

BABEȘ-BOLYAI UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF EUROPEAN STUDIES

DOCTORAL THESIS

THE UNITED KINGDOM'S COMMITMENT TO THE EUROPEAN SECURITY: Debates on the Brexit Process, Strategy and Decisions. Perspectives within the UK, EU and NATO

SUMMARY

Coordinator:

Professor

Valentin Naumescu

PhD Candidate:

Agnes Nicolescu

Cluj – Napoca

2020

SUMMARY

Key words: Brexit, EU, NATO, appraisal theory, perception building, European security, alliance building, balance of threat perception.

The present thesis explores conditions pertaining to the United Kingdom's (UK) commitment to the European security in the context of the Brexit process, launched by the vote of June 2016 expressing voters' decision to leave the European Union institutions. Immediately after the public announcement of the UK's decision to trigger the Brexit process, British and continental researchers started investigating a complex array of variables that may influence the various actors and processes involved in the process.

The thesis analyses perceptions and reflections of the manner in which the process of leaving EU institutions is expected to influence London's future security and defence relationship with the Union, in a difficult and challenging moment not only for Europe but also the transatlantic relationship.

The debate around Brexit is explored through the lens of its commitment to European security as a way of rethinking Great Britain's response to external challenges and threats. British political, military and diplomatic elite have faced continuous uncertainty ever since the pro Brexit vote. This aspect is visible in the official statements as well as in strategic or planning documents.

Scholarly literature has highlighted on many occasions that UK's reluctance towards Common Security and Defence Policy is linked to the fact that the EU is not perceived as a *genuine security actor per se*. *The actorness quality on the international relations arena appears as essential for an organisation such as the EU to be able to have a credible voice in international relations*. This feature has been explored extensively in the past decades, and more recently in the Brexit context, also in relation to the EU's capacity to efficiently advance its plans towards building a strong security and defence component. At the same time, the actorness feature has been explored a recent literature dedicated to the relationship between Brexit and European security from the perspective of common areas of interest that the Brits and the Europeans may share in the security and defense area and similar qualities and assets these may have in common.

However, empirical testing of the various implications of Brexit for the European security are not yet developed due to the fact that we are talking about an ongoing process. This thesis sets to partially fill in this gap by looking at Central and Eastern European reflections on the topic, as they are so far scarce, with the exception of Polish thinkers.

These common features and assets are explored from the perspective of the **perception-building theoretical framework**, subscribed to the assumptions of the neorealist-structuralist **balance of threat perception**, proposed by Janice Stein as a response to Stephen Walt's balance of threat theory. The concept of perception – building and its relevance for fully grasping a country's perceptions towards its own security as well as regards other states' security is explored in the thesis using the **appraisal theory**, usually deployed in psychology and other social sciences such as political psychology. The appraisal theory is key to understanding the role of perception - building and the way states or international organisations relate and respond to external challenges.

The **general objectives** of the thesis consist in identifying and exploring the perceptions of major actors involved in Brexit process and variables likely to shape up these perceptions.

The thesis identifies and investigates the characteristics of major institutional actors and structures involved in shaping up the relationship between the UK and the EU, in the area of foreign and security policy in a post - Brexit context.

The research hypothesis is tested through an assessment of the UK's conduct as a foreign and security actor, by using the concepts of actorness and agency, against a set of representative criteria identified by the specialised literature as key to understanding state response to external threats: opportunity, coherence, and effectiveness of action. These factors are analysed from the perspective of neorealist–structuralist framework. According to the hypothesis, **opportunity, coherence, and effectiveness of action** have so far shaped up the UK's foreign and security policy conduct and are likely to continue doing so in the future. These components are explored from the perspective of the set of neorealist and reflectivist criteria further on.

The first section highlights these key variables and actors, as they are reflected in the scholarly literature covering the topic. Among other factors, the literature explores the motivations and developments impacting the future EU - UK relationship in the realm of foreign and security policy in the aftermath of Brexit. Focus is laid on understanding the theoretical and conceptual framework according to which any state forms its own distinctive foreign policy and security preferences based on perceptions of threats faced. Dedicated literature also highlights the set of variables which impact **alliance – building** as a practice deployed by any state in response to external challenges and threats. Particular attention is paid

to understanding the role that perceptions play in the formation of a state's foreign and security policy. Numerous researchers have explored and subsequently refined the theoretic and conceptual framework for grasping the transition from the theory of balance of power to the balance of threat. This conceptual transition notes a set of prerequisites which any state deemed as a power must have: geographic position, military and industrial capabilities, population, size of the state, size of defence budget, alliance system, etc.

These variables are explored, measured and tested in the thesis through dedicated literature, in strategy and policy documents and during interviews conducted with members of the academia, former or current diplomatic staff and independent experts.

Variables are explored in the second and third sections of the thesis. They highlight the role of alliance – building and preference formation in an institutional setting such as that of the EU: the role of intergovernmental cooperation in shaping up the future relationship between the UK and the EU in the area of foreign and security policy, and of the European integration process in this realm, as well as historical factors.

Empirical examples of the way in which perceptions shape up foreign and security policy preferences are explored and detailed in the third section, applied to the UK, Germany and France, as well as to Sweden. Sweden has been chosen as an example given its longstanding similarities in terms of foreign and security policy thinking with the UK and its recent commitment to contribute to a more cohesive European voice in this policy area. Sweden is no equal for the UK in terms of military and industrial capabilities and assets, used throughout the thesis as an important variable, as highlighted in the scholarly literature, particularly by neorealist structuralist political thinkers. However, Stockholm's recent commitment to the European security and defence policy provides new perspectives for understanding how the future relationship between the UK and EU in this area may look like.

Furthermore, the future of the UK-US relations are explored, given their special relationship in the foreign and security field, and the UK's occasional role as mediator between the US and the EU, during its EU membership. A specific objective is to understand the stakes of recent European initiatives in the security and defence area, such as PESCO, launched by Germany and France Soon after the 2016 Brexit referendum. With the notable exception of NATO, France and Germany have been instrumental in shaping up all the institutional and strategic decision - making related to the set – up of the EU's evolving political and integration forms: the Euro area, the Schengen area and the associated political processes. This analysis is complemented by comparing the foreign and security policy practices of states known for

sharing UK's foreign and security policy principles. Such an example is Sweden, formerly known as a reluctant Member State in the area of foreign and security policy - making.

The **theoretical framework** of the thesis is based on a balanced mix of neorealist-structuralist arguments, referring to the balance of threat based on perception, and references to the reflectivist approach of states considered as actors on the international arena. The neorealist-structuralist arguments serve as basis for understanding the UK's conduct as a rational actor seeking to maximise its security interests, based on the perceptions of its own role in the Euro - Atlantic security architecture, in the context of Brexit. The neorealist-structuralist approach is also used in alliance building theory. This theoretical construct deploys the balance of threat based on perception conceptualised by Janice Stein as a response to Stephen Walt's of balance of threat.

From a *methodological* standpoint, the researcher deploys **qualitative analysis** instruments such as interviews with foreign policy and security experts, practitioners, former members of the diplomatic corps and journalists regularly covering foreign and security policy topics.

This method has allowed to identify the key common features of the public and expert speech covering the Brexit topic, both in the EU and British public discourse. The reflectivist theoretical framework also analyses the above-mentioned factors (state size, military and industrial capabilities, defence budget, etc), identified as relevant by the neorealist – structuralist literature in order to understand states' perceptions towards their own security and threats faced. The exploration of the same variables across different theoretical perspectives (neorealism vs. reflectivism) enables the researcher to test the validity of the proposed research hypothesis.

The main **research questions** addressed in the thesis are:

- 1. What are the main topics related to Brexit and European security?*
- 2. What are the major developments and interdependencies in relation to Brexit and European security?*

Brexit is mostly explained as the result of an internal **balancing tactic**. The thesis brings an element of freshness to the research of the topic through the empirical deepened analysis of the estimated impact on the European foreign and security policy as perceived in closely connection to the existence of a common definition of threats among the British and EU political elite. From this perspective, the aim of the thesis is to understand some of the internal

mechanisms which shape up the way the UK's perceptions towards its own security are formed, and not to give a diagnosis for the Brexit process.

According to the main research hypothesis of the thesis, although the UK's exit from the EU is based on an internal balancing theoretical assumption, seeking to ensure greater autonomy in relation to Brussels, this does not implicitly trigger a definitive disengagement from the European security architecture. This architecture is defined in the thesis as the set of institutions and practices which the UK has influenced ever since joining the Union in 1973. At the same time, dedicated literature and interviews conducted point to the conclusion that London will continue to remain engaged with the European security through its unaltered participation within NATO.

British scepticism towards *European* security is embedded into the national foreign and security political thinking and strategy-making, mostly related to historical considerations. Regardless of these challenging motivations, which have come to be known as efforts to achieve strategic "autonomy" from Europeans, British foreign and security policy decision makers acknowledge the deep common features and interests the UK shares with the remaining Member States in the area of foreign and security policy.

The issue of capability preparedness has become a core concern of the British military and political establishment over recent years. This concern can be easily understood in a context of continued underspending and budget cuts which have been impacting the British armed forces over the past decades. The Common Foreign and Security Policy and the Common Security and Defence Policy have enabled the Brits to maintain national sovereignty. At the same time, the EU membership status has allowed the Brits to intervene and shape up those policy areas where they and the rest of the Europeans share major interests, European Foreign and Security policy included.

Section 3 is dedicated to analysing the nuances of the debate about the future balance of power in the EU as a consequence of Brexit has sparked. Furthermore, regional fragmentations on what the future of European security should look like persist and are likely to continue to be strongly linked to the initiatives and overall dynamics of the Franco - German duo. Concerns over the balance of power within the Union in the post - Brexit context dominate the dedicated literature. Difficulties triggered by the contrasting views of the Franco - German tandem on what the EU's security and defence engagements should look like are essentially based on the different strategic cultures of the two key EU Member States and policy shapers. Concerns over Trump's potential renewed presidential mandate in the US, the unfolding Brexit and other overlapping crises such as the looming economic and financial crisis, continued migrant

inflows from Southern Europe and, more recently, the ongoing pandemic complete the complex picture of challenges facing both the EU Members and the UK. The successive enlargement waves of NATO and the EU contributed, on the one hand, to rendering these perspectives more heterogeneous. They also put the issue of European leadership at the forefront. At the same time, newcomers from Eastern and Central Europe introduced a sense of urgency about relations with the continent's Eastern partners and the security challenges faced by this region.

UK's membership in NATO remains a core pillar of its national security in the post – Brexit context. At the same time, this raises the issue of opportunity in terms of *alliance building* and further alliance seeking within NATO, a feature subscribed to the neorealist – structuralist theoretical framework.

In the fourth section of the thesis, perceptions on regional security of three Central and Eastern European states are explored in relation to Brexit. The questionnaires conducted on 15 respondents on the UK's behaviour and relationship dynamics with the new Member States highlight gaps and common points in the policy vision on both sides. The three states selected belong to different integration circles within the Euro – Atlantic structures: Romania, Poland and Ukraine.

Section 4 investigates perceptions toward Brexit and security in South Eastern Europe by looking at major security challenges and threats faced by the three countries corresponding to different levels of Euro - Atlantic integration: Poland, Romania and Ukraine. Janice Stein's concepts of **conditional - based threats** and **situational threats** are deployed to showcase with empirical examples from the region the way decision makers, academics and independent experts view Brexit and the future of the European security from the perspective of **Opportunity, Coherence and Effectiveness**. The three concepts are used during interviews as tools for exploring the reflections pertaining to these countries' respective foreign and security policy approaches in a post - Brexit context. The theoretical and empirical assumptions used are in line with the neorealist structuralist mindset, centered on the need to understand the complex nexus of alliance – building between like-minded states, military capacity, geographical position, perception of threats and political will variables.

As a conclusion, according to the empirical findings explored in sections 3 and 4, the external challenges faced by both the EU and the UK in recent years represent major determinants for the manner in which they build up their foreign and security policy agendas and shape up responses to external threats. As highlighted in these sections, British and European respondents identify a number of common challenges, including the emergence of assertive actors on the international scene. These actors are perceived as having the capacity to

contest the interests and priorities traditionally pursued by the EU in the foreign and security field. Moreover, these actors, including Russia, are perceived as real challenges to the British and most Europeans' foreign and security policy values and interests. Surveys on the perception of these threats reveal major differences between the views of British experts and practitioners and those of the general public. The latter does not consider Russia's behavior as a risk to national security. On the other hand, British experts view security threats similarly to European experts. These perceptions are not expected to change in the near future, and are specific to the British strategic thinking.

On this basis, it is reasonable to argue that the UK, with a far stronger profile as the security and defence sector in Europe up to this point, is likely to continue to contribute to European security and seek valuable partnerships with the remaining member states, even in a post - Brexit context.

According to opinions expressed during interviews with security and defense experts, concrete opportunities for collaboration between the EU and the UK are expected to depend significantly on the terms under which the Brexit negotiations are conducted and finalised. At the moment of the writing of the thesis, nearly four months before the transition period ends, there is no deal in sight between the two parties.

In terms of *new research perspectives opened up by the thesis*, the following are to be noted:

- Normative dimension of the EU's capacity to act as a global actor in the security area, in a post – Brexit context
- Further empirical testing of the set of criteria identified and proposed in the thesis, with focus on the neorealist – structuralist approach of the role of perceptions and correlation to the balance of power and potential consequences of Brexit on this dimension,
- Empirical research on the extent to which perceptions in Central and Eastern Europe towards the current debate on the Brexit process are likely to change in the future.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. General Sources

a. Volumes

- CHARTER, David, *Europe: In or Out: Everything You Need to Know*, Biteback, 2014
- FAWCETT, Louise, Hurrell Andrew, *Regionalism in Theoretical Perspective. Regionalism in World Politics. Regional Organization and International Order*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995
- FOX, William, Baker Fox Annette, *NATO and the Range of American Choice*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1967
- JOKELA, Juha, “Europeanization and Foreign Policy, State Identity in Finland and Britain”, *Routledge Advances in European Politics*, Routledge, 2011
- GINSBERG, Roy H., *The European Union in International Relations: Baptism by Fire* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield), 2001
- HALL, Peter, *The Political Power of Economic Ideas*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989
- ILARI, Virgilio, *Le istituzioni militari dell’Italia repubblicana*, Edizioni La Sapienza, Roma, 2003
- KAISER, Karl, John Roper (eds.), *British-German Defence and Security Cooperation*, London: RIIA/DGAP, 1988
- KAPLAN, Robert D., *The Coming Anarchy: Shattering the Dreams of the Post – Cold War*, Random House, New York, 2000, ISBN 0-375-50354-4
- LAATIKAINEN, Katie Verlin and Smith Karen E. (eds.), *The European Union at the United Nations – Intersecting Multilateralisms*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006
- LINDBERG, Leon N., *The Political Dynamics of European Economic Integration*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1963, USA
- MAHNCKE, Dieter, Wyn Rees, Wayne Thompson, *Redefining Transatlantic Security Relations- the Challenge of Change*, 2004, Manchester Univ. Press
- SJÖSTEDT, Gunnar, *The External Role of the European Community*, Saxon House, 1977

- VASQUEZ, John A. and Colin Elman, *Realism and The Balancing of Power: A New Debate*, New Jersey: Practice Hall, 2003
- WALT, Stephen M., *The Origins of Alliances*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987
- WHITE, Brian, *Understanding European Foreign Policy*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001
- YOUNG, Oran, *International Governance: Protecting the Environment in a Stateless Society*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, 1994

b. Articles and specialty studies

- BACIU, Cornelia Adriana, Alexandra M. Friede, “The EU’s CFSP /CSDP in 2030: towards an alternative vision of power?”, *New Perspectives*, *SAGE Journal*
- BAKKER, Anne, Margaret Drent, Dick Zandee: “European Defence Core Groups – the why, what & how of permanent structured cooperation” – *Clingendael – Egmont*, November 2016
- BALFOUR, Rosa, Kristi Raik, *Equipping the European Union for the 21st century: National Diplomacies, the European External Action Service and the Making of EU Foreign Policy*, Finnish Institute of International Affairs, 2013
- BARRIE, Douglas, *New Franco – German combat – aircraft programme: a reminder of UK’s uncertain position*, *Military Balance Blog*, Institute for International Strategic Studies, 14 July 2017, <https://www.iiss.org/blogs/military-balance/2017/07/new-franco-german-combat-aircraft>
- BESCH, Sophia, “Defence spending in NATO: Stop convincing Trump, start convincing Europeans”, *Centre for European Reform*, 2018
- BINHAM, Caroline, Barney Thompson, ‘UK Crime Agency Steps up Assault on Russian Dirty Money’, *Financial Times*, 13 September 2018
- BISCOP, Sven, “Brexit, Strategy, and the EU: Britain takes Leave”, *Egmont Thesis 100*, *Egmont Institute*, 2018
- BISCOP, Sven, “European Defence: What’s in the CARDS for PESCO?”, *Security Policy Brief no. 91*, 2017, *Egmont Institute*
- BLACK, Jack, et al. (2017). “Defence and Security after Brexit. Understanding the Possible Implications of UK’s Decision to Leave EU. Overview Report”, in *RAND Research Reports*, No. 1786, <https://doi.org/10.7249/RR1786>

- BONNART, Frederick, “Europe Takes First Steps to Create A NATO-Less Defence Strategy”, *International Herald Tribune*, 19 November 1999
- BORŃSKA-HRYNIEWIECKA Karolina, Sebastian Płóciennik (eds.) “Probable EU – UK Relationship after Brexit: Perspectives of Germany, France, Italy, Spain and Poland”, Warsaw, May 2016, *Polish Institute of International Affairs*
- BOUNDS, Andy, ‘UK’s Regional Inequality One of Worst in Developed World’, *Financial Times*, 27 November 2019
- BRATTBERG, Erik, Kinga Brudzinska, Bernardo Pires de Lima, “Contending European Views on a New Post-Brexit Balance”, March 2020, *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*
- BRETHERTON, Charlotte, ‘Sustainable Development Actor’; S. Fernandes, “EU Policies towards Russia”, in Nathalie Tocci (ed.), *Who is a Normative Foreign Policy Actor? The European Union and its Global Partners*, Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels, 2008
- BYRNE, Andrew, “Hungary questions EU sanctions on Russia”, *Financial Times*, 16 October 2014, accessed 20 October 2017, available at: <https://www.ft.com/content/3af681ee-550f-11e4-b616-00144feab7de>
- CARBONE, Maurizio, ‘Between EU Actorness and Aid Effectiveness: The Logics of EU Aid to Sub-Saharan Africa’, *International Relations*, 27 (3), 2013
- CAVLAK, Hakan, “The Cost of Brexit: Neofunctionalism Strikes Back”, Vol. 19, no. 1, June 2019, *Romanian Journal of European Affairs*
- CHALMERS, Malcolm, “Taking Control: Rediscovering the Centrality of National Interest in UK Foreign and Security Policy”, *RUSI*, Whitehall Reports, published 10 February 2020, <https://rusi.org/publication/whitehall-reports/taking-control-rediscovering-centrality-national-interest-uk-foreign>
- CHALMERS, Malcolm, ‘The End of Defence Austerity? The 2019 Spending Round and the UK Defence Budget’, *RUSI Commentary*, 30 September 2019
- CHALMERS, Malcom, Will Jessett, “Defence and the Integrated Review: A Testing Time”, Whitehall Report 2 – 20, *RUSI*, March 2020
- CHALMERS, Malcolm, “The 2% Target: Spending Increases and the Russian Threat”, *RUSI Newsbrief*, Vol. 39, No. 10, 8 November 2019

- CHALMERS, Malcom, 'The Strategic Scorecard', in Adrian L. Johnson (ed.), *Wars in Peace: British military operations since 1991*, RUSI Books, 26 March 2014, <https://rusi.org/publication/rusi-books/wars-peace-british-military-operations-1991>
- CHASE, Jefferson, "German, French defence ministers talk new European security force. Germany and France say they are working together toward a European security force. The Franco-German initiative is being viewed as a reaction to US President Donald Trump, but it actually goes back a lot further", *Deutsche Welle*, 1 June 2017
- CHRISTENSEN, Thomas J., "Perceptions and Alliances in Europe, 1865-1940", *International Organization*, 51(1), 1997
- CHURRUCA, Cristina, "The European Union's Common Foreign Policy: Strength, Weakness and Prospects", Research / Policy workshop on New Dimensions of Security and Conflict Resolution (Co-organised by DG RDT and DG RELEX, 14 February 2003)
- DALL, Emil, Chase Isabella, Keatinge Tom, *Coordinating Sanctions after Brexit*, RUSI, May 2020
- DĘBSKI, Sławomir (Ed.), "2016 Yearbook of Polish Foreign Policy", *Polish Institute of International Affairs* (PISM), Warsaw 2020, ISBN 978-83-66091-50-4
- DENI John R., „The Paradox at the Heart of NATO's Return to Article 5", *RUSI Newsbrief*, Vol. 39, No. 10, 1 November 2019
- Ed. DENNISON, Susi, "Findings of a Reflection group led by Marta Dassù, Wolfgang Ischinger, Pierre Vimont, and Robert Cooper. Keeping Europe safe after Brexit", *European Council on Foreign Relations*, Policy Brief, March 2018
- DENNISON, Susi, Mark Leonard, Nick Witney, *One Hundred Years of British Solitude: Magical Thinking about Brexit and Security*, European Council on Foreign Relations Essay, London, May 2016, ISBN: 978-1-910118-73-3
- DUCHÊNE, Francois, 'Europe in World Peace', in R. Mayane (ed.) *Europe Tomorrow: Sixteen Europeans Look Ahead* (London: Fontana, 1972), pp. 32-47
- DWIVEDI, Sangit Sarita, "Alliances in International Relations Theory", *International Journal of Social Science & Interdisciplinary Research*, Vol. 1, Issue 8, August 2012
- EDWARDS, Geoffrey, "Perfidious Albion – Again? The UK, Brexit and EU Foreign Policy". Joint Working *Thesis Series of Mainz International Thessis on International and European Politics (MPIEP)* No. 15 and Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence "EU in Global Dialogue" (CEDI) *Working Thesis Series* No. 7, ISSN: 2193-6684, Johannes Gutenberg Universität, 2014

- FÄGERSTEN, Björn, August Danielson & Calle Håkansson, “Sweden and European defence cooperation: interests in search of a strategy”, Swedish Institute of International Affairs, UI Brief, no. 10, 2018, <https://www.ui.se/globalassets/ui.se-eng/publications/ui-publications/2018/ui-brief-no.10-2018.pdf>, accessed 8 June 2017
- FALKNER, Robert, ‘The Political Economy of “Normative Power” Europe: EU Environmental Leadership in International Biotechnology Regulation’, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 14(4), 2007
- FEDDER, Edwin H., “The Concept of Alliance”, *International Studies Quarterly*, 12(1)
- FIORAMONTI Lorenzo, Poletti A., ‘Facing the Giant: Southern Perspectives on the European Union’, *Third World Quarterly*, 29(1), 2008
- FIOTT, Daniel, “Patriotism, Preferences and Serendipity: Understanding the Adoption of the Defence Transfers Directive”, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 55, no. 5 (2017)
- FIOTT, Daniel, “Strategic Investment: Making Geopolitical sense of the EU’s defence industrial policy”, Chaillot Thesis number 156 / December 2019, Paris, *European Union Institute for Security Studies*
- FIOTT, Daniel, ‘Towards a “Military Schengen”?’’, European Union Institute for Security Studies, November 2017
- GARTON, Ash Timothy, „Europe (and yes, that includes Britain) can still be a superpower”, *The Guardian*, March 2nd, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/commentisfree/2020/mar/02/europe-britain-superpower-european#maincontent>
- GEBHARD, Carmen, “Coherence”, in C. Hill and M. Smith (eds.), 2nd ed, *International Relations and the European Union*, Oxford: OUP, 2011
- GERASYMCHUK, Sergiy, Presentation at the Black Sea Security Forum, “UK’s Brexit Future Economic relation”, Bucharest, NATO PDD – Aspen Institute Romania conference, 5 June 2018
- GLADKYKH, Valentyn, Andriy Ignatov, Agnes Nicolescu, Andrei Țărnea “Integrating Ukraine in the Regional and Global Value Chains of Tomorrow”, February 2015, Aspen Institute Romania, *US Chamber of Commerce*
- GOLDSTEIN, Avery, “Discounting the Free Ride: Alliances and Security in the Postwar World”, *International Organization*, 49(1), 1995

- GOSTYNSKA – JAKUBOWSKA, Agata, in ed. Tom Oliver, “Europe's Brexit: EU Perspectives on Britain’s Vote to Leave”, Agenda Publishing, 2018, Newcastle upon Tyne
- GRESSEL, Gustav, Under the Gun: Rearmament for Arms Control in Europe, *European Council on Foreign Relations Policy Brief*, November 2018
- GRYTSAIENKO, Oleg, ‘The Crisis in Ukraine: An Insider’s View’, *IFRI*, June 2014, p. 11,
https://www.ifri.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/ifri_rnv_78_ukraine_oleg_grytsaienko_june_2014_eng_0.pdf
- HAUKKALA, Hiski, ‘The Role of Norms and Values in the European Union's Russia Policy’, in J. Gower and G. Timmins (eds.) *Russia and Europe in the Twenty-First Century: An Uneasy Partnership* (London: Anthem Press, 2007)
- HENLEY, Jon, “Angela Merkel: EU cannot completely rely on US and Britain any more”, (28 May 2017), *The Guardian*,
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/28/merkel-says-eu-cannot-completely-rely-on-us-and-britain-any-more-g7-talks>
- HILL, Christopher, ‘The Capability-Expectations Gap, or Conceptualizing Europe’s International Role’, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 31(3), 1993
- HAROCHE, Pierre, “Supranationalism Strikes Back: A Neofunctionalist Account of the European Defence Fund”, *Journal of European Public Policy*, doi: 10.1080/13501763.2019.1609570
- HERSZENHORN, David M., “Call for ‘Military Schengen’ to Get Troops Moving,” *Politico*, August 4, 2017, <https://www.politico.eu/article/call-for-military-borderschengen-to-get-troops-moving-nato-eu-defence-ministers/>, apud Jack Watling, “By Parity and Presence: Deterring Russia with Conventional Land Forces”
- HUNTER, Robert, *The European Security and Defence Policy: NATO’s Companion – or Competitor?*, 2002, RAND Corporation
- JUPILLE, Joseph, Caporaso James A., “States, Agency and Rules: the European Union in Global Environmental Politics”, in Carolyn Rhodes (ed.) *The European Union in the World Community* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1998)
- KANN, Robert A., „Alliances versus Ententes”, *World Politics*, 28(4), 1976
- KACPRZYK, Artur, “Pentagon outlines concept for the relocation of his troops from Germany ”, *Polish Institute of International Affairs*, 30 July 2020,

https://www.pism.pl/publications/Pentagon_Outlines_Concept_for_the_Relocation_of_US_Troops_from_Germany

- KENNY, Michael, Nick Pearce, *Shadows of Empire: The Anglosphere in British Politics*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2018
- KLIMKIN, Pablo, Andreas Umland, “Geopolitical implications and challenges of the coronavirus crisis for Ukraine”, *SAGE Journal*, 12 August 2020, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0043820020942493>
- KRATOCHWIL, Friedrich, Ruggie John, “International Organization: A State of the Art on an Art of the State”, in *International Organization*, 40 (04), September 1986
- KUNZ, Barbara, The Three Dimensions of Europe’s Defence Debate, Policy Brief, No. 024/ 2018, *German Marshall Fund of the US*
- LINDLEY-FRENCH, Julian, Flückiger Katja, “A Chronology of European Security & Defence, 1945 – 2005”, *Geneva Centre for Security Policy*, 2005
- LUCARELLI, Sonia, Fioramonti Lorenzo, ‘Have you heard of the EU? An analysis of global images of the European Union’, *Garnet Policy Brief*, No. 7, September 2008
- MACRON, Emmanuel, Sorbonne Speech “Initiative for Europe”, Ouest France, 26 September 2017, <http://international.blogs.ouest-france.fr/archive/2017/09/29/macron-sorbonne-verbatim-europe-18583.html>
- MANNERS, Ian, ‘Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?’, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 40(2), 2002
- MCLEAN, Craig and Gray T., "Liberal Intergovernmentalism, Historical Institutionalism and British and German Perceptions of the EU’s Common Fisheries Policy", *Marine Policy*, Elsevier, vol. 33 (3), 2009.
- MENON, Anand, “From Crisis to Catharsis: ESDP After Iraq”, *International Affairs*, 80, 4(2004) 642
- MICHALAK, Alexander, “Waszczykowski: Chcemy baz NATO,” *Rzeczpospolita*, 29 January 2016, www.rp.pl. Apud Ed. Sławomir Dębski, “2016 Yearbook of Polish Foreign Policy”, *Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM)*, Warsaw 2020
- MILLER, Vaughne (Ed.), “Brexit: impact across policy areas”, *Briefing Thesis*, number 07213, 26 August 2016, House of Commons Library
- MOENS, Alexander, *NATO- ESDP Cooperation at the Twenty Third Century*

- Eds. MÖLLER, Almut, Oliver Tim, “The United Kingdom and the European Union: What would a ‘Brexit’ mean for the EU and other States around the World?”, *DGAP Analyse*, September 2014, No. 16
- MÖLLING, Christian, B. Giegerich. (2018). *The United Kingdom’s contribution to European security and defence*, German Council on Foreign Relations and The International Institute for Strategic Studies, pp. 2–7, available at: <https://dgap.org/en/think-tank/publications/further-publications/united-kingdoms-contribution-european-security-and>
- MORAVCSIK, Andrew, "Liberal Intergovernmentalism and Integration: A Rejoinder", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 33 (4), 1995
- NAUMESCU, Valentin, “Last Chance: the Reform of the European Union in the Post-Brexit Era”, in Valentin Naumescu (Ed.), *The New European Union and Its Global Strategy: From Brexit to PESCO*, Newcastle upon Tyne, *Cambridge Scholars Publishing*, 2020
- NAUMESCU, Valentin, Agnes Nicolescu, “The Impact of Central and Eastern European Security”, *Romanian Journal of European Affairs*, Vol. 18, no. 1, June 2018
- NAUMESCU, Valentin, “Criza Uniunii Europene și noua ordine globală. Șapte perspective” [“The Crisis of the European Union and the New Global Order. Seven Perspectives”] în Valentin Naumescu (coord.), *Criza Uniunii Europene și ordinea globală în era Trump [The Crisis of the European Union and the New Global Order in the Trump Era]*, *Editura Trei*, București, 2017
- NAUMESCU, Valentin, “The Post – Brexit EU as a Global Actor: Reconsidering Security” in *Romanian Journal of European Affairs*, Vol. 20, no. 1, June 2020
- NICOLESCU, Agnes, “Viziunea și contribuția Marii Britanii la integrarea europeană și euroatlantică a României”, [The UK’s Vision and Contribution to Romania’s European and Euro-Atlantic integration] in Valentin Naumescu (Coord), “România, marile puteri și ordinea europeană: 1918 – 2018” [Romania, Great powers and European Order: 1918 – 2018], Iasi, Polirom, 2018
- NIEMANN, Arne, Charlotte Bretherton, “Introduction: EU External policy at the crossroads”, in *International Relations*, Vol. 27, no. 3
- NIEMANN, Arne, Tessa de Wekker, “Normative power Europe? EU relations with Moldova”, in *European Integration online Thesiss (EIOP)*, 2010

- NICOLESCU, Agnes, “The Evolution of the Common European Foreign and Security Policy from the Perspective of Romania’s Accession to the European Union and NATO Membership”, Master dissertation, Faculty of Political Sciences, June 2009, Bucharest University
- REMPFER, Kyle, “Army Resurrects V Corps after Seven Years to Bolster Europe”, *Army Times*, 12 February 2020
- RENARD, Thomas, *The EU Strategic Partnerships Review: Ten Guiding Principles*, FRIDE, 2012
- ROSAMOND, Ben, ‘Conceptualizing the EU Model of Governance in World Politics’, *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 10(4), 2005
- SARTORI, Paolo, Marrone Alessandro, Nones Michele, “Looking Through the Fog of Brexit: Scenarios and Implications for the European Defence Industry”, *Documenti IAI* 18, 2018
- SCAPARROTTI, Curtis M., General, Colleen B. Bell, “Moving Out: A Comprehensive Assessment of European Military Mobility”, Scowcroft Center for strategy and security, *Atlantic Council*, April 2020, ISBN-13: 978-1-61977-096-6
- SCHEIDT, Holger, "Neofunctionalism vs Liberal Intergovernmentalism; The Creation of the European Stability Mechanism and the Limits of Political Theory", *CUNY Academic Works*, 2011
- SCHROEDER, Paul W., “Historical Reality versus Neorealist Theory”, *International Security*, Vol. 19, 1994
- SCHMITTER, P. C., "Three Neo-Functional Hypotheses About International Integration." *International Organization* 23(1), 1969
- SCHWELLER, Randall L., “Bandwagoning for Profit: Bringing the Revisionist State Back In”, in *International Security*, 19, 1994
- SIVERSON, Randolph M., Review Author of “The Origins of Alliances”, in *The American Political Science Review*, 82(3), p. 1045
- SMITH, Hazel, *European Union Foreign Policy: What is it and what it does*, London: Pluto, 2002
- SHURKIN, Michael, “The Abilities of the British, French, and German Armies to Generate and Sustain Armored Brigades in the Baltics”, Santa Monica, CA: *RAND Corporation*, 2017

- SNYDER, Glenn H., “Alliances, Balance and Stability”, *International Organization*, 45(1), 1991
- SNYDER, Glenn H., “Alliance Theory: A Neorealist First Cut”, in *Journal of International Affairs*, 44 (1), 1990
- SOROKIN, Gerald L., “Arms, Alliances, and Security Tradeoffs in Enduring Rivalries”, *International Studies Quarterly*, 38(3), 1994
- STEIN, Janice Gross, “Building Politics into Psychology: The Misperception of Threat”, *Political Psychology*, 9(2), 1998
- THOMPSON, Catarina P., “Mind the Gap: Comparing Foreign Policy Attitudes of Security Elites and the General Public”, Whitehall Report 2 -18, *RUSI*, February 2018
- VERSHBOW, Alexander, Lauren Speranza, “More in the Med: How NATO Can Refocus Its Efforts in the South and Italy Can Lead the Charge”, Washington, DC: Atlantic Council, October 2019
- WALT, Stephen M., “Multilateral Collective Security Arrangements”, in Richard Shultz et al. (eds.), *Security Strategies for the 1990s*, Brassey, US: A Maxwell Macmillan Company, 1993
- WALTZ, Kenneth N., *Theory of International Politics*, Addison-Wesley Publishing Co, 1979
- WALLSTRÖM, Margot, ”Wallström: Ett starkt EU ökar Sveriges trygghet” [A Strong EU increases Sweden’s Security], apud Björn Fägersten, August Danielson & Calle Håkansson, “Sweden and European defence cooperation: interests in search of strategy”, *UI Brief*, no 10/2018, Swedish Institute of International Affairs
- WATLING, Jack, “Britain’s Declining Tank Numbers Highlights a Wider Problem”, *RUSI Commentary*, 24 April 201
- WATLING, Jack, “By Parity and Presence: Detering Russia with Conventional Land Forces”, *RUSI Occasional Thesis*, July 2020
- WHITMAN, Richard, “The UK’s foreign and security policy: what’s at stake in the referendum?”, Security Policy Brief, *Egmont Royal Institute for International Relations*, No. 73, May 2016
- WOLFERS, Arnold, “Alliances” in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. David L. Sills New York: Macmillan, 1968

- ZNOJEK, Bartłomiej, “Poland’s Policy towards the United Kingdom” in Ed. Sławomir Dębski, “2016 Yearbook of Polish Foreign Policy”, *Polish Institute of International Affairs* (PISM), Warsaw 2020, ISBN 978-83-66091-50-4, accessed 3 May 2019

II. Special Sources

- *Brexit: Proposed UK – EU Security Treaty (European Union Committee Report)*, 16 January 2019, vol. 795, [https://hansard.parliament.uk/Lords/2019-01-16/debates/E487AC29-AFE6-4506-BF97-3BC18BE438B9/BrexitProposedUK–EUSecurityTreaty\(EuropeanUnionCommitteeReport\)#contribution-181887B6-E924-4B73-9A88-51CF0B9AFD94](https://hansard.parliament.uk/Lords/2019-01-16/debates/E487AC29-AFE6-4506-BF97-3BC18BE438B9/BrexitProposedUK–EUSecurityTreaty(EuropeanUnionCommitteeReport)#contribution-181887B6-E924-4B73-9A88-51CF0B9AFD94)
- Briefing by Chris Cavoli on Exercise Defender Europe 20, delivered at AUSA’s annual meeting, Washington DC, 15 October 2019
- Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, *Launching the European Defence Fund*, Brussels, 7.6.2017, COM (2017) 295 final
- Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, *European Defence Action Plan*, Brussels, 30.11.2016, COM (2016) 950 final
- Conservative and Unionist Party Manifesto 2019, ‘Get Brexit Done, Unleash Britain’s Potential’, https://assets-global.website-files.com/5da42e2cae7ebd3f8bde353c/5dda924905da587992a064ba_Conservative%202019%20Manifesto.pdf
- Declaration on Peace and Cooperation, issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council (“The Rome Declaration”), Press Release S – 1 (91) 86, Issued on 8 November 1991, https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_23846.htm?mode=pressrelease
- “EU Budget for the Future”, EC, https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/budget-proposals-defence-may2018_en.pdf, 2 May 2018
- Final Communiqué, North Atlantic Council. Copenhagen, Denmark, 6 – 7 June 1991, <https://www.nato.int/docu/comm/49-95/c910607a.htm>
- 2010 Headline Goal *approved by General Affairs and External Relations Council on 17 May 2004*, endorsed by the European Council of 17 and 18 June 2004,

[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2004_2009/documents/dv/sede110705headli
nogoal2010_/sede110705headlinegoal2010_en.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2004_2009/documents/dv/sede110705headli
nogoal2010_/sede110705headlinegoal2010_en.pdf)

- HM Government, *The Strategic Defence Review: Modern Forces for a Modern World*, Cm 3999, London: The Stationery Office, 1998
- HM Government, “Securing Britain in an Age of Uncertainty: The Strategic Defence and Security Review”, Cm 7948, London: The Stationery Office, 2010
- HM Government, *National Security Strategy and Strategic Defence and Security Review: A Secure and Prosperous United Kingdom*, Cm 9161, London: The Stationery Office, 2015
- HM Treasury, *Budget 2020: Delivering on Our Promises to the British People*, HC 121, London: The Stationery Office, 2020
- Joint Declaration by the President of the European Council, the President of the European Commission and the Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 10 July 2016, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/21481/nato-eu-declaration-8-july-en-final.pdf>
- Joint Declaration by the President of the European Council, the President of the European Commission, and the Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 8 July 2016, Press Release (2016) 119, https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_133163.htm
- *National Security Strategy and Strategic Defence and Security Review 2015: A Secure and Prosperous United Kingdom*, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/478933/52309_Cm_9161_NSS_SD_Review_web_only.pdf
- North Atlantic Treaty, Washington D.C., 4 April 1949, https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_17120.htm
- “Priority Tasks for solving problems of internally displaced people and for recovery of Donetsk and Luhansk regions”, *Ministry of Regional Development*, September 2014
- *Recovery for Ukraine Action Plan*, Prime Minister Arseniy Yatseniuk, September 2014
- Remarks by NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg at the opening session of the Munich Security Conference, 16 February 2018, https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/opinions_152209.htm
- *Review of the Balance of Competencies between the United Kingdom and the European Union Foreign Policy*, July 2013, HM Government,

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/227437/2901086_Foreign_Policy_acc.pdf

- Speech by High Representative/ VP Federica Mogherini at the European Parliament plenary session on the reports on Common Foreign and Security Policy and on CSDP, Strasbourg, 11 December 2018, https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/55310/speech-high-representativevice-president-federica-mogherini-european-parliament-plenary_en,
- *St. Malo Declaration, Joint Declaration issued at the British – French summit*, France, 3-4 December 1998

III. Digital sources

- BLAIR, Tony, speech given to the Economic Club of Chicago, 22 April 1999, <https://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/154/26026.html>
- BOFFEY, Daniel (2018). “Nine EU states sign off on a joint military intervention force”, *The Guardian*, published 25 June 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jun/25/nine-eu-states-to-sign-off-on-joint-military-intervention-force>
- BORGER, Julian, Traynor Ian, Watt Nicholas, “Britain should stay in European Union, says Obama administration”, *The Guardian*, 10 January 2013, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jan/09/us-warns-uk-european-union>
- “Brexit: Proposed UK – EU Security Treaty (European Union Committee Report)”, House of Lords Hansard, 16 January 2019, Vol. 795, [https://hansard.parliament.uk/Lords/2019-01-16/debates/E487AC29-AFE6-4506-BF97-3BC18BE438B9/BrexitProposedUK%E2%80%93EU%20Security%20Treaty%20\(European%20Union%20Committee%20Report\)#contribution-181887B6-E924-4B73-9A88-51CF0B9AFD94](https://hansard.parliament.uk/Lords/2019-01-16/debates/E487AC29-AFE6-4506-BF97-3BC18BE438B9/BrexitProposedUK%E2%80%93EU%20Security%20Treaty%20(European%20Union%20Committee%20Report)#contribution-181887B6-E924-4B73-9A88-51CF0B9AFD94)
- “Buddy Cops”, *Economist*, 7 May 2016, available at <http://www.economist.com/news/europe/21698248-new-threats-are-forcing-nato-and-eu-work-together-buddycops>, accessed on 5 June 2019
- *Cyber Security Breaches Survey 2018*, Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport, University of Portsmouth, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/702074/Cyber_Security_Breaches_Survey_2018_-_Main_Report.pdf

- Declaration on a Transformed North Atlantic Alliance, Issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council (“The London Declaration”), NATO, published 5 July 1990, https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_23693.htm?
- Dominiczak, Peter, “Britain must stay in the EU to protect itself from Isil, former military chiefs say”, the *Telegraph*, 23 February 2016, available at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/newstopics/eureferendum/12170890/Britain-must-stay-in-the-EU-to-protectitself-from-Isil-formermilitary-chiefs-say.html>
- *European Security Strategy: A Secure Europe in a Better World*, Council of the EU, 12 December 2003, Brussels, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/30823/qc7809568enc.pdf>
- European Security Council Podcast, Episode 7, *Polish Institute of International Affairs* (PISM), Warsaw https://www.pism.pl/pism_in_media/podcasts/Episode_7_European_Security_Council
- EU Common Security and Defence Policy, *EU military operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina* (Operation EUFOR ALTHEA), European External Action Service, http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/csdp/missions-and-operations/althea-bih/pdf/factsheet_eufor_althea_en.pdf
- “Germany, the UK and European Security: The End of the ‘Stille Allianz’?”, *The Search for Solutions, Policy Learning in Britain and Germany*, Institute for German Studies celebrating 1994 – 2004, *Chatham House*, November 2005, <http://www.igs.bham.ac.uk/searchforsolutions/index.htm>
- HARVEY, Colin, “No, the Northern Ireland Brexit solution was not going to break up the UK”, published 7 December 2017, <https://ukandeu.ac.uk/no-the-northern-ireland-brex-it-solution-was-not-going-to-break-up-the-united-kingdom/>
- HARVEY, Colin, “A special arrangement for Northern Ireland?” Commentary, *The UK in a Changing Europe*, published 17 May 2018, <https://ukandeu.ac.uk/a-special-arrangement-for-northern-ireland/>
- HM Treasury and Office of Financial Sanctions Implementation, ‘Post EU Exit Guide to Financial Sanctions’, 1 February 2019, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/post-eu-exit-financialsanctions-general-guidance>

- HOWORTH, Jolion, “European Defence and the Changing Politics of the European Union: Hanging Together or Hanging Separately?”, 16 December 2002, <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/1468-5965.00330>
- KIRKHAM, Elizabeth, Roy Isbister, “Brexit and the Future of UK Arms Transfer Controls”, *Saferworld Reports*, 2017
- LEONARD, Mark, “Weaponising interdependence”, December 2015, <http://www.ecfr.eu/europeanpower/geoeconomics>
- “MI6 ex-chief says Brexit could boost security”, *Financial Times*, 24 March 2016, <https://next.ft.com/content/a2dadd06-f1a7-11e5-aff5-19b4e253664a>
- MOON, Madeleine, “NATO’s National Resilience Obligations”, *Commentary*, 15 March 2019, Royal United Services Institute (RUSI), <https://rusi.org/commentary/NATOs-National-Resilience-Obligations>
- MORDAUNT, Penny, “Un compromiso incondicional con la seguridad europea”, (UK Commitment to European Security unconditional), *El Pais*, 5 July 2019, https://elpais.com/elpais/2019/07/04/opinion/1562260739_512295.html
- *Munich Security Report 2018*, <https://www.securityconference.de/en/publications/munich-security-report/munich-security-report-2018/>
- QUATREMER, Jean, Nathalie Dubois, “Jacques Chirac jette un froid à l’est” [Jacques Chirac throws chills towards the East], *Libération*, 19 February 2003, https://www.liberation.fr/evenement/2003/02/19/jacques-chirac-jette-un-froid-a-l-est_431400
- R.M., “Marea Britanie riscă să nu mai facă față capacităților militare ale Rusiei, afirmă șeful statului major, care cere mărirea bugetului de Apărare” [Great Britain risks not being able to cope with Russia’s military capabilities, Chief of Staff says, demanding the increase of the Defence budget], 22 ianuarie 2018, *Hotnews.ro*, <https://www.hotnews.ro/stiri-international-22240092-marea-britanie-nu-mai-faca-fata-capacitatilor-militare-ale-rusiei-afirma-seful-statului-major-care-cere-marirea-bugetului-aparare.htm>
- ROBERTS, Peter, “UK Strategic Command: Look East to Understand What it Means”, *Commentary*, 22 July 2019, RUSI, <https://rusi.org/commentary/uk-strategic-command-look-east-understand-what-it-means>

- ROSE, Michel, “France's Macron: I'm not sorry I called NATO brain dead”, *Reuters*, November 28, 2019, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-france-nato-braindead/frances-macron-im-not-sorry-i-called-nato-braindead-idUSKBN1Y21JE>
- SCHULTZ, Teri, “Is Europe bold enough to counter US ambivalence?”, *Deutsche Welle*, <https://www.dw.com/en/is-europe-bold-enough-to-counter-us-ambivalence/a-42573001>, published 15 February 2018
- “Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe: A Global Strategy for the European Union’s Foreign and Security Policy”, *European External Action Service*, published June 2016, http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/top_stories/pdf/eugs_review_web.pdf
- TEASDALE, Anthony, LSE ‘Europe in Question’ Discussion Thesis Series, “The Fouchet Plan: De Gaulle’s Intergovernmental Design for Europe”, *LEQS Thesis* No. 117/2016, October 2016, p. 6, <http://www.lse.ac.uk/european-institute/Assets/Documents/LEQS-Discussion-Thesis/LEQSThesis117.pdf>
- UK Defence & Security Export Statistics for 2015 – Statistics Annex, DTI Statistics, SIPRI, 2015, <https://www.sipri.org/node/4151>
- UK–France Summit 2010 Declaration on Defence and Security Co-Operation”, 2 November 2010, <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-france-summit-2010-declaration-on-defence-and-security-co-operation>
- http://ukraine.setimes.com/en_GB/articles/uwi/features/2014/10/16/feature-01, Donbas Poll finds Support for United Ukraine, *Southeast European Times*, 16.10. 2014

IV. Presentations, interventions at conferences

- CARDWELL, Peter, presentation at the international conference ‘Brexit in a Changing Geopolitical Context”, 29 – 30 June 2017, “John Moores University”, Liverpool
- DESCHAUX–DUTARD, Delphine, presentation at the international conference “Brexit in a Changing Geopolitical Context”, 29 – 30 June 2017, John Moores University, Liverpool, UK
- FOTA, Iulian, Presentation at the Black Sea Security Forum, “UK’s Brexit Future Economic relation”, Bucharest, NATO PDD – Aspen Institute Romania conference, 5 June 2018

- IOHANNIS, Klaus, Speech at the think tank Citadel's debate "The European Union between disintegration and reform. Romania's contribution to the consolidation of the European construction", 17 November 2016, Babeş Bolyai University Cluj-Napoca, <http://www.presidency.ro/ro/media/agendapresedintelui/participare-la-dezbaterea-grupului-de-reflectie-citadel>
- JOJA, Iulia, presentation at the Black Sea Security Forum, "UK's Brexit Future Economic relation", Bucharest, NATO PDD - Aspen Institute Romania conference, 5 June 2018
- LI, Rex, presentation at the international conference "Brexit in a Changing Geopolitical Context", 29 – 30 June 2017, John Moores University, Liverpool, UK
- PANARA Carlos, presentation at the international conference "Brexit in a Changing Geopolitical Context", 29 – 30 June 2017, John Moores University, Liverpool, UK
- WITNEY, Nick, presentation at the international conference "Brexit in a Changing Geopolitical Context", 29 – 30 June 2017, John Moores University, Liverpool, UK.

Key words in English (5 – 10 key words):

brexit, nato, eu, perception building, european security, appraisal theory, alliance building,
balance of threat perception

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Cuprins

Abbreviations and Acronyms.....	4
SECTION I. INTRODUCTION.....	5
1.1. Research Interest.....	5
1.2. Research hypothesis.....	12
2. Scholarly literature review.....	12
3. Methodological Approach.....	34
3.1. Qualitative Investigative Approach.....	35
4. Theoretical Framework.....	38
4.1. Reflectivism and Role of “Intersubjective Meanings” in State Agency.....	38
4.2. Interpretations of the Alliance Building Dilemma.....	40
4.3. Role of Differentiated Integration in Perception-building.....	43
5. Conceptual Framework.....	55
5.1. Actorness Concept.....	56
5.2. Concept of Effectiveness.....	59
5.3. Spillover Concept.....	61
6. Relevance of Personal contribution and Empirical findings.....	61
SECTION 2. Brexit and key variables in the UK–EU security relationship.....	62
2.1. Brexit and the future of the UK–EU security relationship: structures and institutional processes.....	62
2.2. European Integration Process in the Foreign and Security Policy Area and Brexit. A Neofunctionalist Analysis of UK’s security engagement.....	65
2.2.1. Security-related Topics involving Ongoing Adjustments within the EU and NATO.....	70
2.2.2. Reflections on the UK’s Position on Topics Requiring Ongoing Adjustment in the EU and NATO.....	80
2.3. Brexit and the UK’s defence industry.....	98
2.4. Conclusions.....	105
SECTION 3. Brexit and testing of assumptions of security and threat balancing...	107
3.1. Sweden’s Transition from a reluctant EU Member in the Foreign and Security Area towards more Commitment.....	107
3.2. Brexit and the Franco – German Alliance - Building: Considerations on the UK’s future security relationship to EU Member States.....	114

3.2.1. Recent Franco – German Joint Initiatives: Genuine European Commitment for More Defence Integration or Short - Lived Response to Brexit?.....	118
3.2.2. UK’s Perceptions of External Threats and Relevance for its Security	127
3.3. Formation of UK’s Foreign Policy Preferences	141
3.3.1. UK’s future commitment to European security as a NATO member. Perspectives on its future alliance – building preferences.....	152
3.4. Conclusions	158
SECTION 4. Perceptions towards Brexit and Security in Southeast Europe	163
4.1. Why is Brexit relevant to Central and Eastern Europeans?.....	163
4.1.1. Reflections from Poland on European Security in a post – Brexit Context ..	165
4.1.2. Reflections from Romania on European security in a post – Brexit Context	177
4.1.3. Reflections from Ukraine on European Security in a post – Brexit Context	187
4.2. Conclusions	198
SECTION 5. General conclusions	200
BIBLIOGRAPHY	215