchment of commitments East of Suez and the reaffirmation of the UK's commitment to NATO through the Harmel doctrine, are important historical moments in solidifying the UK's Atlanticist cultural proclivities.

The 1967 Harmel Doctrine was NATO's answer to the challenge of providing for both military defense and political unity.[30] France's separation from NATO's integrated military structure and Soviet overtures for détente in the 1960s threatened NATO's political cohesion by invoking the prospect of German neutrality, a normalization of relations between France and the Soviet Union, and a Soviet-US bilateral agreement to the detriment of the allies. The Harmel Doctrine was the collective answer to this political challenge. It re-established NATO's political primacy in European decision-making within the foreign and security domain, and as a direct response to both the Suez debacle and US intervention in Vietnam, it sought to recommit the Alliance to enhanced consultations and coordination of key national security decisions within NATO. In committing to the Harmel Doctrine, the UK renewed its investment in the Atlantic alliance and finally relinquished any desire for strategic independence from the US for the remainder of the Cold War.[31]

[29] Benoit Gomis, "Franco-British Defence and Security Treaties: Entente While it Lasts?," *Chatham House Programme Paper* ISP PP 2001/01(2011).
[30] See http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_26700.htm
[31] Rynning, "The Divide: France, Germany and Political NATO."

The primacy of transatlantic considerations, manifested through the NATO commitment, continued in spite of the UK's eventual decision to join the European Economic Community in 1973. Defense had little or no bearing upon this economic decision and fellow European states had only taken very small steps towards articulating a distinctively European foreign and security agenda in the form of the EEC's Political Cooperation mechanism.[32] British membership did little to advance the EEC's increasing economic and political collaboration, and NATO remained the only effective vehicle for the management of European defense and security for the remainder of the Cold War.

British initiative in recapturing the Falkland Islands from Argentina in 1982 provides evidence that in spite of Suez the UK was not afraid to act militarily to defend vital interests. Mindful however of the debacle that had ensued in 1956, Britain was careful to cultivate a close transatlantic relationship that would yield tacit support to the UK during its South Atlantic campaign. The favor was returned a few years later in 1986, when the UK provided basing for US combat aircraft flying bombing missions against Libya. French airspace was denied to American aircraft, requiring that they take an extended route around the continent and in to the Mediterranean via the Straits of Gibraltar. Thatcher's support to the US during this period underscored the continuity of the two master norms in British strategic culture: the importance of the Anglo-American bilateral relationship and a continued faith in the efficacy of military force to resolve international disputes.

Post-Cold War - Europeanism vs. Atlanticism

If the Cold War period reflects the ascendancy of the Atlanticist influence in British Strategic Culture, the 1990s are evidence of an attempt to reconcile this with an invigorated Europeanist vision. With the collapse of the Soviet threat to central Europe, it was prudent for American and European elites to reconsider their strategic calculus and the merits of the institutional architecture that had been erected by them during the Cold War. In the UK, under a Conservative government during this period, European cooperation represented an opportunity to demonstrate to the US that Europe was serious about further shouldering the burden of its defense. The Western European Union (WEU) had been resuscitated by European states during the 1980s and provided a vehicle for

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[32] Sven Biscop, "The UK and European Defence: Leading or Leaving," *International Affairs* (2012), 1298.

articulating a more independent European defense identity. The WEU's functions were codified in the Treaty of Maastricht in 1992 as the EU was born.

The events of the early to mid-1990s, in particular the war in the Persian Gulf and the ethnic nationalist challenge posed by Serbia in Bosnia, marked a period of continuity in British strategic culture. The UK continued to emphasize the "special relationship" with the US, building upon Thatcher's support to Reagan over the Libyan operation in 1986 and providing a significant British commitment to Desert Storm in 1991. With regard to European security interests, the primary strategic framework for action remained the North Atlantic Treaty. Nevertheless, under the new Blair administration in 1997, a discernible shift towards a more European perspective can be observed.

In the frustrations associated with its own strategically feeble responses to the crisis in Bosnia, and disillusionment with the state of European military capabilities, the UK under Blair sought to strengthen the European pillar of NATO and in turn open the door to the possibility of a more autonomous EU defense and security construct. The background to the 1998 St Malo declaration, and its consequences for the development of the EU's nascent strategic culture, were discussed in some detail in the last chapter. From a British perspective, however, it represented a rare Franco-British convergence on foreign and security policy. It is also the beginning of a brief but influential period of Europeanization within British strategic culture.

The British motivation behind the St Malo declaration appears to be a concerted effort to take the lead within the ESDP, primarily in order to ensure complementarity to NATO. Rare Franco-British consensus on the direction of European defense provided an opportunity for the UK to reconcile new European commitments within a decidedly "sticky" transatlantic strategic culture.[33] Efforts to strengthen the European pillar of NATO using the ESDP structure also coincided with a concerted push to reform NATO away from the traditional territorial defense paradigm of the Cold War and towards expeditionary operations. The Cold War peace dividend, embraced wholeheartedly across the governments of the Euro-Atlantic region, could have presaged the obsolescence of NATO itself. The Alliance, however, was reinvented by member states through a concerted effort to keep it *militarily* relevant in order to support the sustained demand for

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[33] Biscop, "The UK and European Defence: Leading or Leaving," 1301.

its ability to deliver Euro-Atlantic *political* cooperation. The UK was at the forefront of the initiative to create NATO's Combined Joint Task Force (CJTF) as a more mobile and expeditionary tool of NATO's response force (NRF).[34] The pragmatic British focus on developing highly mobile and high readiness forces within NATO, served its own interests in emphasizing interoperability with US forces.

A clear lesson from the European participation in operations during the Gulf War and the Balkans was the requirement to address the growing capability gap emerging between the US and other allied forces. The British Strategic Defense Review (SDR) in 1998 emphasized this shift away from Cold War posture to expeditionary capability. SDR 1998 is a key element of Britain's post-Cold War strategic framework. In identifying the absence of a clear existential threat to UK security, it emphasized the primacy of expeditionary peacekeeping operations in support of multilateral institutions such as NATO, UN, and the EU. Nevertheless, SDR 1998 continued to prioritize the NATO commitment and envisaged this being the primary vehicle through which UK forces would deploy on overseas operations.[35]

The Blair government's decision to participate in the hugely controversial Iraq war in 2003 provides clear evidence that when forced to choose between the US-UK relationship and Europe, the UK will invariably choose the former. Under Blair and Chirac, the St Malo declaration had opened the door to an increasing Europeanization of British defense policy and there has been evidence of socialization effects of this on British political and military elites, as discussed in the last chapter. Nevertheless, even under the unusually pro-European, Blair led Labour government, the UK was prepared to turn its back on the European consensus and side with the Bush administration. It did so, and despite extreme efforts to secure a UN Security Council resolution authorizing the use of force, even in the absence of a clear international or legal mandate. The case is hugely instructive as it supports the hypothesis that strategic culture is persistent over time, albeit it is not a permanent or static phenomenon.[36] Blair's decision to support the

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[34] Alister Miskimmon, "Continuity in the Face of Upheaval - British Strategic Culture and the Impact of the Blair Government," *European Security* 13, No. 3 (2004), 279.

[35] Miskimmon, "Continuity in the Face of Upheaval - British Strategic Culture and the Impact of the Blair Government," 281.

[36] Miskimmon, "Continuity in the Face of Upheaval - British Strategic Culture and the Impact of the Blair Government," 275.

US strategy of preventive war in 2003 can be seen in the context of long-standing British strategic cultural influences: the belief in the efficacy of using hard power to resolve threats to security; and the paramount importance of preserving a close strategic partnership with the US.

Blair was able to combine a modern concept of internationalism, born out of his experience in the Balkans, with a long-standing transatlantic proclivity in British strategic culture. Indeed, the British decision in 2003 is difficult to understand from a non-cultural perspective as Iraq posed little direct threat to UK interests and alternative diplomatic avenues remained open that would at least delay conflict and align with the powerful populist anti-war consensus. Indeed, British opposition to American strategy may have been sufficient to stay Bush's hand, at least temporarily. As Kagan argues, "it was the patina of international legitimacy Blair's support provided - a legitimacy that the American people wanted and needed, as Bush officials well understood."[37]

In providing the international legitimacy that Bush craved, Blair's Britain became instrumental in the US decision to invade Iraq. As Jonathan Bailey has argued, preserving the special relationship was seemingly the most important reason for Blair's decision to join the US in invading Iraq, despite any clear evidence that it achieved the strategic aim of increasing UK influence over US policy.[38] As the US State Department analyst Kendall Myers put it, "it was a one-sided relationship that was entered into with open eyes…there was nothing. There was no payback, no sense of reciprocity."[39] It seems plausible that the UK submission to the Bush doctrine was a strategic preference that followed naturally from the influence of British strategic culture rather than a cool calculation of national interest. As Blair said in his speech to Congress on 17 July 2002:

> And our job, my nation that watched you grow, that you fought alongside
> and now fights alongside you, that takes enormous pride in our alliance
> and great affection in our common bond, *our job is to be there with you.*
> You are not going to be alone.[40]

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[37] Kagan, "Power and Weakness," 150.

[38] Jonathan Bailey, *British Generals in Blair's Wars (Military Strategy and Operational Art)* (Routledge, 2013), 13.

[39] Kendall Myers is quoted in Bailey, *British Generals in Blair's Wars (Military Strategy and Operational Art)*, 13.

[40] Blair is quoted in Christopher Elliott, *High Command: British Military Leadership in the Iraq and Afghanistan Wars* (Oxford University Press, 2015), 98.

In the formulation of strategy, the two nations collaborated very closely. The UK effort, however, focused primarily on how to stay aligned to what was essentially a US plan. As Brigadier Justin Maciejewski, a UK battalion commander in Iraq said afterwards:

> It was about the British political and institutional obsession with the British-US security relations; if the US was going to invade Iraq, the British would be alongside them; everything else was just military detail.[41]

In both the early commitment by Blair to Bush that the UK would unconditionally support the US in the so-called "War on Terror", through to the planning and coordination of the Iraq operation itself, the UK became fully committed to its 'special relationship' with the US. This was in spite of a vigorous anti-war movement at home, a skeptical British Parliament, and against the vocal opposition of policy elites across the EU.

The legacy of Iraq has been to reinforce the "special relationship" across all levels of the Anglo-American political and military elites and heightened European suspicions that Britain was never truly serious about an autonomous EU defense and security identity. The 2003 ESS, as has been argued, was an attempt to patch up the resulting transatlantic differences over Iraq. It aimed to demonstrate to the US that the EU shared many of the same concerns and perceptions of threat to global order. Nevertheless, in its emphasis on peaceful conflict prevention and multilateralism, the ESS served to differentiate the Europeanist vision from Britain's recent and controversial reaffirmation of her privileged Atlanticist position.

Although the UK, as will be discussed in the next Chapter, has provided crucial leadership and support across a number of EU operational deployments, it has continued to emphasize NATO and privilege its close relationship with the US. Although this has rarely been at the direct expense of the EU's steps towards a more autonomous defense identity, the UK has continued to gently steer the CSDP away from adopting any kind of institutional challenge to NATO's primacy. Indeed, critics of the British approach have pointed towards the UK's continued obstruction of an EU operational headquarters

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[41] Elliott, *High Command: British Military Leadership in the Iraq and Afghanistan Wars*, 104.

(OHQ) as evidence of a concerted attempt to prevent a fully autonomous institutional machinery from being developed within the CSDP.

The proposal by France, Germany, Belgium and Luxembourg to create a permanent OHQ for the EU, emerging from a February 2003 summit held in the midst of the Iraq crisis, was heavily resisted by London and Washington, which saw this as an unnecessary duplication of NATO capacity.[42] The UK has continued to insist that this initiative constitutes a 'red line' and continues to advocate for the continuation of the Berlin Plus arrangement on the grounds that a dedicated OHQ would constitute unnecessary duplication of institutional structures. Furthermore, with the UK in possession of the Deputy Supreme Commander Allied Europe (DSACEUR) position at SHAPE, it has a British four-star officer in a position to exercise command over all EU operations under the agreed Berlin Plus arrangement. Under the existing arrangements, therefore, the UK is able to keep EU institutional capacity firmly circumscribed and maintain a close grip on the command and control of many EU missions.

The lack of an OHQ means that under the Berlin Plus arrangement for operations, once strategic direction has passed from the EU's External Action Service to DSACEUR at SHAPE, military strategic planning and execution is effectively transferred to NATO staff. Not only does this eliminate any potential for EU autonomy, it also prevents the effective integration of military operations with the diplomatic and economic instruments of power available to the EU through its executive structure in Brussels. This is a recurring issue in contemporary debate about the future of the CSDP. Indeed, the effort amongst EU policy elites to progress the OHQ is a *cause célèbre* of furthering the EU's strategic ambition. The recently issued EUGS references the requirement to "strengthen operational planning and conduct structures [sic], and build closer connections between civilian and military structures and missions, bearing in mind that these may be deployed in the same theatre."[43] In addition, the prospect of a future OHQ was highlighted in a major speech given by President of the EU Commission in September 2016.[44] Efforts to suppress the OHQ, in spite of the logic of establishing separate staff structures to support autonomous EU operations, indicate the strength of the UK's resistance to European

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[42] Biscop, "The UK and European Defence: Leading or Leaving," 1304.
[43] EUGS, 48
[44] See http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-37359196

efforts to fully develop the organizational capacity to autonomously plan, and act strategically. By keeping the strategic planning, and operational command and control of CSDP operations closely tied to NATO and national staff structures, the UK has exercised a tight rein on the institutional capacity of the EU. Furthermore, at every critical point of the CSDP architecture, the UK has sought to emphasize the intergovernmental aspect of cooperation.

The UK has maintained a notable distance from EU efforts to realize common pooling and sharing of defense capabilities. Whereas some EU states have sought to achieve efficiencies through permanent structured cooperation, as described in the last Chapter, or embraced pooling and sharing projects such as the European Air Transport Command (EATC), the UK has sought to preserve a national expeditionary capability able to conduct major combat operations independently if necessary.[45] The EATC is a good example of the UK's reluctance to embrace an EU approach to rationalizing defense capabilities. With the end of the Cold War, the sudden transition to expeditionary operations has produced significant shortages in airlift capacities.[46] Despite the UK's commitment to the European A400M military transport project, common initiatives such as the EATC, which facilitates burden sharing of air transport assets have been shunned.

The EATC was established in 2010 by Germany, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands in order to provide a surge capability to meet Europe's expeditionary force requirements, yet Britain remains absent from the agreement.[47] Participation in common European procurement projects have been de-emphasized in favor of UK purchases from the US such as RC-135 and P-8 that have involved sensitive technology transfers. Indeed, British participation in the F-35 program indicates a preference for modern 5th generation technologies that reinforce UK-US interoperability, instead of a desire to focus on European collaboration. Furthermore, British refusal to join EU structures such as the EATC that promote burden sharing but require pan-EU consensus regarding their employment, have been firmly resisted. Where there has been enhanced cooperation between the UK and Europe, noticeably it has been bilateral rather than multilateral in its form.

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[45] UK Strategic Defense and Security Review 2015
[46] Olsen, *Global Air Power*, 391.
[47] Olsen, *Global Air Power*, 392.

In 2010, the UK and France signed a significant security and defense collaboration pact. It is significant because, unlike the previous St Malo declaration that sought to reinvigorate the EU's security and defense project, these Lancaster House treaties created a purely bilateral framework for cooperation.[48] As Europe's only nuclear-weapons states, the only EU countries with a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council, and Europe's biggest spenders in security and defense, both countries have good reason for enhanced cooperation. They have common interests and responsibilities, and face similar threats including terrorism, cyber-attack, nuclear proliferation and piracy.[49] In terms of strategic culture, although France has certainly held a more Europeanist than Atlanticist perspective, both nations have sought to retain significant expeditionary capabilities to reflect their post-imperial global commitments and influence.

While the UK's approach since the Cold War has served to reinforce its close partnership with the US, conversely France has aimed to preserve its traditionally more independent role. Nevertheless, France has been a regular contributor to the NATO mission in Afghanistan, and although it shunned the Anglo-American approach in Iraq, it has not been afraid to conduct offensive expeditionary operations to restore security amongst its former colonial areas of Africa. In addition, since 2007 France has shown a more pragmatic approach to European defense cooperation, for example, re-entering NATO's military command structure after its thirty-year absence.

The impetus for the Lancaster House agreement was the global financial crisis and the subsequent economic downturn. The prospect of duplicating resources amidst budget cuts on both sides of the Channel makes little sense for two countries wishing to retain global ambitions. It is noteworthy, however, that both sought to do so in a bilateral approach rather than as part of an effort to reinvigorate the EU's CSDP. The treaty package includes cross-Channel cooperation on shared use of aircraft carriers, a Franco-British Combined Joint Expeditionary Force, enhanced defense industrial partnership, and increased nuclear cooperation.[50] The focus of the Lancaster agreement was firmly on the pragmatic development of shared capabilities; there was little aspiration on the British side for the agreement to be perceived as a new EU initiative. Indeed, during

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[48] See https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-france-defence-co-operation-treaty-announced--2
[49] Gomis, "Franco-British Defence and Security Treaties: Entente While It Lasts?", 4.
[50] Gomis, "Franco-British Defence and Security Treaties: Entente While It Lasts?", 5-6.

parliamentary questions following the treaty announcement, Defense Secretary Liam Fox clearly indicated that the treaties did not constitute an update to St Malo, stating pointedly "this is not about increasing the defense capabilities of the European Union."[51] The Franco-British bilateral initiative of 2010 should be regarded as primarily a pragmatic initiative to formalize cooperation in areas of mutual interest that were previously ad hoc. It was not intended to supplant the close defense bilateral with the US or form the basis for enhanced pan-EU defense cooperation. It is noteworthy primarily because it is a bilateral initiative rather than an effort to revitalize a flagging CSDP.

Franco-British cooperation does not enjoy the strong historical and cultural foundations that support the Anglo-American special relationship, and it is given concomitantly less prominence in the UK's 2015 National Security Strategy.[52] Nevertheless, NATO's operations in Libya in 2011 were the direct result of rare Franco-British leadership. Given US reluctance to take the lead against the Libyan government's brutal repression of its citizens, Britain and France played a significant diplomatic and military role in securing and enforcing UN Security Council Resolutions 1970 and 1973.[53] Although this was a NATO operation with vital US support, British forces played an outsize role in providing the combat assets and critical intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance capabilities lacking elsewhere across the Alliance. Libya, as a result, may establish an interesting precedent for future Franco-British initiative when US support is unusually muted. It opens up the interesting possibility that despite Brexit, future UK strategic culture could be Europeanized by Franco-British joint defense initiatives outside of the CSDP context.

There exists a strategic framework of action, under Lancaster House, and shared capabilities through the Anglo-French joint expeditionary force and associated naval air interoperability. This could form the basis of an effective joint force that could leverage Anglo-French expeditionary capabilities including the necessary airlift and intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance assets that the UK and France alone in Europe possess. Nevertheless, it remains an unexplored pathway of development that would represent a

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[51] Gomis, "Franco-British Defence and Security Treaties: Entente While It Lasts?", 8.

[52] UK Strategic Defense and Security Review 2015, 14

[53] Johnny Stringer, "Air Power, Influence and the Operational Level," *Air Power Review* 16, No. 1 (2013), 23.

departure for a British strategic and military elite more comfortable and institutionally adapted for operating within a US-led coalition.

Summary

British strategic culture was profoundly influenced by the events of the Second World War, in particular the nature of the UK's solitary stand in 1940 against Nazi Germany, and the evolution of the unique Anglo-American wartime partnership. What became known as the special relationship provides a powerful normative reference in British strategic culture as it reflects shared Anglo-American ideas about the efficacy of military power and the liberal democratic ends to its legitimate use. As the UK's relative power position was transformed following the two major wars of the twentieth century, retrenchment of British imperial commitments became unavoidable. A concomitant strategic realignment that emphasized the transatlantic alliance through NATO and dependence on US material and moral support became inevitable. The Suez crisis belatedly signaled the end of British global power and at the same time underscored the value to Britain of maintaining a very close and privileged relationship with the US. Unlike France, who under De Gaulle was to pursue a more independent approach, British policy post-Suez would not subsequently diverge from the US hegemonic agenda.

As the UK's strategic framework evolved in the face of the Soviet threat to a post-imperial and European-focused set of defense priorities, NATO attained institutional primacy and collective security became the priority. British accession to the European integration project was initially faltering, having endured successive French vetoes, but was ultimately embraced out of economic necessity. In 1973, the UK finally joined the EEC but remained distinctly Eurosceptic with respect to the development of any kind of autonomous European defense identity. Throughout the Cold War, NATO remained at the heart of European security and defense policy.

In the wake of the collapse of the Soviet threat, and in spite of the obvious questions surrounding the continued relevance of NATO, the Alliance reoriented to address intra-European threats to security emanating from Serbian nationalism and the fragmentation of the Balkans region. The bitter experience of war in Bosnia was to chasten European policy elites who not only struggled to find consensus on a coherent strategic approach but realized the short-comings associated with a post-modernist

approach to conflict resolution and the growing capability gap developing between US forces and the rest of NATO. Alliance operations in Kosovo served to highlight the need to strengthen the European pillar of NATO and begin the development of more autonomous EU capabilities and supporting institutions.

The Treaties of Maastricht and Amsterdam had created an enhanced strategic ambition to conduct lower-intensity operations known as the St Petersberg Tasks. The UK, seeing these as complementary to NATO's higher-intensity capabilities, proved to be a willing partner in developing the initial CSFP and ESDP architecture necessary to realize this ambition. Indeed, in a rare moment of Franco-British convergence, the St Malo declaration provided the opportunity for a more autonomous EU security identity to emerge with the willing support of the two major powers in Europe behind it. Nevertheless, even under the unusually pro-European Blair government, St Malo was seen as a mechanism to strengthen the European pillar of NATO and demonstrate to the US that European nations would make a greater contribution to Euro-Atlantic security. St Malo created an impetus to move the ESDP (and ultimately the CSDP) in a more autonomous direction but the British influence was to ensure it remained firmly circumscribed in ambition and complementary to NATO.

The clear thread throughout this analysis of British strategic culture has been the priority afforded to maintaining the Anglo-American special relationship. Iraq provides an excellent example of where a particularly pro-European British Prime Minister, supported by a left of center Labour party, was prepared to incur the wrath of major European powers such as France and Germany in order to achieve harmony with US policy. Risking not only opprobrium amongst European powers but a virulent anti-war movement within his own party and amongst the wider British public, Blair's instinct was that the UK must support its most important ally at all costs. Non-cultural explanations of this behavior, as has been argued, are unconvincing.

The UK-US bilateral is at the heart of British strategic culture. Britain's close defense and security relationship with the US stems from the particular arrangements of the wartime alliance that has grown into an intimate "Five Eyes" intelligence sharing network (FVEY), the shared principles espoused by Churchill and Roosevelt in the Atlantic Charter, and a common perspective on the legitimate use of force that continued

throughout the Cold War. The British experience in the Second World War differs sharply from the continental experience and this is reflected in the dissimilar perspective between Britain and continental Europe on the viability and efficacy of using hard power to achieve strategic ends.

British military initiative in the Suez and Falklands, support to the US during the 1986 Libya operations, an outsize contribution to Desert Storm in 1991, and a muscular position with respect to Serbian nationalism in Kosovo, contrast visibly with an incoherent European approach that has struggled to coalesce around fixed strategic commitments or policy positions. In the words of Professor Hew Strachan, "the British experience of the last quarter of the twentieth century argued that war was effective, decisive and - paradoxically - really much safer than many other options."[54] The continuity of this powerful norm regarding the legitimacy of military force, along with the growing strength of the UK-US bilateral was to form the basis for British involvement in both Afghanistan and Iraq. Indeed, as Strachan has argued, "the direct consequence of the 9/11 attacks was to subordinate British strategy, not just British operational thought, to America."[55] The effect of this has been to further emphasize the Atlanticist influence within UK strategic culture and produce a concomitant wariness over any Europeanization of British security and defense policy arising from EU membership. In spite of the Blair governments pro-European credentials and the impetus given at St Malo to develop European military capabilities and institutions, the UK has sought to carefully constrain the EU's autonomy.

The continued emphasis on NATO primacy in Europe's strategic framework, obstruction over EU institutional initiatives such as the OHQ, and a reluctance to embrace common pooling and sharing initiatives such as EATC, are clear examples of British hostility to an autonomous EU defense identity. British strategic culture since 1945, summarized in Table 2 below, is characterized by a remarkable amount of normative continuity. Although the 2010 Lancaster House treaties provide a novel strategic framework for Anglo-French cooperation that could serve to maintain a European influence on the future development of British strategic culture, as of yet this

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[54] Bailey, *British Generals in Blair's Wars (Military Strategy and Operational Art)*, 330.
[55] Bailey, *British Generals in Blair's Wars (Military Strategy and Operational Art)*, 330.

remains an untested arrangement. The clear value of the UK-US bilateral and shared Anglo-American values regarding world order and the legitimacy and efficacy of hard power, contrast sharply with the key features of multilateralism and soft power that are at the heart of the EU's strategic culture. This conclusion forms the basis for our analysis in the next chapter, which will briefly examine some key operations and missions performed by the EU before considering how EU and UK strategic cultures are likely to influence the development of future UK-European security cooperation.

Table 2: Summary of British Strategic Culture

Period	Strategic Framework	Threats	Capabilities	Institutions	Norms
Early Cold War	Post-war reconstruction Atlantic Charter	Resurgent German Militarism Soviet threat to Europe	De-mobilizing but significant European forces	WEU NATO FVEY Colonial Apparatus	Anglo-American Special Relationship Collective Security Hard Power Imperial Commitments
Cold War	Bipolarity Nuclear Deterrence Containment East of Suez De-colonization	Soviet threat	Imperial retrenchment Nuclear Conventional focus on NATO	NATO FVEY EEC (late joiner)	Anglo-American Special Relationship Collective Security Hard Power Global Influence
Early Post-Cold War	US unipolarity Enhanced European integration (Maastricht & Lisbon Treaties) St Malo - autonomous	Ethnic nationalism Rogue States	Nuclear (Minimum Deterrence) Expeditionary Capabilities	NATO FVEY ESDP	Anglo-American Special Relationship Hard Power Global Influence Humanitarian

	role for EU defense SDSR '98 (Expeditionary Operations)				Intervention Right to Protect
Post-9/11	Multipolarity 2003 European Security Strategy 2015 NSS and SDSR	Terrorism Resurgent Russia Disengaging U.S?	Nuclear (Minimum Deterrence) Expeditionary Capabilities Focus on UK/US interoperability	NATO FVEY CSDP (limited) UK/US Coalition Framework UK/FRA bilateral (limited)	Anglo-American Special Relationship (Enhanced) Hard Power Global Influence Bilateral pooling & sharing

Source: Author's Original Work

Chapter 5

Forecasting Future Security Cooperation

This chapter will analyze how EU and UK strategic cultures are likely to influence the pattern of future security cooperation in the post-Brexit context. It will start with an analysis of key historical and ongoing CSDP operations in order to assess the degree to which cultural factors have influenced the EU's strategic behavior. Given the nature of contemporary CSDP operations, the EU and UK's respective strategic ambitions, and the analysis of EU and UK strategic cultures in the previous chapters, this chapter will conduct a forecast of plausible pathways of future security cooperation. To provide a framework for this forecast, the European Commission's recent white paper on the future of Europe, *Reflections and Scenarios for the EU27 by 2025*, is used to consider what CSDP cooperation is expected to look like in five different futures.[1] In each of these five scenarios, the nature of plausible UK-European security cooperation is hypothesized. Each hypothesis, in keeping with the analysis conducted thus far, is generated primarily from the outputs and interaction of EU and UK strategic culture but will also take account of the likely development of the EU's institutional structure.

CSDP Operations and Missions

The EU currently has six military operations and nine civilian missions ongoing, ranging from peacekeeping in the Balkans through to training and assistance missions in Africa and maritime security in the Mediterranean and in the Horn of Africa.[2] An overview of these current operations and missions is at Figure 3. In total, since launching its first police mission in Bosnia in March 2003 (EUPM), there have been a total of thirty CSDP missions and operations. An overview of historical operations and missions (as of 2013) is at Figure 4. The geographical range of CSDP operations and missions draws attention to the core strategic interests perceived by the EU and encapsulated in strategic framework documents such as the ESS and more recently the EUGS. Initiatives in the Balkans, primarily as follow-on operations to NATO, represent an area of vital interest to the territorial integrity of the EU within which Europeans nations during the 1990s

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[1] European Commission White Paper on the Future of Europe, 2017. See http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-17-385_en.htm

[2] CSDP activities that involve a military component are described as "operations", those with only a civilian component are described as "missions".

invested significant political capital in creating stability. Similarly, assistance and mentoring missions in Ukraine and Georgia aimed to stabilize the EU's Eastern flank but in a manner designed to be non-threatening to a resurgent Russia. Counter-piracy operations in the Mediterranean and the Horn of Africa aim at safeguarding Europe's Southern maritime flank, protecting the vital commercial sea lines of communication. Similarly, the EU's civilian train, advise and assist mission in Libya has also been focused on supporting maritime interdiction in an effort to prevent illegal migrant flows from adversely affecting Mediterranean security.[3]

All of these operations and missions display evidence of the EU's multilateralism norm. Crucial partnerships have been developed with other organizations such as NATO in the Mediterranean and off the Horn of Africa, and the United Nations in the Balkans and Africa that are conducting similar operations in the same geographical areas. Finally, as evidence of the EU's norm of promoting humanitarian intervention, a number of true 'out of area' operations and missions have been conducted by the EU in Central and Eastern Africa and as far afield as Palestine. These initiatives have been carefully limited to the Petersberg Tasks, closely tied to United Nations resolutions, and conducted in areas absent of competing major power interests. As a result, military and political risks have been carefully controlled by the EU member states.

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[3] See https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/eubam_libya_factsheet_en_nov2016_en.pdf

Figure 3: Overview of ongoing CSDP operations and missions
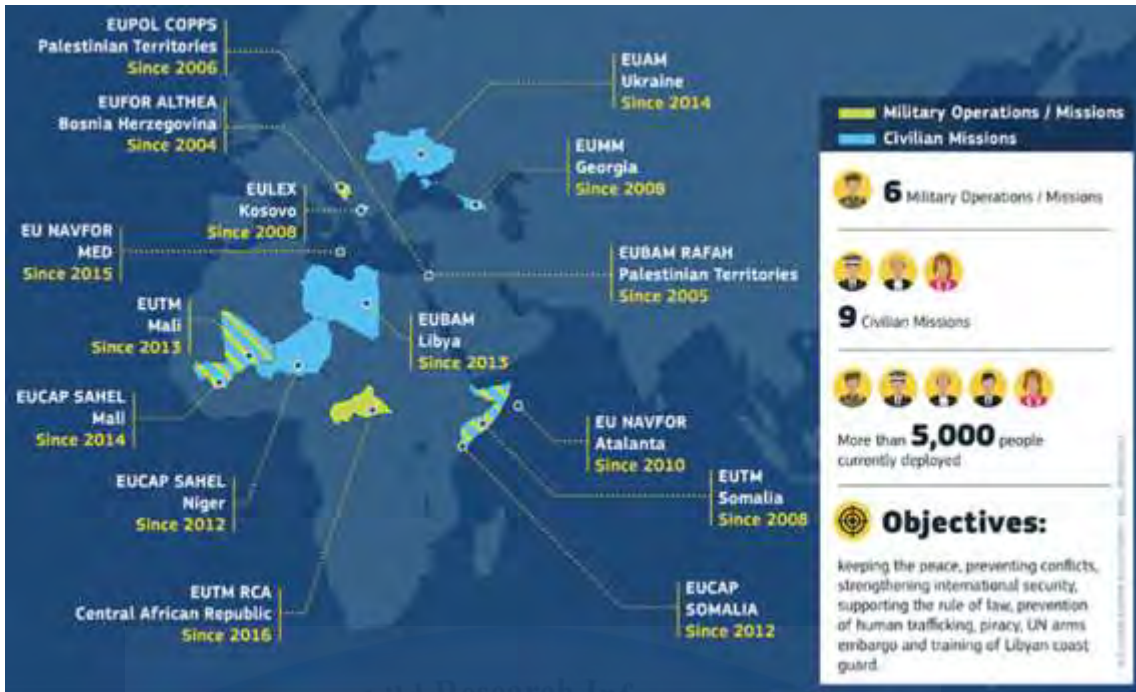
Source: EU External Action Service Website. Accessed at
https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/430/military-and-civilian-
missions-and-operations_en

Figure 4: Historical CSDP operations and missions

Source: CSDP Handbook, 61. Accessed at
https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage_en/9113/Handbook on
CSDP

Planning for a CSDP operation or mission is the result of the CFSP's intergovernmental process and is therefore subject to a tension between normative dissension and the requirement for consensus. The Member States, agreeing collectively within the PSC, will provide the necessary political objectives and strategic guidance for the EUMS and CPCC (as necessary) in the form of a Crisis Management Concept (CMC) document. Once agreed by the PSC and approved by the European Council, the CMC

represents the political approval necessary for the operation or mission to be planned. In the event of a military operation, the resulting concept of operations (CONOPS) and operations plan (OPLAN) are developed by the EUMS and subject to further PSC and Council approval. The operational planning method is, therefore, not just iterative but dialectical in that political approval is required at all levels of the operational planning process.[4] This reflects the sensitivity with which the EU considers military operations and the influence of the EU's "master norm" of multilateralism that insists on close political scrutiny in order to achieve consensus at every level of the planning process. In an effort to minimize political risk and uphold consensus, this can make the process of planning protracted and often ad hoc in nature.

Despite the emergence of a coherent EU strategic culture, many member states hold quite different perceptions of how to legitimately employ military force. This combination of normative dissension within EU strategic culture and the requirement for policy consensus has had a profound impact on the EU's resulting strategic behavior. Anand Menon has argued that the CSDP is structurally better suited to small-scale crisis management operations than to larger military interventions and is ill equipped to conduct long-term strategic thinking.[5] For example, disagreements between member states prevented EU intervention in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in 2008.[6] In addition, the need for prolonged negotiations taking into account the sensitivities of the German Bundestag both shaped and delayed by several months the operation carried out in Kinshasa in 2006.[7] The unanimity requirement also helps explain the apparent lack of ambition of the CSDP; in Asle Toje's words, the "lower the level of commitment, the higher the likelihood of achieving consensus."[8] By generally limiting operations and missions to the Petersberg Tasks, the EU has carefully limited its ambition for the application of military force, managed military and political risk to the lowest level practicable, and afforded itself the necessary strategic patience to maintain consensus. This explains why strategic framework documents such as the ESS and EUGS focus on

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[4] CSDP Handbook, 59. Accessed at https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage_en/9113/Handbook%20on%20CSDP

[5] Anand Menon, "Empowering Paradise? The ESDP at Ten," *International Affairs* (2009), 237.

[6] Menon, "Empowering Paradise? The ESDP at Ten," 237.

[7] Menon, "Empowering Paradise? The ESDP at Ten," 237.

[8] Asle Toje is quoted in Menon, "Empowering Paradise? The ESDP at Ten," 237.

vision and ambition but remain light on actual strategy which requires a detailed reconciliation of means with ends. One method for reducing risk and maintaining consensus has been to rely on a "framework nation" concept in order to leverage the military experience and operational planning processes of certain experienced member states such as the UK and France.

The EU maritime security operation in the Horn of Africa, Operation Atalanta, is noteworthy as it provides an excellent example of the framework nation concept with the UK as the lead actor. This alternative model to Berlin Plus takes advantage of national, in this case British, operational planning and command and control capabilities instead of NATO's planning assets. Operating under EU political control, but commanded through a British operational commander at the UK's national headquarters in Northwood, EU naval forces have been successfully conducting counter-piracy and maritime security operations off the coast of Somalia since 2008.[9] The impetus for Atalanta comes from an alignment of the EU's humanitarian intervention norm, the desire to protect World Food Program Convoys to Somalia, and the imperative to defend against piracy as an unambiguous threat to Europe's economic interests.[10] Given Atalanta's mandate to take offensive action against pirates on the high seas, within Somalian territorial waters, and on occasion against pirate enclaves on the Somali littoral, this operation goes beyond the traditional spectrum of Petersburg Tasks. In this sense, it is a good example of the EU taking an increasingly muscular approach to the use of force. It is probably no coincidence that this has been occurring under British leadership and command; arguably, it represents the influence of the UK's norm of emphasizing hard power. Furthermore, command and control of NATO's Operation Ocean Shield, operating in the same area and with a similar mandate, but also exercised from Northwood HQ. This provides a unique opportunity for operational synergy between both NATO and EU forces.

It remains to be seen how Brexit will affect the conduct of Operation Atalanta but it is probable that the UK will continue to participate. In the future, the EU may insist that the operational commander drawn is from the remaining 27 nations under a non-British

[9] See http://eunavfor.eu
[10] Laura Chappell and Petar Petrov, "The European Union's Crisis Management Operations: Strategic Culture in Action?," *European Integration Online Papers* 18(2014).

command arrangement. The operational commander is responsible directly to the EU's PSC, making it problematic if his nation is no longer a member of the EU. Taking such action in the wake of Brexit would be highly disruptive for the operation and negatively affect the opportunity for synergy with NATO operations that are currently also being commanded out of Northwood, but it cannot be ruled out. It makes sense, however, for the EU to preserve the operational architecture of Atalanta as far as possible and to continue to benefit from the UK's outsized contribution. The modalities under which a British contribution to Atalanta can continue will need to form part of a wider agreement on future UK participation in CSDP operations, this is discussed in more detail in the next section. The fact that a number of non-EU nations such as Norway are currently able to contribute to Atalanta is evidence that sufficient institutional flexibility exists to accommodate the willing participation of the UK in the future. The framework nation concept has also been employed by the EU to enable operations and missions elsewhere in Africa. The issue of British leadership of the Atalanta mission, however, remains.

EU operations in sub-Saharan Africa, such as Operation Artemis, have been led by and heavily influenced by France. The French military supplied 1,785 of the 2,200 total troops required for the operation and drew upon France's extensive expeditionary experience in conducting operations in Africa. Although this operational approach has the advantage of de-risking military operations by leveraging the extensive experience of the most suitable EU member, it is not without political consequences. Menon has argued that this practice is often criticized as an example of "dirty laundering," where certain states attempt to hide national interest under institutional cover. Operation Artemis, as a result, was regarded by many member states as more of a French operation with EU cover, than an EU operation led by the French.[11] Indeed, during discussions regarding the deployment to the DRC in 2006, German officials expressed concerns of the EU being "instrumentalized" to serve French and Belgian interests in their former colonial areas; similar concerns served to frustrate a planned EU deployment to Chad in 2008.[12] Internal dissension of this nature militates against coherent EU strategic ambition by obstructing consensus and slowing responsiveness and flexibility. Indeed, evidence of CSDP activity

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[11] Menon, "Empowering Paradise? The ESDP at Ten", 240.
[12] Menon, "Empowering Paradise? The ESDP at Ten", 241.

arising from individual national interest is suggestive that factors other than EU strategic culture are also driving strategic behavior.

EU operations in sub-Saharan Africa do appear heavily influenced by French national interest, nonetheless they continue to conform to what we would expect from an analysis of EU strategic culture. Although France provided most of the forces and the necessary operational command and control structures, other EU nations made important contributions. Furthermore, the scope and ambition of the operations, in Chad in particular, were reduced from the original French design based on objections in London and Berlin.[13] As a result, the EU's operations in Africa were kept small-scale with military and political risks minimized.

There is little doubt that the fact that Africa has remained a core strategic interest for the EU can be partially attributed to French influence. Operations and missions to support state resilience in Africa, however, reflects a normative convergence within the EU around the humanitarian intervention principle and is reflected in both the ESS and the recent 2016 EUGS as a core strategic interest for the EU. This has become increasingly salient given the immigration crisis facing the EU and the spread of Islamist terrorism across large areas of under governed areas of the African continent. EU operations in Africa have also been subject to the EU's multilateralism norm, with close coordination established between the EU and other actors such as the African Union and the United Nations. Overall, despite the outsize role played by France and allegations of manipulation of operations by Paris to serve their own national interest, EU operations in Africa conform closely to strategic behavior as predicted by our analysis of EU strategic culture.

The future coherence of a distinctive and unified EU strategic culture will continue to depend on maintaining normative convergence regarding the use of force amongst member states. Alternative non-cultural explanations can explain why individual European states may seek to conduct operations in the Balkans, sub-Saharan Africa, and against pirates off the Somali coast. The way in which these operations have been scoped, planned, and executed by the EU; however, has conformed to what we would expect

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[13] Chappell and Petrov, "The European Union's Crisis Management Operations: Strategic Culture in Action?", 16.

from the influence of the EU's strategic culture. Operations have been limited, often in spite of individual state ambition, multilateral in execution, and subject to the principles of humanitarian intervention and the comprehensive approach. There is a degree of normative convergence within the EU's CFSP and CSDP domains that means the EU's strategic culture is likely to cohere and produce similar missions and operations in the future. Nevertheless, the departure of the UK, as a major capability provider and strategic influence, will necessitate a period of strategic reflection amongst the remaining 27 member states. The future direction of UK-European security cooperation is explored in the next section.

The Future of Europe - 5 Scenarios

This year, in the sixtieth anniversary year of the original Treaties of Rome, the European Commission has called upon the remaining 27 member states of the EU to reflect on the future of Europe. The Commission's white paper situates the founding and evolution of the European project in the neofunctionalist terms articulated by Europe's founding fathers; that institutional Europe was not built according to a single master plan but as the result of individual concrete achievements based on the de facto solidarity created by its members working together. Britain's decision to withdraw from the EU, a direct challenge to this narrative of neofunctionalist integration, is a fact conspicuously absent from the white paper. Nevertheless, with negotiations now formally underway following the triggering of Article 50 on 29th March, Brexit will be the elephant in the room as the remaining EU27 meet this summer for a historical summit in Rome. That a major contributor to the European project, albeit not a founding member, has decided to withdraw is not just a blow to the modern EU but a direct challenge to the principles of neofunctionalism articulated by the founders of Europe. Functional pressures, arising from collaboration within the EU construct, are supposed to drive an "ever closer Union." Brexit directly contradicts this developmental pathway. Efforts to move beyond the Westphalian construct of sovereignty through supranational organization have been undermined by the UK's historic decision. It is a stark reminder of the primacy of the individual member states within Europe's supposedly post-modern project.

The Commission's white paper reflects the reality that while there is still strong support for the European project, with over two-thirds of citizens regarding the EU as a

place of stability, and equally strong support for Europe's "four freedoms",[14] their trust in the EU has decreased in line with that for national authorities.[15] Whereas half of European citizens trusted the EU ten years ago, only a third do so today.[16] In the context of this growing crisis of democratic legitimacy, the white paper spells out the future consequences for a Europe whose share of global wealth is shrinking, its population aging more rapidly than any other region, and whose security environment is being increasingly shaped by complex global multipolarity.

The five scenarios offered in the paper offer a series of glimpses into the potential state of the Union by 2025. All scenarios presented start from the assumption that the remaining 27 member states will move forward together as a Union, however, the form this could take varies significantly. The scenarios are not detailed blueprints for organizational design: instead, they present form rather than function. As such, a degree of forecasting is required to identify the likely institutional construct that must develop to meet the envisaged scenario. Each scenario represents a simplified 'ideal type' of the future; the reality will likely be a hybrid based on the policy decisions arrived at by the 27 as they move forward without the UK. Under each scenario, and in light of the analysis conducted of both the EU and UK's strategic cultures above, a forecast is made below regarding the plausible pathway of future UK-European security cooperation. The five scenarios presented are: carrying on with the existing agenda of the EU; a re-centering on only the single market; a multi-speed EU where certain coalitions of countries agree to closer integration; a reduced breadth of ambition with focus on fewer prioritized areas; and a final scenario where all member states decide to enhance cooperation across the breadth of policy areas. The implications for UK-European security cooperation are considered for each one in turn.

Scenario 1 - Carry On

The first, and arguably most likely scenario, is one where the EU continues as planned, making incremental progress to enhance cooperation across the already agreed range of policy areas. For the CSDP domain, this implies that EU member states will

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[14] Free movement of goods, capital, services, and people.
[15] European Commission White Paper on the Future of Europe, 2017, 12. See http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-17-385_en.htm
[16] European Commission White Paper on the Future of Europe, 2017, 12. See http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-17-385_en.htm

continue to advance the strategic vision and ambition enshrined in the 2016 EUGS. The European Council's Implementation Plan Security and Defense, designed to 'operationalize' the EUGS, describes the EU's current plan to expand the Petersberg Tasks to include:

> – supporting conditions for achieving and implementing peace agreements and ceasefire arrangements, and/or rapidly providing EU bridging operations for the deployment of wider UN peacekeeping missions, including in non-permissive environments;
>
> – temporarily substituting or reinforcing domestic civilian security, law enforcement or rule of law, in case of breakdown of normal state functions;
>
> – projecting stability in order to re-establish security in a degrading humanitarian situation, by protecting civilians, denying a terrorist organization or armed group a foothold in a fragile country, or creating a safe environment in which a country can recover from war and destabilization;
>
> – contributing to maritime security/surveillance worldwide but most immediately in areas relevant to Europe in the context of specific security needs, including with aerial and space capabilities;
>
> – providing rapid support to national or UN actors involved in addressing massive health pandemics or the fall-out of national disasters, including situations of public disorder;
>
> – supporting the evacuation of European citizens if required with military means.[17]

The plan emphasizes the multilateral and comprehensive approach to security identified in the analysis of the EU's strategic culture. The challenge of realizing the EUGS's expanded strategic 'ends', as ever, is in their reconciliation with the EU's limited 'means' by seeking new 'ways' to achieve efficiencies and economies of scale.

There already exists, through PESCO, a means for states to enhance pooling and sharing of defense capabilities. For the remaining nations that choose to remain outside of this formal process, the emphasis will remain on promoting interoperability and common

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[17] EU Implementation Plan on Security and Defense, 14 November 2016.
https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/eugs_implementation_plan_st14392.en16_0.pdf

procurement projects to realize the benefits of greater rationalization in terms of capability and the supporting industrial base. Under this scenario, the existing CSDP construct remains intact and the planning and initiation of operations and missions will continue to take place on intergovernmental terms.

The nature of the CSDP's intergovernmental process makes it feasible to integrate non-EU capabilities into existing and future EU operations and missions. A precedent for this flexible integration has already been established with the Partnership Agreements made with Norway, Croatia, Ukraine, and Montenegro for them to support Operation Atalanta.[18] Given past UK contributions and leadership of key CSDP operations, it remains plausible that cooperation could continue effectively. There is sufficient normative convergence between the UK and the EU on the principles of humanitarian intervention and multilateralism for effective security cooperation to take place on a strictly intergovernmental basis.

A shared perspective of threats across both EU and UK strategic cultures, specifically those posed by illegal immigration, terrorism, and a resurgent Russia on the Eastern flank of Europe, should facilitate a cooperative approach to strategic action. In her Lancaster House speech in which she set out her vision for Brexit, the British Prime Minister Theresa May made clear her view that the UK and the EU share common security and defense challenges and that the UK would continue to cooperate in support of the collective security of Europe as a whole.[19] Nevertheless, the lack of British influence at the senior decision-making levels of the CFSP, in particular its absence from the PSC and European Council, may diminish the British appetite to commit resources and share political risk. This lack of strategic influence will be unusual for the UK who has been used to enjoying significant political leverage across both NATO and the EU. It may persuade the UK to promote a distinctive 'NATO-first' policy when it comes to expeditionary operations; only supporting EU operations and missions when a first right of refusal has been exercised in the North Atlantic Council. Assuming CSDP institutional flexibility is created for non-EU members, the UK may elect to act as a framework nation for a specific operation or partner with France under bilateral terms. This will generate

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[18] http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/atalanta.htm
[19] See http://time.com/4636141/theresa-may-brexit-speech-transcript/

the necessary capabilities to meet the EU's political ambition but it could cause challenges for effective civilian-military relations (CMR). Once the UK leaves the formal structures of the CFSP, including the strategic apparatus of the PSC and EUMS in Brussels, effective CMR could be compromised by British absence. This may be a politically unacceptable outcome as the analysis of EU strategic culture suggests that multilateralism and a close CMR interface at all levels of the strategic and operational planning process would normally be essential for an EU operation or mission to proceed. It is possible that this arrangement, in all but the most straightforward of operations, would be equally unacceptable to both the EU and UK. A more plausible alternative, in the absence of NATO consensus but assuming Anglo-French interest, could be a bespoke operation under Lancaster House terms.

In short, the continuation of the EU's existing agenda would likely leave the UK well placed to continue contributing to CSDP operations where common interests exist. A gradually cohering EU strategic culture and the continued institutional flexibility of the CSDP's intergovernmental process, all contribute to a security environment that would facilitate active UK cooperation with Europe. A stable EU that continues on its developmental path would likely develop greater security and defense cooperation internally, albeit in a very gradual way. Some states, under PESCO arrangements, will witness greater rationalization of defense capabilities further unlocking the potential of European defense capacity while simultaneously promoting unity of strategic action; UK cooperation will be outside of this framework but pan-European defense procurement projects that provide opportunities for UK industry will be sought albeit on less preferential terms. European states will continue to see NATO as the key vehicle for providing territorial security, with the CSDP continuing to provide an important vehicle for supporting lower-risk Petersberg Tasks as well as maritime security. Normative divergence between UK and EU strategic cultures will increase gradually as British security and defense elite socialization within the CFSP fora is reduced. Although the UK and EU are likely to share common security threats and interests, the Europeanism of British strategic culture will become less significant, further reinforcing the UK's strong Atlantic and US-oriented proclivities. A summary is at Table 3.

Table 3: Scenario 1 (Carry On) - Summary

Constituent of Strategic Culture	Trend
Strategic Framework	EU - gradual deepening of cooperation amongst EU27 UK - increasing emphasis on NATO framework and bilateral relationship with US
Threats	Common external - resurgent Russia Common internal - terrorism and nationalism
Capabilities	EU - some continued pooling & sharing; otherwise unchanged UK - increased emphasis on UK/US interoperability
Institutions	EU - gradual enhancement of CSDP architecture (e.g. new OHQ) UK - Re-investment in NATO; strengthened bilateral with US and FRA
Norms	Increasing normative divergence as socialization of UK elites within CFSP is reduced and Europeanization of UK strategic culture diminishes

Source: Author's Original Work

Scenario 2 - Nothing but the Single Market

With the second scenario, the EU is re-centered around the single market which becomes the "raison d'être" of the EU27. As a consequence, under this scenario there would be no shared resolve to cooperate more in areas such as defense and security. The re-centering of the EU's policies and an associated reduction in regulation is likely to lead to more bilateral approaches to problem solving; this will have important implications for CFSP. While the dismantling of the existing CSDP construct is not a natural consequence of this scenario, it is likely that concerted efforts to deepen cooperation through initiatives such as PESCO will be restricted. The politics of defense and security is, therefore, likely to remain highly intergovernmental.

Under this scenario, given continued commonality of UK and EU defense and security interests, cooperation can continue under the broad and flexible existing arrangements of the CSDP. There will be similar issues about the integration of the UK's strategic ambition at the political level and the question of achieving effective CMR that was discussed in the first scenario. This CMR, however, would not necessarily prevent future cooperation. A single-market focused EU would face much the same threats to

security both internally and externally as a EU that evolves according to the existing agenda. With less intra-EU cooperation on border security, migration, and law enforcement, addressing internal threats will become more difficult. It is likely that this will have a spillover effect into future UK-EU relations, increasing the difficulty of creating pan-European approaches to common security challenges. Institutional divergence between member states in areas other than the single market could lead to the loss of coherent strategic ambition at the EU level. This would be the consequence of a lack of concerted efforts to think, plan, and act strategically; the framework for strategic action and the institutional architecture of European security is likely to become more ad hoc and bilateral in nature as a result.

Coordination of European strategic action, particularly with respect to integrating the full range of instruments of power will become more difficult. Recent initiatives such as sanctioning Russia or developing the Iran nuclear deal will be much more difficult to realize. Similarly, as the EU's security architecture decays as priorities are refocused on the mechanics of the single market, socialization of security and defense elites will diminish. The result is likely to be increased normative divergence within the CFSP domain and the reassertion of dominant national strategic cultures. In the absence of initiatives such as PESCO and reduced pooling & sharing of capabilities, European militaries are likely to become less interoperable and less capable. Furthermore, cooperation in areas such as cyber or aviation security will likely be reduced, leading to many competing national initiatives that will surely suffer from the lack of coherency in domains that do not conform easily to territorial sovereignty. It is possible that this effect could be mitigated by a concerted effort to compensate within NATO, however, in the absence of EU structures to promote industrial partnership and R&D collaboration, many European nations will lack the capacity to rationalize their defense capabilities and find shared solutions to common problems.

On the British side, a diminishment of EU strategic ambition will likely result in a renewed effort to encourage greater investment in NATO's institutional capacity and an attempt to promote the European pillar of the Alliance. This may meet with limited success if, as discussed above, the EU27's defense and security policies become less aligned and less coordinated. If a more disjointed Europe has spill-over effects within

NATO, the UK will be more likely to continue privileging its relationship with the US, emphasizing Anglo-American interoperability in capabilities and preferring to enter coalition with US forces over European or even NATO alternatives. The degree to which the US and EU maintain normative convergence will depend primarily on future US strategy; however, a weaker EU could encourage greater American commitments to European defense interests, not less.

An increasingly fragmented EU is likely to prove more permeable to malign external influence, particularly from a resurgent and increasingly aggressive Russia. Putin's desire to restore Russian prestige and control in Russia's periphery through formal annexation or informal rule, requires the weakening and perhaps ultimately the unraveling of NATO.[20] Russian revisionism is a common threat to both EU and British interests in maintaining the post-1945 norms of inter-state behavior. Indeed, the borders of Ukraine in particular were assured by the United States, Britain, and Russia itself in a declaration in Budapest in 1994, when Ukraine acceded to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Nevertheless, the Budapest agreement has been violated and Russia continues to support client regimes such as Syria that as a consequence of their brutal domestic repression are the proximate cause of massive flows of migration that are threatening the internal stability of Europe as well as the Middle East.

A European Union that increasingly turns inward to concentrate only on the dynamics of the single market would also further Putin's political ambitions in Europe. There is significant concern in Eastern Europe amongst the new members of NATO and the EU that Putin's next move could be in the Baltics. The UK has been hawkish on Ukraine, supporting European economic sanctions but also providing direct military assistance on a bilateral basis. EU support, however, has been more cautious and the European public is becoming increasingly apathetic to using military force in support of Article V of the NATO treaty.[21] This trend will be exacerbated by an EU that becomes increasingly preoccupied with the single market and therefore less assertive strategically. At the same time, some European states are vulnerable domestically to revisionist parties

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[20] Eliot A. Cohen, *The Big Stick: The Limits of Soft Power and the Necessity of Military Force* (Basic Books, 2017), 153.
[21] Cohen, *The Big Stick: The Limits of Soft Power and the Necessity of Military Force*, 155.

on both the left and right that are willing to broker deals with Moscow; the result could be the emergence of a patchwork of renewed bilateral cooperation with Russia that undermines both EU and NATO cohesion.[22] Without unity, both NATO and the EU would become paralyzed to act in the face of future Russian aggression. Attempts by the UK to continue their recent hardline position against Russia are likely to be further frustrated in the event of a more incoherent and disjointed EU strategic position. A summary of trends forecast under Scenario 2 is provided at Table 4.

Table 4: Scenario 2 (Nothing but the Single Market) - Summary

Constituent of Strategic Culture	Trend
Strategic Framework	EU - gradual unravelling of CFSP as EU27 re-focuses on single market UK - increasing emphasis on NATO framework and bilateral relationship with US
Threats	Common external - resurgent Russian threat exacerbated by less strategic and coherent EU policy Common internal - terrorism and nationalism exacerbated by reduced intra-EU cooperation across borders
Capabilities	EU - reduced pooling & sharing; defense inefficiencies increase UK - increased emphasis on UK/US interoperability as less opportunity for defense cooperation/procurement with Europe
Institutions	EU - gradual dismemberment of CSDP architecture; cooperation becomes more ad hoc UK - Re-investment in NATO; strengthened bilateral with US and FRA
Norms	Unraveling of CFSP cooperation leads to reduced socialization of all elites (UK and EU). EU strategic norms become increasingly incoherent; reassertion of national strategic cultures.

Source: Author's Original Work

Scenario 3 - Those Who Want More, Do More

In this scenario, the EU continues broadly along the same developmental path as Scenario 1, however, small groups of countries elect to enhance cooperation in certain policy areas. This could mean a number of member states, perhaps using the PESCO

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[22] Cohen, *The Big Stick: The Limits of Soft Power and the Necessity of Military Force*, 155.

framework, elect to expand pooling & sharing of defense capabilities, and further develop security that is more integrated and defense policy. This outcome has the advantage of flexibility in that it offers the prospect of enhanced cooperation for those states willing to do so, while retaining unity across the EU27. In many ways, the EU is already a multi-speed construct with selective membership of institutions such as the Schengen agreement that creates a borderless travel area or the single currency. In that flexibility, however, there are all the inherent disadvantages this creates, exacerbating cleavages that already exist between a distinctly integrationist Northern core and a more skeptical Eastern and Southern EU periphery.

Depending on which states choose enhanced cooperation, pan-EU consensus may become more problematic. For example, many of the new joining EU members in Eastern Europe are skeptical of the EU's drive for closer union and are likely to prefer enhanced defense cooperation in a NATO context. The evidence so far is that Benelux, Netherlands, and Germany are good candidates for greater pooling and sharing. This creates the potential for an East-West split to develop within the CFSP. One of the strengths of the EU's CFSP framework is that with the creation of the common External Action Service under the High Commissioner for Foreign Affairs, the EU can speak with a single voice on foreign policy issues. A multi-speed Europe may create cleavages within the EU that undermine the consensus needed to forge a coherent EU policy on a given area. It could also make the process of planning and controlling CSDP operations and missions more difficult if certain nations have enhanced interoperability and integrated defense structures but other members do not. Cast in a more positive light, however, enhanced cooperation for those nations so minded could serve to rationalize European defense in key capability areas and provide efficiencies of scale. This could support a more ambitious CFSP or simply serve to strengthen the European pillar of NATO.

Enhanced cooperation amongst a few states within the EU is unlikely to significantly affect the UK's future cooperation with Europe as a whole; the UK has so far steered clear of entangling pooling & sharing initiatives such as the EATC anyway. Nevertheless, the prospect of more viable defense procurement projects created by this initiative might encourage UK participation in order to take advantage of greater

economies of scale and further national R&D and industrial capacity. Projects such as Eurofighter and the recent A400M are good examples of European defense collaboration that are more likely in the future if a select group of EU member states agree to a more rationalized approach to their own procurement.

What is not clear is to what extent future UK industrial participation would be possible. A recent report in the *Financial Times* suggests that existing bids for work as part of the EU-funded but European Space Agency managed Galileo project may exclude UK companies because of Brexit.[23] Just because a small subsection of the EU enhance defense cooperation does not mean that this will provide greater opportunities for UK collaboration. Indeed, it raises the future prospect of a more capable European defense bloc able to act with more autonomy from the UK and NATO. This prospect represents a more limited case of what becomes possible under Scenario 5, when the EU agrees to bloc-wide enhanced cooperation. This is discussed below. A summary of trends forecast under scenario 3 is at Table 5.

Table 5: Scenario 3 (Those Who Want More, Do More) - Summary

Constituent of Strategic Culture	Trend
Strategic Framework	EU - multi-speed CSDP; enhanced cooperation in procurement and pooling & sharing for some states; unchanged for the rest UK - increasing emphasis on NATO framework and bilateral relationship with US
Threats	Common external - resurgent Russia Common internal - terrorism and nationalism
Capabilities	EU - some enhanced pooling & sharing produces efficiencies of capabilities UK - increased emphasis on UK/US interoperability; more viable EU procurement projects may be open to UK but no guarantee
Institutions	EU - Depending on size/influence of enhanced cooperation bloc, CSDP structures may become better integrated. Overall, cohesion and consensus may be jeopardized by two-tier CSDP. UK - Continued emphasis on NATO and UK/US relationship
Norms	Different degrees of cooperation within the EU may undermine coherent set of EU norms.

Source: Author's Original Work

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[23] Peggy Hollinger, "Brexit Risks Pushing UK Out of European Space Contracts," *Financial Times*, 2017.

Scenario 4 - Doing Less, But More Efficiently

In Scenario 4, the EU27 re-prioritize but act more cohesively to enhance cooperation in select policy areas. The European Commission's vision for this scenario is that security and defense will be one area that gets prioritized by the member states given the obvious benefits of collective action. It is not clear, however, that this would necessarily be the case. It is certainly possible that in the absence of the UK, many member states will consider enhanced cooperation a fruitless enterprise and choose to refocus on NATO as the institutional vehicle for European security. Nevertheless, there remains the possibility that Brexit will lift some of the 'red lines' such as the OHQ that have previously frustrated greater CSDP autonomy, creating the opportunity for deeper and broader cooperation across the whole EU27. Indeed, the absence of the UK could spotlight the woeful state of the EU27's collective defense capabilities, spurring an effort to act with greater efficiency and unity of purpose to compensate for the loss as much as possible.

The white paper presents a hint at what greater security and defense cooperation could look like, citing the possibility of a pan-EU counter-terrorism agency that would be empowered to tackle cross-border threats and a common European Customs and Border force to secure Europe's borders. Further detail on this subject is expected in the Commission's planned reflection paper on the future of European defense, which is due to be published in early June 2017. In the absence of this detailed guidance, some generic forecasts are made below.

A vision for enhanced security and defense cooperation would likely witness a concerted drive to realize the more ambitious aspects of the EU's new strategic framework as envisaged by the EUGS. This will likely include deeper and wider collaboration with respect to pooling and sharing of defense capabilities under a more robust form of PESCO and further burden sharing initiatives along the lines of the existing EATC construct for airlift. PESCO would also bring contractual certainty to the European defense industry and could result in member states planning, procuring, pooling and investing together, thereby creating substantial synergies and economies of scale. It is also likely that the EU will move quickly to transcend the UK's historical 'red

lines' that have blocked greater institutional autonomy for the CSDP, such as moving forward with the development of the OHQ and creating a more fully developed strategic planning interface between the PSC and the EUMC and EUMS. Most importantly, enhanced cooperation will require the EU to finally address the hard question of what constitutes a realistic level of ambition for the CSDP. The answer to this question will to a large extent be determined by the outcome of the Brexit negotiations and the degree to which UK contributions will continue to be integrated into EU operations and missions.

Given the intergovernmental process that underpins decisions in the CFSP domain, consensus across the EU27 to radically transform the depth and breadth of defense cooperation seems unlikely. Individual states are extremely unlikely to want to sacrifice national capabilities in an effort to rationalize at the EU level; France in particular has well-established norms of independence and globalism in their strategic culture that will mitigate the subordination of their strategic interests wholly to EU policy. What is more likely is that smaller countries, unable to acquire modern and interoperable defense capabilities, will use mechanisms such as PESCO to pursue a more collaborative approach. If these initiatives can be better synchronized by the member states at the EU level then the current patchwork of bilateral and multilateral approaches to security and defense could be replaced with a more coherent pan-EU strategy.

A consensus amongst the EU27 on a realistic level of ambition and a comprehensive review of the existing CSDP institutional architecture would add the necessary detail that is currently lacking within the EUGS. The EU's strategic culture is strongly multilateral; this norm will be particularly important as the EU27 seek to align European security and defense strategy with organizations such as NATO. An expansion of the EU-NATO cooperation recently established under the Joint Declaration in Warsaw on 6 July 2016 could realize the aspiration to "develop coherent, complementary and interoperable defense capabilities of EU Member States and NATO Allies, as well as multilateral projects."[24] Under Scenario 4, these fine words could be matched by deeds and for the first time European states would formulate national security and defense strategies in a coordinated manner to realize a common EU level of ambition.

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[24] NATO-EU Joint Declaration - http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_133163.htm

Enhanced cooperation will not change the requirement for intergovernmental consensus; in fact, it may paradoxically result in a more realistic but circumscribed level of ambition than currently exists. A recurring criticism of the CSDP is that there remains a chasm between the EU's strategic ambition, as distilled from its declaratory policy and published strategies, and what it can actually achieve with the capabilities it can employ and the political will it has been able to muster. The enhanced cooperation under Scenario 4 may succeed in moving the EU beyond this astrategic paradigm but with the result that the agreed level of ambition between the member states is actually reduced. It could also involve a more open decision to ground European defense solely within NATO and lead to a reduction in EU autonomy. The analysis of EU strategic culture and the history of CSDP operations, however, suggests that while this is a plausible outcome for the EU, it is not the most probable one.

As the CSDP has acquired increasing operational experience, including with 'out of area' expeditionary operations, it has grown in confidence. Furthermore, enhanced cooperation as envisaged under Scenario 4 will promote increased socialization of political and military elites, leading to a more coherent Europeanization of security and defense perspectives across the EU27. As security and defense acquires more salience across the EU, the effective integration of UK contributions will be critical to realizing the full capacity and capability of European defense. The UK is likely to remain a strong advocate for NATO, and the Joint Declaration will commit both NATO and the EU to enhancing interoperability and pursuing greater cooperation on common challenges. Following the approach in the Joint Declaration should ensure that UK capabilities remain interoperable with other European forces and are able to 'plug and play' in future CSDP operations irrespective of the degree to which the EU27 enhance their own collaboration. A summary for Scenario 4 is at Table 6.

Table 6: Scenario 4 (Doing Less, But More Efficiently) - Summary

Constituent of Strategic Culture	Trend
Strategic Framework	EU - CFSP afforded priority for intensified cooperation; enhanced cooperation in procurement and pooling & sharing across the EU UK - increasing emphasis on NATO framework but flexibility to join CSDP ops on an ad hoc basis

Threats	Common external - resurgent Russia Common internal - terrorism and nationalism
Capabilities	EU - enhanced pooling & sharing produces efficiencies of capabilities UK - emphasis on UK/US interoperability but EU procurement projects may be open to UK
Institutions	EU - CSDP structures become better integrated; stand-up of OHQ. Improved cohesion and consensus across EU27. UK - Continued emphasis on NATO and UK/US relationship but 'plug and play' possible within CSDP on an ad hoc basis
Norms	More coherent EU norms centered on multilateralism, comprehensive approach. Increasing legitimacy associated with 'hard power' approaches?

Source: Author's Original Work

Scenario 5 - Doing Much More Together

Scenario 5 will witness the EU acting in a more coherent, coordinated and purposive way across the full range of EU policy areas. The Commission's white paper envisages the formation of a European Defense Union although it is not clear what form this would take. The paper stresses that such a Union would be complementary to NATO but it is likely that a more capable and coherent defense union would have the ambition to support a more purposive, autonomous, and more strategic EU.

From the perspective of security and defense, Scenario 5 looks similar to Scenario 4. A key difference, however, would be that the EU would be a more coherent, better integrated, and more strategic actor on the global stage. Greater coordination of national positions across all the policy domains could afford the EU dedicated instruments of power under a more robust CFSP. This would make it easier to reinforce the institutional architecture of the CSDP and create opportunities for collaboration across the European defense industries and national governments to more effectively pool and share capabilities. The degree to which this occurs across the EU27 to a large extent will depend on the position of France. France has always maintained a fiercely independent foreign policy with global interests; however, it has balanced this with enthusiastic support for the European defense project. Should France choose to concentrate on the latter, particularly in the wake of Brexit, significant progress can be made towards

realizing the EU's ambition for the CSDP. Nevertheless, as long as France intends to retain a distinctively independent foreign policy, it is likely that the EU's CFSP will remain intergovernmental rather than supranational.

EU27 cooperation in security and defense, even if significantly enhanced under Scenario 5, is likely to remain intergovernmental in nature. To imagine a EU with common defense capabilities under 'standing' CSDP command and control is to imagine a truly federal Europe and the end of national sovereignty in the Westphalian sense. The EU would then become a 'state' in the international system the same way the US is a 'state'. There seems little prospect of this happening given current trends in European politics. The EU is facing a democratic deficit that is causing disenchantment across European citizens and the case for a federal Europe seems more remote than ever before. Brexit and a rising tide of populist political parties indicate that European citizens want less Brussels and not more. Of course, political moods can swing and a forecast should not be swayed by the popular passions of the day. Nevertheless, the institutional foundations for a federal union remain thin, and as the European Commission's white paper makes clear, the crisis of EU legitimacy is real. Preventing further disintegration of Europe will likely lead to more flexible modalities of cooperation rather than a leap towards federalism.

Brexit means that the EU27 are more likely than ever before to retain the flexibility inherent in the current intergovernmental construct for security and defense. PESCO may offer the opportunity for enhanced cooperation amongst the EU27, however, there will remain a significant interest in continuing to integrate UK contributions to CSDP operations and missions. This will necessitate a flexible arrangement whereby the UK can provide resources and leadership on an ad hoc basis. As Scenario 5 assumes enhanced cooperation across the EU27, it is likely that there will be more initiatives to pool and share defense capabilities and pursue common acquisition projects. There may be scope for these opportunities to be open to UK participation; this would certainly be to the mutual advantage of the EU27 who individually have much to gain from collective action that includes Europe's strongest military power. In terms of strategic culture, the EU's multilateral norm suggests that strong partnerships with other organizations such as NATO are likely to continue. As the EU seeks to strengthen its own defense capabilities,

this will further reinforce the European pillar of the NATO Alliance. This will serve to stabilize cooperation with the UK as it transitions out of the formal CFSP structures of the Union. The UK's own strategic preference for situating European defense in the context of NATO will make this aspect of security cooperation even more important in the post-Brexit context. A summary of Scenario 5 is at Table 7.

Table 7: Scenario 5 (Doing Much More Together) - Summary

Constituent of Strategic Culture	Trend
Strategic Framework	EU - Enhanced cooperation across full range of policy areas; shift towards supra-nationality? UK - increasing emphasis on NATO framework but flexibility to join CSDP ops on an ad hoc basis
Threats	Common external - resurgent Russia Common internal - terrorism and nationalism
Capabilities	EU - Expanded PESCO to rationalize capabilities UK - emphasis on UK/US interoperability but EU procurement projects may be open to UK
Institutions	EU - CSDP structures become better integrated; stand-up of OHQ. Improved cohesion and consensus across EU27. UK - Continued emphasis on NATO and UK/US relationship but 'plug and play' possible within CSDP on an ad hoc basis
Norms	More coherent EU norms centered on multilateralism, comprehensive approach. Increasing legitimacy associated with 'hard power' approaches? A more coherent and unified EU would promote the idea of Europe behaving as a single unitary actor on the world stage

Source: Author's Original Work

Summary

The prospect of an EU diminished by the absence of the UK is a sobering one, not least in the defense and security domain which has received scant little attention during the Brexit debate so far. The last decade has been characterized by a gradual withering of defense capabilities across Europe as austerity measures emanating from the 2008 financial crisis have taken their toll on national budgets. A resurgent Russia has served to refocus the defense imperative but inevitably, the focus has been on NATO's response as the 'hard power' security alliance of choice. As the UK prepares to withdraw from an

increasingly fragmented EU, it is likely that NATO's stature and importance will continue to grow at the same time the EU's capabilities decline. Nevertheless, the EU has the potential to rebound. This paper has considered a number of scenarios proposed by the European Commission for consideration by the remaining EU27. They range from the probable scenario of the EU continuing along its planned reform agenda, largely arising out of momentum and a collective inability to agree to change trajectory, through a multi-speed Europe of differential levels of cooperation, to a highly improbable but transformative great leap forward to "ever closer Union." Each scenario, in light of the strategic culture of both the UK and EU as presented, has different consequences for future UK-European security cooperation.

There remains a paradox at the heart of the CSDP in the wake of Brexit. In order for the EU27 to present a capable array of defense capabilities to meet the EU's stated strategic ambition, enhanced cooperation will need to occur to realize the necessary economies of scale and efficiencies. This cooperation, however, is likely to be even more difficult to achieve in an increasingly fragmented and uncertain post-Brexit EU. Furthermore, and critically for the future of UK-European security cooperation, a looser more flexible CSDP construct will better facilitate a UK contribution to future operations and missions. Many have predicted a new and liberating direction for the CSDP in the wake of Brexit; no longer will the UK be able to impose constraining 'red lines' on the institutional architecture of the CSDP. The flip side of the coin, however, is that the absence of the UK made the viability of a more ambitious CSDP, as envisaged under the more ambitious EU scenarios, highly questionable. British strategic culture, marked more by continuity rather than change, continues to steer British strategy towards its special relationship with the US and a global rather than distinctively European perspective. As long as US support for NATO continues, which is looking probable despite criticism of the alliance by the recently elected US president, the UK will continue to de-emphasize the EU in its strategic calculus. Future UK-European security cooperation is therefore likely to become more NATO focused and at the same time increasingly bilateral. The UK's bilateral initiatives with France under the Lancaster House treaties are indicative of a more ad hoc approach to defense engagement that could lead to a more informal patchwork of cooperation amongst disparate actors on different security issues. This will

be to the detriment of a more coherent and integrated CFSP and CSDP. However, as long as there remains a significant asymmetry of military capability and strategic purpose between the UK and the remaining EU27, the incentives for a loose and flexible arrangement for security and defense cooperation are likely to be in the best interests of all.

Chapter 6

Conclusions

The Transatlantic Alliance is needed more than ever; but how much stronger it is with Britain in Europe and Europe an equal partner with America. Forget the short term electoral politics there or here. In the long term, this is essentially an alliance of values: liberty, democracy, the rule of law. As the world changes and opens up across boundaries of nation and culture, which values will govern the 21st Century? Today, for the first time in my adult life, it is not clear that the resolution of this question will be benign. Britain, because of its history, alliances and character, has a unique role to play in ensuring it is. How, therefore, can it be wise for us, during this epic period of global evolution, to be focused not on how we build partnerships, but how we dissolve the one to which we are bound by ties of geography, trade, shared values and common interest?

Tony Blair, 17 February 2017

During the two-year process of negotiating Brexit, it is likely that the EU and UK will conclude a unique strategic partnership, to include an agreement on security and defense cooperation. The British Prime Minister, in her letter triggering the Article 50 process, called for a "deep and special partnership" between the UK and Europe while recognizing "Europe's security is more fragile today than at any time since the end of the Cold War…weakening our cooperation for the prosperity and protection of our citizens would be a costly mistake."[1] The UK's white paper on Brexit[2] sets out the UK's goals for this new partnership.

A Deep and Special Partnership?

The UK's declared intent is to continue to play an active and cooperative role in meeting the shared challenges of European security. For example, the white paper indicates support for the common mechanisms of intelligence sharing, law enforcement including counter-terrorism, and cyber security in recognition of the shared threat to both the EU and the UK. Existing cross-border initiatives, such as EUROPOL and the

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[1] See the British Prime Minister's letter to the European Council, 29 March 2017. https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/prime-ministers-letter-to-donald-tusk-triggering-article-50
[2] UK White Paper on Brexit, 2 February 2017. https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-united-kingdoms-exit-from-and-new-partnership-with-the-european-union-white-paper

European arrest warrant system, are highlighted; continuing UK membership of these programs is implied but not detailed.[3]

Specifically, on defense cooperation, the white paper reinforces the UK's strategic preference for working through NATO, alongside the US as a part of the enduring special relationship, and in partnership with Europe but on a less formal basis. The paper states that the UK wants to "continue to work with the EU on foreign policy security and defense," however, the emphasis is on enhancing "bilateral relationships with our European partners and beyond, projecting a truly global UK across the world."[4] The historical and ongoing UK contribution to the CSDP is articulated, however, there is no firm commitment to continue to support specific EU operations and missions. Many of these are mentioned in the paper in positive terms, including Operation Atalanta which remains under UK command, and maritime security operations in the Mediterranean which the paper describes as an "important part of the EU's and UK's wider migration strategy."[5] Furthermore, the White Paper states:

> Our objective is to ensure that the EU's role on defense and security is complementary to, and respects the central role of, NATO. After we leave the EU, we will remain committed to European security and add value to EU foreign and security policy.[6]

It is not clear, however, what "adding value" would mean. The UK Defense Secretary has recently made the pointed observation that in the wake of Brexit, 80% of NATO spending will come from non-EU countries and that bilateral relationships will become "more important than ever" to the UK, including the defense relationship with the US which remains "unprecedented in depth and scope."[7] As would be expected, the white paper emphasizes the UK's commitment to the territorial security of Europe through NATO, drawing attention to recent UK military deployments to Estonia, Poland, and Romania.

[3] UK White Paper on Brexit, 2 February 2017. https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-united-kingdoms-exit-from-and-new-partnership-with-the-european-union-white-paper

[4] UK White Paper on Brexit, 2 February 2017. https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-united-kingdoms-exit-from-and-new-partnership-with-the-european-union-white-paper

[5] UK White Paper on Brexit, 2 February 2017. https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-united-kingdoms-exit-from-and-new-partnership-with-the-european-union-white-paper

[6] UK White Paper on Brexit, 2 February 2017. https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-united-kingdoms-exit-from-and-new-partnership-with-the-european-union-white-paper

[7] Sir Michael Fallon is quoted in The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/mar/31/uk-defence-role-us-eu-michael-fallon-nato-james-mattis-meeting?CMP=oth_b-aplnews_d-1

No doubt the modalities of defense cooperation with the EU will be subject to the detailed Brexit negotiations, however, the content of the white paper and the Defense Secretary's recent remarks suggest that the UK will seek to de-emphasize the EU in its defense and security calculus. Instead, the UK is likely to continue to emphasize the primacy of NATO and pursue ad hoc bilateral cooperation with European states on shared security challenges. The Anglo-French agreements under the Lancaster House treaties are a good example of this and may serve as a model for the future. This pattern of activity on the eve of Brexit negotiations is exactly what we would expect from our analysis of UK strategic culture in Chapter 4.

The UK may be leaving the EU but it cannot leave Europe. Many of the security challenges that the EU faces, from terrorism to organized crime and the threat posed by Russian revisionism in the East, are threats to British interests too. Notwithstanding the UK's cultural leanings towards its special relationship with the US and its affection for the Commonwealth, the UK's most pressing security concerns are located on the continent of Europe and its increasingly war-torn periphery. British cooperation with Europe on a range of security and defense matters is the natural consequence of a shared neighborhood and shared threats.

The Role of Institutions

Cooperation in the European context has often been explained by reference to the peculiarity of the institutional construct of the EU; this was discussed from a theoretical perspective in Chapter 1, and in practical detail in Chapter 3. Across many policy areas within Europe, from matters of economic trade through to matters of law, the supranationality of EU institutions remains highly salient. Policy outcomes are not simply the result of a competitive bargaining process between sovereign states; the institutions themselves matter. They matter because states are constrained by the institution's rules but states also respond to the incentives for cooperation that they create. Liberal theory describes how institutions create certainty, constrain power, and foster collaborative approaches to shared problems. The European integration project, as an important constituent of the post-1945 US-led world order, aimed to settle the issue of German sovereignty and provide a cooperative foundation for the economic reconstruction of Europe; it achieved this through institutions. Institutions also have an important

socializing effect on their members. Policy elites from the member states find themselves working alongside their colleagues from the remaining 27 nations towards common goals. The CFSP and its CSDP subsidiary are no exception to these effects, however, as has been argued above, their highly intergovernmental nature mitigates against some of the more transformative aspects of institutional cooperation. Indeed, Brexit itself seems to point towards the limits of socialization's political influence; over forty years of EEC/EU membership with the concomitant socialization effect on British policy elites proved insufficient to shape a more positive conception of membership in the prevailing strategic culture. Measuring the process of EU socialization and assessing its efficacy would be a fruitful area of future research.

In Chapter 1, this paper argued that non-cultural theories of international politics are insufficient to explain the nature of UK and European security cooperation. Realist theory can explain the powerful structural incentives that drive states to cooperate under conditions of anarchy; for example, the Atlantic alliance is explained by realists as the natural consequence of balancing the Soviet threat. Realism, however, tells us little about the nature of the economic and political integration that developed in Europe, and has even less to say about the pattern of British and European cooperation in the post-Cold War period. Liberal theory can explain why states seek to build institutions to facilitate cooperation, such as the EU or NATO, but struggle to explain the differing national approaches within those institutions and in their autonomous activities. The formulation of policy, as has been revealed, is often the result of cultural influences including questions of national identity.

Strategic Culture

To adequately account for the history of UK and European security cooperation, this paper has chosen a constructivist approach by analyzing behavior through the lens of strategic culture. In Chapter 2, a framework for strategic culture was developed that placed culture as an independent variable in the causal chain of strategic behavior. This allowed an important space to be occupied by those material constraints of international politics, such as the exigency of a common threat, to influence resultant actor strategy. For example, in the UK's response to a resurgent Russian threat, there is both the material reality of geography and Russian military power that weighs on UK strategic preference,

as well as the powerful influence of British strategic culture that frames the nature of the threat and lights the path of strategy. Chapter 2 established the components of culture: the strategic framework for action, perceived threats, capabilities with which to act, institutions that represent the capacity to act, and the norms that underpin them all. Using this framework, Chapters 3 and 4 analyzed the evolution of the EU's and UK's strategic cultures over time, explaining how the key norms that have driven their development arose and providing a contemporary assessment of strategic culture with which to conduct constructivist forecasting.

The analysis of the EU's strategic culture in Chapter 3 highlights the transformative impact of twentieth century war on the politics of Europe post-1945. The European post-modernist project was an attempt to move Europe beyond the power politics of *realpolitik* that had governed relations on the conflict since the peace of Westphalia. The experience of military defeat and occupation has given birth to a powerful normative assertion of the futility of war amongst many European states; this experience has had a lasting legacy, continuing to influence the EU's strategic culture. Institutional Europe continues to have an aversion to military power and generally favors 'soft power' diplomacy, the comprehensive approach, and multilateralism. Culture, however, is sticky but not static. The norms regarding the legitimate use of force have evolved from Cold War self-defense and deterrence, through to the more muscular humanitarian interventions of the 1990s and strategies of coercion in the face of Serbian nationalism. Notwithstanding European opposition to Anglo-American unilateralism in Iraq, contemporary Europe is more normatively prepared to employ force than ever before. The EU's strategic framework has evolved from post-war reconstruction, through Cold War bipolarity, to complex multipolarity. At the same time, there has been a gradual project of economic and political integration, propelled initially by the contingent demands of American security and economic necessity but sustained by the prosperity of the single market and common institutions. The EU is a complex global actor with a distinctive strategic culture that has emerged out of the melting pot of many different national perspectives and traditions. The UK has been a key actor in the development of the EU's strategic culture and has taken the initiative in the wake of the Balkan wars of secession to open a pathway for increased

EU autonomy. In doing so, however, the UK has kept EU security and defense institutions carefully constrained and European strategic ambition finely throttled.

The decline of British power in the twentieth century is inevitably associated with loss of Empire and the debilitating effects of both world wars. Modern British strategic culture, described in Chapter 4, has its foundation in the fateful decision made in 1940 by Churchill to remain a belligerent in Hitler's European war. Strategy is about making hard choices. By risking and ultimately losing the Empire in order to face Nazi Germany alone, the UK hedged its national survival on the prospects for a successful future Anglo-American alliance. It was a decision driven by identity rather than interest. It is this alliance today that continues to underpin the UK's interests and exerts a powerful influence on British strategic culture. Faith in the Anglo-American values enshrined in the 1941 Atlantic Charter has underwritten the resulting UK-US special relationship ever since. For the British at least, this unprecedented bilateral relationship is above all driven by shared values and Britain's sense of identity. Victory over the Axis powers and avoiding the humiliation of military defeat and Nazi occupation has had a powerful normative effect on UK strategic culture. For the British, the Second World War underscored the efficacy of military power as a necessary instrument to preserve sovereignty and defend liberal values. The importance of the Anglo-American partnership, a global not just European perspective on world affairs and a belief in the efficacy of hard power, has powerfully shaped the British approach to strategy and will continue to do so.

Constructivist Forecasting

The operations and missions of the CSDP, the dependent variable in our framework of strategic action, have been analyzed in Chapter 5 as a prelude to forecasting. It was argued that the conduct of CSDP operations and missions were critically shaped by the influence of strategic culture, in particular the EU's comprehensive and multilateral approach but also a growing ambition to flex the EU's strategic muscles outside its immediate neighborhood. As a global strategic actor, the EU is relatively immature and has some unique challenges. The requirement to achieve consensus has naturally driven a cautious approach in order to minimize political and military risk, particularly in light of limited resources and capabilities. Indeed, the UK has played an important leadership role

in advocating for and enabling a more muscular and expeditionary approach to operations. British initiatives, however, were designed to keep the EU's strategic ambition carefully calibrated in order to avoid jeopardizing US support. Maintenance of a robust transatlantic security commitment to Europe has remained the UK's most vital strategic objective. Whereas France and Germany have often feared the excesses of American power, particularly in the context of US unilateralism and preventive war under the Bush administration, the British have always worried more about US abandonment.

Brexit is a seismic moment in the shared history of both Europe and the UK. It has unleashed centrifugal forces not just within the EU but within the nations that comprise the UK itself. Brexit was not the result of deliberate strategy or power politics; none of the major British political parties supported a decision to leave the EU. Indeed, arguably British national interest has been historically well served by positioning the UK as a strong partner within Europe and simultaneously exercising a privileged relationship with the US. In cultural terms, this 'sweet spot' of global political influence is the realization of the Atlanticist vision that has decisively shaped British policy since 1945. Nevertheless, the normative tension at the heart of British strategic culture, between the Atlantic conception of security and Europeanism, has never been harmoniously reconciled. A persistent undercurrent of Euroscepticism has influenced Britain's political landscape since the UK first acceded to the European Community in 1973; successive French vetoes of British membership prior to accession further fueled the sense on both sides that Britain was not a natural fit within institutional Europe. The British decision to accede to the EC in 1973 and the 2016 decision taken to leave the EU had nothing to do with security and defense. Yet, it has been argued here that the UK's withdrawal from the institutions of Europe has important strategic and military consequences. While it is true that NATO will continue to be the bedrock alliance that underpins both European and UK national security for the foreseeable future, the EU's aspiration for a more autonomous global role will continue to force the UK to confront the normative tension at the heart of its strategic culture. The UK's instinct is to look to the West for security but it is events to the East that will increasingly draw its attention.

Although the UK faces many of the same security threats and challenges as the EU, the analysis of strategic culture here suggests that significant normative differences will

continue to complicate British and continental European approaches to security. This will undoubtedly affect the grand bargain currently pursued as part of Brexit negotiations. It seems likely that both parties will reach an agreement that facilitates UK contributions to the CSDP; chiefly because of the highly capable and expeditionary capabilities that Britain alone can bring to support EU discretionary operations. Nevertheless, the modalities of this cooperation will in part be influenced by these different cultural approaches. The UK strategic preference will likely be for a NATO 'first right of refusal' before considering a CSDP initiative. In the event of the latter, a loose, flexible, and intergovernmental approach to EU operations and missions will be necessary to accommodate the UK's support. This preference may be frustrated if the EU decides to elevate CSDP decision-making to a more supra-national level. This is a possibility under a number of scenarios considered by this paper. However, given the climate of contemporary European politics, it remains more probable that the EU will move in a more incoherent direction; de-centralization or even fragmentation appears more likely than enhanced integration. If the EU is to prosper and cohere it will need to introduce more flexible governance arrangements that accommodate the desires of a few to enhance cooperation and those of the many who seek a more intergovernmental constitutional arrangement. This flexibility would augur well for a more effective UK-European security cooperation in the future.

A loose, flexible, and primarily intergovernmental arrangement would facilitate the incorporation of UK commitments on an ad hoc basis. A more integrated or supranational structure within a EU27 CSDP would make it harder to incorporate UK military forces and align strategy to both British and EU policy. Indeed, while post-Brexit UK military contributions could be accommodated easily under existing CSDP arrangements, the loss of strategic influence as a result of being excluded from the EUMC/EUMS and PSC may be unacceptable to the UK. An early test case will be Operation Atalanta, currently commanded by a British operational commander from the UK's Northwood HQ. If the EU, in the wake of a painful divorce from the UK, can tolerate this important CSDP operation being led by a British commander, and the UK can accept the loss of strategic influence at the political level of the CSDP, then the prospects for future cooperation will be very positive. The compromise that might emerge is that the UK secures a unique

strategic partnership with the EU, continuing to have representation and influence at the political level as a standing member of the PSC, albeit without formal membership of the EU. This could be problematic, however, given the political subordination of the PSC to the European Council and the current UK intent to create a "clean break" with the EU. It is difficult to forecast the precise institutional arrangements that will arise from negotiations; however, the EU has a powerful incentive to facilitate UK cooperation within the CSDP.

A Cultural Reconciliation?

The EU finds itself at a strategic crossroads. Future security cooperation between the UK and Europe is not just desirable for both sides – it is essential. As the UK government has insisted, the UK may be leaving the EU but it is not leaving Europe. The threats to European security are shared by all member states even if the solutions are contested. Strategic culture has helped to identify the different ways in which the EU and the UK perceive the international security environment, the nature of the challenges faced, and the culturally normative responses each actor would likely favor. The interaction of the two cultures and the institutional arrangements that develop in the wake of Brexit, will dictate the future pattern of security cooperation. Although largely played out in private, the Brexit negotiating process will reflect this interaction of cultures as each side brings its own sense of identity, historical experience, and strategic purpose to the discussions. The UK and EU have much to lose from a bad deal on security and defense. The UK needs European cooperation within NATO, more capable and interoperable European militaries, and collective goodwill to face common threats and challenges together. The EU needs UK military commitment to the defense of Europe and a strong partner in future operations and missions in the greater European neighborhood. These are good reasons to arrive at a mutually advantageous outcome. Nevertheless, it is possible that the divorce will not be amicable.

The EU27 have a powerful incentive to ensure the UK does not end up in a more preferential economic position as a result of Brexit. Above all, the EU27 club must survive and will need a settlement that deters other states from leaving. Herein lies the rub. If the UK perceives it is being presented with adverse divorce terms it is less likely to invest in a more cooperative defense and security relationship. Linking security

cooperation to an economic bargain has been publicly rejected by UK policy elites, yet it will be impossible in practice to keep them apart. Indeed, the UK stands to leverage its security and defense contribution to Europe to good effect in striking a favorable comprehensive settlement. In the event that such a deal cannot be achieved and the result is severe damage to the UK economy, there is the potential for a more isolationist UK, less amenable to cooperate with Europe, and eager to further retrench its international commitments. The UK's cultural proclivity to turn Westward away from Europe would be understandable in this context but may be greeted with indifference by a new US administration that espouses an economic nationalism that could prove inimical to UK interests.

This paper has analyzed the prospects for future UK-European security cooperation through the lens of strategic culture. Despite the shared historical experience of the UK and Europe since 1945, quite different strategic cultures have emerged. This paper has focused on the interplay of these two cultures in the process of establishing security and defense cooperation. Whatever direction the Brexit negotiations take, the negotiating teams will carry with them powerful cultural influences to the discussions.

Culture has been an illuminating framework for analyzing the development of the EU's security and defense framework and the UK's interaction with it. It has revealed that despite shared challenges and common experiences, quite different norms of strategic behavior have taken root within the UK and European political traditions. These differences have manifested themselves in distinctive strategic frameworks, perceptions of threats, development of military capabilities, and institutions. Brexit reflects a failure to reconcile these two distinctive strategic cultures within British domestic politics. Indeed, the vote to leave the EU was a rejection of European post-modernism and an affirmation of British nationalism in spite of the clear risks of economic self-harm that would emerge from throwing out the status quo. Nevertheless, both the UK and Europe face shared internal threats from transnational terrorist and criminal actors that seek to undermine the legitimacy of states and the institutions they form. There is also a renewed external threat from a revisionist and increasingly aggressive Russia. As Europe faces an uncertain strategic future, the UK and the EU will have powerful incentives to cooperate even if the Brexit process proves to be politically painful for both sides. The evidence

presented here suggests that a successful political settlement will require more than a just a recognition of shared interest it will require a cultural reconciliation too.

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