

Contents

<i>List of Tables</i>	x
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xi
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xiii
Introduction: Why EU Law and IR Theory?	
Uncovering the Scope of European Defence Cooperation	1
1 Mapping European Defence Cooperation:	
Patterns of Competition and Complementarity	
in the Architecture of European Defence	7
The context of European defence cooperation: Changing security threats and the emergence of military isomorphism in post-Cold War Europe	7
NATO in the post-Cold War era: Developing the capacity to deploy expeditionary force across the conflict spectrum	11
Defence procurement initiatives in post-Cold War Europe	24
Force generation initiatives in the post-Cold War Europe	27
CSDP: The growth of European military autonomy	34
Helsinki to Lisbon: Furnishing the EU with the institutional structures and military capabilities for defence autonomy	34
NATO and CSDP: Competition and complementarity	42
Missing pieces of the puzzle: Institutional and military capability gaps in CSDP	51
2 The Legal Underpinnings of European Defence Cooperation	56
Introduction	56
Historical context	58
The legal framework of CSDP	60
The ESDP prior to the Treaty of Lisbon	60
The CSDP and the Treaty of Lisbon	65
The Lisbon Treaty's mutual assistance clause	67
The Lisbon Treaty's flexibility provisions	70

The institutional architecture of CSDP	75
The High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy	78
The CJEU and the overlap between security and other EU policies	80
CSDP: Still an intergovernmental affair	83
3 The Application of EU Law in Defence Collaboration and Armament Procurement: Towards a More Systematic and Institutionalised Form of Cooperation	86
A state-centric defence equipment market	86
The Commission's EU defence equipment policy 'package'	89
The interpretation of the exception system under Article 346 TFEU	90
The Defence Procurement Directive 2009/81/EC	95
Directive 2009/43 on intra-EU transfers of defence products	96
EU capability procurement initiatives	97
The EDA	97
Collaborative procurement initiatives outside the EU framework	103
OCCAR	103
NATO capability procurement initiatives	107
Defence procurement initiatives outside the EU and NATO frameworks	108
The Lol	108
Conclusion	109
4 Theoretical Contestation on European Defence Cooperation	113
Constructivism and European defence cooperation	113
Towards a European strategic culture?	114
Governance and European defence cooperation	118
The Europeanisation of national defence policies	122
Liberal intergovernmentalism and European defence cooperation	124
Two-level games theory and European defence cooperation	125
Institutionalism and European defence cooperation	127
Classical realism and European defence cooperation	130
The neglect of material power in the study of European defence: Neorealism as a 'straw man'	132

5 Explaining European Defence Cooperation: Neorealism and the Contradictory Imperatives of the International System	136
The core premises of neorealism: Consensus and contestation within neorealist thought	137
Europe in the post-Cold War era: Systemic unipolarity and regional balanced multipolarity	140
European defence cooperation as reformed bandwagoning	143
Understanding differentiation in defence: Variance in external vulnerability and the trade-off between abandonment and entrapment	154
France: Vulnerability to German power and the legacy of empire	156
The United Kingdom: Dependency on US power for global influence	161
Germany: The vulnerabilities of semi-sovereignty and the European <i>Mittellage</i>	164
6 Conclusions: The Destination of European Defence Cooperation	171
The lessons for European defence: Enduring uncertainty and the limits to the scope and depth of cooperation	171
Avenues for future theoretical research: Deepening our understanding of systemic variables in defence cooperation	174
Theorising the role of domestic-level variables in European defence cooperation	176
Future research directions for legal and IR scholarship on European defence	178
<i>Notes</i>	181
<i>Select Bibliography</i>	236
<i>Index</i>	249

List of Tables

1.1	Membership of the central institutions of European security	11
1.2	Major post-Cold War defence capability initiatives within NATO	22
1.3	Major post-Cold War sub-regional capability procurement initiatives	28
1.4	Major force generation initiatives outside EU and NATO frameworks	30
1.5	Major CSDP capability and force generation initiatives	43
1.6	CSDP missions by region	46
1.7	Post-Cold War NATO missions by region	47