



Centre for European Studies Update

December 2016





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A message from the Directors

Professor Jacqueline Lo, Dr Annmarie Elijah, Ms Anne McNaughton

Many things happened in 2016 – internationally and at the Centre. In the second half of 2016 we hosted the usual array of lectures. seminars, roundtables and cultural events. Highlights included our panel discussion with the Australian National Internships Program and the Australia and New Zealand School of Government on gender equity in government and diplomacy; two discussions recorded for ABC Radio National's Big Ideas program; a National Gallery floor talk from Sarah Cove; and a memory studies symposium. We were delighted to contribute to hosting the Australian Institute of International Affairs' National Conference in November. The Centre's Brexit Seminar Series is well underway and has so far featured Dr Ben Welllings (Monash) and Professor Michael Bruter and Dr Sarah Harrison (London School of Economics). Stay tuned for further Brexitrelated events in the New Year. As in past years, a great proportion of the Centre's work is at the interface of the academic and policy worlds. 2016 saw a record number of Chatham House and policy roundtables covering the full gamut of migration, security and trade issues. The Centre is also increasingly called upon to provide tailored briefings – for those coming from Europe (most recently the incoming German and Irish Ambassadors) and Australian officials soon to take up postings in EU countries.

We have had some especially proud moments with members of the ANUCES community. Professor Michael Wesley, Dean of the College of Asia and the Pacific, launched Dr John Besemeres' book to a packed house in November. The book is the culmination of many years of research, writing and thinking about Russia. We commend John's formidable expertise to you and invite you to download your copy of A Difficult Neighbourhood from ANU Press.

Associate Professor Hazel Moir continues to publish at a remarkable pace. She presented her work on Geographic Indications at a major intellectual property conference in November and her work on evergreening patents and the costs of pharmaceuticals has just been published in the Australian Economic Review. PhD candidate Elizabeth Buchanan was published by Foreign Affairs (again) and has been selected as a NATO Defense College Research Fellow for 2017. Visiting Scholar Camilla Ioli presented her comparative refugee research in both New Zealand and at the UNSW's Kaldor Centre. Visiting Fellow Dr Ottavio Quirico had an article accepted for the highly ranked Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights.

If 2016 proved anything it was that informed analysis of the European Union – and communicating research findings to a broad Australian audience – is more important than ever. Planning for the New Year is well underway and we invite you to turn to page 10 for a list of events which will focus our attention on Europe in 2017.

Thank you to our partners and supporters who contribute so much to our program and to the life of the Centre. We wish all of our readers a safe and peaceful break and we look forward to seeing you at the Centre again in 2017.

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Joint EU Centres Meeting, Adelaide: September

Dr Annmarie Elijah and Ms Shojie Alicer-Britton represented the ANUC-ES at the meeting hosted by the University of South Australia, Adelaide.



Roundtable with DG ECFIN: December 2016

ANUCES welcomed a visiting delegation from the European Commission Directorate-General of Economics and Financial Affairs (DG ECFIN) on 7 December 2016. The high-level roundtable was chaired by Professor Jacqueline Lo, Executive Director, ANUCES.

The delegation included: Ms Elena Flores, Director for International Economic and Financial Relations and Global Governance, DG EFIN, European Commission, Mr. Norbert Wunner, Head of Unit, Global Economy, DG ECFIN, Ms. Dalia Grigonyte, Economic Analyst, Global Economy, DG ECFIN. The delegation was accompanied by Mr Ivano Casella, Counsellor, Delegation of the European Union to Australia and Mr Brent Stewart, Delegation of the European Union to Australia.

Attendees at the roundtable were Professor Peter Drahos, ANU RegNet, Associate Professor Ligang Song, ANU Crawford School, Dr Darren Lim, ANU School of Politics and International Relations. Mr Paul Gretton. ANU Crawford School (formerly of the Australian Productivity Commission), Mr Michael Corliss, Adviser, Economic Policy Branch, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. Mr Nicholas Brown. Australian trade policy specialist and former diplomat, Mr Alan Mortby, formerly of the Bank of International Settlements, Dr Ottavio Quirico, Senior Lecturer in Law at the University of New England, Visiting Fellow at ANU, Ms Anne McNaughton, ANU College of Law and Dr Annmarie Elijah, Associate Director ANU Centre for European Studies.



What will the Future EU 27 do? Insights from the Bratislava 'Summit'

The leaders of the 27 European Union Member States who will remain after Brexit met in Bratislava in mid-September for their first major talks after the British decision. Their focus was on the future of the EU in the wake of Brexit and the level of uncertainty related to the outcome of negotiations between the EU and the UK.

On 19 October Deputy Director of the Centre, Anne McNaughton, gave a talk at the RMIT EU Centre in Melbourne, on the issues facing the EU leaders at this time.

Bush Fire Research: Global validation of Live Fuel Moisture Content



Credit: Dr David Riaño

ANUCES Visiting Fellow Dr David Riaño and Dr Marta Yebra, Research Fellow, ANU College of Medicine, Biology and Environment jointly presented their work at the ANU Fenner School in October. The presentation followed Dr Riaño's five week visiting fellowship to the ANU which was supported by the ANUCES.

The Multilevel Politics of Trade: Waterloo, October 2016

Dr Annmarie Elijah represented the ANUCES at a conference in Waterloo, Canada on 14-15 October 2016. The conference was entitled 'The Multilevel Politics of Trade in North America, Europe and Beyond: Configurations, Patterns, Dynamics' and investigated the issues and dilemmas for federal states in relation to trade politics.

DisCERNing Science:

Bringing the Collider Experience to Australia

Buried deep under the border between Switzerland and France, CERN's Large Hadron Collider is the work of 10,000 men and women from across the globe, united in their quest to uncover the fundamental building blocks of our universe. The Collider exhibition invites visitors to 'step inside the world's greatest experiment'. But what is actually going on in the Large Hadron Collider, and what could these experiments ultimately tell us?

This ANUCES event was conducted jointly with the Powerhouse Museum in Sydney. The discussion brought together distinguished scientists with direct experience of the work of CERN with the ABC's Science



Journalist and Broadcaster Robyn Williams. Panellists Professor Geoffrey Taylor, Director ARC Centre of Excellence for Particle Physics at the Terascale and Dr Mark Scarcella, Museum of Applied Arts and Science in Sydney, explained the work of CERN (the European Organisation for Nuclear Research), the involvement of Australian scientists in these experiments and what scientists hope we might learn from this famous particle physics laboratory.

For more details and to listen to the broadcast, see: www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/bigideas/innovation-&-education/8009552



Ms Sarah Cove, National Gallery f Australia

Constable's 'six-footers', c. 1819-1837

On 26 October the National Gallery of Australia and the ANUCES cohosted a floor talk titled 'From Chocolate Box to Jackson Pollock: the materials and techniques of Constable's famous 'six-footers.' The talk was presented by Sarah Cove of the Constable Research Project, London and was enthusiastically received by a large audience. Some of Constable's well-loved paintings: The White Horse (1819), The Haywain (1821), The Leaping Horse (1825) and Salisbury Cathedral from the Meadows (1831) were

included in the talk. These sketches are extraordinary creations from the early 19th century and were unseen by all but his closest friends during his lifetime. Sarah discussed Constable's diverse painting methods and brought to life his dynamic personality and artistic temperament, revealing a 'Jackson Pollock of the 1830s'. The talk was accompanied by her own highly detailed, colour slides taken during studio examinations of the paintings in preparation for the Tate exhibition.

Australia and the European Union in a new Security Environment

In September Dr Nina Markovic Khaze presented a paper on 'Australia and the European Union in a new Security Environment' at the Australian Political Studies Association Conference in Sydney.

Peer Review of Agency **Decision-Making**

ANUCES Visiting Fellow, Associate Professor Yane Svetiev, Bocconi University, gave a seminar on his work which focuses on an increasingly common phenomenon in transnational governance, whereby the decisions of a national regulatory agency are subject to review by committees of international peers. In the EU, such peer review has become a formal requirement of decisionmaking by regulatory agencies, while it also occurs within international organisations and transnational regulatory networks. Dr Svetiev proposed a framework for understanding the possible functions played by transnational peer review, as well as how it could be related to political decisionmaking and judicial review.

Big Ideas: Young Australian Voices on Europe

ANUCES and the ABC's Big Ideas hosted a radio program that explored how Europe is situated in the Australian vouth consciousness. Moderated by veteran Australian political journalist, Paul Bongiorno AM, the panel comprised four ANU students who specialise in European studies: Ms Geraldine Fela, Ms Sofia Parker, Mr Nicholas Simoes Da Silva and Ms Fride Solheim Sigurŏsson. The panellists debated and commented on contemporary European issues and Australia's connection to the region. They particularly focused on the topics of Brexit, identity and Europe in the world today.

Europe is racked by change and the youth will bear the full burden of this change. Yet young people have become increasingly sidelined in the debate around past and future challenges that Europe is facing. This sense of dislocation and disenfranchisement was a key theme in the discussion and, as Brexit and the rise of extreme political parties illustrate, is not unique to young people. Each of the panellists approached Europe from a different background and

all offered critical perspectives on the EU and Europe more generally. Fride, as a Norwegian citizen, was able to provide a unique perspective, explaining how the Norwegian model of European single market membership may not be as attractive to the UK on exiting the EU as some have suggested. Geraldine focused on the lack of democratic support that the European project is facing and commented on the anger that many people feel, using the example of Greece. Sofia addressed some of the economic problems that confront Europe, as well as problems of identity in the face of the migrant influx and how nations address it, using Germany as a case study. Nicholas provided a positive outlook on the future of Europe and discussed how young Europeans have seen directly many of the benefits of European integration and have proven strong supporters of the European project. If the Union can be sustained through this decade, this growing voter base will buttress it for decades to come.

www.abc.net.au/radionational/ programs/bigideas/youth-andeurope/8027270

Intellectual Property Statistics for Decision Makers Conference, Sydney: November 2016



Dr Hazel Moir attended the highlevel conference and presented her paper entitled 'Geographical Indications: EU policy at home and abroad' at a session on trademarks and Geographic Indications. There were 170 participants at the conference and Dr Moir fielded a range of questions from academics, government and industry, including representatives from the EU Directorate-General for Internal Market and Industry, the European Patent Office and the Canadian Intellectual Property Office.

Between Europe and Australia: Memory, Museum and Heritage

ANUCES Executive Director, Jacqueline Lo and Visiting Fellow, Kasia Williams in collaboration with the Australian Memory Research Network, hosted a Symposium on 14 October "Between Europe and Australia: Memory, Museum and Heritage". This was the fourth meeting of the Australian Memory Research Network and its focus was on the memory-museum-heritage nexus, the impact of European memory studies in Australia and new methods of inquiry. A highlight of the symposium was a site visit to the Museum of Australian Democracy.



Big Ideas

Paul Bongiorno AM
with Panel of ANU
students who specialise
in European studies:
Ms Geraldine Fela, Ms
Sofia Parker, Mr Nicholas
Simoes Da Silva and Ms
Fride Solheim Sigurŏsson.





Brexit Seminar Series

Brexit Reframed: English Nationalism, Euroscepticism and the Anglosphere



Dr Ben Willings

23 November Dr Ben Wellings, Deputy Director, Monash University and EU Centre

The seminar was jointly organised with colleagues from the Commonwealth Round Table Association in Australia. A distinguished panel of policy makers and diplomats presented a range of perspectives before the Q and A session. Discussants were: Sonya Koppe, Director of the EU Section, DFAT; Lachlan Crews, Director of the Europe Trade and Brexit Unit; Tony Brennan, Deputy High Commissioner at the British High Commission; Sarah Mangan, Deputy Head of Mission, Embassy of Ireland; and Bruno Scholl, Political Counsellor, EU Delegation to Australia.

Breaking Point? British Citizens' Fears, Projections and Polarisation on the way to Brexit

6 December Professor Michael Bruter & Dr Sarah Harrison, London School of Economics

Professor Bruter and Dr Harrison gave a lecture at the Centre. Michael and Sarah have published widely in the fields of elections, political behaviour, political psychology, identities, public opinion, extreme right politics and social science research methods.



Professor Michael Bruter, Dr Sarah Harrison and Associate Professor Matthew Zagor

Creating a New Culture of Leadership: Gender Equality Government and Diplomacy

By Nicholas Simoes da Silva

On 11 November, current students and successful alumni of the ANU Internship Program, Sir Roland Wilson Foundation Scholars and policy experts from the Centre and the Australia and New Zealand School of Government met for a panel discussion.

The panellists were:

Her Excellency Mrs Menna Rawlings CMG, British High Commissioner to Australia

Ms Jane Halton AO PSM, Secretary of the Department of Finance

Emeritus Professor Marian Sawer AO, FASSA, ANU Public Policy Fellow

Dr Sonia Palmieri, Gender and Political Participation Consultant

The discussion centred around three broad themes. The first of these focused on the successes of recent gender equality policies and the challenges that remain. The panellists started this discussion with a brief historical overview of the progress made in increasing gender equality, particularly beginning with the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing. Out of this Conference emerged a Platform for Action which guided and framed the goal of empowering women over the coming two decades. In 2015, the Sustainable Development Goals further articulated the goal of empowering women and girls and achieving gender equality (Goal 5).

Despite these efforts, all panellists agreed that gender equality remains elusive, with no country yet to achieve it. Our academic panellists provided a compelling overview of the structural challenges facing women around the world, with discrimination in the law and exclusion from public and private decision-making persisting at all levels in many countries. Several panellists also commented on the fact that increased educational attainment and rising participation in the labour market have not been matched with better conditions and equal pay. Likewise, women still bear the majority of heavy and intense unpaid care workloads. For women in diplomacy and public service, this issue

is particularly salient. Increased initiatives to improve opportunities for women have been impeded because many women feel they are unable to take up the higher workloads these jobs demand due to disproportionate responsibilities in childcare or other forms of unpaid work.

The second area for discussion related to how increased gender equality is changing cultures of leadership in government and diplomacy. A key point here was the changing nature and concept of 'leadership'. In the 1970s, 'leadership' was regarded as a dirty word in the women's movement, being associated with hierarchy and patriarchy. Instead, the emphasis was on 'shared leadership' and the importance of 'emotion work'. Structurally, shared leadership meant flatter structures and emphasis on democratic process and consensus decision-making. The 1980s saw a significant shift in women's involvement, as government and business sought to promote women's leadership in management. However, the idea of women's leadership remained associated with the concept of shared leadership, being less transactional and more democratic.

All four panellists focused on the changing position of women in diplomacy and government. In particular, the importance of the move from a maledominated career towards a two career family or female-dominated career was commented on. It was pointed out that being a diplomat is often a twoperson career, and historically women have borne the burden of looking after children and keeping a household whilst stationed in another country. The alternative for women was often not to have children if they hoped to become a diplomat or senior government official. However, recent years have seen this change, with one panellist noting that she sees more diplomatic stations where the male is the primary carer, or where arrangements have been made for both spouses to pursue their careers.

Finally, each panellist offered a range of diverse strategies that they have utilised for dealing with sexism and barriers within their own careers and on a social level. Of particular interest to many

audience members, which comprised academics, students and public servants, was the idea of the 'no interruption' rule. This rule entails chairs of meetings introducing and enforcing a policy where nobody is interrupted whilst speaking. Women are disproportionately interrupted in meetings, an experience several of the panellists had endured. The panellists argued that this often leads women to remain silent, resulting in ideas and perspectives being lost from our boardrooms. It was suggested that if more meetings were conducted under the rule, women would be more able to participate and this would lead to better outcomes in government and business.

Another suggestion for responding to sexism in the workplace and society was the idea of 'brushing it off.' One panellist explained how, when she started out in work, she experienced frequent sexism and misogyny. As a young woman she said she often felt disheartened by these experiences, and initially they affected her greatly and she grappled with how to handle them. Over time, she adopted the 'brush it off' rule where, if she felt it unnecessary or uncomfortable to challenge somebody, she would brush off their behaviour and not let it affect her emotional well-being. She said this ability has been indispensable as she has risen in her career. However, she concluded that despite her ability to brush certain things off, she is still occasionally unable to forget a particularly bad comment or experience. Another panellist argued here that it is

necessary sometimes to confront a person who says or does something sexist, and that women should not fear this. Nevertheless, she observed that it is necessary to choose with care when to have these confrontations as some will make little difference but others may exacerbate the situation. In these two strategies, the panellists sought to offer responses for helping women handle the day-to-day reality of sexism and misogyny.

Our academic panellists offered other avenues for responding to and preventing sexism, focusing on the need to collect evidence of gender inequality and sexism and using this to create a political base for change. Likewise, the necessity of gender mainstreaming and gender targeted strategies was evident throughout. Gender mainstreaming refers to '[t]he process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels' (Economic and Social Council, 1997). Gender-targeted strategies 'seek to tackle specific areas where women are unrepresented or disadvantaged, including through the adoption of temporary special measures.' In this area, targeted special measures can be utilised to overcome entrenched sexism and gender inequality. For example, electoral gender quotas or capacity development programs for women have proven effective tools for assisting women in overcoming political underrepresentation and institutional barriers.



Ms Jane Halton AO PSM. Secretary of the Department of Finance: Dr Sonia Palmieri, Gender and Political Participation Consultant: Dr Laurence Brown ANIP; Her Excellency Mrs Menna Rawlings CMG, British High Commissioner to Australia; Emeritus Professor Marian Sawer AO, FASSA, ANU Public

AllA National Conference

By Nicholas Simoes da Silva



Dr Elizabeth Thurbon. Photo Courtesy of the AIIA

On 21 November, the ANUCES was a proud sponsor of the Australian Institute for International Affairs' 2016 Conference, held in Canberra, The event brought together students, academics and practitioners from around the country to hear from leading scholars, policy makers and politicians on issues relating to Australian foreign policy. The event centred on the theme of 'Navigating the New International Disorder', a prescient topic in light of recent events in international relations.

There were four sessions on the day. Australian foreign policy was the first segment and the panellists offered a contextualisation of recent developments in Australian foreign relations. Kim Beazley's speech was particularly noteworthy and focused largely on Australia's approach to recent international events and the Australian-US relationship under a Trump presidency. The Labor Shadow Foreign Minister, Penny Wong, and the Greens Leader, Richard di Natale, each offered their party's approach to Australian foreign policy and how they believed Australia should approach key international issues in the coming decade. As with Mr Beazley's speech, Trump was a common theme in both speeches, with Mr Di Natale offering a particularly critical view on the US-Australian

relationship, which he argued was increasingly inappropriate or dangerous, a trend he argued the election of Trump has accelerated.

The second segment was titled 'Enhancing Australian Prosperity.' The key themes of migration and international trade underpinned this discussion. Journalist George Megalogenis spoke at length about the contribution immigration has made to Australian prosperity, particularly over the past two decades. However, he suggested that in the future immigration is likely to decline as countries such as the UK, the US and Canada get better at attracting skilled migrants. Australia has benefitted from being an attractive destination for skilled migrants, without having to do much to encourage it. We have thus lost the institutional knowledge of how to attract immigration and risk being ignored by skilled and semi-skilled migrants who see better prospects and support elsewhere. Dr Elizabeth Thurbon gave a particularly interesting talk on international trade and free trade agreements. She argued that Australia's capacity to develop and conclude free trade agreements has been stymied by false assumptions about FTAs and unnecessary political fighting between Labor and the Liberal parties. She provided an interesting analysis of how each

party approaches trade and broke down some of the assumptions made by each side as to what it is trade treaties do and how they should do it. Jennifer Westacott, Chief Executive of the Business Council of Australia, examined the parallels between Brexit, the US election and Australia's current domestic situation. She posed the question of whether Australia is heading towards a manifestation of anger similar to what we saw in those two former events. She suggested that our situation is quite different, but that we risk such anger when we ignore discontented and disenfranchised voters and citizens. She argued that continued growth and shared prosperity is the key to maintaining Australia's stability and faith in the political system over the coming years. She particularly focused on the value of fairness as key to Australia's past and future social cohesion.

The third segment of the program was focused on strengthening Australia's security. The discussion was particularly reflective of the day's theme, that of a new international disorder. A central theme in the discussion was the election of Trump and its effects on Australia's strategic position. Peter Varghese, Former Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, commented that the position of the US in the coming decades is likely to change and that the role of key norms underpinning US foreign policy is increasingly uncertain. Indeed, the theme of uncertainty was central in this session, as speakers argued that the true consequences of many of the events of 2016 remain unclear. Likewise, several of the speakers commented on the Brexit vote, the other seminal event of 2016. The problems facing Europe and the consequential need for Australia to re-examine how much it engages with the continent were commented on by speakers. Lastly, Australia's position in the Asia-Pacific was evident throughout, as speakers frequently touched on China and issues in the region. Despite the focus on Europe and the US in 2016, Australia's security position remains intimately linked to that of the region and the countries that inhabit it.

The final segment of the day was titled 'Australia's contribution to Global Issues'. Journalist Geraldine Doogue gave an interesting and passionate talk on the central role of civil society in Australia and around the world. She argued that civil society organisations are central to Australia's engagement with, and contribution to, the world. She called for a revitalization of these civil society groups as a way for strengthening domestic and international connections and for allowing a richer and more diverse Australia. Former High Court Judge Michael Kirby spoke on Australia's contribution to a number of global issues. Particularly interesting

were his reflections on his personal engagement with combating HIV AIDS and ensuring access to essential medicine around the world. Akram Azimi. the 2013 Young Australian of the Year, provided a compelling and fascinating personal narrative on Australia's contribution to the global community, focusing on how the country took him in as a refugee and the role that it has allowed him to play in responding to international issues, such as polio in Afghanistan. He also provided a critical approach, commenting that Australia still has much to improve on, both domestically and in its engagement with the world. He concluded, persuasively, that patriotism does not mean blind loyalty to country, but a desire to make that country better and to provide a strident voice for those in need.

The diverse speakers provided stimulating and provocative insights into recent events internationally. All agreed the risks of a new international disorder were substantial and that the coming years would be consequential for both Australia and the rest of the world, reshaping how nations interact and engage with issues of universal consequence. Issues as varied as climate change, civil wars, cross-border interventions, trade, migration and the continuing emergence infectious diseases will confront a world where the structures and norms for managing them are increasingly under threat

The AllA website is here:

www.internationalaffairs.org.au/

A number of the participants' speeches can be found at:

www.internationalaffairs.org.au/media-library/

Jennifer Westacott's speech can be found here: www.bca.com.au/media/enhancing-australiasprosperity



Conference break. Photo courtesy of the AIIA

What to Watch: Europe in 2017

By Nicholas Simoes da Silva

Early 2017

Nation to Watch: Italy

The full implications of the resignation of Italian Prime Minister Matteo Renzi in the wake of the December 4 referendum will be realised in 2017. The potential for an election remains, though the Italian President has said he wants changes to electoral laws first. Italian banks will also be a source of uncertainty, as they continue to be among the weakest in Europe. The Italian Government seems poised to seek a €15 billion loan from the European Stability Mechanism to shore up its banking system, as well as using public money to recapitalise weak banks through share purchases. These moves are likely to strengthen the political platforms of antiestablishment parties who have gained popular support from such bailouts.

Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA)

CETA, an extensive and contested free trade agreement between the EU and Canada, will provisionally come into force after the European Parliament approves it. likely early in 2017. However, a key pillar of the Treaty, the contentious Investment Court System, will not come into force without ratification by the 28 member states.

January 2017

Malta becomes President of the Council of the European Union

The Council of the European Union is the EU's legislative body, with the European Parliament and is made up of various configurations of national ministers. The Presidency rotates among the member states every 6 months, with the President having the job of encouraging

and developing the EU legislative agenda and encouraging cooperation among member states.

22 January and 29 January 2017

French Socialist Party presidential primary

Decided in two rounds with a runoff if no one gets an initial majority. Incumbent Socialist President François Hollande has declined to run, leaving several other candidates. The two most competitive are Manuel Valls who was Prime Minister of France from 2014-2016, and Arnaud Montebourg who was Minister of Industrial Renewal from 2012-2014. Valls is a more centrist politician in the Socialist party. whilst Montebourg has often pushed a more interventionist approach and is regarded as representative of the left of the party. Other candidates from the hard-left may garner substantial votes.

3 February 2017

European Council informal meeting

Comprised only of 27 heads of state or government, excluding the United Kingdom. It follows the Bratislava summit in September 2016 and is the second of three scheduled meetings on charting the future of the EU with 27 members. The meeting offers a platform for EU leaders to develop their collective approach to Brexit and to the future of a post-Brexit Union.

March 2017

The date UK Prime Minister Theresa May has set for triggering Article 50

The date UK Prime Minister Theresa May has set for triggering Article 50 of the TFEU to begin the process of leaving the EU. However, a pending case in the UK Supreme Court on the potential need for parliamentary approval of Article 50 may affect this timeline.

8 March 2017

European Council Tripartite Social Summit

The Tripartite Social Summit brings together the EU institutions at president level and European employers and trade unions. The summit is co-chaired by the President of the European Council, the President of the European Commission and the Head of State or Government of the rotating presidency.

9-10 March 2017

European Council meeting

European Council meetings occur several times each year and are an opportunity for the leaders of the 28 member states to set the agenda for the Union and to respond to issues that appear throughout the year. Expect Brexit, the migrant crisis and economic and security issues to dominate the Council in 2017.

15 March 2017

Dutch Parliamentary elections

Dutch Parliamentary elections, based on proportional representation. Opinion polls suggest that the anti-EU Party for Freedom (PVV), led by Geert Wilders, will win a substantial plurality of seats, though well below a majority. Watch the seat share that the PVV receives and whether they can form a coalition or minority government. Historically, the leader with a plurality of seats becomes Prime Minister.

25 March 2017

European Council meeting of the 27

Meeting of the 27 in Rome on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Rome Treaties. This is the final of three meetings on the future of the Union and the end of a process of political reflection begun by the Bratislava meeting. The meeting will come soon after the UK's Article 50 declaration, absent a delay, and will potentially offer a clearer picture of the EU's negotiating position and what it is prepared to offer. Other results could be plans for deeper defence and security cooperation or economic reforms and investments.

23 April 2017 and 7 May 2017

French Presidential election.

Decided in two rounds. If no candidate wins a majority in the first round, the top two candidates progress to the second. Opinion polls suggest the National Front's (FN) Marine Le Pen is almost certain to make it to the second round with a plurality, likely against The Republicans'

François Fillon, a conservative Catholic who was Prime Minister from 2007 to 2012. The Socialist Party is in disarray and tainted by the unpopularity of President Hollande, who has 4% support, and their candidate is thus unlikely to make it to the second round. The structure of the French electoral system makes a Le Pen victory difficult, as left-wing and centrist voters may vote for Fillon so as to deny Le Pen a win. This occurred in the 2002 Presidential election when Marine Le Pen's father lost the second round by 66%. However, the possibility of a National Front victory cannot be dismissed, as discontent, fear and anger grow among large parts of the French populace, particularly among rural and middleclass voters. Watch for Le Pen's percentages in the first round and whether she is able to attract left-wing voters on her interventionist economic platform.

4 May 2017

UK local elections

The 2017 local elections will provide key indications for Britain and Europe, First. observers should note how well the Liberal Democrats do. Having been wiped out over the past five years, the Lib Dems have pitched themselves as the only major anti-Brexit party. This approach worked well in the recent Richmond by-election, where the Lib Dems wiped out a 23,000 Conservative majority to take the House of Commons seat. If they can replicate this more broadly across the country in local elections, Prime Minister May will have a substantial problem as she risks losing pro-EU moderate Conservatives. The second question is how well the UK Independence Party (UKIP) does, having achieved its primary purpose of getting the UK to vote in favour of exiting the EU. UKIP's new leader Paul Nuttall, who takes over from Nigel Farage, has a difficult task in rebranding the party as something more than the anti-EU party. Nuttall has claimed that UKIP will unseat the Labour Party in the North of England, a shift from Farage's focus on South-East England. Watch how UKIP does in the North to see whether UKIP's new approach has any hope of success.

11 and 18 June 2017

French Parliamentary elections

Determined in two rounds based on constituencies. If a candidate fails to win a majority in the first round, the top two candidates and any candidates with more than 12.5% move to a second round where a plurality is required. The left-wing parties currently dominate the Legislative

Assembly, France's lower house. This will likely change dramatically in these elections, with substantial swings towards The Republicans and the National Front. The FN currently has 2 seats in the 577 seat assembly and thus has substantial room to grow in rural and regional constituencies. However, just as with the Presidential system, the electoral laws of the Legislative Assembly make FN victories difficult. This was reflected in the 2015 regional elections, where the FN won a plurality of votes and made it to the second round in more than half of the regional districts. Nonetheless, the FN only won a small fraction of these seats because parties encouraged tactical voting to deny FN candidates a majority in districts. The Presidential election results will be an indication of how much the composition of the Assembly is likely to change and whether National Front can pull enough votes when it counts. Watch to see how the FN does in the first round, where it is likely to win numerous constituency pluralities and whether it can win in the second round. Far-left parties are also angry at Hollande and are seeking to win over discontented voters with anti-austerity messages. These voters may undermine the Socialist Party percentages, potentially resulting in electoral decimation for the Socialists.

22-23 June 2017

European Council Meeting

July 2017

Estonia takes over the Presidency of the **Council of the European Union from Malta**

11 September 2017

Norwegian Parliamentary elections

Norway is not a member of the European Union and its election is likely to be more innocuous than the other elections of 2017. The centre-right Conservative Government has been in power since 2013, having been preceded by 8 years of a Labour-led left-wing coalition. Opinion polls show the Labour party with a substantial lead over the Conservatives, suggesting a resurgence for the social democrats in a country long associated with social democracy. Expect another coalition regardless and a close election overall as smaller parties split between the major two parties.

October 2017

Czech Parliamentary elections

Based on multi-member constituencies with open-list proportional representation. Watch to see how well Eurosceptic parties do in a country that once was among the strongest supporters of the European Union and yet in which support has dropped significantly. For example, the Czech President recently called for a referendum on EU membership, though the call was quickly rebuffed by the Government.

19-20 October 2017

European Council Meeting

14-15 December 2017

European Council Meeting

Late 2017

German Parliamentary elections

Based on half the members being elected in single-member constituencies on first past the post and the rest elected by proportional representation based on party lists. The most significant nation in the EU will head to the polls sometime between late-August and mid-October. Angela Merkel, German Chancellor for the past 11 years, has declared she will contest the election again. One of the few remaining European leaders who saw the decade begin, Merkel is regarded as key to stability in Europe and the EU. However, her handling of the migrant crisis has damaged her popularity in Germany; and expect to see a substantial swing against her party, the conservative Christian Democratic Union (CDU/CSU). For the past three election cycles, she has been in a Grand Coalition with the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the two parties together dominate the Bundestag. Whilst the CDU will likely lose a significant number of seats, the Grand Coalition is likely to survive based on the size of its majority, and Merkel is likely to remain Chancellor. A key party to note is the far-right Alternative for Germany (AfD). The AfD is running on an explicitly anti-immigrant and refugee platform, with Eurosceptic undertones. Having fallen short of the 5% threshold for representation in 2013, the AfD looks set to break into the Bundestag with around 10-15% of the vote, a significant breakthrough in a country where centrist politics has dominated for decades. If the CDU loses enough seats, expect to see the SPD take on a greater role in government, perhaps leading to a more left-leaning approach to governing.



ANUCES Intern Mr Nicholas Simoes Da Silva, ANUCES Visiting Fellows, Ms Camilla Ioli and Dr Ottavio Quirico

Farewell to Anne McNaughton



This month the Centre farewells Anne McNaughton who returns to the ANU College of Law. Anne has served as the Deputy Director of the Centre for 18 months.

During her time at the Centre she has cemented the links between the Centre and her home College, as well as playing a key role in the Centre's research, outreach and teaching programs. Anne will be greatly missed in the blue cottage, but we expect to see her often in her role as an ANUCES Adjunct.

Research Funding News

Associate Director Annmarie Elijah has been awarded a Jean Monnet grant from the European Commission to train Australian public servants and business about the EU. She said that it is vital federal, state and territory public servants understand the EU ahead of the start of negotiations about a possible Australia-EU free trade agreement. 'The EU likes to involve sub-national parties, for example, state governments, and they just did this with Canada as we saw them involving Canada's provinces in their trade deal,' she says. 'The Federal Government engages regularly with the EU, but this is not so much the case with the states and territories. These parties will need to understand this process, so our project will involve, in part, training them before they participate.'

ANU Media Awards

At the ANU Media Awards on 7 December Annmarie Elijah won the award for the 24/7 Most Impressive Media Performance. The award recognised Annmarie's ability to adapt her thoughts and comments to the rapidly evolving news relating to the Brexit referendum of 23 June.



Appointments to the NATO Defense College

ANUCES Associate, Professor Stefan Markowski has been selected as the NATO Defense College Eisenhower Research Fellow for 2017. Stefan will be analysing data on military expenditure (milex) from a number of sources in order to investigate the relationship between economic growth, national budgets, milex, defence burden and military capability in countries comprising the eastern flank of NATO and the eastern frontier of the EU. He will take up

his residence at the NDC in Rome in September 2017.

In addition, ANUCES PhD Candidate Elizabeth Buchanan has been selected as the NATO Defense College PAG Research Fellow for 2017. Elizabeth submitted her doctorate in 2016. She is scheduled to be in residence at the NDC in Rome from September-December 2017. Congratulations Stefan and Elizabeth!

Summary of Events, ANUCES in 2016

Major conference with Konrad Adenauer Stiftung

5 workshops and symposia

29 Visiting Fellows

4 ANIP interns

18 seminars and lectures

20+ roundtables and policy briefings

4 radio broadcasts with Radio National

The EURO8003 postgraduate course

3 floor talks at the National Gallery of Australia

Work with our partners in EU Centres: the Summer School, the graduate conference, joint Centres meeting, support of the Australian and New Zealand Journal of **European Studies**

4 seminars with our partners, the Australian-New Zealand School of Government and the Australian Institute of International Affairs

Co-hosting of the AIIA national conference

Launch of the Brexit Seminar Series

EU training for the Department of Foreign Affairs and

5 ANUCES briefing papers and 3 policy notes published Several book launches - and another three to come early in 2017

One successful Jean Monnet application

Three HDR submissions

Media: more than a dozen radio interviews; more than 30 op. ed. pieces; one ANU media award

Total attendance at ANUCES events: 11,864 people.

ANUCES Visiting Fellows 2016 – 2017



Dr Yane Svetiev, Associate Professor, Department of Legal Studies of Bocconi University, Italy.

In Residence: September -October 2016

Project: The Experimentalist Architecture of EU Governance and Regional Regulatory Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific



Camilla Ioli, Visiting Research Student, University of Bologna, Italy.

In Residence: December 2016 -March 2017

Project: Negotiating the Refugee crisis in Italy: the 'hotspot'

approach



Dr David Riano, Emeritus Associate Project Scientist, Spanish Council for Scientific Research (CSIC), Spain.

In Residence: September -October 2016

Project: Evaluation of Fuel Moisture Content Products from MODIS over Europe and Australia



Dr Ottavio Quirico, Senior Lecturer, School of Law, University of New England, New South Wales, Australia.

In Residence: 1 July 2016 – 30 June 2017

Project: Article 11 TFEU and 37 CFREU: Kepler-47 System in Constellation Cygnus



Dr Fiona Barker, Lecturer, Political Science and International Relations, Victoria University, Wellington, New Zealand.

In Residence: October -December 2016

Project: Diversifying the Green vote? Green parties, identity politics and the Relationship with migrant-background voters in Europe, Australia and New Zealand



Dr Maria Garcia, Europa Fellow, Senior Lecturer, Department of Politics, Languages and International Studies, University of Bath, United Kingdom.

In Residence: February -March 2017

Project: Mediating Market Powers: USA and TPP's Impact on Australia's Trade Negotiations with the EU



Robert Mezyk, PhD candidate, Humboldt University, Berlin, Germany.

In Residence: February -August 2016

Project: EU after the crisis: new economic governance, instrumentalized democracy and

the Free Trade Agreements



Elizabeth Buchanan,

Europa Fellow.

In Residence: September 2016 -

December 2016

Project: Reassessing the Russian Threat to EU Energy Security

Strategy



Dr Christina Petterson.

Gerda Henkel Research Fellow

Project: Balancing Economy and Christ: The Brüdergemeinde in Greenland and Australia



Dr Sonia Mycak, Ukrainian Studies Foundation of Australia Research Fellow.

Project: Ukrainian Migrant Writing in Australia



Dr Kasia Williams, Europa Fellow.

In Residence: October 2016 -

March 2017

Project: Dislocated Memories: Australian Conversations with

European Pasts



Xianbai Ji, Europa Fellow, PhD Candidate, S Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University.

In Residence: February – April 2017

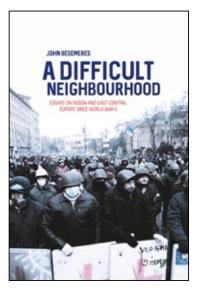
Project: Spreading Mega-Regional Trade Agreements – An Economic Explanation Using Theory of Moves

Focus on Russia

Book Launch: A Difficult Neighbourhood

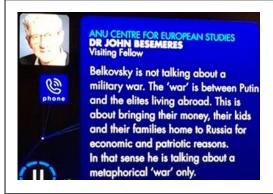
Dr John Besemeres, has published 'A Difficult Neighbourhood: Essays on Russia and East-Central Europe since World War II' (ANU Press 2016). Through a series of essays on key events in recent years in Russia, the western ex-republics of the USSR and the countries of the onetime Warsaw Pact, John Besemeres seeks to illuminate the domestic politics of the most important states, as well as Moscow's relations with all of them.

The book was launched by Professor Michael Wesley, Dean, ANU College of Asia and the Pacific on 22 November. In his remarks Professor Wesley highlighted John's detailed observations which take the reader through a pivotal time in European and world history. A Difficult Neighbourhood is divided into five parts, the first part being on Polish history and a reminder of Poland's crucial role in the 20th century; a central theme of Part 2 is Polish-Russian relations – a broadbrush portrait of the politics since the end of the Cold War and of Poland's EU presidency and its social dynamics. Further it highlights the tragedies of Katyn and Smolensk. Part 3 discusses the background to Europe's greatest post-war crisis in Ukraine; the development and characteristics of Putinism are looked at in Part 4. Professor Wesley



found that John's most savage assessments are saved for the West and its failure to acknowledge the threat posed by Russia. He found 'Russian disinformation and Western misconceptions' a most disturbing chapter, critical of the West's attitude to a 'full-throttle' Putin. Professor Wesley praised John's contribution to Australia which can be seen through the essays - a deep contextual knowledge of the language, history and culture of Russia and East-Central Europe written with clear, honed judgment. Download your copy of the book at:

press.anu.edu.au/publications/ difficult-neighbourhood



Visiting Fellow Dr John Besemeres featured on ABC TV's Media Watch on 14 October 2016

Harry Rigby Seminar Series

How does the current Russian standoff with the West compare with the Cold War in the 1970s and in the 1980s?

ANUCES hosted a talk by Paul Dibb, Emeritus Professor of strategic studies in the College of Asia and the Pacific at ANU, where he was Head of the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre from 1991 to 2004. In his presentation he drew on his 20 year experience in the Cold War in Australia's intelligence and academic communities as an expert on the Soviet Union.

ANUCES Visiting Fellow Kyle Wilson returned to the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade in October to be an Acting Director working on Russia in Europe Division.

TurkStream Essays in The Interpreter

PhD candidate Elizabeth Buchananhad an article on Turkstream, 'Putin's Latest Triumph over the West?' The article is published in two parts by the Lowy Institute.

www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/ turkstream-putin%E2%80%99s-latesttriumph-over-west-part-1

www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/ turkstream-putins-latest-triumph-overwest-part-2

ANUCES Publications

Book

• Windle, Kevin, Elena Govor, Alexander Massov. (July 2016) From St Petersburg to Port Jackson: Russian Travellers' Tales of Australia 1807-1912. Australian Scholarly Publishing, Melbourne.

scholarly.info/book/480/

Book Chapters

- Nerlich, S. (2016) 'Counting outward mobility: the data sources and their constraints'. Handbook of Research on Study Abroad Programs and Outbound Mobility (IGI Global: USA).
- Williams, Kwapisz K. 'Transnational Cultures in Australia: Writers of Polish Descent'. The European Diaspora in Australia, 114-135.

Journal Articles

- Beauregard, K. (2016) 'At the intersection of gender and language: Why do francophone women have lower levels of political participation'. American Review of Canadian Studies 46(1): 74-92.
- Brown, L. (2016) Vertical and horizontal approaches to the making of racial statistics in Britain. Ethnic and Racial Studies 39(10): 1-19.
- Brown, L. (2016) 'Visions of violence in the Haitian revolution'. Atlantic Studies 13(1): 144-164.
- Daugiberg, Carsten. (2016) 'Responding to Non-Linear Internationalisation of Public Policy: The World Trade Organization and Reform of the CAP 1992-2013'. Journal of Common Market Studies: 1-16.
- Davis, D. (2016) 'International art in early childhood research journal'. Early Childhood Research Journal 5(1): 11-28.
- Fraussen, B. (2016) 'Who's in and Who's out? Explaining Access to Policymakers in Belgium'. ACTA Political 51(2): 214-236
- Windle, Kevin. (2016) 'Trotskii's Consul: Peter Simonoff's account of his years as Soviet representative in Australia (1918-1921)'. Slavonic and East European Review 93(3) July: 493-524.
- Windle, Kevin. (2016) 'Translating Jerzy Lutowski: the transplantation of allegorical drama'. AALITRA Review 11 May: 128-152.
- Windle, Kevin. (2016) 'Pervyi konsul Sovetskoi Rossii v Avstralii P. F. Simonov i ego druz'ia i nedrugi' [Soviet Russia's First Consul in Australia, Petr Simonov: His Friends and Foes], Klio (St Petersburg historical journal) 6 (114) June: 176-188.

ANUCES Briefing Papers

- Jari Eloranta, Jari Ojala, Jaakko Pehkonen . Lars Christian Bruno. (2016) 'Equality and Convergence in Nordic Societies in the Long Run: Europe and Other Comparative Mirrors'. ANU Centre for European Studies Briefing Paper Series 7(2) 3-19.
 - politicsir.cass.anu.edu.au/centres/anu-centre-for-europeanstudies/research/publications/equality-and-convergencenordic-societies-long-run-europe-and-other
- Raphaela, Thynne, Religious Freedom and the Principles of Subsidiarity and Margin of Appreciation: the Jurisdictional Responsibilities and Interrelationships of the European Court of Justice and the European Court of Human Rights, Vol. 7, No. 3, September, 2016. politicsir.cass.anu.edu.au/research/publications/religiousfreedom-and-the-principles-of-subsidiarity-and-margin-of
- Andrew Charles Willcocks and Anne McNaughton, Preparatory Approaches to Overcoming Regulatory NTBs in an EU-Australia FTA, Vol. 7, No. 4, October 2016.

politicsir.cass.anu.edu.au/research/publications/preparatoryapproaches-overcoming-regulatory-ntbs-eu-australia-fta

ANUCES Expert Commentary

Selection of OpEds

sueMonth=August

- 12 July 2016. Deputy Director Anne McNaughton speaking about Brexit and Theresa May: thewire.org.au/story/theresa-may-left-clean-brexit-mess/
- 24 August, ANUCES PhD candidate Elizabeth Buchanan: 'Brexit's Gifts to Putin' Foreign Affairs, www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russianfederation/2016-08-24/brexits-gifts-putin
- August 2016, Anne McNaughton, Annmarie Elijah and James Cameron, 'Key Legal Implications of UK withdrawal from the EU', New South Wales Law Society Journal, Issue 25, August 2016 pp. 70-72, www.lawsociety.com.au/resources/journal/archives/ Archivelssue/index.htm?issueVolume=3&issueYear=2016&is
- 24 October 2016. Dr Laurence Brown was interviewed on Calais Jungle:
 - thewire.org.au/story/french-refugee-camp-jungle-razed
- On 25 October Annmarie was interviewed on ABC Radio National's Drive on the latest developments relating to the Canada-EU trade agreement. Listen to the interview at: www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/drive/free-trade-isunder-attack-with-eu-canada-deal-likely-to-fail/7964596

Policy Notes

Mr Nicholas Simoes da Silva, ANIP Intern, Ms Anne McNaughton, Deputy Director, Dr Annmarie Elijah, Associate Director, Mr James Cameron, PhD Candidate. (2016) 'Understanding Brexit: Charting the Challenges'. ANU Centre for European Studies Policy Notes 1.



17 - 19 JANUARY 2017

9:00am - 5:00pm daily

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https://summerschool2017.eventbrite.com.au



2017 EU SUMMER SCHOOL FOR SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS

The world was stunned in June 2016 when citizens in the United Kingdom voted for Britain to leave the European Union. On top of challenges posed by massive migration, terrorism and continuing economic difficulties, this was a severe blow to the European Union's plans to achieve major gains for the people and nations of Europe by 2020.

This outcome poses significant questions about the future of the European Union, but also the United Kingdom. Perhaps ironically, while the decision puts reform at the top of the EU agenda, it puts at risk the very existence of the United Kingdom. It also has major implications for other nations, as the EU leaders continue to seek a major role in external affairs, and to develop stronger relationships with countries in other parts of the world, not least Australia and New Zealand. At the same time, some British leaders have aspirations to recreate a dominant role for the 'Anglosphere'. What might all of this mean for our region?





ANU CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN STUDIES

CALL FOR VISITING FELLOWSHIP **APPLICATIONS 2017**

Closing date for applications: 24 January 2017

The ANU Centre for European Studies Centre (ANUCES) is a joint initiative of the Australian National University and the European Union. It underscores the university-wide commitment to European studies. Located at the heart of diplomatic and political life in Canberra, ANUCES now involves the ANU Colleges of Arts and Social Sciences; Law; Business and Economics; Asia and the Pacific; Medicine, Biology and Environment; and Engineering and Computer Science. ANUCES promotes interdisciplinary dialogue, generates collaborative research projects and contributes to the development of public sector policy and debate. The Centre supports postdoctoral research and visiting fellows working in the field of EU and comparative studies concerning Australia and Europe.

The Visiting Fellowship Program at the ANUCES is part of the Centre's mission to promote research, education and dialogue between Europe and Australia. The Visiting Fellowship Program is aimed at supporting and hosting local and international scholars wishing to undertake research at the ANU.

For further information on the ANUCES Visiting Fellowships, please see: politicsir.cass.anu.edu.au/centres/anu-centre-for-european-studies/fellowships/visiting-fellowprograms

The Europa Visiting Fellowship Program at the ANUCES was established in 2016. It provides funds to enable local and international scholars to visit the ANUCES for a minimum period of six weeks. In 2017 the ANUCES welcomes Europa Fellowship applications relating to the following themes: movement of people; Australia-EU relations; Britain and the European Union; Germany and the European Union; the EU and international trade. Applications from Early Career Researchers are especially welcome.

For further information on the ANUCES Europa Fellowships, please see:

politicsir.cass.anu.edu.au/centres/anu-centre-for-european-studies/fellowships/europa-visitingfellowship

Please circulate this information widely

Call for Applications

APRA-funding to promote Germany-Australia research cooperation

Closing date 20 December 2016

The call for applications from the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF) in their APRA program 'to promote design and preparatory measures with the aim of establishing joint research presences with partners the (Asia-Pacific Research Area, APRA)'. Draft projects must be submitted by the German partner by 20 December 2016.

For more information and to register please visit www.universitiesaustralia.edu.au/globalengagement/international-collaboration/internationalagreements-and-activities/Australia--Germany-Joint-Research-Cooperation-Scheme#.WEDOYk2Qrcs)

Call for Papers

EUSAAP Annual Conference and PG Workshop 2017

Registrations close on 31 December 2016.

The Roles of the EU and the Asia Pacific in the Global Era Politics, International Relations, Economics and Law 1-2 July 2017, Tokyo

The conference will be multi-disciplinary in focus and we are inviting papers from a wide range of academic disciplines to look at findings in relation to the roles of the EU and the Asia Pacific region in this global era. Postgraduate students working in any area of EU and Asia Pacific relations or European Integration are invited to register for the postgraduate workshop.

For more information and to register please visit www.eusaap.org



The ANU Centre for European Studies (ANUCES) is an initiative involving six ANU Colleges (Arts and Social Sciences, Law, Business and Economics, Asia and the Pacific and Medicine, Biology & Environment, Engineering & Computer Science) co-funded by the ANU and the European Union. The Centre focuses the interdisciplinary talents of hundreds of researchers, teachers and students working on Europe on a single site.

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