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Professor of Political Science
Professor of Law (by courtesy)
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ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT

Current **RUTGERS UNIVERSITY** New Brunswick, New Jersey
Chair, Department of Political Science (July 2021-Present)
Professor of Political Science (2012-present)
Professor of Law (by courtesy), Rutgers School of Law (2015-present)
Jean Monnet Chair in European Union Politics (2010-present)
Director, Center for European Studies (2009-2013, Interim 2016-2017)
Associate Professor of Political Science (2006-2012)

2003- 2006 **UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD** Oxford, UK
Fellow in Comparative European Politics, Lincoln College and University
Lecturer, Department of Politics and International Relations (US equivalent,
Associate Professor with tenure). Other Oxford affiliations: Centre for the
Study of Democratic Government, Public Policy Unit and Institute for
European and Comparative Law

1998-2003 **RUTGERS UNIVERSITY** New Brunswick, New Jersey
Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science

VISITING AND ASSOCIATE APPOINTMENTS

2017-present Adjunct Professor of Law, University of Pennsylvania School of Law
2013-2014 Fellow, Program in Law and Public Affairs, Princeton University
2007-2008 Member, Institute for Advanced Study, School of Social Science, Princeton,
NJ
2006 Associate Fellow, Saïd Business School, University of Oxford
2001-2002 Visiting Fellow, Center of International Studies, Woodrow Wilson School of
Public and International Affairs, Princeton University
Summer 2002 Visiting Professor, University of Konstanz, Germany
Summer 2001 Visiting Professor, François Rabelais University – Tours, France

EDUCATION

1993-1998 **STANFORD UNIVERSITY**, Ph.D. in Political Science, 1998
Dissertation: *Regulatory Federalism: The EU in Comparative Perspective*.
Committee: Philippe Schmitter, Geoffrey Garrett, John Ferejohn & David
Vogel

1989-1993 **UC BERKELEY**, A.B. Sociology 1993, *summa cum laude*, Department
Award Winner (For top graduate of class of 1993)

Fall 1991 **Budapest University of Economic Sciences**, UC Berkeley study abroad.

FELLOWSHIPS, HONORS, AWARDS and GRANTS

- 2019 Journal of European Public Policy Reviewer Prize
- 2017 Wilson Award, American Political Science Association, French Politics Group, for best paper presented at 2016 APSA Meeting, for “The Political Geography of European Legal Integration,” (with Tommaso Pavone)
- 2016 Selected as Member of the Council on Foreign Relations
- 2015 Best Journal Article Award, American Political Science Association, Law & Courts Section for “Law, Focal Points and Fiscal Discipline in the United States and the European Union,” (with Terence Teo).
- 2015 European Union Studies Association (EUSA) Best Conference Paper Award, for paper presented at 2013 Biennial Conference, for “Law and the Eurozone Crisis: Law, Focal Points and Fiscal Discipline,” co-authored with Terence Teo.
- 2013-2014 Fellowship, Princeton Program in Law and Public Affairs, \$71,500
- 2013 European Union Studies Association (EUSA) Best Book Award, for the best book on the European Union published in 2011 or 2012 for *Eurolegalism: The Transformation of Law and Regulation in the European Union*. Harvard University Press, 2011.
- 2013 Best of the Web 2013, Article ‘Saving the Euro, Dividing the Union’ selected by *Foreign Affairs* as one of top ten it published in 2013.
- 2013-2014 Getting to Know Europe Grant, EU Delegation to the US, €60,000
- 2011-2012 Getting to Know Europe Grant, EU Delegation to the US, €60,000
- 2010-2013 Jean Monnet Chair (awarded by the European Commission along with a grant of €44,550)
- 2012 Best of the Web 2012, Article ‘Europe’s New Normal’ selected by *Foreign Affairs* as one of top ten published on its website in 2012
- 2007-2008 Fellowship, Institute for Advanced Study, School of Social Science, Princeton, New Jersey (\$30,000)
- 2008 American Political Science Association, Qualitative & Multi-Method Research Section’s Alexander George Article Award for best article developing or applying qualitative or multi-method research in 2007.
- 2006 American Political Science Association, Qualitative Methods Research Section’s, Sage Award for the Best Paper Developing or Applying Qualitative Methods at the 2005 APSA Annual Meeting
- 2005-2006 Economic and Social Research Council of the UK, Research grant of £16,599 (\$33,200) for project entitled: Suing for Europe: Adversarial Legalism and European Governance
- 2003-2004 Jean Monnet Fellowship, European University Institute, Florence, Italy (€20,000 award) (declined)
- 2001-2002 Fellowship, Center of International Studies, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University. (\$30,000)
- 1996-97 Fulbright Scholar for European Union Studies, Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS), Brussels, Belgium (\$12,000)
- 1993-1998 Full Graduate Student Fellowship, Stanford University
- 1995- 1996 German-American Academic Council Young Scholars Institute Fellowship, Berkeley, California and Bremen, Germany
- 1994 German Academic Exchange Service Language Study Fellowship, Leipzig, Germany

1993	American Council of Learned Societies Language Study Fellowship, Budapest, Hungary
1993	UC Berkeley, <i>Phi Beta Kappa</i>
1993	UC Berkeley Sociology Department Award (Top graduate of 1993)
1989-1993	IBM Corporation, Watson Scholar
1989-1993	UC Berkeley Alumni Scholar

PUBLICATIONS

Books

6. *The European Union: Integration and Enlargement*. Co-editor with Anand Menon and Jonathan Slapin. Routledge (2014), pp. 1-154.
5. *Lessons From Europe? What Americans Can Learn from European Public Policies*. Editor. CQ Press (2014), pp. 1-140.
 - A *Foreign Affairs* Best Book of 2014 on Western Europe (one of only three books to receive this distinction)
4. *The Power of the European Court of Justice*. Co-editor with Susanne Schmidt. Routledge (2012), pp.1-150.
3. *Eurolegalism: The Transformation of Law and Regulation in the European Union*. Harvard University Press (2011), pp.1-366.
 - Winner, 2013 European Union Studies Association (EUSA) Best Book Award, for best book on the European Union published in 2011 or 2012
 - A *Foreign Affairs* Best Book of 2011 on Western Europe (one of only three books to receive this distinction)
 - Reviewed in *Foreign Affairs*, *Choice*, *Columbia Journal of European Law*, *Common Market Law Review*, *Modern Law Review*, *European Voice*, *Tulsa Law Review*, *European Law Journal*, *European Law Review*, *Governance*, *West European Politics*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Renewal*, *NYU Journal of International Law & Politics*, *European Union Studies Association Review*, *Journal of Common Market Studies*
2. *The Oxford Handbook of Law and Politics*. Co-editor with Keith Whittington and Greg Caldeira, Oxford University Press (2008), pp.1-815.
 - Subject of Review Symposium in *Law & Politics Book Review*, December 2008.
1. *The Rules of Federalism: Institutions and Regulatory Politics in the EU and Beyond*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, (2004), pp.1-244.
 - 2005 *Choice* Magazine Outstanding Academic Title.
 - Reviewed in *Perspectives on Politics*, *World Politics*, *Comparative Politics*, *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, *Australian Journal of Political Science*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Revue Française de Science Politique*.

Articles in peer-reviewed political science journals

35. "How Theories of State-building Explain the European Union," article with Kathleen McNamara, *Comparative Political Studies*, (2021), DOI: 10.1177/00104140211047393
34. "Epilogue: A Note of Caution on Differentiated Integration," *Swiss Political Science Review* 27(3) (2021), pp.672-681.
33. "Failing Forward? Crises and Patterns of European Integration," with Erik Jones and Sophie Meunier, *Journal of European Public Policy*. 28(10) (2021), pp. 1519-1536.
32. "The European Union's authoritarian equilibrium," *Journal of European Public Policy* 27(3) (2020), pp.481-499.
31. "Is Differentiation possible in rule of law?" *Comparative European Politics* 17(2019) Special Issue on "Imagining the Future of Europe," edited by Sergio Fabbrini and Vivien Schmidt, pp. 246-60.
30. "The Political Geography of Legal Integration: Visualizing Institutional Change in the European Union," with Tommaso Pavone. *World Politics* 70(3) (2018), pp. 358-397.
 - Earlier version was winner of Wilson Award, American Political Science Association French Politics Group, for best paper presented at 2016 APSA Meeting.
29. "Reconceptualizing EU Regulatory Networks: A response to Blauburger and Rittberger," with Andrew Tarrant, *Regulation & Governance*, (2017), 2 March, DOI: 10.1111/rego.12135.
28. "Europe's Other Democratic Deficit: National Authoritarianism in Europe's Democratic Union," *Government & Opposition*, 52, 2(2017), pp. 211-238.
27. "Can Courts Rescue National Democracy? Judicial Safeguards against Democratic Backsliding in the EU," with Michael Blauburger, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 24,3 (2017).
26. "Trojan Horses in EU Foreign Policy," with Mitchell Orenstein. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55,1 (2017), pp. 87-102.
25. "Mapping European Law," with Tommaso Pavone, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 23, 8 (2016), pp.1118-1138.
24. "Failing Forward? The Euro Crisis and the Incomplete Nature of European Integration," with Erik Jones and Sophie Meunier, (2016), *Comparative Political Studies*, 49, 7(2016), pp.1010-1034.

23. "Law, Focal Points and Fiscal Discipline in the United States and the European Union" w/ Terence Teo. *American Political Science Review*, 108, 2(2014), pp.355-70.
 - Best Journal Article Award, American Political Science Association, Law & Courts Section, 2015.
 - Earlier version of article was winner of 2015 European Union Studies Association Best Conference Paper Award.
22. "The European Union: Wider and Deeper? Introduction" Special Issue, *Journal of European Public Policy*, with Anand Menon & Jon Slapin, 21,5(2014), pp.643-46.
21. "Wider and Deeper? Enlargement and Integration in the European Union" with Anand Menon & Jon Slapin, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 21,5, (2014), 647-63.
20. "Judicialization, Democracy and European Integration," *Representation*, 49(3) Special Issue on Courts and Representative Democracy, (2013), pp.295-308.
19. "Eurolegalism and Democracy." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 50 (S1), Annual Review, 50th Anniversary Special Issue, (2012), pp. 55–71.
18. "Introduction – the European Court of Justice and legal integration: perpetual momentum?" with Susanne Schmidt. Introduction to Special Issue of *Journal of European Public Policy*. *Perpetual Momentum? Reconsidering the Power of the European Court of Justice*. 19, 1 (2012), pp. 1-7.
17. "The Political Foundations of Judicial Independence in the European Union." In *Journal of European Public Policy* 19, 1, (2012), pp. 43-58.
16. "The Political Foundations of the Eurocracy." With Andrew Tarrant. *West European Politics*, 34, 5 (2011) pp. 922-947.
15. "Globalizing European Union environmental policy." *Journal of European Public Policy*, 17, 3 (2010), pp.335-349.
 - Reprinted in *Europe and the Management of Globalization*, Wade Jacoby and Sophie Meunier eds. New York: Routledge Press, 2010.
14. "The Shift to the Rights Model of Disability in the EU and Canada." With Lisa Vanhala, *Regional and Federal Studies*, 20, 1 (2010), pp. 1-18.
13. "Trading Places? The Role of the United States and the European Union in International Environmental Politics." With David Vogel, *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 43, issue 4, 2010, pp. 427-456.
12. "The Americanisation of European law? Adversarial legalism à la européenne." *European Political Science*, 7 (Spring 2008), pp. 32-42.
11. "The Study of Critical Junctures: Theory, Narrative and Counterfactuals in Historical Institutionalism" With Giovanni Capocchia, *World Politics* 59, 3 (2007), pp. 341-369.

- Winner of 2008 APSA Qualitative and Multi-method Research Section's Alexander George Article Award, for best article developing or applying Qualitative and Multi-method Research published in 2007.
 - Earlier version was winner of APSA Qualitative and Multi-method Research Section's 2006 Sage Award, for best paper developing or applying qualitative methods presented at the APSA annual meeting.
10. "Shaming the Shameless? The constitutionalization of the European Union." *Journal of European Public Policy*, 13, 8 (2006), pp. 1302-1307.
 - Reprinted in German as "Die Schamlosen beschämen? Die Konstitutionalisierung der Europäischen Union," In Berthold Rittberger and Frank Schimmelfennig (Eds.) *Die Europäische Union auf dem Weg in der Verfassungsstaat.*, [Mannheimer Jahrbuch für Europäische Sozialforschung, Band 10] Frankfurt, Campus-Verlag, 2006.
 9. "New Modes of Governance, the Open Method of Coordination and other Fashionable Red Herring." with Timo Idema. *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, 7, 1(2006), pp.108-23.
 8. "Suing for Europe: Adversarial Legalism and European Governance." *Comparative Political Studies*, 39, 1 (2006), pp.101-127.
 7. "Lex Americana?" with Eric Sibbitt, *International Organization* 59, 2 (2005), pp.463-72.
 6. "The Globalization of American Law." with Eric Sibbitt. *International Organization* 58, 1 (2004), pp. 103-36.
 5. "The Structure and Dynamics of EU Federalism." *Comparative Political Studies*, 36, 1-2 (2003), pp. 184-208.
 4. "The Politics of Eurocratic Structure: The New European Agencies," *West European Politics*, 25, 4 (2002), pp. 93-118.
 3. "The Limits of Judicial Power: Trade-Environment Disputes in the GATT/WTO and the EU," *Comparative Political Studies* 34, 6 (2001), pp. 622-650.
 2. "Regulatory Federalism: EU Environmental Policy in Comparative Perspective," *Journal of Public Policy* 20, 2 (2000), pp. 133-167.
 1. "The European Court of Justice, National Governments and Legal Integration in the European Union," Co-authored with Geoffrey Garrett and Heiner Schulz. *International Organization* 52,1 (1998), pp. 149-176
 - Reprinted in *International Law and International Relations*, Beth Simmons and Richard Steinberg, Eds. Cambridge University Press (2007), pp.486-513.

Articles in Law Journals

8. "The Uses and Abuses of Constitutional Pluralism: Undermining the Rule of Law in

the Name of Constitutional Identity in Hungary and Poland,” with Laurent Pech, *Cambridge Yearbook of European Legal Studies*, 21 (2019), pp. 59–74
doi:10.1017/cel.2019.11

- Earlier version published as, “Why Autocrats Love Constitutional Pluralism and Constitutional Identity,” RECONNECT (Reconciling Europe with its Citizens through Democracy and Rule of Law) Working Paper No. 2, Available at <https://reconnect-europe.eu/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/RECONNECT-WorkingPaper2-Kelemen-Pech-LP-KO.pdf>
7. “The Evolving Judicial Politics of European Integration: The European Court of Justice and National Courts Revisited,” with Tommaso Pavone, *European Law Journal*, 25 (2019), pp. 352–373.
 6. “On the unsustainability of constitutional pluralism: European Supremacy and the Survival of the Eurozone,” *Maastricht Journal of European & Comparative Law*, 23,1 (2016), pp.136-150.
 5. “The Court of Justice of the European Union in the Twenty-first Century”, *Law & Contemporary Problems*, 79 (2016), pp.117-140.
 4. “The United States, the European Union and International Environmental Law,” w/ Tim Knievel, 13,4 (2015) *I•CON: International Journal of Constitutional Law*, pp.945-65.
 3. “Law, Fiscal Federalism and Austerity,” *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*, 22, 2 (2015), pp. 379-400.
 2. "The European Union's Legitimacy: Administrative not constitutional, or Administrative then constitutional?" *Columbia Journal of European Law*, 18, 1(2012), pp. 157-164.
 1. “The Americanization of Japanese Law” Co-authored with Eric Sibbitt. *University of Pennsylvania Journal of International Economic Law* 23 (2002), pp. 269-324.

Book Chapters and articles in non-peer reviewed journals

33. “Defending Democracy in EU Member States: Beyond Article 7 TEU,” with Kim Lane Scheppele, in *EU Law in Populist Times*, edited by Francesca Bignami, 2020, pp.413-456.
32. “Commitment for Cowards: Why the judicialization of austerity is bad policy and even worse politics,” in *Constitutions in Times of Financial Crisis*, Tom Ginsburg, Mark Rosen, and Georg Vanberg and (eds.), Cambridge University Press, 2019, pp. 146-62.
31. “Federalism and European Integration,” In *European Integration Theories*, Antje Wiener, Tanja Börzel and Thomas Risse, eds., Oxford University Press, 2019, pp. 27-42.

30. "The Dangers of Constitutional Pluralism," In *Research Handbook on Pluralism and EU law*, edited by Gareth Davies and Matej Avbelj, Edward Elgar, 2018, pp.392-403.
29. "Eurolegalism and the Better Regulation Agenda," In Sacha Garben and Ingo Govaere (eds.), *The EU Better Regulation Agenda: A Critical Assessment*, Hart Publishing, 2018, pp.205-215.
28. "Assessing the Transformation of Europe: A View from Political Science," with Alec Stone Sweet. In Miguel Maduro and Marlene Wind, eds, *The Transformation of Europe: Twenty-Five Years On*, Cambridge University Press, 2017, pp.193-205.
27. "Kagan's Atlantic Crossing: Adversarial legalism, Eurolegalism and cooperative legalism in European regulatory style," with Francesca Bignami. In *Varieties of Legal Order*, Thomas Burke and Jeb Barnes (eds.), Routledge, 2017, pp.81-97.
26. "Understanding the European Court's Political Power," with Karen Alter. In *Key Controversies in European Integration*, Andreas Dür and Hubert Zimmermann (eds.), Palgrave 2017, pp.81-90.
25. "European States in Comparative Perspective," In *Oxford Handbook of Historical Institutionalism*, Orfeo Fioretos, Tulia Falleti & Adam Sheingate (eds.), Oxford University Press, 2016, pp. 391-402.
24. "EU Regulation," In *The Elgar Research Handbook on Comparative Law and Regulation*, Francesca Bignami & David Zaring (eds.), Edward Elgar, 2016, pp.73-91.
23. "The Impact of the CJEU on the European Law Enforcement Architecture," In *The Transformation of Enforcement*, Hans Micklitz and Andrea Wechsler (eds.), Hart Publishing, 2016, pp. 163-178.
22. "Towards a New Constitutional Architecture in the European Union?" In *What Form of Government for the European Union and the Eurozone?*, Federico Fabbrini, Ernst Ballin and Han Somsen (eds.), Hart Publishing, 2015, pp.197-216.
21. "Selection, Appointment and Legitimacy: A Political Perspective," In *Selecting Europe's Judges*, Michal Bobek (ed.), Oxford University Press, 2015, pp. 244-258.
20. "Une gouvernance fédérale: mort et resurrection," *Pouvoirs, revue française d'études constitutionnelles et politiques*, 2014, n.149, pp.135-149, Special Issue - *La gouvernance européenne*.
19. "Building the New European State? Federalism, Core State Powers and European Integration", In *Beyond the regulatory polity: The European integration of Core State Powers*, Philip Genschel and Markus Jachtenfuchs (eds.), Oxford University Press, 2014, pp. 211-29.
18. "Eurolegalism and the European Legal Field," In Bruno de Witte and Antoine Vauchez eds., *Lawyering in Europe*, Hart Publishing, 2013, pp. 243-258.

17. "Talking about the European Court: Discourses of Judging in the European Union." In Austin Sarat, ed., *Special Issue: The Discourse of Judging (Studies in Law, Politics and Society, vol.58)*, Emerald Publishing Group Ltd., 2012, pp.139-157.
16. "European Union Agencies" In *Oxford Handbook of the European Union*, Erik Jones, Anand Menon & Stephen Weatherill (eds.), Oxford University Press, 2012.
15. "Managing Europeanization: The European Agencies," With Giandomenico Majone. In *The Institutions of the European Union* John Peterson & Michael Shackleton (eds.), Oxford University Press, 2012, pp.219-240.
14. "European Law and Politics," In *Europe Today*, Ronald Tiersky, Erik Jones & Saskia van Genugten (eds.) Roman and Littlefield, 2011, pp.351-370.
13. "Adversarial Legalism and Administrative Law in the European Union," In *Comparative Administrative Law*, Susan Rose-Ackerman & Peter Lindseth, (eds.) Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 2010, pp.606-617.
12. "Globalizing EU Environmental Regulation." *European Studies Forum* (Journal of the Council for European Studies) 37:2 (Autumn 2007), pp.12-16.
11. "The Politics of EC Regulation" with Anand Menon. In *Better Regulation*, Stephen Weatherill (ed.), Hart Publishing, 2007, pp. 175-189.
10. "Built to Last? The Durability of EU Federalism." In *Making History: State of the European Union, Vol. 8*, Sophie Meunier and Kate McNamara (eds.), Oxford University Press, 2007, pp.51-66.
9. "Bringing Federalism Back In." With Kalypso Nicolaidis. In *Handbook on European Union Politics*, Mark Pollack & Ben Rosamund (eds.), Sage Press, 2007, pp.301-16.
8. "Federalism and Democratization: The US and EU in Comparative Perspective." In *The US and EU in Comparative Perspective*. In Martin Schain and Anand Menon, (eds.) Oxford University Press, (2006).
7. "The Politics of Eurocracy: Building a New European State?" In *State of the European Union, (Vol. 7) With US or Against US?* In Nicolas Jabko and Craig Parsons (eds.), Oxford University Press, (2005), pp.173-189.
6. "The Politics of Environmental Policy in the US and EU: Coercive Federalism?" In Martin Levin, Marc Landy and Martin Shapiro (eds), *Trans-Atlantic Policymaking in an Age of Austerity*, Georgetown University Press, (2004), pp.203-223.
5. "Globalization, Federalism and Regulation." In *Dynamics of Regulatory Change: How Globalization Affects National Regulatory Policies*, David Vogel and Robert Kagan, (eds). UC Press, (2004), pp. 269-297. (Previously published as Working Paper 2.76, Center for German and European Studies, UC Berkeley, May 2000, pp.1-39.)

4. "Environmental Federalism in the US and the EU." In Norman Vig and Michael Faure (eds), *Green Giants? Environmental Policy of the United States and the European Union*. MIT Press, (2004), pp.113-134.
3. "The EU Rights Revolution? Adversarial Legalism and European Integration" In Rachel Cichowski and Tanja Börzel (eds), *State of the European Union, (Vol. 6) Law, Politics and Society*. Oxford University Press, (2003), pp.221-234.
2. "The Single Market and EU Federalism." In Craig Parsons (ed), *Evolving Federalisms: The Intergovernmental Balance of Power in America and Europe*. Campbell Public Affairs Institute, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, (2003), pp. 49-62.
1. "Environmental policy in the European Union: The struggle between the Court, Commission and Council?" In Brigitte Unger and Frans van Waarden (eds), *Convergence or Diversity? Internationalization and Economic Policy Response*. Avebury Press, (1995), pp.306-332.

Public Affairs Articles, Policy Papers and Op-Eds

67. "The Other Side of Angela Merkel," with Matthias Mathijs. *Foreign Policy*, 9 July 2021.
66. "The EU Commission Has to Cut Funding to Hungary: The Legal Case," with Kim Scheppele and John Morijn, Study solicited by the Greens/EFA group in the European Parliament. 7 July 2021, available at https://danielfreund.eu/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/220707_RoLCR_Report_digital.pdf (Press coverage of this report in dozens of newspapers across Europe including Financial Times, The Guardian, Der Spiegel, Süddeutsche Zeitung, Volkskrant, De Morgen, Der Standard and Népszava)
65. "Europe's Quiet Crisis," *Encompass Europe* (available at <https://encompass-europe.com/comment/europes-quiet-crisis>) April 2021.
64. "Viktor Orban turned Hungary away from democracy. Now his European allies are turning on him," *Washington Post* (Monkey Cage), 7 March 2021.
63. "Time to Call Hungary and Poland's Bluff," *Politico Europe*, 19 November 2020.
62. "You Can't Fight Autocracy with Toothless Reports," *EU Law Live*, 6 October 2020.
61. "Von der Leyen is Weak on Rule of Law," *Politico Europe*, 21 September 2020.
60. "Europe's Faustian Union," *Foreign Policy*, 30 July 2020.
 - Reprinted in Greece, "Η Φαουστιανή Ένωση της Ευρώπης," *Kathemerini*, 1 August 2020; Romania, "Uniunea faustică a Europei," *România liberă*, 1 August

- 2020; Macedonia, “Evropska faustovska unija,” *Vijesti*, 3 August 2020; Hungary, “Európa fausti uniója,” *Népszava*, 6 August 2020.
59. “Der Lieblingsautokrat von CDU und CSU” [The favorite autocrat of the CDU and CSU], with Christopher Wratil, *Die Welt*, 3 June 2020.
58. “National Courts Cannot Override CJEU Judgments: A Joint Statement in Defense of the EU Legal Order,” co-authored with Eeckhout, Piet, Fabbrini, Federico, Pech, Laurent; Uitz, Renáta: *VerfBlog*, 2020/5/26, <https://verfassungsblog.de/national-courts-cannot-override-cjeu-judgments/>, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.17176/20200527-013240-0>
- Reprinted in Spain, “La supremacía del derecho comunitario,” *El País* 30 May 2020; Italy, “Il Diritto UE Batte Quello Dei Singoli Stati,” *Il Sole 24 Ore*, 30 May 2020; Poland, “Prawnicy: Sądy krajowe nie mogą rościć sobie pierwszeństwa wobec TSUE,” *Rzeczpospolita*, 1 June 2020; Ireland, “National Courts Cannot Override CJEU Judgments,” *The Irish Times*, 31 May 2020; Greece, “Τα εθνικά δικαστήρια δεν μπορούν να παρακάμψουν τις αποφάσεις του ΔΕΕ,” www.constitutionalism.gr, 30 May 2020; and France, “Les juridictions nationales doivent respecter les arrêts de la CJUE,” *blogdroiteuropeen.com*, 8 June 2020.
57. “The EU is undermining its democracies while funding its autocracies,” with Jacob Soll, *Politico Europe*, 13 May 2020.
56. “With one court decision, Germany may be plunging Europe into a constitutional crisis,” with Federico Fabbrini, *The Washington Post* (Monkey Cage), 7 May 2020.
55. “El corona-golpe de estado de Orbán,” *La Vanguardia*, Spain, 5 April 2020.
- Reprinted in Slovenia, “Najstarejši trik avtokracije,” *Delo*, 9 April 2020, and Slovakia, “Orbánov koronový prevrat,” *DennikN*, 2 April 2020.
54. “Hungary Just Became a Coronavirus Autocracy,” *The Washington Post* (Monkey Cage), 2 April 2020.
53. “If you think the U.S. is having a constitutional crisis, you should see what is happening in Poland,” *The Washington Post* (Monkey Cage), 25 January 2020.
52. “The E.U. is supposed to promote democracy. So why do anti-democratic politicians thrive within it?,” *The Washington Post* (Monkey Cage), 2 December 2019.
51. “The Perils of Passivity in the Rule of Law Crisis: A Response to Von Bogdandy,” with Cassandra Emmons and Tommaso Pavone. *Verfassungsblog*, 26 November 2019, <https://verfassungsblog.de/the-perils-of-passivity-in-the-rule-of-law-crisis-a-response-to-von-bogdandy/> , DOI: <https://doi.org/10.17176/20191126-122058-0>.

50. "Responding to Judit Varga: Separating facts from propaganda about the rule of law," with Laurent Pech and Alberto Alemanno, *Euronews*, 25 November 2019.
49. "New E.U. leader Ursula von der Leyen unveiled her team of commissioners. Here are the big controversies," *The Washington Post* (Monkey Cage), 16 September 2019.
48. "This is how Europe got its new President," *The Washington Post* (Monkey Cage), 17 July 2019.
47. Friends don't let friends Kill Democracy. *Visegrad Mirror*, 26 June 2019, Translated into Polish, Hungarian and Slovak.
46. "European Conservatives' Spitzenkandidat Dilemma," *Politico Europe*, 12 June 2019.
45. "Of Red Lines and Red Herring: The EPP's Delusions about Restraining Orbán, VerfBlog," with Laurent Pech, *Verfassungsblog* 15 March 2019, <https://verfassungsblog.de/of-red-lines-and-red-herring-the-epps-delusions-about-restraining-orban/>, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.17176/20190324-202939-0>
44. "Ejecting the autocrat: the EPP must ditch Orbán to salvage what remains of its credibility," with Laurent Pech, *Euronews*, 8 March 2019.
43. "Hungary's Democracy Just Got a Failing Grade," *The Washington Post* (Monkey Cage), 7 February 2019.
42. "Equivalence, mutual recognition in financial services and the UK negotiating position," with Andy Tarrant and Peter Holmes. Briefing Paper 27 – January 2019, UK Trade Policy Observatory, University of Sussex and Chatham House- The Royal Institute of International Affairs.
41. "*The Rot on Europe's Right*," *Euronews*, 13 November 2018.
40. "Never Missing an Opportunity to Miss an Opportunity: The Council Legal Service Opinion on the Commission's EU budget-related rule of law mechanism," with Kim Lane Scheppele, and Laurent Pech, *Verfassungsblog*, 12 November 2018.
39. "Courts versus Coups," with Laurent Pech, *The Washington Post* (Monkey Cage), 25 October 2018.
38. "The US isn't close to becoming another Poland or Hungary – yet," *Euronews*, 13 September 2018.
37. "How to Stop Funding Autocracy in the EU," with Kim Scheppele, *Verfassungsblog*, 2018/9/10, <https://verfassungsblog.de/how-to-stop-funding-autocracy-in-the-eu/>, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.17176/20180910-094901-0> , 10 September 2018.

36. "Europe's Pet Autocrats," *Aspen Review*, Issue 2, 2018, pp.50-56.
 - Translated into German ("Europas gehätschelte Autokraten," <https://forumdialog.eu/author/kelemen1/>) and Polish ("Rozpieszczeni autokraci Europy," https://forumdialogu.eu/2018/06/10/rozpieszczeni-autokraci-europy/?noredirect=pl_PL)
35. "Europe's Authoritarian Equilibrium," *ForeignAffairs.com*, 22 December 2017.
34. "The Assault on Poland's Judiciary," *ForeignAffairs.com*, 26 July 2017.
33. "America's mixed messages to Europe put our ties at risk," with Mitchell Orenstein, *The Hill*, 3 March 2017.
32. "A Dark Age for European Democracy?" *ForeignAffairs.com*, 7 December 2016.
31. "Poland's Constitutional Crisis," *ForeignAffairs.com*, 25 August 2016.
30. "Europe's Failed Refugee Policy," with Megan Greene, *ForeignAffairs.com*, 29 June 2016.
29. "London Falling: Life After Brexit," *ForeignAffairs.com* 27 June 2016.
28. "Europe's Lousy Deal with Turkey. Why the Refugee Arrangement Won't Work," with Megan Greene, *ForeignAffairs.com*, 29 March 2016.
27. "Should It Stay or Should It Go? The Brexistential Crisis," with Matthias Matthijs, *ForeignAffairs.com*, 28 February 2016.
26. "Europe's Autocracy Problem," with Mitchell Orenstein, *ForeignAffairs.com*, 7 January 2016.
25. "Europe's Hungary Problem," *ForeignAffairs.com*, 20 September 2015.
24. "The migrant crisis is exposing Hungary's slide toward autocracy. Here's why the E.U. hasn't cracked down," *The Washington Post* (Monkey Cage Blog), 15 September 2015.
23. "Party on, Tsipras," with Alexandra Filindra, *ForeignAffairs.com*, 31 August 2015.
22. "Banking Union or Bust," Al Jazeera America online, 3 August 2015.
21. "Allegory of the Caving: A New Deal for Greece?" *ForeignAffairs.com*, 10 July 2015.
20. "EPP ♥ Orbán," *Politico, Europe Edition*, Vol. 1(9), 18-24 June 2015, pp. 18-19.
19. "Europe Reborn: How to Save the European Union from Irrelevance," with Matthias Matthijs, *Foreign Affairs*, 94,1 (2015), pp. 96-107.
 - Translated into Spanish, Japanese & Greek for Foreign Affairs int'l editions.

18. "President for the People: Can Jean Claude Juncker Save the Union and Prevent a Brexit?" *ForeignAffairs.com*, 30 June 2014.
17. "A Union of Values?" published with Policy Network (www.policy-network.net – an International Think Tank based in London), 2 June 2014.
16. "Fight Club: When the EU's Campaign Season Ends, the Real Political Battles Will Begin," with Anand Menon, *ForeignAffairs.com*, 18 May 2014.
15. "The Euro goes to Court," with Erik Jones, *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy*, 56, 2, April 2014, pp.15-23.
14. "Saving the Euro, Dividing the Union", *ForeignAffairs.com*, 21 January 2013.
 - Selected for "Best of the Web in 2013," *Foreign Affairs'* list of the top ten articles to appear on their web site in 2013.
13. "Europe's New Normal", *ForeignAffairs.com*, 17 May 2012.
 - Selected for "Best of the Web in 2012," *Foreign Affairs'* list of the top ten articles to appear on their web site in 2012.
12. "European Union test case: stop Hungary from backsliding on democracy", *Christian Science Monitor*, 25 January 2012.
11. "Why the EU, and euro, will survive", with Erik Jones, *USA Today*, 31 August 2011.
10. "Don't believe the hype: EU will muddle through", *USA Today*, 13 May 2010.
9. "Navel-gazing is not what's wanted", with Anand Menon, *European Voice*, 19 June 2008, p.9.
8. "EU hits a snag in Ireland", *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 17 June 2008, p.A11.
7. "You thought we've got an EU Single Market? Think Again" With Anand Menon, *Europe's World*, Summer 2007.
6. "Reforming deep before enlarging wide?" With Anand Menon, *European Voice*, Vol. 12, No. 30, 3 August 2006.
5. "Crisis? What Crisis?" With Anand Menon. *Public Policy Research* (Journal of the Institute for Public Policy Research, London), June-August 2006, pp.71-77.
4. "The European 'Independent' Agencies and Regulation in the EU." CEPS Working Document 112. Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies, (1997), pp.1-25.
3. "The Institutional Balance: Formal and Informal Change" With Mitchell Smith. CEPS Working Doc. 111, Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies, (1997), pp.1-30.

2. "EU Climate Change Policy and Energy Conservation: Priority Policies in the Light of Kyoto and Beyond" Co-authored with Antonia Carzaniga and Christian Egenhofer. Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies, (1997), pp.1-30.
1. "Independent Regulatory Agencies for Europe?" *CEPS Review*, N.2. Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies, (1997), pp.1-9.

Book Reviews

2. Review of David Vogel. *The Politics of Precaution: Regulating Health, Safety, and Environmental Risks in Europe and the United States* (Princeton University Press, 2012), in *Regulation & Governance* 7(2) 2013, pp. 266-270.
1. Review of Leslie Friedman Goldstein. *Constituting Federal Sovereignty* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001) in *Journal of Politics*, 65(2), 2003.

WORKS IN PROGRESS

2. *The European Law State*, book project.
1. "Pecunia non olet? The Political Economy of Financial Flows into Democratic Backsliders," with Julia Gray and Terence Teo, manuscript being prepared for submission.

CONFERENCE PAPER PRESENTATIONS

"Pecunia Non Olet: Financial Flows into Illiberal European Countries," with Julia Gray and Terence Teo, American Political Science Association Convention, Washington, DC, 29 August- 1 Sept. 2019.

"The Evolving Judicial Politics of Transnational Governance: Evidence from the European Union," with Tommaso Pavone, Law & Society Association Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, 30 May-2 June 2019. Also presented at the European Union Studies Association Biannual Meeting, Denver, CO, 9-11 May 2019.

"Is Differentiation Possible in the Rule of Law? The cases of Hungary and Poland," American Political Science Association Convention, Boston, MA, 30 August-2 September, 2018.

"Europe's Authoritarian Equilibrium," presented at the European Consortium of Political Research – Standing Group on the European Union Conference in Paris, France, 13-15 June, 2018.

"The European Court of Justice's Evolving Relationship with National Judiciaries," with Tommaso Pavone, presented at American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA, Aug. 31- Sept 2, 2017.

“Commitment for Cowards: Why the judicialization of austerity is bad policy and even worse politics,” Workshop on Liberal Constitutions in Times of Financial Crisis, Fundação Francisco Manuel dos Santos, Lisbon, Portugal, 22-23 May 2017.

“The Political Geography of European Legal Integration,” with Tommaso Pavone. presented at European Union Studies Association biennial conference, Miami, FL, 4-6 May, 2017.

“How theories of state-building explain the EU,” with Kathleen McNamara, presented at European Union Studies Association biennial conference, Miami, FL, 4-6 May, 2017.

“The Political Geography of European Union Law,” with Tommaso Pavone, presented at American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA, 31 Aug - 3 Sept. 2016.

“Constructing the European Judiciary,” Council for European Studies, 23rd International Conference of Europeanists, April 14-16, 2016.

“Europe’s Other Democratic Deficit: National Authoritarianism in a Democratic Union,” Council for European Studies, 23rd International Conference of Europeanists, April 14-16, 2016. Also presented at, “Democracy in Danger? Threats to Liberal Democracy in Europe, America and the World,” Workshop held at Rutgers University, 13 April 2017.

“Historical Institutionalism, State Building and Supranational Integration,” presented at American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA, 4-7 Sept 2015.

“Mapping European Law,” with Tommaso Pavone, presented at the Biennial Conference of the European Union Studies Association, Boston, MA, 5-7 March 2015.

“Towards a New Constitutional Architecture in the European Union,” presented at Conference on – What Form of Government for the European Union and the Eurozone?, Tilburg University Law School, the Netherlands, 5-6 June 2014.

“The European Court of Justice in the 21st Century,” Workshop on International Courts in Context, Duke University Law School, 27-28 May 2014.

“Constructing the European Judiciary,” EU Law Scholarship Roundtable, Columbia Law School, 2 May 2014.

“European States in Comparative Perspective,” presented at Council for European Studies convention, Washington, DC, 15 March 2014.

“Eurolegalism at the Court,” presented at conference on EU Law Stories, American University- Washington College of Law, 14 March 2014.

“EU Regulation,” presented at Conference on Comparative Law and Regulation, George Washington University School of Law (co-sponsored by the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania), 31 January- 1 February 2014.

“Selection, Appointment & Legitimacy: A Political Perspective,” presented at Conference on Selecting Europe’s Judges, College of Europe, Bruges, Belgium, 4 Nov 2013.

“European States in Comparative Perspective,” presented at Contemporary Politics and Historical Legacies: A Conference on Historical Institutionalism in Political Science, Temple University/University of Pennsylvania, October 25-26 2013.

“The European Court of Justice in the Twenty-First Century,” presented at conference on International Courts in their Social & Political Contexts at the Danish National Research Foundation’s Center of Excellence for International Courts (iCourts), University of Copenhagen, Sept 20-21, 2013.

“The Impact of the CJEU on the European Law Enforcement Architecture.” Paper presented at International Conference on the Transformation of Enforcement: European Economic Law in Global Perspective, European University Institute, San Domenico di Fiesole, 26-28 June, 2013.

“Law and the Eurozone Crisis” with Terence Teo, presented at workshop, Judicial Institutions: Courts in Domestic and International Affairs, Niehaus Center for Globalization and Governance & Program in Law and Public Affairs, Princeton University, October 19-20, 2012.

“International Environmental Law” presented at the Penn-Temple Colloquium The European Union, the United States, and the International Legal Order: A Research Workshop at Temple University, Philadelphia, PA, June 1, 2012.

“Wider and Deeper: Enlargement and Integration in the European Union” with Anand Menon and Jonathan Slapin. Presented at Princeton University Annual EU workshop, May 4, 2012. Earlier versions presented at American Political Science Association Annual Convention, Seattle, WA, Sept. 2-3, 2011; European Union Studies Association Convention, Boston, MA, March 3-5, 2011.

“Building the New European State? Federalism, Core State Powers and European Integration.” Paper presented at conference on “Beyond the Regulatory Polity? The European Integration of Core State Powers.” Hanse Wissenschaftskolleg, Delmenhorst (Germany), March 23-24, 2012.

“The Rise and the limits of Eurolegalism”, Presented at High-Level Policy Seminar on Courts, Social Change & Judicial Independence, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, Global Governance Programme, European University Institute, 16 March, 2012.

“The Rise of Eurolegalism and its implications for Democracy in the European Union.” Presented at Conference on 50th Anniversary Special issue of the Journal of Common Market Studies, St. John’s College, Oxford University, May 6-7, 2011.

“The Political Foundations of Judicial Independence in the European Union,” Presented at American Political Science Association Annual Convention, Seattle, WA, Sept. 2-3, 2011. Earlier versions presented at European Union Studies Association Convention, Boston, MA, March 3-5, 2011. And workshop, “Perpetual Momentum? Reconsidering the Power of the European Court of Justice” University of Bremen, 12–13 November 2010.

“The Durability of EU Federalism,” Presented at workshop on the Constitutionalization of the European Union, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL, April 20, 2010. Earlier version presented at Roundtable on Contested Space: Federalism and Federation in Europe, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, from April 17-18, 2008.

“On Raustiala’s *Does the Constitution Follow the Flag?*” Paper for Temple International Law Roundtable. Temple University, Beasley School of Law, October 2, 2009.

“The Rise of Adversarial Legalism in Europe” Presented at Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Toronto, Canada, September 4, 2009.

“Globalizing European Union Environmental Regulation,” Presented at Princeton University’s Annual Workshop on European Integration, May 1, 2009. Earlier versions presented at European Union Studies Association Biennial International Convention, Marina Del Rey California, April 23-25, 2009, and at Conference on Europe and the Management of Globalization, Brigham Young University, 24 May 2008.

“The Strength of Weak States: Adversarial Legalism in the US and EU” Presented at European Union Studies Association Biennial Convention, Marina Del Rey, CA, April 23-25, 2009.

“Philippe Schmitter: Surrealist, Tasmanian Tiger or Pirate?” Presentation at the European Union Studies Association Biennial International Convention, Marina Del Rey, CA April 23-25, 2009.

“A Reaction to Goodman and Jinks,” Paper for Temple International Law Roundtable on *Socializing States: Promoting Human Rights Through International Law*. Temple University, Beasley School of Law, October 4, 2008.

“American adversarial legalism and the European Union,” Presented at conference on The European Legal Field, European University Institute, Robert Schuman Center and Academy for European Law, 25-26 September 2008.

“EU Institutions after Lisbon: Wrong Diagnosis, Medieval Treatment, Good Prognosis,” Presented at workshop, Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the European Union, Johns Hopkins University – SAIS Bologna Center, Bologna, Italy, 4 April 2008.

“Built to Last? The Durability of EU Federalism” Presented at the European Union Studies Association Convention, Montréal, Canada, 18-20 May 2007.

“The Politics of Eurocracy: Designing EU regulatory agencies and networks” with Andrew Tarrant. Presented at European Union Studies Association Convention, Montréal, Canada, 18 May 2007.

“Adversarial Legalism à la européenne” Presented at Annual Meeting of the American Political Science association, Philadelphia, PA, Sept, 2006.

“The politics of regulation in Europe” at Conference on *Regulating the European Market*, sponsored by Clifford Chance and the Institute of European and Comparative Law at the University of Oxford, 17-18 March 2006.

“The Study of Critical Junctures: Theory, Narrative and Counterfactuals in Institutional Theory.” Co-authored with Giovanni Capoccia. Presented at Annual Meeting of the American Political Science association, Washington DC, Sept 1-4, 2005.

“Suing for Europe? Adversarial Legalism and European Governance” Presented at Annual Meeting of the American Political Science association, Washington DC, Sept 1-4, 2005. (Other versions of this talk presented at conference on “Does the litigation system in England and Wales deliver access to justice and value for money?”, Centre for Socio-legal Studies, 9 Dec. 2005; Workshop on Rethinking Governance in an Enlarged and Constitutional EU, University of Amsterdam, 15 Jan. 2005; Fifth Pan-European International Relations Conference, The Hague, 9-11 September 2004; and Conference on Courts, Civil Society and Governance: European & International Perspective, EU Center, University of Washington, May 14, 2004.)

“Federalism and Democratization: The US and EU in Comparative Perspective.” Presented at Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, Sept. 2-5, 2004. (Earlier version presented at Conference on Democratization in America, Nuffield College, Oxford, March 11-13, 2004.)

“Building a New European State?” Presented at ‘With US or Against US?’, Workshop sponsored by Maxwell EU Center, Syracuse University with support from the European Commission, Sciences Po, Paris, June 24-25, 2004. (Earlier version presented at ESRC Research Seminar: Principal Agent Theory and the Study of the EU, Birkbeck, University of London, May 7, 2004.)

“The EU Rights Revolution? Adversarial Legalism and European Integration.” American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA, August 28-31, 2003.

“The Single Market and EU Federalism” Evolving Federalisms Conference, Maxwell EU Center, Maxwell School of Citizenship & Public Affairs, Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY, April 11, 2003.

“Regulatory Styles: The Diffusion of Adversarial Legalism?” European Science Foundation Workshop, The Politics of Regulation, Barcelona, Spain, Nov. 29-30, 2002.

“Environmental Federalism in the US and EU.” Green Giants Workshop, European University Institute (EUI), Florence, Italy, December 14-16, 2001.

“The Politics of Eurocratic Structure and the New European Agencies.” European Community Studies Association Convention, Madison, Wisconsin, May 31-June 2, 2001.

“The Structure and Dynamics of European Union Federalism.” Presented at the University of Washington, European Union Center, Seattle, Washington, May 4-5, 2001.

"The Globalization of American Law." Presented at the 2001 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (APSA), San Francisco, California, August 30-September 2, 2001. (Earlier versions of this work were presented at the International Studies Association Convention, February 22-24, 2001, Chicago, Illinois and at the Convention of the Law and Society Association, Budapest, Hungary, July 3-6, 2001.)

"Institutionalism and the EU." Presented at Conference on Institutionalism and the Study of the European Union: Progress and Prospects for Integration, University of Washington, European Union Center, Seattle, Washington March 24-25, 2000.

"Globalization, Federalism and Regulation." Presented at Workshop on Globalization & Regulation, UC Berkeley, Center for German & European Studies, Berkeley, CA, Dec. 2-4, 1999.

"A Political Theory of Regulatory Federalism." Presented at the 1999 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (APSA), Atlanta, GA, September 2-5, 1999.

"The Limits of Judicial Power: Trade-Environment Disputes in the GATT/WTO and the EU." Presented at International Studies Association Convention, Washington, DC, April 16-20, 1999.

"Regulatory Federalism: The European Union in Comparative Perspective." Presented at APSA 94th Annual Meeting, Boston, MA, September 3-6, 1998.

"The Politics of Regulatory Federalism: Environmental Regulation in the EU, the US, Canada and Australia." Presented at the convention of the Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics, Geneva, Switzerland, July 12-14, 1996.

"The European Court of Justice: Master or Servant? - The Dynamics of the ECJ-Member State Game." With Heiner Schulz and Professor Geoffrey Garrett. Presented at the International Studies Association Convention, San Diego CA, April 16-20, 1996.

"The Implementation of EU Environmental Regulations." Presented at Harvard University, Center for European Studies conference, *New Approaches to EU Studies*. Cambridge, MA, Dec. 9, 1995.

"Environmental policy: Community activism and state response." Presented at University of Utrecht conference *European integration & convergence of national policies*. Utrecht, the Netherlands June 20-21, 1995.

"The Politics of European Environmental Policy." Presented at Columbia University conference, *Europe Toward the 21st Century*. New York, NY, March 30-April 1, 1995.

INVITED TALKS

2021: Council on Foreign Relations; Jacques Delors Centre of the Hertie School, Berlin; Keynote Address - European Community Studies Association of Canada Conference; Budapest Forum; ARENA Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo; Keynote Address - Hamburg Vigoni Forum; University of Chicago.

2020: Bocconi University, Leuven University, University of East Anglia, Central European University.

2019: Keynote Address – University of Leuven/RECONNECT Annual Conference; Keynote Address- European University Institute (Fiesole), Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität (LMU) Munich, Stanford University, Princeton University, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), University of Florida, George Washington University, Harvard University.

2018: Dublin City University Brexit Institute, College of Europe (Bruges), LUISS - Libera Università Internazionale degli Studi Sociali Guido Carli (Rome), University of Montréal, George Washington University Law School, Brookings Institution, Council on Foreign Relations, Keynote Address- Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Open Society Institute – Budapest Hungary, Harvard Weatherhead Center for International Affairs Talloires Conference (Talloires, France), University of Oslo (Pluricourts Centre).

2017: Princeton University, Lafayette College, University of Connecticut School of Law, US Department of State, King's College London, Radboud University Nijmegen.

2016: University College London, Harvard University, Boston College School of Law, Freie Universität Berlin, College of Europe - Bruges, Belgium, Princeton University, Université de Montréal, University of Pennsylvania, Temple University, MIT, NYU Law School, Columbia University Law School, University of Bremen, US Congress (briefing on Brexit organized by Council on Foreign Relations), University of Southern California, University of Calgary

2015: University of Pennsylvania, Temple University (Keynote Address at Global Temple Conference), US Congress (briefing on EU migration crisis for Congressional staffers organized by Council on Foreign Relations); Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies-SAIS, Georgetown University, Princeton University, Temple University, University of Copenhagen, Erasmus University Rotterdam (Keynote Address at inauguration of European Research Centre for Financial and Economic Governance), Technical University Delft, Sabanci University (Istanbul), Princeton University, US Congress (briefing on Eurozone crisis for Congressional staffers organized by Council on Foreign Relations), McGill University.

2014: Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies-SAIS, Duke University, Harvard Law School, Princeton University, Tilburg University Law School, UC Berkeley, Indiana University Law School, Duke University School of Law, Brookings Institution

2013: Columbia Law School, NYU Law School, Northeastern University, George Washington University, German Center for Research and Innovation, Princeton University

2012: Council of Ministers of the European Union, US Department of State – Office of Analysis for Europe, University of Washington

2011: Oxford University, London School of Economics, York University – Toronto (Keynote Address), Georgetown University, Temple University Law School, University of South Carolina

2010: Temple University, Temple Law School, European University Institute, Leiden University

2009: University of Oregon, U.S. Department of State

2008: Duke University, University of Pennsylvania, McGill University

2007: Princeton University, Université de Montréal, McGill University (Law Faculty), Rutgers Camden Law School

2005: University of Cambridge, University College London, European Commission
2004: University of Glasgow
2002: Swiss Federal Institute of Technology (ETH – Zurich), Brandeis University
2001: Princeton University, Leiden University, London School of Economics, University of Chicago Law School
2000: Northwestern University
1999: UC Berkeley, NYU Law School

TEACHING

Ph.D./D.Phil. and M.Phil.

- Comparative Institutional Analysis
- Comparative Government
- European Politics
- European Union Politics

MBA

- Business - Government Relations

Undergraduate

- Comparative Public Policy – ‘Lessons from Europe’ Signature Course
- Comparative Politics/Comparative Government
- European Politics
- European Union Politics
- European Union Law and Politics
- Environmental Politics: US, Comparative, International
- International Relations

UNIVERSITY AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Rutgers University

- Parliamentarian, School of Arts and Sciences Faculty Council (2012-present)
- Director, Center for European Studies (2009-2013, 2016-17)
- Director, European Studies Program (undergraduate major & minor) (2008-2013)
- Field Chair of Comparative Politics, Dep’t of Political Science (2009-present)
- Advisory Committee, Dep’t of Political Science (2016-present)
- Advisory Board, Initiative on Climate Change & Social Policy (2007-11)
- Chair, Political Institutions Hiring Committee, Dep’t. of Political Science (2010)
- Graduate Admissions Committee, Department of Political Science (2009, 2016)
- Steering Committee – Center for European Studies (2002-03, 2006-present)
- Member of numerous search committees, Department of Political Science
- Member of Kneller Fund Committee, Dep’t of Political Science (2008-present)
- Member of Law, Justice and Society Fellowship Selection Committee, Department of Political Science (2008-09)
- Member, Human dimensions of environmental change certificate program (1999-2003)

Oxford University (2003-2006)

- Governing Body of Lincoln College
- Undergraduate and Graduate Admissions Committees (annually)
- Wine Committee, Lincoln College
- Management Committee of the Institute for European and Comparative Law

- Organizing Committee for Europeanisation and Americanisation Conference
- Member of various hiring committees for politics, history and economics, Lincoln College, Corpus Christi College and Department of Politics and International Relations

Professional Service

- Presider, Council on Foreign Relations Roundtable with the French Ambassador to the US, New York, New York, 22 May 2018.
- Accreditation Board, Brexit Institute, Dublin City University, Ireland, 2018.
- Council Member (2013-2017, 2018-2022), European Politics and Society Section, American Political Science Association.
- Member, International Scientific Advisory Board, *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*/Italian Review of Political Science
- Member, International Advisory Board, MAXCAP (Maximizing the Integration Capacity of the European Union), EU 7th Framework Programme Research Project, 2012- present.
- Member, International Advisory Board, bEUcitizen: Barriers to European Citizenship), EU funded 7th Framework Research Project, 2012-present.
- Editor, Newsletter of the European Politics and Society Section of the American Political Science Association (2012-2015)
- Trustee, European-American Chamber of Commerce of New Jersey, 2012-2014.
- Program Co-Chair, European Union Studies Association Biennial Conference, Boston, MA, Mar.3-5, 2011.
- Executive Committee Member, European Union Studies Association 2007-2011.
- Editorial Board, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2003-present.
- Editorial Board, *West European Politics*, 2010-present
- Editorial Advisory Board, *Regional and Federal Studies*, 2008-present.
- Section Chair, "The EU: Challenge, Crisis and Reform," European Consortium on Political Research (ECPR) 5th Pan-European Conference on EU Politics, Porto, 24-26 June 2010.
- Discussant, European Politics Section, APSA Convention, Boston, MA 2008.
- Book Review Editor, *European Union Studies Association Review*, 2003-06.
- Referee: Cornell University Press, Oxford University Press, Cambridge University Press, Brookings Institution Press, Routledge, Lynne Rienner, *American Political Science Review*, *International Organization*, *World Politics*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Comparative Politics*, *Journal of Politics*, *Law & Social Inquiry*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *European Union Politics*, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, *Journal of Public Policy*, *Journal of European Public Policy*, *Governance*, *West European Politics*, *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, *Regulation & Governance*, *Journal of European Integration*, *Studies in Comparative International Development*.
- Roundtable Organizer, European Politics Section, APSA Convention, Philadelphia, 2006.
- Discussant, Political Organizations & Parties Section, APSA Convention, Philadelphia, 2003.
- Panel Chair, Law Section, ISA Convention, Chicago, IL, 2001.
- Panel Chair, Federalism Section, APSA Convention, Atlanta, GA, 1999.

Media

- Media appearances on TV and radio providing analysis of EU politics for media including BBC Radio4, BBC World Service, Various NPR Affiliates, Wharton Business Radio, Al Jazeera America Television, New Jersey Public Television, and others.

CONSULTANCY, POLICY ANALYSIS and NON-ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT

2003-present	OXFORD ANALYTICA Write policy briefs and other analyses of EU politics and regulatory policy for global analysis and advisory consultancy.	Oxford, UK
2014-present	MACRO ADVISORY PARTNERS Provide analysis of political risks in European politics for clients.	London, UK
2014-present	GERSON LEHRMAN GROUP NY Provide analysis of political risks in European politics for clients.	New York, NY
2012-2015	POLITICAL ALPHA Provide analysis of political and economic trends affecting European markets for firm advising institutional investment managers.	Washington, DC
2008	FONDATION POUR L'INNOVATION POLITIQUE Study of international impact of EU environmental standards.	Paris, France
2004	ALL LEARN – Oxford, Stanford, Yale Distance Learning Consortium. Provided Web Course for Mexican Foreign Ministry in 2004.	
1996-1997	CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES <i>Visiting Scholar:</i> Wrote research papers on EU institutions and EU climate change policy, and organized seminars for EU officials.	Brussels, Belgium
Summer 1993	REGIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL CENTER (REC) <i>Research Assistant:</i> Researched legislation on public participation in environmental policy-making in East-Central Europe.	Budapest, Hungary
Fall 1991	CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY (CEU) <i>Research Assistant:</i> Conducted research on environmental politics in Hungary for Dean of Program in Environmental Sciences.	Budapest, Hungary
Summer 1991	U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES <i>Subcommittee on Energy and Power, Intern:</i> Prepared reports on energy efficiency and high-level radioactive waste disposal.	Washington, DC

LANGUAGES

<i>German</i> -	Proficient
<i>French</i> -	Proficient
<i>Hungarian</i> -	Intermediate

REFERENCES

Available upon request.