



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

European Union representation at the United Nations towards more coherence after the Treaty of Lisbon

Jin, X.

Citation

Jin, X. (2014, January 9). *European Union representation at the United Nations towards more coherence after the Treaty of Lisbon*. Smart Printing Solutions. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/22977>

Version: Corrected Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/22977>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/22977> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation

Author: Jin, Xi

Title: European Union representation at the United Nations : towards more coherence after the treaty of Lisbon

Issue Date: 2014-01-09

References

- Allen, David and Michael Smith. 2011. Relations with the Rest of the World. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 49: 209–230.
- Amaral, José, Sara Martins and Rui Macieira. 2010. All for One, As Long As There Is Not One for Europe. *Portuguese Journal of International Affairs*, 4: 31-39.
- Ashton, Catherine. 2011. EU HR Ashton Pleased with Adoption of UN General Assembly Resolution on the EU's Participation in the Work of the UN, 3 May, New York/Brussels. http://www.europa-eu-un.org/articles/en/article_10995_en.htm (Accessed 19 July 2011).
- Ashton, Catherine. 2013. EEAS Review 2013, July. Brussels.
- Aslund, Anders, Martha B. Olcott and Sherman W. Garnett. 1999. *Getting It Wrong: Regional Cooperation and the Commonwealth of Independent States*. Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Asseburg, Muriel. 2013. The Arab Spring and the European Response. *The International Spectator: Italian Journal of International Affairs*, 48(2): 47-62.
- Avery, Graham. 2009. Uses of Time in the EU's Enlargement Process. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 16(2): 256-269.
- Babington, Deepa. 2011. Berlusconi Condemns “Unacceptable” Libyan Violence. *Reuters*, 21 February. <http://in.reuters.com/article/2011/02/21/idINIndia-55052820110221> (Accessed 1 March 2013)
- Baehr, Peter R. and Leon Gordenker. 2005. *The United Nations: Reality and Ideal*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Balabanova, Ekaterina. 2011. Media and Foreign Policy in Central and Eastern Europe post 9/11: in from the Cold?. *Media, War & Conflict*, 4(1): 69-82.
- Balfour, Rosa and Kristi Raik. 2013. The European External Action Service and National Diplomacies. *EPC Issue Paper*, No.73.
- Barber, Tony. 2010. The Appointments of Herman Van Rompuy and Catherine Ashton. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 48: 55-67.
- BBC News. 2003. Solana Toughens Stance on Iraq. 29 January. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/2705089.stm> (Accessed 30 April 2013).
- BBC News. 2006. Saddam Hussein Executed in Iraq. 30 December. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/6218485.stm (Accessed 10 May 2013).
- Bengtsson, Rikard and David Allen. 2011. Exploring a Triangular Drama: The High Representative, the Council Presidency and the Commission. In *The High Representative for the EU Foreign and Security Policy: Review and Prospects*, ed. Gisela Müller-Brandeck-Bocquet and Carolin Rüger, 109-129. Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Bicchi, Federica. 2011. The EU as a Community of Practice: Foreign Policy Communications in the COREU Network. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 18(8): 1115-1132.
- Bickerton, Christopher J. 2011. *European Union Foreign Policy: from Effectiveness to Functionality*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Bindi, Federiga. 2011. Berlusconi to Negotiate Libya Deal? *Public Service Europe*, 29 March. <http://www.publicserviceeurope.com/article/168/berlusconi-to-negotiate-libya-deal> (Accessed 18 February 2013).
- Birnberg, Gabriele. 2009. The Voting Behaviour of the European Union Member States in the United Nations General Assembly. PhD dissertation submitted to the Department of Government of the London School of Economics.
- Biscop, Sven and Antonio Missiroli. 2008. The EU in, with and for the UN Security Council: Brussels, New York, and the (Real) World. In *Strengthening the UN Security System: the Role of Italy and the EU*, ed. Nicoletta Pirozzi, IAI Quaderni English Series No. 11.
- Black, Ian. 2011a. Gaddafi Urges Violent Showdown and Tells Libya "I'll Die a Martyr". 22 February. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/feb/22/muammar-gaddafi-urges-violent-showdown> (Accessed 15 February 2013).
- Black, Ian. 2011b. Libyan Rebels Win International Recognition as Country's Leaders. 15 July. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/jul/15/libyan-rebels-international-recognition-leaders> (Accessed 15 February 2013).
- Blanke, Hermann-Josef and Stelio Mangiameli. 2012. *The European Union after Lisbon: Constitutional Basis, Economic Order and External Action*. Heidelberg: Springer.
- Blavoukos, Spyros and Dimitris Bourantonis. 2011. The EU's Performance in the United Nations Security Council. *Journal of European Integration*, 33(6): 731-742.
- Blockmans, Steven and Marja-Liisa Laatsit. 2012. The European External Action Service: Enhancing Coherence in EU External Action? In *EU External Relations Law and Policy in the Post-Lisbon Era*, ed. Paul J. Cardwell, 135-159. The Hague: T.M.C. Asser Press.
- Blockmans, Steven and Ramses A. Wessel. 2009. The European Union and Crisis Management: Will the Lisbon Treaty Make the EU More Effective?. *Journal of Conflict and Security Law*, 14(2): 265-308.
- Blom-Hansen, Jens. 2005. Principals, Agents, and the Implementation of EU Cohesion Policy. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 12(4): 624-648.
- Bluth, Christoph. 2004. The British Road to War: Blair, Bush and the Decision to Invade Iraq. *International Affairs*, 80(5): 871-892.
- Bosco, David L. 2009. *Five to Rule Them All: the UN Security Council and the Making of the Modern World*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bosse, Giselle. 2011. From "Villains" to the New Guardians of Security in Europe? Paradigm Shifts in EU Foreign Policy towards Libya and Belarus. *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, 12(4): 440-461.
- Brent, James C. 1999. An Agent and Two Principals: U.S. Court of Appeals Responses to Employment Division, Department of Human Resources v. Smith and the Religious Freedom Restoration Act. *American Politics Research*, 27(2): 236-266.
- Bretherton, Charlotte and John Vogler. 2006. *The European Union as a Global Actor*. London: Routledge.
- Breuer, Fabian. 2012. Sociological Institutionalism, Socialisation and the Brusselisation of CSDP. In *Explaining the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy: Theory in Action*, ed. Xymena Kurowska and Fabian Breuer, 111-135. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Brkan, Maja. 2012. The Role of the European Court of Justice in the Field of Common Foreign and Security Policy after the Treaty of Lisbon: New Challenges for the Future. In *EU External Relations Law and Policy in the Post-Lisbon Era*, ed. Paul J. Cardwell, 97-115. The Hague: T.M.C. Asser Press.
- Brockmeier, Sarah. 2012. German Policy towards Intervention in Libya. Dissertation submitted for the degree of Master of Philosophy in International Relations, University of Cambridge.
- Bulmer, Simon J. 1998. New Institutionalism and the Governance of the Single European Market. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 5(3): 365-386.
- Byers, Michael. 2004. Agreeing to Disagree: Security Council Resolution 1441 and Intentional Ambiguity. *Global Governance*, 10:165-186.
- Cameron, Fraser. 2011. The EU's External Action Service – Golden or Missed Opportunity? In *The High Representative for the EU Foreign and Security Policy: Review and Prospects*, ed. Gisela Müller-Brandeck-Bocquet and Carolin Rüger, 235-257. Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Cantore, Carlo M. 2011. We're One, but We're not the Same: Enhanced Cooperation and the Tension between Unity and Asymmetry in the EU. *Perspectives on Federalism*, 3(3): 1-21.
- Carbone, Maurizio. 2013. Between EU Actorness and Aid Effectiveness: The Logics of EU Aid to Sub-Saharan Africa. *International Relations*, 27(3): 341-355.
- Cardwell, Paul J. 2012. *EU External Relations Law and Policy in the Post-Lisbon Era*. The Hague: T.M.C. Asser Press.
- Carrubba, Clifford, Matthew Gabel and Simon Hug. 2008. Legislative Voting Behavior, Seen and Unseen: A Theory of Roll-Call Vote Selection. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 33(4): 543-572.
- Chaffin, Joshua. 2011. EU Ministers Cool to Italy's Call for Aid. *Financial Times*, 25 February.
- Chappell, Gareth. 2011. The Limits of British Leadership – Test Case Libya. *PISM Policy Paper*, No. 8, 2 June.
- Chevallard, Giancarlo. 2005. UN Reform: A Test of European Leadership. *The International Spectator: Italian Journal of International Affairs*, 40(4): 19-29.
- Chorin, Ethan. 2012. *Exit Gaddafi: the Hidden History of the Libyan Revolution*. London: Saqi.
- Christopher Patten. 2003. Keynote Address on European Union Foreign Policy Concluding Session, EU Enlargement: Implications for the EU and Australia. *National Europe Centre Paper*, No. 92.
- Cohen, Jacob. 1988. *Statistical Power Analysis for the Behavioral Sciences*. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Cohen, Lenard J. 2008. The Europeanization of 'Defective Democracies' in the Western Balkans: Pre-accession Challenges to Democratic Consolidation. In *The Boundaries of EU Enlargement: Finding a Place for Neighbours*, ed. Joan DeBardeleben, 205-221. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Comelli, Michele and Raffaello Matarazzo. 2011. Rehashed Commission Delegations or Real Embassies? EU Delegations Post-Lisbon. *IAI Working Papers*, 1123.
- Copson, Raymond W. 2003. Iraq War: Background and Issues Overview. *Report for Congress*, 22 April.
- Cortell, Andrew and Susan Peterson. 2006. Dutiful Agents, Rogue Actors, or Both? Staffing, Voting Rules, and Slack in the WHO and WTO. In *Delegation and Agency in International Organizations*,

- ed. Darren G. Hawkins, David A. Lake, Daniel L. Nielson, and Michael J. Tierney , 255-280. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Corthaut, Tim and Dries Van Eeckhoutte. 2012. Legal Aspects of EU Participation in Global Environmental Governance under the UN Umbrella. In *The European Union and Multilateral Governance: Assessing EU Participation in United Nations Human Rights and Environmental Fora*, ed. Jan Wouters, Hans Bruyninckx, Sudeshna Basu and Simon Schunz, 145-170. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Council of the European Union. 2003a. Presidency Conclusions, 20 and 21 March, Brussels.
- Council of the European Union. 2003b. Presidency's Statement on Iraq. 16 April, Athens.
- Council of the European Union. 2005. Code of Conduct between the Council, the Member States and the Commission on the UNESCO Negotiations on the Draft Convention on the Protection of the Diversity of Cultural Contents and Artistic Expressions, 31 January, Brussels.
- Council of the European Union. 2011. EU Statements in Multilateral Organizations - General Arrangements (15901/11), 24 October, Brussels.
- Cremona, Marise. 2009. Enhanced Cooperation and the Common Foreign and Security and Defence Policy. *EUI Working Paper*, LAW 2009/21.
- Crowe, Brian. 2003. A common European Foreign Policy after Iraq?. *International Affairs*, 79(3): 533-546.
- Degradand-Guillaud, Anne. 2009. Actors and Mechanisms of EU Coordination at the UN. *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 14(3): 405-430.
- Delaere, Vincent and. 2012. EU Representation in the OPCW after Lisbon: Still Waiting for Brussels. *Clingendael Paper*, No. 7.
- Dempsey, Judy. 2011. Merkel Loses Key German State on Nuclear Fears. *The New York Times*, 27 March. <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/28/world/europe/28germany.html> (Accessed 6 April 2013).
- Deudney, Daniel and Hanns W. Maull. 2011. Europe's Veto's Power: Britain, France, the United States, and the Reform of the UN Security Council. *Transatlantic Academy Paper Series*, June.
- Díez Medrano, Juan. 2003. *Framing Europe: Attitudes to European Integration in Germany, Spain, and the United Kingdom*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Dijkstra, Hylke. 2011. EU External Representation in Conflict Resolution: When does the Presidency or the High Representative Speak for Europe?. *European Integration online Papers* (EIoP), 15(1): 1-23.
- Dinan, Desmond. 2012. The Post-Lisbon European Council Presidency. Paper presented at the Final Meeting of Decision-Making in the European Union before and after Lisbon, 5 June, Brussels.
- Dosenrode, Søren. 2012. *The European Union after Lisbon: Polity, Politics, Policy*. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Dragneva, Rilka. 2004. Is "Soft" Beautiful? Another Perspective on Law, Institutions, and Integration in the CIS. *Review of Central and East European Law*, 29(3): 279-324.
- Dreher, Axel and Nathan Jensen. 2009. Country or Leader? Political Change and UN General Assembly Voting. *KOF Working Papers*, No. 217, February.
- Drieskens, Edith. 2008. EU Actorness at the UN Security Council: A Principal-Agent Comparison of the Legal Situation before and after Lisbon. *European Journal of Law Reform*, 6(4): 599-619.

- Drieskens, Edith. 2010. Beyond Chapter VIII: Limits and Opportunities for Regional Representation at the UN Security Council. *International Organizations Law Review*, 7: 149-169.
- Duke, Simon. 2005. The Linchpin COPS: Assessing the Workings and Institutional Relations of the Political and Security Committee. *European Institute of Public Administration Working Paper*, 5.
- Duke, Simon. 2012. The EU, NATO and the Treaty of Lisbon: Still Divided within a Common City. In *EU External Relations Law and Policy in the Post-Lisbon Era*, ed. Paul J. Cardwell, 335-355. The Hague: T.M.C. Asser Press.
- Dunne, Tim. 2012. Blair's Britain and the Road to War in Iraq. In *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases*, ed. Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield and Tim Dunne, 419-437. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dylla, Daria. 2011. Poland, Libya, and NATO. *Atlantic Council*, 3 June. http://www.acus.org/new_atlanticist/poland-libya-and-nato (Accessed 15 April 2013).
- Dyson, Stephen B. 2006. Personality and Foreign Policy: Tony Blair's Iraq Decision. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 2: 289-306.
- Dyson, Tom and Theodore Konstadinides. 2013. *European Defence Cooperation in EU Law and IR Theory*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Eggers, Barbara and Frank Hoffmeister. 2006. UN-EU Cooperation on Public Health: The Evolving Participation of the European Community in the World Health Organization. In *The United Nations and the European Union: An Ever Stronger Partnership*, ed. Jan Wouters, Frank Hoffmeister and Tom Ruys, 155-170. The Hague: TMC Asser Press.
- Emerson, Michael, Rosa Balfour, Tim Corthaupt, Jan Wouters, Piotr M. Kaczynski and Thomas Renard. 2011. *Upgrading the EU's Role as a Global Actor: Institutions, Law and the Restructuring of European Diplomacy*. Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies.
- Epstein, David and Sharyn O'Halloran. 1994. Administrative Procedure, Information, and Agency Discretion. *American Journal of Political Science*, 38(3): 697-722.
- EU@UN. 2003. Commissioner Patten's Speech on Iraq at the EP. 12 March. http://www.eu-un.europa.eu/articles/en/article_2110_en.htm (Accessed 22 May 2013).
- EU@UN. 2012. EU Leaders at the 67th United Nations General Assembly Ministerial Week. 24 December. http://www.eu-un.europa.eu/articles/en/article_12587_en.htm (Accessed 1 June 2013).
- Europa Press Releases. 2011. Catherine Ashton EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice President of the European Commission Speech on the situation in the Southern Neighbourhood and Libya. European Parliament Strasbourg, 9 March. http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-11-159_en.htm (Accessed 12 January 2013).
- Europa Press Releases. 2012. EU Participation in UNGA Ministerial Week. <http://europa.eu/newsroom/calendar/event/394070/eu-participation-in-unga-ministerial-week> (Accessed 28 September 2012).
- European Commission Press Release. 2012. EU Signs New Partnership with UNESCO on Education, Culture, Science and Human Rights. 8 October, Brussels.
- European Commission. 2003. The European Union and the United Nations: The Choice of Multilateralism. *Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament*, 10 September, Brussels.

European Commission. 2011a. Statement by President Barroso Following His Meeting with Navi Pillay, United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 23 February, Brussels.

European Commission. 2011b. *A Partnership for Democracy and Shared Prosperity with the Southern Mediterranean*. 8 March, Brussels.

European Commission. 2012. Working Arrangements between Commission and the European External Action Service (EEAS) in Relation to External Relations Issues, 13 January, SEC(2012)48.

European Council. 2003. *European Security Strategy: A Secure Europe in a Better World*. 2 December, Brussels.

European Council. 2011a. Statement by Herman Van Rompuy, President of the European Council, on the Developments in the EU's Southern Neighbourhood, 23 February, Prague. http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/119450.pdf (Accessed 20 December 2012).

European Council. 2011b. Declaration Adopted by the Extraordinary European Council, 11 March. <http://register.consilium.europa.eu/pdf/en/11/st00/st00007.en11.pdf> (Accessed 1 April 2013).

European Parliament. 2011a. The EU as a Global Actor: Its Role in Multilateral Organizations. Parliament Resolution on 11 May, Strasbourg.

European Parliament. 2011b. Buzek on the Situation in Libya, 21 February, Warsaw. http://www.sitepres.europarl.europa.eu/president/en/press/press_release/2011/2011-February/press_release-2011-February-28.html (Accessed 10 February 2013).

European Parliament. 2011c. Buzek's Speech on the Extraordinary European Council on Libya and the Situation in North Africa, 11 March, Brussels. http://www.europarl.europa.eu/former_ep_presidents/president-buzek/en/press/speeches/sp-2011/sp-2011-March/speeches-2011-March-5.html (Accessed 12 February 2013).

European Parliament. 2011d. Strikes on Libya: MEPs Criticise Lack of Coordination by Member States. <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/pressroom/content/20110318IPR15872/html/Strikes-on-Libya-MEPs-criticise-lack-of-coordination-by-Member-States> (Accessed 15 February 2013).

European Union. 2004. *The Enlarging European Union at the United Nations: Making Multilateralism Matter*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

European Union. 2011a. Declaration by the High Representative, Catherine Ashton, on behalf of the European Union on Events in Libya. 6795/1/11, Press 33, 20 February, Brussels. http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/cfsp/119397.pdf (Accessed 10 February 2013).

European Union. 2011b. Declaration by the High Representative Catherine Ashton on behalf of the European Union on Events in Libya. 6966/1/11 REV1, Press 36, 23 February, Brussels. http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/cfsp/119453.pdf (Accessed 10 February 2013).

European Union. 2011c. EU High Representative Catherine Ashton Sends Fact-finding Team to Libya ahead of European Council. A 092/11, 6 March, Brussels. http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/119614.pdf (Accessed 4 April 2013).

- Farnesina (Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs). 2011. Italy-Libya: Berlusconi-Jibril Meeting - the Two Governments Form a Committee of Accord. 25 August. http://www.esteri.it/MAE/EN/Sala_Stampa/ArchivioNotizie/Approfondimenti/2011/08/20110825_FocusLibia_BerlusconiJibril.htm (Accessed 15 February 2013).
- Farrell, Mary. 2006. EU Representation and Coordination within the United Nations. In *The European Union at the United Nations: Intersecting Multilateralisms*, ed. Katie V. Laatikainen and Karen E. Smith, 27–46. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Fassbender, Bardo. 2004. The Better Peoples of the United Nations? Europe's Practice and the United Nations. *The European Journal of International Law*, 15(5): 857-884.
- Federal Foreign Office. 2011a. Responsibility, Reliability and Commitment - Germany in the UN Security Council. 2 January. http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/EN/Infoservice/Presse/Meldungen/2011/110102_DEU_Sitz_VN_Sicherheitsrat.html (Accessed 10 April 2013).
- Federal Foreign Office. 2011b. Policy Statement by Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle in the German Bundestag on Current Developments in Libya (UN Resolution). 18 March. http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/EN/Infoservice/Presse/Reden/2011/110318_BM_Regierungserkl_percentC3_percentA4rung_Libyen.html (Accessed 31 March 2013).
- Ferri, Delia. 2005. EU Participation in the UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions: Some Constitutional Remarks. *European Diversity and Autonomy Papers*, No. 3.
- Fischer, Joschka. 2011. "I Am Not Convinced": Joschka Fischer on Germany's "No" to the Iraq War. Excerpts translated by Christopher Sultan from the book "I Am Not Convinced": *Der Irak Krieg und die rot-grünen Jahre* ("I Am Not Convinced": The Iraq War and the Red-Green Years). 17 February. <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/i-am-not-convinced-joschka-fischer-on-germany-s-no-to-the-iraq-war-a-745901.html> (Accessed 27 May 2013).
- Franda, Marcus F. 2006. *The United Nations in the Twenty-First Century: Management and Reform Processes in a Troubled Organization*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Frieden, Jeffrey A. 2004. One Europe, One Vote? The Political Economy of European Union Representation in International Organizations. *European Union Politics*, 5(2): 261-276.
- Fulci, F. Paolo. 1999. Italy and the Reform of the UN Security Council. *The International Spectator: Italian Journal of International Affairs*, 34(2): 7-16.
- Gaffney, John. 2004. Highly Emotional States: French-US Relations and the Iraq War. *European Security*, 13(3): 247-272.
- Gaspers, Jan. 2010. The Quest for European Foreign Policy Consistency and the Treaty of Lisbon. *Humanitas Journal of European Studies*, 2(1):19-35.
- Gauttier, Pascal. 2004. Horizontal Coherence and the External Competences of the European Union. *European Law Journal*, 10(1): 23-41.
- Gehring, Thomas, Sebastian Oberthür and Marc Mühleck. 2013. European Union Actorness in International Institutions: Why the EU is Recognized as an Actor in Some International Institutions, but Not in Others. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 51(5) 849-865.

- Ginsberg, Roy H. 1999. Conceptualizing the European Union as an International Actor: Narrowing the Theoretical Capability–Expectations Gap. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 37(3): 429-454.
- Gordon, Philip H. and Jeremy Shapiro. 2004. *Allies at War: America, Europe, and the Crisis over Iraq*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Gottwald, Marlene. 2012. Humanizing Security? The EU’s Responsibility to Protect in the Libya Crisis. *FIIA Working Paper*, 75, April.
- Götz, Norbert. 2008. Western Europeans and Others: The Making of Europe at the United Nations. *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, 33: 359-81.
- Græger, Nina and Kristin M. Haugevik. 2011. The EU’s Performance with and within NATO: Assessing Objectives, Outcomes and Organizational Practices. *Journal of European Integration*, 33(6) 743-757.
- Greco, Ettore. 2003. CFSP Reform and Transatlantic Relations. *Connections: The Quarterly Journal*, 2(3): 57-64.
- Griller, Stefan and Jacques Ziller. 2008. *The Lisbon Treaty: EU Constitutionalism without a Constitutional Treaty?*. Wien: Springer.
- Groen, Lisanne and Arne Niemann. 2013. The European Union at the Copenhagen Climate Negotiations: A Case of Contested EU Actorness and Effectiveness. *International Relations*, 27(3): 308-324.
- Groenleer, Martijn L.P. and Louise G. Van Schaik. 2007. United We Stand? The European Union’s International Actorness in the Cases of the International Criminal Court and the Kyoto Protocol. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 45(5): 969-998.
- Gross, Leo. 1951. Voting in the Security Council: Abstention from Voting and Absence from Meetings. *The Yale Law Journal*, 60(2): 209-257.
- Gstöhl, Sieglinde. 2009. “Patchwork Power” Europe: The EU’s Representation in International Institutions. *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 14(3): 385-403.
- Gstöhl, Sieglinde. 2012. EU Multilateral Diplomacy after Lisbon: More Single European Voice in the United Nations? In *European Union Diplomacy: Coherence, Unity and Effectiveness*, ed. Dieter Mahncke and Sieglinde Gstöhl, 143-168. Brussels: Lang.
- Hall, Peter A. and Rosemary C. R Taylor. 1994. Political science and the three new institutionalisms. *Political Studies*, 44: 936-957.
- Hannay, David. 2012. Effectiveness and Ineffectiveness of the UN Security Council in the 20 Years since the Fall of the Berlin Wall: A European Perspective. In *The EU, the UN and Collective Security*, ed. Joachim Krause and Natalino Ronzitti, 37-52. London: Routledge.
- Hansen, Mie. 2012. Report on Security Council Reform Meeting 21 February 2012. 12 March. <http://www.centerforunreform.org/node/470> (Accessed 28 November 2012).
- Harmsen, Robert and Menno Spiering. 2005. *Euroscepticism: Party Politics, National Identity and European Integration*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Harnisch, Sebastian. 2004. German Non-proliferation Policy and the Iraq Conflict. *German Politics*, 13(1): 1-34.
- Hartstein, Yannick. 2012. The Role Seconded National Experts in the Development of the CFSP and CSDP. In *European Union Diplomacy: Coherence, Unity and Effectiveness*, ed. Dieter Mahncke and Sieglinde Gstöhl, 115-139. Brussels: Lang.

- Hawkins, Darren G., David A. Lake, Daniel L. Nielson, and Michael J. Tierney. 2006. *Delegation and Agency in International Organizations*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Helwig, Niklas, Paul Ivan and Hrant Kostanyan. 2013. *The New EU Foreign Policy Architecture: Reviewing the First Two Years of the EEAS*. Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies.
- Helwig, Niklas. 2013. EU Foreign Policy and the High Representative's Capability-Expectations Gap: A Question of Political Will. *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 18(2): 235-254.
- Hendrickson, Ryan C. 2013. Libya and American War Powers: War-making Decisions in the United States. *Global Change, Peace & Security: formerly Pacifica Review: Peace, Security & Global Change*, 25(2): 175-189.
- Heywood, Paul M. 2003. Desperately Seeking Influence: Spain and the War in Iraq. *European Political Science*, 3 (1): 35-40.
- Hill, Christopher. 2005. The European Dimension of the Debate on UN Security Council Membership. *The International Spectator: Italian Journal of International Affairs*, 40(4): 31-39.
- Hill, Christopher. 2006. The European Powers in the Security Council: Differing Interests, Differing Arenas. In *The European Union at the United Nations: Intersecting Multilateralisms*, ed. Katie V. Laatikainen and Karen E. Smith, 49-69. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hillion, Christophe. 2008. *Tous pour un, un pour tous!* Coherence in the External Relations of the European Union. In *Developments in EU External Relations Law*, 10-36. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hinarejos, Alicia. 2009. *Judicial Control in the European Union: Reforming Jurisdiction in the Intergovernmental Pillars*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hix, Simon, Abdul Noury and Gérard Roland. 2005. Power to the Parties: Cohesion and Competition in the European Parliament, 1979-2001. *British Journal of Political Science*, 35(2):209-34.
- Hoffmeister, Frank and Pieter-Jan Kuijper. 2006. The Status of the European Union at the United Nations: Institutional Ambiguities and Political Realities. In *The United Nations and the European Union: An Ever Stronger Partnership*, ed. Jan Wouters, Frank Hoffmeister and Tom Ruys. The Hague: T.M.C. Asser Press.
- Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks. 2001. *Multi-level Governance and European Integration*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Hooper, John. 2002. German Leader Says No to Iraq War. *The Guardian*, 6 August. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2002/aug/06/iraq.johnhooper> (Accessed 1 April 2013).
- Hosli, Madeleine O., Evelyn van Kampen, Frits Meijerink and Katherine Tennis. 2010. Voting Cohesion in the United Nations General Assembly: The Case of the European Union. Paper presented at the ECPR Fifth Pan-European Conference, 24-26 June, Porto.
- Hosli, Madeleine O., Rebecca Moody, Bryan O'Donovan, Serguei Kaniovski and Anna C. H. Little. 2011. Squaring the Circle? Collective and Distributive Effects of United Nations Security Council Reform. *Review of International Organizations*, 6(2): 163-187.
- Howorth, Jolyon. 2010. The Political and Security Committee: A Case Study in "Supranational Intergovernmentalism". *Les Cahiers européens de Sciences Po*, No. 01. Paris: Centre d'études européennes at Sciences Po.

- Howorth, Jolyon. 2011. The 'New Faces' of Lisbon: Assessing the Performance of Catherine Ashton and Herman Van Rompuy on the Global Stage. *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 16 (3): 303-323.
- Hug, Simon. 2012. What's in a Vote?. Paper prepared for presentation at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 30 August - 2 September, New Orleans.
- Hughes, Kirsty. 2003. After Iraq: Can Europe Overcome Its Divisions? *Global Dialogue*, 5(3-4): 1-13.
- Hulton, Susan C. 2004. Council Working Methods and Procedure. In *The UN Security Council: from the Cold War to the 21st Century*, ed. David M. Malone. Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Human Rights Watch. 2011. Italy: Press Gaddafi to Halt Violence against Protesters. 23 February. <http://www.hrw.org/news/2011/02/23/italy-press-gaddafi-halt-violence-against-protesters> (Accessed 10 April 2013).
- Hurd, Ian. 2007. *After Anarchy: Legitimacy and Power in the United Nations Security Council*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hurwitz, L. 1976. The EEC and Decolonization: The Voting Behaviour of the United Nations General Assembly. *Political Studies*, 24: 435-447.
- International Energy Agency (IEA). 2011. Facts on Libya: Oil and Gas. 21 February. http://www.iea.org/media/news/facts_libya.pdf (Accessed 9 April 2013).
- Jakobsson, Ulf. 2009. An International Actor under Pressure: The Impact of the War on Terror and the Fifth Enlargement on EU Voting Cohesion at the UN General Assembly 2000–05. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 47(3): 531–554.
- Jin, Xi and Madeleine O. Hosli. 2013. Pre- and Post-Lisbon: European Union Voting in the United Nations General Assembly. *West European Politics*, 36(6): 1274-1291.
- Johansson-Nogués, Elisabeth. 2004. The Fifteen and the Accession States in the UN General Assembly: What Future for European Foreign Policy in the Coming Together of the "Old" and "New" Europe? *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 9: 67-92.
- Johnson, Adrian and Saqeb Mueen. 2012. *Short War, Long Shadow: The Political and Military Legacies of the 2011 Libya Campaign*. London: Stephen Austin & Sons Ltd.
- Jordan, Andrew and Adriaan Schout. 2006. *The Coordination of the European Union: Exploring the Capacities of Networked Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jørgensen, Knud E., Sebastian Oberthür and Jamal Shahin. 2011. Introduction: Assessing the EU's Performance in International Institutions – Conceptual Framework and Core Findings. *Journal of European Integration*, 33(6): 599-620.
- Juncos Ana E. and Christopher Reynolds. 2007. The Political and Security Committee: Governing in the Shadow. *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 12: 127-147.
- Jupille, Joseph and James A. Caporaso. 1998. States, Agency and Rules: The European Union in Global Environmental Politics. In *The European Union in the World Community*, ed. Carolyn Rhodes, 213-229. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Jupille, Joseph and James A. Caporaso. 1999. Institutionalism and the European Union: Beyond International Relations and Comparative Politics. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2: 429-444.
- Kaczyński, Piotr M. 2011. Swimming in Murky Waters: Challenges in Developing the EU's External Representation. *FIIA Briefing Paper*, 88.

- Kampfner, John .2003. *Blair's Wars*. The Free Press: London.
- Kato, Junko. 1996. Institutions and Rationality in Politics - Three Varieties of Neo-Institutionalists. *British Journal of Political Science*, 26(4): 553-582.
- Keating, Colin. 2011. Reforming the Working Methods of the UN Security Council. *FES Perspective*, December.
- Kelly, Michael J. 2000. U.N. Security Council Permanent Membership: A New Proposal for a Twenty-First Century Council. *Seton Hall Law Review*, 31(2): 319-399.
- Kendall, Bridget. 2003. Showdown at the UN. In *The Battle for Iraq: BBC News Correspondents on the War Against Saddam and a New World Agenda*. BBC News, London: BBC Worldwide Ltd.
- Kerremans, Bart. 2006. Proactive Policy Entrepreneur of Risk Minimiser? A Principal-agent Interpretation of the EU's Role in the WTO. In *The European Union's Role in International Politics: Concepts and Analysis*, ed. Ole Elgström and Michael Smith, 172-188. London: Routledge.
- Keukeleire, Stephan and Jennifer MacNaughtan. 2008. *The Foreign Policy of the European Union*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kiewiet, D. Roderick and Mathew D. McCubbins. 1991. *The Logic of Delegation: Congressional Parties and the Appropriation Process*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kim, Soo Yeon and Bruce Russett. 1996. The New Politics of Voting Alignments in the United Nations General Assembly. *International Organization*, 50 (4): 629-652.
- King, Gary, Robert Keohane and Sidney Verba. 1994. *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Kissack, Robert. 2006. Who Speaks for Europe in the ILO? Member State Coordination and European Union Representation in the International Labour 262 Organization. In *International Relations*. London: London School of Economics.
- Koehler, Kateryna. 2010. European Foreign Policy after Lisbon: Strengthening the EU as an International Actor. *Caucasian Review of International Affairs*, 4(1): 57-72.
- Koelble, Thomas A. 1995. The New Institutionalism in Political Science and Sociology. *Comparative Politics*, 27(2): 231-243.
- Koenig, Nicole. 2011. The EU and the Libyan Crisis: In Quest of Coherence?. *IAI Working Papers*, 1119.
- Kritzinger, Sylvia. 2003. Public Opinion in the Iraq Crisis: Explaining Developments in the UK, France, Italy and Germany. *European Political Science*, 3(1): 30-35.
- Laatikainen, Katie V., and Karen E. Smith. 2006. *The European Union at the United Nations: Intersecting Multilateralisms*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Larsén, Magdalena F. 2007. Principal-Agent Analysis with One Agent and Two Principals: European Union Trade Negotiations with South Africa. *Politics & Policy*, 35 (3): 440-463.
- Levy, Daniel, Max Pensky and John C. Torpey. 2005. *Old Europe, New Europe, Core Europe: Transatlantic Relations after the Iraq War*. London: The Bath Press.
- Lewis, Jeffrey. 2005. The Janus Face of Brussels: Socialization and Everyday Decision Making in the European Union. *International Organization*, 59(4): 937-971.
- Lieberman, Evan S. 2005. Nested Analysis as a Mixed-Method Strategy for Comparative Research. *The American Political Science Review*, 99(3): 435-452.

- Lijphart, Arend. 1963. The Analysis of Bloc Voting in the General Assembly: A Critique and a Proposal. *American Political Science in Politics*, 57(4): 902-917.
- Lindemann, Beate. 1982. European Political Cooperation at the UN: A Challenge for the Nine. In *European Political Cooperation: Toward a foreign policy of Western Europe*, ed. David Allen, Reinhard Rummel and Wolfgang Wessels. London: Butterworth Scientific.
- Lindström, Madelene and Kristina Zetterlund. 2012. Setting the Stage for the Military Intervention in Libya: Decisions Made and Their Implications for the EU and NATO.
- Lombardi, Ben. 2011. The Berlusconi Government and Intervention in Libya. *The International Spectator*, 46(4): 31-44.
- Lucas, Kirsten. 2012. 1 + 1 = 3? EU-US Voting Cohesion in the United Nations General Assembly. *EU Diplomacy Papers*, No.7.
- Luif, Paul. 2003. EU Cohesion in the UN General Assembly. *Chaillot Occasional Papers*, 49.
- Lutterbeck, D., 2009. Migrants, Weapons and Oil: Europe and Libya after the Sanctions. *The journal of North African studies*, 14 (2): 169-184.
- Lyne, Mona M., Daniel L. Nielson and Michael J. Tierney. 2006. Who Delegates? Alternative Models of Principals in Development Aid. In *Delegation and Agency in International Organizations*, ed. Darren G. Hawkins, David A. Lake, Daniel L. Nielson, and Michael J. Tierney , 41-76. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Maccanico, Yasha. 2011. The EU's Self-interested Response to Unrest in North Africa: the Meaning of Treaties and Readmission Agreements between Italy and North African States. *Statewatch Analysis*, December 31.
- MacCormick, Jonh. 2011. *European Union Politics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mahieu, Géraldine, Dirk Ooms and Stéphane Rottier. 2005. EU Representation and the Governance of the International Monetary Fund. *European Union Politics*, 6(4): 493-510.
- Mahony, Honor. 2003. EU Renews Common Position on Iraq. *EUobserver*, 17 February. <http://euobserver.com/foreign/9415> (Accessed 1 May 2013).
- Majone, Giandomenico. 2001. Two Logics of Delegation: Agency and Fiduciary Relations in EU Governance. *European Union Politics*, 2(1): 103-122.
- Mara, Darren. 2011. Germany Tells Italy to "Solve its Own Problems" in Tunisian Refugee Row. 10 April. <http://www.dw.de/germany-tells-italy-to-solve-its-own-problems-in-tunisian-refugee-row/a-14980272>(Accessed 23 March 2013).
- Marangoni, Anne-Claire. 2012. One Hat Too Many for the High Representative – Vice President? The Coherence of EU's External Policies after Lisbon. *EU External Affairs Review*, July: 4-17.
- March, James G. and Johan P. Olsen. 1984. The New Institutionalism: Organized Factors in Political Life. *American Political Science Review*, 78 (3): 734-749.
- Marchesi, Daniele. 2008. The EU Common Foreign and Security Policy in the UN Security Council: Between Representation and Coordination. Paper presented at the 2008 International Studies Association convention, 27 March, San Francisco.
- Marin-Bosch, Miguel. 1998. *Votes in the UN General Assembly*. London: Kluwer Law International.

- Marks, Gary, Liesbet Hooghe and Kermit Blank. 1996. European Integration from the 1980s. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 34(3): 341-378.
- Martini, Elisabetta. 2010. Restarting Negotiations for the Reform of the Security Council. *DOCUMENTI IAI* 1008. Paper presented for the seminar on “The Reform of the UN Security Council: What Role for the EU?”, 14 May 2010, Rome.
- Mazarr, Michael J. 2007. The Iraq War and Agenda Setting. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 3(1): 1-23.
- McArdle, Scarlett and Paul J. Cardwell. 2012. EU External Representation and the International Law Commission: An Increasingly Significant International Role for the European Union? In *Principles and Practices of EU External Representation*, ed. Steven Blockmans and Ramses A. Wessel, 83-102. The Hague: T.M.C. Asser Press.
- McCubbins, Mathew D. and Thomas Schwartz. 1984. Congressional Oversight Overlooked: Police Patrols versus Fire Alarms. *American Journal of Political Science*, 28(1): 165–179.
- Menon, Anand. 2004. From Crisis to Catharsis: ESDP after Iraq. *International Affairs*, 80(4): 631-648.
- Menon, Anand. 2011. European Defence Policy from Lisbon to Libya. *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy*, 53(3): 75-90.
- Miranda, Valérie V. 2011. Striking a Balance between Norms and Interests in Italian Foreign Policy: The Balkans and Libya. *IAI Working Papers*, 1111.
- Missiroli, Antonio. 2001. Coherence for Security Policy: Debates – Cases – Assessments. *Occasional Papers of Western European Union Institute for Security Studies*, No. 27, May, Paris.
- Missiroli, Antonio. 2005. The UN Security Council Needs Fewer Europeans and More Europe. *The International Spectator: Italian Journal of International Affairs*, 40(4):41-47.
- Moga, Teodor L. 2009. The Contribution of the Neofunctionalist and Intergovernmentalist Theories to the Evolution of the European Integration Process. *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences*, 1(3): 796-807.
- Moravcsik, Andrew. 1993. Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 31(4): 473-524.
- Mouritzen, Hans. 2006. Choosing Sides in the European Iraq Conflict: A Test of New Geopolitical Theory. *European Security*, 15 (2) 137-163.
- Nadeau, Barbie L. 2011. Gaddafi's Best Friend in Europe. *The Daily Beast*, 23 March. <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2011/03/23/berlusconi-and-qaddafi-their-close-friendship.html> (Accessed 15 April 2013).
- Nethery, Daniel. 2011. Germany's Libya Opt-out. *Inside Story*, 31 March. <http://inside.org.au/germany-libya-opt-out/> (Accessed 16 February 2013).
- Neue Zürcher Zeitung*. 2003. Gerhard Schröder als Anhängsel Chiracs: Kollateralschäden der deutschen Irak-Politik. 26 February. <http://www.nzz.ch/aktuell/startseite/article8PA2Q-1.218304> (Accessed 22 April 2013).
- Nicolaidis, Phedon. 1999. *A Guide to the Enlargement of the European Union (II): A Review of the Process, Negotiations, Policy Reforms and Enforcement Capacity*. Maastricht: European Institute of Public Administration.

- Nielson, Daniel L. and Michael J. Tierney. 2003. Delegation to International Organizations: Agency Theory and World Bank Environmental Reform. *International Organization*, 57: 241–276.
- Niemann, Arne and Charlotte Bretherton. 2013. EU External Policy at the Crossroads: The Challenge of Actorness and Effectiveness. *International Relations*, 27(3): 261-275.
- Niemann, Arne and Judith Huigens. 2011. The European Union’s Role in the G8: A Principal–agent Perspective. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 18(3): 420-442.
- Norton-Taylor, Richard and Ewen MacAskill. 2002. Iraq Deployment under Way as MoD Charters Troop Ships for Gulf. 18 December. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2002/dec/18/politics.iraq> (Accessed 30 April 2013).
- Nuttall, Simon J. 2005. Coherence and Consistency. In *International Relations and the European Union*, ed. Hill, Christopher and Michael Smith, 91-112. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Okhovat, Sahar. 2011. The United Nations Security Council: Its Veto Power and Its Reform. *CPACS Working Paper*, No. 15/1.
- Organization Miller, Gary J. 2005. The Political Evolution OF Principal-agent Models. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 8: 203-225.
- Ott, Andrea and Kirstyn Inglis. 2002. *Handbook on European Enlargement: A Commentary on the Enlargement Process*. The Hague: T.M.C. Asser Press.
- Paasivirta, Esa and Dominic Porter. 2006. EU Coordination at the UN General Assembly and ECOSOC: A View from Brussels, A View from New York. In *The United Nations and the European Union: An Ever Stronger Partnership*, ed. Jan Wouters, Frank Hoffmeister and Tom Ruys. The Hague: T.M.C. Asser Press.
- Pargeter, Alison. 2012. *Libya: The Rise and Fall of Qaddafi*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Peel, Quentin. 2011. Merkel Explains Berlin Abstention. *Financial Times*, 18 March. <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/2363c306-51b8-11e0-888e-00144feab49a.html#axzz2QTiXh2fr> (Accessed 3 April 2013).
- Petersen, M.J. 2006. *The UN General Assembly*. New York: Routledge.
- Peterson, John. 2004. Keynote Article: Europe, America, Iraq: Worst Ever, Ever Worsening?. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 42(1): 9-26.
- Petry, Shannon. 2012. From Commission Delegations to ‘EU Embassies’: External Perceptions of EU Diplomacy. In *European Union Diplomacy: Coherence, Unity and Effectiveness*, ed. Dieter Mahncke and Sieglinde Gstöhl, 215-237. Brussels: Lang.
- Picardi, Marco T. 2011. What’s at Stake for Italy in Libya. *Heartland*, 3 March. <http://temi.repubblica.it/limes-heartland/whats-at-stake-for-italy-in-libya/1697> (Accessed 15 December 2012).
- Pidd, Helen. 2011. Germans Voice Disquiet over Absence from Libya Military Action. *The Guardian*, 24 March. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/mar/24/germans-disquiet-absence-libya-action> (Accessed 10 April 2013).
- Pierson, Paul. 1996. The Path to European Integration: A Historical Institutionalist Analysis. *Comparative Political Studies*, 29: 123-163.

- Piris, Jean-Claude. 2010. *The Lisbon Treaty: A Legal and Political Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pirozzi, Nicoletta. 2012. The EU's Contribution to the Effectiveness of the UN Security Council between Presence and Impact. In *The EU, the UN and Collective Security*, ed. Joachim Krause and Natalino Ronzitti, 94-114. London: Routledge.
- Pollack, Mark A. 1994. Creeping Competence: The Expanding Agenda of the European Community. *Journal of Public Policy*, 14(2): 95-145.
- Pollack, Mark A. 1996. The New Institutionalism and EC Governance: The Promise and Limits of Institutional Analysis. *Governance: An International Journal of Policy and Administration*, 9(4): 429-458.
- Pollack, Mark A. 2003. *The Engines of European Integration: Delegation, Agency, and Agenda Setting in the EU*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Pollack, Mark A. 2005. Theorizing the European Union: International Organization, Domestic Polity, or Experiment in New Governance? *Annual Review of Political Science*, 8: 357-398.
- Pollack, Mark A. 2006. Principal-Agent Analysis and International Delegation: Red Herrings, Theoretical Clarifications, and Empirical Disputes. Paper prepared for the presentation at the Workshop on Delegating Sovereignty, Duke University, 3-4 March, Durham.
- Pop, Valentina. 2011. Italian Minister Questions Value of EU Membership. 11 April. <http://euobserver.com/justice/32155> (Accessed 17 March 2013).
- Portela, Clara and Kolja Raube. 2012. The EU Polity and Foreign Policy Coherence. *Journal of Contemporary European Research*, 8(1): 3-20.
- Portela, Clara. 2009. (In-)Coherence in EU Foreign Policy: Exploring Sources and Remedies. Paper presented at the European Studies Association Biannual Convention, April, Los Angeles.
- Powell, Walter W. and Paul J. DiMaggio. 1991. *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Quinn, Paul. 2012. The Lisbon Treaty: Answering the Call for Greater Coherence in EU External Relations? In *European Union Diplomacy: Coherence, Unity and Effectiveness*, ed. Dieter Mahncke and Sieglinde Gstöhl, 45-62. Brussels: Lang.
- Rasch, Maximilian B. 2008. *The European Union at the United Nations: The Functioning and Coherence of EU External Representation in a State-Centric Environment*. Leiden: Nijhoff.
- Read, Craig. 2003. Iraq and Why the War is Moral and Justified. 14 April. <http://www.mapleleafweb.com/old/community/editorial/archive/read150403.htm> (Accessed 24 May 2013).
- Regelsberger, Elfriede. 2011. The High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy – Treaty Provisions in Theory and Practice 1999-2009. In *The High Representative for the EU Foreign and Security Policy: Review and Prospects*, ed. Gisela Müller-Brandeck-Bocquet and Carolin Rüter, 17-34. Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Reguly, Eric. 2011. Germany Splits from EU Family over Libya. 18 March. http://license.icopyright.net/user/viewFreeUse.act?fuid=MTcwNjU5NjY_percent3D (Accessed 30 December 2012)

- Reichard, Martin. 2006. *The EU–NATO Relationship: A Legal and Political Perspective*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Reynolds, Maura. 2003. Azores Summit Ends in Ultimatum to UN. *Los Angeles Times*, 17 March. <http://articles.latimes.com/2003/mar/17/world/fg-azores17> (Accessed 23 May 2013).
- Rhinard, Mark and Michael Kaeding. 2006. The International Bargaining Power of the European Union in ‘Mixed’ Competence Negotiations: The Case of the 2000 Cartagena Protocol on Biosafety. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 44(5): 1023-1050.
- Rhodes, Matthew. 2004. *Central Europe and Iraq: Balance, Bandwagon, or Bridge?* New York: Elsevier Limited.
- Riddell, Peter. 2003. *Hug Them Close: Blair, Clinton, Bush and the “Special Relationship”*. London: Politicos.
- Rinke, Andreas. 2011. Eingreifen oder nicht? Warum sich die Bundesregierung in der Libyen-Frage enthielt. *Internationale Politik* 4: 44-52, July/August.
- Rommerskirchen, Charlotte. 2013. Keeping the Agents Leashed: The EU’s External Economic Governance in the G20. *Journal of European Integration*, 35(3): 347-360.
- Ronzitti, Natalino. 2012. The Reform of the UN Security Council. In *The EU, the UN and Collective Security*, ed. Joachim Krause and Natalino Ronzitti, 73-93. London: Routledge.
- Rosemberg, Claire. 2011. EU Summit Split on Libya, Upset by Portugal. 25 March. <http://news.theage.com.au/breaking-news-world/eu-summit-split-on-libya-upset-by-portugal-20110325-1c8re.html> (Accessed 5 April 2013).
- Ross, Stephen A. 1973. The Economic Theory of Agency: The Principal’s Problem. *American Economic Review*, 63(2): 134–139.
- Rüger, Carolin. 2011. A Position under Construction: Future Prospects of the High Representative after the Treaty of Lisbon. In *The High Representative for the EU Foreign and Security Policy: Review and Prospects*, ed. Gisela Müller-Brandeck-Bocquet and Carolin Rüger, 201-233. Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Salleo, Ferdinando and Nicoletta Pirozzi. 2008. Italy at the United Nations Security Council. In *Strengthening the UN Security System: the Role of Italy and the EU*, ed. Nicoletta Pirozzi, IAI *Quaderni English Series* No. 11.
- Sari, Aurel. Between Legalisation and Organizational Development: Explaining the Evolution of EU Competence in the Field of Foreign Policy. In *EU External Relations Law and Policy in the Post-Lisbon Era*, ed. Paul J. Cardwell, 59-95. The Hague: T.M.C. Asser Press.
- Savaşan, Zerrin. 2009. The Role of the European Parliament in CFSP/CSDP. *SInAN Working Paper* 6, November.
- Schlosser, Kirsten. 2012. Report on Security Council Reform Meeting 10 April 2012. 4 May. <http://www.centerforunreform.org> (Accessed 15 March 2013).
- Schmidt, Julia. 2012. The High Representative, the President and the Commission – Competing Players in the EU’s External Relations: The Case of Crisis Management. In *EU External Relations Law and Policy in the Post-Lisbon Era*, ed. Paul J. Cardwell, 161-180. The Hague: T.M.C. Asser Press.

- Schmidt, Vivien A. 2012. European Member State Elites' Diverging Visions of the European Union: Diverging Differently since the Economic Crisis and the Libyan Intervention? *Journal of European Integration*, 34(2): 169-190.
- Shapiro, Susan P. 2005. Agency Theory. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 31(1): 263-284.
- Shipman, Tim. Gaddafi Must Face a War Crime Trial not Exile, Insists Cameron. 29 March. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1370933/Libya-war-Gaddafi-face-war-crime-trial-exile-says-David-Cameron.html> (Accessed 19 March 2013).
- Sjøstedt, Gunnar. 1977. *The External Role of the European Community*. Westmead: Saxon House.
- Sloan, Stanley R. 2003. *NATO, the European Union, and the Atlantic Community: the Transatlantic Bargain Reconsidered*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Smith, Karen E. 2006. Speaking With One Voice? European Union Coordination on Human Rights Issues at the United Nations. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 44(1): 97-121.
- Smith, Michael E. 2004. Toward a Theory of EU Foreign Policymaking: Multi-level Governance, Domestic Politics, and National Adaptation to Europe's Common Foreign and Security Policy. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 11(4): 740-758.
- Solana, Javier. 2009. Together we are Stronger. Lecture presented at UCD Dublin European Institute University College Dublin, 22 April.
- Spence, David and Geoffrey Edwards. 2006. *The European Commission*. London: Harper.
- Springford, John. 2003. 'Old' and 'New' Europeans United: Public Attitudes towards the Iraq War and US foreign policy. *Centre for European Reform background brief*, December.
- Stahl, Bernhard. 2008. Incoherent Securitisation: The EU in the Iraq Crisis. *Hamburg Review of Social Sciences*, 3(1): 67-106.
- Steinmo, Sven and Kathleen Thelen. 1992. *Structuring Politics: Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Styan, David. 2004. Jacques Chirac's "non": France, Iraq and the United Nations, 1991–2003. *Modern & Contemporary France*, 12(3): 371-385.
- Szabó, Erika M. 2011. Background Vocals: What Role for the Rotating Presidency in the EU's External Relations post-Lisbon? *EU Diplomacy Papers*, No.5.
- Taggart, Paul and Aleks Szczerbiak. 2004. Contemporary Euroscepticism in the Party Systems of the European Union Candidate States of Central and Eastern Europe. *European Journal of Political Research*, 43(1): 1-27.
- Tallberg, Jonas. 2003. *European Governance and Supranational Institutions: Making States Comply*. New York: Routledge.
- Taylor, Paul. 2006. The EU in Geneva: Coordinating Policy in the Economic and Social Arrangements of the United Nations System. In *The European Union at the United Nations: Intersecting Multilateralism*, ed. Katie V. Laatikainen and Karen E. Smith. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Thatcher, Mark and Alec Stone Sweet. 2002. Theory and Practice of Delegation to Non-Majoritarian Institutions. *West European Politics*, 25(1): 1-22.

- The Economist. 2011. Italy's Shame in Libya. 25 February, Brussels. http://www.economist.com/blogs/charlemagne/2011/02/europe_and_libya (Accessed 26 March 2013).
- The Telegraph. 2011. World Powers Agree to Set up Contact Group to Map out Libya's Future. 29 March. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/libya/8414410/World-powers-agree-to-set-up-contact-group-to-map-out-Libyas-future.html> (Accessed 1 January 2013).
- Thelen, Kathleen. 1999. Historical Institutionalism in Contemporary Political Science. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2: 369-404.
- Thomas, Daniel C. 2012. Still Punching below its Weight? Coherence and Effectiveness in European Union Foreign Policy. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50(3): 457-474.
- Tranholm-Mikkelsen, Jeppe. 1991. Neo-functionalism: Obstinate or obsolete? A Reappraisal in light of the New Dynamism of the EC. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 20(1): 1-22.
- Traynor, Ian and Nicholas Watt. 2011. Libya No-fly Zone Plan Rejected by EU Leaders in Brussels. *The Guardian*, 11 March. www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/mar/11/libya-no-fly-zone-plan-rejected (Accessed 15 February 2013).
- UN Security Council. 2003. Letter dated 15 March 2003 from the Permanent Representative of Germany to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council. <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N03/282/65/PDF/N0328265.pdf?OpenElement> (Accessed 20 May 2013).
- UN Security Council. 2004. Resolution 1441, 8 November. <http://www.iaea.org/newscenter/focus/iaeaIraq/iraqres.pdf> (Accessed 1 May 2013).
- United Nations. 2013. *Saving and Improving Lives: United Nations - European Union Partnership for Food and Nutrition Security 2008-2012*. Brussels: United Nations – Office in Brussels.
- Van Assche, Tobias. 2009. Herman Van Rompuy: Calm Resolve in the European Union. *Media, Movements & Politics Working Paper*. <http://www.m2p.be/index.php?page=publications&id=121> (Accessed 15 August 2013).
- Van Elsuwege, Peter and Hans Merket. 2012. The Role of the Court of Justice in Ensuring the Unity of the EU's External Representation. In *Principles and Practices of EU External Representation*, ed. Steven Blockmans and Ramses A. Wessel, 37-58. The Hague: T.M.C. Asser Press.
- Van Kampen, Evelyn. 2007. *The European Union: Towards One Voice in World Politics?*. Master's Thesis, Leiden University, the Netherlands.
- Van Schaik, Louise. 2011. The EU's Performance in the World Health Organization: Internal Cramps after the 'Lisbon Cure'. *Journal of European Integration*, 33(6): 699-713.
- Vanhoonacker, Sophie and Karolina Pomorska. 2013. The European External Action Service and Agenda-setting in European Foreign Policy. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 20(9): 1316-1331.
- Varvelli, Arturo. 2010. Italy and Libya: Renewing a Special Relationship. *The International Spectator: Italian Journal of International Affairs*, 45(3): 117-130.
- Verbeke, Johan. 2006. EU Coordination on UN Security Council Matters. In *The United Nations and the European Union: An Ever Stronger Partnership*, ed. Jan Wouters, Frank Hoffmeister and Tom Ruys. The Hague: T.M.C. Asser Press.

- Verney, Susannah. 2011. Euroscepticism in Southern Europe: A Diachronic Perspective. *South European Society and Politics*, 16(1): 1-29.
- Verola, Nicola. 2010. The New EU Foreign Policy under the Treaty of Lisbon. In *The Foreign Policy of the European Union: Assessing Europe's Role in the World*, ed. Federiga M. Bindi, 41-50. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Voeten, Erik and Adis Merdzanovic. 2009. United Nations General Assembly Voting Data. <http://hdl.handle.net/1902.1/12379> UNF:3:Hpf6qOkDdzzvXF9m66yLTg== V1 [Version]
- Voeten, Erik. 2000. Clashes in the Assembly. *International Organization* 54(2):185-215.
- Voeten, Erik. 2001. Outside Options and the Logic of Security Council Action. *American Political Science Review*, 95(4): 845-858.
- Wallensteen, Peter and Patrick Johansson. 2004. Security Council Decisions in Perspective. In *The UN Security Council: from the Cold War to the 21st Century*, ed. David M. Malone. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Waterman, Richard W. and Kenneth J. Meier. 1998. Principal-Agent Models: An Expansion?. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 2:173-202.
- Weiss, Thomas G. 2010. *The United Nations and Changing World Politics*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Wessel, Ramses A. 2011. The Legal Framework for the Participation of the European Union in International Institutions. *Journal of European Integration*, 33(6): 621-635.
- White, Michael, Patrick Wintour and Nicholas Watt. 2003. Rebel Vote Stuns Blair. *The Guardian*, 27 February. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2003/feb/27/uk.iraq5> (Accessed 19 May 2013).
- Wille, Anchrit. 2013. *The Normalization of the European Commission: Politics and Bureaucracy in the EU Executive*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wood, Stephen. 2003. The Iraq War: Five European Roles. *National Europe Centre Paper*, No. 112. Presented at the National Europe Centre on 13 June.
- Wouters, Jan, Sven Van Kerckhoven and Jed Odermatt. 2012. The EU's External Representation at the G20 and the G20's Impact on the European Union. In *Principles and Practices of EU External Representation*, ed. Steven Blockmans and Ramses A. Wessel, 127-143. The Hague: T.M.C. Asser Press.
- Wouters, Jan. 2001. The European Union as an Actor within the United Nations General Assembly. *Institute for International Law Working Paper*, No. 2, May.
- Wunderlich, Jens-Uwe. 2012. The EU an Actor Sui Generis? A Comparison of EU and ASEAN Actorness. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50(4): 653-669.
- Yin, Robert K. 2009. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Young, Helen and Nicholas Rees. 2005. EU Voting Behaviour in the UN General Assembly 1990-2002: The EU's Europeanizing Tendencies. *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, 16: 193-207.
- Zielonka, Jan. 2007. The Quality of Democracy after Joining the European Union. *East European Politics and Societies*, 21(1): 162-180.
- Zwolowski, Kamil. 2012. The EU as an International Security Actor after Lisbon: Finally a Green Light for a Holistic Approach? *Cooperation and Conflict*, 47(1): 68-87.