# List of Appendices

***Table A1. EU defence: dimensions, defence-related policy actions and concrete achievements since the Brexit referendum.***

| | |
|---|---|
| | ***The political and strategic dimension*** |
| *European Union Global Strategy* (EUGS) + *Implementation Plan on Security and Defence* (IPSD); Reports on the Implementation Plan | The EU's vital interests in foreign and security policy:<br>• the security of the Union's citizens and its territory<br>• the prosperity of its people<br>• democracy<br>• a rules-based global order<br><br>Tasks which demand the EU's contribution as seen by the EU:<br>• responding to external conflicts and crises (focusing on the EU's surrounding regions)<br>• building the capacities of partners and its own capabilities<br>• protecting the Union and its citizens<br><br>Objectives and actionable proposals<br>• achieving strategic autonomy<br>• setting capability development priorities<br>• deepening defence cooperation<br>• adjusting structures, tools and (financial) instruments<br>• drawing on the full potential of Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO)<br>• developing CSDP partnerships |
| *Capability Development Plan* (CDP) | The European Defence Agency's (EDA) project which reviews member states' *military* capabilities and operational needs and helps develop the common EU capability development priorities as a comprehensive method of planning. |

a

| | |
|---|---|
| *Civilian CSDP Compact* (CCC); *Concept Paper on strengthening civilian CSDP*; *Civilian Capabilities Development Plan* (CCDP) | A strategic review of the *civilian* CSDP dimension of the CSDP. Aims at improving the EU's capacity to deploy civilian crisis management missions |
| *European Defence Action Plan* (EDAP); *European Defence Industrial Development Programme* (EDIDP); *Preparatory Action on Defence Research* (PADR) | These address the European *industrial and technological base* and the extent to which it can meet Europe's current and future security needs.<br>Main pillars:<br>• launching the European Defence Fund (EDF)<br>• fostering investment in defence supply chains<br>• reinforcement of the single market for defence<br>• maximising civil/military synergies across EU policies<br><br>EDIDP is aimed at strengthening the European defence industry by providing grants for the *development of defence equipment and technologies*, whereas PADR deals more specifically with defence research and technology *(R&D) projects*. A merge of EDIDP and PADR into the EDF is planned for 2021. |
| *EU Action Plan on Military Mobility* | Aiming at improving the mobility of military personnel, material and assets within and beyond the EU (both in PESCO and in the context of EU-NATO cooperation) by addressing the existing legal, infrastructure and procedural barriers between the EU member states) |
| *Reflection Paper on the future of European Defence* | Sets out three possible scenarios for the future of European defence:<br>A. security and defence cooperation scenario<br>B. shared security and defence scenario (pooling of financial and operational assets)<br>C. common defence and security scenario (more integration via enhanced cooperation; establishment of a European Defence Research Agency) |

| | |
|---|---|
| | Scenario B and C entail the delegation of powers to European institutions for some decisions on capability development |
| | ***The Institutional and operational dimension*** |
| *Council of the EU conclusions*; *European Council conclusions* | Main issues:<br>• improving the CSDP crisis management structures, including the Military Planning and Conduct Capability (MPCC) for its non-military missions within the EU Military Staff (EUMS)<br>• PESCO<br>• Coordinated Annual Review on Defence (CARD)'s implementation on a voluntary basis<br>• developing civilian capabilities |
| *Coordinated Annual Review on Defence* (CARD) | Voluntary coordinated annual review on defence, aimed at offering a better overview at EU level of defence spending, national investment and defence research efforts, i.e. reviewing the increase in defence budgets and investments |
| *European Defence Agency* (EDA) | An agency of the EU which steers the development of capabilities, supports cooperative European defence projects and provides a forum for European ministries of defence |
| EU *Battlegroups* (EUBG) concept | A framework for preparing, planning and using the EUBGs. The EUBGs are multinational, military units, usually composed of 1500 personnel each which form an integral part of the European Union's military rapid reaction capacity to respond to emerging crises and conflicts around the world. Their deployment is subject to a unanimous decision by the Council |
| *Foreign Affairs Council* (FAC); *Political and Security Committee* (PSC) | The FAC consists of the foreign affairs ministers of member states who by a unanimous decision can agree on aims and objectives and launch a CSDP mission or operation. The mission is then placed under the political control of EU ambassasdors who constitute the PSC. With the launch of PESCO, however, the planning and command of an operation can be handled by the participating member states. |
| *Galileo*; *Public Regulated Service* (PRS); *Copernicus*; | Galileo is a navigational system whose basic services will be open to all of Europe. Its PRS, however, is an encrypted service available only to member states' militaries and governments. |

| | |
|---|---|
| EU Sattelite Centre (EU SatCen) | Copernicus is another EU satellite programme which sends satellite imagery to the EU SatCen which is used to analyse infrastructure or military capabilities or can be used to give early warning in case of potential crises |
| *Permanent structured cooperation* (PESCO) | PESCO is a framework and process to deepen defence cooperation between those EU Member States who are capable and willing to do so. 25 EU Member States have joined PESCO and subscribed to more binding commitments to invest, plan, develop and operate defence capabilities more together, within the Union framework. The objective is to jointly arrive at a full coherent spectrum of defence capabilities available to the Member States for national and multinational (EU, NATO, UN, etc.) missions and operations. |
| ***The financial dimension*** | |
| European Defence Fund (EDF) | It is funded by the Multiannual Financial Framework (MFF). Two main strands: research and development window (R&D) and acquisition (capability window) |
| European Peace Facility (EPF) | Financial tool outside the EU multi-annual budget based on a Gross National income distribution key. It combines the former Athena mechanism and the African Peace Facility. It is intended to assist in rapid deployment and enhance flexibility. |

Sources: Besch (2018); Biscop (2019); Council of the European Union (2017a, 2017b, 2017c, 2018, 2019); Rangel de Mesquita (2019); European Commission (2016, 2017, 2018); European Council (2017, 2018); European External Action Service (2016a, 2016b, 2017b, 2017a); Lațici (2019).

***Table A2. Trend-Indicator Values[1] of arms exports from the top 10 largest exporters (2010-2019), in millions.***

| Rank 2010-2019 | Rank 2009-2018 | Supplier | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 | 2016 | 2017 | 2018 | 2019 | 2010-2019 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 1 | US | 8,033 | 8,988 | 9,074 | 7,508 | 9,608 | 9,963 | 9,855 | 12,050 | 10,414 | 10,752 | 96,244 |
| 2 | 2 | Russia | 6,275 | 8,730 | 8,261 | 7,986 | 5,527 | 5,990 | 6,841 | 6,015 | 6,506 | 4,718 | 66,848 |
| 3 | 4 | **France** | 866 | 1,731 | 1,010 | 1,468 | 1,627 | 1,995 | 2,041 | 2,367 | 1,773 | 3,368 | 18,245 |
| 4 | 3 | **Germany** | 2,664 | 1,317 | 747 | 779 | 1,788 | 1,766 | 2,514 | 1,982 | 1,071 | 1,185 | 15,814 |
| 5 | 5 | China | 1,478 | 1,277 | 1,540 | 2,080 | 1,226 | 1,799 | 2,372 | 1,346 | 1,140 | 1,423 | 15,683 |
| 6 | 6 | **UK** | 1,157 | 1,055 | 929 | 1,608 | 1,651 | 1,179 | 1,376 | 1,225 | 699 | 972 | 11,850 |
| 7 | 7 | Spain | 263 | 1,429 | 546 | 728 | 1,050 | 1,163 | 471 | 820 | 1,025 | 1,061 | 8,555 |
| 8 | 9 | Italy | 539 | 947 | 747 | 862 | 671 | 676 | 618 | 793 | 555 | 491 | 6,900 |
| 9 | 8 | Israel | 637 | 538 | 455 | 420 | 393 | 720 | 1,392 | 1,195 | 655 | 369 | 6,774 |
| 10 | 10 | Netherlands | 371 | 546 | 858 | 374 | 631 | 461 | 471 | 1,048 | 438 | 285 | 5,484 |

Source: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (2020)

[1] Trend-Indicator Values (TIVs) measure the volume of international transfers of major conventional weapons. The indicator is based on unit production costs for a certain set of weapons and does not capture the financial value of the transfers, rather it measures the outflow of military resources from a country Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (2020).

*Table A3. France, Germany or UK-based companies among the SIPRI Top 100 arms-producing and military services companies in the world (2018) in millions of US dollars.*

| Country[2] | Rank 2018[3] | Rank 2017 | Company | Arms sales$_{2018}$ | Total sales$_{2018}$ | Arms sales as % of total sales$_{2018}$ | Arms sales$_{2017}$ in constant 2018 prices) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| France | 10 | 8 | Thales | 9,470 | 18,767 | 50 | 9,601 |
| | 21 | 21 | Naval Group | 4,220 | 4,259 | 99 | 4,404 |
| | 31 | 34 | Safran | 3,240 | 24,846 | 13 | 3,107 |
| | 34 | 51 | Dassault Aviation Groupe | 2,930 | 6,001 | 49 | 2,250 |
| | 47 | 48 | CEA | 2,300 | 6,226 | 37 | 2,314 |
| | 83 | 85 | Nexter[4] | 1,080 | 1,135 | 95 | 1,029 |
| Germany | 22 | 26 | Rheinmetall | 3,800 | 7,257 | 52 | 3,652 |
| | 55 | 58 | Krauss-Maffei Wegmann[4] | 1,680 | 1,770 | 95 | 1,767 |
| | 57 | 54 | ThyssenKrupp | 1,650 | 50,400 | 3 | 2,046 |
| | 77 | 76 | Hensoldt | 1,240 | 1,298 | 95 | 1,232 |

[2] Country refers to the country in which the ownership and control structures of the company are located (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (2018).

[3] Companies are ranked according to the value of their arms sales at the end of what SIPRI considers to be their financial year (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (2018).

[4] Estimated with a high degree of uncertainty (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (2018).

| Country[5] | Rank 2018[6] | Rank 2017 | Company | Arms sales2018 | Total sales2018 | Arms sales as % of total sales2018 | Arms sales2017 in constant 2018 prices) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| United | 6 | 5 | BAE Systems | 21,210 | 22,428 | 95 | 22,384 |
| Kingdom | 20 | 18 | Rolls-Royce | 4,680 | 20,972 | 22 | 4,714 |
| | 32 | 28 | Babcock International Group | 3,180 | 6,881 | 46 | 3,445 |
| | 58 | 60 | Cobham | 1,590 | 2,484 | 64 | 1,685 |
| | | 64 | GKN (Melrose Industries UK) | 1,320 | 16,329 | 8 | 1,504 |
| | 69 | 64 | Melrose Industries | 1,320 | 16,329 | 8 | 1,504 |
| | 73 | 71 | Serco Group | 1,260 | 4,283 | 29 | 1,333 |
| | 89 | 95 | Meggitt | 9,70 | 2,775 | 35 | 938 |
| | | | Devonport Royal Dockyard (Babcock International Group UK) | 940 | 940 | 100 | 1,002 |
| | 94 | 104 | QinetiQ | 910 | 1,215 | 75 | 874 |
| Trans- | 7 | 7 | Airbus Group | 11,650 | 75,195 | 15 | 10,691 |
| European[7] | 23 | 27 | MBDA | 3,780 | 3,777 | 100 | 3,621 |

Source: (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute 2018)

[5] Country refers to the country in which the ownership and control structures of the company are located (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (2018).

[6] Companies are ranked according to the value of their arms sales at the end of what SIPRI considers to be their financial year (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (2018).

[7] Trans-European refers to companies whose ownership and control structures are located in more than one European country (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (2018).

*Table A4. Global diplomacy index: top 12 countires (2019).*

| Country | Population (in millions) | Total posts | Embassies/ high commissions | Consulates/ consulates-general | Permanent missions | Other representations | Overall rank |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| China | 1400.8 | 276 | 169 | 96 | 8 | 3 | 1 |
| United States | 327.2 | 273 | 168 | 88 | 9 | 8 | 2 |
| France | 67 | 267 | 161 | 89 | 15 | 2 | 3 |
| Japan | 126.5 | 247 | 151 | 65 | 10 | 21 | 4 |
| Russian Federation | 144.5 | 242 | 144 | 85 | 11 | 2 | 5 |
| Turkey | 82.3 | 235 | 140 | 81 | 12 | 2 | 6 |
| Germany | 82.9 | 224 | 150 | 61 | 11 | 2 | 7 |
| Brazil | 209.5 | 222 | 138 | 70 | 12 | 2 | 8 |
| Spain | 46.7 | 215 | 115 | 89 | 10 | 1 | 9 |
| Italy | 60.4 | 209 | 124 | 77 | 8 | 0 | 10 |
| United Kingdom | 66.5 | 208 | 152 | 44 | 9 | 3 | 11 |
| India | 1352.6 | 186 | 123 | 54 | 5 | 4 | 12 |

Source: LOWY Institute (2019)

*Table A5. EDA collective and national defence data (2018).*

| | France | Germany | United Kingdom | EDA-27 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Total Defence Expenditure** | € 42,748 Mln | € 42,127 Mln | € 50,491 Mln | € 223,413 Mln |
| Total Defence Expenditure as % of GDP | 1.8% | 1.3% | 2.1% | 1.4% |
| Total Defence Expenditure as % of Government Expenditure | 3.2% | 2.8% | 5.1% | 3.1% |
| Total Defence Expenditure per capita | € 635 | € 508 | € 760 | € 440 |
| **Defence Investment** | € 10,115.5 Mln | € 5,373.2 Mln | € 11,430.6 Mln | € 44,505 Mln |
| Defence Equipment Procurement Expenditure | € 5,439.1 Mln | € 4,406.1 Mln | € 9,065.0 Mln | € 35,741 Mln |
| Defence Research and Development (R&D) Expenditure | € 4,676.4 Mln | € 967.2 Mln | € 2,365.6 Mln | € 8,764 Mln |
| Defence Research and Technology (R&T) Expenditure (subset of R&D) | € 726.7 Mln | € 503.0 Mln | € 482.3 Mln | € 2,100 Mln |

Source: (European Defence Agency 2018)

*Table A6. French, German and British participation in CSDP military operations and civilian missions (2017).*

| Mission Name | Type | Number of States at Time of Launch | Peak Number of States | France: number of personnel | Germany: number of personnel | United Kingdom: number of personnel | NATO cooperation in the mission |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aceh Mission- AMM | CIVILIAN | 13 | 13 | 7 | 9 | 11 | ABSENT |
| EU Advisory Mission for Civilian Security Sector Reform Ukraine (EUAM Ukraine) | CIVILIAN | 19 | 19 | 2 | 10 | 3 | ABSENT |
| EU Aviation Security South Sudan (EUAVSEC South Sudan) | CIVILIAN | 12 | 12 | 0 | 6 | 3 | ABSENT |
| EU Border Assistance Mission Libya (EUBAM Libya) | CIVILIAN | 14 | 14 | 1 | 1 | 2 | ABSENT |
| EU Border Assistance Mission Moldova and Ukraine (EUBAM Moldova - Ukraine) | CIVILIAN | 22 | 22 | 0 | 16 | 2 | ABSENT |
| EU Border Assistance Mission Rafah (EUBAM RAFAH) | CIVILIAN | 18 | 21 | 7 | 5 | 2 | ABSENT |
| EU Capacity Building Sahel Mali (EUCAP Sahel Mali) | CIVILIAN | 11 | 13 | 13 | 2 | 1 | ABSENT |
| EU Capacity Building Sahel Niger (EUCAP Niger) | CIVILIAN | 10 | 11 | 18 | 2 | 1 | ABSENT |
| EU Integrated Rule of Law Mission Iraq (EUJUST LEX-Iraq) | CIVILIAN | 13 | 17 | 1 | 6 | 5 | ABSENT |

| Mission Name | Type | Number of States at Time of Launch | Peak Number of States | France: number of personnel | Germany: number of personnel | United Kingdom: number of personnel | NATO cooperation in the mission |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| EU Military Advisory Mission, Central African Republic, EUMAM RCA | MILITARY | 6 | 8 | 20 | 0 | 0 | ABSENT |
| EU Military Bridging Mission (EUFOR TCHAD/RCA) | MILITARY | 23 | 23 | 2100 | 0 | 0 | ABSENT |
| EU Military Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina (EUFOR ALTHEA/ BiH) | MILITARY | 21 | 21 | 4 | 111 | 4 | PRESENT |
| EU Military Force in Congo (EUFOR RD Congo) | MILITARY | 20 | 21 | 975 | 745 | 0 | ABSENT |
| EU Military Force RCA (EUFOR RCA) | MILITARY | 11 | 11 | 250 | 4 | 0 | ABSENT |
| EU Military Mission ARTEMIS, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) | MILITARY | 12 | 16 | 1639 | 7 | 0 | ABSENT |
| EU Military Mission CONCORDIA/ FYROM, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia | MILITARY | 13 | 13 | 145 | 26 | 3 | PRESENT |
| EU Military Training Mission, Central Africa Republic | MILITARY | 10 | 10 | 80 | 0 | 0 | ABSENT |
| EU Monitoring Mission Georgia (EUMM Georgia) | CIVILIAN | 25 | 27 | 33 | 47 | 17 | ABSENT |
| EU Naval Force Somalia ATALANTA (EU-NAVFOR Somalia) | MILITARY | 19 | 19 | 410 | 496 | 61 | PRESENT |
| EU Naval Operation Mediterranean SOPHIA | MILITARY | 25 | 25 | 155 | 285 | 72 | PRESENT |

| Mission Name | Type | Number of States at Time of Launch | Peak Number of States | France: number of personnel | Germany: number of personnel | United Kingdom: number of personnel | NATO cooperation in the mission |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| EU Police Advisory Team Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (EUPAT) | CIVILIAN | 16 | 16 | 5 | 4 | 2 | ABSENT |
| EU Police Mission AFGHANISTAN (EUPOL) | CIVILIAN | 23 | 23 | 10 | 38 | 30 | ABSENT |
| EU Police Mission Bosnia and Herzegovina (EUPM BiH) | CIVILIAN | 15 | 27 | 10 | 14 | 6 | PRESENT |
| EU Police Mission Congo (EUPOL RD CONGO) | CIVILIAN | 7 | 9 | 16 | 2 | 0 | ABSENT |
| EU Police Mission Former Republic of Yugoslavia PROXIMA (Proxima/ FYROM) 1 AND 2 | CIVILIAN | 15 | 25 | 20 | 25 | 7 | ABSENT |
| EU Police Mission Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of Congo (EUPOL Kinshasa) | CIVILIAN | 6 | 6 | 12 | 0 | 0 | ABSENT |
| EU Police Mission in Palestinian Territories (EUPOL COPPS/ Palestinian Territories) | CIVILIAN | 16 | 17 | 3 | 5 | 6 | ABSENT |
| EU Regional Maritime Capacity Building for the Horn of Africa and the Western Indian Ocean (EUCAP Nestor) | CIVILIAN | 16 | 16 | 9 | 8 | 19 | ABSENT |
| EU Rule of Law Mission Georgia (EUJUST THEMIS) | CIVILIAN | 10 | 10 | 1 | 1 | 0 | ABSENT |
| EU Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo (EULEX KOSOVO) | CIVILIAN | 25 | 26 | 188 | 118 | 90 | ABSENT |

| Mission Name | Type | Number of States at Time of Launch | Peak Number of States | France: number of personnel | Germany: number of personnel | United Kingdom: number of personnel | NATO cooperation in the mission |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| EU Security Sector Reform Mission in Democratic Republic of the Congo (EUSEC RD Congo) | CIVILIAN | 13 | 13 | 16 | 3 | 2 | ABSENT |
| EU Security Sector Reform Mission in Guinea-Bissau (EU-SSR) | CIVILIAN | 6 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 0 | ABSENT |
| EU Somalia Training Mission (EUTM Somalia) | MILITARY | 14 | 14 | 25 | 13 | 2 | ABSENT |
| EU Support to AMIS (Darfur) | CIVILIAN-MILITARY | 15 | 15 | 6 | 1 | 2 | ABSENT |
| EU Training Mission Mali (EUTM Mali) | MILITARY | 22 | 22 | 207 | 0 | 40 | ABSENT |

Source: European University Institute (2017)

| | France | Germany | UK |
|---|---|---|---|
| Average number of personnel contributed | 182.57 | 57.46 | 11.23 |
| Total count of personnel | 6390 | 2011 | 393 |
| **Type** | | | |
| Total number of personnel in civilian missions | 374 | 323 | 209 |
| Total number of personnel in civilian-military missions | 6 | 1 | 2 |
| Total number of personnel in military operations | 6010 | 1687 | 182 |
| **EU-NATO cooperation** | | | |
| NATO Absent | 724 | 932 | 146 |
| NATO Present | 5666 | 1079 | 247 |

***Table A7. Contribution of third states to CSDP missions and operations and other cooperative arrangements.***

| Partner | Form of cooperation | Participation in/Contribution to |
|---|---|---|
| Albania | framework participation agreement | EUFOR (Operation) Althea (Bosnia-Herzegovina) |
| | | EUTM Mali |
| | | EUFOR Tchad/RCA |
| Angola | | EUPOL Kinshasa |
| | | EUPOL RD Congo |
| Argentina | | EUFOR Althea |
| Bosnia-Herzegovina | | EUTM RCA (Central African Republic) |
| Brazil | strategic partnership agreement (2007) | Artemis (DRC) |
| Brunei | | AMM Aceh |
| Canada | strategic partnership agreement (2016); framework participation agreement | EUFOR Althea |
| | | EULEX Kosovo |
| | | EUPM Bosnia-Herzegovina |
| | | EUPOL COPPS (the Palestinian Territories) |
| | | EUPOL Kinshasa |
| | | EUPOL Afghanistan |
| | | Artemis (DRC) |
| Chile | framework participation agreement | EUFOR Althea |
| China | strategic partnership agreement (2003) | |
| Croatia | | |
| Dominican Republic | | EUFOR Althea |
| Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia[8] | framework participation agreement | EUFOR Althea |

[8] Currently known as Republic North Macedonia

| Partner | Form of cooperation | Participation in/Contribution to |
|---|---|---|
| Georgia | framework participation agreement | EUCAP Nestor<br>EUTM Mali<br>EUBAM Libya<br>EUTM RCA (Central African Republic) |
| Iceland | association agreement (support from EDF possible); framework participation agreement | EUPM Bosnia-Herzegovina<br>Concordia |
| India | strategic partnership agreement (2004) | |
| Japan | strategic partnership agreement | |
| Liechtenstein | association agreement (support from EDF possible) | |
| Malaysia | | AMM Aceh |
| Mali | | EUPOL Kinshasa |
| Mexico | strategic partnership agreement (2008) | |
| Moldova | framework participation agreement | |
| Montenegro | framework participation agreement | EUNAVFOR Atalanta<br>EUFOR Somalia (Operation Atlanta)<br>EUTM Mali |
| Morocco | | EUFOR Althea |
| New Zealand | framework participation agreement | EUFOR Althea<br><br>EUPOL Afghanistan |

| Partner | Form of cooperation | Participation in/Contribution to |
|---|---|---|
| Norway | administrative arrangement with the EDA (2006); framework participation agreement | EDA (defence procurement) opt-in<br>EU Nordic Battle Group<br>EUFOR Althea<br>EULEX Kosovo<br>EUPM Bosnia-Herzegovina<br>EUPOL Afghanistan<br>EUNAVFOR Atalanta<br>EUPOL COPPS<br>EUPOL Proxima<br>Concordia<br>AMM Aceh<br>EUJUST LEX<br>EUCAP Nestor<br>EUAM Ukraine |
| Philippines | | AMM Aceh |
| Russia | informal strategic partnership | EUPM Bosnia-Herzegovina<br>EUFOR Tchad/RCA |
| Serbia | administrative arrangement (2013) with the EDA; framework participation agreement | EUFOR Somalia (Operation Atlanta);<br>EUTM Somalia<br>EUTM Mali<br>EUTM RCA (Central African Republic) |
| Singapore | | AMM Aceh |
| South Africa | strategic partnership agreement (2007) | Artemis (DRC) |
| South Korea | framework participation agreement; strategic partnership agreement (2010) | |
| Switzerland | administrative arrangement (2012) with the EDA | EUFOR Althea<br>EULEX Kosovo<br>EUPM Bosnia-Herzegovina<br>EUPOL Proxima<br>EUFOR RD Congo |

| Partner | Form of cooperation | Participation in/Contribution to |
|---|---|---|
| Switzerland (cont.) | | EUPOL RD Congo<br>AMM Aceh<br>EUTM Mali |
| Thailand | | AMM Aceh |
| Turkey | framework participation agreement | EUFOR Althea<br>EULEX Kosovo<br>EUPM Bosnia-Herzegovina<br>EUPOL Proxima,<br>EUFOR RD Congo<br>EUPOL RD Congo<br>AMM Aceh<br>EUTM Mali |
| Ukraine | association agreement; administrative arrangement for the EDA (2015); framework participation agreement | EUPM Bosnia-Herzegovina<br>EUPOL Proxima<br>EUNAVFOR Atalanta |
| US | framework participation agreement, informal strategic partnership | EULEX Kosovo<br>EUSEC RD Congo,<br>EUPOL RD Congo |

Source: European Defence Agency (2008); European Parliamentary Research Service (2012); Tardy (2014); UK Parliament (2018)

### *Table A8. Defence and defence-related coordination and cooperation between the EU and NATO.*

| Policy actions | Concrete achievements |
|---|---|
| Joint EU-NATO declaration (Warsaw); implementation proposal packages | *Development of defence capabilities*<br>○ goal: developing coherent, complementary and interoperable defence capabilities of EU Member States and NATO Allies, as well as developing of multilateral projects<br>○ means: bilateral consultations (e.g. EU staff invited to NATO's NDPP[9] and PARP[10] and NATO staff to the EU's CARD meetings); expert meetings on multinational projects, conferences and workshops; cross-briefings; standardisation efforts; structured dialogue on military mobility (e.g. on transport infrastructure and border crossing legislative and procedural issues)<br>*Industry and research* – structured dialogue, participation in conferences (e.g. EDA's annual conference); briefing (e.g. on the EDF, EDIP, PADR)<br><br>*Defence and security capacity-building* – regular consultations on the progress of the activities in partner countries (e.g. Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Moldova, Tunisia, Ukraine); cross-briefings to committees and working groups; financial contribution by the EU to NATO Building Integrity Trust Fund for 2019-2022 for NATO partner countries within the EU's neighbourhood<br><br>*Operational cooperation* – exchange of information based on administrative arrangements (EUNAVFOR MED Operation Sophia and NATO's Operation Sea Guardian in the Central Mediterranean);<br>• *exercises* – participation in or visitation to each other's exercises upon invitation; reciprocal educational exchange schemes<br>• *exchange on concepts and doctrines*<br><br>*Political dialogue* – mutual invitations to or briefings on relevant ministerial or other high-level meetings |

Sources: Council of the European Union (2016); North Atlantic Treaty Organization (2016, 2018); North Atlantic Treaty Organization and European Union (2018, 2019).

[9] NATO Defence Planning Process
[10] Partnership for Peace Planning and Review Partnership for Peace Planning and Review Process Process

*Table A9. Scores on the foreign policy dimensions per Gravelle, Reifler and Scotto (2017).*

| Survey item[11] | United Kingdom % agree[12] | France % agree[13] | Germany % agree[14] | United States % agree[15] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Militarism** | | | | |
| [Country] should take all steps including the use of force to prevent aggression by any expansionist power. | 41.0 | 44.1 | 32.6 | 44.9 |
| [Country] needs a strong military to be effective in international relations. | 56.7 | 54.2 | 31.4 | 66.5 |
| In dealing with other nations, our government needs to be strong and tough rather than understanding and flexible. | 51.7 | 65.8 | 34.1 | 43.9 |
| [Country] should be more committed to diplomacy and not so fast to use the military in international crises.[16] | 57.2 | 56.7 | 56.6 | 51.2 |
| **Cooperative internationalism** | | | | |
| [Country] should work more through international organisations, like the UN. | 40.0 | 34.4 | 40.9 | 33.8 |
| In deciding on its foreign policies, [Country] should take into account the views of its major allies. | 40.5 | 45.9 | 39.1 | 58.9 |
| The best way for [Country] to be a world leader in foreign affairs is to build international consensus. | 46.6 | 40.8 | 51.5 | 39.9 |
| **Isolationism** | | | | |
| [Country's] interests are best protected by avoiding involvement with other nations. | 24.8 | 41.4 | 34.7 | 25.3 |

[11] Based on non-probability sampling.

[12] Sample size (UK): 2,736 cases; data collection in November 2011.

[13] Sample size (France): 5,930 cases; data collection in May 2014.

[14] Sample size (Germany): 2,551 cases; data collection in October 2014.

[15] Sample size (US): 2,824 cases; data collection in November 2011.

[16] The authors note that this question was reverse-coded. Percentages were weighed.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| [Country] shouldn't risk its citizens' happiness and well-being by getting involved with other nations. | 44.6 | 52.9 | 36.0 | 38.6 |
| [Country] needs to simply mind its own business when it comes to international affairs. | 25.3 | 46.6 | 41.0 | 29.0 |
| **Unilateralism** | | | | |
| Sometimes it is necessary for [Country] to go it alone in international affairs. | 67.7 | 48.9 | 64.3 | 55.2 |
| [Country] doesn't need to withdraw from international affairs, it just needs to stop letting international organisations tell us what we can and can't do. | 65.7 | 53.7 | 43.3 | 51.2 |
| [Country] should always do what is in its own interest, even if our allies object. | 56.7 | 53.7 | 41.8 | 44.7 |

Source: Gravelle et al. (2017)

References


Baciu, C.-A., and Doyle, J. (2019), 'Conclusion: The Future of Europe—Towards a New Paradigm of European Security and Resilience', in C.-A. Baciu and J. Doyle (eds.), *Peace, Security and Defence Cooperation in Post-Brexit Europe [electronic resource]. Risks and Opportunities / Cornelia-Adriana Baciu, John Doyle, editors* (Cham: Springer).

Bakker, A., Drent, M., and Zandee, D. (2017), *European defence: how to engage the UK after Brexit?,* Clingendael Report.

Bale, T. (2018), 'Who leads and who follows? The symbiotic relationship between UKIP and the Conservatives – and populism and Euroscepticism', *Politics*, 38/3: 263–277 <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263395718754718 [Show in Citavi]>, accessed 30 Dec 2019.

Barigazzi, J. (2019), *UK, US could take part in EU military projects under draft plan* (POLITICO) <https://www.politico.eu/article/eu-military-projects-draft-plan-uk-post-brexit-involvement/>, accessed 1 Jan 2020.

Bayer, L. (2019), 'EU budget fight heats up. POLITICO's 7 takeaways from the latest plan for EU spending.' <https://www.politico.eu/article/eu-budget-fight-heats-up-council-of-the-eu-finnish-presidency-european-commission/>, updated 4 Dec 2019, accessed 3 Jan 2020.

BBC (2019), 'Scottish independence: Sturgeon requests powers for referendum' <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-50843024>, updated 19 Dec 2019, accessed 30 Dec 2019.

Besch, S. (2018), *Plugging in the British: EU defence policy* <https://www.cer.eu/publications/archive/policy-brief/2018/plugging-british-eu-defence-policy>, accessed 18 Dec 2019.

Biscop, S. (2016), 'All or nothing? The EU Global Strategy and defence policy after the Brexit', *Contemporary Security Policy*, 37/3: 431–445.

—— (2018), *BREXIT, STRATEGY, ANDTHE EU: BRITAIN TAKES LEAVE,* Egmont Papers, No. 100 <http://www.egmontinstitute.be/brexit-strategy-and-the-eu-britain-takes-leave/>.

—— (2019), *Fighting for Europe*: *European Strategic Autonomy and the Use of Force,* Egmont Papers, No. 103 <http://www.egmontinstitute.be/content/uploads/2019/01/EP103.pdf?type=pdf>, accessed 24 Dec 2019.

Black, J., Hall, A., Cox, K. et al. (2017), *Defence and security after Brexit: Understanding the possible implications of the UK's decision to leave the EU*, Compendium Report (Santa Monica, CA) <https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR1786.html>.

Blockmans, S., and Macchiarini Crosson, D. (2019), *Differentiated integration within PESCO - clusters and convergence in EU defence,* CEPS Research Report, No. 4 <https://www.ceps.eu/download/publication/?id=25862&pdf=RR2019_04_Differentiated-integration-within-PESCO.pdf>.

Brzozowski, A. (2019), *Question marks over third country participation in EU military projects* (EURACTIV) <https://www.euractiv.com/section/global-europe/news/question-marks-over-third-country-participation-in-eu-military-projects/>, accessed 1 Jan 2020.

Capoccia, G. (2016), 'Critical Junctures', in O. Fioretos, T. G. Falleti, A. Sheingate et al. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Historical Institutionalism* (1: Oxford University Press).

Chalmers, M. (2018), *Brexit and European Security,* Briefing Papers <https://rusi.org/sites/default/files/20180223_malcolm_brexit_security_v4.pdf>.
Chappell, L., Mawdsley, J., and Whitman, R. G. (2015), 'The National Priorities of Germany, France and the UK: Enabling or Constraining a Joined-Up EU Strategy', in L. Chappell, J. Mawdsley, and P. Petrov (eds.), *The EU, strategy and security policy*. *Regional and strategic challenges / edited by Laura Chappell, Jocelyn Mawdsley, Petar Petrov* (Routledge Studies in European Security and Strategy, London: Routledge), 169–85, accessed 5 May 2020.
(2007), 'Consolidated version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. 2008/C 115/01', in (Official Journal of the European Union) <https://www.refworld.org/docid/4b17a07e2.html>, accessed 1 Jan 2020.
Council of the European Union (2017), *Council conclusions on progress in implementing the EU Global Strategy in the area of Security and Defence*, 110/17 <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2017/03/06/conclusions-security-defence/>, accessed 1 Jan 2020.
Dadashov, K., Arbuzova, S., Ivanova, S. et al. (2019), 'Formation and Implementation of a Common EU Security and Defense Policy (CSDP) (1992-2019)', in G. Li and H. Zhao (eds.), *Proceedings of the 2019 3rd International Conference on Economic Development and Education Management (ICEDEM 2019)* (ASSEHR, 347, Paris, France: Atlantis Press) <https://www.atlantis-press.com/proceedings/icedem-19/125918880>, accessed 23 Dec 2019.
Duff, A. (2017), *Brexit: Terra Nova to explore together* <https://europe-solidarity.eu/documents/brexit-terranova.pdf>, accessed 4 Jan 2020.
Duke, S. (2019), *Will Brexit Damage our Security and Defence?*: *The Impact on the UK and EU* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan).
Dyson, T., and Konstadinides, T. (2013), *European defence cooperation in EU law and IR theory* (New security challenges series, Basingstoke England: Palgrave Macmillan) <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/alltitles/docDetail.action?docID=10717602>.
Economides, S., Kleine, M., and Himmrich, H. (2016), *Britain as a Global actor after Brexit* <http://www.lse.ac.uk/europeanInstitute/LSE-Commission/Hearing-7---Britain-as-a-Global-actor-after-BREXIT-REPORT.pdf>, accessed 12 Jul 2019.
European Commission (n.d.), 'Defence Industries' <https://ec.europa.eu/growth/sectors/defence_en>, accessed 1 Jan 2020.
—— (2016), *European Defence Action Plan: Towards a European Defence Fund*, IP/16/4088, L. Caudet and M. Talko <https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP_16_4088>, accessed 1 Jan 2020.
European Commission, Task Force for Relations with the United Kingdom (2020a), *Terms of Reference on the UK-EU Future Relationship negotiations* <https://ec.europa.eu/info/publications/terms-reference-uk-eu-future-relationship-negotiations_en>.
—— (2020b), *Foreign Policy, Security and Defence part of the Draft text of the Agreement on the New Partnership with the United Kingdom*, UKTF (2020) 15 <https://ec.europa.eu/info/publications/foreign-policy-security-and-defence-part-draft-text-agreement-new-partnership-united-kingdom_en>.
European Defence Agency, and Federal Department of Defence, Civil Protection and Sports of the Swiss Confederation (2012), *Framework for cooperation between the European Defence Agency and the Federal Department of Defence, Civil Protection and Sports of the Swiss Confederation*, 6 pages <https://www.asktheeu.org/en/request/5067/response/16058/attach/3/

12%2003%2016%20CH%20EDA%20Framework%20for%20Cooperation.pdf?cookie_passthrough=1>, updated 2012, accessed 6 Jan 2020.
European Defence Agency, and Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Serbia (2013), *Administrative arrangement between the European Defence Agency and the Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Serbia*, 6 pages <https://www.asktheeu.org/en/request/5067/response/16058/attach/4/13%20107%20Annex%20AA%20between%20EDA%20and%20MoD%20Serbia.pdf?cookie_passthrough=1>, updated 13 Dec 2013, accessed 6 Jan 2020.
European External Action Service (2016), *Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe*: *A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign And Security Policy*.
Fox, B. (2020), 'EU-UK talks on the brink after both sides blame each other for 'disappointing' round' <https://www.euractiv.com/section/uk-europe/news/eu-uk-talks-on-the-brink-after-both-sides-blame-each-other-for-disappointing-round/?utm_content=1589554540&utm_medium=EURACTIV&utm_source=twitter>, updated 15 May 2020.
Full Fact (2016), 'Ask Full Fact: did we vote for the EU in the 1975 referendum?' <https://fullfact.org/europe/ask-full-fact-eu-then-and-now/>, updated 20 Jun 2016, accessed 30 Dec 2019.
George, S. (1998), *An awkward partner*: *Britain in the European Community / Stephen George* (3rd ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press).
Glencross, A., and McCourt, D. (2018), 'Living Up to a New Role in the World: The Challenges of "Global Britain"', *Orbis*, 62/4: 582–597.
Gravelle, T. B., Reifler, J., and Scotto, T. J. (2017), 'The structure of foreign policy attitudes in transatlantic perspective: Comparing the United States, United Kingdom, France and Germany', *European Journal of Political Research*, 56/4: 757–776.
Grillot, S., Cruise, R. J., and D'Erman, V. J. (2010), *Protecting our ports*: *Domestic and international politics of containerized freight security / Suzette R. Grillot, Rebecca J. Cruise with Valerie J. D'Erman* (Homeland security series, Farnham: Ashgate).
Haughton, T. (2016), 'Beelines, Bypasses and Blind Alleys: Theory and the Study of the European Union', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54/3: 65–82.
Heisbourg, F. (2018), 'Europe's Defence: Revisiting the Impact of Brexit', *Survival*, 60/6: 17–26 <https://www.iiss.org/publications/survival/2018/survival-global-politics-and-strategy-december2018january2019/606-03-heisbourg-cm>.
Henökl, T. (2018), 'How Brexit affects EU external action: The UK's legacy in European international cooperation', *Futures*, 97: 63–72.
Her Majesty's Government (2020), *The Future Relationship with the EU*: *The UK's Approach to Negotiations / UK Parliament Prime Minister's Office* (UK Parliament Command Paper, session 2019/21, CP 211, London: Dandy Booksellers Ltd) <http://www.publicinformationonline.com/download/209663>.
Hill, C. (2018), 'Turning back the clock: The illusion of a global political role for Britain', in B. Martill and U. Staiger (eds.), *Brexit and Beyond*. *Rethinking the Futures of Europe* (UCL Press), 183–92.
Hoeffler, C. (2012), 'European armament cooperation and the renewal of industrial policy motives', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 19/3: 435–451.
Howorth, J. (2014), 'European Security Post-Libya and Post-Ukraine: In Search of Core Leadership', *Imagining Europe*, 2014 <http://www.iai.it/sites/default/files/ImaginingEurope_08.pdf>, accessed 8 Nov 2018.

Institute of International Relations Prague; Institute for Human Sciences (2019), I. Krastev, M. Žantovský, and O. Ditrych <https://www.iwm.at/events/event/making-sense-of-the-results-of-the-european-elections/>.
Juncker, J.-C. (2017), *White paper on the future of Europe*: *Reflections and scenarios for the EU27 by 2025* (Brussels: European Commission).
—— (2018), *State of the Union 2018. The Hour of European Sovereignty.*: *Annual State of the EU address by President Juncker at the European Parliament* (Strasbourg) <https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/soteu2018-speech_en_0.pdf>, accessed 1 Jan 2020.
Keukeleire, S., and Delreux, T. (2014), *The foreign policy of the European Union* (The European Union series; 2nd edition, Houndsmill, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan).
Kluth, M. F. (2019), 'Collaborative Naval Procurement and Grand Strategy Post-Brexit', in C.-A. Baciu and J. Doyle (eds.), *Peace, Security and Defence Cooperation in Post-Brexit Europe [electronic resource]*. *Risks and Opportunities / Cornelia-Adriana Baciu, John Doyle, editors* (Cham: Springer), 141–62.
Koenig, N. (2018), 'Towards Norway plus? EU-UK defence cooperation post-Brexit' <https://hertieschool-f4e6.kxcdn.com/fileadmin/user_upload/20180207_Towards-Norway-Plus-for-Brexit-Defence_Koenig.pdf>, updated 7 Feb 2018, accessed 3 Jan 2020.
Koutrakos, P. (2013), *The EU Common Security and Defence Policy* (Oxford EU law library; First edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press).
Lain, S., and Nouwens, V. (2017), *The Consequences of Brexit for European Defence and Security,* Occasional Paper <https://rusi.org/sites/default/files/201704_08_rusi-fes_brexit_defence_and_security_lain_and_nouwens.pdf>.
Leuffen, D., Rittberger, B., and Schimmelfennig, F. (2013), *Differentiated integration*: *Explaining variation in the European Union / Dirk Leuffen, Berthold Rittberger and Frank Schimmelfennig* (The European Union series, Houndsmill, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan).
Leyen, U. von der (2019), *Opening Statement in the European Parliament Plenary Session by Ursula von der Leyen, Candidate for President of the European Commission*, SPEECH/19/4230, M. Andreeva <https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/api/files/document/print/it/speech_19_4230/SPEECH_19_4230_EN.pdf>, accessed 24 Dec 2019.
Lundgren, M., Squatrito, T., and Tallberg, J. (2018), 'Stability and change in international policy-making: A punctuated equilibrium approach', *Rev Int Organ*, 13/4: 547–572.
Martill, B., and Sus, M. (2018), *Known Unknowns: EU foreign, security, and defence policy after Brexit,* Debating Europe <https://www.dahrendorf-forum.eu/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/Martill-Sus-Known-Unknowns.pdf>, accessed 16 Dec 2019.
May, T. (2017), 'Prime Minister's letter to Donald Tusk triggering Article 50' <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/604079/Prime_Ministers_letter_to_European_Council_President_Donald_Tusk.pdf>, updated 29 Mar 2017, accessed 1 Jan 2020.
Miller, V., Webb, D., and Mars, S. de (2019), *UK-EU relations after Brexit: an Association Agreement?* <https://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/CBP-8645>, accessed 4 Jan 2020.
Missiroli, A., Andersson, J. J., and Fiott, D. (2016) (eds.), *After the EU global strategy--consulting the experts*: *Security and defence* (Paris: European Union Institute for Security Studies).

Mölling, C., and Giegerich, B. (2018), *The United Kingdom's contribution to European security and defence* <https://dgap.org/en/article/getFullPDF/30724>, accessed 10 Nov 2018.
Moravcsik, A. (1993), 'Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 31/4: 473–524.
—— (2016), 'Brexit: Welcome, Britain, to the Hotel California', *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, 117/1: 19–21 <https://paw.princeton.edu/article/brexit-welcome-britain-hotel-california>, accessed 12 Jul 2019.
Müller-Brandeck-Bocquet, G. (2019), 'Gemeinsame Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik der EU: Neue Perspektiven nach dem Brexit-Referendum?', in HEIDELBERG UNIVERSITY PUBLISHING (ed.), *Europa - Realität und Vision*, 2016/17, 11–28 <https://heiup.uni-heidelberg.de/journals/index.php/generale/article/view/24039>, accessed 8 Dec 2019.
Ondarza, N. von (2020), *The Brexit Revolution*: *New Political Conditions Change the Dynamics of the Next Phase of EU-UK Negotiations,* SWP Comment, No. 13, accessed 2 May 2020.
Putnam, R. D. (1988), 'Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games', *International Organization*, 42/3: 427–460 <www.jstor.org/stable/2706785>.
Rangel de Mesquita, M. J. R. (2019), 'Common Foreign and Security Policy After Brexit', in I. Pernice and A. M. Guerra Martins (eds.), *Brexit and the Future of EU Politics: A Constitutional Law Perspective* (1st edn., Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft mbH & Co. KG), 235–76.
Renard, T. (2015), 'The EU's strategic partnership agreements: balancing geo-economics and geopolitics' <http://www.egmontinstitute.be/eu-strategic-partnership-agreement/>, updated 9 Jun 2015, accessed 6 Jan 2020.
*Revised text of the Political Declaration setting out the framework for the future relationship between the European Union and the United Kingdom as agreed at negotiators' level on 17 October 2019, to replace the one published in OJ C 66I of 19.2.2019.* [2019].
Santopinto, F. (2018), *CSDP after Brexit*: *The way forward : study* (Brussels: European Parliament).
Sartori, P., Marrone, A., and Nones, M. (2018), *Looking Through the Fog of Brexit: Scenarios and Implications for the European Defence Industry,* Documenti IAI, No. 18 <https://www.iai.it/sites/default/files/iai1816.pdf>, accessed 18 May 2020.
Schneider, G., Gleditsch, N. P., and Carey, S. (2011), 'Forecasting in International Relations', *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 28/1: 5–14.
Sil, R., and Katzenstein, P. J. (2010), 'Analytic Eclecticism in the Study of World Politics: Reconfiguring Problems and Mechanisms across Research Traditions', *Perspectives on Politics*, 8/2: 411–431 <www.jstor.org/stable/25698610>.
Snyder, G. H. (1984), 'The Security Dilemma in Alliance Politics', *World Pol.*, 36/4: 461–495.
Solana, J. (2006), *Administrative Arrangement to govern the relationship between the European Defence Agency (EDA) and the Ministry of Defence of the Kingdom of Norway ("MoD Norway"), in accordance with Article 25 of Joint Action establishing the EDA (2004/551/CFSP)*, 5 pages <https://www.asktheeu.org/en/request/5067/response/16058/attach/2/06%2003%2007%20Administrative%20Arrangement%20EDA%20MoD%20NO.pdf?cookie_passthrough=1>, updated 7 Mar 2006, accessed 6 Jan 2020.

Tardy, T. (2014), *CSDP: getting third states on board,* ISS Briefs, No. 6 <https://www.iss.europa.eu/content/csdp-getting-third-states-board>, accessed 10 Nov 2018.
The UK in a Changing Europe (2019), *Brexit: the manifestos uncovered* <https://ukandeu.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/Brexit-the-manifestos-uncovered.pdf>, accessed 30 Dec 2019.
*Treaty between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the French Republic for defence and security cooperation* [2011].
Turner, O. (2019), 'Global Britain and the Narrative of Empire', *The Political Quarterly*, 90/4: 727–734.
Turpin, L. D. (2019), 'UK-EU Military Cooperation and Brexit from a Neoclassical Realist Perspective: No Big Deal?', in C.-A. Baciu and J. Doyle (eds.), *Peace, Security and Defence Cooperation in Post-Brexit Europe [electronic resource]. Risks and Opportunities / Cornelia-Adriana Baciu, John Doyle, editors* (Cham: Springer), 3–27.
UK Parliament (2018), 'Brexit: Common Security and Defence Policy missions and operations. Chapter 5: Future UK-EU co-operation' <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld201719/ldselect/ldeucom/132/13208.htm>, accessed 5 Jan 2020.
Uttley, M., and Wilkinson, B. (2019), 'The Great Paradox of Defence: Political Economy and Defence Procurement in post-Brexit United Kingdom', in R. Matthews (ed.), *The political economy of defence* (Cambridge United Kingdom, New York NY: Cambridge University Press).
Vabulas, F. (2016), 'Brexit isn't all that special. Here's why nations leave international organizations.', *The Washington Post,* 1 Jul <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/07/01/brexit-isnt-all-that-special-heres-why-nations-leave-international-organizations/?utm_term=.8db253f67fc0>, accessed 7 Mar 2019.
van Hooft, P. (2017), *Grand Strategy* <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199743292/obo-9780199743292-0218.xml>, accessed 1 May 2020.
Vennesson, P. (2010), 'Competing Visions for the European Union Grand Strategy', *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 2010: 57–75 <http://www.kluwerlawonline.com/document.php?id=EERR2010004>.
Whitman, R. G. (2016a), 'The UK and EU Foreign and Security Policy: An Optional Extra', *The Political Quarterly*, 87/2: 254–261.
—— (2016b), 'The UK and EU Foreign, Security and Defence Policy after Brexit: Integrated, Associated or Detached?', *National Institute Economic Review*, 238/1: R43-R50.
—— (2019), 'The UK's European diplomatic strategy for Brexit and beyond', *International Affairs*, 95/2: 383–404.
Witney, N. (2016), 'Brexit and defence: Time to dust off the 'letter of intent'?' <https://www.ecfr.eu/article/commentary_brexit_and_defence_time_to_dust_off_the_letter_of_intent7075>, updated 14 Jul 2016.
*Working document -Consolidated version of the Withdrawal Agreement following revision of Protocol on Ireland/Northern Irelandand technical adaptations to Article 184 "Negotiations on the future relationship"and Article 185 "Entry into force and application" (document TF50(2019)64), as agreed at negotiators' level and endorsed by the European Council; -Subject to legal revision.* [2019].

Wright, N. (2018), *The EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy in Germany and the UK*: *Cooperation, Co-Optation and Competition / Nicholas Wright* (New Perspectives in German Political Studies, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan).