Last updated 4/10 /2024

**Jim CLOOS**

**Post-retirement productions (Starting 1 February 2021)[[1]](#footnote-1)**

**EUROPECHATS**

**(JC interviewed by Mariam Khotenashvili; or JC /MK interviewing outside guests)**

**2021**

EUROPECHAT 1 (March 2021): **“What is the EU?”:** [here](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xz844umT35w).

EUROPECHAT 2: (April 2021) **“What is the European interest?”:**  [here](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AJxF3RBrUWE).

EUROPECHAT 3 (May 2021): **“The Handling of the COVID-19 crisis.”:**  [here](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YpPErQ335Xo)

EUROPECHAT 4 (June 2021): **“Strategic Autonomy”:** [Here](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HAB1dKMEnug)

EUROPECHAT 5 (September 2021): **“Merkel’s European Legacy**”: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yM-aMPElorE>

EUROPECHAT 6 (October 2021) : Interview with **Giles MERRITT on his book about MIGRATION**: [Here](https://youtu.be/bJANVU8fDdQ)

EUROPECHAT 7 (November 2021) : Interview with **Canadian Ambassador to the EU Ailish CAMPBELL**: [episode](https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&v=fzdqQma4kQE)

EUROPECHAT 8 (November 2021): discussion with **Michel KAEDING** about the notion of **Solidarity** (on the basis of the TEPSA book): [Here is the link](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YaOG_nX-DGI)

EUROPECHAT 9 : **End of Year message**: [Here](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gP7MtkTrHRM&list=PL7IG8v3Q1uQsCmlb_pmL2A4Qx2IfYTbk1&index=9)

**2022**

EUROPECHAT 10 (April): **EUCO conclusions:** [here](https://youtu.be/_5ALvR1-R1E)

EUROPECHAT 11 (May): MK with Richard **YOUNGS** on **UA, MO and GE candidate status:** [**Here**](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IhtwWReqYuI&list=PL7IG8v3Q1uQsCmlb_pmL2A4Qx2IfYTbk1&index=11)

EUROPECHAT 12 (July 2022) : **EU sanctions policy**: [at this link](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ppFO1uSUSwc)

EUROPECHAT 13 (October): Talk JC with Matthias **RUETE** on **Trans-European Networks**: [Here](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-8vYOWKP4x4&list=PL7IG8v3Q1uQsCmlb_pmL2A4Qx2IfYTbk1&index=13)

EUROPECHAT 14 : MK with Ben **TALLIS** on **CFSP:** [**Here**](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y3IijkaQcDE&list=PL7IG8v3Q1uQsCmlb_pmL2A4Qx2IfYTbk1&index=14)

EUROPECHAT 15: MK with **Heidi** **HAUTALA** **and Jim CLOOS** on **relations with Russia:** [(285) "EU-Russia Relations - Special Talk with Heidi Hautala MEP" | #EuropeChats Episode 15 - YouTube](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GPIbb5UMu-k)

**2023**

EUROPECHAT 17**: JC with Michele CHANG**: **Building a competitive economy for Europe** [EuropeChats](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2Bl5aDZsh2k&list=PL7IG8v3Q1uQsCmlb_pmL2A4Qx2IfYTbk1&index=21)

EUROPECHAT 18: **The rotating Presidency of the Council (published 3 July 2023):**

[What is the Rotating Presidency of the Council of the European Union? | #EuropeChats Episode 19 (youtube.com)](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FVnUws5jqzA&list=PL7IG8v3Q1uQsCmlb_pmL2A4Qx2IfYTbk1&index=18)

EUROPECHAT 19: **JC** **with Richard** **YOUNGS** and Wouter **DETAVERNIER** on **The year 2024 and the Belgian Presidency :** [**EU Democracy Explained**](https://youtu.be/6CS7u0y9ucI)

EUROPECHAT20: **JC with David O’SULLIVAN and Clara PORTELA** on **EU sanctions against Russia**:

<https://tepsa.eu/tepsa-videos/watch-are-eu-sanctions-against-russia-working-europechats/>

**2024**

EUROPECHAT 21: **Mariam KHOTENASHVILI** interviewing **Gert Jan KOOPMANS**, DG near in the European Commission on **ENLARGEMENT**.

EUROPECHAT 22: **JC with Herman VAN ROMPUY**, former President of the European Council (in two episodes):

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mlbG5-Mp_8M>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N1XL62buUsE>

EUROPECHAT 23: **JC avec Jacques SANTER, ancien Président de la Commission et ancien PM luxembourgeois:**

<https://tepsa.eu/tepsa-videos/le-conseil-europeen-du-point-de-vue-dun-president-de-la-commission-europechats/>

EUROPECHAT 24 : **JC with Enrico LETTA, former Italian Prime Minister and President of the Institut Jacques Delors**

<https://tepsa.eu/tepsa-videos/watch-reflections-on-the-european-council-the-future-of-europe-europechats-with-jim-cloos-and-enrico-letta/>

All chats can be accessed under [www.tepsa.eu](http://www.tepsa.eu) **(NB: also available as podcasts)**

**VIDEOS**

**DICE WEBINAR (Differentiated Integration):** <https://youtu.be/wS7NZynLHBo>

**CIFE Master Class  (October 22):**  <https://youtu.be/24N-ZfjpfXs>

**INTERVIEWS**

1. **Le Grand Continent** : <https://twitter.com/Grand_Continent/status/1405839518759014403>
2. **EUlawlive**: Podcast on the **history of treaty change**: <https://eulawlive.com/podcast/>
3. **Visiteurs du Soir 20/10/2021** : <https://www.ln24.be/index.php/2021-10-20/les-visiteurs-du-soir-jim-cloos-et-alice-willox>
4. **Interview on BREXIT with *UK in a changing world***: <https://ukandeu.ac.uk/?p=47200&post_type=brexit-interview&preview=1&_ppp=88c603ac69>
5. **Interview with Czech magazine REPORTER (published 12/09/2022):** *Slavná česká skepse. Někdy pomáhá, jindy ne.* (Le fameux scepticisme tchèque: parfois il aide, parfois non.)
6. **Extensive interview with the GSC and Max Planck Institute (done in 2022, published in September 2023) :** [Oral history - Consilium (europa.eu)](https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/documents-publications/archives/oral-history-fonds/)
7. **Interview with the European Institute of Romania on the European Council (7/09/2024):** [here](http://ier.gov.ro/wp-content/uploads/2024/08/Interviu-nr.-4-IER.pdf)

**EGMONT PUBLICATIONS**

1. **Spitzenkandidaten (N° 56, September 2019) See** [**www.egmontinstitute.be**](http://www.egmontinstitute.be)

[Spitzenkandidaten: A debate about power and about the future development of the EU - Egmont Institute](https://www.egmontinstitute.be/spitzenkandidaten/)

1. **Open Letter to the British friends from a bemused European ( Commentary, 18/03/2021)** : <https://www.egmontinstitute.be/open-letter-to-british-friends-from-a-bemused-european/>
2. **EU-US relations (European Policy brief, N°71, June 2021)** : <https://www.egmontinstitute.be/content/uploads/2021/05/EPB71-final.pdf?type=pdf>
3. **European Council conclusions: a powerful tool (Policy brief, 2 June 2022):**

<https://www.egmontinstitute.be/european-council-conclusions-a-powerful-tool/>

1. **Relations between, the EU and the UK (Commentary, September 2022):** [Relations Between the EU and the UK - Egmont Institute](https://www.egmontinstitute.be/relations-between-the-eu-and-the-uk/)
2. **The management of the Covid crisis in 2020: a case study on EU governance (14 March 2023)**

[**https://www.egmontinstitute.be/the-management-of-the-covid-crisis-in-2020-a-case-study-on-eu-governance/**](https://www.egmontinstitute.be/the-management-of-the-covid-crisis-in-2020-a-case-study-on-eu-governance/)

1. **Thoughts on improving EU governance (17/07/2024) (EGMONT AND TEPSA PAPER)**

[**https://www.egmontinstitute.be/thoughts-on-improving-eu-governance/**](https://www.egmontinstitute.be/thoughts-on-improving-eu-governance/)

**OTHER PUBLICATIONS**

**« COVID-19 et autres crises: quelles leçons?”,** In Politique Etrangère, Hiver 2021, p. 51-63.

**“The EU as a global player: The search for strategic autonomy” (In V. Naumescu, R. Moldovan, A. Ghilescu, Jim CLOOS: “The new transatlantic relationship and the perspectives of a global order”, 1/2021 Presa Universitora Clujeana, pages 37-48:** <http://www.editura.ubbcluj.ro/bd/ebooks/pdf/2989.pdf>

**Jim Cloos et Pierre Vimont, interrogés par Michel Mangenot et Luuk Van Middelaar, « Les rouages du Conseil et du Conseil européen », in** Revue française d'administration publique (RFAP), 2021/4 (N° 180), p.979-994.

**“The Search for European Strategic Autonomy : The role of the European Council**.”, in Liber Amicorum Gilles de Kerchove (sous la direction de Christiane Höhn, Isabel Saveedra and Anne Weyembergh), “The Fight Against Terrorism: Achievements and Challenges.”, Bruylant, 2021, p.199-215.

**Report on European Democracy, Committee of the Regions 2022:** produced by a High Level group (chaired by Herman Van Rompuy) set up by the Committee of Regions. This report was transmitted to the Conference on the Future of Europe. I was one of a small group of experts who helped the GLG write it.

**Préface, in Laetitia Spetschinsky, “Europe-Russie: chroniques d’une rupture annoncée », Presses Universitaires de Louvain, 2023.**

**TEPSA Commentary, “The report of the Franco-German Working group on EU Institutional Reform.”** (published on 21 November 2023): <https://tepsa.eu/analysis/a-critical-look-at-the-report-of-the-franco-german-working-group-on-eu-institutional-reform/>

**Editorial: « 2024, l’année des choix difficiles »,** in Revue du Droit de l’Union Européenne, 1-2024,Bruylant, p.15-22. [[2]](#footnote-2)

**“A Reset in EU-UK relations: if not now, when**?”, **EIAG (issued early June 2024):**

[European & International Analysts Group A Reset in EU-UK Relations: If Not Now, When? A Personal View from Brussels (eiag.org.uk)](https://www.eiag.org.uk/paper/reset-eu-uk-relations-now/).

**« Les 50 ans du Conseil européen, acteur central de l’intégration européenne » ,** in Revue du Droit de l’Union Européenne, Bruylant, 2-2024, p. 99-121.

**« Vers l’élargissement de l’Union ? »,** dans Ramses 2025 (IFRI), «Entre puissances et impuissance», Dunod 2024, p.142-147.

**TEPSA newsletter Editorials: see** [www.tepsa.eu](http://www.tepsa.eu)

**2021**

1. January: **My** j**ob as SG of TEPSA**
2. February: **Strategic autonomy: more than a simple slogan?**
3. March: **How to tackle the Brussels strawman?**
4. April: **The EU external representation: no easy solution.**
5. May: **Thoughts on the rotating Presidency**
6. June: **What makes a good Presidency?**
7. July**: The Climate Change Revolution: preparing for a better future**
8. September**:** **Merkel’s European Legacy**
9. October: **Rule of Law and Poland**
10. December editorial: **End of Year message 2021**

**2022**

1. January: EU versus Russia: **A bit more self-confidence please**
2. February: **Migration: time to break the deadlock**
3. March**: A more powerful Europe: a matter of necessity and choice**
4. April: **On the capacity to act and the concept of differentiated integration**
5. May: **Should the EU embark on treaty change after the CoFoE?**
6. June: **A world in turmoil needs a strong EU**
7. August**: Thoughts on a world in turmoil**
8. September: **Can Foresight help us prepare for the Future?**
9. October: **A digital world: nightmare or dream?**
10. December: **thoughts on EU Foreign Policy**

**2023**

1. January: **It’s the economy, stupid!**
2. February**: Migration: time for agreement on a comprehensive approach**
3. March: **The EU: the best answer to the crisis of democracy?**
4. May**: Artificial intelligence and genetics: a key role for the EU …if only it gets its act together.** [link to the editorial](https://tepsa.eu/analysis/artificial-intelligence-and-genetics-a-key-role-for-the-eu-if-only-it-gets-its-act-together/)
5. June: **The migration conundrum between appearance and reality: towards a new deal?** [here](https://tepsa.eu/analysis/the-migration-conundrum-between-appearance-and-reality-towards-a-new-deal-2/)
6. August: **The elephant in the room: the American role in European politics**. [here](https://tepsa.eu/analysis/the-elephant-in-the-room-americas-role-in-european-politics/)
7. September: **The myths and realities around the Commission President’s State of the Union speech.** The link is [here](https://tepsa.eu/analysis/the-myths-and-realities-around-the-commission-presidents-state-of-the-union-speech/)
8. October: **The Polish election result: a shimmer of light in a dark world and a chance for a new start.** The link is [here](https://tepsa.eu/analysis/the-polish-election-result-a-shimmer-of-light-in-a-dark-world-and-the-chance-for-a-new-start/)
9. December: **End of year editorial on the EU, Orbán and TEPSA:** [here](https://tepsa.eu/analysis/end-of-year-editorial-on-the-eu-orban-and-tepsa/)

**2024**

1. January: **The Delors legacy: lessons for the future**: <https://tepsa.eu/analysis/the-delors-legacy-lessons-for-the-future/>
2. February: Mariam Khotenashvili on **a Georgian view on enlargement** and the security aspects
3. March: **What the farmers’ protests say about the EU**: [here](https://tepsa.eu/analysis/what-the-farmers-protests-say-about-the-eu/)
4. April: **Three anniversaries, three lessons**: <https://tepsa.eu/analysis/2024-three-anniversaries-three-lessons/>
5. May: **A pre-electoral message to European leaders: be bold.** [here](https://tepsa.eu/analysis/a-pre-election-message-to-european-leaders-be-bold/)
6. June: **The Strategic Agenda 2024-29: a beginning, not an end** : <https://tepsa.eu/analysis/the-strategic-agenda-2024-29-a-beginning-not-an-end/>
7. **August: On governance and Turchin:** <https://tepsa.eu/analysis/disintegrating-society-and-the-role-of-governance-in-avoiding-crisis/>
8. **September: Four pre-requisites for an intelligent discussion on governance:**

[**https://tepsa.eu/analysis/four-pre-requisites-for-an-intelligent-discussion-on-governance/**](https://tepsa.eu/analysis/four-pre-requisites-for-an-intelligent-discussion-on-governance/)

All of the editorials, see link:

[Editorial – TEPSA](https://tepsa.eu/analysis-type/editorial/)

**EUROPEAN COUNCIL EXPERTS DEBRIEF**

The European Council Experts’ Debrief started as a series of experts’ reactions to the conclusions of the European Council. After each meeting, TEPSA asked leading academics and think tankers to comment on the conclusions and to suggest solutions to move Europe forward. (See the TEPSA website for the first 5 debriefs). In 2023 we introduced a new format, focusing on just one of the major themes discussed at the European Council meeting(s). I write a foreword for each Debrief.

**Debrief (7 March 2023)** **on** **how to maintain a competitive green economy:**

[What should the EU do to maintain a competitive green economy?](https://tepsa.eu/policy-advice/european-council-experts-debrief-march-2023-what-should-the-eu-do-to-maintain-a-competitive-green-economy/)

**Debrief** **(20 April 2023)** on **how to balance solidarity and responsibility in the migration policy:**

[How can the EU balance solidarity and responsibility in migration policy? – TEPSA](https://tepsa.eu/policy-advice/euco-debrief-april-2023-how-can-the-eu-balance-solidarity-and-responsibility-in-migration-policy/)

**Debrief (27 July 2023 ) on EU-China relations:**

[What should be the EU’s China strategy? – TEPSA](https://tepsa.eu/policy-advice/european-council-experts-debrief-july-2023-what-should-be-the-eus-china-strategy/)

**Debrief** (29 November 2023) **on the enlargement file:**

<https://tepsa.eu/policy-advice/what-does-future-eu-enlargement-require-to-be-a-success/>

**Debrief (20 February 2024) on the Rule of Law:**

[EUCO Debrief February 2024 (tepsa.eu)](https://tepsa.eu/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/EUCO-Debrief-February-2024-1-1.pdf)

**Debrief (14 May 2024) on financing and investment in the EU:**

[**https://tepsa.eu/policy-advice/the-future-of-eu-financing/**](https://tepsa.eu/policy-advice/the-future-of-eu-financing/)

**Debrief (24 July 2024) on European Defence :** [**https://tepsa.eu/policy-advice/time-for-a-reset-in-european-security-and-defence/**](https://tepsa.eu/policy-advice/time-for-a-reset-in-european-security-and-defence/)

**JIM’s READING CORNER**

I publish from time to time reviews on books I find particularly interesting. Other members of the TEPSA secretariat will soon start also providing reviews, and we will transform this into **TEPSA’s Reading Corner.** Here is the direct link:

<https://tepsa.eu/analysis-type/jims-reading-corner>

The reviews I have written so far:

**Blair, Tony:** ***A Journey: My Political Life.***

**Da Empoli, Giuliano : *Le Mage du Kremlin***

**Gallon, Jérémie:** ***Henry Kissinger. L’Européen.***

**Gospodinov, Guergui: *Le pays du passé.***

**Hoeksma, Jaap**: ***The European Union: A Democratic Union of Democratic States.***

**Hoesli, Eric *: A la conquête du Caucase (Epopée géopolitique et guerres d’influence)***

**Isaacson, Walter**: ***The Innovators: How a Group of Hackers, Geniuses, and Geeks Created the Digital Revolution.***

**Isaacson, Walter: *The Code Breaker: Jennifer Doudna, Gene editing and the future of the Human race.***

**Johnson, Steven:** ***Where Good Ideas Come From: The Natural History of Innovation.***

**Lehrer, Jonah**: ***The Decisive Moment: How the Brain Makes up its Mind.***

**Levitsky, Steven and Ziblatt, David**: ***How Democracies Die.***

**Merritt, Giles:** ***People Power: Why We Need More Migrants.***

**Nayeri, Dina:** ***The Ungrateful Refugee: What Immigrants Never Tell You.***

**Russell, Stuart: *Human Compatible Artificial Intelligence and the Problem of Control***

**Sarotte, M.E.: *Not one inch: America, Russia, and the Making of Post-Cold War stalemate.***

**Schout Adriaan, article on governance:** <https://tepsa.eu/analysis/eu-subsidiarity-as-an-antidote-to-centralization-and-inefficiency-by-adriaan-schout/>

**Taleb, Nassim Nicholas**: ***The Black Swan: The Impact of the Highly Improbable.***

**Taleb, Nassim Nicholas: *Antifragile: things that gain from disorder.***

**Verbeke, Johan: *Diplomacy in Practice: a critical approach. Routledge 2023.***

**Wallace, Helen (ed**): ***Policy-Making in the European Union – 8th Edition.***

**GENERAL BACKGROUNFD INFORMATION PRODUCED BY THE TEPSA SECRETARIAT:**

**Giulia Bonacquista, “EU History Explained”,** a series of videos, see the TEPSA Website under Videos/ Europe explained.

**Hugh Evans, “EU democracy explained”,** four episodes looking at the Commission, the Council, the European Parliament and the European Council). Link to the first episode here: see TEPSA website.

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1. NB: some of the links indicated here may be outdated; in that case please refer to the TEPSA and other relevant websites. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Versions française et anglaise. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)