

## Publications

### Books

*European Security after Iraq*, (ed. with Norrie Macqueen), Leiden, Brill, 2006

*Socializing Democratic Norms: The Role of International Organizations for the Construction of Europe* (ed), Houndmills, Palgrave, 2005, 278 pages.

*From Vision to Reality, Implementing the New European Security Order*, Trine Flockhart ed., Boulder, Westview Press, 1998, 228 pages

*The Two Faces of Consensus; a Study of Alliance and Domestic Consensus in NATO's INF Policy*, PhD Thesis, University of East Anglia, 1991. 410 pages.

### Journal Articles

'From a Practice of "talking" to a Practice of "doing": NATO and Sources of Change' Accepted for publication in *International Politics*

'"Me Tarzan – You Jane": The EU and NATO and the (Re-)construction of Roles', *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, 12(3), pp. 263-282, 2011

'Europeanization or EU-ization? The Transfer of European Norms across Time and Space', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 48(4), 2010, pp.787-810

Review of "NATO, security and risk management: From Kosovo to Kandahar" by Michael J Williams and "Why NATO Endures" by Wallace Thies in *International Affairs*, vol. 86(3), 2010, pp. 769-771.

Danmark, forsvarsforbeholdet og danske kerneværdier – foregangsland eller forbeholdsland? *Økonomi og Politik*, vol.81(3), 2008, pp. 44–53

'Similar and yet so Different: The Socialization of Democratic Norms in Post-war Germany and Post-War Iraq', *International Politics*, vol. 43, 2006, pp. 596-619

'Complex Socialization': A framework for the study of state socialization'. *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 12(1), 2006, pp.89- 118

Europeanization: the myths and the facts', *Public Policy Research*, vol. 13, 2, 2006, pp. 86– 91

'Critical Junctures and Social Identity Theory: Denmark's Euro-friendly elite and Euro-skeptical Mass Explained' *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 43(2), 2005, pp. 251-71

'Langs med ideernes hovedveje': Demokratiets udbredelse gennem globalisering og europæisering' *GRUS*, no 78, 2005, pp. 79 – 109

'A Mission Bound to Fail?: The United States as Socializer of Democratic Norms in Post-War Iraq' *Seton Hall Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations*, vol.6(1), 2005, pp. 1-16

'Masters and Novices', Socialization and Social Learning in NATO's Parliamentary Assembly', *International Relations*, vol. 18(3), 2004, pp. 361-80

'Trans-Atlantic Relations After the War in Iraq: Returning to – or Departing from- 'Normal Politics'', *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 5(3), 2004, pp.395-418

'Ideas - The Key to Comparing Apples with Oranges'. Commissioned review article for a symposium on M. Kelstrup & H. Branner, 'Denmark's Policy Towards Europe after 1945', *Cooperation and Conflict*, Vol. 37(1), pp.73-79, 2002,

'Democracy, Security and the Social Construction of Europe' *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, Vol. 2(1), 2001, pp.27 – 55

'Europæiseringen af sikkerhedspolitikken', *GRUS* nr. 55, 1998, pp. 67 - 83.

'The Dynamics of Expansion NATO, WEU, and EU' *European Security*, Vol. 5(2), 1996, p.p. 197 - 219

## Book Chapters

Constructivism and Foreign Policy forthcoming in Tim Dunne, Steve Smith and Amelia Hadfield *Foreign Policy*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012

'Nuclear Posture, Missile Defence and Arms Control – Towards Gradual but Fundamental Change' in Jens Ringsmose and Sten Rynning, *NATO's New Strategic Concept: A Comprehensive Assessment*, Copenhagen, DIIS, 2011:02.

'NATO and the (re-)constitution of roles: "self", "we" and "other"?' in Hanns W. Maull, Sebastian Harnich and Cornelia Frank, *Role Theory in International Relations*, London, Routledge, 2011.

'Europe' in Roger Kanet and Ed Kolodziej, *From Superpower to Besieged Global Power*, University of Georgia Press, 2008

'Trans-Atlantic Relations after the War in Iraq: Returning to – or Departing from- 'Normal Politics' in Trine Flockhart and Norrie MacQueen (eds) *European Security after Iraq*, Leiden, Brill, 2006.

'Socialization and Democratization: a Tenuous but Intriguing Link', in Trine Flockhart (ed.) *Socializing Democratic Norms*, Palgrave, pp. 1-21, 2005

'Complex Socialization and the Transfer of Democratic Norms', in Trine Flockhart (ed.) *Socializing Democratic Norms*, Palgrave, pp. 23 -43, 2005

'Europæisk sikkerhed i det 21. århundrede' *Rådet for europæisk politik*, nr. 3, 1999, pp. 21 – 35

'A Core Europe? The EU and the WEU' chapter co-written with W. Rees in W. Park & W. Rees eds, *Reconceptualising European Security*, London, Longmans, 1998, pp. 61 – 78

'Visions and Decisions: A New security Order' in Trine Flockhart (ed), *From Vision to Reality, Implementing the New European Security Order*, pp. 1-23, Westview Press, 1998

'Implementation: An Overlooked Aspect of Foreign Policy' in Trine Flockhart (ed). *From Vision to Reality, Implementing the New European Security Order*, pp. 23-43, Westview Press, 1998

'Implemented Vision – Envisioned reality' (with Ole Wæver) in Trine Flockhart (ed.), *From Vision to Reality, Implementing the New European Security Order*, pp. 181-207, Westview Press, 1998

'K. W. Deutsch' in S. Sim and Noel Parker (eds.), *The A-Z Guide to Modern Social and Political Theorists*, Hemel Hempstead, Harvester Wheatsheaf/Prentice Hall, 1997, pp. 53 – 57

'The North Atlantic Cooperation Council: New Chapter in European Security or Dead End for Diplomatic Ambition?' in J. De Wilde & H. Wiberg, *Organized Anarchy in Europe; The Role of States and Intergovernmental Organizations*, London, Tauris Academic Studies, 1996, pp. 147 -162

## Policy Papers

*After the Strategic Concept – Towards a NATO Version 3.0?* DIIS Report 2011:06, pp 52

<http://www.diis.dk/sw107256.asp>

*Hello Missile Defence – Goodbye Nuclear Sharing?*, The Norwegian Atlantic Committee, Security Brief 7-2010, pp 4,

<http://www.atlanterhavskomiteen.no/files/atlanterhavskomiteen.no/Documents/Publikasjoner/KortInfo/2010/kortinfo%207-2010.pdf>

*Riding the Tiger: China's Rise and the Liberal World Order*, (with Li Xing) DIIS Policy Brief, December, 2010, pp. 4, December 2010, <http://www.diis.dk/sw102645.asp>

*Hello Missile Defence – Goodbye Nuclear Sharing*, DIIS Policy Brief, pp. 4, November 2010,

<http://www.diis.dk/sw101797.asp>

*NATO's 60-års fødselsdag - En festlig dag i Kehl og Strasbourg?* DIIS Brief, March 2009,

<http://www.diis.dk/sw75627.asp>

*De danske forbehold overfor den Europæiske Union: Udviklingen siden 2000* (with Ian Manners et. al.) DIIS Book for the Danish Parliament, June 2008, 431 pages.

*'Topmødet i Bukarest – (næst) sidste chance for beslutning i NATO?'*, DIIS Brief, March 2008.

*'NATO and Global Partnerships – to be global or to act globally?'*, DIIS Report 2008/7, 2008, 34 pages (with Kristian Søby Kristensen), <http://www.diis.dk/sw54013.asp>

## Popular, Editorials and Newspaper articles

*'NATO and the EU – Towards a Constructive Relationship?'* in *Think Global Act European (TGAE)*, Notre Europe, June 2011, pp. 306-311. [http://www.notre-europe.eu/uploads/tx\\_publication/TGAE2011-web\\_01.pdf](http://www.notre-europe.eu/uploads/tx_publication/TGAE2011-web_01.pdf)

*'Missile defence and the transatlantic alliance'* Conference Report, Wilton Park, WP1075, March, 2011, <http://www.wiltonpark.org.uk/resources/en/pdf/22290903/2011/wp1075-report>

*'EU – den stille diplomat'* 'Debat' in *Information* 5-6 February, 2011

*'De sidste 200 atom raketter I Europa'*, *Ræson*, November, 2010

*'Nyt slagsmål om a-våben er undervejs'* 'Analyse' in *Politiken*, 14 October, 2010

*'NATO- en dynamisk eller forandringskræmt organisation?'*, *IPhorisont* in *IPMonopolet*, vol.2(7), December, 2009

*Stort ståhej om NATO – eller er det Anders Fogh Rasmussen?* *Indblik.Nu*, March, 2009

*NATO – en 60årig I krise?* *Indblik.NU*, September 2008

*'Demokratisk Peptalk'* 'Debat' in *Weekend Avisen* 2 November, 2007 (with Nadeem Irani)

*'Nationsbygning; Vi har ikke lært af historien'* 'Analyse' in *Politiken* 14 September, 2007 (with Søren Schmidt)

*'Når stater statsbygger er samtænkning og planlægning kun begyndelsen.'* 'Analyse' in *Politiken*. 7 July, 2007

*'NATO skal omdannes til en 'flyvefisk'*, 'Kronik' in *Jyllandsposten*, 9 January, 2007

*'Demokrati-melodien der blev væk'*, 'Kronik' in *Kristeligt Dagblad*, 6 January, 2007

*'Demokratisering af Iraq uden USA'* 'Kronik' in *Information* 26 May 2004

'Kosovo - den nye europæiske sikkerhedsarkitekturs fallit?' *NATO Nyt*, nr.3 November, 1999

'Fødselaren NACC', *NATO Nyt*, November, 1992

'Oui - Et Sikkerhedspolitisk Perspektiv' Kronik in *Information* 5 October, 1992

### **Working Papers and Discussion Papers**

*NATO and the Reconstruction of Roles*, DIIS Working Paper, February 2010

'*The Europeanization of Europe: The transfer of norms to Europe, in Europe and from Europe*', DIIS Working Paper, Paper no 2008/7, 39 pages

'*A New Transatlantic Relationship? European Responses to US Global Hegemony*' DIIS Working Paper no 2007/13, 21 pages

'*Uses and Abuses of Hegemony: Socialization of Democratic Norms in Post-War Germany and Post-War Iraq*' SPIRIT Discussion paper, NO 27/2004, 23 pages

'*Critical Junctures and Social Identity Theory: Explaining the Gap between Danish Mass and Elite Attitudes to Europeanization*' Series of Occasional Papers, 37, 2003, European Research Unit, Aalborg University, pp. 22 pages