#### **List of Publications**

February 2023

## a. Books: Monographs (all peer-reviewed)

Divided We Stand: The EU's Global Engagement in 21st Century World Politics (with Katerina Wright).

Advanced book project. Expected publication with a leading university press in 2024-25.

Shaping Europe: France, Germany, and Embedded Bilateralism from the Elysée Treaty to Twenty-First Century Politics (with Joachim Schild), paperback edition (updated and revised).

Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Albanian edition: *Duke Formuar Europën*—*Franca, Gjermania dhe bilateralizmi i hekurt nga Traktati I Elize-së te Politikat e Shekullit të Njëzet e Një* Tirana: Alb Juris, 2021.

Chinese edition: 锻塑欧洲—— 法国、德国和从《爱丽舍宫条约》到 21 世纪政治的嵌入式双边主义 Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 2020.

History and Foreign Policy in France and Germany.

London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

Shaping Europe: France, Germany, and Embedded Bilateralism from the Elysée Treaty to Twenty-First Century Politics (with Joachim Schild), hardcover edition.

Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Flying Tiger: International Relations Theory and the Politics of Advanced Weapons.

Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

### b. Edited Books (\*peer-reviewed)

\*Europe's Cold War Relations: The EC Towards a Global Role

(with Kiran Klaus Patel and Federico Romero), London et al.: Bloomsbury, hardcover edition 2020; paperback edition 2021.

Co-editor, contributing concluding chapter.

Under consideration for translation into Chinese.

Wo bleibt die Zeit? Berlin: Berliner Wissenschaftsverlag BWV, 2006.

Co-editor, contributing introduction and framing chapter.

## c. Journal Articles (\*peer-reviewed journals)

- \*"Introducing the EU's Global Engagement Database on European Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) Military Operations and Civilian Missions Worldwide (EUGED): Filling Old Gaps and Fueling New Research," submission for peer-refereed journal review in the summer of 2023 (with Danilo Di Mauro and Katerina Wright).
- \*"Why States Arm and Why, Sometimes, They Do So Together," under review (with Jonata Anicetti).
- \*"Preference Constellations in EU-Russian Crisis Bargaining over Syria and Ukraine," under re-review / revise and resubmit (*Journal of Common Market Studies*) (with Jonas Driedger).
- \*"Leadership in European Crisis Politics: France, Germany, and the Difficult Quest for Regional Stabilization and Integration," *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2023. Accessible at <a href="https://www.tandfonline.com/journals/rjpp20">https://www.tandfonline.com/journals/rjpp20</a>>.
- \*"Building 'Next Generation' after the Pandemic: The Implementation and Implications of the EU Covid Recovery Plan," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 60, No. S1 (September 2022), pp. 114-124 (with Bruno De Witte and Lucas Schramm).
- \*"Embedded Bilateralism, Integration Theory, and European Crisis Politics: France, Germany, and the Birth of the EU Corona Recovery Fund," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 60, No. 3 (May 2022), pp. 526-544 (with Lucas Schramm).
- \*"An Old Couple in a New Setting: Franco-German Leadership in the Post-Brexit EU," *Politics and Governance*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (2021), pp. 48-58 (with Lucas Schramm).
- \*"Back to the Future? Franco-German Bilateralism in Europe's post-Brexit Union," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 25, No. 8. (May 2018), pp. 1174-1193 (with Joachim Schild).
  - Republished under the same title in *The Politics and Economics of Brexit*, edited by Simon Bulmer and Lucia Quaglia (London: Routledge, 2018), pp. 86-105.
- \*"Europe in an Age of Transition," Global Affairs, Vol. 3, No. 3 (2017), pp. 193-210 (with Richard Maher).
- \*"Europe's Crises and the EU's 'Big Three'," West European Politics, Vol. 39, No. 5 (September 2016), pp. 1053-1072 (with Richard Maher).
  - Republished under the same title in *Europe's Union in Crisis: Tested and Contested*, edited by Brigid Laffan (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 139-158.
- \*"Three Eras and Possible Futures: A Long-Term View on the Franco-German Relationship a Century after the First World War," *International Affairs*, Vol. 90, No. 2 (March 2014), pp. 337-350.
- \*"Debating the Sources and Prospects of European Integration," *International Security*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Summer 2012), pp. 178-199 (with Richard Maher; other participants in this debate: David M. McCourt and Andrew Glencross, Norrin M. Ripsman, Mark S. Sheetz and Jean-Yves Haine, and Sebastian Rosato).
- \*"The European Security Order between American Hegemony and French Independence," *European Security*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (September 2011), pp. 305-335 (with James Sperling).

\*"International Relations Theory and the Rise of European Foreign and Security Policy," *World Politics*, Vol. 63, No. 3 (July 2011), pp. 548-579 (with Richard Maher).

Translated into Russian as У. Кротц, Р. Маэр, "Теория международных отношений и развитие сотрудничества в сфере внешней политики и политики безопасности."

Reprinted in the anthology Современная наука о международных отношениях за рубежом: Хрестоматия в трех томах / Под. общ. ред. И.С. Иванова. - М.: НП РСМД, Т.3 - 2015, с. 452-484. (*Contemporary Foreign International Relations Studies*, Vol. 3, edited by I. Ivanov [Moscow: NPMP Russian International Affairs Council, 2015], pp. 452-484.)

- \*"Regularized Intergovernmentalism: France-Germany and Beyond (1963-2009)," Foreign Policy Analysis, Vol. 6, No. 2 (June 2010), pp. 147-185.
- "Europe in the New World: National Governments and the EU at the G-20," *Perspectives on Europe*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (Autumn 2009), pp. 26-30 (with Richard Maher).
- \*"Momentum and Impediments: Why Europe Won't Emerge as a Full Political Actor on the World Stage Soon," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 47, No. 3 (May 2009), pp. 555-578.
- \*"Parapublic Underpinnings of International Relations: The Franco-German Construction of Europeanization of a Particular Kind," European Journal of International Relations, Vol. 13, No. 3 (September 2007), pp. 385-417.

An abridged version of this article has been translated into Japanese as "パラ・パブリックによる国際関係の土台造り — 独仏の国境を越えた社会的目的の構築" (Parapublic Underpinnings of International Relations: The Franco-German Construction of International Social Purpose). International Center for the Study of Historical Reconciliation, Tokyo Keizai University and Goethe Institute, Tokyo, June 2007.

### d. Book Chapters and Working Papers (\*peer-reviewed, otherwise editor reviewed)

- \*"Military and Civilian Crisis management," in *Handbook on Governance and the EU*, edited by Sonia Lucarelli and James Sperling. Northhampton: Edward Elgar, forthcoming in 2023 (with Danilo Di Mauro und Jonas J. Driedger).
- \*"European Foreign Policy," in *Elgar Companion to the European Union*, edited by Samuel B.H. Faure and Christian Lequesne. Northampton: Edward Elgar, forthcoming 2023 (with Katharina Wolf and Lucas Schramm).
- "Deutsch-französische Partnerschaft," in *Europa von A bis Z* (updated and revised new edition), edited by Werner Weidenfeld, Wolfgang Wessels, and Funda Tekin. Wiesbaden et al.: Springer VS, expected publication (online), August 2022 (with Lucas Schramm).
- "Deutsch-französischer Bilateralismus und die Entstehung von 'Next Generation EU'," in Frankreich-Jahrbuch 2021: Die Wirtschaft Frankreichs, Italiens und Deutschlands in der Pandemie / Les économies française, italienne et allemande face à la pandémie, edited by Deutsch-Französisches Institut / Institut Franco-Allemand, Baden-Baden, Nomos, 2022, pp. 103-117 (with Lucas Schramm).

- \*"Dis-Atlanticism: The West in an Era of Global Fragmentation," in *Key Controversies in European Integration* (3<sup>rd</sup> edition), edited by Hubert Zimmermann and Andreas Dür. London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021 (with Rawi Abdelal).
- "锻塑欧洲 中文版前言" (New Preface to the Chinese edition of Shaping Europe: France, Germany, and Embedded Bilateralism from the Elysée Treaty to Twenty-First Century Politics. Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 2021 (with Joachim Schild).
- \*"International History Meets International Relations," in *Europe's Cold War Relations:*The EC Towards a Global Role, edited by Ulrich Krotz, Kiran Klaus Patel, and Federico Romero.
  London et al.: Bloomsbury 2020.
- \*"German Diplomatic Security Policy: A Federal Police Response," in *Diplomatic Security: A Comparative Analysis*, edited by Eugenio Cusumano and Christopher Kinsey. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press 2019, pp. 90-108 (with Klaus Brummer).
- \*"CSDP Military Operations," in *The Handbook of European Defence Policies and Armed Forces*, edited by Hugo Meijer and Marco Wyss, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press 2018, pp. 870-887 (with Katerina Wright).
- \*"Franco-German Defence and Security Cooperation," in *The Handbook of European Defence Policies and Armed Forces*, edited by Hugo Meijer and Marco Wyss, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press 2018, pp. 440-457 (with Katharina Wolf).
- "France: Germany's Indispensable Ally in European Policy-Making," German European Policy Series (GEPS), No. 01/18, Institut für Europäische Politik (IEP), Berlin 2018 (with Joachim Schild).
- "Frankreich—unverzichtbarer Partner deutscher Europapolitik," in *Handbuch der deutschen Europapolitik*, edited by Katrin Böttger and Mathias Jopp, Baden-Baden: Nomos 2016, pp. 435-448 (with Joachim Schild).
- "Embedded Bilateralism: Die deutsch-französischen Sonderbeziehungen in Europa," in Sonderbeziehungen als Nexus zwischen Außenpolitik und internationalen Beziehungen, edited by Klaus Brummer, Sebastian Harnisch, and Kai Oppermann, Baden-Baden: Nomos 2015, pp. 289-312 (with Joachim Schild).
- \*"Disjoining Partners: Europe and the American Imperium," in *Power in a Complex Global System*, edited by Bruce Jentleson and Louis Pauly, New York: Routledge 2014, pp. 131-147 (with Rawi Abdelal).
- "Embedded Bilateralism: Deutsch-französische Beziehungen in der europäischen Politik," in *Frankreich-Jahrbuch* 2012, edited by Deutsch-Französisches Institut (Ludwigsburg), Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften 2013, pp. 33-49 (with Joachim Schild).
- "Disjoining Partners: Europe and the American Imperium," in PK Fest: Proceedings of a Conference in Honor of Peter J. Katzenstein, Ithaca, New York, October 14-15, 2011, assembled by Bruce Jentleson and Louis Pauly, Cornell University, January 2012, pp. 343-362 (with Rawi Abdelal).
- \*"Discord and Collaboration in Franco-American Relations: What Can Role Theory Tell Us?" in *Role Theory in International Relations: Approaches and Analyses* edited by Sebastian Harnisch, Cornelia Frank, and Hanns W. Maull, New York: Routledge 2011, pp. 213-233 (with James Sperling).

- \*"The (Beginning of the) End of the Political Unity of the West? Four Scenarios of North Atlantic Futures,"
  Transatlantic Programme Series, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European
  University Institute (September 2008), EUI Working Papers, RSCAS 2008/31.
- "Wo bleibt sie denn nun, die Zeit?" in *Wo bleibt die Zeit?*, Die Junge Akademie et al. (eds.), Berlin: Berliner Wissenschaftsverlag 2006, pp. 6-17.
- "National Role Conceptions and Foreign Policies: France and Germany Compared." Cambridge, MA: Program for the Study of Germany and Europe Working Paper 02.1. Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, Harvard University, 2002.
- "Ties that Bind? The Parapublic Underpinnings of Franco-German Relations as Construction of International Value." Cambridge, MA: Program for the Study of Germany and Europe Working Paper 02.4. Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, Harvard University, 2002.
- "Structure as Process: The Regularized Intergovernmentalism of Franco-German Bilateralism."

  Cambridge, MA: Program for the Study of Germany and Europe Working Paper 02.3. Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, Harvard University, 2002.
- "Social Content of the International Sphere: Symbols and Meaning in Franco-German Relations."

  Cambridge, MA: Program for the Study of Germany and Europe Working Paper 02.2. Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, Harvard University, 2002.
- "Wer handelt mit welchen Interessen, die woher kommen? Perspektiven und Modelle der Interessenformierung bei großen kollektiven Akteuren in der Lehre der Internationalen Beziehungen und der Außenpolitikanalyse," Internationales Studienzentrum Berlin Jahrbuch.

  (Who Acts with Which Interests and Where do Those Interests Come from? Perspectives on and Models of Interest Formation of Large Collective Actors in International Relations Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis.) Berlin, 1998.
- "Interaktion und Interessen," *Internationales Studienzentrum Berlin Jahrbuch*. (Interaction and Interests.) Berlin, 1997.

#### e. Databases

"EU's Global Engagement: A Database of CSDP Military Operations and Civilian Missions Worldwide" (EUGED), Version 2.0 (2017) (with Danilo Di Mauro and Katerina Wright)

Codebook, Excel Sheets, and STATA-Files are accessible at Harvard Dataverse

<a href="https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/BD80QM">https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/BD80QM</a>;

ICPSR at the University of Michigan <a href="https://www.openicpsr.org/repoEntity/show/78108">https://www.openicpsr.org/repoEntity/show/78108</a>; and the EUI's web pages <a href="http://globalgovernanceprogramme.eui.eu/eu-global-engagement-database/">http://globalgovernanceprogramme.eui.eu/eu-global-engagement-database/</a>.

Codebook, Excel Sheets, and STATA-Files for versions 1.0 and 1.1 accessible at Harvard Dataverse and ICPSR at the University of Michigan as well.

Version 3.0 in preparation. Publication in 2023.

"The Origins of the EU's Global Engagement through CDSP Military Operations and Civilian Missions Abroad: Defining and Measuring Twelve Variables" (with Danilo Di Mauro and Katerina Wright). In preparation. Publication in 2023.

"French and German Foreign and Security Policy, and Franco-German Security and Defense Cooperation, 1990-2022: A Database" (with Danilo Di Mauro). In preparation. Publication in 2023 or 2024.

# f. Public Commentary, Journalistic Pieces, Book Reviews

- "How France and Germany created the EU corona recovery fund," *Journal of Common Market Studies* Blog, forthcoming (with Lucas Schramm).
- "Franco-German Leadership in the post-Brexit and post-Merkel EU," DCU Brexit Institute Blog, Dublin City University, 23 September 2021 (with Lucas Schramm).

  Accessible at <a href="https://dcubrexitinstitute.eu/2021/09/franco-german-post-merkel/">https://dcubrexitinstitute.eu/2021/09/franco-german-post-merkel/</a>
- "Europe is in desperate need of a 'Schumanian moment' for EU asylum politics," LSE-EUROPP Blog, 8 December 2020 (with Lucas Schramm).

  Accessible at <a href="https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/europpblog/2020/12/08/europe-is-in-desperate-need-of-a-schumanian-moment-for-eu-asylum-politics/">https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/europpblog/2020/12/08/europe-is-in-desperate-need-of-a-schumanian-moment-for-eu-asylum-politics/</a>
- "Después de Merkel: ¿'Alemania primero' o una Europa desacabezada?" in Europa en juego, Vanguardia Dossier, No. 72 (April-June 2019), pp. 53-57 (with Joachim Schild).
- "Only France and Germany could lead the EU after Brexit but they won't go unchallenged."

  LSE Brexit Blog, January 2019 (with Joachim Schild).

  Accessible at <a href="https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/brexit/2019/01/28/france-and-germany-will-dominate-the-eu-after-brexit-but-they-wont-go-unchallenged/">https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/brexit/2019/01/28/france-and-germany-will-dominate-the-eu-after-brexit-but-they-wont-go-unchallenged/</a>
- "El eje francoalemán," in Unión Europea, refundación o desintegración, *Vanguardia Dossier*, No. 64 (April-June 2017), pp. 68-71 (with Joachim Schild).

  The issue can be viewed at <a href="http://www.lavanguardia.com/vanguardia-dossier/20170320/42872727680/union-europea-refundacion-desintegracion.html">http://www.lavanguardia.com/vanguardia-dossier/20170320/42872727680/union-europea-refundacion-desintegracion.html</a>

An English version of this contribution is available through the Vanguardia Dossier web pages: <a href="http://www.lavanguardia.com/vanguardia-dossier/20170320/42872727680/union-europea-refundacion-desintegracion.html">http://www.lavanguardia.com/vanguardia-dossier/20170320/42872727680/union-europea-refundacion-desintegracion.html</a>>

- "President Trump: The Consequences for Europe's Foreign, Security and Defence policy, *EUI Times Online*, 15 November 2016. Acessible at <a href="https://times.eui.eu/president-trump-consequences-europes-foreign-security-defence-policy.html">https://times.eui.eu/president-trump-consequences-europes-foreign-security-defence-policy.html</a>>.
- "British Flirtations with Distance and Exit in a Europe of Crises," *EUI Times*, Spring 2013, p. 19. Accessible at <a href="http://times.eui.eu/">http://times.eui.eu/</a>>.
- "The Franco-German Connection and the Future of Europe." OUPblog, Oxford University Press, 22 February 2013 (with Joachim Schild). Accessible at <a href="http://blog.oup.com/2013/02/elysee-treaty-france-germany-europe/">http://blog.oup.com/2013/02/elysee-treaty-france-germany-europe/</a>.
- "Le déclin de la France, une menace majeure pour le couple franco-allemand,"

  Le Monde, 22 January 2013, online edition (with Joachim Schild).

  Accessible at <a href="http://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2013/01/22/le-declin-de-la-france-une-menace-majeure-pour-le-couple-franco-allemand">http://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2013/01/22/le-declin-de-la-france-une-menace-majeure-pour-le-couple-franco-allemand</a> 1820454 3232.html>.

This article is part of a debate that *Le Monde* published at the 50th anniversary of the Elysée Treaty in January 2013, and which also included the French and German foreign ministers Laurent Fabius and Guido Westerwelle; EADS president Tom Enders; Henri Froment-Meurice; Alain Bergounioux; Jürgen Trittin, Rebecca Harms, Claude Turmes, Yannick Jadot; Patrick Martin-Genier; Ulrich Grillo, Laurence Parisot, and Dieter Hundt; and Christian Lequesne. The full debate is accessible at <a href="http://www.lemonde.fr/idees/ensemble/2013/01/21/cinquantenaire-du-traite-de-l-elysee-relancer-le-couple-franco-allemand\_1819859\_3232.html">http://www.lemonde.fr/idees/ensemble/2013/01/21/cinquantenaire-du-traite-de-l-elysee-relancer-le-couple-franco-allemand\_1819859\_3232.html</a>>.

"A Look in the Atlantic Mirror: Book Review of Peter Baldwin, *The Narcissism of Minor Differences: How America and Europe are Alike,*" *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* Vol. 40, No. 1 (October 2011), pp. 187-188 (with Kelly McKowen).

"Wo bleibt die Zeit?" Junge Akademie Magazin 2006, No. 4 (July), Berlin, Germany, p. 8.