



Director of the ANU Centre for European Studies, Professor Jacqueline Lo, met recently with the Directors of Centres in national capitals in the region when all gathered at the EU Studies Association Asia-Pacific annual conference in Hong Kong

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A message from the Director

Professor Jacqueline Lo

Welcome to our new look newsletter, the first for 2016. It provides an update on our wide-ranging research and outreach activities. 2016 has been an action packed year for the Centre so far, with our program reflecting long-term research goals as well as current issues in the EU and Europe. Migration issues, policy advocacy, trade policy, the environment and of course the outcome of the British referendum on EU membership have featured heavily in our work so far.

We were particularly delighted to welcome Senator the Hon. Mathias Cormann, Minister of Finance to the ANU in March to deliver a keynote speech on policy advocacy – see the details below of a highly successful program involving government, the diplomatic corps and the NGO community.

With the events of 23 June ANUCES experts have been in high demand. In collaboration with the Monash EU Centre we recorded a session for Big Ideas which aired on the day of the referendum: Dr Annmarie Elijah, Dr Remy Davison and Dr



Ben Wellings were hosted in conversation about the possible Brexit by Professor Marko Pavlyshyn at Monash. Less than a week after the vote we hosted a public lecture with the ANU National Security College. Needless to write, it was well attended! Watch the recording of the event at: www.youtube.com/watch?v=x-jywwUSq8M

A list of ANU contributions to the public debate over Brexit can be found on our website.

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Our community of Russian experts has been active. ANUCES Visiting Fellow Mr Kyle Wilson joined a recent study-tour to Moscow led by ANU Professor Paul Dibb. In April Associate Prof. Stephen Fortescue presented a public lecture at Chatham House on Russia's 'turn to the East'. Kyle and Stephen also featured in a recent event at the Lowy Institute. See the details at:

www.loyyinstitute.org/events/event-inside-putins-russia

Highlights of the ANUCES cultural program included our annual 10 day festival at the Street Theatre and a hugely successful floor talk and concert at the National Gallery of Australia commemorating artists and their work in World War I.

And it is extremely pleasing to report that Euroscience at Questacon was well attended as July school holiday makers took the opportunity to learn more of European science and innovation.

I take this opportunity to thank our stellar cast of partner organisations, visitors, ANU associates and postgraduates who contribute so much to the Centre and make our program possible. Read on for full details of our recent events and activities, research and publications, and ANUCES in the media. You can follow the Centre on social media and find further details of our program on the website. We look forward to welcoming you to the Centre in the second half of 2016.

European Studies Summer School for Secondary Teachers: 19–21 January

EU Centres in Australia and NZ once again collaborated in producing the European Studies Summer School for Secondary Teachers in Melbourne. Special thanks and acknowledgment to the RMIT's EU Centre who regularly host this event at the Immigration Museum. Attendance was high (and seems to grow each year!) and the program enthusiastically received. ANUCES was represented by Dr Kasia Williams, Professor Jacqueline Lo, Dr Annmarie Elijah and Dr Laurence Brown.



Dr Annmarie Elijah at the European Studies Summer School in Melbourne, January 2016



Director Jacqueline Lo, HE Sem Fabrizi, EU Ambassador to Australia, Keynote Speaker Carla Wilshire, and Beatrice Gorawantschy from Konrad Adenauer Stiftung.

Fostering European Studies

The ANUCES interns Léonore Marteville and Adam Gosciniak hosted a networking morning tea at the Centre for Bachelor of European Studies staff and students on 19 May. The Bachelor of European Studies at the ANU has an annual enrolment of around 40 students and the Centre is delighted to cultivate long-term interest and expertise in Europe and the European Union among the student body.

'New Migrations': Major Conference and Collaboration with Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

The ANUCES continued our collaboration with Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung first with a round of presentations in February with senior officials including CDU Federal Director Dr Klaus Schüler and KAS Deputy Secretary general Dr. Gerhard Wahlers. This was followed by conferences in Manila, Canberra and Berlin on the migration theme. The Centre's

annual conference was held in May on the theme 'New Migrations and the Challenges of Integration in Europe, Australia & New Zealand'. The annual conference is one of the biggest events on our Centre's calendar. It was well attended by the Canberra academic and policy communities.

Dr Laurence Brown represented the Centre at the Manila Conference. Professor Jacqueline Lo attended the event hosted in Berlin, involving migration experts from Australia, Canada, and the USA.



The ANUCES-KAS collaboration on 'New Migrations' began with presentations in Canberra in February 2016



European Parliament Delegation

The Centre convened a roundtable briefing for a visiting delegation from the European Parliament on 10 February. The delegation comprised Mr Axel Voss MEP, First Vice-Chair for the Relations with Australia and New Zealand, Group of the European People's Party (EPP), Germany; Mr Luigi Morgano MEP, Group

of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament (S&D) Italy; and Mrs Monika Vana MEP, Group of the Greens/European Free Alliance (Verts/ALE) Austria. Colleagues from across the university engaged in a high-level discussion with the delegation on strengthening communication channels between government officials, senior public servants and academics.

MEDEF Delegation: Tuesday 15 March 2016

The Centre hosted a visit of the international delegation of MEDEF (the largest employer federation in France) as part of the delegation's program of visits in Australia. The event was a roundtable discussion, opened by Professor Margaret Harding, Deputy Vice Chancellor (Research) at the ANU.

The visit was a valuable opportunity to showcase ANU's research and innovation strategy and to explore ways in which the ANU and researchers at French institutions can further deepen existing research networks.

The Centre keenly supports such events to improve international research collaboration and innovation with the EU and its member states.

Read more about the Delegation's visit at:

www.ambafrance-au.org/MEDEF-International-delegation-visiting-Australia

'Flowers of War' floor talk at the National Gallery of Australia

On 17 May the National Gallery of Australia and the ANUCES hosted a floor talk entitled "The Man Who Painted Blue Horses: Verdun and the WW1 sketch book of Franz Marc". The talk was a conversation between renowned ANU historian Professor Joan Beaumont, Jacqueline Dwyer, researcher and daughter of Jacques Playoust, a Franco-Australian soldier who served at Verdun and director of the Flowers of War project (www.theflowersofwar.org), Chris Latham. The conversation was moderated by ABC Radio's Alex Sloan.

The floor talk was followed by a moving concert featuring music from the Great War by German and French composers, including works written in the trenches at Verdun. It was accompanied by projected images of the black and white World War 1 studies of



Franz Marc, founder of the Blue Rider school and the most popular German Expressionist painter, who was killed at Verdun on 4 March 1916.

The sketches slowly transformed into colour paintings by Marc and his colleagues Kandinsky, Klee and Delaunay. Concert performers were renowned Australian soprano Louise Page; Tamara-Anna Cislowska, piano; and the Sculthorpe Quartet (Veronique Serret and Christopher Latham, violins; Tor Fromyr, viola; David Pereira, cello).

Advocacy and Public Policy

Symposium with the Belgian Embassy

On 3 March 2016 the ANU Centre for European Studies and the Embassy of the Kingdom of Belgium co-hosted a symposium on Advocacy and Public Policy. The Vice-Chancellor Professor Brian Schmidt and the Ambassador of Belgium, HE Jean-Luc Bodson opened proceedings, and the keynote address was given by Senator the Hon. Mathias Cormann, Minister of Finance. The event attracted high level interest from academics, the diplomatic corps and government.

In his keynote address Senator Cormann stressed the key role of advocacy groups in government by providing different perspectives and helping representatives make good decisions based on good information, as these groups provide an extra level of scrutiny and help lawmakers understand the consequences of certain decisions. He emphasised that it is the role of representatives to engage with stakeholders, but noted the impossibility of making all parties happy due to the fact that they are working with limited resources, often meaning that hard decisions need to be made. In referencing the senate committee process, he highlighted the fact that Australia has quite a developed parliamentary consultation process.

Dr Bert Fraussen, ANU School of Sociology took the opportunity to highlight the fact that in the domains of advocacy and public policy, Australia and Belgium are an unlikely comparison, but that such a comparison provides us with fertile ground to understand how different political institutions engage stakeholders. He mentioned that while we do see similar interest groups with similar functionalities within the two countries, the involvement of these groups in policy making diverges largely due to the different political systems, with Belgium following a neo-corporatist model, while Australia's system is best described as pluralist.

Senator Cormann and Dr Fraussen's presentations were followed by expert panel discussions. The first panel covered Australian European perspectives

on the role of stakeholders in public policy, with presentations from Dr Gemma Carey, (UNSW Canberra and PowerToPersuade), Professor Carsten Daugbjerg (ANU Crawford School of Public Policy) and Professor Darren Halpin (ANU School of Sociology). The second panel dealt with current practices and emerging trends in policy advocacy in Australia, with presentations from Dr. Richard Denniss (Chief Economist Australia Institute), Dr. Stephen Duckett (Health Program Director Grattan Institute), Susan Helyar (Director ACT Council of Social Service), Belinda Robinson (CEO Universities Australia), and Michael Brett Young (CEO Law Council of Australia).

ANUCES would like to acknowledge and thank the Belgian Embassy for generously supporting this initiative, the ANU School of Sociology and the Policy Advocacy Lab, and our two panel moderators Dr Andrew Banfield and Professor John Warhurst.

Further details of this event are available from the Policy Advocacy Lab at: policyadvocacylab.com/events-2/



Keynote Speaker Senator the Hon. Mathias Cormann, Minister of Finance, addressing the symposium

Diplomats and defence officials discuss NATO summit at ANU

by Marita Petherbridge, *Bachelor of European Studies* student

Friday 17 June 2016

Brussels-based officials from the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), have visited The Australian National University (ANU) to explain the alliance's strategic direction and goals of the upcoming Warsaw Summit.

The June 8 forum at the ANU Centre for European Studies also featured scholars, Australian defence personnel and diplomats from Poland and Norway – representing NATO in Australia – along with other European Union states.

Lt. Col. Joanna Brain, from the Military Cooperation Branch at NATO headquarters, said the international security situation had changed since the last NATO summit in Wales in 2014.

She said the alliance was concerned about making its strategy current, and talked about the changing nature of security threats.

Strategies to defend and deter nuclear, hybrid, cyber, and terrorist attacks will be discussed in Warsaw, she added.

Lisa Picheny, a Political Officer in the Political Affairs and Security Policy Division in NATO's headquarters, said Australia and NATO had made major strides since 2014 when the alliance gave Australia "enhanced opportunities".

Polish ambassador Pawel Milewski, emphasised the need for a "universal, current and decisional NATO strategy" which would be debated at the 27th summit starting on 8 July.

Several speakers referred to the need for NATO to project a "universal, 360 degree security structure" to both member states and those outside the alliance.

Norwegian ambassador, Unni Kløvstad, said her country relies on NATO as a cornerstone of its defence strategy, and would welcome further maritime patrols to secure its western and northern borders.

The consensus among the speakers was that the greatest contemporary threats to NATO are from the south and east.

The summit will also discuss ways to project strength and deterrence around Europe's borders, including increased training with Iraqi forces, and help in securing the borders of Jordan, Tunisia, Ukraine, Georgia, and Moldova.



Lisa Picheny, a political officer from NATO headquarters, addresses the gathering

A military exercise underway in Poland, Anaconda 2016, demonstrates NATO's increased commitment to securing its eastern flank. Speakers gave a strategic context for Anaconda and Australia's role as a NATO partner state, particularly in operations in Afghanistan.

All speakers agreed that effective decisional capabilities were critical to NATO's ability to provide security against threats.

This third strategic element is likely to be addressed in Warsaw through discussions about how to enhance decision-making processes to enable faster, more effective defence.

The gathering was also told to expect more talk of a greater commitment to communication, both with partner states and those not traditionally close to NATO.

Cooperation with partner states in exercises and command and control operations will promote security and make collaboration easier.

Engagement with potential aggressors through dialogue and military transparency will decrease the potential for misunderstandings that could lead to conflict, the forum was told.

*First published on the CASS News website: cass.anu.edu.au/news/news/20160617/diplomats-and-defence-officials-discuss-nato-summit-anu

Intercultural Design Research Project: Cultural Spaces and Design – Perspectives in Design Education: 7 April

Colleagues from the Institut Hyperwerk, University of Applied Sciences and Arts Northwestern Switzerland convened at the Centre for a workshop on cultural spaces and design education. The workshop was supported by the Swiss Embassy and was held in conjunction with an innovative intensive study course held at the ANU School of Art.



Dr Erhard Busek

Europe Day Public Address and Roundtable with Dr Erhard Busek: 4 May

Jean Monnet Professor (ad personam) and Chairman of the Institute for the Danube Region and Central Europe Dr Erhard Busek gave a public address on the topic, 'Identity of Europe: to give Europe a soul or 'European Narrative'. Pro Vice-Chancellor (Research and Research Training) Professor Jenny Corbett welcomed Dr Busek on behalf of the Vice-Chancellor. Following the public lecture Dr Busek participated in a closed roundtable discussion at the Centre.

Segue 2016: Where Australia Meets Europe in Canberra: Contemporary Performance with a European Dimension

The Centre co-hosted the second Segue Festival with the Street Theatre between 5-15 May. The festival celebrated the cultural interplay between the continents of Australia and Europe. The festival hosted visiting European artists and supported innovative works with a European dimension by Australian artists. As part of this festival, Radio National's Paul Barclay hosted a panel of Australian artists discussing creative and cultural responses to current refugee migration in Europe and Australia. This panel was broadcast as part of Radio

National's Big Ideas from Europe series on 9 June

<http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/bigideas/artistic-reponses-to-migration-and-the-refugee-crisis/7488082>.

Artist in Residence, Gosia Wlodarczak, created an eight-day performative work during the festival, drawing directly onto glass in the Street Theatre foyer, the National Gallery of Australia and the Canberra Museum and Art Gallery. Gosia also visited the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade for a unique performance to mark Europe Day.

EU Studies Association Asia-Pacific Conference, Hong Kong: 29 June 2016

Our Director, Professor Jacqueline Lo, Deputy Director Anne McNaughton, Adjunct Associate Professor Hazel Moir and Visiting Scholar Robert Mezzyk represented the Centre at the EUSAAP Conference in Hong Kong at the end of June. Hazel, Anne and Robert presented conference papers and Jacqueline Lo convened the inaugural meeting of the EU Directors of EU Centres in national capitals.

NATO: Expectations for the Warsaw Summit

The ANUCES hosted a public seminar to discuss current European and international security policy issues on the agenda for the 27th NATO Summit that took place in Warsaw, Poland, on 8–9 July, 2016. The seminar was jointly organised by the Royal Norwegian Embassy in Canberra as Contact Point Embassy for NATO in Australia; the Embassy of Poland and the ANU Centre for European Studies. The panellists were HE Ambassador of Poland, Pawel Milewski; HE Ambassador of Norway, Unni Kløvstad; Scott Dewar, First Assistant Secretary, International Policy, Department of Defence; Lisa Picheny, Political Officer, Political Affairs and Security Policy Division, NATO HQ; Lt.Col. Joanna Brain, Section Chief West, Military Cooperation Branch, Cooperative Security Division, International Military Staff, NATO HQ; Dr Stephan Fruehling, Associate Professor, Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs, ANU CAP. See the summary on page 5.



Adjunct Associate Professor Hazel Moir, Deputy Director Anne McNaughton, Director, Professor Jacqueline Lo, and Visiting Scholar Robert Mezzyk in Hong Kong. June 2016

Euroscience at Questacon, July 2016

For the third year ANUCES together with Questacon (The National Science and Technology Centre) and the EU Delegation in Canberra have collaborated to present a full program of activities telling the stories of the past, present and future of European science and invention. The week-long event was launched by ANU Vice-Chancellor Professor Brian Schmidt, Professor Graham Durant, Director of Questacon, Chief Scientist of Australia, Dr Alan Finkel and Acting Head of Delegation, Dr Bruno Scholl. Attendance at Euroscience has again exceeded expectations, exposing hundreds of young minds to the best of European Science and Technology in an engaging format.



Women of Diaspora: Roles and (self) Representations

ANUCES Visiting Fellow, Dr Katarzyna Williams convened this research workshop which was jointly organised with the ANU Gender Institute. Workshop attendees included diplomats, academics and public servants.



Dr Kasia Williams, Visiting Fellow at the ANUCES

EURO 8003: Regional Integration in Comparative Perspective: July 2016

This annual graduate course runs intensively at the Centre each year. This year the program examined the process of regional integration in the fields of law and regulation, trade and the environment, common security policy and immigration.

Graduate Workshop in New Zealand: May 2016

ANUCES supported the graduate workshop in Canterbury New Zealand from 6–8 May 2016, which was attended by our two interns Adam Gosciniak and Léonore Marteville. The interns each presented a paper in preparation for their assessment in the ANU Australian National Internship Program. Special thanks and acknowledgment to Professor Martin Holland and the team at the University of Canterbury for hosting this year.

Industry PhD Workshop: Lessons from the French CIFRE and ANU PhD programs for developing industry engagement in higher degree research training: 31 May 2016

The Centre co-hosted a workshop with colleagues from CIFRE to understand the experience of industry-based and industry-focused PhD students from France and the ANU. Main speakers included ANU Deputy Vice Chancellor (Research) Professor Margaret Harding and Dr Clarisse Angelier, ANRT, France. The workshop preceded the twenty-four hour Entrepreneurship Challenge which brought forty-seven PhD students from across Australia to compete with French students.

Walking the Representation Tightrope: Party demands, community expectations and immigrant-origin politicians' representation goals: 21 July

ANUCES Visiting Fellow Dr Fiona Barker from the Victoria University of Wellington gave a public lecture at the ANU School of Politics and International Relations which examined the ideas of representation in diversifying legislatures. Dr Barker's research is based on in-depth interviews with immigrant-origin politicians across Belgium's parliaments.



Segue 2016



ANUCES PhD student Elizabeth Buchanan, who submitted her doctorate in July with Annmarie, Jacquie and John

Visiting Fellows

In February 2016, we welcomed Professor Heribert Dieter, German Institute for International and Security Affairs and Dr Bettina Biedermann, Institute for Economics and Law, as Visiting Fellows. Heribert and Bettina contributed generously to the Centre's activities, including delivering a lecture on the Migration Crisis in Europe and Germany's Position in International Affairs in March in Tasmania. The lecture was part of the ANUCES joint program with the Australian Institute of International Affairs to deliver European-themed lectures in capitals around Australia. Read Heribert's contribution to the Centre's Briefing Paper series at:

politicsir.cass.anu.edu.au/centres/anu-centre-for-european-studies/publications/briefing-papers

Dr Fiona Barker has recently joined the Centre as a Visiting Fellow from Victoria University in Wellington. She has presented a public lecture on her work relating to diversity and representation in legislatures (see event details on p.6). With the ANU College of Law the Centre is presently hosting Ms Camilla Ioli who is researching asylum seeker treatment in Europe and Australia. The Centre will welcome further Visiting Fellows later in the year, including under the newly-announced Europa Fellowships scheme.

ANUCES Postgraduates

The ANUCES postgraduate community has been busy. Melissa Jogie has submitted her doctorate and departed for married life in the UK. Elizabeth Buchanan submitted her doctorate in July.

Since leaving late last year, 2015 Visiting Fellow Annick Masselot (University of Canterbury) has finalised her book manuscript and submitted her PhD thesis for examination. Jane Smyth recently submitted her thesis for Master of Philosophy. Well done Jane, Melissa, Elizabeth and Annick!

In April 2016, Will Shannon and his partner Georgina announced the safe arrival of Alfie Jukka Shannon. Congratulations Georgina and Will.

ANUCES PhD student Elizabeth Buchanan has had her analysis of Russia's role in the Arctic published in Foreign Affairs.

Congratulations Elizabeth. Readers are invited to access the article 'Arctic Thaw' free of charge at:

www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/2016-01-21/arctic-thaw?t=1470353570

Farewell and Welcome

The Centre formally farewelled Dr Katherine Daniell and Dr Laurence Brown in July.

Dr Katherine Daniell has been appointed to a permanent position in the ANU College of Medicine, Biology and Environment. Dr Laurence Brown has been appointed as the Director of the ANU College of Arts and Social Sciences Australian National Internships Program.

Katherine and Laurence have been key contributors to the Centre's research and outreach activities and will be sorely missed. Luckily, they are not too far away! We now count them among our Centre Associates along with new ANU associates Professor Sylvie Thiebaux, Mr Thomas Biedermann and Ms Linda Kirk.

ANIP Interns: the Australian National University Internships Program places interns in a variety of posts. The ANUCES hosted Léonore Marteville and Adam Gosciniak in First Semester this year. Léonore and Adam

contributed in a variety of ways to the Centre's activities as well as writing excellent research papers as part of their internship course.

In Semester Two we welcomed Nicholas Simoes Da Silva and Sofia Parker as ANIP interns. Both interns have already settled in and are a great asset to the Centre and our activities.



Deputy Director Anne McNaughton with 2015-16 Visiting Fellows Francesca Vassallo, Yane Svetiev, Annick Masselot, Kasia Williams and ANUCES Coordinator Shojie Alicer-Britton

Would a Brexit Really Undermine British security?

By Rhys Merrett, June 7, 2016

In the lead up to the European Referendum on 23 June, there is much public debate about how Britain should define its future relationship with the European Union (EU). The 'Out' campaign has naturally taken the nationalist route – championing the traditional symbols of British sovereignty they believe are being eroded by EU regulations on migration and trade. Not to undermine their patriotic virtues, the 'In' campaign has adopted a similar approach by arguing why Britain's national interests are best served through EU membership. The full implications of either outcome have yet to be fully appreciated by the British public. The economic, political, social and legal considerations are difficult to fully comprehend, namely because the EU is by nature a complex and evolving entity. One question Britain must consider, however, is the extent to which leaving Europe would undermine its national security.

In a theoretical sense, Europe is a powerful international actor. The combined resource of its members-states grants the EU superior leverage – an innovative and mammoth economy supported by the principles of democracy and liberal freedoms. The EU's capacity to entice is balanced by its access to the military capabilities of an advanced and experienced fighting force. Of course, these preceding statements are diluted when we consider the practical realities underlying the EU's international prowess. This begs the question - what does Britain really gain from its security relationship with Europe?

Recent history has revealed an institution marred by member-state divisions, a stalled and poorly guided security integration process (currently manifested through the Common Foreign Security Policy and Common Security and Defence Policy), a generalist foreign policy agenda and a lacking willingness to cooperate on issues that directly threaten European security. Europe's lacklustre response to US War in Iraq wasted an ideal opportunity for the Union to make a unified impact on the conflict. Since then, similar opportunities have presented themselves, only to be wasted time and time again – whether through the French military action in Mali, France and the UK's enforcement of a no flight zone in Libya, Russia's annexation of the Ukraine or the ongoing Syrian civil war.

All of these events undermine Europe's security interests, and demand a European response. Yet what we have witnessed has been nothing short of uninspiring. Why then would a Brexit harm British security given the EU's underwhelming status as an international actor?

A Brexit would still allow Britain to enhance its close security cooperation with France without having to worry about the additional layer of European bureaucracy. And a Brexit is unlikely to undermine the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) – an alliance that has traditionally served as Europe's security guarantor.

Britain has always prided its 'special' transatlantic relationship with the US. Since the 1940s, the UK has regarded its relationship with the US to be exceptionally close – bound together through a common history, language and culture. President Obama's recent call for the UK to remain in the EU, however, suggests that this exclusive relationship is also an out-dated one belonging to a different era. The US wants a strong and united Europe precisely so that it can undertake a firm pivot to Asia.

Increasing calls by British and European politicians, military leaders and diplomats for the UK to remain in the EU demonstrates a stark reality – while Europe still needs to define its place within the world, a Brexit will symbolically undermine all that the EU has strived to become over these last two decades. EU membership may not directly offer the UK the benefits that realists would consider important to any security alliance. But it does allow the UK to have a say in the future direction of a community that is being increasingly challenged by traditional power balances and non-conventional security threats.

For this reason, the vocal support for Britain to remain in the EU needs to serve as the catalysing event that will compel European leaders to overhaul the current security framework and put in place a new system that caters to its potential strengths and overcomes its perceived weaknesses. This is a two-pronged process that will require a change in thinking and a new approach to engaging the international system. Let's hope that Britain and Europe take this opportunity to enhance Europe's position on the international stage.

Rhys Merrett is a PhD Candidate at the ANU Centre for European Studies

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Why De Gaulle would applaud Brexit

By Ben Wellings,
Annmarie Elijah, Emma Vines

The Brexit vote is a classic example showcasing the rise of anti-politics. The anger and disillusionment with mainstream politics is so great that populists seem to command greater trust despite remaining divisive. History seems to have reverberated with this vote bringing the politics of two controversial and contrasting European figures, Charles De Gaulle and Enoch Powell, to life.

There are two figures from European history that would have been pleased with the outcome of the Brexit referendum: General Charles de Gaulle and Enoch Powell. De Gaulle would have been happy not only because les anglais (the English) are out. De Gaulle loved referenda because he hated political parties. These he sidelined in favour of plebiscite-driven authoritarian government. For his part, Enoch Powell generated a politicised Englishness based around anti-immigration and anti-Europeanism. He would have been pleased because the UK Independence Party's (UKIP) victory was a triumph for Powellism beyond the grave, although he would have decried the disdain for parliament of his UKIP legatees. This was far from an uncomplicated win for democracy and the "decent people" of England and Wales.

All of this matters to Australia. What happens next in Europe will have consequences here. The way this crisis is handled politically will be of crucial importance globally and locally. But this crisis can only be explained in part as an exercise in party mismanagement. Deeper discontents led us to this place.

Anti-politics cannot be ignored when considering the populist tidal wave and the referendum result. Dissatisfaction with mainstream politicians has become the new normal, causing pressure on the two-party system and antipathy towards politicians. Both Labour and the Conservatives in Britain have proved spectacularly poor in responding to the rise of anti-politics and the result of the referendum again demonstrated the instability anti-politics can cause.

Thus, the failure of Remain stems in no small part from general distrust and disillusionment with mainstream politicians. The problem here is that anger and disillusionment with mainstream politics is so great that populists seemed to command greater trust despite remaining divisive. During the campaign, Nigel Farage was the only politician whose trustworthiness increased. This is perhaps unsurprising given the rise of populism and the accompanying anti-politics. UKIP is the clearest example, with 74 per cent of UKIP voters sceptical of politicians' true intentions, well above average. Of course, the party's Eurosceptic platform, particularly when combined with the heated topic of immigration, captured a large number of voters from across the political spectrum.

In its inter-generational aspects, Brexit is an inverse of les événements (the events) of 1968: it is a revolt by the old against the young. Just as Scotland, Northern Ireland and London may be dragged out of the EU against their wishes, so too will the 75 per cent of the young who voted Remain. While turnout increased with age, the youth vote was not insignificant. It is important not to ignore such a large demographic, particularly given they are likely to suffer most from Britain's decision. The result will do little to reaffirm young voters' slipping confidence in democracy.

In seeking recourse to a referendum there is a great irony. Eurosceptics sought to defend Westminster's sovereignty from what they saw as an encroaching supranational EU. But to do so they undercut the sovereignty of the UK parliament from below. By invoking the People through the device of a referendum popular discontents broke the banks of party discipline.

These popular discontents were distinctly national. Scotland clearly voted to remain in the EU. The situation in Northern Ireland is more complex but Brexit is the greatest spur towards a united Ireland in one hundred years. Whether Dublin wants a large Protestant minority is another matter but it might get one anyway.

Despite Wales' shift towards Euroscepticism, it was the Powellite revolt in England that was of most significance. The English left tends to get misty-eyed about popular revolts from Wat Tyler, to the Levellers to the Chartists; but there will be little romanticising of this one. Yet the revolt had been brewing in England for two decades. Many observers questioned the absence of English nationalism after devolution to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland in the late 1990s. But English nationalism was expressed via Euroscepticism. It grew along the twin tracks of Powellism: a defence of national sovereignty against the EU and a defence of local sovereignty against foreign immigrants. With London lost to England as a European and global city, it was the English shires and provinces that took Britain out of the EU.

Some might hope that the British and the Europeans will now behave as economic rationalists striking a mutually beneficial win-win deal on the single market. But this is an underestimation of the strength of European identity that animates many leaders in Europe. Just as the euro was defended when some in Australia thought that default was an option, the United Kingdom will not get a smooth ride as the Foreign Office grits its teeth and negotiates the UK out of the EU. Merkel, Hollande and Renzi—the new “Big Three” of the EU—have made this clear. Harsh treatment of the retreating UK carries the risk of inflaming Eurosceptic sentiment across the continent. Brexit could be replicated elsewhere.

Brexit is therefore not the only development within the EU that Australia needs to watch closely. If Marine Le Pen can turn next year's presidential election into a de facto referendum on France's membership of the EU—and win—we will be facing the prospect of a nuclear-

armed state commanded by a far-right president sympathetic towards Putin's Russia. Le Pen is Powell and De Gaulle combined.

Australia is poised delicately in this situation. Trade and historical ties with the UK are strong; they were getting stronger with the EU. The prospective trade agreement between Australia and the EU is likely delayed, if not seriously disrupted, by the referendum outcome. Australia had grown used to the UK and the EU together in a mutually beneficial trade and political relationship. Separated by Brexit, the two are less than the sum of their parts.

Dr Ben Wellings is the deputy-director of the Monash European and EU Centre at Monash University, Melbourne. Dr Annmarie Elijah is the associate director of the ANU Centre for European Studies at the Australian National University, Canberra. Dr Emma Vines is a research fellow at the Institute for Governance and Policy Analysis at the University of Canberra. This article is published under a Creative Commons Licence and may be republished with attribution.

*Originally published on the Australian Institute of International Affairs (AIIA) website:

www.internationalaffairs.org.au/australian_outlook/why-de-gaulle-would-applaud-brexit/



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Key Legal Implications Of UK withdrawal from the EU

By Anne McNaughton, Annmarie Elijah
and James Cameron

In the British referendum of 23 June 2016 the British public voted to leave the European Union ('EU'). The result was 52 per cent 'leave' to 48 per cent 'remain', and a clear simple majority of more than a million votes.

Voting in the UK is not compulsory. The referendum turnout of 72 per cent is considered high compared with general election turnouts. Nevertheless the vote followed a highly divisive campaign and the result has left the UK more divided than ever: geographically, economically and politically.

There have been some calls for a second referendum. The appointment of Theresa May as British Prime Minister and a new Cabinet incorporating key 'Brexiters' in foreign and trade policy portfolios makes this seem unlikely in the short term. The new Prime Minister has reiterated that 'Brexit means Brexit'. The way the referendum was carried out, however, means that the 'leave' option was not clearly defined ahead of the vote.

Much remains to be determined in negotiation with the remaining EU member states (the 'EU27'), and importantly, inside the UK itself. The full ramifications of the vote for Brexit will not be clear for months, and perhaps years.

In the first of a series of brief articles, this overview covers key issues relating to the legal steps required of a member state to leave the EU. It addresses first, article 50 and the likely shape of negotiations for Brexit; second, the external dimension including the re-establishment of ties with third countries in areas that have been in the exclusive competence of the European Union institutions; and third, internal issues, notably the legal issues around devolution and the viability of the United Kingdom's political system.

Article 50

The provision dealing with the withdrawal of a State from the EU is article 50 of the *Treaty on European Union* ('TEU'). Much has been said and written about this provision, particularly concerning the two year time frame for negotiating the withdrawal arrangements between the EU and the UK.

Time starts to run from the date that the Member State in question notifies the European Council of its intention to withdraw. Unless and until the Member State notifies the European Council formally of this intention, time does not run under article 50 and the Member State (the UK in this instance) remains a full member of the EU. Given the complexity of the internal and external issues related to withdrawal, it is clear why the UK government is taking its time to issue a formal notification to the European Council.

What has not been reported is the fact that article 50 also allows for an extension of time for negotiations to continue beyond the two year period, provided both the Member State in question and the European Council unanimously agree to such an extension. In the interests of certainty, the possibility of such an extension has understandably been downplayed. Depending on how the negotiations play out, it may be that such an extension is necessary. At this early stage however, it is impossible to predict whether or not such an extension would be sought or agreed upon by the UK and the EU27.

The negotiation process

Once the UK has notified the European Council of its intention to withdraw from the EU, the European Council will provide guidelines in the light of which the Union (in this instance, almost certainly led by the European Commission) will negotiate and conclude an agreement with the UK which sets out the arrangements for its withdrawal from the EU.

Article 50 stipulates that this agreement is to be negotiated in accordance with article 218(3) of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union ('TFEU') and concluded on behalf of the Union by the Council of Ministers, acting by a qualified majority vote (defined in article 238(3)(b) TFEU), after obtaining the consent of the European Parliament. A discussion of this procedure can wait until it is actually triggered. For present purposes it suffices to say that until the procedure is triggered, any discussions the UK has with other EU Member States can only be in the most general of terms and would not be binding. The likelihood of Member States investing resources to any real extent in such discussions is remote.

On close inspection there are two separate tasks involved following the triggering of article 50: working out the precise terms of the UK exit, and sorting out the arrangements for UK-EU relations after that time. The nature of the post-Brexit relationship between the UK and the EU27 depends entirely on the terms that the UK is able to obtain from the EU27. The UK is heavily integrated into the single market and dependent upon trade with the EU. It will find itself (once again) on the receiving end of EU terms and conditions.

Before negotiations with the UK even commence, the position could be hard fought among the EU27. Assorted models have been put forward for the UK-EU relationship post-Brexit: the Norwegian, Swiss and Turkish models, or a standard bilateral trade agreement. These models may have some relevance. It is also possible that none of these will neatly fit the bill: there is no precedent for a 'post-regional' arrangement among states following a sustained period of economic and political integration over four decades.

Legal and policy implications for third countries

The EU is a case of advanced economic integration and policy coordination across 28 member states. The UK extricating itself from the EU involves departure from the key EU institutions, the many subordinate institutions and agencies, and of course the committees and processes attached to these. Across a huge range of policy areas where competences have been ceded to the EU, or where these competences are shared, British policy-making will now work differently. This potentially impacts everything from the single market to climate policy, development aid to migration, transport and police cooperation, to name a few.

Discerning the impact of Brexit requires tracing the extent of integration in a given policy area and then mapping the likelihood that the measures remain in place after the UK formally departs the EU. It is likely that some measures may be retained in order to retain compatibility with the EU single market. The UK Government will need to examine the measures on a case by case basis. Some areas of the law will be impacted more than others, but without the terms of the withdrawal agreement, it is impossible to say what the ramifications for UK legislation will be.

The impact of Brexit on third countries such as Australia is all about these terms. Ahead of the referendum, the Australian Government's position on the British referendum was that EU membership 'was a matter for the British people', but that Australia would benefit from an active UK membership of a strong EU. With the outcome now clear, it would benefit third countries if the negotiations between the UK and the EU were swift and smooth, with the terms known as soon as possible. Unfortunately the negotiations may well be protracted.

The vote for Brexit potentially complicates Australia's relationship with the EU. It alters considerably the context of the proposed EU-Australia free trade agreement,

currently under consideration in Brussels and Canberra. Prime Minister Turnbull has stated that he is 'very confident' that these negotiations will continue. However instead of negotiating collectively with Australia, the EU27 and the UK are instead going to be negotiating with each other. It will almost certainly delay negotiations: Brexit will absorb time, energy and resources in the EU and the UK.

In trade policy at least, it is clear that the UK would need to resume responsibility for its negotiations with third countries. The EU is a global trade power and has successfully negotiated with one voice bilaterally and multilaterally in the World Trade Organisation. UK trade policy has been handled exclusively at EU level since the mid-1970s, and the UK is party to more than 50 trade deals as an EU member. The need to resume responsibility and re-build capacity in this area was a high profile aspect of the 'leave' campaign, and Australia was mentioned multiple times among the list of alternate trade partners for the UK post-Brexit. With governments now in place in both countries, a possible UK-Australia trade agreement has already been discussed by Prime Ministers May and Turnbull. What is not clear is when the UK might be at liberty to begin genuine negotiations, or even know the parameters of its trade policy.

Much depends on the shape of the negotiations to come, in particular whether the UK Government pursues a 'hard' or 'soft' Brexit strategy, and whether the EU27 will be accommodating. Implications for Australia and Australian law firms are unlikely to be known inside two years.

Internal dimensions: Brexit and the devolved assemblies

In the days after Britain's referendum on membership of the European Union on 23 June 2016, Nicola Sturgeon, First Minister of Scotland, suggested in a BBC interview with Gordon Brewer that the Scottish Parliament possibly could and would block the UK from leaving the European Union. Sturgeon declared that it was her duty as Scottish First Minister to fight to protect the interests and wishes of the people of Scotland, who had overwhelmingly voted to stay in the EU.

The reasons for Sturgeon's thinking are two-fold:

Firstly, section 29 of the Scotland Act 1998 compels the Scottish Parliament not to legislate in a manner that is 'incompatible ... with EU law'. As EU law overlaps to a large degree with devolved matters legislated by the Scottish Parliament, when Britain formally leaves the EU, it will certainly have a significant effect on many devolved areas of responsibility. For example, the EU legislates on agriculture and fisheries, and these are both areas devolved to the Scottish Parliament. Thus if 'Brexit' occurs, the Scottish Parliament may possibly need to repeal much legislation in these areas.

Secondly, section 28(8) of the Scotland Act 1998 as amended by section 2 of the Scotland Act 2016, states that 'it is recognised that the Parliament of the United Kingdom will not normally legislate with regard

to devolved matters without the consent of the Scottish Parliament'. When Westminster legislates in an area which is devolved to the Scottish Parliament, a Legislative Consent Motion or 'Sewel Motion' normally occurs, whereby the Scottish Parliament usually consents and legislates to accept the Westminster legislation in a devolved area. This has occurred dozens of times during the life of the Scottish Parliament and is quite routine.

Wales has a similar arrangement in this regard to Scotland, as stated in the Command Paper Powers for a Purpose, Cm 9020. This constitutes clause 2 of the Wales Bill, introduced into the Commons in June 2016. Northern Ireland has the same convention, as stated by DGN 8 on Post Devolution Primary Legislation Affecting Northern Ireland. However, the Northern Ireland Assembly has rarely examined legislative consent motions, and the Northern Ireland Executive normally gives assent.

If the Scottish Parliament (or other devolved assembly) decides not to give consent, it is symbolic: Westminster still has ultimate legislative authority.

As stated on the Scottish Government website, 'Nothing in the Scotland Act prevents the UK Parliament from legislating on matters which are within devolved competence: section 28(7) makes that clear.'

Section 28(7) of the Scotland Act 1998, and unaltered by the 2016 Act, states that the ability of the Scottish Parliament to legislate on devolved matters 'does not affect the power of the Parliament of the United Kingdom to make laws for Scotland'. So while the Westminster

Parliament will usually try to work with the Scottish and other devolved assemblies for a seamless and conflict-free devolved arrangement, Westminster has ultimate sovereignty, whether on devolved matters or not. Westminster's sovereignty is also highlighted by the fact that it can abolish any or all of the devolved assemblies with an act of parliament, as unlike Australia, the UK does not have a constitution outlining their structure of government.

Nor does the UK have an 'unwritten constitution' as some suggest. It simply does not have a constitution. During 'The Troubles' in Northern Ireland in the 1970s, Westminster suspended the devolved assembly there (Stormont), and it did not reconvene for around another 25 years. Until several years ago it was UKIP (UK Independence Party) policy to abolish the devolved assemblies, and their precariousness could be said by some to strengthen the case for Scottish independence.

In short, the Scottish, Welsh and Northern Irish assemblies do not have the legislative power to block the United Kingdom from leaving the European Union.

Anne McNaughton is Deputy Director and Annmarie Elijah is Associate Director of the ANU Centre for European Studies. James Cameron is a PhD candidate, ANU School of Politics & International Relations.

*Reproduced from the *New South Wales Law Society Journal*, Issue 25, August 2016, pp.70–72.

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E: europe@anu.edu.au



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ANU Centre for European Studies

1 Liversidge Street, Building 67C
The Australian National University
Canberra ACT 2601 Australia

T: +61 2 6125 9896

F: +61 2 6125 9976

E: europe@anu.edu.au

W: ces.anu.edu.au