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St Antony's College  
Oxford University  
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Born in Paris, March 1962

French and Greek citizenship

### **Current Positions**

- 2004-05**     **Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris**  
Visiting Professor, Vincent Wright Chair
- 1999**         **Oxford University**  
University Lecturer in International Relations, Department of Politics and IR.  
Governing Body Fellow at St Antony's College  
Faculty Chair, Programme on Southeastern Europe, European Studies Centre,  
Oxford University

### **Prior Teaching Positions**

- 1999-01**     **Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University**  
Associate Professor in Public Policy (on leave as of Summer 1999)
- 1993-99**     **Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University**  
Assistant Professor in Public Policy, 1993-1999  
Faculty Chair, Kokkalis Program on Southeastern Europe  
Faculty Chair, KSG-UNHCR project  
Courses: International Security & Political Economy; International Institutions  
After the Cold War; The European Union: An Introduction & The Political  
Economy of the European Union (w/ Ray Vernon); Joint ENA-KSG seminar:  
Inside the European Union (Cambridge & Paris); Introduction to Negotiation  
Analysis; Negotiation and Dispute Resolution: Interdisciplinary Research  
Seminar (w/ Green, Sebenius and Mnookin - HBS, Economics, HLS)

#### **Other teaching assignments:**

Visiting Professor, Ecole Nationale d'Administration, Paris, Théorie et Pratique  
des Négociations Internationales (1994-98); Radcliffe Seminar on Negotiation and  
Dispute Resolution; Microeconomics and Public Policy; Regionalization,  
Globalization and Federalism: The Political Economy of European Integration  
(Social Studies) La Construction du Marché Unique de 1992: Dimension  
Extérieure, Université de Dauphine, Paris; L'Economie des Services  
Contemporaine, Saint Simon Institute, Paris

### **Education**

- 1993**         **Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts**  
PhD in Political Economy and Government  
Government Department, Economics Department  
Fields: international political economy, microeconomics, macroeconomics,  
econometrics, international relations and theories of collective action.

Dissertation: Mutual Recognition Among Nations: The European Community and Trade in Services (Cttee: Robert Keohane, Raymond Vernon, Howard Raiffa).

- 1985**      Master of Public Administration  
John F. Kennedy School of Government  
Fields: public policy, foreign policy, negotiations analysis, international economics and business management.
- 1983**      **Institut d'Etudes Politiques, Paris**  
Master in International Economics (D.E.A.)  
Emphasis on international trade theory. Awarded Magna Cum Laude.
- 1982**      Graduate Diploma in Political Studies (Diplôme-Section Service Public)  
Fields: law, macroeconomics, and international relations.

### **Professional Experience**

- 2003-**      **Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs**  
Advisor to the Minister on the EU Intergovernmental Conference
- 2002-2003**      **Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs**  
Advisor to the Minister on Greek Presidency of the EU (2003) and on the Convention on the Future of Europe.  
Chair, Group of International Experts for Greece.
- 1996-97**      **Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs**  
Advisor to the Alternate Minister for European Affairs. Amsterdam Treaty Negotiations, with a focus on institutional questions and enhanced cooperation
- 1996-97**      **Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Paris**  
Consultant, Trade Committee, Project on Regulatory Reform and Globalization; and Committee on Capital Movements and Invisible Transactions. Conducted two studies on the connection between national regulations and international market contestability, and the desirability of regulatory mutual recognition (in general and with a focus on professional services). Presentation to trade ministerial meetings in the run-up to the Spring 1997 OECD ministerial.
- 1986-1990**      **Prométhée Institute, Paris**  
Associate. Conducted analysis for international organizations and multinational services firms on public and private strategies in a global networked economy. Developed analytical tools for network analysis. Conducted research and presentations for corporations on Europe 1992 and the Uruguay Round.
- 1987-1989**      **United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Geneva**  
Consultant. Conducted two studies on trade in services. Focus on issues of definition, network access and the interests of developing countries. Contributed to UNCTAD's recommendations for the GATT Group of Negotiations on Services.
- 1984-1986**      **American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Cambridge**  
Researcher. Coordination of a US-wide task group on trade negotiations for the Project on the Processes of International Negotiations.

**1985**                    **International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis, Vienna**  
Intern - Young Summer Scientist Program. Charged with assessing the use of the World Food and Agriculture Model. Managed the Program on the Processes of International Negotiations.

**1984**                    **Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Paris**  
OECD Intern - Information Communication and Computer Policy Division

**Elected Positions**

- Chairman, Services World Forum (1992-1997), Member of the Board, (1987-92)
- Faculty Associate, Center for European Studies, Harvard University (1995-)
- Faculty Associate, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University (1994-)
- Advisor, Advisory Assembly, Hellenic Resource Institute (1992-1996)
- Co-chair of the *Thinknet Commission* bi-annual meetings (1987-1991)

**Languages**                    French (native) and English. Some Greek and Spanish.

## Publications

### *Books*

- *Whose Europe? National Models and the Constitution of the European Union*, w/ Stephen Weatherill (eds), European Studies at Oxford Series, Oxford University, fall 2003. Authored Chapters:
  - Introduction (Kalypso Nicolaidis and Stephen Weatherill)
  - Our European Democracy: Is this Constitution a third way for Europe? (Kalypso Nicolaidis)
- *The Federal Vision: Legitimacy and Levels of Governance in the US and the EU*, Oxford University Press, 2001 (co-editor with Robert Howse); Authored chapters:
  - Introduction: The Federal Vision, Levels of Governance, and Legitimacy (Robert Howse and Kalypso Nicolaidis);
  - Chapter 10: Securing Subsidiarity: The Institutional Design of Federalism in the United States and Europe (Cary Coglianese and Kalypso Nicolaidis);
  - Conclusion: The Federal Vision Beyond the Federal State (Kalypso Nicolaidis);
  - Basic Principles for the Allocation of Competence in the United States and the European Union (George A Bermann and Kalypso Nicolaidis)
- *The Greek Paradox: Promise vs Performance*, co-edited with Graham Allison, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996. Greek translation published by Ekdoseispapasiki, Athens, 1997; Turkish translation.
- *Strategic Trends in Services - An Inquiry into the Global Services Economy*, co-edited with Albert Bressand, New York: Harper and Row, 1989

### *Articles/Chapters*

- “Managed Mutual Recognition Regimes: Governance without Global Government”, (with Gregory Shaffer), *IIJJ Working Paper*, No. 2005/06.
- “We, The Peoples of Europe...”, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 83, No.6, November/December 2004, pp.97-110. Also published in *The Democratic Papers*, British Council (Brussels), May 2004.
- “In Defence of Europe - A Response to Kagan”, *Journal of European Affairs*, (with Anand Menon and Jennifer Welsh), September 2004.
- “Coping with the Lilliput Syndrome: Large vs. Small Member States in the European Convention”, (with Paul Maignette), *European Public Law*, Vol. 11, 1 (2005), pp.83-102, also in *Politique Europeene*, No. 14, Spring 2004.
- “The European Convention: Bargaining in the Shadow of Rhetoric”, (with Paul Maignette), *West European Politics*, April 2004.
- “The European Convention: Constitutional politics or diplomatic bargaining?”, (with Paul Maignette), *West European Politics*, April 2004.
- “Getting to Yes: Suggestions for Embellishment of the Annan Plan for Cyprus”, South East European Studies Programme, European Studies Centre, St Antony's College, Oxford (with Othon Anastasakis and Gilles Bertrand), February 2004.

- “Notre Démocratie européenne; Cette constitution est-elle une troisième voie pour l’Europe?”, *L’Europe en Partage*, Lignes/ Editions Léo Scheer, Numéro Spécial, en coédition avec la revue *Transeuropéennes* Paris, February 2004.
- “Turkey is European... for Europe’s sake”, in *Turkey and the European Union: From Association to Accession?*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Netherlands, January 2004.
- “Globalization with Human Faces: Managed Mutual Recognition and the Free Movement of Professionals” in Fiorella Paddoa Scoppa, (ed), *Mutual Recognition in the European Union*, Palgrave, 2004.
- “The Power of the Superpowerless”, in Tod Lindberg (ed), *Beyond Paradise and Power: Europeans, Americans and the Future of a Troubled Partnership*, Routledge, 2004.
- “Living with Our Differences”, in *The Future of Transatlantic Relations*, Nikos Kotzias, (ed), Palgrave, 2004.
- “The EuroMed beyond Civilisational Paradigms”, (with Dimitri Nicolaïdis), in Adler and Crawford (eds) *The Convergence of Civilizations? Constructing a Mediterranean Region* Palgrave-Macmillan, 2004.
- “La Turquie dans l’Union, en miroir de l’Europe” *Mouvement*, Paris: Janvier 2004. Previously as: “Turkey is European ... for Europe’s sake”, *Newsletter of the Programme on Southeastern Europe*, Oxford University, September 2003.
- “Our European Democracy: Is this Constitution a Third Way for Europe?” in Nicolaidis, Kalypso and Stephen Weatherill (eds), *Whose Europe? National Models and the Constitution of the European Union*, European Studies at Oxford Series, Oxford University, fall 2003. Revised version: “The New Constitution as European Democracy?” Working Paper 38/03, *Federal Trust*, December 2003. Also as : “La Constitution à l’aune de notre Démocratie Européenne” Bilingual Publication: *Revue Transeuropéenne*, Paris: Spring 2004.
- “Dire Oui au Nom de l’Europe” (“Saying Yes in the Name of Europe”) in *Radikal*, Istanbul, 13 May 2003.
- “What is in a Name: Europe’s Federal Future and the Convention on the Future of Europe”, in *Jurist Europe*, April 2003. Reprinted in *The Journal of European Law*, January 2004. Also published in abridged form in *European Voice*, “Future of Europe Talks should be FUN”, March 20, 2003.
- “Large and Small Member States in the European Union: Reinventing the Balance” (also published in French translation: “Grands et Petits Pays dans l’Union Européenne: Reinventer l’Equilibre”) w/ Paul Magnette, *Notre Europe, Research and European Issues*, Nb 25, May 2003. Republished in a revised form in *WEP*, April 2004.
- “Legitimacy through ‘Higher Law?’ Why Constitutionalizing the WTO is a Step Too Far”, (with Robert Howse), in Thomas Cottier, Petros C. Mavroidis and Patrick Blatter (eds), *The Role of the Judge Lessons for the WTO*, (Bern: The World Trade Forum), Volume 4, 2003.
- “Enhancing WTO Legitimacy: Constitutionalization or Global Subsidiarity?”, with Robert Howse in Marco Verweij and Timothy Josling (eds), *Deliberately Democratizing Multilateral Organization*, special issue of *Governance* volume 16, number 1, January 2003.

- “Order and Justice Beyond the Nation-State: Europe’s Competing Paradigms”, with Justine Lacroix, in Rosemary Foot, John Gaddis and Andrew Hurrell (eds), *Order and Justice in International Relations*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- “‘This is my Utopia’: Narrative as Power” with Robert Howse, in *Journal Of Common Market Studies*, Special Anniversary issue, October 2002; and in: Joseph H H Weiler, John Peterson and Iain Begg (eds) *Integration in an Expanding European Union: Reassessing the Fundamentals* (Oxford and Malden MA: Blackwell Publishing), 2003
- “Regional Policy Externality and Market Governance: Why Recognize Foreign Standards?” w/ Michelle Egan, in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Special Issue on Governance and International Standard Setting, Vol 8, n3, 2001 ; Reprinted: *The Political Economy of Standardization*, Walter Mattli, ed, Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- "Revisiting Trade Competence in the European Union: Amsterdam, Nice, and Beyond" with Sophie Meunier, in Madeleine O. Hosli, Adrian van Deemen and Mika Widgren (eds.), *Institutional Challenges in the European Union*, London/New York: Routledge 2002
- “Trade Competence Debate in the Nice Treaty,” with Sophie Meunier, *ECSA Review*, vol. 14, no. 2, Spring 2001
- "EU Trade Policy: The Exclusive versus Shared Competence Debate" with Sophie Meunier, in Maria Green Cowles and Michael Smith, eds, *The State of the European Union: Risks, Reform, Resistance, and Revival*, Vol. 5, Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2001
- “Europe’s tainted mirror: Reflections on Turkey’s candidacy status after Helsinki” in Dimitri Keridis and Dimitris Triantaphyllou, eds, *Greek-Turkish Relations in the Era of Globalization*, Dulles: Bassey's, 2001
- “Regulatory Cooperation and Managed Mutual Recognition: Developing a Strategic Model,” in George Bermann et al, eds, *Transatlantic Regulatory Cooperation*, Oxford University Press, 2001
- “Harmonisation and Recognition: What Have we Learned?”, in *Trade and Regulatory Reform: Insights from Country Experience*, Paris: OECD Publications, 2001
- “Legitimacy and Global Governance: Why a Constitution for the WTO is a step too far?” with Robert Howse, in Roger Porter, Pierre Sauve, Arvind Subramanian and Americo Zampetti, eds, *Equity, Efficiency and Legitimacy: The Multilateral System at the Millenium*, Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2001
- “EU Trade Policy: The Exclusive versus Shared Competence Debate” with Sophie Meunier, in Maria Green Cowles and Michael Smith, eds. *The State of the European Union: Risks, Reform, Resistance, and Revival*, Vol 5, Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2001
- "Fostering Social Inclusion in Central and Eastern Europe: The Role of EU Accession Conditionality" w/ Heather Grabbe, World Bank Working Paper, 2000
- “Liberalization, Regulation, and Recognition for Services Trade,” with Joel P. Trachtman. in Pierre Sauve and Robert M. Stern, eds, *Services Trade in the Western Hemisphere: Liberalization, Integration and Reform*, Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2000.

- Non-Discriminatory Mutual Recognition: An Oxymoron in the New WTO Lexicon?” in Petros Mavroidis and Patrick Blatter, eds, *Non Discrimination in the WTO: Past and Present, Journal of World Trade*, University of Michigan Press, The World Trade Forum series, 2000
- “Global Electronic Commerce and the General Agreement on Trade in Services: The ‘Millennium Round’ and Beyond,” with William J. Drake, in, Pierre Sauve and Robert M. Stern, eds., *Services 2000: New Directions in Services Trade Liberalization*, Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2000.
- “From Policed Regulation to Managed Recognition: Mapping the Boundary in GATS,” with Joel P. Trachtman. in, Pierre Sauve and Robert M. Stern, eds., *GATS; ; ; ; 2000: New Directions in Services Trade Liberalization*, Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2000.
- “Who Speaks for Europe? The Delegation of Trade Authority in the European Union,” with Sophie Meunier, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol 37, n3, September 1999, pp 477-501 ; to be reprinted in Madeleine Holsti, ed 2000
- “Minimizing Agency Costs in Two-Level Games: Lessons from the Trade Authority Controversies in the United States and the European Union” in Robert Mnookin and Larry Susskind, *Negotiating on Behalf of Others*, Sages Publication, 2000
- “Explaining the Treaty of Amsterdam: Interests, Influence and Institutions” with Andrew Moravcsik, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol 37, n1, March 1999, pp 59-85; to be reprinted in *Theorising European integration: Theoretical approaches on Treaty Reform*, Geoffrey Edwards and Eric Philippart, eds, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999
- “Power and Negotiation: When Should Lambs Negotiate with Lions?” in *Negotiations Eclectics, Essays in Memory of Jeff Rubin*, edited by Deborah Kolb, Sages Publication, 1999
- “Exploring Second-Best Solutions in Cyprus,” *Survival*, Summer 98
- “Federal Ideals vs Constitutional Realities in the Amsterdam Treaty” with Andrew Moravcsik, *Keynote article, Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol 36, Annual Review, pp 13-38, October 1998
- “Mutual Recognition Regimes: Towards a Comparative Analysis”, Working Paper 8, Center For International Affairs, Harvard University, 1998
- “Securing Subsidiarity: Mechanisms for Allocating Authority in Tiered Regimes,” with Cary Coglianese, in Electronic Working Paper Series in Political Science, Kennedy School of Government, 1998
- “Promising Approaches and Principal Obstacles to Mutual Recognition,” in *International Trade in Professional Services: Advancing Liberalization through Regulatory Reform*, OECD Publications, 1997
- “Exploring a New Paradigm for Trade Diplomacy: Managed Mutual recognition between the United States and the European Union,” in Proceedings of the European Union Community Association, World Conference, Office of Publications of the European Community, Brussels, 1997

- “Greeks and the ‘Macedonian Question’: Lessons for a Better Future,” in Robert Psaltzgraff and Dimitri Keridis, eds, *South East European Security and the Greek-US Relations*, NY: Brassey’s, 1997
- "Competition Policy and Trade Policy in the European Community," with Raymond Vernon, in Edward Graham (ed), *Competition Policy in a Changing World Economy*, Washington: Institute for International Economics, 1997
- “Mutual Recognition of Regulatory Regimes: Some Lessons and Prospects,” *Regulatory Reform and International Market Openness*, Paris: OECD Publications, 1996. Reprinted as part of the *Jean Monnet Paper Series*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard Law School, 1997
- “International Preventive Action: Developing a Strategic Framework,” in Robert Rotberg, ed, *Vigilance and Vengeance, The Role of NGOs in Preventing Ethnic Conflict*. Washington: Brookings, 1996
- “Etats-Unis: Le Nouveau Contrat Social,” Interview, Robert Reich, *Politique Internationale*, 3/1996
- "International Trade in Information-Based Services: Beyond the Uruguay Round," in William Drake (ed), *The New Information Economy*, New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1995
- “Products Standards for Internationally Integrated Goods Markets: Comments” in Alan O. Sykes, ed, *Products Standards for Internationally Integrated Goods Markets*, Washington DC: Brookings Institute, 1995
- " Eastern European Trade in the Aftermath of 1989: Did International Institutions Matter?" in Robert Keohane, Stanley Hoffmann and Joseph Nye, eds, *After the Cold-War: State Strategies and International Institutions in Europe, 1989-1991*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, June 1993
- "Integrating the Two Halves of Europe: Theories of Interests, Bargaining and Institutions," with Stephan Haggard, Marc Levy and Andrew Moravcsik, in Robert Keohane, Stanley Hoffmann and Joseph Nye, eds, *After the Cold-War: State Strategies and International Institutions in Europe, 1989-1991*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, June 1993
- “The Emergence of Managed Mutual Recognition: Legal Precedent and Political Innovation in the European Community “ Paper presented at European Community Studies Association, May 1993
- "Ideas, Interests and Institutionalization: 'Trade in Services' and the Uruguay Round," with William Drake, *International Organization* 46, no.1 (Winter 1992): 37-100. Reprinted in Peter Haas, ed, *Knowledge, Power and International Policy Coordination*, University of South Carolina Press, 1997
- "Mutual Recognition, Regulatory Competition, and the Globalization of Professional Services," in Yair Aharoni, ed, *Coalition and Competition - The Globalization of Professional Services*, London: Routledge Publishers, 1992



- "Regional Integration in a Networked World Economy," with Albert Bressand, Chapter 1 in William Wallace, ed, *The Dynamics of European Integration*, London & New York: Pinter publishers, 1990
- "European Infrastructures at the Heart of Sustainable Growth," with D. Braunschvig, *Information Time*, January 1990
- "Revamping the GATT: Toward Regional Multilateralism," *Project Prometheus Perspectives*, Paris, March 1990
- "Mutual Recognition: The Next Frontier of Multilateralism?," *Project Prometheus Perspectives*, Paris, July 1989
- "Connecting to 1992: All you Need is a European Profile," with D. Braunschvig, *Project Prometheus Perspectives*, Paris, March 1989
- "Vers une Economie des Réseaux," w/ Bressand and Distler, *Revue de Politique Industrielle*, Jan 1989
- "Learning While Negotiating: How Services Got on the Uruguay Round Agenda." in Nicolaïdis and Bressand, eds, *Strategic Trends in Services - An Inquiry into the Global Services Economy*, Harper and Row, New York, 1989
- "Networks at the Heart of the Service Economy" in Nicolaïdis and Bressand, eds, *Strategic Trends in Services - An Inquiry into the Global Services Economy*, New York: Harper and Row, 1989
- "Les Services au Coeur de l'Economie Relationnelle," with Albert Bressand, *Revue d'Economie Industrielle*, Paris, March 1988
- "Liberalization vs Deregulation: Old Synergies, New Dilemmas," *Project Prometheus Perspectives 5*, Paris, 1988
- "Contactors vs Contractors: Towards an Integrated Definition of Trade in Services" study conducted for UNCTAD, Working Paper 39, *Promethee Publications*, Paris, November 1987
- "The Information Paradox," *Project Prometheus Perspectives*, Paris, July 1987
- "Le Mexique: Terre en Transition," with D. Nicolaïdis, *Cri des Hommes*, September 1982