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FROM TTR 39 - OCTOBER 2016

Egmont – Royal Institute for International Relations

All or nothing? European and British strategic autonomy after the Brexit

by Sven Biscop

5 September 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (25 p.)

Does it make sense to announce a quest for strategic autonomy, in the new EU Global Strategy, just as the UK voted for Brexit? Sven Biscop argues that the European defence effort, through the EU, NATO and ad hoc clusters, can yet be streamlined and enhanced.

Royal United Services Institute / Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation)

The future of post-Brexit Germany-UK security relations

by Sarah Lain [@sarahlain12](#)

September 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (14 p.)

On 11 July 2016, the Royal United Services Institute and the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung hosted a half-day workshop aimed at bringing together leading German and UK security specialists as well as members of the UK Parliament and German Bundestag to discuss key aspects of European security. This report summarises the major conclusions and talking points of the day's discussions and also suggests areas on which policymakers should focus their attention. It has been supplemented by additional desk research where appropriate. The aim is to highlight knowledge gaps and areas of defence and security policy that warrant further research in order to inform more effective policy, particularly in light of Brexit, and the challenges that these present to both the UK and EU governments.

Asociace pro mezinárodní otázky (Association for International Affairs)

Varšavský summit NATO: Kontrola po dvouleté cestě z Walesu

by Jakub Kufčák [@JakubKufcak](#)

9 September 2016

Link to the article in [Czech](#) (7 p.)

This briefing paper summarises the conclusions of the NATO summit in Warsaw.

FROM TTR 40 - NOVEMBER 2016

Egmont – Royal Institute for International Relations / EU Institute for Security Studies

After the EU Global Strategy – Consulting the experts. Security and defence

by Jan Joel Andersson, Daniel Fiott [@DanielFiott](#) and Antonio Missiroli (eds.)

28 October 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (59 p.)

The EU Institute for Security Studies organised a workshop dedicated to the Security and Defence Implementation Plan (SDIP) in Brussels on 17 October 2016, where leading experts and analysts shared their thoughts and ideas with key policymakers and the main drafters of the SDIP. This volume presents a compilation of the memos that these experts drafted following the workshop, in which they outline their preferred level of ambition and priority areas for EU security and defence.

Fondation Robert Schuman

To insure again the defence of Europe - Draft treaty for the defence and security of Europe

by Jean-Dominique Giuliani

3 October 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (6 p.) and in [French](#) (6 p.)

Brexit cannot go without response. The UK must maintain its strong links with the European continent whose history and fate it shares. The EU must adapt to new developments fast without destroying its acquis. This draft treaty puts forward innovative suggestions which a Anglo-Franco-German treaty might introduce for the defence and security of Europe. This proposal aims to encourage thought as much as it does real action.

Nederlands Instituut voor Internationale Betrekkingen - Clingendael (Netherlands Institute of International Relations)

Defence cooperation models - Lessons learned and usability

by Dick Zandee, Margriet Drent [@DrentMargriet](#) and Rob Hendriks

6 October 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (64 p.)

This report analyses the pros and cons of different defence cooperation models. What factors determine success or failure? What lessons can be learned from five case studies analysed in the report: the Eurocorps, the Franco-German Brigade, the European Air Transport Command, the Belgian-Netherlands Naval Cooperation and Baltic Air Policing. How usable are existing defence cooperation models for potential new ones?

German Marshall Fund of the United States

Conservative, comprehensive, ambitious, or realistic? Assessing EU defence strategy approaches

by Daniel Keohane and Christian Mölling [@Ce_Moll](#)

2 October 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.)

The UK is poised to make its exit from the EU, and with it goes the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy framework – at a moment when security concerns have become a top priority in Europe. At this critical juncture, many governments and experts are calling for an EU defence strategy to guide a path forward. EU foreign policy chief Federica Mogherini told that her "intention is to present, before the end of the year, an ambitious implementation plan on security and defence." EU governments essentially agreed with this timeline, declaring following an informal

summit of the 27 in Bratislava on 16 September that they should decide on a concrete implementation plan for security and defence at a European Council summit in December.

The impossible transatlantic discussion on the US third offset strategy

by Martin Quencez

6 October 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (7 p.)

In late 2014, the US Department of Defense launched a defence initiative, often called the "Third Offset Strategy," to ensure that Washington maintains technological superiority and "military dominance for the 21st century." However, the initiative and its concrete implications remain unclear to most European partners, and even if they did understand the US vision better, the lack of strategic discussions at the European level prevents Europe from developing its own coherent, complementary vision.

Nordic partners of NATO: how similar are Finland and Sweden within NATO cooperation?

by Juha Pyykönen

7 October 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (140 p.)

At the military level, the ultimate goals of the NATO partnership programmes are to support partners in their efforts to reform their national defence structures and to assist them in developing their national capabilities according to NATO standards. These goals are subject to two prerequisites: well-prepared and stand-out applicants for membership, and qualified military capabilities for operations. Finland and Sweden have met every expectation pertaining to capabilities, but have refrained from becoming members of the Alliance.

Istituto Affari Internazionali / Senato della Repubblica - Servizio affari internazionali

Il libro bianco della difesa tedesco: quali opportunità di cooperazione?

by Ester Sabatino

10 October 2016

Link to the article in [Italian](#) (5 p.)

The White Paper of the German defence is a strategic document that defines the key points of the defence policy of Germany. The White Paper (while continuing to emphasize the importance of the Atlantic Alliance) finally identifies several priority sectors considered to deepen European cooperation in the field of defence.

Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (German Institute for International and Security Affairs)

Das neue Weißbuch – Impulsgeber sicherheitspolitischer Verständigung?

by Markus Kaim and Hilmar Linnenkamp

October 2016

Link to the article in [German](#) (8 p.) and in [English](#) (8 p.)

The German White Paper 2016 is the first of its kind since 2006. By drafting it, the federal government aims to inform the public and its allies in NATO and the EU precisely what the intentions of its security policy. It seeks to redefine Germany's current and future security policy based on recent events and developments, however, the contours of the Bundeswehr itself and its future remain blurred.

OCP Policy Center

Le sommet de l'OTAN à Varsovie: clair-obscur du retour à l'endiguement

by Rachid El Houdaigui

October 2016

Link to the article in [French](#) (24 p.)

The meeting of NATO Heads of State and governments in Warsaw was an important step in the structural and functional transformation of the Atlantic Alliance and NATO. The Final Communiqué and the three declarations confirm the gradual return to containment, through the reinforcement of deterrence and defence of the Alliance, and the removal of the asymmetric and hybrid threats. This dynamic contributes to the centrality of the collective defence of the Euro-Atlantic space against the supposed Russian strategic threat. As a result, the Mediterranean will become what it was during the Cold War, the southern flank of NATO but with new military and security means.

Center for Strategic and International Studies

Perspectives on security and strategic stability: a track 2 dialogue with the Baltic States and Poland

by Kathleen H. Hicks, Heather A. Conley, Lisa Sawyer Samp, Jeffrey Rathke and Anthony Bell

11 October 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (44 p.)

As the US and NATO allies expand their presence along the alliance's eastern flank in response to increased Russian aggression, it has become increasingly important to engage in a dialogue with representatives from the Baltic States and Poland to understand their perceptions of regional security and the impact of US and NATO assurance efforts. The report presents key observations from this dialogue, including (1) regional perspectives on threats and vulnerabilities, (2) views on the US and NATO roles in conventional deterrence in Eastern Europe, (3) regional approaches to internal defence and security, (4) the nuclear dimension on the eastern flank, and (5) future challenges to transatlantic cohesion.

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute

Military capabilities in the Arctic: a new cold war in the High North?

by Siemon T. Wezeman

October 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (24 p.)

Climate change is making the Arctic region more accessible. Overlapping claims by the five Arctic littoral states - Canada, Denmark, Norway, the US (members of NATO) and Russia - have raised concerns about future. This increase in tensions has fuelled fears of the onset of a new 'cold war' and possible conflict in Europe. It has also resulted in a further build-up of military capabilities in the Arctic. However, the actions taken by the five Arctic littoral states in the region seem to suggest that the focus remains solely on the defence of current national territories. While this relatively restrained approach to overlapping maritime claims is to be welcomed, the increases in military forces provide cause for concern, and military confidence measures and expanded cooperation should be high on the agenda for all five states.

Österreichisches Institut für Internationale Politik (Austrian Institute for International Affairs)

Die Syrienkrise: Die Auswirkungen auf die Beziehungen der EU und der NATO zur Türkei

by Hakan Akbulut

3 October 2016

Link to the article in [German](#) (29 p.)

This paper explores the implications of the Syrian crisis for relations of the EU and NATO with Turkey. The analysis focuses on the consequences of the refugee issue turning acute as well as on the repercussions of the shooting down of a Russian fighter jet by the Turkish air force.

FROM TTR 41 - DECEMBER 2016

Institut de relations internationales et stratégiques / Armament Industry European Research Group (Ares Group)

Appropriate level of European strategic autonomy

by Felix Arteaga, Tomas Jermalavicius, Alessandro Marrone, Jean-Pierre Maulny and Marcin Terlikowski

4 November 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (43 p.)

Firstly this study analyses eight States or group of States: France, Germany, Italy, Poland, Spain, Sweden, the UK and Baltic States. Secondly, it considers the issue of the appropriate level of strategic autonomy for the EU.

Nederlands Instituut voor Internationale Betrekkingen - Clingendael (Netherlands Institute of International Relations) / Egmont – Royal Institute for International Relations

European defence core groups: the why, what and how of permanent structured cooperation

by Anne Bakker, Margriet Drent [@DrentMargriet](#) and Dick Zandee

November 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (6 p.)

The deteriorating security situation around Europe and the burgeoning messages from Washington that Europe has to take more responsibility for its own security call for a step change in European defence cooperation. This brief argues that [Permanent Structured Cooperation](#) (PESCO) offers the option to take a more ambitious and more productive route by member states willing to move forward more quickly, set more demanding objectives and commit themselves more strongly.

EU strategy and European defence. What level of ambition?

by Luis Simón [@LuisSimn](#)

November 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (7 p.)

The global proliferation of precision-strike systems and the concomitant emergence of anti-access and area denial (A2/AD) capabilities challenges the foundations of Western global military-technological supremacy. This brief argues that the assumption of the freedom of (military) access and movement, which has guided European strategic thinking since the end of the Cold War, is no longer valid. Europeans should get to grips with the new military-strategic paradigm and translate this into an updated ambition level and related capabilities.

Center of Strategic and Budgetary Assessments

How much is enough? Alternative defense strategies

by Jacob Cohn [@jmcohn](#) and Ryan Boone [@ryanjboone](#) (eds.)

28 November 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (56 p.)

Twenty-five years after the end of the Cold War, the US once again face the need to prepare for great power competition and confrontation. Russian aggression along the eastern front of NATO presents military challenges to European security not seen in decades. China's military modernisation and coercive behaviour toward US allies and partners threaten stability in the Asia-Pacific region.

Istituto Affari Internazionali

L'impatto della Brexit per la difesa europea e transatlantica: tanti dubbi e poche certezze

by Alessandro Riccardo Ungaro [@AleRUnga](#) and Daniele Fattibene [@danifatti](#)

28 November 2016

Link to the article in [Italian](#) (28 p.)

Since the end of the 1990s and the Saint Malo Agreements, the UK has played a crucial role in the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) of the EU. From a European perspective, London is one of the most important players in the operations, military and industrial fields. The decision of the British voters to leave the EU will have consequences for Europe's and Transatlantic defence and security. The objective of this article is to identify the most important topics which will be discussed in this regard in the following months and outline some possible future scenarios.

Recent developments in Italy's security and defence policy

by Alessandro Marrone [@Alessandro_Ma](#) and Vincenzo Camporini [@camporin1](#)

November 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (10 p.)

Renzi government's 2014-2016 military commitment mirrors the Renzi government's political effort to increase NATO and EU attention to the security of the Mediterranean region. After the UK referendum, Italy has also enhanced its stance in favour of greater European cooperation and integration in the defence sector.

Le sfide della Nato e il ruolo dell'Italia: Trump, Brexit, difesa collettiva e stabilizzazione del vicinato

by Francesca Bitondo [@frabitondo](#), Alessandro Marrone [@Alessandro_Ma](#) and Paola Sartori [@SartoriPal](#)

November 2016

Link to the article in [Italian](#) (38 p.)

This paper considers a number of challenges and variables relevant to the euro-Atlantic security and NATO, outlining as well Italy's role. Firstly, it discusses the main decisions taken during the NATO summit in Warsaw in July 2016. Secondly, it analyses the impact on the international, transatlantic and European context of two fundamental variables: Donald Trump's Presidency and Brexit. Finally, it focuses on the role Italy plays and could potentially play in the current international context.

Rahvusvaheline Kaitseuringute Keskus (International Centre for Defence and Security)

Brexit and Baltic sea security

by Riina Kaljurand, Tony Lawrence, Pauli Järvenpää and Tomas Jermalavičius

November 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (46 p.)

The result of the UK's referendum was unexpected and its consequences may be wide-ranging and grave. This report considers the impact of the UK's exit from the EU on the security of Estonia, the Baltic Sea region and Europe more widely. Its focus is hard security – military security and defence.

Atlantic Council

Broken embraces: is Central Europe falling out of love with the West?

by Jeffrey Gedmin and Simona Kordosova Lightfoot

21 November 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (10 p.)

NATO enlargement under the Clinton administration was part of a broader global strategy, presenting democratic and entrepreneurial opportunity. This process was coupled with the prospect of new cooperation with Russia to create an undivided, free, and prosperous Europe. A decade and a half later, Central Europe faces severe challenges and signs of particular vulnerability to backlash against the very ideals this period set out to establish and the values expected to endure.

Toward a more flexible NATO nuclear posture

by Matthew Kroenig

15 November 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (13 p.)

Over the past decade and a half, Russia has placed an increased emphasis on nuclear weapons in its military strategy and doctrine. After a quarter century of reducing its reliance on nuclear weapons, NATO now lacks a credible deterrent for Russian "de-escalatory" nuclear strikes. To grapple with this possibility, NATO must consider the development of new, more flexible nuclear capabilities of its own.

NATO's new frontlines: security and deterrence in the Baltic Sea region

by Elisabeth Braw

2 November 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.)

One of NATO's key challenges as it seeks to enhance its presence in the Baltic Sea region is the lack of modern military infrastructure, especially the kind that meets the needs of large Allied units. The Baltic states have not been unaware of their military infrastructure gaps, and all three countries have built their armed forces from the ground up, focusing on manning the force and equipment requirements. But if NATO troops cannot get their tanks and supply convoys to training ranges and bases far from the Baltic coastline, they will not be of much use. Additionally, improving military infrastructure is not just a matter of presenting a more palatable offer to NATO allies; it is also an issue of operational capabilities.

Center for Transatlantic Relations

NATO's future: a tale of three summits

by Hans Binnendijk

November 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (12 p.)

This paper briefly analyses 20 key issues facing NATO and highlights the progress made in Wales and Warsaw. It also suggests some directions for the Brussels summit and beyond. Table 1 serves as a guide to this discussion. The vertical columns represent the major issues addressed at each summit and the horizontal rows trace progress on that issue from Wales to Warsaw and suggest initiatives for the Brussels summit.

Asociace pro mezinárodní otázky (Association for International Affairs)

Accession of Georgia to NATO

by Zuzana Konečná

23 November 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (16 p.)

The enlargement policy of NATO, the foundation of which is laid out in the Article 10 of the Washington Treaty, remains even today a hotly-discussed topic. Though one country has been showing its desire to become a NATO member for more than a decade: Georgia. However, despite the fact that Georgia gradually meets the requirements and shows its western identity, the troubled relations with Russia complicate the whole process.

NATO-EU maritime cooperation

by Anna Umlaufová

23 November 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (20 p.)

Although NATO has already recognised the importance of the maritime domain, its significance is growing in light of the migrant crisis and the possible cooperation with the EU on the topic. The need to address the migrant crisis is pressing. With the willingness of the representatives of both NATO and the EU, now more than ever is the time to find ways how these two global actors can cooperate.

GLOBSEC Policy Institute

GLOBSEC NATO Adaptation Project: NATO in a changing strategic environment

by John R. Allen, Wolf Landheld, Julian Lindley-French [@Frenclindley](#), Giampaolo di Paola and Tomáš Valášek

21 November 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (20 p.)

Britain's decision to leave the EU and Donald Trump's election as president of the US raise fundamental questions about the future strength, cohesion and very credibility of NATO. This paper lays out the challenges of the strategic environment with which the Alliance must contend, and establishes the direction of travel for the GLOBSEC NATO Adaptation Project.

Latvijas Ārpolitikas institūts (Latvian Institute of International Affairs)

Latvijas plašsaziņas līdzekļu noturība pret citu valstu vēstījumiem: Krievijas faktors NATO 2016. gada Varšavas samita kontekstā

by Andris Sprūds, Ilvija Bruģe, Māris Andžāns, Mārtiņš Daugulis and Anda Rožukalne

24 November 2016

Link to the article in [Latvian](#) (45 p.)

The Latvian Institute of International Affairs in cooperation with the Latvian Ministry of Defence launched its latest research on Latvian media's coverage of the Russian factor in NATO's 2016 summit in Warsaw. The study analyses the three chapters of the Latvian media space and audience, as well as international media coverage. Key findings include the fact that the Latvian media space is resistant to influences from other countries, especially Russia in terms of messages related to national security.

The Baltic Sea region: hard and soft security reconsidered

by Ilvija Bruġe and Māris Andžāns

22 November 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (208 p.)

This publication provides a collection of opinions that assess the current situation both in the military as well as non-military fields, with a particular focus on the aftermath of the 2016 NATO Warsaw summit and the state of play of the regional infrastructure interconnections.

Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (German Institute for International and Security Affairs)

Neubelebung der konventionellen Rüstungskontrolle in Europa: Ein Beitrag zur militärischen Stabilität in Zeiten der Krise

by Wolfgang Richter

November 2017

Link to the article in [German](#) (8 p.)

At the end of September 2016, the fifth Review Conference of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) ended in Vienna without a tangible result. Russia, which suspended the implementation of the contract at the end of 2007, did not participate, whereas the Baltic republics and other NATO countries are not even members of the CFE Treaty. Once again it became clear that CFE cannot provide for military restraint and predictability in Europe. As a result, at the end of August 2016, the German Foreign Minister Steinmeier proposed a renewed structured dialogue on a new arms control agreement. The proposal is supported by 14 European countries but there is still no clarity with regard to the political disposition, the military substance, and the legal framework of any new regulations. This article analyses the credibility and sustainability of this new initiative.

Egmont – Royal Institute for International Relations

Has Trump reshuffled the cards for Europe?

by Sven Biscop

21 November 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (4 p.)

"I think NATO may be obsolete". When Donald Trump, the next President of the US, spoke these words during the campaign, he most likely had only a vague idea of how he would act upon them. But one thing is certain: if he made the statement, it is because he knew it to be a vote-winner. And win he did. Has his election reshuffled the cards for European diplomacy and defence?

FROM TTR 42 - JANUARY 2017

Ulkopoliittinen instituutti (Finnish Institute of International Affairs)

Europe's new defence agenda: major hurdles still remain

by Tuomas Iso-Markku and Niklas Helwig [@NHelwig](#)

12 December 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.)

The 2016 December European Council discussed a bundle of measures to strengthen the EU's security and defence policy. While the Brexit vote and the US elections raised the ambitions of some member states, the measures largely represent a readjustment and repackaging of existing policies rather than a conceptual overhaul. With or without the UK, EU member states continue to have diverse views on the relationship between the EU and NATO, the priorities of the EU's security and defence policy and the level of EU involvement in defence in general.

The EU's Security and Defence Policy: will the new strategy bear fruit?

by Teija Tiilikainen

12 December 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.)

The recent changes in European security and defence policy are reflected in its security strategy, in the plans to produce and coordinate capabilities, as well as in the use of the EU's treaty-based competences. The focus of the security and defence policy has shifted from external operations closer to the Union's own borders and territory.

Institut de relations internationales et stratégiques

Achilles, the tortoise and CSDP: the way forward for Europe's defence

by Olivier de France

21 December 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (6 p.)

The author points out that on 15 December 2016 the EU leaders gave their blessing to defence plans that should help them take the security of Europeans a bit more seriously. These efforts come from the right place. Europe does need to get its act together, and to do so on its own terms before President Obama steps down, and the EU becomes a noisy but ineffectual onlooker in the Donald Trump pantomime show. Heading into 2017, EU member states will need to pick up the political gauntlet laid down by the European Commission, the European Council, the Parliament and the High Representative.

The economics of European defence

by Keith Hartley

8 December 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (6 p.)

Since the British referendum result in June 2016 and the US election in November 2016, greater political effort has been channelled into ways of increasing EU defence cooperation, and creating a solid European defence industry. The EU's toolbox includes a number of existing means of doing so, many made available by the Lisbon Treaty in 2009 – European defence policy comprises a series of policy measures related to a Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP), a Single Market for defence equipment, the European Defence and Technological Industrial Base (EDITB) and offsets. But in a constrained budgetary context, it is difficult to overlook defence economics as a driver of European defence policy. This paper suggests a number of avenues for efficiency improvements in European defence spending.

Today's technological innovations for tomorrow's Defence

by Christophe-Alexandre Paillard and Nick Butler

5 December 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (21 p.)

This paper focuses on national defence innovation models in Europe, in particular the ones of France, Germany and the UK. Are these models compatible? Does the financial effort for defence and security research produced by these European countries enable them to cooperate between each other? What could be the role of EU in the field of defence research?

Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej (Institute of East-Central Europe) / Asociace pro mezinárodní otázky (Association for International Affairs)

Poland, the Czech Republic and NATO in fragile security contexts

by Anna Visvizi [@AVisvizi](#) and Tomasz Stępniewski (eds.)

14 December 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (84 p.)

This report examines the fragile security contexts in East-Central Europe as they have evolved over the past years, assesses the implications of the NATO Warsaw Summit for improving Poland's and the Czech Republic's resilience to the mounting risks and threats to their safety and security, and outlines short- and mid-term recommendations.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

From Suez to Syria. Why NATO must strengthen its political role

by Judy Dempsey [@Judy_Dempsey](#)

8 December 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (41 p.)

NATO faces a multitude of challenges along its Eastern and Southern flanks, in addition to terrorism and cyberattacks, energy insecurity, disinformation campaigns aimed at weakening the West, and the uncertainty of the US stance following the 2016 presidential election. NATO must rise to the challenge of putting in place long-term mechanisms to protect the Euro-Atlantic community's way of life, shared values, and security.

College of Europe

The European air transport command: a viable model for promoting European military cooperation

by Matteo Ricci

12 December 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (32 p.)

This paper begins with the observation that the top-down model of defence cooperation adopted for the Common Security and Defence Policy of the EU seems to be in a crisis. It then asks if there are alternative models available, arguing that one is represented by smaller, bottom-up initiatives such as the European Air Transport Command.

Centre for European Reform

EU defence, Brexit and Trump: the good, the bad and the ugly

by Sophia Besch [@SophiaBesch](#)

14 December 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (11 p.)

The Brexit referendum and the election of Donald Trump have spurred EU leaders to boost their support for European defence. They recognise that they need to increase their share of the burden of European security and rely less on the US; and they want to reassert the Union's credibility after Britain's vote of no confidence. The author argues that even if the EU puts more resources into defence, Trump and the Brexit referendum will damage European security.

Real Instituto Elcano (Elcano Royal Institute)

Trump, Rajoy II y el futuro de la relación estratégica entre España y EEUU

by Luis Simón [@LuisSimn](#)

13 December 2016

Link to the article in [Spanish](#) (10 p.)

In much of Europe and in Spain, the initial reactions to the electoral victory of Trump have been characterised by a rather pessimistic tone. This is not surprising: to a large extent, these merely reflect the treatment that has been illustrated by the phenomenon Trump in Europe for more than a year. However, the election of Trump suggests that the time has come to turn the page. After all, the US is still the cornerstone of European security (and global) and a key reference for the Spanish foreign and defence policy. The arrival of a new President at the White House and the formation of government in Spain after more than a year of political uncertainty opens up a number of opportunities for re-launching the bilateral relationship. This document outlines a possible agenda focusing on in this direction, notably in the field of defence.

Istituto Affari Internazionali / Gateway House: Indian Council on Global Relations

EU-India Defence Cooperation: A European Perspective

by Stefania Benaglia [@stebenaglia](#) and Alessandro R. Ungaro [@AleRUnga](#)

December 2016

Link to the article in [English](#) (18 p.)

When looking at the European Defence and Technological Industrial Base (EDTIB) from India, there is a clear need to step up European coordination and integration. There are a number of mechanisms the EU can put in place to stimulate a fruitful competition amongst its defence providers and prove the value of EDTIB as a whole. Additionally, EU-India security dialogue can be enhanced by boosting coordination among EU member states. This paper provides recommendations on how industrial cooperation in the defence sector can serve as a driver to enhance EU-India defence and security cooperation.

FROM TTR 43 - FEBRUARY 2017

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

Glimmer of hope for the Common Security and Defence Policy

by Olaf Wientzek

January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (11 p.) and in [German](#) (12 p.)

One of the priorities of the EU is a commitment to enhanced cooperation in the area of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). The process initiated in September 2016 to further strengthen the CSDP includes pragmatic measures. In view of the security policy challenges the EU is facing, the proposals only represent a small step in the long run. Further steps in both institutional and operational terms are required to turn the CSDP into an effective instrument.

European Union Institute for Security Studies

European defence: the year ahead

by Daniel Fiott [@DanielFiott](#)

31 January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (4 p.)

The EU ended 2016 having agreed to a number of fresh initiatives designed to articulate a new level of ambition for security and defence. A specific plan on security and defence (SDIP) was published on 14 November 2016. Additionally, the European Commission published a European Defence Action Plan (EDAP) on 30 November 2016, and the EU and NATO agreed to act on the Joint Declaration they had signed at the Warsaw Summit in July by adopting conclusions for 42 action points on 6 December 2016. The EU therefore starts 2017 with a range of policy options to enhance defence cooperation: aligning these initiatives to produce coherent policy in the future is now a priority.

Egmont – Royal Institute for International Relations

Oratio pro PESCO

by Sven Biscop

23 January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (16 p.)

Everybody is talking about Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) – will we finally do it now? And will we get it right? For if PESCO is activated only to launch initiatives that could also have been taken without it, the opportunity will be wasted. To bring real added value, PESCO must be sufficiently ambitious and make the step from cooperation to effective integration in defence.

German Marshall Fund of the United States

Border security in Eastern Europe: lessons for NATO and partners

by Hannah Thoburn [@HannahThoburn](#)

12 January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (5 p.)

The geopolitical dynamics in Europe are changing. Countries such as Georgia, Ukraine and Moldova have undergone significant transformation processes since the collapse of the Soviet Union. However, history's aftermath continues to influence these states. The relatively young borders in Eastern Europe have been the stage of protracted conflicts. The three conflicts (in Ukraine, in Transnistria, in South Ossetia and Abkhazia) covered in this paper are all in different

stages. This paper concludes with recommendations to interested parties as to how they might begin to move toward a satisfactory resolution of these conflicts and prevent the emergence of similar issues in the future.

Southern challenges and the regionalization of the Transatlantic Security Partnership

by Alexandra de Hoop Scheffer, Martin Michelot [@martinmichelot](#) and Martin Quencez
26 January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (20 p.)

Transatlantic powers remain highly reluctant to directly intervene in the security crises in MENA. Facing a multiplicity of crises and issues, transatlantic powers have often failed to adopt a proactive approach, and the case-by-case reactions have shown various degrees of success. Reliance on regional partners has not delivered desirable outcomes so far, and the transatlantic security partnership needs to redefine its strategy of outsourcing, while the discussions at the Warsaw NATO Summit should also serve as a basis for reflection.

Real Instituto Elcano (Elcano Royal Institute)

2016 y la seguridad europea

by Carlos Miranda Elío
23 January 2017

Link to the article in [Spanish](#) (7 p.)

In 2016 several developments took place that will determine the future of European security: the presentation of the EU Global Strategy, the EU-NATO joint declaration, the informal meeting in Bratislava and the election of Donald Trump as President of the US.

Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (German Institute for International and Security Affairs)

Reforming NATO's partnerships

by Markus Kaim
9 January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (23 p.)

The paper examines NATO's capacity for adapting its institutions to the changed international security parameters. It uses a concrete example: the partnership formats that have become increasingly differentiated both regionally and functionally since the 1990s. Research into the way international security organisations change, or rather adapt, shows that a series of factors determines whether new security formats are decided and what specific shape they take.

Noch mehr Distanz zum Westen. Warum sich Ankara nach Moskau orientiert

by Günter Seufert
25 January 2017

Link to the article in [German](#) (8 p.)

A bloody coup attempt, the erosion of the rule of law as a reaction of the government, and a sequence of terrorist attacks have dramatically changed Turkey lately. Ankara's approach to Moscow raises the question whether the country is still a reliable partner of the West. Officially, Turkey remains a candidate for membership in the EU. But there has been a long talk about the dangers of an unstable and anti-Western Turkey for the EU. NATO is also worried about Turkey. Does the country remain in the Western camp?

Nederlands Instituut voor Internationale Betrekkingen - Clingendael (Netherlands Institute of International Relations)

The "Belarus factor" - From balancing to bridging geopolitical dividing lines in Europe?

by Tony van der Togt [@TonyvanderTogt](#)

January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (25 p.)

This report presents an analysis on how the "Belarus factor" could be interesting again in a wider regional perspective, as a result of the Ukraine crisis. The author sheds his light on EU-Belarus relations and the relationship with NATO. He also presents preliminary conclusions on the possible role of Belarus as mediator and how EU and NATO members could support such a role.

Rand Europe

Against the rising tide: an overview of the growing criminalisation of the Mediterranean region

by Giacomo Persi Paoli and Jacopo Bellasio

24 January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (39 p.)

The geo-political situation on the southern coast of the Mediterranean has radically changed, and new challenges have emerged for the EU, US, and beyond. The US, EU and NATO continue to maintain a significant military presence in and around the Mediterranean, but military capabilities must be nested within a whole-of-government, international approach. This publication is part of a series of four RAND Perspectives each focusing on different challenges in the Mediterranean region. This report presents an overview of transnational criminal activities in the Mediterranean region, focusing in particular on three types of trafficking that are considered to mostly linked with regional stability: (i) human smuggling and trafficking; (ii) arms trafficking; and (iii) drugs trafficking.

Transatlantic Academy

Berlin's new pragmatism in an era of radical uncertainty

by Stefan Fröhlich

25 January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (24 p.)

Donald Trump's election marks a pivotal moment for German foreign and security policy as it puts Washington's European allies under even more pressure to radically rethink their security. Instead of reacting with the usual mix of resignation and indecision, Germany and its European partners should overcome their own political malaise. The best way to do so will be to provide strong evidence of German (and European) engagement - particularly via higher defence contributions, a more assertive stance vis-à-vis China's trade and investment policies, and efforts to overcome bilateral trade imbalances.

Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies

UK foreign and security policy after Brexit

by Malcolm Chalmers [@MChalmers_RUSI](#)

January 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (10 p.)

By the middle of 2019 at the latest, UK will probably no longer be a member of the EU. The price of more national control over the instruments of foreign policy that this brings will be a significant decline in influence over the common European foreign policies. The UK's departure from the EU is likely to deepen the recent trend towards a security policy focused on national interest. Much will depend on Russia's response to the dual shocks in the UK and the US. If it were to redouble

efforts to re-establish a sphere of influence on its western borders, perhaps as part of a wider bargain with President Trump over the heads of NATO allies, the pressure on the EU and the UK to deepen their defence cooperation would be considerable, potentially diluting any EU instinct to 'punish' the UK economically for Brexit.

FROM TTR 44 - MARCH 2017

Institute of International Relations Prague

European strategic autonomy: distant but irresistible

by Michal Šimečka

February 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (9 p.)

Under pressure from overlapping crises, the EU is embracing a more assertive role in security. The election of Donald Trump has added a further sense of urgency and purpose to this EU defence cooperation as the pursuit of European strategic autonomy is not just a matter of upgrading capabilities, building institutions, or re-calibrating EU-NATO cooperation but also a struggle to re-invent the EU's identity. The Czech Republic emerged as a supporter of this new dynamic, but Prague should do more to back its rhetorical support with tangible commitment and policy leadership.

Egmont – Royal Institute for International Relations

Core Groups: the way to real European defence

by Dick Zandee

20 February 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (6 p.)

European countries continue to have different political views on the use of military force. Their armed forces also show a wide variety in terms of capabilities for operations from low to high in the spectrum. Thus, European strategic autonomy in deploying armed forces for military operations requires a new approach. Rather than pursuing the impossible – acting at 28 – European countries should form core groups of partners with comparable intent, willingness and capabilities. All core groups should support each other in a network, to be developed under the overarching umbrella's of the EU and NATO.

Bruegel

Europe in a new world order

by Maria Demertzis [@mariademertzis](#), André Sapir and Guntram B. Wolff [@GuntramWolff](#)

17 February 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.)

The US is the EU's most important trade and bilateral investment partner, which has, until now, supported a multilateral trade system, European integration and provided a security guarantee. But the new US administration seems intent on replacing multilateralism with bilateral deals. In trade, it aims to secure new trade deals in order to reduce bilateral trade deficits and to protect. In climate policy, the US commitment to the Paris Agreement is being questioned. In defence, the security umbrella appears less certain than previously. In this paper, the authors consider what the EU's strategic reaction should be to US diminishing giant policies, and the EU's role in a world of declining hegemony and shifting balances.

Istituto Affari Internazionali

Il dibattito sulla difesa europea: sviluppi Ue e prospettive nazionali

by Francesca Bitondo [@frabitondo](#), Jean-Pierre Darnis [@jpdarnis](#), Alessandro Marrone [@Alessandro_Ma](#) and Ester Sabatino

February 2017

Link to the article in [Italian](#) (52 p.)

The recent debate on European defence has seen important developments at the EU level, with steps taken by the High Representative/Vice President and the Commission, discussed and approved by the Council. However, its understanding cannot be separated from an analysis of national perspectives in the major EU member states after the referendum on Brexit, namely France, Germany and Italy, which have carried on their agendas both in an intergovernmental framework and by interacting with the EU institutions.

Differentiated integration in defence: a plea for PESCO

by Sven Biscop

6 February 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (12 p.)

In defence, differentiated integration outside the EU framework is prevalent. Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) would allow a group of member states to deepen cooperation within the treaty. To bring real added value, PESCO must be sufficiently ambitious and make the step from cooperation to effective integration in defence. The European Defence Fund proposed by the EC could function as a strong incentive to that end, if member states' contributions to it could be matched by the Commission's own contribution. PESCO implies a change of mind-set, from national defence planning and interests to common targets.

Transatlantic Academy

Wake up, Berlin! To save the Transatlantic Alliance, German foreign policy needs to change radically

by Yascha Mounk

February 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (14 p.)

Under the leadership of Donald Trump, the US can no longer be considered a reliable partner to Western Europe. This poses a particular problem to Germany, which has long relied on the US to ensure its defence. But while German foreign policymakers are starting to acknowledge the extent of the challenge, they have so far refused to rethink the strategic direction of their foreign and military policy. The best response to a situation of radical uncertainty, official Berlin has been saying, is to wait and see.

College of Europe

The EU advisory - Mission Ukraine: normative or strategic objectives?

by Marikki Rieppola

February 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (35 p.)

In December 2014, the EU deployed a Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) mission in Ukraine - EU Advisory Mission (EUAM). This paper examines to what extent EUAM has been successful from the EU's perspective. It does so by assessing to what extent the mission has achieved its (explicit) normative objectives and (implicit) strategic objectives. The paper argues that the mission has contributed to the EU's strategic objectives by shaping the milieu in Ukraine but it has been less successful in advancing the EU's normative objectives.

Ulkopoliittinen instituutti (Finnish Institute of International Affairs)

NATO as a "Nuclear Alliance": background and contemporary issues

by Leo Michel

February 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (23 p.)

For more than two decades following the end of Cold War, NATO pursued steps to reduce the role of nuclear weapons in its deterrence and collective defence strategy. It also sought to allay stated Russian concerns in the mid-1990s about possible changes in its nuclear posture related to the accession of new members in East and Central Europe. In recent years, however, various forms of "nuclear saber rattling" by the Russian Federation have prompted NATO to focus new attention on nuclear issues. This new attention is part of NATO's broader effort, which relies mainly on non-nuclear capabilities and changes to NATO's conventional force posture in northern Europe, to accomplish its deterrence and collective defence objectives.

FROM TTR 45 - APRIL 2017

Istituto Affari Internazionali

Differentiated integration: a way forward for Europe

by Nicoletta Pirozzi [@NicolePirozzi](#), Pier Domenico Tortola and Lorenzo Vai [@lorenzovai](#)

March 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (24 p.)

The idea of differentiated integration has gained ground within the pro-EU camp, by which some member states can move forward in selected policy areas, possibly involving the remaining countries at a later stage. This paper outlines five broad questions and corresponding guiding principles for differentiation and then apply them to three policy macro-areas: economic governance, defence and freedom security and justice.

Nederlands Instituut voor Internationale Betrekkingen - Clingendael (Netherlands Institute of International Relations)

From EU strategy to Defence series - European defence: action and commitment

by Margriet Drent [@DrentMargriet](#) and Dick Zandee

March 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (11 p.)

The worsening security environment and increasing pressure of the US under Trump ask for a great jump forward in European defence cooperation. The EU Global Strategy of June 2016 provides direction, but what will really count is its implementation. The European Commission is willing to invest in defence research and military capabilities, but this raises questions about the responsibilities of the EU institutions and the member states who own and deploy military forces. At the same time, EU funding might attract capitals to collaborate more. It can help to increase commitment of member states to solving European shortfalls.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

The new NATO-Russia military balance: implications for European security

by Richard Sokolsky

13 March 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (19 p.)

Twenty-five years after the end of the Cold War, the military balance between NATO and Russia, after years of inattention, has again become the focus of intense concern and even alarm in some Western quarters.

Policy Exchange

The UK and the Western alliance: NATO in the new era of realpolitik

by John Bew [@JohnBew](#) and Gabriel Elefteriu [@GElefteriu](#)

March 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (15 p.)

The paper argues that current events, from Russian aggression to the EU's internal politics, mean that NATO is weakening at a time when security challenges are growing. The authors argue that NATO needs a new Strategic Concept, which must go back to first principles and consider the future of the Western Alliance against the backdrop of instability in the Middle East and North Africa, the rising power of Asia and a resurgent Russia.

Zentrum für Europäische Integrationsforschung (Center for European Integration Studies)

Revolutionäre Ereignisse und geoökonomisch-strategische Ergebnisse: Die EU- und NATO-"Osterweiterungen" 1989-2015 im Vergleich

by Michael Gehler

March 2017

Link to the article in [German](#) (90 p.)

Michael Gorbachev's policy of reforms, the revolutions in Central and Eastern Europe, and the breakdown of the Soviet Union opened the door and paved the way for the Eastern enlargement of both the EU and NATO. In spite of Western security policy, Russian countermeasures could be taken for granted, causing the continuous potential for conflicts and threats of war in certain areas of Europe. Therefore, the question may be raised as to whether there had been missed opportunities before for avoiding these aggressions by binding Russia closer to the EU earlier on.

FROM TTR 46 - MAY 2017

Friends of Europe

Crunch time – France and the future of European defence

by Paul Taylor

April 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (174 p.)

This study takes a comprehensive, whole-of-government and whole-of-society approach to the topic of security. It is divided into four chapters which cover, for example, the French defense cooperation and defense industry, the Islamist nexus as well as challenges related to cybersecurity. It also includes a comprehensive take on France's strategic options under the new presidency: will France become a lone ranger, or will it take the lead in developing the European pillar of NATO?

Rahvusvaheline Kaitseuringute Keskus (International Centre for Defence Studies)

NORDEFECO: "Love in a cold climate"?

by Pauli Järvenpää [@PauliJarvenpaa](#)

3 April 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (17 p.)

Nordic Defence Cooperation, or NORDEFECO, is a comprehensive framework of political and military cooperation, through which the five Nordic countries, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden, seek to enhance their operational capabilities and further strengthen national and regional stability and security. This paper provides a review of what has been done under the auspices of NORDEFECO. It attempts to answer the questions of how NORDEFECO has evolved, what kinds of activities it includes today, and what it could morph into in the future.

FROM TTR 47 - JUNE 2017

Pew Research Center

NATO's image improves on both sides of Atlantic

by Bruce Stokes [@bruceestokes](#)

23 May 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (17 p.)

In both North America and Europe, views of NATO have generally improved over the past year. Today, roughly six-in-ten Americans hold a favourable opinion of the security alliance, up from just over half in 2016, according to this Pew Research Center survey. Majority support for NATO has also strengthened in Canada, Germany, the Netherlands and Poland. And after a steep decline a year ago, most French again express a favorable view of the security alliance.

Rahvusvaheline Kaitseuringute Keskus (International Centre for Defence Studies)

A new era of EU-NATO cooperation - How to make the best of a marriage of necessity

by Kristi Raik and Pauli Järvenpää [@PauliJarvenpaa](#)

12 May 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (30 p.)

This report examines the challenges and opportunities for EU-NATO cooperation in the fields of defense and security. The challenges confronting both the EU and NATO today are severe and complex, including terrorism, refugee and migration crises, hybrid threats, cyber-attacks, and a Russia willing to break international law and other treaties and agreements, thus undermining the post-World War II international order. The importance of EU-NATO cooperation, based on shared values and interests, has become more critical than ever.

Boosting the deterrent effect of allied enhanced forward presence

by Jüri Luik [@juri_luik](#) and Henrik Praks [@HenrikPraks](#)

12 May 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (17 p.)

At the Warsaw Summit in July 2016, NATO allies decided to establish an enhanced forward presence on the territory of the Baltic states and Poland "to unambiguously demonstrate, as part of our overall posture, Allies' solidarity, determination, and ability to act by triggering an immediate Allied response to any aggression". The implementation of this historic decision has now resulted in the first-ever stationing of combat-ready troops from other Allied nations in the Baltic region.

FROM TTR 48 - JULY 2017

Foundation for European Progressive Studies

Better, faster, stronger, together: 10 guidelines of reflection for a progressive European security and defence policy

by Vassilis Ntousas

June 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (9 p.)

Over the past years, Europe has experienced a much higher degree of fluidity and rancour than in the past few decades. From the spectacular renaissance of geopolitics and great power antagonism, the persistence of exacerbating human tragedies in the Middle East and elsewhere, the profound alteration of behavioural patterns of regional cooperation and enmity, the rise in illiberalism, extremism, and nationalism, the EU is now facing a security environment of considerable complexity and cascading risks.

Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (German Institute for International and Security Affairs)

The new 'Europe of security': elements for a European white paper on security and defence

by Annegret Bendiek

June 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.)

The main topics of the Estonian Presidency in 2017 are digitalization and "a safe and secure Europe". It can also make use of a wide-open window of opportunity, since the governments of the EU Member States are now very willing to consider deepening European foreign and security policy. The issue of security has also been a constant concern for the Commission since the beginning of its term. Politics and society support a 'Europe of Security' based on three projects of current European policy: a security union, a defence union and close cooperation between NATO and the EU. All three should be given a shared strategic vision in an overarching white paper.

German Marshall Fund of the United States

Will Europe's defense momentum lead to anything?

by Alexandra de Hoop Scheffer and Martin Quencez

26 June 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (10 p.)

According to Federica Mogherini, more has happened in ten months than in ten years for European defence. The cultural change in Brussels is indeed undeniable, as several concrete instruments have been recently delivered to create an incentive for Member States to cooperate, and many taboos about defence have been lifted. However, the institutional momentum should not overshadow the political and strategic visions that continue to divide European powers on the concrete use of these new tools and the final purposes of European defence.

Transatlantic Academy / German Marshall Fund of the United States

The renewal of the Russian challenge in European security: history as a guide to policy

by Mary Elise Sarotte

5 June 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (18 p.)

This paper argues that, to understand and deal with the renewal of the Russian challenge to European security today, it is necessary to re-examine the legacy of the end of the Cold War.

Drawing on the author's historical scholarship, it argues that during the upheaval of 1989-1991, US and West German leaders worked closely together to ensure that NATO, and not any of the proposed pan-European alternatives, would be the bedrock of post-Cold War European security.

Rahvusvaheline Kaitseuringute Keskus (International Centre for Defence Studies)

A new era of EU-NATO cooperation: how to make the best of a marriage of necessity

by Kristi Raik and Pauli Järvenpää

June 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (30 p.)

The challenges confronting both the EU and NATO today are severe and complex: e.g. terrorism, refugee and migration crisis, hybrid and cyber threats, and a Russia willing to break international law and other treaties and agreements, thus undermining the post-World War II international order. This report argues that the importance of EU-NATO cooperation, based on shared values and interests, has become more critical than ever. Hence, the report seeks to identify and analyse the most crucial and promising areas of cooperation between the EU and NATO.

FROM TTR 49 - SEPTEMBER 2017

Rahvusvaheline Kaitseuringute Keskus (International Centre for Defence Studies)

Building capacity for the EU global strategy

by Tony Lawrence, Henrik Praks [@HenrikPraks](#) and Pauli Järvenpää

June 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (17 p.) and to the [report](#) (37 p.)

The policy paper discusses some of the issues related to further building the EU's defence dimension, with a focus on the generation and sustainment of the political will necessary for collaborative military capability development. The report provides more background and argument to support the ideas set out in the policy paper.

Istituto Affari Internazionali

Defence budget and industry

by Paola Sartori [@SartoriPal](#) and Giovanni Finarelli Baldassarre

July 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (14 p.) and in [Italian](#) (15 p.)

This infographic provides an overview of defence budgets from the main European countries, the European aerospace, and security and defence industries. The authors draw specific attention to the Italian defence expenditure, Italian participation to international missions, industrial cooperation and Italian exports in the defence field.

Projecting stability in NATO's southern neighbourhood

by Margherita Bianchi [@marghebianchi](#), Guillaume Lasconjarias and Alessandro Marrone [@Alessandro_Ma](#)

July 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (12 p.) and in [Italian](#) (21 p.)

The Arab Spring led to a collapse of order in the Mediterranean, negatively affecting the balance between NATO's internal and external security. Instability in NATO's southern neighbourhood is linked to the terrorist threat and the migration crisis affecting Europe. NATO is active in the region: capacity-building in Jordan and Tunisia, the security operation Sea Guardian in the Mediterranean Sea, and the creation of a hub to coordinate intelligence, counter terrorism and defence capacity building activities. NATO should address two linked instability factors: regional powers which use force to protect their interests, and the lack of state control in certain countries because of civil war.

Real Instituto Elcano (Elcano Royal Institute)

Hacia una ley de financiación de la defensa en España

by Carlos Calvo and Antonio Fonfría

4 July 2017

Link to the article in [Spanish](#) (10 p.)

Spain needs a law on the financing of the national defence in order to meet its military needs to cover outstanding programmes, industrial policy and implement fiscal orthodoxy required by the Constitutional Court and the Court of Auditors.

Institut français des relations internationales

The future of British defence policy

by Andrew Dorman

June 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (60 p.)

As the prospect of the UK leaving the EU raises increasing challenges to its international position; the future of British defence policy seems more uncertain than ever. The UK bears the legacy of a solid and reliable defence and security apparatus. However, political and budgetary hesitations have cast doubts on its strategic outlook.

Nederlands Instituut voor Internationale Betrekkingen - Clingendael (Netherlands Institute of International Relations)

European defence: how to engage the UK after Brexit?

by Anne Bakker, Margriet Drent [@DrentMargriet](#) and Dick Zandee

July 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (27 p.)

This report discusses the implications of Brexit for European defence and the CSDP. Firstly it analyses the UK's contribution to EU defence in general terms, exploring what contributions Great Britain has made to EU missions and operations. Secondly the authors look into the future relationship between the EU and the UK in terms of defence cooperation and question what models of partnership are possible. Finally, this report will discuss how Brexit will affect the UK's defence role in Europe - asking to what extent will Brexit result in a different role for the UK in NATO.

Notre Europe - Jacques Delors Institute

France and Germany: spearheading a European security and defence union?

by Nicole Koenig [@Nic_Koenig](#) and Marie Walter-Franke [@MWalterFranke](#)

19 July 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (18 p.)

Despite a joint vision of France and Germany on a European Security and Defence Union, only cautious steps have been taken so far. This paper advocates incremental steps towards a more ambitious European Security and Defence Union.

Ośrodek Studiów Wschodnich (Centre for Eastern Studies)

The multi-speed Baltic States. Reinforcing the defence capabilities of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia

by Piotr Szymański

16 August 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (23 p.) and in [Polish](#) (22 p.)

The Baltic states are often viewed by the west and Russia as a single region. However, the different economic and demographic potentials, strategic cultures and geographic location result in differences in their defence solutions. Estonia is devoted to a conscript-based army with a significant reserve force, Latvia is developing professional army with a small reserve, and Lithuania has decided to combine the two models.

Polski Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych (Polish Institute of International Affairs)

Adapting NATO's conventional force posture in the Nordic-Baltic region

by Artur Kacprzyk [@ArturKacprzyk](#) and Karsten Friis [@KaFriis](#)

August 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (10 p.)

The security of NATO members in the Nordic-Baltic region is interconnected by possible geographical escalation, the importance of securing the north Atlantic for US reinforcement of Europe, and the role of cooperation with NATO partners Sweden and Finland. Russia's hostile actions against its neighbours, aggressive stance towards the West, and hardening of military presence on NATO's flanks have led to concern from NATO members in the area. Should Russia be successful, this would radically reshape the Euro-Atlantic security landscape. However, NATO is in a good position for coherent adaptation in the Nordic-Baltic region.

FROM TTR 50 - OCTOBER 2017

Notre Europe - Jacques Delors Institute

The EU as a 3-D power: should Europe spend more on diplomacy, development and defence?

by Nicole Koenig [@Nic_Koenig](#) and Jörg Haas [@jorg_haas](#)

14 September 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (16 p.)

In international security affairs, the EU often presents itself as a champion of the comprehensive approach with the ability to combine a broad range of civilian and military instruments and policies. Focusing on the policy areas of diplomacy, development and defence, the authors analyse how much the EU Member States currently invest in their collective comprehensive power and whether and how they could do more. It is based on recent Member States expenditure data on the one hand, and analyses estimating the efficiency gains stemming from European cooperation on the other.

Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (German Institute for International and Security Affairs)

A paradigm shift in the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy: from transformation to resilience

by Annegret Bendiek [@annegretbendiek](#)

September 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (30 p.) and in [German](#) (33 p.)

The EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) is thriving. To the great surprise of many observers, there has been a strong increase in the conceptual and practical activity of the CFSP over the past few months, comparable only to its revival after the Kosovo crisis. How can we explain this renaissance of a policy area that was assumed dead? What legal and political dynamics have contributed to its revival?

EU defence policy needs strategy: time for political examination of the CSDP's reform objectives

by Rosa Beckmann and Ronja Kempin [@RonjaKempin](#)

September 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (4 p.) and in [German](#) (4 p.)

Tectonic shifts in the geopolitical environment and within the EU itself have led the Member States and the Commission to launch a string of initiatives seeking to expand the EU's strategic autonomy in security and defence. These efforts can only be sustainable if the projects involved are placed on a long-term footing and a process of reflection about the orientation of the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). Year two of EU Global Strategy (EUGS) implementation should be used to initiate steps in that direction.

Ambitious framework nation: Germany in NATO - Bundeswehr capability planning and the "Framework Nations Concept"

by Rainer L. Glatz and Martin Zapfe [@martinzapfe](#)

September 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.) and in [German](#) (8 p.)

This article analyses the future German government's plan for security and defense: a stronger German role within NATO and increasing military capabilities in order to become the backbone of the European defence together with the British and French armed forces.

Institut de relations internationales et stratégiques

How to make PeSCo a success

by Olivier de France [@olivierdefrance](#), Claudia Major [@ClaudMajor](#) and Paola Sartori [@SartoriPal](#)
September 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (16 p.)

The EU has been debating means of fostering defence cooperation for years, with little palpable results. Is it to be different this time with the introduction of the 'Permanent Structured Cooperation' (PESCO)? The current discussion has focused on the institutional set up, and has overlooked the more political questions. What is it for? What incentive can the EU offer Member States to bind themselves into mutual dependence? What is the added value? The sovereignty question is the elephant in the room here. Do Member States give up what they perceive as core interest so far: the autonomy of decision making on the national level on military and defence industrial affairs?

FROM TTR 51 - NOVEMBER 2017

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

New impetus for a strong and sustainable European Union

by Hans-Gert Pöttering

11 October 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (24 p.)

The EU is facing multiple challenges. Indeed, the European Union's Single Market needs to be further developed and the eurozone must become more stable. Likewise, far-reaching reforms in the areas of security and defence are needed. Last but not least, the relationships with our neighbours and new kinds of cooperation have to be promoted. This paper seeks to show potential steps to reach these objectives.

Nederlands Instituut voor Internationale Betrekkingen - Clingendael (Netherlands Institute of International Relations)

Developing European defence capabilities - Bringing order into disorder

by Dick Zandee

October 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (23 p.)

Last year the European Commission proposed a European Defence Fund for allocating money from the EU budget to the defence. However, EU financing of defence research and the development of equipment raises issues in terms of governance. How does one ensure that the money is spent on European military capability needs? To add to the complexities: later this year the Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) will be launched in the area of security and defence. The report will question how the various institutions involved in European capability development can be brought together in a governance framework, without changing existing intergovernmental and communitarian responsibilities as defined in the EU Treaties.

European Political Strategy Centre

The defence-security nexus - towards an EU collective security

18 October 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (7 p.)

From the proliferation of terrorism in European cities to the use of cyberattacks to disrupt critical infrastructures and destabilise democracies, modern-day threats stem both from within the EU's borders and outside, challenging the traditional boundaries of security and defence. The increasing versatility and cross-border nature of these threats mean that the EU has a unique added value in providing Europeans with a stronger collective security. Although some progress towards a more joined-up approach to defence and security has already been made, the scale and versatility of the challenges warrant more forward-looking and ambitious measures.

Egmont – Royal Institute for International Relations

European Defence: what's in the CARDS for PESCO?

by Sven Biscop

19 October 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (6 p.)

The article addresses the new developments in European defence policy with the upcoming launch of the Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO), the Coordinated Annual Review on Defence (CARD), and the European Defence Fund (EDF).

German Marshall Fund of the United States

Can France and Germany make PESCO work as a process toward EU defence?

by Alice Billon-Galland [@AliceBillon](#) and Martin Quencez

6 October 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.)

Following the development of several new initiatives, European defence cooperation is once again a hot topic. It now lies in the hands of the Member States to deliver. France and Germany are leading the process to implement PESCO, proposing a phased approach toward capability and operational commitments as a way to increase Europe's general defence effort. Yet, many practical challenges remain on the way to a successful PESCO, it will primarily depend on France and Germany's ability to address short-term technical issues, such as the definition of ambitious projects and the monitoring of the countries' commitments, and to focus on the concrete military effects of this initiative.

Jacques Delors Institut - Berlin

Strengthening European defence: who sits at the PESCO table, what's on the menu?

by Elvire Fabry [@elvirefabry](#), Nicole Koenig [@Nic_Koenig](#) and Thomas Pellerin-Carlin

20 October 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (4 p.)

The military capacity of European states is plagued by 20 years of under-investment, fragmentation and national short-sightedness. While previous attempts at launching Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) in defence failed due to the difficulty of defining who could join the club, a deal is now within reach. Europeans should strike a balance between inclusiveness and ambition, which will set the table for the next decade of European defence cooperation.

Külügyi és Külgazdasági Intézet (Institute for Foreign Affairs and Trade)

Towards European strategic autonomy? Evaluating the new CSDP initiatives

by Gergely Varga

3 October 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (24 p.)

As a result of the deteriorating security environment of Europe, the debate about deepening defence cooperation in the EU has intensified. The initiatives reflecting the EU's recent efforts to boost cooperation are reflected by such initiatives: the EU Global Strategy, PESCO, CARD and the European Defence Fund. The paper argues that these initiatives jointly could provide the basis for establishing the European strategic autonomy. However, since reaching unanimity on many of the crucial questions seems far-fetched, flexibility is indispensable in establishing the proper political and institutional arrangements of the new frameworks of European defence cooperation.

European Policy Centre

After Brexit: prospects for UK-EU cooperation on foreign and security policy

by Fraser Cameron [@FraserMCCameron](#)

30 October 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (4 p.)

Both the UK and the EU want to continue cooperating closely with one another on defence and security issues. But how this 'close relationship' will change after Brexit? This brief tries to answer this question, presenting different options for the future.

Istituto Affari Internazionali

The future of EU Defence: a European space, data and cyber agency?

by Jean-Pierre Darnis [@jpdarnis](#)

October 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (5 p.)

When it comes to the use of military forces, it is difficult to bypass the views of Member States. This is not only a legal issue related to the individual Member States versus those of the communitarian Union, but rather an issue of democratic control. The article explores the two kinds of risks emerging when considering military affairs in Europe. The first is to support countries pushing for a full use of force. The second is to limit EU defence capabilities and exposure to a minimum. To fully grasp the future of EU defence, Darnis maps the investments made such as the [Galileo](#) system and the [GovSatcom](#) programme (data transmission) and furthermore advises that the EU could also support the development of a "space, data and cyber defence agency".

GLOBSEC Policy Institute

Future war NATO? From hybrid war to hyper war via cyber war

by John Allen, Philip M. Breedlove [@PMBreedlove](#), Julian Lindley-French [@Frenclindley](#) and George Zambellas [@ZambellasGeorge](#)

20 October 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (22 p.)

This paper addresses NATO strategy in future war. It is built around two scenarios: one in which the Alliance is defeated because it did not prepare for future war; and another in which the Alliance prevails because it did. The paper calls for the crafting of a NATO Future War Strategy that would convince Moscow that under no circumstances would the threshold to war be so low as to make it imaginable, whilst also suggesting that a NATO Future War Strategic Concept must be crafted to quickly establish a twenty-first century deterrence and defence, and forge the intelligent use of hard power with the smart use of technologies.

NATO procurement and modernisation: towards an innovative alliance with much more deployable combat capability

by Michael O'Hanlon [@MichaelEOHanlon](#)

15 October 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (14 p.)

This paper takes a somewhat different approach than many critiques of European military efficiency. The author argues that European NATO nations can roughly double their power-projection capabilities from today's total of 60.000 troops to approach 125.000 - should they focus on logistics, transport, and enablers in their resource allocation decisions. Doing so might require that they contribute an additional \$10 billion to \$20 billion a year, over several years. This approach would make NATO burden sharing more equitable and support western defence

capability at a time of growing global security challenges from Russia, China, North Korea, and the Middle East.

Instituto Español de Estudios Estratégicos

El concepto de resiliencia en la OTAN y en la UE: espacio para la cooperación

by José Luis Pontijas Calderón

31 October 2017

Link to the article in [Spanish](#) (14 p.)

Resilience is a ubiquitous concept nowadays in NATO and the EU. Both approaches might seem divergent due to the fact that NATO emphasises that resilience must ensure the efficient employment of its military forces during operations, while the EU's approach is more ample, taking into consideration the whole civil society. However, both are complementary and there is room for cooperation, which would benefit both organisations.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

NATO's Eastern flank and its future relationship with Russia

by Judy Dempsey [@Judy_Dempsey](#)

23 October 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (28 p.)

The article deals with the process of strengthening NATO's Eastern flank after Russia's annexation of Crimea and its invasion of eastern Ukraine. The author argues that this process is still ongoing and, to reach completion, it requires a comprehensive, long-term strategy toward Russia based on unity, deterrence, and resilience is necessary.

Institute for National Security Studies

The S-400 deal: Russia drives another wedge between Turkey and its NATO allies

by Gallia Lindenstrauss [@GLindenstrauss](#) and Zvi Magen

18 October 2017

Link to the article in [English](#) (4 p.)

The recent statement by Turkish President Erdogan that Ankara had made an advance payment to Russia for the purchase of two S-400 air defence batteries, combined with Russia's confirmation of this report, constitutes a significant development that adds to the question marks about Turkey's future in NATO. While many believe that Turkey will remain a NATO member for the foreseeable future, they note at the same time that Turkey is a problematic member of the alliance that is already suffering from quite a few internal tensions.