

Contents

<i>List of Tables</i>	xiv
<i>Also by Robert Self</i>	xv
1 Making defence policy in contemporary Britain	1
<i>Understanding the who, how and why: the objectives of this study</i>	6
<i>Defence policy-making and 'the science of muddling through'</i>	7
<i>A word about terminology: the scope of 'external', 'security' and 'defence' policy</i>	8
2 The diplomatic and economic context for defence policy-making	12
<i>The international dimension and the Anglo-American 'special relationship'</i>	12
<i>Anglo-American relations since 1945: a cost-benefit analysis</i>	13
<i>Assessing Britain's value to US policy and influence</i>	17
<i>'Special relationships': a sectoral perspective</i>	19
<i>The cost of British defence policy and the burden of financial constraints</i>	20
<i>Conflicting interpretations: economic decline or strategic readjustment?</i>	23
<i>Adjusting to harsh realities? Defence reviews and Britain's security since 1945</i>	24
<i>'New Labour', the Strategic Defence Review and its successors, 1998–2010</i>	26
<i>The Strategic Defence and Security Reviews, October 2010 and November 2015</i>	26
<i>Johnson's Integrated Review, March 2021</i>	28
3 The Ministry of Defence in transition	33
<i>The emergence of a functionally organised defence ministry in Britain</i>	33

<i>Mountbatten and the 1964 reforms</i>	35
<i>Denis Healey, Lord Carrington and the consolidation of the MoD, 1964–74</i>	36
<i>The Thatcherite agenda and the onward march of ‘radical reformism’</i>	38
<i>The shifting boundaries of the public–private divide</i>	39
<i>The Private Finance Initiative and Public–Private Partnerships</i>	41
<i>Doubts about the value and competence of private sector suppliers</i>	44
<i>The rise of Private Military Companies and the ‘contractorisation’ of war-fighting</i>	46
<i>The Ministry of Defence today: a modern super-department</i>	48

4 The Prime Minister and the ‘central direction of defence’ 53

<i>The emergence of the dominant Prime Minister within the defence policy arena</i>	53
<i>A British presidency? The Prime Minister and defence policy</i>	54
<i>The strategic core and the defence policy-making triumvirate</i>	57
<i>Prime Ministerial resources in the defence policy arena</i>	58
<i>The Prime Minister and external policy-making after Major</i>	61
<i>Defence under three Conservative Prime Ministers, 2010–21</i>	64
<i>Prime Ministers, Defence Secretaries and the importance of the ‘personal’</i>	67
<i>Blair, Brown and relations with New Labour Defence Secretaries</i>	69
<i>The Defence Secretary under Cameron, May and Johnson</i>	71

5 Cabinet government and defence policy 77

<i>Defence policy-making and the ‘decline’ of Cabinet government</i>	77
<i>Cabinet government and the indictment against Thatcher and Blair</i>	79
<i>Cabinet exclusion from policy-making on nuclear weapons</i>	82
<i>The Defence and Overseas Policy Committee and COBRA</i>	84
<i>The Cameron coalition and the National Security Council</i>	85
<i>War Cabinets, military emergencies and crisis management</i>	88

6 The Defence Secretary and their department 97

<i>The position of the Secretary of State for Defence</i>	97
<i>The Defence Secretary and Department’s dual functional structure</i>	98
<i>The Defence Board, the Chiefs of Staff Committee and the bureaucratic structure</i>	101
<i>A matter of trust: the breakdown of the minister–civil servant relationship?</i>	102

<i>A typology of ministerial role perceptions and policy-making styles:</i>	
<i>policy selectors</i>	106
<i>'Policy legitimaters', 'ministerial minimalists' and 'passengers' at the MoD</i>	108
<i>Constraints upon ministerial policy-making: ministerial turnover</i>	110
<i>Ministerial policy-making and the 'departmental view'</i>	111
<i>Departmental officials control of the minister's workload</i>	112
<i>The structural imbalance between ministerial leadership and civil service support</i>	114
<i>Minister-official relationships: an overview</i>	114
7 Departmental politics within the Whitehall village	118
<i>The MoD and the perils of 'Departmentalitis'</i>	118
<i>MoD relations with the Foreign Office over trade promotion and arms exports</i>	120
<i>MoD relations with the Foreign Office over other external policy areas</i>	121
<i>Department for International Development: the unloved cuckoo in the Whitehall nest</i>	125
<i>Attacking departmentalism in external policy: the 'Comprehensive Approach'</i>	132
8 The Treasury and financial control in an age of austerity	139
<i>The Treasury and financial control over the MoD</i>	139
<i>Dirty work – but somebody has got to do it: the politics of public expenditure control</i>	141
<i>Explaining Treasury mistrust of the 'recidivist over-spenders' at the MoD</i>	146
<i>'Telling fibs' and 'cooking the books' at MoD Main Building</i>	150
<i>Attempting to exercise Treasury control over the MoD</i>	151
<i>The limits of Treasury's control over defence expenditure</i>	153
9 Civil-military relations in Britain	159
<i>Who will guard the guards? Democratic control over military power</i>	159
<i>The doctrine of civil supremacy in theory and practice</i>	160
<i>The gulf between civilian and military mindsets – and why this matters</i>	163
<i>Crossing the constitutional line: the sound of dragging feet and covert leaks</i>	165
<i>Knowledge is power and the growth in unattributable leaking</i>	167

<i>Civil–military tensions within the MoD</i>	169
<i>The Blair governments and relations with the Service Chiefs</i>	170
<i>Gordon Brown and civil–military relations at their nadir</i>	171
<i>David Cameron, Theresa May, Boris Johnson and the military</i>	174
<i>The problem of inter-Service rivalry: a self-destructive military tradition?</i>	175

10 The Armed Forces, the judiciary and the fear of legal encirclement 182

<i>Soldiering in a different world: the Northern Ireland ‘Troubles’ in the 1970s</i>	183
<i>The defence community and the extension of civilian rights to the military</i>	185
<i>Attacking discrimination on grounds of gender, race and sexual orientation</i>	186
<i>Responding to the problems of bullying and harassment</i>	187
<i>The role of the Service Complaints Commissioner</i>	190
<i>The military in the dock: the right to sue the MoD for negligence</i>	191
<i>British troops and IHAT: guilty until proven innocent?</i>	192
<i>Personal culpability, war crimes and international agreement on the Laws of War</i>	195
<i>Jack Straw, MI6 and Britain’s complicity in extraordinary rendition and torture</i>	197
<i>International law as a constraint upon military effectiveness</i>	198
<i>The MoD, and to the challenge of ‘judicialisation’</i>	199

11 The influence of Parliament over defence policy 204

<i>Parliamentary influence over the executive and its policy</i>	204
<i>The floor of the House: parliamentary debates and ministerial questions</i>	205
<i>Structural reform: select committees, scrutiny and accountability at the MoD</i>	206
<i>Criticisms of the departmental select committee reforms</i>	209
<i>Behavioural changes in the voting lobbies: Defence and the rise of backbench dissension</i>	210
<i>Blair and the legacy of Iraq: towards a British War Powers Act?</i>	211
<i>David Cameron, Parliament and the quest for military intervention in Syria</i>	212
<i>The Intelligence and Security Committee</i>	214
<i>Expanding the remit of the Defence Select Committee</i>	217

12 Political parties, pressure groups and public opinion	224
<i>Electoral politics and the defence question</i>	224
<i>The torments of Jeremy Corbyn: Trident, Syrian intervention and the consensus</i>	226
<i>The sub-sectoral electoral impact of defence policy</i>	228
<i>A post-war consensus on external policy?</i>	229
<i>Inter-party competition and conflicting party imagery</i>	231
<i>The SNP's non-nuclear defence policy and its implications for UK security</i>	233
<i>The spectrum of public opinion: a more sceptical and less deferential public</i>	234
<i>The significance of 'attentive publics' and 'defence intellectuals' in Britain</i>	235
<i>Public opinion as a constraint upon government external policy</i>	237
<i>The political and military response to public attitudes</i>	238
<i>What does the public want from defence policy?</i>	239
<i>Pluralism, pressure groups and the MoD 'policy community'</i>	241
<i>The Ministry of Defence and the defence industry: the background</i>	242
<i>The British version of the military-industrial complex</i>	243
<i>The rise of the 'revolving door' and the professional lobbyist</i>	244
13 Conclusion: Continuity and change since 1945	250
<i>Facing new challenges – and some of the old ones</i>	250
<i>Continuity in the institutional framework of defence policy-making</i>	252
<i>Britain's position in the world – the more that changes, the more that stays the same</i>	253
 <i>Appendix 1 Ministers, Permanent Undersecretaries and Chiefs of Defence Staff at the Ministry of Defence since 1946</i>	 256
 <i>Bibliography</i>	 259
<i>Index with dramatis personae and abbreviations</i>	277