

Célia Belin, Ph.D.

- **Expertise:** US domestic and foreign policy, US politics, transatlantic relations, French-American relations, European affairs, domestic determinants of foreign policy, role of parties and interest groups, populism, religion/ secularism, and strategic prospective analysis.
 - **Visiting Fellow**, Center on the United States and Europe, Brookings Institution
 - **Non-resident Fellow**, Centre Thucydide, Université Panthéon-Assas (Paris 2) and member of the editorial board, section editor, of the Center's yearly publication, *Annuaire Français de Relations Internationales*
 - **Author** of *Des démocrates en Amérique, l'heure des choix face à Trump* (Fayard/Fondation Jean Jaurès, 2020), *Les Etats-Unis dans le monde* (dir.) (CNRS Editions, 2016) and *Jésus est juif en Amérique* (Fayard, 2011).
 - **Frequent contributor on media** (radio, TV, print).
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POSITIONS

Since 2017 *Visiting Fellow*, Center on the United States and Europe, Brookings Institution

2004 to present *Non-resident Fellow*, Centre Thucydide, Université Panthéon-Assas (Paris 2)

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCES

2012- 2017 *Adviser on US affairs and transatlantic relations*, Center for Analysis, Planning and Strategy (Policy Planning), French Ministry of Foreign Affairs

2007-2009 *Visiting Research Scholar*, Middle East Institute, SIPA, Columbia University, New York, NY

2005-2007 *Guest Fellow*, Council on Foreign Relations, New York, NY

2004-2007 *Doctoral Fellow*, Centre Thucydide, Université Panthéon-Assas (Paris 2)

2004 *Research assistant/Intern*, French Center on the United States, French Institute on International Relations (Ifri), Paris, France

EDUCATION

2009. Université Panthéon-Assas (Paris 2), Paris, France

Ph.D. in Political Science / International Relations, September 2009

- *Summa Cum Laude*; French Ministry of Education and Research Scholarship
- Dissertation on “Christian Zionists and American Foreign Policy Towards Israel. A Contribution to the Study of Theo-political Movements in International Relations” Supervised by Prof. Serge Sur. Published as a non-fiction: *Jésus est juif en Amérique, Droite évangélique et lobbies chrétiens pro-Israël* (Fayard, 2011).

2004. Université Panthéon-Assas (Paris 2), Paris, France
M.A. in International Relations, major in International Politics, *with honors*
- Dissertation: “The Role of the Bilateral Ambassadors of France and the U.S. during the Iraq Crisis (2002-2003)”.
2003. Université de Bourgogne, Dijon, France & Madrid, Spain
B.A. in Modern Languages English/Spanish, major in Business & Trade, *with honors*.
- 1-year ERASMUS exchange program (2001-2002), Universidad Autónoma, Madrid, Spain.

ACADEMIC ACTIVITIES

- 2017 to present Participates in Transatlantic Scorecard polls (quarterly evaluation of US-European relations, Brookings Bosch Transatlantic Initiative), and other online Brookings products ("Around the halls", "Brookings Experts on...")
- 2013-2019 Section editor of the *Annuaire Français des Relations Internationales*, in charge of the "American foreign policy" section (with Leah Pizar).
- 2015-2017 Chief editor, *Les Carnets du CAPS*, periodic publication of the Center for Analysis, Planning and Strategy, French MFA.
- 2015-2017 Supervisory guidance for dissertations, Research Master in Geopolitics, Université Saint-Denis (Paris 8).

PUBLICATIONS

Books

- *Des démocrates en Amérique, L'heure des choix face à Trump*, Fayard/Fondation Jean Jaurès, 2020.
- *Les Etats-Unis dans le monde* (dir.) (The United States in the World), with Frédéric Charillon, CNRS éditions, 2016.
- *Jésus est juif en Amérique, Droite évangélique et lobbies chrétiens pro-Israël* (Christian Zionism and pro-Israel lobbying in the US), Fayard, 2011. Received a “particular mention” from the Emile Perreau-Saussine prize on political philosophy.
- *American Perceptions on the European Union* (dir.) with Julian Fernandez and Leah Pizar, Centre Thucydide- SAIS, Global Understanding Series, UAE, 2008.

Book chapters and reports

- "Business First: Trump's Economic Measures as Offensive Weaponry", with Sam Denney, in M. Quessard et al. (eds), *Alliances and Power Politics in the Trump Era, America In Retreat?*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.
- "Mutations of the left in Western Europe", with Ted Reinert, in Bruce Jones and Torrey Taussig, *Democracy and Disorder* report, Brookings, February 2019.

- "Balancing act: The limits of pragmatism in the Franco-American relationship and the way forward", Brookings Bosch Transatlantic Initiative report, October 2018.
- "L'héritage Obama" (Obama's Legacy), in Pascal Boniface (dir.), *L'Année stratégique 2017*, Armand Colin/IRIS, 2016.
- "La société civile organisée" (US Organized Civil Society), in Charles-Philippe David (dir.), *La politique étrangère américaine. Fondements, acteurs, formulation*, 3rd ed., Presses de Sciences Po, 2015.
- "De l'art et des relations internationales" (Art and International Relations), in *Liber Amicorum* in honor of Serge Sur, Editions A. Pedone, 2014.
- "Quelles ambitions stratégiques derrière le Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership ?" (Strategic Implications of Transatlantic Trade Negotiations), with Fabien Besson, *Rapport Schuman sur l'Europe, l'état de l'Union en 2014*, 2014.
- "Old Enmities or New Beginnings? After George W Bush's Re-election", in Amit Gupta and Cherian Samuel (dirs.), *The Second Bush Presidency: Global Perspectives*, Pearson-Longman/ORF, New Delhi, 2006.

Articles, blogposts and policy papers

- "France at war against the coronavirus: Politics under anesthesia?" , with Agneska Bloch, and Jérôme Nicolaï, Order from Chaos blog, brookings.edu, March 31, 2020
- "Democracy in America 2020: A French perspective on the battle for the Democratic nomination", Fixgov blog, [brookings.edu](https://www.brookings.edu), February 11, 2020.
- "La nouvelle gauche américaine", with Paul Zajac, *Le Débat*, January-February 2020.
- "Macron's G-7 gambit: Tame Trump, save one Amazon, and tax the other", Order from Chaos blog, [brookings.edu](https://www.brookings.edu), August 27, 2019.
- "« America First » contre Union européenne : racines et ramifications d'une opposition", with Quentin Lopinot, *Questions internationales*, n°98, July-August 2019.
- "Europe votes: France's atomized politics and vaporized influence", Order from Chaos blog, [brookings.edu](https://www.brookings.edu), May 22, 2019.
- "The Eclipse of the European Union's Global Influence", with Ted Reinert, *The Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, April 2019.
- "NATO matters but the EU matters more", Order From Chaos Blog, Brookings.edu, April 2, 2019.
- "Pour battre Trump en 2020: un guerrier ou un guérisseur", *Telos*, March 1, 2019.
- "Europe's Campaign Season Is Just Beginning", with Giovanna De Maio, *The-American-Interest.com*, February 14, 2019
- "France-Etats-Unis: dépasser le pragmatisme", *Le Débat*, n°203, Gallimard, Jan-Feb. 2019, p.129-139.
- "What the Paris Peace Forum tells us about France—and about the world", Order From Chaos Blog, [Brookings.edu](https://www.brookings.edu), November 9, 2018.
- "Pittsburgh : « Cette tuerie nous interpelle sur la résurgence de la violence politique aux Etats-Unis »", interview in *Le Monde*, October 31, 2018.
- "Man on wire: An acrobatic act of faith by a Frenchman in New York", Order From Chaos Blog, [Brookings.edu](https://www.brookings.edu), September 26, 2018.
- "European politics is turning French", with Ted Reinert, *The-American-Interest.com*, March 23, 2018.

- "Le monde selon Trump", *Esprit*, n°445, June 2018.
- "Can France Be America's New Bridge to Europe? ", Snapshot, *Foreignaffairs.com*, April 19, 2018.
- "The 'Macron Miracle' Could Transform France Into a Global Powerhouse", with Boris Toucas, *NationalInterest.org*, April 19, 2018.
- "Le parti de Donald Trump", with Paul Zajac, *Le Débat*, n°198, Gallimard, Jan-Feb 2018, p.11-21.
- "Trump's Jerusalem decision is a victory for Evangelical politics", Markaz Blog, *Brookings.edu*, December 15 2017.
- "When American politics jeopardize American global leadership", Order From Chaos Blog, *Brookings.edu*, October 16, 2017.
- "The Macron/Trump co-dependency", Order From Chaos Blog, *Brookings.edu*, September 18, 2017.
- "Comment anticiper la politique étrangère de Donald Trump ?" (Anticipating Trump's Foreign Policy), *Esprit*, n°431, January 2017.
- "A Pendulum Swing on Foreign Policy? Not So Fast", *War on the Rocks*, May 23 2016.
- "AIPAC : contes et légendes du lobby pro-Israël aux Etats-Unis" (AIPAC : pro-Israel Lobbying Debunked), *Diplomatie*, June 2015.
- "Les Etats-Unis, de l'hyperpuissance au *primus inter pares*" (Future of US Power), *ENA hors les murs*, n°438, Jan-Feb 2014.
- "Un retour à l'isolationnisme ?" (Isolationism in US Foreign Policy), *Questions internationales*, n°64, Nov-Dec. 2013.
- "National Rifle Association: la toute-puissance en équilibre" (NRA: Balancing at the Top of its Power), *Hérodote*, n° 149, summer 2013.
- "Les horizons rétrécis de l'Administration Obama II" (Obama's Reduced Horizon), with Jean-Christophe Noël et Jean-François Pactet, and "Accords commerciaux régionaux : le temps de la stratégie" (Strategy Behind Regional Trade Deals), with Fabien Besson, *Les Carnets du CAPS*, n°18, fall 2013.
- "Espoirs et illusions de la 'révolution du schiste' aux Etats-Unis" (The American 'Shale Revolution' : Hopes and Illusions), *Les Carnets du CAPS*, n°17, summer 2013.
- "Etats-Unis : la pression des contestations populaires" (Populism in the United States), *Les Carnets du CAP*, n°16, spring/summer 2012.
- "J Street face à l'AIPAC : quand David s'attaque à Goliath" (J Street v. AIPAC : David against Goliath), *Plurielles*, n°16, April 2011.
- "Israel's Improbable Allies: Christian Zionism and its Strategic Consequences for the U.S., Israel and the Palestinians", lecture manuscript, *Cahier Thucydide*, n°4, March 2008.
- "Place et légitimité des groupes d'intérêt ethniques aux Etats-Unis après le 11 septembre 2001" (Ethnic Interest Groups in the US after 9/11: Legal and Legitimate?), *Annuaire Français des Relations Internationales*, VIII, 2007.
- "Les Protestants évangéliques aux Etats-Unis et la politique étrangère américaine" (Evangelicals in the U.S. and American Foreign Policy), *Annuaire Français des Relations Internationales*, vol. VII, 2006.

Committee hearings

- Joint hearing (with Maya Kandel) on the Trump Administration's foreign policy, Foreign affairs Committee, French Senate, January 11 2017.

- Joint hearing (with Maya Kandel) on US presidential elections, Foreign affairs Committee, French Senate, October 5 2016.

Lectures, panels and conference papers

- Book launch, *Des démocrates en Amérique, l'heure des choix face à Trump*, with Gilles Finchelstein, Fondation Jean Jaurès, Paris, March 5, 2020.
- Book talk, *Des démocrates en Amérique, l'heure des choix face à Trump*, with Julian Fernandez Université Paris II, Centre Assas, Paris, France, March 4, 2020.
- "Will the election mark a change in American FP?", panel with Jonathan Tepperman and Justin Vogt, Conference 934, French Consulate, New York, NY, January 29, 2020.
- European Working Group, GMF/Carnegie initiative, Washington, DC, January 22 and 28, 2020.
- "Impact of the US election on Ireland and Europe", panel with Ed Luce and Tom Wright, Ireland Network annual conference, Dupont Hotel, Washington, DC, October 11, 2019.
- Virtual Roundtable on the Gilets Jaunes movement in France, with Jae-jae Spoon, Sheri Berman, Cole Stangler, European Studies Center, University of Pittsburgh, September 17, 2019.
- Presentation on the European Left, Social studies seminar with E.J. Dionne Jr. and Jim Kloppenberg, Harvard University, Boston, MA, September 11, 2019.
- French-American Rochambeau Dialogue Conference, Newport, RI, September 8-10, 2019.
- "Où en est la Gauche ? Radiographie mondiale d'un camp qui se réinvente », panel with Jean-Marc Germain, Emmanuel Grégoire, Hella Ben Youssef, Florence Baillon, Université d'été du PS, La Rochelle, France (virtual participation), August 23, 2019.
- "Europe's post-American future?", panel with Ed Luce, Yascha Mounk, Alina Polyakova, Amanda Sloat, Brookings-Bosch Transatlantic Initiative (BBTI) Annual conference, Brookings, Washington, DC, June 13, 2019.
- "EU Elections 2019: The Future of the European Project", panel with Antoine Ripoll, Frances Burwell, Emiliano Alessandri, Katerina Sokou, Bart Oosterveld, Atlantic Council, Washington, DC, May 29, 2019.
- "Trends in U.S. Foreign Policy: Will Trumpism Outlast Trump? », panel with Hannah Thoburn and Naz Durakoğlu and Soli Özel, 18th Trilateral Strategy Group (TSG), GMF, Washington, DC, May 20, 2019.
- Conference to IHEDN auditors, with Alice Pannier, French Embassy, Washington, DC, May 13, 2019.
- Response to opening remarks by Matthew Taylor, and response to luncheon discussion on the state of Europe's centre-left, Progressive Governance Symposium, Berlin, Germany, April 25, 2019.
- Raymond Aron Lecture with François Héran and Anne C. Richard, moderation, March 18, 2019.
- "The Future of France: Growing Discontent and the Yellow Vests Movement", panel with Jane Hartley, Sheri Berman and Amy Davidson Sorokin, Council on Foreign Relations, New York, January 29, 2019.
- "French-American Relations in an Age of Trump: Balancing Interests and Principles", World Affairs Council, Worcester Club, Worcester, MA, January 16, 2019.
- "Economy First - Comment l'Amérique de Trump utilise l'économie comme arme offensive", international symposium on "Trump's America and American strategic challenges for 2020", IRSEM, Paris, October 17-18, 2018, publication of conference proceedings in progress.
- French-American Rochambeau Dialogue Conference, Newport, RI, September 16-18, 2018.

- "French politics, French foreign policy, and transatlantic relations", Cosmo Club, Washington DC, June 19, 2018.
- "America First, Europe alone? ", panel with Amanda Sloat, Constanze Stelzenmüller, Kenneth R. Weinstein and Edward Luce, Brookings Bosch Transatlantic Initiative, Brookings, Washington DC, May 24, 2018.
- "Europe and the U.S.: The old order faces a new world", panel with Constanze Stelzenmüller, Thomas Wright, William Drozdiak, Kemal Kirişci, Brookings Bosch Transatlantic Initiative, Brookings, Washington DC, September 15, 2017.
- "Les alliances après l'élection de Donald Trump" (Alliances after Trump's Election), débat de l'actu, IHEDN, Ecole militaire, November 25, 2016.
- "L'héritage Obama et la politique étrangère du prochain président" (Obama's Legacy), symposium around the book *Les Etats-Unis dans le monde*, Centre Thucydide, Université Panthéon-Assas, November 15, 2016.
- "Les élections américaines" (US elections), dinner-debate, Démocraties club, October 17, 2016.
- "Les Enjeux diplomatiques de l'élection présidentielle américaine pour la France" (US Presidential Election : Diplomatic Challenges for France), keynote speech at the academic symposium "Les élections présidentielles américaines de 2016: ancrage démocrate ou virage républicain?", Université Grenoble Alpes, October 21 2016, publication of conference proceedings in progress.
- "L'évolution des relations transatlantiques sous Obama : de la prise de distance volontaires au réengagement forcé" (The Evolution of Transatlantic Relations under Obama : from Distance to Forced Reengagement), international symposium on "Obama's Legacy : the end of Grand Strategy ?", Université de Poitiers/Queen's university, Poitiers, October 13-14 2006. Published as "Après Obama, quel héritage de politique étrangère pour Donald Trump?" (Obama's foreign policy legacy for Donald Trump ?), *Revue de recherche en civilisation américaine* [Online], | 2017, Online since 18 December 2017. URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/rca/866>
- "La diplomatie du prochain président américain"(The Next US President's Diplomacy), Grand Atelier, *Les Géopolitiques de Nantes*, Lieu Unique, Nantes, September 30, 2016.
- "Les présidentielles américaines sont-elles jouées d'avance ?" (Is the US Presidential Election Already Over?), Fondation Jean Jaurès/FEPS, June 28, 2016.
- "US Presidential Election: Transatlantic Perspectives", European Parliament Research Service, Bruxelles, April 20, 2016.
- "Le combat des lobbies juifs pro-Israël sur l'accord nucléaire iranien : illustration des limites de leur puissance" (Pro-Israel Jewish Lobbying on the Iran Deal : Limits to Power), academic symposium "mobilisation(s) politique(s) des groupes ethno-raciaux dans l'Amérique d'Obama", Université de Cergy-Pontoise, April 1st, 2016.
- "La politique commerciale des Etats-Unis au service des ambitions stratégiques américaines" (Trade Policy and US Strategic Ambitions), international symposium on the Strategies of US Smart Power, IRSEM and université de Poitiers, October 10&11 2013. Conference proceedings: Maya Kandel and Maud Quessard-Salvaing (dirs), *Les stratégies du Smart Power américain*, Etudes de l'IRSEM n°32, 2014.
- "What perspective for Transatlantic relations in the years to come", Franco-German-Polish workshop, Friedrich Ebert Foundation / Genshagen Foundation, Berlin, April 25-27, 2013.
- "La relation transatlantique à l'épreuve des changements mondiaux"(Transatlantic Relations Confronted to Global Challenges), international symposium on the 2012 US presidential election,

- Université Lille 2, October 26, 2012. Conference proceedings: Julian Fernandez (dir.), *Elections américaines, un bilan*, Editions A. Pedone, 2013.
- "Le religieux dans le débat public actuel. Regards croisés : Etats-Unis, France, Russie, Union européenne"(Religion in the Public Debate), IRIS/ICEE conference, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle Paris 3, April 5, 2012.
 - "Israel's Last Allies? Christian Zionists and Their Expansive Vision of the Jewish State", brown bag conference, Middle East Institute, SIPA, Columbia, New York, February 18, 2010.
 - "The Role of Religion in the Euro-American Relationship: Turning Difficulties into Opportunities", International Studies Association, ISA's 50th Annual Convention, New York City, NY, Feb. 15, 2009.
 - "Understanding Transnational Religious Advocacy Groups: Israel's Improbable Evangelical Christian Allies ", International Studies Association- North East (ISA-NE) Annual Convention, Baltimore, MD, October 3, 2008.
 - "Israel's Improbable Allies: Christian Zionism and its Strategic Consequences for the U.S., Israel and the Palestinians", summer symposium, Women in International Security (WIIS), Georgetown University, Washington DC, June 2007, published in *Cahier Thucydide*, n°4, March 2008.
 - "Riots in the *banlieues*: Can France Recover the Social and Political Malaise", brown bag conference, Council on Foreign Relations, New York, November 22, 2005.

TEACHING

2nd semester 2016-2017: 15h-class on American power and transatlantic relations, Research Master in geopolitics, Université Saint-Denis (Paris 8).

Winter 2017: 3h-seminar on US foreign policy, Master in Defense and Geopolitics, Institute for High Studies in National Defense (IHEDN), Ecole militaire.

March 2016: 1h30- seminar on US foreign policy, 52nd national session "armament and defense", Institute for High Studies in National Defense (IHEDN), Ecole militaire.

1st semester 2012-2013, 2013-2014, 2014-2015, 2015-2016: 15h-class on domestic determinants of US foreign policy, Research Master in Geopolitics, French Institute on Geopolitics, Université de Saint-Denis (Paris 8).

2^e semester 2013-2014, 1st semester 2015-2016 & 2016-2017: 25h-class on US foreign policy and transatlantic relations (with Leah Pizar/Guillaume de Rougé/Delphine Lagrange), Master in international relations, Master in Security and Defense, Université Panthéon-Assas (Paris 2).

2013-2014: Lectures on evangelicalism and secularism for the "Religion and Foreign Policy" series, Institute on international and strategic relations (IRIS), Paris.

2^e semester 2012-2013: 24h-class for Prof Zaki Laïdi on "Coping with Multipolarity: The Challenges of US foreign policy", Sciences Po, Paris.

2nd semester 2004-2005: UN simulation exercise (Teaching Assistant to Prof. Mario Bettati), Master of International Administration, Universités Panthéon-Assas and Sorbonne (Paris 1 and 2).

MEDIA

Podcasts

- "The rise of populism in US and European politics", with Giovanna De Maio, and Fred Dews, *The Brookings Cafeteria*, Brookings podcast, February 14, 2020.
- "What's driving populism's rise on both sides of the Atlantic?", with David Dollar, *Dollar and Sense* podcast, Brookings podcast, January 21, 2020.
- "What do the European Parliament elections results tell us about EU politics?", *The Current*, Brookings podcast, May 28, 2019.
- "Gilets Jaunes (Yellow Vests) Movement" with Benjamin Haddad, Encounter, Voice of America, March 7 2019 (2)
- "Challenges to democracy in Europe", with Torrey Taussig, and Constanze Stelzenmüller Democracy and Disorder Podcast Series, *The Brookings Cafeteria*, Brookings podcast, February 26 2019.
- "France's Protests Won't Stop: Here's Why", *WarCast*, War On the Rocks podcast, December 14 2018.
- "Trump-Macron spat exposes clashing US-French interests", *5 on 45*, Brookings podcast, November 14 2018.
- "Transatlantic Tension", with Alina Polyakova and Jim Lindsay, *The President's Inbox*, Council on Foreign Relations podcast, June 19 2018.
- "What to Expect from Macron's visit to the US", *5 on 45*, Brookings podcast, April 20, 2018.
- "O Come, O Come Emmanuel Macron", *WarCast*, War On the Rocks, April 13, 2018.

Interviews and debates

- Articles, interviews and op-eds in print media and Internet (*Axios*, *Business Insider*, *Boston Herald*, *Le Monde*, *L'Express*, *Le Point*, *TV5.org*, *Libération*, *Tribune Juive*, *lemonde.fr*, *Huffingtonpost.fr*, *New Yorker*, *USA Today*, *Independent*, *Circa*, etc.)
- Regular guest for interviews and debates on radio (France Inter, France Info, France Culture, Europe 1, RFI, RTBF, RTS, Radio Méditerranée internationale, Radio Suisse Romande), télévision (CBS News, BBC World News, France24, France 5, PBS Newshour, Public Sénat, BFMTV, Canal+, TV5 Monde, LCI), and podcasts (*Diploweb*, *CFR's President's Inbox*, *Brookings' 5 on 45*, *Brookings Cafeteria*, *The Current*, *WarCast*, *Dollar and Sense*).

-- April 2020