

## Zaki Laïdi

Senior Advisor to the High Representative and  
Vice President of the European Commission



### Degrees / Diplômes

Diplômé de Sciences Po Paris

PhD in International Relations Sciences Po Paris / Docteur d'Etat en science politique ( Sciences po)

### Current position

**Senior Advisor** to the High representative and Vice President of the European Commission Josep Borrell, since 2020

### Academic experience / Activités académiques

Professeur Sciences Po / Professor at Sciences Po

Guest Professor/ Professeur invité

- **2011-2012** l'Ecole de la Gouvernance de Rabat
- **2010-2011** University Luiss -Rome
- **Autumn 2009** Northwestern University
- **Autumn 2007** Ann Arbor University
- **2004-2008** Collège de Bruges
- **2004** University of Montreal
- **2003-2004** University of Geneva
- **2001** Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM)
- **1992-1995** European Centre of John Hopkins University, Bologna

### Field of research

- Europe as a Global Actor
- Trade and Politics
- Global Politics

### Non-academic experience / Activités non académiques

- **Since 2020** Senior adviser to the HRVP Josep Borrell
- **2014-2017** Strategic Advisor to the French Prime Minister, / Conseiller stratégie auprès du Premier Ministre
- **2000-2004** Special Advisor to Pascal Lamy, European Commissioner for Trade/ Conseiller spécial du Commissaire au Commerce

#### Public Engagement/ Engagements publics

- **2005** Founder of the think-tank Telos [www.telos-eu](http://www.telos-eu) / Fondateur de Telos
- **2002-2005** Executive Director of the French think tank *En Temps Réel* / Directeur executif d'En Temps Réel
- **2009-2011** Member of the Oversight Committee of the *Loi sur Liberté et la Responsabilité des Universités* (Law on University Freedoms and Responsibilities)/ Membre de la Commission Ministérielle chargée de la mise en oeuvre de la loi i responsabilité des Universités.
- **2007-2008** Member of the Commission on the White Book on French Foreign and European Policy / membre de la Commission du Livre blanc sur la Politique Etrangère de la France.

#### Authored books / Ouvrages individuels

- **Limited Achievements- Obama's Foreign Policy**, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, 256 p.
- **Le Reflux de l'Europe**, Presses de Sciences Po, 2013, 131 p.
- **Le monde selon Obama**, Flammarion, Champs/Actuel, 2012, 409 p.
- **Norms over Force. The Enigma of European Power**, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, 179 p.
- **La norme sans la force. L'énigme de la puissance européenne**, Presses de Sciences Po, 2013 (3è édition augmentée d'une postface), 303 p.
- **The Great Disruption**, Cambridge Polity 2007, translated from *La Grande perturbation*, Flammarion 2004, 473 p., Poche Flammarion, 2006, 473 p. (*The great disruption*, Cambridge. Polity, 2007)
- **La gauche à venir. Politique et mondialisation**. L'Aube, 2001, 150 p.
- **Le sacre du Présent**, Paris, Flammarion, 2000, 278 p. Portuguese translation : *A Chegagda do Homen-Presente*, Lisbonne, Instituto Piaget, 2001, 254 p.
- **La tyrannie de l'urgence**, Montréal, Fides, 1999, 45 p.
- **Malaise dans la mondialisation**, Paris, Textuel, 1997, 1998, 135 p.
- **A world without meaning. The Crisis of Meaning in International Politics** Routledge 1998, Translated from *Un Monde privé de sens*, Paris, Fayard, 1994, 1996, 2001 333 p. (German translation : *Eine Welt ohne Sinn*, Presses Universitaires de Leipzig, 1997; Spanish translation: *Un mundo sin sentido*, Mexico, Fondo de cultura economica, 1998)
- **Enquête sur la Banque Mondiale**, Paris, Fayard, 1989, 358 p.
- **The Constraints of a Rivalry. Superpowers and Africa**, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1990, 258 p.

#### Edited books /ouvrages dirigés

- **EU Foreign Policy in a Globalized World. Normative power and social preferences**, Routledge, London, New York, 2008, 201 p.
- **Le monde selon Telos**, Presses Universitaires de France (PUF), 2006, 337 p.
- **Géopolitique du sens**, Desclée de Brouwer, Paris, 1998, 373 p.
- **Le Temps Mondial**, Complexe, 1997, 313 p.
- **L'ordre mondial relâché. Sens et puissance après la guerre froide**, Presses de Sciences Po, 1992, 263 p. (English translation : *Power and Purpose after the Cold War*, Berg Publishers, Oxford, 1995, 256 p.; Spanish translation : *Pensar el mundo después de la guerra fría*, Mexico, ed. Perfiles, 1996; Arabic translation : *El Quwa wa el mana fi el wad el alami el jadid*, Le Caire, Dar es Sina, 1995).

### Main monographs & working papers / Monographies

- **Is Europe Ready for Power Politics?** *Working Paper in EUI RSCAS*, 2019/42, June 2019
- **Reading Olson to Understand Trump: Multipolarity without Multilateralism?**, in *RSCAS Policy Papers 2018-2019*, August 2018
- **Mondialisation, Protectionnisme et Recomposition?**, in *Sciences Po – L'Enquête électorale française : comprendre 2017*, La Note #38, vague 14, juin 2017
- **The BRICS against the West?**, in *Sciences Po – CERI Strategy Papers*, n°11 special issue, November 2011, 12 p.
- **Europe as a Risk Averse Power. A hypothesis.** Garnet Policy Brief, Number 11, February 2010, pp I-XVI
- **The Normative Empire: The Unintended Consequences of European Power**, in *Garnet Policy Brief*, n°6, February 2008, pp. 1-24
- **Europe and World Governance: Norms over force** (in Mandarin), Governance and Globalization Working Papers series, SciencesPo in China, January 2008, 16 p.
- **Les préférences européennes et leur perception**, in *Cahiers Européens de Sciences Po*, 2007, n°3, 18 p.
- **Adieu Bodin ? Souveraineté et mondialisation**, in *Leçons inaugurales*, Université de Genève (Institut Universitaire d'Etude du Développement), May 2003, n°9, 35 p.
- **Le temps mondial. Enchaînements, disjonctions et médiations**, in *Les Cahiers du CERI*, n°14, 1996, pp.4-38

### Main academic papers / Principales publications dans des ouvrages collectifs

- **The End of the Minervian Moment**, in Yves Tiberghien (ed.), *Leadership in Global Institution Building – Minerva's Rule*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2013, pp. 253-259
- **Europeans without Europe: The Paradox of the Arab Spring**, in Edmund Ratka et Olga A. Spaizer (eds.), *Understanding European Neighbourhood Policies*, Nomos, Baden-Baden, 2012, pp. 109-118
- **France, the State, and Globalization**, in William R. Cline and Guntram B. Wolff, Special Report n°21, *Resolving the European Debt Crisis*, Peterson Institute for International Economics Bruegel, February 2012, pp. 131-142
- **L'Europe, puissance normative internationale**, in Renaud Dehousse (ed.), *Politiques européennes*, Presses de Sciences Po, Paris, 2009, pp. 227-242
- **L'Europe: la puissance par la norme**, in Gerhart von Graevenitz et Jürgen Mittelstraß (eds.), *Das Projekt Europa*, UVK Universitätsverlag Konstanz, 2009, pp. 145-18
- **La préférence européenne pour la norme**, in Anne-Marie Dillens (ed.), *Mondialisation : utopie, fatalité, alternatives*, Facultés Universitaires Saint Louis, Bruxelles, 2008, pp. 113-146
- **European preferences and their reception**, in Zaki Laïdi (ed.), *EU Foreign Policy in a Globalized World. Normative Power and Social Preferences*, Routledge, New York, 2008, pp. 1-20
- **The delocalisation of meaning**, in Peter Mandaville ET Andrew J. Williams (ed.), *Meaning and International Relations*, London; New York: Routledge, 2003, pp 38-50
- **Time and globalization**, in Marie-Claude Smouts (ed.), *The New International Relations. Theory and Practice*, Hurst & Co, London, CERI, Paris, 2001, pp. 100-109
- **World Time as a Global Event**, in Jacques Levy (ed.), *From Geopolitics to Global Politics*, Franck Cass, London, 2001, pp. 94-120
- **1989: A Philosophy of Immediacy**, in Jacques Rupnik (ed.), *1989 as a Political World Event*, Routledge, 2014, pp. 34-42 (French Version)
- **Was heist Weltzeit?** in Wolf-Dieter Eberwein (ed.), *Europa im Umbruch*, Agenda Verlag, 1997, pp. 48-66
- **Le Temps mondial comme événement planétaire**, in Zaki Laïdi (ed.), *Le Temps mondial*, Complexe, Bruxelles, 1997, pp. 11-52

**Main articles in reviewed journals / Principaux articles de revues académiques**

- **L'Europe au défi du "moment Gaullien"**, *Le Débat*, Septembre 2019 pp. 48-59
- **Comment la multipolarité déconstruit le multilatéralisme**, *Le Débat*, 2018 pp. 36-46
- **Towards a Post-Hegemonic World: The Multipolar Threat to the Multilateral Order**, in *International Politics*, 2014, Vol 51, n°3, pp. 350
- **Négociations internationales: la fin du multilatéralisme**, in *Esprit*, n°399, Novembre 2013, pp.108-117
- **BRICS: Sovereignty Power and Weakness**, in *International Politics*, Vol. 49, September 2012, pp. 614-632
- **Les BRICS : un cartel d'ambitions souverainistes** in *Le Débat*, n°167, November-December 2011, pp. 50-59
- **Le début du déclin américain?**, in *Esprit*, n°352, Ferry 2009, pp. 20-36
- **La fin du moment démocratique?**, in *Le Débat*, n°150, May-August 2008, pp. 52-63
- **La gauche dit-elle craindre la mondialisation ?**, in *Esprit*, Novembre 2006, pp. 115-126
- **L'Europe parie sur la norme plutôt que sur la force. Entretien**, in *Etudes*, n°4041, January 2006, pp. 1-10
- **Is Europe a Risk Averse Actor?**, in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, n°15, 2010, pp. 411-426
- **La société civile internationale existe-t-elle ?**, in *Cadres-CFDT*, n°410-411, July 2004, pp. 7-18
- **Sobrevivira Europa en la globalizacion ?**, *Estudios Internacionales*, 146, July-September 2004, pp 7-18
- **Le réformisme au défi du capitalisme dissociatif**, in *La Revue de la CFDT*, n°66, July- August 2004, pp. 4-1
- **La propriété intellectuelle à l'âge de l'économie du savoir**, in *Esprit*, n°11, November 2003, pp. 116-131
- **Après Cancun : l'OMC en danger ?**, in *Critique internationale*, n°21, October 2003, pp. 33-41
- **Vers un monde multipolaire ?**, in *Etudes*, October 2003, pp. 297-310
- **Le social-mondialisme**, in *Le Débat*, n°124, March-April 2003, pp. 22-32
- **Does Globalization threaten the state? Thesis on the fractal state**, in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 15, n°3, October 2002, pp. 393-405
- **L'État mondialisé**, in *Esprit*, n°288, October 2002, pp. 136-157
- **A European Approach to Global Governance"**, (avec Pascal Lamy), in *Progressive Politics*, 1 (1), September 2002
- **Democracy in real time**, in *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 13, n°3, July 2002, pp. 68-80
- **Etat, politique et mondialisation"**, in *Studia Politica, Romania Political Science Review*, vol. 1, n°3, 2001, pp. 649-659
- **Urgency: The Sacred Present**, in *Queen's Quartely*, 108/4, Winter 2001
- **Mondialisation et démocratie**, *Politique Étrangère*, Vol.66 n°3, 2001, pp 603-618
- **World Time as a Global Event**, in *Geopolitics*, vol. 5, n°2, August 2000, pp. 94-119
- **La mondialisation : entre résistances et réticences**, in *Cahiers du Mauss*, n°20, pp. 25-42
- **Qu'est-ce que la troisième voie ?**, in *Esprit*, n°251, Mars-Avril 1999, pp. 31-39
- **Les imaginaires de la mondialisation**, in *Esprit*, n°246, October 1998 pp. 85-98
- **L'Urgence ou la dévalorisation culturelle de l'avenir**, in *Esprit*, n°240, Ferry 1998, pp. 8-20

**Recent comments in the press / Tribunes récentes**

- **The Hardening of Soft Power**, *Project Syndicate*, 4 November 2019
- **France seizes its moment on the world stage**, *The Financial Times*, 29 September 2019
- **Toward a Euro Pacific Partnership**, *Project Syndicate*, 5 July 2019
- **Europe is starting to turn French**, *The Financial Times*, and 26 February 2019
- **The Franco German Pact is Not the Problem**, *Project Syndicate*, and 2 February 2019
- **Europe's New Political Battle Lines**, *Project Syndicate*, 16 November 2018
- **How Europe Can Learn to Stop Worrying and Love Power**, *Project Syndicate*, 17 August 2018
- **L'Union européenne doit acquérir 'instinct de puissance**, *Le Monde*, 7 Juin 2018
- **Is Multilateralism Finished?**, in *Project Syndicate*, 18 May 2018
- **Is Europe Ready for a Trade War?**, *Project Syndicate*, 21 March 2018
- **Populism's Second Wind**, *Project Syndicate*, 12 February 2018
- **Europe faces a Chinese-American squeeze**, *The Financial Times*, 28 January 2018
- **Europe between Trump and Xi**, *Project Syndicate*, 4 January 2018
- **Right, Left, and Macron**, *Project Syndicate*, 22 November 2017
- **Will Trump Unite Europe?**, *Project Syndicate*, 9 August 2017
- **The Macron Doctrine?**, *Project Syndicate*, 4 July 2017
- **France Returns to Europe**, *Project Syndicate*, and 10 May 2017
- **The Coming French Revolution**, *Project Syndicate*, 17 April 2017
- **The European left can learn lessons from France**, *The Financial Times*, 2017
- **Europe After Ukraine**, *Project Syndicat*, 11 April 2014
- **Un traité pour quoi faire?**, *Esprit*, n° 404, May 2014, pp.11-14
- **The Enigma of European Defense**, *Project Syndicate*, 20 January 2014
- **The Cooperation Crisis**, *Project Syndicate*, 25 September 2013
- **Europe's Bad Trade Gamble?**, *Project Syndicate*, 11 July 2013
- **Un produit d'exportation?**, in *Projet*, n° 298, May 2007, pp. 1-12

**Awards / Décorations**

Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur