Jolyon Howorth Curriculum Vitae

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2008-2013	Visiting Professor of Political Science and International Affairs	
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<u>University of Bath:</u>	(Department of European Studies)	
1991-date	Jean Monnet Professor <i>ad personam</i> of European Politics	
1985-2004	Professor of French Civilisation	
Luiss Guido Carli Un	iversity, Rome	
2009 (Summer)	Visiting Professor of European Studies	
Université de Paris II	I-Sorbonne Nouvelle (UFR Etudes Européennes)	
2007-2008	Visiting Professor of European Studies	
New York University	, Columbia University & New School University:	
2002 (Fall semester)	Consortium Visiting Professor of European Politics	
<u>Harvard University:</u>	(Center for European Studies):	
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1981/2; 83/4; 85;	Visiting Scholar	
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University of Washin 2001 (Spring)	gton, Seattle: Marshall-Monnet Scholar in Residence (European Union Center) Visiting Professor (Department of Political Science)	
Institut Français des F	<u>Relations Internationales (IFRI)</u> , Paris:	
2001-date	Senior Research Fellow in Strategic Studies	
1999-2000	Visiting Fellow - European Strategic Studies	
Western European Ur	nion, <i>Institute for Security Studies</i> , Paris:	
2000	Senior Visiting Research Fellow (May-June)	
University of North C	Carolina, Chapel Hill: (Department of Political Science)	
1998-2004	Adjunct Professor of Political Science	
University of Aston:	(Department of European Studies)	
1976-1985	Lecturer (1976-79); Senior Lecturer (1979-85)	
University of Wiscon	<u>sin, Madison:</u> (Department of History)	
1974-1975	Visiting Professor of European Social History	
Ecole des Hautes Etue	des Commerciales (HECJF) & Ecole des Affaires de Paris (EAP):	
1970-1976	Professeur	
University of Paris III	I <u>, Sorbonne Nouvelle</u> , (Institut du Monde Anglophone):	
1969-1976	Lecteur (1969-70); Maître Assistant (1970-76)	

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION:

1967-1971University of Reading (History)Ph.D.1963-1966University of Manchester (French Studies)B.A. Hons

RECOGNITION/HONOURS:

- Fellow: *Royal Society for the Arts* (UK)
- *Chevalier dans l'Ordre des Palmes Académiques* (France)
- Fellow: Institut Français d'Histoire Sociale (France)
- Scientific Advisory Committee, *European Institute of Public Administration*, Maastricht, (Netherlands)
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- Administrative Board: *Centre for Defence Studies*, MOD/Kings College, London (UK, 1994-2002)
- Advisory Board: *Institute of Contemporary European Studies*, European Business School, London (UK)
- Conseil Scientifique: *Institut de Recherche Stratégique de l'Ecole Militaire* (French Ministry of Defence)
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PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

- International Institute for Strategic Studies
- American Political Science Association
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RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS:

• <u>Books/Monographs</u>:

- Jolyon Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, London & New York, Palgrave, 2007, 336 pages (nominated for UACES prize for "Best Book on Europe 2008")
- Jolyon Howorth & John Keeler (eds.), *Defending Europe: The EU, NATO and the Quest for European Autonomy*, New York, Palgrave, 2003, xii+247 pages
- Jolyon Howorth, *European Integration and Defence: the Ultimate Challenge?* Paris, WEU, Institute for Security Studies, 2000, vi + 120 pages (*Chaillot Paper* No.43). (Also published in French as: *L'Intégration Européenne et la Défense: l'Ultime Défi*)
- Sue Wright, Linda Hantrais & Jolyon Howorth (eds), *Language, Politics and Society*, London, Multilingual Matters, 2000, 148 pages.
- Jolyon Howorth & Anand Menon (eds.), *The European Union and National Defence Policy*, London, Routledge, 1997, 212 pages.
- Mairi Maclean and Jolyon Howorth (eds), *Europeans on Europe: Transnational Visions of a New Continent*, London, Macmillan, 1992, (Foreword by Edgard Pisani), 226 pages (Runner up, European Information Agency awards for best publication on Europe, 1992).
- Jolyon Howorth & George Ross (eds), *Contemporary France 3: a review of interdisciplinary studies*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1989, 220 pages.
- Jolyon Howorth & George Ross (eds), *Contemporary France 2: a review of interdisciplinary studies*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1988, 206 pages.
- Jolyon Howorth & George Ross (eds), *Contemporary France: a review of interdisciplinary studies*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1987, 218 pages.

Jolyon Howorth & Patricia Chilton (eds.), *Defence and Dissent in Contemporary France*, London, Croom Helm, 1984, 264 pages.

- Jolyon Howorth, France: the Politics of Peace, London, Merlin, 1984, 105 pages.
- Jolyon Howorth, *Edouard Vaillant et la création de l'unité socialiste en France*, Paris, EDI/Syros, 1982 (préface de Madeleine Rebérioux) 380 pages.
- Jolyon Howorth & Philip Cerny (eds.), *Elites in France: origins, reproduction and power*, London, Pinter, 1981, 253 pages.
- Georges Haupt & Jolyon Howorth, *Edouard Vaillant, délégué au Bureau socialiste international, 1900-1915*, Milan, Feltrinelli, 1976, 91 pages.

• Journal/Yearbook/Series Articles:

"Still not pushing back: why the European Union is not balancing the United States", *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Vol. 56/5, October 2009 (with Anand Menon), pp.

"Why Europe Needs a Grand Strategy", Europe's World, No. 13, Autumn 2009, pp.

"A New Institutional Architecture for the Transatlantic Relationship?", *Europe Visions #5*, Eur-IFRI, Bruxelles, June 2009, 20 pages, available at: http://www.ifri.org/files/Europe_visions/EuropeVisions5_Howorth_final.pdf

"Sarkozy Year Two: a year of paradoxes", *Strategic Survey 2009*. International Institute for Strategic Studies, London (OUP, 2009), pp.

"Quelles avancées pour la Politique Européenne de Sécurité et de Défense?", in *Annuaire Français de Relations Internationales*, 2009, pp. 85-98

"Sarkozy and the 'American Mirage' or why Gaullist continuity will overshadow transcendence" in *European Political Science*, Vol. 8/3, September 2009

"EU Reforms wait on Ireland", Strategic Comment, Volume 15, Issue 12, March 2009

"The Case for an EU Grand Strategy", *Egmont Paper # 27*, published by Belgian Royal Institute for International Affairs, Brussels, January 2009, 38 pages (with Sven Biscop & Bastian Giegerich)

« L'élection présidentielle et la politique intérieure américaine: des reconfigurations tous azimuts? », *Politique Etrangère*, 2008/3, Septembre 2008, pp.497-509

"United States: What does the world expect of the 'indispensable nation'?", article in Special Issue of *Politique Etrangère* for 1st <u>World Policy Conference</u>, Evian, October 2008, pp. 11-23 (http://www.worldpolicyconference.com/)

"Une nouvelle pensée stratégique pour l'Europe ?", *Défense Nationale et Sécurité Collective*, Juillet 2008, 96-104.

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« Gordon Brown (enfin) au No.10: premiers pas vers une fin malheureuse? », *Ramses 2009: Rapport Annuel Mondial sur le Système Economique et les Stratégies*, Paris, IFRI, 2008, pp. 103-107

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"United Kingdom Defence Policy and the Gulf War", *Contemporary European Affairs*, Volume 4, No.1, (1991), 149-161.

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"Begrenzte Mittel und strategische Optionen: Frankreichs Verteidigungspolitik am Scheideweg?", *Europa Archiv: Zeitschrift fur internationale Politik*, 41 Jahr, 9, (1986), 265-273.

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"L'esprit END et la dénucléarisation en Europe », *Politique Aujourd'hui*, Nouvelle Série No 2, Octobre/Novembre (1983), 81-91.

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"The Left in France and Germany, Internationalism and War: A Dialogue of the Deaf, 1900-1914", *The Spokesman*, 36 (1979), 81-100.

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"The French socialists and anticlericalism: the position of Edouard Vaillant and the Parti socialiste révolutionnaire", *International Review of Social History*, 22 (1977), 165-183.

"Edouard Vaillant, délégué au Bureau socialiste international: correspondance avec le secrétariat international (1900-1915), *Annali*, XVII (1976), 219-305.

"The Myth of Blanquism under the Third Republic, 1871-1900", *Journal of Modern History*, 48 (1976), 31 pp. (IJ-00010).

"Edouard Vaillant, le socialisme et le mouvement syndical (1888-1907)", *La Nouvelle Revue Socialiste*, 12/13 (1975), 94-116.

"Edouard Vaillant", International Review of Social History, XVIII (1972), 408-420.

"La propagande socialiste d'Edouard Vaillant 1880-1884", Le Mouvement Social, 72 (1970), 83-119

• **Book Chapters:**

"The *Political and Security Committee*: a case study in 'supranational inter-governmentalism"? forthcoming in Renaud Dehousse (ed.) *The Community Method in Perspective: New Approaches*, New York, Palgrave, 2009

"ESDP: Implementing a grand strategy", in Alvaro de Vasconcelos (ed.), *What ambitions for European defence in 2020?*, Preface by Javier Solana, Paris, EU-ISS, 2009, pp.35-45

« Sécurité européenne et relations transatlantiques: pourquoi l'UE n'est pas en train d'équilibrer les Etats-Unis », (with Anand Menon) in René Schwok et Frédéric Mérand (eds.), *L'Union européenne et la sécurité internationale : théories et pratiques* Bruxelles, Bruylant, 2008, pp.221-238.

"The International Impact of European Integration: Key Events, Players and Trends", in Alex Warleigh (ed.), *The Treaty of Rome at Fifty*, London, Palgrave, 2008, pp.127-142

"European Security & Counter-Terrorism", in Simon Reich & Ariane Chebel d'Appollonia (eds.) *Immigration, Integration and Security: Europe and America in Comparative Perspective*, Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008, pp. 95-110

"Europe: a power in the world; not yet a world power", in Simon Serfaty (ed.), *A Recast Partnership? Institutional Dimensions of Transatlantic Relations* Washington DC, CSIS, 2008, pp.95-112

"The EU, NATO and the Origins of CFSP & ESDP: Old Thinking, False Starts and New Imperatives", in Frédéric Bozo & Marie-Pierre Rey (eds.), *Europe and the End of the Cold War*, Routledge, 2007, pp.259-270

"European Military Capacity: the first significant steps", in Sven Biscop (ed), *The EU and the European Security Strategy*, London, Routledge, 2007, pp.81-102.

« La Politica estera di Sarkozy », in Gianfranco Baldini & Marc Lazar, *La Francia di Sarkozy*, Bologna, Editions Il Mulino, 2007, pp.207-227

"Transatlantic Relations", in Colin Hay & Anand Menon (eds.), *European Politics*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2006, pp.614-642

"The Transformation of Europe's Military Capability 1989-2005", in Curtis L. Gilroy and Cindy Williams (eds.), *Service to Country: Personnel Policy and the Transformation of Western Militaries*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 2006, pp.37-63.

"The US National Security Strategy: a European View", in Roland Dannreuther & John Peterson (eds.), *Security Strategy and the Transatlantic Alliance*, London, Routledge, 2006, pp.30-44

"Beyond NATO: the Emergence of a European Defence Force", in John Baylis & Jon Roper (eds.), *The United States and Europe: Beyond the Neo-Conservative Divide?*, London, Frank Cass, 2006, pp.107-121

"France and the Iraq War: Defender of International Legitimacy", in Rick Fawn & Raymond Hinnebusch (eds.), *The Iraq War*, Boulder, Co. Lynne Rienner, 2006, pp.49-60

"France and the US: from Desert Storm to Iraq. Influence, Internationalism and Independence", in Jeffrey Grey & Peter Dennis (eds.) *Entangling Alliances: Coalition Warfare in the 20th Century*, Canberra, Australian Army, 2005, pp.222-253 (ISBN 1-876439-71-8)

"A European Union with Teeth", in Craig Parsons & Nicolas Jabko (eds.), *With US or Against US? A State of the European Union*, Oxford University Press, 2005, pp.31-51

"From Security to Defence: the EU as International Actor", in Christopher Hill and Michael Smith (eds.), *The International Relations of the European Union*, Oxford University Press, 2005, pp.179-204

"European Analyses of the Prospects for Transatlantic Harmony and the Fight against Terror under the Second Bush Administration", in [NIDS] (ed.), *The Second Bush Administration's Global Security Policy*, National Institute for Defense Studies, Tokyo, 2005, pp.91-101 (also published in Japanese)

"Discourse, Ideas and Epistemic Communities in European Security and Defence Policy", in Claudio M. Radaelli & Vivien A. Schmidt (eds.), *Policy Change and Discourse in Europe*, London, Routledge, 2005, pp.29-52

"Britain and NATO: old habits, shifting priorities and new paradigms", in: Frédéric Bozo & Jacques Beltran (eds.), *The Future of the Atlantic Alliance*, Paris, IFRI, 2005

"Europe and Football. Common Destinies: A Political Perspective", Introductory chapter in U. Rudolph Röthenbuhler (ed.), *Fifty Years of UEFA*, Geneva, Union of European Football Associations, 2004, pp.10-21

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"NATO, the EU and the Quest for European Autonomy", in Jolyon Howorth & John Keeler (eds.), *Defending Europe: NATO and the Quest for European Autonomy*, London & New York, Palgrave, 2003, 1-19 (with John Keeler)

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"French Foreign and Defence Policy: from independence to interdependence?", in Peter Hall, Jack Hayward and Howard Machin (eds), *Developments in French Politics*, London, Macmillan, 1994, new edition, 201-217.

"A federal European Security Structure: problems and prospects", in Franz Knipping (ed.), *Federal Conceptions in EC Member States: Traditions and Perspectives*, Tübingen, 1994, 329-41

"The French Debate on Military Intervention in Europe", in Lawrence Freedman (ed.), *Military Intervention in Europe*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1994, 106-124.

"Identités nationales et constitution de l'Europe", in André Brigot and Alain Joxe (eds.), *France-Grande Bretagne: Consultations sur la Défense et la Sécurité*, Paris, EHESS, 1994, 35-47

"French Policy in the Conflict", in Alex Danchev and Dan Keohane (eds.), *International Perspectives on the Gulf Conflict*, London and New York, Macmillan 1994, 175-200.

"The President's special role in foreign and defence policy", in J.E.S. Hayward, (ed.), *De Gaulle to Mitterrand: Presidential power in France*, London, Hurst, 1993, 150-189.

"Le `consensus' gaulliste en matière de défense et l'avenir de la stratégie européenne: un héritage à double tranchant", in Institut Charles De Gaulle (ed.), *De Gaulle en son siècle, Vol. 4, La Sécurité et l'Indépendance de la France*, Paris, Plon, 1992, 196-218.

"Introduction: the 'Old Continent' in turmoil, a new one in the making", (with Mairi Maclean) in Mairi Maclean and Jolyon Howorth (eds), *Europeans on Europe: Transnational Visions of a new Continent*, London, Macmillan, 1992, 1-17.

"France and the Defence of Europe: redefining continental security", in ibid., 77-97.

"The Defence Consensus and French Political Culture", in M. Scriven & P. Wagstaff (eds.), *War and Society in Twentieth Century France*, Oxford, Berg, 1991, 165-180.

"French Foreign and Defence Policy: from independence to interdependence?", in Peter Hall, Jack Hayward and Howard Machin (eds), *Developments in French Politics*, London, Macmillan, 1990, 201-217.

"Défense et politique étrangère: de l'indépendance à l'interdépendance" in P.Hall et alii (eds.), *L'Evolution de la vie politique française*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1990, 273-294

"Defence Policy under Mitterrand Mark 2: towards the collapse of Consensus?", in J. Trumpbour (ed), *The Dividing Rhine: Politics and Society in Contemporary France and Germany*, Oxford, Berg, 1989, 79-109

"Consensus and Mythology: security alternatives in post-Gaullist France", in R. Aldrich and J. Connell (eds), *France in World Politics*, London, Routledge, 1989, 16-34

"France at the turning point, but which way to turn?", in J. Howorth and G. Ross (eds), *Contemporary France, No.3*, London & New York, 1989, 1-6.

"Introduction: In search of new parameters for national identity", in J. Howorth & G. Ross (eds), *Contemporary France, No 2*, London & New York, Pinter & Columbia University Press, 1988, 1-4.

"De presupuestos y decisiones estratégicas: La politica de defensa durante el mandato de François Mitterrand", in George Ross et al., *Continuidad y Cambio en la Francia contemporanea*, Valencia, Magnanim, 1988, 392-414.

"The Role of History in the Teaching of French Civilisation", in Eric Cahm (ed.), *Teaching French Civilisation*, London, ASMCF, 1988, 131-141

"Budgets et choix stratégiques: la politique de défense sous François Mitterrand", in Stanley Hoffmann *et al* (eds), *L'Expérience Mitterrand: continuité et changement dans la France contemporaine*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1988, 389-410.

"France and Gorbatchev: old problems, new questions, and the quest for correct answers", in J. Howorth & G. Ross (eds), *Contemporary France: a Review of Interdisciplinary Studies No 2*, London & New York, Pinter & Columbia University Press, 1988, 60-86.

"Contemporary France and Interdisciplinarity" in J. Howorth and G. Ross (eds), *Contemporary France: a Review of Interdisciplinary Studies*, London & New York, 1987, 1-4.

"Of Budgets and Strategic Choices: Defence Policy under François Mitterrand" in Stanley Hoffmann, George Ross, and Sylvia Malzacher (eds.): *The Mitterrand Experiment: Continuity and Change in Modern France*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1986, 306-323.

"National independence and Atlanticism: the dialectic of French policies" (with P.G.Cerny), in: K. Dyson (ed.) *European Detente*, London, Frances Pinter, 1986, 198-220.

"Defence policy under François Mitterrand: Atlanticism, Gaullism or `Nuclear Neutralism', in Philip G. Cerny & Martin A. Schain (eds.), *Socialism, the State and Public Policy in France*, London, Pinter, 1985, 108-128.

"Defence, Dissent and French political culture", (with P. Chilton) in J. Howorth & P. Chilton, (eds.), *Defence and Dissent in Contemporary France*, London, Croom Helm, 1984, 1-26

"Defence policy and the Mitterrand government", in ibid., 94-134.

"From the Bourgeois Republic to the Social Republic", in Stuart Williams (ed.), *Socialism in France from Jaurès to Mitterrand*, London, Frances Pinter, 1983, 1-14.

"The French Communist Party and class alliances: intellectuals, workers and the crisis of social ideology." in David Bell (ed.), *Contemporary French Political Parties*, London, Croom Helm, 1982, 89-107.

"The Left in France and Germany, Internationalism and War: A Dialogue of the Deaf, 1900-1914." in Eric Cahm & Vladimir Fisera (eds.) *Socialism and Nationalism in Contemporary Europe (1848-1945)*, Volume 2, London, 1979, 81-100.

"Edouard Vaillant" in Jacques Rougerie et al, *1871: Jalons pour une Histoire de la Commune de Paris*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1973, 408-420.

• Encyclopaedia & Dictionary Entries

- Essays on Jean Monnet & Robert Schuman in John Merriman & Jay Winter (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Europe 1914-2004*, New York, Scribners, 2006
- Essays on "Europe" (pp.462-466) and "Le Rejet de la Grande Bretagne" (pp.36-38) in *Dictionnaire Charles de Gaulle*, Paris, Laffont, 2006
- Essay on "France and the Iraq War" in Bill Marshall (ed.), *France and the Americas: Culture, Politics, History*, Oxford & Santa Barbara, ABC-Clio, 2005, pp.602-607
- "NATO Enlargement: is bigger really better?", *Microsoft Encarta Encyclopaedia*, 1997, 17pp.
- 10 entries in A.T. Lane (ed.) A Biographical Dictionary of European Labor Leaders, Westport, Greenwood, London, Aldwych, 1995.
- 9 entries in Wayne Northcutt (ed.) *Historical Dictionary of the Fourth and Fifth French Republics 1945-1990*, Westport, Greenwood, London Aldwych, 1992.
- 5 entries in David Bell et al. (eds) A Biographical Dictionary of French Political Leaders since 1870, London & New York, Harvester/Wheatsheaf, 1990.
- 10 entries in Patrick H Hutton (ed), *Historical Dictionary of the Third French Republic*, 1870-1940, Westport, Greenwood, London, Aldwych, 1986.

• Shorter Articles and Contributions

50 shorter articles in: Foreign Affairs; The Politic; Le Débat Stratégique; The Wishstream; Europe's World; Pugwash Newsletter; Espace Social Européen; Modern & Contemporary France; Revue du Forum Franco-Allemand; La Paix inachevée: utopies, ambiguités et certitudes; Cahier des Associations des Auditeurs de l'IHEDN; Yale Israel Journal; National Committee on American Foreign Policy; French Politics & Society; Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History; La Commune; Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes jaurésiennes; Telos

MEDIA AND JOURNALISM:

Regular television appearances on *France 24:* "The Debate" (19.00 to 20.00), "Top Story" (08.15-08.30) and "Face to Face" (12.10-12.30) (120 invitations and over 50 appearances in 2007-2009).

Television appearances in documentaries and interviews: BBC, ITV, A2, MSNBC, CBC, Canal Plus, I-Télé, France 24, Al-Jazeera.

Frequent Radio interviews on BBC, France-Inter, France-Info, France-Culture, NPR, RFI

Feature writer and special correspondent, The Birmingham Post (UK) 1977-1986

MAJOR GRANTS AND CONTRACTS:

- 2005-2009: <u>European Union</u>, 6th Framework Programme. Grant of €100,000 (US\$130,000) for my participation in a major research project on "Integrated and United? A Quest for Citizenship in an 'Ever Closer Europe'" (*IntUne*). The project, which was awarded a grant of €6 million, is led by the University of Siena (Italy). My part deals with European Security and Defence and European Identity.
- 2003: <u>French Ministry of Defence</u>, *Direction des Affaires Stratégiques*. Grant of €2,000 (\$60,000) for project on "L'Impact sur l'OTAN et la PESD du concept de coalition de circonstance" ("The Impact on NATO and on ESDP of the Concept of Coalitions of the Willing"). I was the "Scientific Director" of this project involving a team of three strategic analysts from the *Institut Français des Relations Internationales* (IFRI), Paris.
- 1999-2002: <u>Economic and Social Research Council</u> (UK) Grant (UK£137,483 \$206,000) "Security Governance in the New Europe". Joint project ESRC Grant (L213252008) with Universities of Birmingham and Loughborough - *One Europe or Several*? Programme.
- 2000: <u>Western European Union</u>, *Institute for Security Studies*, Paris, Grant (FFrs 30,000) "European Integration and Defence" project .
- 1997-2000: <u>European Union</u>, Brussels: *Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence* Grant (€64,000) with Dr. Alan Butt Philip.
- 1996-2000: <u>European Union</u>, Brussels: EU-US Cooperation Scheme (280,000 écus): *Transatlantic Masters Programme*.
- 1992-1994: <u>European Commission</u>, Brussels: Grant (4,000 écus) for research project on President Mitterrand's plan for a trans-European "Confédération".
- 1992-1996: <u>European Commission</u>, Brussels: Funding (75,000 écus) for a *Jean Monnet Chair* in European Political Union.

- 1988-2000: <u>European Economic Community</u>, Brussels: ERASMUS grant (262,000 écus) for Interuniversity Cooperation Programme (ICP) in European Studies.
- 1987-1989: <u>Department of Education and Science</u>: Grant (UK£100,000) to create local project: "Language Consultants for Industry" (LCI).
- 1983-1984: <u>European Economic Community</u>, Brussels: Grant (£5,000) in conjunction with Université d'Orléans, France, for collaborative research project on European elections.
- 1981: <u>Ministère de la Recherche</u>, Paris: Publication Grant (FFrs 50,000 = UK£5,000) for volume on *Edouard Vaillant et la Création de l'Unité socialiste en France*.
- 1975 : <u>Maison des Sciences de l'Homme</u>, Paris, France: Grant (FFrs 5,000) to conduct research for *Annali* volume published with Georges Haupt.
- 1967-1970: Department of Education and Science, UK: Major State Studentship (UK£2,000)

Total value of Research portfolios: <u>€</u>

€1,250,000

WORK IN PROGRESS:

Books:

Security and Defence Policy in the European Union, Second Edition. Manuscript to be delivered to Palgrave in Spring 2010 for publication in Fall 2010

Rethinking European Integration, co-authored book project (with Vivien Schmidt).

France and the Security of Europe 1945-2008 (project under review with OUP)

Articles:

"The EU in the New World Order: Does Europe Need a Grand Strategy?" paper being finalised for publication in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2009/2010

"European Security autonomy and NATO solidarity: irreconcilable objectives?" paper being prepared for special issue of *Politique Etrangère*, October 2009

"The CESDP and the Forging of a European Security Culture", paper being updated for submission (Fall 2009) to *Contemporary Security Policy*.

"The Political and Security Committee and the Emergence of a European Security Identity", paper being drafted for submission (Fall 2009) to *Journal of European Public Policy*

Book Chapters:

"Institutions and War", Chapter forthcoming in Julian Lindley French and Yves Boyer (eds.), *The Oxford History of War*, Oxford University Press, 2010

"From Security to Defence: the EU as International Actor", in Christopher Hill and Michael Smith (eds.), *The International Relations of the European Union*, Oxford University Press, 2nd edition, 2010

CONFERENCE/WORKSHOP PAPERS:

<u>Recent Academic Papers (2005-2009 only):</u> (for *Policy-Making Papers & Inputs*, see below pp. 25ff.)

"Treaties, Principles and Values Guiding CFSP and ESDP", Paper to Conference on *European* Security Culture and National Traditions, Magdalene College, Cambridge, July 2009

"The Strategic Challenges facing the EU's Role in the World", Paper for Panel on <u>Europe's</u> <u>Global Role</u> at 6th ELIAMEP European Seminar, *The Delphic Oracle on Europe: Politics and Policies*, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy, Delphi, June 2009

"European Integration in the 1980s: the great leap forward", Paper given to conference on *The 1980s in Historical Perspective*, University Luiss-Guido Carli, June 2009

"European Security and Regional Governance", Paper to Economic and Social Research Council Conference on *Comparative Regional Governance: Environment, Economics, Security*, International Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, May 2009

"The Lisbon Treaty and its impact on ESDP: transformation or face-lift?", International Seminar Series, IMT Lucca, May 2009

"EU-US Relations after George W. Bush: Evolution or Revolution?", Round Table Panel Member, *European Union Studies Association* 11th Biennial International Conference, Los Angeles, April 2009

"ESDP Ten Years On: Politics, Institutions and Operations", Chair & Discussant on Panel of this title at *European Union Studies Association* 11th Biennial International Conference, Los Angeles, April 2009

"The Changing Governance of European Security", Chair & Discussant on Panel of this title at *European Union Studies Association* 11th Biennial International Conference, Los Angeles, April 2009

"The EU in the New World Order: Does Europe Need a Grand Strategy?", *Journal of Common Market Studies* Keynote Lecture, *European Union Studies Association* 11th Biennial International Conference, Los Angeles, April 2009

"France back in, Georgia in Limbo, Afghanistan going down? What are the new rules of the NATO-ESDP Game?", Paper given to Conference on <u>The EU and NATO in the 21st Century:</u> <u>Cooperation or Competition?</u>, University of Pittsburgh, April 2009

"Sarkozy and France's return to NATO: Prodigal Son or Trojan Horse?", Keynote Banquet speech, Annual Conference of *Society for French Historical Studies*, St Louis, March 2009

"The ESDP-NATO relationship: grasping the difference in order to manage the interface", Paper given to 50th Annual Convention of *International Studies Association*, New York, February 2009

"Revisiting the European Security Strategy: the Case for an EU 'Grand Strategy'", Paper given to *European Studies Colloquium*, Cardiff University, UK, February 2009

"Supranational Intergovernmentalism' in the EU: a case study of the Political and Security Committee", Paper given to Yale University International Relations Seminar, January 2009

"A New Dawn? Europe, the US and transatlantic relations under the Obama Presidency", Public Lecture and Debate, Aston University, Birmingham, 11 December 2008

«Quelles avancées pour la politique europénne de sécurité et de défense? », Paper to Conference on *La Présidence Française de l'UE : bilan et perspectives*, Université de Paris III (Sorbonne Nouvelle) & Paris II (Panthéon-Assas), Paris December 2008

"Europe and the New Transatlantic Pact", Paper to Conference on <u>Japan and Europe: US Allies</u> <u>for Ever?</u>, Massachusetts Institute of Technology/Cosmos Club, Washington , December 2008

"Georgia on my Mind – Can the European Union Cope?", Workshop organised by *Future of the EU Study Group*, Center for European Studies, Harvard University, 20 October 2008

"Georgia on my Mind – Can the European Union Cope?", Public Debate organised by Boston University *Institute for Human Sciences*, 20 October 2008, available at: http://www.buworldofideas.org/shows/2008/11/georgia-on-my-mind/

"Integration and Security: Sticks and Carrots in the Treatment of Immigrant Minorities in America and Europe", Chair of Panel, *American Political Science Association*, Annual Conference, Boston, August, 2008

"Sarkozy and the 'American Mirage': or why Gaullist continuity will overshadow transcendence", Paper to the *American Political Science Association*, Annual Conference, Boston August 2008

"Transatlantic security and defence cooperation: the agenda for the incoming presidency", *Theseus Summer School for Young European Leaders*, Brussels, July 2008

"Revisiting the European Security Strategy: challenges and objectives", *Theseus Summer School for Young European Leaders*, Brussels, June 2008

"Nuclear Modernization: A Franco-British Perspective", Colloquium on "Nuclear Survival", University of Colorado at Boulder, April 2008

"France, Sarkozy and NATO: the Return of the Prodigal Son?", Contemporary French History

Colloquium, Washington University, St Louis, April 2008

"Teaching Constructivism along with Realism and Liberalism", Round-Table Member, *International Studies Association* Annual Meeting, San Francisco, March 2008

"Integration and Security: Sticks, Carrots and the Treatment of immigrant minorities in Europe and the US", Discussant, *International Studies Association* Annual Meeting, San Francisco, March 2008

"The EU's Normative Muscle-Flexing: European Security and Defence Operations in Critical Perspective", Round-Table Member, *International Studies Association* Annual Meeting, San Francisco, March 2008

"ESDP and EU-NATO Relations: which is the cart and which is the horse?", Paper to Conference on *Transatlantic Security Relations – Five Years after the Iraq Divide*, Munk Center for International Affairs, University of Toronto, February 2008

"ESDP and NATO: Three Scenarios for unblocking the impasse", Massachusetts Institute for Technology *Seminar XXI: Japan and Europe: US Allies for Ever?*, Washington DC, Cosmos Club, December 2007

« La Politique Européenne de Sécurité et de Défense: vers une identité sécuritaire européenne? », Paper to Defence and Security Workshop, *Ecole Normale Supérieure*, rue d'Ulm, Paris, December 2007

"The Political and Security Committee: a case-study in supranational inter-governmentalism ?", Connex Workshop on *How Much is Known about the Community Method?*, Sciences-Po, Paris, November 2007

"The Political and Security Committee as Policy Entrepreneur in ESDP", paper on panel "Do Experts Advance the Cause of Europe?", *IntUne* Conference on A Quest for Citizenship in an ever closer Europe, Central European University, Budapest, November 2007

"A European Foreign and Security Policy in the Making?", Chair/Discussant at session of same title, Conference on A <u>Common European Foreign and Security Policy in the Making?</u> Competences, Institutions and National Interests, Institut für Europäische Politik, Brussels, October 2007

"Towards a European Strategic Culture: ESDP, Crisis Management and Euro-Russian Interests", Paper given to Conference on "European Russian Relations at a Turning Point?", MGIMO, Moscow, September 2007

"Complexité et Institutions Internationales: pourquoi l'Union Européenne n'est pas en train d'équilibrer les USA", Paper given to Conference on « Dimension extérieure de l'Union Européenne : synthèses et théories », Institut Européen de l'Université de Genève, September 2007 "New Instruments in Conflict Prevention and Crisis Management", Chair/Discussant of session at EUCPCM conference on "European Conflict Prevention and Crisis Management Policies", Brussels, July 2007

Invited Participant, *Nobel Institute Symposium* on "The United States and Europe: past, present and future", Oslo-Balestrand, June 2007.

« L'action militaire extérieure de la France et la question des alliances », Paper to Conference on L'action militaire extérieure de la France, organised by CERI-Sciences-Po, Paris, June 2007

"Riding the Tiger: the EU, the Middle East, state actors and non-state actors and understanding the difference", Paper for 10th Biennial International Conference of the *European Union Studies Association*, Montreal, May 2007

"And Yet It Works!: Institutions and the European Security and Defence Policy", Paper for 10th Biennial International Conference of the *European Union Studies Association*, Montreal, May 2007

"Thou Shalt Democratize!. Comparing EU and US Strategies of external democracy promotion", Discussant on papers by Tanja Börzel/Thomas Risse, Amichai Magen/Michael McFaul, Vera Van Hüllen/Andreas Stahn and Stefan Gaenzle at 10th Biennial International Conference of the *European Union Studies Association*, Montreal, May 2007

"The International Impact of European Integration: key events, players and trends", Paper for Conference *Reflections on European Integration: Fifty Years of the Treaty of Rome*, UACES and European Commission, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London, March 2007

"The German Presidency and the International Role of the EU", Paper for the Conference on *The European Union between National Interests and International Influence: What to Expect from the German Presidency of the EU?*", University of Trento, March 2007

"The European Union and Regional Crisis Management – a post-Westphalian Initiative?", Workshop at Centre for European Studies, *School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University*, New Delhi, India, February 2007

"The State of the Transatlantic Partnership", Paper delivered to Conference on *The Transatlantic Partnership after the Bush Revolution*, University of Toronto, December 2006

"NATO's Continued Political and Military Transformation", Paper to Conference on *Transforming NATO: Risks, Challenges and Opportunities*, Danish Institute for International Studies, Copenhagen, October 2006

"Soeurs jumelles-Frères ennemis: La Grande Bretagne, la France, la PESD et l'OTAN à l'heure de l'Irak", Colloquium on *Le Canada, l'Union européenne, l'OTAN et les relations transatlantiques*, Université du Québec à Montréal, October 2006

"The Role of Experts in EU Public Policy", Conference on European Citizenship, University of

Exeter, UK, October 2006

"ESDP and the Problems of Balkan Accession to the EU", Contribution to Conference: "EU Enlargement and South East Europe", Tufts and Yale Universities, October 2006

"ESDP and the Challenge of Regional Peace-Making", Paper to Conference: "The EU: A World Security Actor? An Assessment after 50 years of the external action of the EU", *European Union Institute for Security Studies*, Paris, September 2006

"The European Security and Defence Policy: Neither Hard nor Soft Balancing – Just Policy-Making", Paper to American Political Science Association Annual Conference, Philadelphia, September 2006

"Global Trends and European Norms in the Field of Security and Defence Policy", Paper to Conference on Are European Preferences Shared by Others? The Fate of European Norms in a Globalized World, organised by Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales, Garnet/JERP, Centre d'Etudes Européennnes, Sciences-Po, Paris, June 2006

"The EC/EU, NATO and the Origins of CFSP/ESDP", Paper to Conference on *Europe and the End of the Cold War*, organised by Universities of Paris I, Paris III, London School of Economics and the Machiavelli Center for Cold War Studies, Paris June 2006

"European Security and Counter-Terrorism Post-9/11", Paper to Conference *The Immigration, Integration and Security Initiative* – a transatlantic collaborative project underwritten by the Ford Foundation, Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques & University of Pittsburgh, Paris, Sciences-Po, June 2006

"The Future of CFSP & ESDP", Paper to Conference on "The Future of the European Union and Turkey's Accession Perspectives", *Bogadici University, Istanbul*, May 2006

"France and Britain, Soeurs jumelles, frères ennemis?", Paper to Conference on « Mésentente Cordiale : Franco-British Views on Europe's Global Role », *Maison Française d'Oxford, The European Studies Centre, Oxford and Sciences-Po Paris*, Oxford, May 2006

"European American Perspectives on Counter-Terrorism: a Research Agenda", Paper to Conference on "Comparative Counter-Terrorism", *University of Washington, Seattle*, April 2006

"Does Europe Have a Grand Strategy?", Paper to Conference on "Enlargement & the European Union: Strategy, Impact, Limits", *Yale University*, April 2006

"Policy Fora in CFSP/ESDP", Paper for Conference of *Intune*, European Commission Framework Six Conference, *University of Bologna at Forli*, March 2006

"The Significance of ESDP's Fifteen Missions: an initial evaluation", Paper to IR Seminar Series, *Yale University*, February 2006

"Theorising ESDP: Hard and Soft Balancing and the US Debate", *Watson Institute for International Studies*, Security Symposium, Brown University, December 2005

"The US and the EU after the Referendum", Keynote Address to *Teach Europe Conference*, Yale University, November 2005

"France and the US: from Desert Storm to Iraq. Influence, Internationalism and Independence", Paper to *Australian Army Conference* on "Entangling Alliances: Coalition Warfare in the 20th Century", National Convention Centre, Canberra, Australia, October 2005

"The European Security and Defence Project: What It Probably Is And What It Certainly Is Not", Paper to *MIT Security Studies Program*, October 2005

"The US National Security Strategy: European Reactions", Paper to Conference at *European Policy Centre*, Brussels, on "US and European Security Strategies", September 2005

"The European Approach to Counter-Terrorism", Paper to Conference organised by the *Ford Institute for Human Security, University of Pittsburgh*, on "Immigration and Terrorism, US, European and Russian Approaches", Pittsburgh, September 2005

"Les Conséquences des 'Non' pour la poursuite de la PESD", Paper to Conference organised by Pôle Européen, *Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris*, on "L'Europe après les 'Non'", Paris, July 2005

"L'Elaboration de la capacité militaire de l'UE", Paper to Conference organised by *Centre Interdisciplinaire pour La Recherche Comparative en Sciences Sociales*, on "La gestion de la sécurité au sein de l'UE avec l'essor de la PESC/PESD", Paris, June 2005

"Le Rôle militaire de l'Union Européenne et le Rapport transatlantique", Paper to *Institut d'Etudes Politiques* – Paris, European Research Seminar series, May 2005

"The EU Constitutional Draft and Security and Defence Policy", Paper to Conference on *Constituting a European Future: Perspectives on European Constitutionalism*, University of Trento, Italy, May 2005

"ESDP post-Iraq and Post-Constitution: the dynamics of pragmatism", Paper to Biennial Conference of the *European Union Studies Association*, University of Austin, Texas, April 2005

"Path Dependency and the Construction of European Defence Policy", Discussant on panel at Biennial Conference of the *European Union Studies Association*, University of Austin, Texas, April 2005

"From Alliances to Coalitions of the Willing: the new regional dynamics of transatlantic relations", Paper to *International Studies Association* Annual Convention, Honolulu, Hawaii, March 2005

"Europe's Security Strategy and Prospects for CFSP and ESDP", Paper given to Conference on "The New Security Challenges and Europe's International Role", *Institüt für Europäische Politik*, Berlin, January 2005

Since 1974, over 340 papers at international conferences/workshops hosted by:

American Historical Association: American Political Science Association: ARENA (Oslo): Assemblée Nationale (Paris); Association Française pour la Communauté Atlantique (Paris); Association for the Study of Modern and Contemporary France (UK); Australian Government (Canberra); Bertelsmann Foundation (Venusberg Group, Gutersloh); Bogadici University (Istanbul); Boston University; Brown University (Providence, RI); Center for Applied Policy Research (Munich): Center for Strategic and International Studies (Washington DC): Central European University (Budapest); Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales (CERI – Paris); Centre Interdisciplinaire de Recherche Comparative en Sciences Sociales (CIRPES – Paris); Certosa di Pontignano (Siena); Cicero Foundation (Paris); Columbia University; Conseil National de la Recherche Scientifique (Paris); Council for European Studies (New York); Danish Institute for International Affairs (DUPI - Copenhagen); Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (Berlin); Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (Paris); Economic and Social Research Council (UK); Egmont Institute (Brussels); European Community Studies Association (USA); ECSA-World (Brussels); ELIAMEP, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (Athens); Eur-IFRI (Brussels); European Commission (Brussels); European Institute for Public Administration (Maastricht); European Parliament (Brussels); European University Institute (Florence): European Union Institute for Security Studies (Paris): European Union Studies Association (USA); Festival International de la Géographie (St. Dié des Vosges); Finnish Foreign Ministry (Helsinki); Finnish Institute of International Affairs (Helsinki) Foreign and Commonwealth Office (London); Foreign Policy Research Institute (Philadelphia); Franco-British Council (London & Paris); Global Forum of Japan (Tokyo); Harvard University; Hungarian Defence Ministry (Budapest); IMT (Lucca); India International Centre (New Delhi); Institute for Advanced Studies, (Vienna); Institut d'Etudes Politiques (Paris); Institut für Europäische Politik (Berlin); Institut Européen de l'Université de Genève; Institut Français des Relations Internationales (IFRI, Paris); Institut des Hautes Etudes de Défense Nationale (Paris); International Institute of Social Studies (The Hague); International Political Science Association; International Studies Association; Japan Forum on International Relations (Tokyo): Jawaharlal Nehru University (New Delhi): Luiss Guido-Carli University (Rome): Maison Française (Oxford); Maison des Sciences de l'Homme (Paris); Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies (Cologne); MGIMO (Moscow); Ministry of Defence (Australia); National Defence University (Helsinki); National Institute for Defence Studies (Tokyo); Naval Postgraduate School (Monterey); New York University; Netherlands Institute for International Relations (Clingendael); Nobel Institute (Oslo); North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (Brussels); Norwegian Institute for International Affairs (Oslo); Oxford Analytica; Oxford University; Princeton University; Rand Corporation (Washington DC); Romanian Defence Ministry (Bucharest); Royal Belgian Military Academy (Brussels); Royal Institute of International Affairs (London); Royal Institute for International Relations (Belgium); Royal United Services Institute (London); Saint-Cyr Coëtquidan French Military Academy (St. Cyr); Society for French Historical Studies; Society for the Study of Labour History (UK); Stresemann Institute (Bonn); Swedish Institute of International Affairs (Stockholm); United States Air Force Academy (Colorado Springs); United States Military Academy (Westpoint); United States Naval War College (Newport); University Association for Contemporary European Affairs (UK); UNESCO (Paris); University of Miami; University of Melbourne; University of Trento; University of Washington (Seattle); Washington University (St Louis); Watson Institute for International Studies (Providence, RI); (Western) European Union-Institute for Security Studies (Paris); Western Society for French History; Yale University

Conference Organisation:

2006: EU-US Counter-Terrorism Conference, University of Washington, Seattle 2005: Program Committee for 9th Biennial International Conference, European Union Studies Association

- 2002: 4th Franco-British Security Cooperation Conference, Lancaster House, London
- 2001: 3rd Franco-British Security Cooperation Conference, IFRI, Paris
- 2000: EU-US Security Inter-relations, University of Washington, Seattle
- 2000: 2nd Franco-British Security Cooperation Conference, IFRI, Paris
- 1999: 1st Franco-British Security Cooperation Conference, University of Bath
- 1995: Bath University European Research Institute: "Is European Union Irreversible?"
- 1989: ASMCF, 10th annual conference, "War and Society in France", Bath University
- 1981: ASMCF, 1st annual conference, "Elites in France", University of Aston
- 1980: Association for the Study of Modern and Contemporary France (ASMCF):Launch Conference, University of Aston

[*Invited papers/lectures*: In addition to formal conference papers, over 150 invited lectures at universities in Europe, Russia, the United States and Australia]

Book Reviews:

Arms Control: Contemporary Security Policy; Association for the Study of Modern & Contemporary France Review; Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History; Europa; European Foreign Affairs Review; European History Quarterly; European Studies Review; French History; French Politics and Society; French Politics, Society and Culture; French Studies; H-France Review; History of European Ideas; History Today; International Affairs; Journal of Area Studies; Journal of Common Market Studies; Journal of European Public Policy; Journal of European Studies; Modern and Contemporary France; Le Mouvement Social; Political Science Quarterly; Political Studies; Politique Etrangère; Quinquereme; The Spectator; The Spokesman; Survival; War in History; West European Politics. (over 230 items)

POLICY-MAKING INPUTS & CONSULTANCY:

Oxford Analytica: European Defence Analyst. 110 briefings (last 12 years).

European Council, "ESDP: the need for clearer strategic focus", article in special issue of *ESDP Newsletter* on <u>ESDP at Ten</u>, edited and presented by Javier Solana, Brussels, August 2009

NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) Invited Delegate to International High Level Conference on NATO's "New Strategic Concept", Brussels, July 2009

Bertelsmann Foundation "A Framework Chapter on ESDP and the European Parliament", Paper to Venusberg Workshop on European Parliament Briefing Book, Brussels, July 2009

Security and Defence Agenda, "NATO's Core Purpose", Contribution to SDA Discussion Paper, *Re-launching NATO or Just Re-Branding It?*, SDA, Brussels, June 2009, pp.17-18.

Egmont Institute, Belgian Royal Institute for International Relations "Brainstorming Grand Strategy", Expert Workshop, Brussels, June 2009

EUR-IFRI, "A New Institutional Architecture for the Transatlantic Relationship?", Paper to International Conference, Brussels, June 2009

Helsinki Defence College, "CFSP and ESDP: the major challenges ahead" Paper to Conference on Future Perspectives of ESDP - Changing Nature of Crisis and Conflict and the Demands for Missions/Operations, at National Defence University, Helsinki, June 2009 *Chief Executives Organization*, Paris University 2009, "NATO at Sixty: a Health Check", Hôtel Georges V, Paris, May 2009

International Institute for Strategic Studies, "EU Reforms wait on Ireland", *Strategic Comment*, Volume 15, Issue 12, March 2009

EU-Institute for Security Studies, <u>Transatlantic Forum</u>. Invited delegate, Washington DC November 2008

European Commission: Bureau of European Policy Advisors, Brussels. Paper on "A New Dawn for Transatlantic Relations" to Workshop on <u>Towards a More Coherent and Effective European</u> International Action., Brussels November 2008

Ministère de la Défense Nationale (France), High Level Seminar on <u>ESDP Capabilities and</u> <u>Missions</u>, Paper on « What Capabilities for What Missions ? », Marseille, October 2008.

European Union Institute for Security Studies, Paris. Official Delegate to Annual Conference, Paris October 2008

Institut Français des Relations Internationales, Paris. Invited Delegate to <u>Inaugural World</u> <u>Policy Conference</u>, Evian, France, October 2008 <u>http://www.worldpolicyconference.com/</u>

European Union Institute for Security Studies; Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Paris. Final Workshop on <u>European Interests and Strategic Options : Which Strategy to Serve EU Security</u> <u>Interests ?</u> - Invited Delegate, October 2008

European Commission: Bureau of European Policy Advisors, Brussels. "Renewing European-American Security Cooperation: Towards a New 'Grand Strategy'?", *BEPA Monthly Brief*, Issue 17, September 2008

Finnish Institute of International Affairs; European Union Institute for Security Studies; Swedish Institute of International Affairs; "How to Improve ESDP Tools, Capabilities and Financing", Paper to High Level Workshop on: <u>Strengthening ESDP: The EU's Approach to International Security.</u> Helsinki, September 2008

Royal Institute of International Affairs, London. Report: Europe After Fifty: Policy Implications for Britain, September 2008 (co-author)

Telos article: "The New New World Order", *Telos* 4 September 2008, accessed at: <u>http://www.telos-eu.com/en/article/the_new_new_world_order</u>. Also published in French as "Le Monde unipolaire est terminé" at <u>http://telos-eu.com/fr/article/le_monde_unipolaire_est_termine</u> and as Op-Ed in *La Tribune*, 09 Septembre 2008 <u>http://www.latribune.fr/impression/Le-monde-unipolaire-est-termine-~-ID94AF38F2A1D9DCDDC12574BE00433555-</u> <u>\$Db=Tribune/Articles.nsf</u>.

Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Paris. High Level Seminar on the EU-NATO Relationship, Paris, July 2008 – Invited Delegate

Institut Français des Relations Internationales and *Bertelsmann Stiftung*, Paper on « The French White Book on Defence: Implications for ESDP », Roundtable Debate, Brussels, June 2008

Institut Français des Relations Internationales (IFRI-Bruxelles), Paper on « La Politique Etrangère et de Sécurité Commune » at Colloquium on <u>Les Enjeux de la Présidence française de l'Union européenne</u>, Brussels, June 2008

Bertelsmann Foundation & Rand Corporation, Paper on "ESDP and NATO: Demystifying the Relationship", Paper to 3rd Meeting of <u>EU-US Working Group on Security and Defense</u>, Washington DC, June 2008

Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Paper on "The European Union's Overseas Missions: Lessons Learned since 2003", Workshop at <u>The Diplomatic Round Table</u> (Japan Forum on International Relations; The Global Forum of Japan; The Council of East Asian Community), Tokyo, May 2008

Japanese Ministry of Defence, Paper on "Security and Defence Policy in the European Union: the EU and Peace-Building", Workshop at <u>National Institute for Defence Studies</u> (NIDS), Tokyo, May 2008

Finnish Institute of International Affairs. Paper on "ESDP over the next five years: prospects and challenges", Helsinki, May 2008

Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Paper on "The Future of the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy" at Workshop on the Finnish White Book on Defence, Helsinki, May 2008

Royal United Services Institute (London) and *Bertelsmann Foundation* (Guterslöh), "How best to organise Europeans to strategic effect: towards a Saint Malo 2?", Paper to Workshop on <u>Where Next for ESDP?</u>, London, May 2008

International Institute for Strategic Studies, London. "EUFOR in Chad and CAR: The EU's most Taxing Misssion Yet", Strategic Comments, Volume 14, Issue 04, May 2008

Bertelsmann Foundation & Rand Corporation. Member of <u>US-European Working Group on</u> <u>Security & Defence</u>. Meetings in Brussels (January), Munich (April) and Washington DC (June) 2008

German Marshall Fund of the United States. Invited Participant at <u>Brussels Forum 2008</u>, Brussels, March 2008.

European Parliament, Brussels, Paper on "The Future of the European Security Strategy: towards a White Book on European Defence" given to Workshop organised by the <u>EP Sub-Committee on Security and Defence</u>, 6 March 2008. Paper published as EP Working Paper PE388.944, March 2008

http://www.europarl.europa.eu/activities/committees/studies/download.do?file=20867.

Swedish Institute of International Affairs and *Belgian Royal Institute for International Relations* « Strategic Culture, Operations and Capabilities », Chair of Panel at Conference on <u>Global</u> <u>Europe: Strategy and Identity</u>, Brussels, December 2007

Telos, Article "France, Britain and the Future of Europe: the Gathering Storm?", published 24 November 2007 (also published in French as "Sur l'Europe, Paris et Londres sont toujours divisés", 28 November 2007 <u>http://www.telos-</u> eu.com/fr/article/sur leurope paris et londres sont toujours divis) *European Union Institute for Security Studies*, Invited Participant in <u>Annual Conference of EU-ISS</u>, November 2007

Institut de Relations Internationales et Stratégiques and *Centre for European Reform*. Invited Participant in 3rd Franco-British Forum, Maison de l'Amérique Latine, Paris, November 2007

Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst, UK, "ESDP: Towards a European Strategic Culture?", article in Sandhurst review, *The Wishstream*, 2007

Institut Français des Relations Internationales, Paris. Chair of Public Debate on « The Israel Lobby » with John Mearsheimer, Stephen Walt and André Kaspi, November 2007

European Policy Centre, Brussels. "The Institutional Logic Behind the European External Action Service", (with Anne-Marie Le Gloannec) in Graham Avery & Antonio Missiroli (eds.), *The EU Foreign Service: how to build a more effective foreign policy*, Brussels, EPC, 2007, pp.27-35 (November – EPC Working Paper 28)

Institut Français des Relations Internationales, Paris, Centre des Etudes de Sécurité – Laboratoire de Recherche sur la Défense, Paper on "The Political and Security Committee and the Emergence of a European Security Identity", November 2007

Rand Corporation and *EU Institute for Security Studies*. Participant in Brainstorming "Europe's Role in Nation-Building", EU-ISS, Paris, October 2007

Auswaertiges Amt & Bertelsmann Stiftung, Paper "How to Respond to Missile Proliferation", Expert Round Table on Missile Defence, Bertelsmann Haus, Berlin, September 2007

Royal Institute of International Affairs, London. Member of Commission on "Europe After Fifty: Policy Implications for Britain", London, June 2007 to February 2008. Discussion Paper for Session on ESDP, September 2007.

International Institute for Strategic Studies, London. Article, "Reforming Europe: the EU Moves On", published in Strategic Comments, Volume 13, Issue 06, August 2007

Telos, Article "EU Foreign and Security Policy with the Mini-Treaty", published 29 June 2007 (also published in French as "L'Europe n'a toujours pas de telephone", 30 June 2007)

Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Washington DC. Paper entitled "NATO, the New Strategic Concept" for Conference on *Terms of Engagement: The Euro-Atlantic Partnership at Sixty*, Brussels, June 2007

Security & Defence Agenda, Brussels, Invited participant in conference on "NATO and ESDP: Forging New Links", Brussels, June 2007

European Policy Centre, Brussels, Round Table on: "Will the EU ever have a common foreign policy?", Brussels, June 2007

German Marshall Fund of the United States. Invited Participant at <u>Brussels Forum 2007</u>, Brussels, April 2007.

Institut Français des Relations Internationales, Paris, « Le Bilan stratégique de Tony Blair : faut-il et peut-on copier la politique d'influence britannique », paper to <u>Centre d'Etudes de</u> <u>Sécurité</u>, April 2007

European Policy Centre, Brussels. Member of working-party on a strategy for the organisation of the European External Action Service, April-December 2007.

India International Centre, New Delhi. "Transatlantic Relations in the Shadow of Iraq: Convergence or Divergence?" Paper to the international policy community, February 2007

German Government, Conference to launch the German Presidency of the EU: "ESDP from Cologne to Berlin and Beyond: Operations, Institutions, Capabilities", Berlin, January 2007. Invited participant.

Geneva Centre for Security Policy, "The EU as a Security Actor", <u>Seminar for military officers</u> <u>and career diplomats</u> of PfP countries on 11th *European Security Policy Training Course*, January 2007.

Centre for European Reform, Seminar on the "Future of the European Foreign Policy", Egmont Palace, Brussels, January 2007. Invited participant.

Center for Transatlantic Studies and *EU Institute for Security Studies*. Invited Participant at Conference on *The EU-US Partnership: Delivering Results?*, Washington DC, November 2006

European Union Institute for Security Studies. Invited Participant at Annual Conference: "Les Défis du Futur", Paris, October 2006

Institut Français des Relations Internationales (Paris) "Mai 2005-Mai 2006: Quelles Stratégies pour l'Union Européenne?" Déjeuner-Débat, Press Club de France, May 2006

Bertelsmann Stiftung Conference on "Overcoming National Impediments to ESDP: The Big Three", *Venusberg Group*, Berlin, March 2006

Franco-British Council. Invited Participant in Conference on "Defence Europe: the role of France and the UK", Army and Navy Club, London, March 2006

Geneva Centre for Security Policy, "ESDP as a functioning security instrument", <u>Seminar for</u> <u>military officers and career diplomats</u> of PfP countries on 10th *European Security Policy Training Course*, January 2006.

European Union: Institute for Security Studies. Invited participant at Annual Conference, "L'Union Européenne en Questions", Paris, September 2005

NATO Studies Center, Bucharest, "European Security in the Coming Decade: Transatlantic and Global Perspectives", published as working paper in *Strategic Issues Review*, July 2005, 31 pages.

Young Europeans for Security, Copenhagen, "The Constitutional Treaty and ESDP", web-site article for Danish referendum debate on <u>www.yes-dk.dk</u>, July 2005

Institut Français des Relations Internationales (Paris), Public Round Table on "Après le 29 Mai : quelle Europe?", 15 June 2005

Institut Français des Relations Internationales (Paris), "Prospects for the UK Presidency of the European Union", <u>Document de Travail</u> 9, June 2005

Japanese Defence Ministry: "European Analyses of the Prospects for Transatlantic Harmony and the Fight Against Terrorism Under the Second Bush Administration", Conference for MOD and MFA officials on "The Security Policy of the United States during the Second Bush Administration and its Implications", NIDS, Tokyo, February 2005, published in *Proceedings of the NIDS International Symposium on Security Affairs*, Tokyo, NIDS, 2005, pp.91-101

Center for Applied Policy Research, "European Intervention and International Legitimacy and Credibility", Conference on "Transatlantic Crisis Management Simulation on ESDP – 'Europe in Crisis", Munich, November 2004

UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office: Romania-UK Seminar on ESDP, Keynote Address, "European Security in the Coming Decade: Transatlantic and Global Perspectives", Bucharest, October 2004. Workshop for UK and Romanian officials from Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defence

European Union: Institute for Security Studies. Invited participant at Annual Conference, "L'Union Européenne: Acteur de Sécurité Globale", Paris, September 2004

Ministère de la Défense: Délégation aux Affaires Stratégiques, France. Commissioned Report on "L'Impact sur les Organisations de Défense du Concept de Coalition de Circonstance", Paris, August 2004, 84 pages

Clingendael Institute, The Hague. "ESDP 2004: new scope, new policy, new initiatives", Paper for closed conference organised by Dutch Ministry of Defence and Ministry of Foreign Affairs on "European Security: the Agenda for the Dutch Presidency", June 2004

Bertelsmann Foundation, Gütersloh, Invited participant. Policy Conference on "European Defence: Agenda for the Future", Bruxelles, May 2004

International Institute for Strategic Studies, London. "Europe's Big Three: trilateral impetus?", Strategic Comments, Volume 10, Issue 2, March 2004

Royal Institute for International Relations (Belgium) and Netherlands Institute of International Relations (Clingendael), "The Capacities at Europe's Disposal", Paper given to <u>Conference</u> "<u>Able and Willing" on Europe's Military Capacity</u>, Royal Military Academy, Brussels, March 2004, **Published** in *Conference Proceedings*, pp.16-33.

Geneva Centre for Security Policy, "The Future of ESDP", <u>Seminar for military officers and</u> <u>career diplomats</u> of PfP countries on 8th *European Security Policy Training Course*, March 2004.

International Institute for Strategic Studies, London. "EU Operational Planning: the politics of defence", Strategic Comments, Volume 9, Issue 10, December 2003

US Military Academy, West Point, Seminar for Cadets and Faculty, "ESDP Today: Progress and Problems in 2003", West Point, New York, December 2003

Notre Europe, Paris, "ESDP Plus Five: developments in European Security since Saint-Malo", <u>Policy Paper</u> on-line at <u>www.notre-europe.asso.fr</u>. (December 2003) and available as a policy brochure from *Notre Europe*.

Oxford Analytica, Oxford. <u>Annual Conference 2003</u>. Panels on "The Crisis of Transatlantic Relations", September 2003

European Union, Institute for Security Studies. <u>Annual Conference</u>, Official Delegate, Paris, June 2003

Royal Military Academy of Belgium, Brussels. Workshop Leader: "What Type of Transatlantic Solidarity" – for European officer cadets, <u>2nd European Military Academies Conference</u>, June 2003.

World Affairs Council, Seattle: Workshop Series on: <u>Differences in Foreign Policy</u> "A European Perspective", May 2003.

Boeing Corporation: "European Defence at the Crossroads", <u>Executive Report</u> on the implications of ESDP, EU Enlargement, Crisis in NATO and European Defence Industry cooperation, May 2003 (75 pages).

United States Air Force Academy: "The Implications for NATO of recent transatlantic squabbles over Iraq", and "ESDP since 9/11: back to the drawing board?", <u>Workshops for cadets</u>, Colorado Springs, March 2003.

Geneva Centre for Security Policy: "The History of British French Relations: a British View" and "Will the Number of Major European Players Enlarge?", <u>Seminars for military officers and career diplomats</u> of PfP countries on 7th *European Security Policy Training Course*, February 2003.

DGAP/IFRI/RIIA, <u>Trilateral Anglo-Franco-German Policy Conference</u> on "European Defence at the Crossroads", Institut Français des Relations Internationales, Paris, December 2002.

Bertelsmann Foundation/Venusberg Group, "ESDP and NATO: joint future or deadlock?", <u>Conference on</u> "Evaluating NATO's Future and the Consequences for Europe's Security", Netherlands Institute of International Relations, Clingendael, The Hague, December 2002.

National Committee on American Foreign Policy, New York. Invited participant in <u>Conference</u> on "Reinventing the Transatlantic Partnership", New York, October 2002.

British Embassy, Paris. Closed seminar for French and British government officials and experts on "The EU's External Identity", October 2002 (invited).

US State Department: "The Reform of EU Decision-making", <u>Workshop</u> on "The European Union: The Road Not Yet Taken", Washington DC, September 2002.

Ecoles Militaires de Saint-Cyr/Coëtquidan "European security interests: what are the crisis scenarios and areas of intervention", <u>Round Table Chair</u>, 1st European Military Academies Conference, Brittany, France, July 2002.

UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office. Joint organiser of <u>Franco-British Defence Cooperation</u> <u>Workshop</u> for government officials and national experts, Chair of session on "Crisis Management: future CFSP and ESDP Scenarios", Lancaster House, London, July 2002.

Chief Executives Organisation: <u>Coastal European University</u>, Seminars on French & European Security Policy, Lisbon, Bordeaux, June 2002.

New Defence Agenda, Brussels: Defence and Security in an Uncertain World project. Member of <u>Working Group II</u> - "Europe's Security Aims and its Zone of Stability", Meetings in Brussels, May 2002 to May 2003 (invited).

Mouvement Européen, France: "La Politique européenne de sécurité et de défense". <u>Seminar</u> for French MEPs and European Officials, Paris, April 2002.

French-American Chamber of Commerce (Philadelphia Chapter): <u>Luncheon address</u> on "France after Mitterrand", Philadelphia, Pa, March 2002.

UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office, European Secretariat of the Cabinet Office. "Future of Europe" project. Member of <u>Working Group</u> on "External Relations". March 2002 to date.

Notre Europe, Paris, "The European Security Conundrum: Prospects for ESDP after 11 September 2001", <u>Policy Paper</u> on-line at <u>www.notre-europe.asso.fr</u>. (March 2002) and available as a policy brochure from *Notre Europe*.

Thales Corporation. <u>Seminars for senior managers</u> on "The Strategic Background to European defence procurement". Thales UK headquarters, Reading, March 2002; Thales France HQ, Château des Mesnuls, April 2002.

European Union Institute for Security Studies : Official participant in <u>Seminar</u> on "European Defence after 11 September", Paris, March 2002

Institut des Hautes Etudes de Défense Nationale, Paris. 1ère Session Internationale Euro-Méditerranéenne. <u>Seminar</u> on "European Security Institutional Coordination" for diplomats and officials from 16 Mediterranean countries, February 2002

Geneva Centre for Security Policy, <u>Seminar</u> on "Franco-British defence cooperation" for diplomats and military officers from 15 PfP countries at 6th European Security Policy Training School, Geneva, January 2002.

US State Department, <u>Scenario-building Workshop</u> on "Alternative Futures for European Security and Defence", Washington DC, January 2002

Institut Français des Relations Internationales (IFRI), <u>Round Table</u> on "The World since 11 September 2001", Paris, November 2001

Government of Canada, Ottawa and *Government of Quebec*, Quebec City: <u>Seminars for</u> government officials on "EU-Canada foreign and security relations", November 2001

Danish Institute of International Affairs – Dupi: <u>Workshop for government officials and experts</u> on "What to Defend and How to Defend?", Copenhagen, November 2001

UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London: <u>Briefing for outgoing UK Ambassador</u> to France on French defence policy, October 2001.

Institut Français des Relations Internationales (IFRI), Paris: Joint organiser of <u>Franco-German & Franco-British Defence Workshops</u> for government officials and national experts, July-October 2001. Paper on "What is 'finality' for ESDP?"

Western European Union-Institute for Security Studies. Official participant in "2001 <u>Paris</u> <u>Transatlantic Conference:</u> Transatlantic Relations and the Bush Administration", Paris, June 2001 *Délégation aux Affaires Stratégiques*, French Ministry of Defence: <u>Commissioned Report</u> on "British Policy towards NATO in the near Future", November 2000.

UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office: UK Delegation to <u>Anglo-Portuguese Defence Planning</u> <u>Seminar</u>, British Embassy, Lisbon, October 2000.

Economic & Social Research Council (UK): "The European Defence Initiative", "One Europe or Several" <u>Briefing Note 2/00</u>, July 2000

British Embassy, Paris and *Institut Français des Relations Internationales*: Organiser of Franco-British Defence and Security Cooperation Workshop, Paris, June 2000.

Royal Aeronautical Society (UK): "European Defence Autonomy: a strengthening of NATO or the blind leading the blind?", <u>49th Annual Barnwell Lecture</u>, June 2000.

Boeing Corporation: Executive Report. "The European Defence Outlook in 2000: an analysis", June 2000, 28pp.

WEU-Institute for Security Studies: Official Participant in <u>Annual Conferences and Workshops</u> on CESDP, NMD, Euro-American relations, CFSP, Military Intervention in FRY (January 2000 to date).

European Commission: <u>Chair of Working Party</u> of Jean Monnet Professors drafting reports on CESDP issues emerging from the Intergovernmental Conference, 1999-2000.

Délégation aux Affaires Stratégiques, French Ministry of Defence: <u>Commissioned Report</u> on "British Perceptions of French Defence Policy and Capacity", December 1998, 32 pp.

Russian Foreign Ministry's Diplomatic Training Institute, *MGIMO*: <u>Consultancy</u> on "The Europeanisation of EU Foreign and Security Policy", November 1998 & September 1999.

Exxon Corporation: <u>Executive Report</u>. "Prospects for Francophone Central Africa: an analysis", December 1997, 33 pages.

European Commission: Chair of Working Party of Jean Monnet Professors drafting papers for the European Council on CFSP issues emerging from the Intergovernmental Conference, 1996.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office/Royal Institute of International Affairs, London: <u>Member of Study Group</u> on British Foreign Policy for 2000, 1994-1996.

MANAGERIAL RESPONSIBILITIES:

University Service:

Head of School of European Studies, University of Bath (1985-1990). Overall Head of an interdisciplinary Department of 30 full-time academic plus 15 support staff.

Director of Research, University of Bath (1992-2002):

Chair of Research Committee; research strategy; oversight of research grant applications; *Research Assessment Exercise* (RAE): Department rated 5 (1996 and 2001).

Bath University:

Service on all main executive committees: Senate, Policy Board, Long-Term Academic Planning Committee, Academic Staff Committee, University Research Committee, Clerical Staff Committee, Library Committee, Disciplinary Committee, Arts and Social Sciences Area Committee, Faculty of Social Sciences Board, plus many working-parties.

Director: European Research Institute:

In 1995, I launched the University's ERI and acted as its first Director (1995-1997). The ERI brings together Europeanists from three Departments: European Studies, Social Sciences, Management. I have remained on the Management Board of the ERI since its foundation. I have been responsible for organising the Annual *Europe Lecture* (1994: Edgard Pisani; 1995: Sir Leon Brittan; 1996: Sir Stephen Wall; 1997: Lord David Williamson; 1998 Lord Christopher Tugendhat; 1999: Keith Vaz; 2000: Chris Patten). I was jointly responsible (with Dr. Alan Butt Philip) for the ERI's successful bid for recognition as a European Union *Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence* in the first round in 1997.

Executive Director: Euromasters & Transatlantic Masters (1994-2003):

MA in Contemporary European Studies/Transatlantic Studies. I was the initiator of this unique, international Masters programme recruiting up to 80 students annually, with integrated course delivery at eight sites in Europe (Bath; IEP-Paris; Paris III; Free University-Berlin & Humboldt University-Berlin; Siena; Carlos III-Madrid; and Charles-Prague) and three sites in the USA (UNC-Chapel Hill; Duke; and UW-Seattle). In 1995, the programme was awarded an overall grant of \$600,000 by the European Union and the US Department of Education (FIPSE) under the EU-US Collaboration in Higher Education scheme. *Euromasters*, with ESRC recognition, and Erasmus/Socrates funding, is coordinated by Bath University.

Acting Head of Department (European Studies), University of Aston (1984 to 1985).

EDITORIAL RESPONSIBILITIES

2009: Editorial Board, Studia Diplomatica- the Brussels Journal of International Relations

2005: Board of Advisors, Yale Journal of International Affairs

2004: Scientific Advisory Board, Dictionnaire Charles de Gaulle, Paris, Laffont

2004: Editorial Board: Politique Etrangère

1996-2003: <u>General Editor</u>: Series of monographs on *Contemporary French Politics and Society*, Berghahn Books. Published Volumes:

- David Chuter, Humanity's Soldier: France and International Security 1919-2001
- Martin Shipway, *The Road to War: France and Vietnam* 1944-1947
- Valerie Holman & Debra Kelly, *France at War in the 20th Century*
- Sara Blowen, Marion Demossier & Jeanine Picard, *Recollections of France*
- David Hanley, *Party, Society and Government in France*
- Joseph Szarka, *The Shaping of Environment Policy in France*
- Kenneth Mouré & Martin Alexander (eds.), Crisis and Renewal in France 1918-1962
- Raylene L. Ramsay, *French Women in Politics*

1993-1994: Editorial Board, L'Evénement européen

1986-1990: <u>Managing Editor</u>, *Contemporary France: a review of interdisciplinary studies* (Columbia University Press and Pinter Publishers)

1981-1984: Editorial Board, Modern and Contemporary France.

Refereeing/MSS reviewing:

- <u>Publishers</u>: Arnold; Berg; Berghahn; Blackwells; Cambridge University Press; Croom Helm; Hutchinsons; Macmillan; Manchester University Press; MIT Press; Routledge; One World Press; Oxford University Press; Palgrave; Pinter; Polity Press; University College London Press; Columbia University Press
- <u>Journals</u>: British Journal of Politics and International Relations; Cambridge Review of International Affairs; Contemporary Security Policy; Diplomacy and Statecraft; European Journal of International Relations; European Studies Review; Journal of Common Market Studies; Journal of European Integration; Journal of European Public Policy; European Security; European History Quarterly; Social History/Histoire Sociale; Political Studies; Review of International Studies; Review of International Relations and Development; Security Dialogue; Security Studies
- <u>Research Foundations</u>: Economic and Social Research Council; British Academy; Leverhulme Trust; Nuffield Foundation.

TEACHING:

I have taught, at both undergraduate and postgraduate level, at universities in England, France and the USA, over thirty different courses, covering:

- International Relations: Theoretical and Empirical Approaches
- French, British and European Foreign, Defence and Security Policy
- European-American Relations in the Post-Cold War World
- NATO in the Post-Cold War World
- Europe, the US and the Iraq Crisis
- Comparative European and EU-US politics
- Contemporary European Comparative Politics, Economics and Society
- Contemporary European Public Policy & Policy-Making
- The EU and the Wider World: CFSP and External Relations
- 19th & 20th Century French, British and European History (Social, Economic, Political)

POSTGRADUATE SUPERVISION:

Supervised 20 Ph.D. dissertations and over 130 Masters dissertations. External Examiner for 30 Ph.D.s

EXTERNAL EXAMINING (UNDERGRADUATE AND MASTERS)

Served as External Examiner at over 20 universities in the UK and France