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# EDUCATION

Ph.D. in Political Science, summa cum laude, Institute of Political Studies (Sciences-Po), Paris, 1986. Conducted doctoral research at Stanford University and the Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California at Berkeley, 1980-82. Dissertation: "Reform in San Francisco: The Electoral System as a Political Issue, 1970-85". Won the GRAL Award for best dissertation from the National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS), presented at the French Senate, 1987.

Master in Law, University of Paris, 1979.

Graduate, Institute of Political Studies (Law, Economics), Paris, 1977.

# PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

*Since April 2019:* Research Scholar, CDDRL, Freeman Spogli Institute, Stanford U.

Conducts research on elections, populism, political movements and cleavages in Western democracies; Comparative US/European politics; Transatlantic relations; European politics; French politics, economic and foreign policy.

*Since September 2006*: Lecturer, Stanford in Washington.

Teaches seminars to Junior and Senior Stanford students on International Relations, European Politics, Transatlantic Relations, US/Europe Comparative Politics and Policy.

Organizes high-level international conferences on transatlantic relations and other topics for various US and European institutes and think tanks. (Wilson Center for International Scholars, European Union Center of California, American Enterprise Institute, Institut Français des Relations Internationales --IFRI--).

Participates in working groups in various think tanks (Atlantic Council, German Marshall Fund, IFRI…).

Frequent speaker and panelist at US and international universities and think tanks (Stanford, Claremont McKenna College, Sciences-Po, European University Institute…)

Periodic contributor to the press (Op-Eds, articles and interviews in newspapers such as The Wall Street Journal, Die Welt, Les Echos, LA Times).

Frequent commentator on radio and television (CNN international, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, BFM-TV, i24news, Le Figaro TV, Al-Jazeera, NPR, Radio Monte Carlo, The Scholars’ Circle…).

*Spring 2016*: Stanford University (Palo Alto, Calif.): Taught “upper division” seminar on “The United States and Europe; A Renewed Imperative?”

*Spring 2012 and 2013*: Visiting Professor, Sciences-Po Paris, Euro-American Campus in Reims. Taught a course on Transatlantic Relations as well as the Spring School intensive seminar on "Comparing Political Elites in Europe and the United States". 2012: Taught Transatlantic Relations course as well as the Spring School on "Comparing US and French Presidential Elections".

*January-July 2005*: National Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University. Conducted research project on "The Changing American Visions and Politics of European Integration". Taught course on Transatlantic Relations at Stanford.

*August 2003-December 2004*: Crown Visiting Professor of Government, Claremont McKenna College, California. Taught undergraduate and upper division courses on International Relations, European Politics and Integration, Globalization, and Transatlantic Relations.

***September 2001-March 2003*:** **Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars**, **Washington D.C.** Research focusing on Anti-Europeanism and Euro-skepticism in the United States, and anti-Americanism in Europe.

# *Spring 2002*: Crown Visiting Professor of Government, Claremont McKenna College, California. Taught course on "Comparative U.S. and European Approaches to Globalization".

***Fall 2001 and 2002-3 Academic Year*: Visiting Professor of Political Science, George Washington University**, **Washington D.C.** Taught undergraduate course on European Politics and the European Union.

***April 1999 to December 2001*: Independent consultant.** Conducted studies of US and Washington strategies for several French corporate clients.

***February 1997 to March 1999*: Foreign Counsel, Washington D.C. Office of the law firm of Powell, Goldstein, Frazer & Murphy LLP (now, Bryan Cave LLP).** Responsible for developing the European corporate clientele and coordinating the firm’s services to European clients. Advised French corporations and trade associations in industries such as finance, telecommunications, information technology, energy and transportation on public affairs strategies in Washington as well as the impact of American trade and investment policies on their US and international strategies and operations. Advised US and international clients on business opportunities in France, doing business in France, the political and business environment and transatlantic issues.

***1995-96*: Detailed by the Policy Planning Agency of the Prime Minister’s Office in Paris to the Financial division of the French Embassy in Washington D.C.** Analyzed US financial legislation and regulations and their impact on the operations and strategies of French banks in the US and internationally. Authored a report on the policy implications of the Republican victory in the 1994 Congressional elections.

***1989-95*: Senior advisor, Policy Planning Agency of the Prime Minister’s Office, Paris.** Advised the Policy Planning Minister, the Policy Planning Commissioner, the senior staffs of the Prime Minister and cabinet ministers on international business issues. Devised and implemented strategies to improve French industrial competitiveness (e.g. industry financing, trade, technology and tax policies). Represented the French government in international conferences and multilateral agencies (U.N., OECD) with respect to international economic, financial, trade and technology issues. Participated in the development and implementation of French policy with regard to EU projects such as the Single Market, the Euro and the Inter-governmental Conference on Institutional Reforms. Assisted East European governments in their transition towards market economies, with a focus on industry restructuring, privatization and financial markets.

***Dec. 1992-Dec. 1993*: Visiting Scholar, Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California at Berkeley.** Conducted research and lectured on Comparative French, European and US politics, economic policy, trade policy-making and political elites.

***1988-92*: University of Paris I (Pantheon-Sorbonne)** and **Paris II (Assas)**. Lecturer in comparative constitutional law and political institutions at undergraduate and graduate levels. **International Institute of Public Administration, Paris:** Lecturer on European integration and international trade.

***1987-88*: American Political Science Association Congressional Fellow, U.S. Congress, Washington D.C.** Legislative Assistant to **Congressman Norman Y. Mineta** (D-CA) for international business and technology issues, and then, to **Senator Harry Reid** (D-NV). Taught graduate seminar at **George Washington University** on Congress and US trade policy.

***1982-87*: Head of International Affairs, Electronic and Information Technology division, Ministry of Industry, Paris.** Monitored and analyzed the information technology and telecommunications industry worldwide. Assisted companies in their international development. Represented the French government in various multilateral fora and organizations such as U.N. agencies and helped form public/private partnerships between French business and multilateral agencies.

**Chief of the inter-agency French delegation to the Information, Computer and Telecommunications Committee (ICCP) of the** **Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).** Devised and coordinated French positions on issues pertaining to the computer and telecommunications industry. Negotiated with 24 national delegations on international regulatory frameworks for the industry.

**In 1986, carried out a Prime Minister-commissioned reorganization of public R & D agencies serving the computer industry.** Conducted a strategic audit of over 20 agencies and laboratories resulting in major restructuring as well as budget reallocations.

**Fall 1985: University of California, Santa Cruz.** Gave lecture series on French and European politics and public policy.

**OFFICIAL REPORTS**

Authored or co-authored official reports for the French government as well as inter-governmental institutions, including:

• Report to the **French Ambassador in Washington** on the policy implications of the Republican victory in the 1994 Congressional elections, 1996.

• Report to the **United Nations Commission for Latin America** on trade integration in Europe and its implications for Latin America, Costa Rica, 1992.

• Report to the **Policy Planning Commissioner** on French industrial competitiveness, under the chairmanship of the CEO of the Pechiney Aluminum company, 1992.

• Report to the **Minister of Industry** on French international competitiveness, in association with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and under the chairmanship of the CEO of the Arcelor Steel Company, 1992 (report published as a two-volume book entitled “Made in France”).

• Report to **twelve European Union Ministers** on critical medium-term strategic, financial, technology, foreign direct investment and trade issues, under the chairmanship of the Minister for Policy Planning and the chief economist of BNP Paribas, 1990.

• Report to the **Prime Minister** on the reform of government regulations and intervention in the information technology industry, under the chairmanship of the CEO of the Bull Computer Company, 1986.

• Report to the **Minister of Interior** on the Guidelines for Legislative Redistricting, Paris 1986.

## RESEARCH FOCUS

**.** Transatlantic relations; U.S./E.U. political, economic and trade relations.

. Comparative US and European politics, political institutions, political and business elites, and public policy-making.

. Comparative US and European political economy, government/business relations, and approaches to globalization.

. American politics and public policy in comparative perspective.

. European integration.

. French politics, foreign and economic policy, and public policy-making.

. Anti-Americanism in Europe; anti-Europeanism and Euro-skepticism in the U.S.

**PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES AND AWARDS**

**Conferences and Panels:** Planned and participated in many international official and academic conferences, in conjunction with the French and American governments, the European Union, the United Nations, universities and thank tanks (including the Wilson Center for International Scholars, the American Enterprise Institute, the EU Center of California, the Aspen Institute Berlin).

**Memberships, Advisory boards**: American Political Science Association; European Consortium for Political Research; French-American Chamber of Commerce (Board of Directors); New Atlantic Initiative at the American Enterprise Institute (International Advisory Board); Atlantic Partnership (Panelist); Knowing Israel (Board of Directors).

**Fellowships**: Hoover Institution, Stanford University; Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2002-03; Congressional Fellowship Program, American Political Science Association, 1987-88; Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California at Berkeley, 1992-93.

 **Grants:** French Ministry of Foreign Affairs ("Lavoisier" Grant for research at U.C. Berkeley, 1993); German Marshall Fund of the United States (Congressional Fellowship and Canadian Parliament, 1987-88); Singer-Polignac Foundation (for research on US/EU issues in the United States,1987-88); French-American Foundation ("Tocqueville" Grant to conduct doctoral research at Stanford and U.C. Berkeley, 1980-82).

 **Awards:** G.R.A.L. Award of the National Center for Scientific Research for best Doctoral dissertation, presented at the French Senate, Paris, 1987.

 **PUBLICATIONS**

 “The Specter of Islamophobia”, *The Claremont Review of Books,* Vol. XVIII, Number 4, Fall 2018, Fall 2018, p. 87-90.

 “Finis, les memos top secret pour Jared Kushner”, *Atlantico,* March 1, 2018.

 “Macron’s Revolution”, *The American Interest,* Washington D.C., Fall (Nov-Dec.) 2017, p. 21-31.

 “France: The Macron Factor”, *The American Interest,* Washington D.C., August 1st, 2017.

 “Now, it’s France’s Turn”, *The American Interest,* Washington D.C., April 18, 2017.

 “Europe’s Future: Kicking off the 2017 French Presidential Elections”, *The American Interest,* Washington D.C., November 20, 2016.

 “La révolution de Bernie Sanders…”, *Atlantico*, June 14, 2016.

“Victoire de Hillary Clinton en Californie”, *Atlantico*, June 8, 2016.

“Donald Trump et Hillary Clinton…”, *Atlantico*, May 2, 2016.

“La main des élites contre la voix du peuple: Clinton contre Trump”, *Atlantico*, March 7, 2016.

 “L’armée américaine décide d’intégrer les femmes dans ses unités de combat”, *Atlantico*, Dec.7, 2016.

 "The Political Right(s) in France", *The American Interest*, Washington D.C., Winter (Jan-Feb.) 2016, p. 1-8.

 "Tuerie aux Etats-Unis: Barack Obama ne peut guère faire que des incantations", *Atlantico*, Oct. 3, 2015.

 "Pourquoi la psychologie de ces 5 personnalités va déterminer ce que sera 2015; Barack Obama", *Atlantico*, Feb. 1, 2015.

 “Yes He Can, C'est maintenant”: Pourquoi le Obama 2015 n'a plus rien à voir...", *Atlantico*, January 20, 2015.

### "Les leçons des élections de mid-term américaines", *Atlantico*, November 10, 2014.

### "Les élections de mi-mandat américaines...", *Atlantico*, October 24, 2014.

### "Land of Promise: An Economic History of the United States": La politique industrielle explique-t-elle la réussite économique américaine? A propos du livre de Michael Lind, *Politique Etrangère*, Paris, 2:2014.

### "Le vrai bilan économique d'Obama", *Atlantico*, November 5, 2012.

"Une élection historique", *Sociétal*, Paris, no-78, Fall 2012.

"Le contexte de la présidentielle américaine de 2012, *Politique Etrangère*, Paris, Automne 2012, p. 587-600.

"Specter of Decline", *Claremont Review of Books,* Volume XII, no. 1, Winter 2011-12, p. 40-42.

"Aspirations and Reality: French Foreign Policy and the 2012 Elections" (with Brinton Rowdybush), *The Washington Quarterly*, Winter 2012, p. 163-177.

"La descente aux enfers", *Sociétal*, Paris, numéro 74, Fall 2011, p. 124-135.

"Obama mieux armé que Sarkozy pour 2012", *Atlantico,*  April 6, 2011.

"Les chances d'Obama en 2012", *Sociétal*, Paris, numéro 72, Spring 2011, p. 84-94.

“Elephants Do Remember”, *Sociétal*, Paris, numéro 67, Winter 2010.

“The Limits of the Welfare State”, *Hoover Digest*, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, Fall 2009.

“Global Responses to the 2008 Presidential Election”, *Stanford Journal of International Relations*, Fall/Winter 2008-9, vol. X, nb. 1.

### “Le contexte de l’élection présidentielle américaine de 2008”, *Politique Etrangère*, Paris, Fall 2008.

### “Elections Américaines – Reset”, *Sociétal*, Paris, Fall 2008.

### Review of Walter Russell Mead’s book “God and Gold; How Britain and America Made the Modern World”, *Politique Etrangère*, Spring 2008.

### “Sarkozy l’Américain will Improve Relations”, *Concord Monitor*, August 12, 2007.

### “A New Hope in France”, *The National Interest Online*, April 24, 2007.

### “Seelenverwandte” (Why Merkel wishes for a Sarkozy victory?), *Die Welt*, Berlin, Feb. 16, 2007.

“New Routes to the Presidency”, *Hoover Digest*, 2007, No 1.

### “L’Américain”, *Claremont Review of Books*, Dec. 2006-Jan. 2007.

“Excès religieux aux Etats-Unis”, *Sociétal*, Paris, Fall 2006.

“Are Free-Market Leaders Bound to Disappoint?”, *Die Welt*, Berlin, May 24, 2006.

“Sarkozy’s Big Adventure”, *Hoover Digest*, 2006, No 2.

“Sarkozy, Nicht Villepin”, *Die Welt*, Berlin, March 21, 2006.

“Anti-Europeanism and Euroskepticism in the United States” in: Tom Ilgen, ed. Hard Power, Soft Power and the Future of Transatlantic Relations, Ashgate Publishing, 2006.

### “Kansas, Amérique profonde”, *Sociétal,* Paris, Fall 2005.

“Chirac’s Last Stand”, *Hoover Digest*, 2005, No 3.

“Anti-Europeanism and Euro-skepticism in America”, *Newsletter of the European Union Center of California*, The Claremont Colleges, Fall 2004.

“Anti-Europeanism and Euro-skepticism in the United States”, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, *European University Institute Working Papers Series*, Florence, 2004.

“Les enjeux de l’élection présidentielle américaine de 2004”, *Sociétal*, Paris, Summer 2004

“Partisan Realignment in American Politics?”, *Sociétal*, Paris, Spring 2004.

“The Comparative Leadership Styles of French and American Presidents since FDR and de Gaulle”, *Leadership Review*, Kravis Leadership Institute, Claremont McKenna College, Summer 2003.

“Ces Américains qui détestent l’Europe”, *Sociétal* #41, Paris, Summer 2003.

“French Disconnection”, Op-Ed, *Baltimore Sun*, March 11, 2003

“Political Fictions”, *Sociétal*, Paris, Summer 2002.

“Why is Le Pen In and Jospin Out”, Op-Ed, *Wall Street Journal Europe*, April 23, 2002.

“Bush and Gore: Two Agendas for America”, *Sociétal* #30, Paris, Fall 2000.

“American and French Identity in the Face of Economic Globalization,” *The Tocqueville*

*Connection,* Washington, D.C., January 1999.

“French Business is too Timid”, *The Tocqueville Connection*, Washington, D.C., October

1998.

“Jospin Scores Success on Privatization”, *The Tocqueville Connection*, Washington, D.C.,

September 1998.

“Conservative Setbacks and the Rehabilitation of the State in the United States?”, *Analyses de la SEDEIS,* Paris, September 1996.

“The Campaign for the First Round of the 1995 French Presidential Election”, Public Affairs Report, Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California at Berkeley, May 1995.

“The Washington Political Establishment in Comparative Perspective”, *Analyses de la SEDEIS,* Paris, May 1995.

“The Golden Age of French Elites,” *Public Affairs Report*, IGS, UC Berkeley, January 1995.

“Clinton and the Challenges of the American Presidency,” *Chroniques de la SEDEIS*, Paris, January 1995.

“The Integration of the U.S. Political System in Comparative Perspective,” in Robert Dahl, “The New American Political (Dis)Order”, IGS Press, Berkeley, 1994.

“Historic Defeat of the French Left in 1993 will have Long Term Consequences”, *Public Affairs Report,* IGS, UC Berkeley, June 1993.

“The Age of Ideology is Over in French Politics,” *Public Affairs Report*, IGS, UC Berkeley, March 1993.

“Trade Integration in the European Community and Implications for Central America,” *Central American Review of Public Administration*, San Jose, Costa Rica, 1993.

“World Trade 1991-92” in François Joyaux, Ed., L’Année Internationale 1991-92, (Paris: Le Seuil, 1992).

“The President, Congress and the 1988 Trade and Competitiveness Act”, Paper delivered at the ASIE/American Enterprise Institute Conference on US/EU Economic Relations in the 1990’s, Paris, May 1990.

“Federalism,” “The OMB,” “The Political and Administrative Structure of the U.S. Territory,” Government Actors in Economic Policy”, in Marie-France Toinet, ed., The State of the United States, La Découverte, Paris, 1990.

“Electoral Systems and Local Politics: The Case of San Francisco,” *Annuaire des Collectivitiés Locales*, Paris, 1990.

“The Political Legacy of Municipal Reform Institutions in the United States,” *Revue Française d’Administration Publique*, Paris, 1990.

“The States’ Experience with Referendums and Initiatives in the United States”, in Gérard Conac, Didier Maus, eds., The Future of Referendums, CERDC, University of Paris, 1989.

“Why America has No National Economic Planning?”, *Les Cahiers Français*, Paris 1989.

“The District Elections Movement in American Cities,” *Revue Française d’Etudes Américaines*, Paris, 1988.

“The Electoral System as a Local Political Issue in America,” *Revue Politique et Parlementaire*, Paris, 1988.

“Reform in San Francisco; Electoral Systems as Political Issues”, Ph. D. Dissertation, Institute of Political Studies, Paris, 1986.

“The Concept of Social Movement in Alain Touraine’s Sociology”, Master's Thesis, Institute of Political Studies, Paris, 1980.