

## Célia Belin, Ph.D.

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- **Expertise:** US security and foreign policy, transatlantic relations, French-American relations, European affairs, future of the European Union, US foreign policy towards Europe, European politics, US politics, 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)
  - **Author** of *Des Démocrates en Amérique* (Fayard/Fondation Jean Jaurès, 2020), *Les Etats-Unis dans le monde* (CNRS Editions, 2016) and *Jésus est juif en Amérique* (Fayard, 2011).
  - **Frequent contributor on media** (radio, TV, print, podcasts, social media).
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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

2004-2009      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).

- 2003-2004 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)”.
- 1999-2003 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 Takes an active role within the research team of the Center on the United States and Europe at Brookings:
- Participates in Transatlantic Scorecard surveys (quarterly evaluation of US-European relations, Brookings Bosch Transatlantic Initiative), and other online Brookings products ("Around the halls", "Brookings Experts on...")
  - Chairs Brookings monthly Foreign policy brownbags on current FP debates
  - Launched the periodic Drinks&Drafts research working group
  - Organizes the annual Raymond Aron Lecture at Brookings
- 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* (Democrats in America, Decision time), 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 et Cherian Samuel (dirs.), *The Second Bush Presidency: Global Perspectives*, Pearson-Longman/ORF, New Delhi, 2006.

## **Articles and policy papers**

- "*Personnel is policy* : la politique étrangère de Biden à la lumière des premières nominations", Fondation Jean Jaurès, March 17, 2021.
- "La relation transatlantique à l'épreuve de l'élection américaine", with Benjamin Haddad, Institut Montaigne, October 27, 2020.
- "Democracy after coronavirus: Five challenges for the 2020s," with Giovanna de Maio, *Order from Chaos*, Brookings, August 2020.
- "Reopening the World: The day France reopened," with Agneska Bloch, *Brookings Reopening the World: How to Save Lives and Livelihoods*, June 16, 2020.
- "Un vent de progressisme souffle sur la campagne de Joe Biden," Op-Ed in *Le Monde*, June 8, 2020.
- "France at war against the coronavirus: Politics under anesthesia?", with Agneska Bloch, and Jérôme Nicolai, *Order from Chaos*, Brookings, March 31, 2020.
- "Democracy in America 2020: A French perspective on the battle for the Democratic nomination", *Fixgov*, Brookings, February 11, 2020.
- "La nouvelle gauche américaine", with Paul Zajac, *Le Débat*, n°208, January-February 2020.
- "'America First' contre Union européenne : racines et ramifications d'une opposition", with Quentin Lopinot, *Questions Internationales*, n°98, August 2019.

- "Macron's G-7 gambit: Tame Trump, save one Amazon, and tax the other", *Order from Chaos*, Brookings, August 27, 2019.
- "Europe votes: France's atomized politics and vaporized influence", *Order from Chaos*, Brookings, May 22, 2019.
- "NATO matters, but the EU Matters More", *Order from Chaos*, Brookings, April 2, 2019.
- "Pour battre Trump en 2020: un guerrier ou un guérisseur", *Telos*, March 2019.
- "Europe's Campaign Season Is Just Beginning", with Giovanna De Maio, *The American Interest*, February 14, 2019
- "France-Etats-Unis: dépasser le pragmatisme", *Le Débat*, n°203, Gallimard, Jan-Feb. 2019.
- "What the Paris Peace Forum tells us about France—and about the world", *Order from Chaos*, Brookings, November 9, 2018.
- "Man on wire: An acrobatic act of faith by a Frenchman in New York", *Order from Chaos*, Brookings, September 26, 2018.
- "European politics is turning French", with Ted Reinert, *The American Interest*, March 23, 2018.
- "Le monde selon Trump", *Esprit*, n°445, juin 2018.
- "Can France Be America's New Bridge to Europe? ", Snapshot, *Foreign Affairs*, April 19, 2018.
- "The 'Macron Miracle' Could Transform France Into a Global Powerhouse", with Boris Toucas, *National Interest*, 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*, Brookings, Dec 15 2017.
- "When American politics jeopardize American global leadership", *Order from Chaos*, Brookings, October 16, 2017.
- "The Macron/Trump co-dependency", *Order from Chaos*, Brookings, September 18, 2017.
- "Comment anticiper la politique étrangère de Donald Trump ?", *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", *Diplomatie*, June 2015.
- "Les Etats-Unis, de l'hyperpuissance au *primus inter pares*", *ENA hors les murs*, n°438, Jan-Feb 2014.
- "Un retour à l'isolationnisme ?", *Questions internationales*, n°64, Nov-Dec. 2013.
- "National Rifle Association: la toute-puissance en équilibre", *Hérodote*, n° 149, summer 2013.
- "Les horizons rétrécis de l'Administration Obama II", with Jean-Christophe Noël et Jean-François Pactet, and "Accords commerciaux régionaux : le temps de la stratégie", with Fabien Besson, *Les Carnets du CAPS*, n°18, fall 2013.
- "Espoirs et illusions de la 'révolution du schiste' aux Etats-Unis", *Les Carnets du CAPS*, n°17, summer 2013.
- "Etats-Unis : la pression des contestations populaires", *Les Carnets du CAP*, n°16, spring/summer 2012.
- "J Street face à l'AIPAC : quand David s'attaque à 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", *Annuaire Français des Relations Internationales*, VIII, 2007.
- "Les Protestants évangéliques aux Etats-Unis et la politique étrangère", *Annuaire Français des Relations Internationales*, vol. VII, 2006.

### **Committee hearings**

- Roundtable, with Robert Malley and Jeff Lightfoot, on the United States at the start of the new administration, Foreign Affairs Committee, Assemblée Nationale, January 20, 2021.
- 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**

- Panel "A new momentum for transatlantic cooperation between the United States and Europe?" with Laura Daniels, local chapters of Green Party France and Green Party Germany, March 5, 2021.
- Panel "Quelle politique les Démocrates vont-ils mener?", with Maya Kandel and Mathieu Magnaudeix, Le Grand Continent debates, January 19, 2021.
- Presentation, "Foreign policy priorities of the new U.S. administration", Transnational Commission of EELV (Green Party), January 14, 2021.
- Panel "U.S. Politics in the Aftermath of the November Elections", with E.J. Dionne, Henry Olsen and Ramesh Ponnuru, Ifri Annual Conference on the United States, December 10, 2020.
- Debate "The Future of Europe: Are Europe and America Drifting Apart?", with Sheri Berman, Jack Snyder, Pierre Vimont and Roger Cohen, Columbia Global Centers, the European Institute and the Alliance Program, November 17, 2020.
- Panel "Les Etats-Unis et le multilatéralisme", with Annick Cizel, Laurence Nardon et Frédéric Mérand, 12th international symposium of the Ateliers Schuman, Laval University, October 29, 2020.
- Panel "Foreign policy and the 2020 election: Implications for Europe," with William A. Galston, Fiona Hill and Thomas Wright, Brookings, October 5, 2020 (broadcast on CSPAN).
- Event "State of play of the US presidential election, J-35", European American Press Club, Paris, September 30, 2020.
- Debate "Franco-American Perspectives on the 2020 Elections with Paul Begala and Célia Belin," French Institute Alliance Française, September 16, 2020.
- Conversation with Mike Schmuhl, "Behind the Scenes of the 2020 Presidential Campaign," Sciences Po American Foundation, August 26, 2020.
- Panel "Reopening the world – How to save lives and livelihoods," with David Dollar, Suzanne Maloney, Jung Pak, Anthony Pipa, and Michael O'Hanlon, Brookings, June 19, 2020.
- Panel "Rebuilding the trans-Atlantic relationship after COVID-19," with Mark Leonard, Molly Montgomery, Victoria Nuland, and James Goldgeier, Brookings, June 16, 2020.
- Panel "Emmanuel Macron – The last president of Europe," with William Drozdiak, Constanze Stelzenmüller, Giovanna de Maio, Fiona Hill, and Thomas Wright, Brookings, April 22, 2020.

- Book launch Lecture for *Des démocrates en Amérique, l'heure des choix face à Trump*, with Gilles Finchelstein, Fondation Jean Jaurès, Paris, March 5, 2020.
- Conference on *Des démocrates en Amérique, l'heure des choix face à Trump*, Université Paris II, Centre Assas, Paris, France, March 4, 2020.
- Panel "Will the election mark a change in American FP?", Conference 934, French Consulate, New York, NY, January 29, 2020.
- European Working Group, GMF/Carnegie initiative, Washington, DC, January 22 and 28, 2020.
- Presentation, Work-in-progress seminar, Brookings, Washington, DC, December 5, 2019.
- World Affairs Council Briefing on Transatlantic Relations, Brookings, Washington, DC, November 6, 2019.
- Panel on the "Impact of the US election on Ireland and Europe", Ireland Network annual conference, Dupont Hotel, Washington, DC, October 11, 2019.
- Roundtable on the Gilets Jaunes movement in France, European Studies Center at the University of Pittsburgh, September 17, 2019.
- French-American Rochambeau Dialogue, Newport, RI, September 8-10, 2019
- Panel "Où en est la Gauche ? Radiographie mondiale d'un camp qui se réinvente", Université d'été du PS, La Rochelle, France, August 23, 2019.
- Panel "Europe's post-American future? ", BBTI Annual conference, Brookings, Washington, DC, June 13, 2019.
- Panel "Disruptive Populism and Political Movements", Board/IAC meetings, Brookings, Washington, DC, June 6, 2019.
- Panel "EU Elections 2019: The Future of the European Project", Atlantic Council, Washington, DC, May 29, 2019.
- Panel "Trends in U.S. Foreign Policy: Will Trumpism Outlast Trump?", 18th Trilateral Strategy Group (TSG), GMF, Washington, DC, May 20, 2019.
- Conference, IHEDN auditors, French Embassy, Washington, DC, May 13, 2019.
- Response to the keynote address, Progressive Governance Symposium, Berlin, Germany, April 25, 2019.
- Panel "The Future of France: Growing Discontent and the Yellow Vests Movement", with Jane Hartley, Sheri Berman and Amy Davidson Sorkin, Council on Foreign Relations, New York, January 29, 2019.
- Lecture "French-American Relations in an Age of Trump: Balancing Interests and Principles", World Affairs Council, Worcester Club, Worcester, MA, January 16, 2019.
- Presentation "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, conference proceedings published.
- French-American Rochambeau Dialogue, Newport, RI, September 16-18, 2018.
- Lecture "French politics, French foreign policy, and transatlantic relations", Cosmo Club, Washington DC, June 19, 2018.
- Panel "America First, Europe alone? ", with Amanda Sloat, Constanze Stelzenmüller, Kenneth R. Weinstein and Edward Luce, Brookings Bosch Transatlantic Initiative, Brookings, Washington DC, May 24, 2018.

- Panel "Which relation with Washington? " with Gaidz Minassian, Philip Golub, Colin Robertson, 4<sup>th</sup> St-Laurent Forum on Security, May 4 2018.
- Dinner-debate "Qu'attendre de la prochaine visite d'Etat d'Emmanuel Macron à Washington ?", Sciences Po Alumni Association, April 17, 2018.
- Panel "Europe and the U.S.: The old order faces a new world", with Constanze Stelzenmüller, Thomas Wright, William Drozdiak, Kemal Kirişci, Brookings Bosch Transatlantic Initiative, Brookings, Washington DC, September 15, 2017.
- Moderation on a panel "Donald Trump and American Leadership", with Alex Lennon, Xenia Wickett and Bruno Tertrais, Ifri Annual Conference on the United States, December 1<sup>st</sup> 2016.
- Debate "Les alliances après l'élection de Donald Trump", IHEDN, Ecole militaire, November 25, 2016.
- Presentation "L'héritage Obama et la politique étrangère du prochain président", symposium around the book *Les Etats-Unis dans le monde*, Centre Thucydide, Université Panthéon-Assas, November 15, 2016.
- Dinner-debate "Les élections américaines", Démocraties club, October 17 2016.
- Keynote address, "Les Enjeux diplomatiques de l'élection présidentielle américaine pour la France", Academic symposium "Les élections présidentielles américaines de 2016: ancrage démocrate ou virage républicain?", Université Grenoble Alpes, October 21 2016.
- Lecture "L'évolution des relations transatlantiques sous Obama : de la prise de distance volontaires au réengagement forcé", international symposium on "Obama's Legacy: the end of Grand Startegy ?", Université de Poitiers/Queen's university, Poitiers, October 13-14 2016. Published as "Après Obama, quel héritage de politique étrangère pour Donald Trump?", *Revue de recherche en civilisation américaine* [Online], 2017.
- Panel "La diplomatie du prochain président américain", Grand Atelier, *Les Géopolitiques de Nantes*, Lieu Unique, Nantes, September 30 2016.
- Panel "Les présidentielles américaines sont-elles jouées d'avance ?", Fondation Jean Jaurès/FEPS, June 28 2016.
- Panel "US Presidential Election: Transatlantic Perspectives", European Parliament Research Service, Bruxelles, April 20 2016.
- Presentation "Le combat des lobbies juifs pro-Israël sur l'accord nucléaire iranien : illustration des limites de leur puissance", academic symposium "mobilisation(s) politique(s) des groupes ethno-raciaux dans l'Amérique d'Obama", Université de Cergy-Pontoise, April 1<sup>st</sup> 2016.
- Presentation "La politique commerciale des Etats-Unis au service des ambitions stratégiques américaines", 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.
- Panel "La relation transatlantique à l'épreuve des changements mondiaux", 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.
- Presentation, "Le religieux dans le débat public actuel. Regards croisés : Etats-Unis, France, Russie, Union européenne", IRIS/ICEE conference, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle Paris 3, April 5 2012.

- Brown bag conference, "Israel's Last Allies? Christian Zionists and Their Expansive Vision of the Jewish State", Middle East Institute, SIPA, Columbia, New York, February 18, 2010.
- Presentation "The Role of Religion in the Euro-American Relationship: Turning Difficulties into Opportunities", International Studies Association, 50th Annual Convention, New York, Feb 15, 2009.
- Presentation, "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.
- Presentation, "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.
- Brown bag conference, "Riots in the *banlieues*: Can France Recover the Social and Political Malaise", Council on Foreign Relations, New York, November 22, 2005.

## **MEDIA**

- Articles, interviews and Op-Eds in print media and Internet (*AFP, Alternatives économiques, Axios, Böll.Thema, Boston Herald, Business Insider, Causette, Christian Science Monitor, Elle, El Pais, Huffington Post, La Croix, La Silla Vacía, Le 1 Hebdo, Le Devoir, Le Figaro, Le Journal de Montréal, Le Journal du Dimanche, Le Monde, Le Parisien, Le P'tit Libé, Le Point, L'Express, Libération, L'Obs, The Independent, The New Yorker, Toute l'Europe, Tribune Juive, TV5.org, USA Today, Vox, Washington Post*).
- Regular guest for interviews and debates on radio (Europe 1, France Culture, France Info, France Inter, Radio Canada, RCJ, RFI, Radio Méditerranée internationale, Radio Suisse Romande, RTBF, RTS), television (Arte, BBC World News, BFMTV, Canal+, CBS News, France 2, France 24, France 5, LCI, LN24, PBS Newshour, Public Sénat, TV5 Monde), and podcasts (Brookings' 5 on 45, Brookings Cafeteria, CFR's President's Inbox, C'est ça l'Amérique, Diploweb, Dollar and Sense, Figaro Live, The Current, WarCast).

## **TEACHING**

Presentation on France's political parties and the Left, E.J. Dionne Social studies seminar on "Elections in a Time of Democratic Stress America's 2020 Choice in Comparative Perspective", Harvard University (virtual), October 26, 2020.

Presentation on the European Left, Notre Dame University, DC campus, October 23, 2019.

Presentation on the European Left, Social studies seminar with E.J. Dionne Jr. and Jim Kloppenberg, Harvard University, Boston, MA, September 11, 2019.

Participation, Brookings Executive Education, Executive MBA, Olin School of Business at Washington University, St. Louis, March 16, 2018 & March 29, 2019.

2<sup>nd</sup> 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.

1<sup>st</sup> 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<sup>e</sup> semester 2013-2014, 1<sup>st</sup> 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<sup>e</sup> semester 2012-2013: 24h-class for Prof Zaki Laïdi on "Coping with Multipolarity: The Challenges of US foreign policy", Sciences Po, Paris.

2<sup>nd</sup> 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).

-- *March 2021*