

Dr. Constanze Stelzenmüller

CURRICULUM VITAE

(last updated: January 6, 2025)

EMPLOYMENT

Sep. 2022–present	Director, Center on the United States and Europe, The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C.
Dec. 2020–present	Fritz Stern Chair on Germany and Transatlantic Relations, Center on the United States and Europe, The Brookings Institution
Oct. 2019–present	Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy, Center on the United States and Europe, The Brookings Institution
Oct. 2019–Mar. 2020	Kissinger Chair on Foreign Policy and International Relations, Library of Congress
2014–2019	Robert Bosch Senior Fellow, Center on the United States and Europe, The Brookings Institution
2009–2014	Senior Transatlantic Fellow, German Marshall Fund of the United States, Berlin/Germany; Director, Transatlantic Trends (2012–2014)
2005–2009	Director, Berlin Office, German Marshall Fund of the United States
1998–2005	Defense and International Security Editor, <i>DIE ZEIT</i> , Hamburg/Germany
1994–1998	Writer/Reporter, <i>DIE ZEIT</i> , Hamburg/Germany
1992–1994	Journalism Trainee, <i>Der Tagesspiegel</i> , Berlin/Germany
1990–1992	Research Assistant/Tutor, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Bonn/Germany

OTHER PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Oct. 2012	Global Scholar, Mount Holyoke College
Oct. 2010	Visiting Scholar, Center for European Studies, Harvard University
Apr.–Jun. 2004	Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, D.C.
Jun. 2003	German Marshall Fund Campus Fellow, Grinnell College, Grinnell/Iowa

- 1993 American Council on Germany & Atlantik-Brücke Young Leader
- 1987 Summer Intern, *The Concord Monitor*, Concord/New Hampshire

EDUCATION

- 1992 Doctorate in Law, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Bonn/Germany (dissertation on direct democracy in U.S. constitutional law), supported by a doctoral fellowship from the Studienstiftung (German Academic Scholarship)
- 1988–1989 Visiting Researcher, Harvard Law School, Cambridge/Massachusetts
- 1986–1988 Master in Public Administration (MPA II), Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge/Massachusetts, supported by a McCloy Fellowship from the Studienstiftung
- 1985 First State Examination in Law, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Bonn/Germany, supported by an undergraduate fellowship from the Studienstiftung
- 1981–1982 DAAD Fellow, Law Faculty, Université de Genève, Geneva/Switzerland

LANGUAGES

German – native
English – bilingual
French – good
Spanish – good

AFFILIATIONS & MEMBERSHIPS

Member, Advisory & Programme Boards, Berne Security Dialogue (Sep. 2025–present)

Trustee, Bundeskanzler-Helmut-Schmidt-Stiftung (2022–present)

Member, Advisory Council & Academic Advisory Committee, German Council on Foreign Relations (2022–present)

Member, Program Committee, Halifax International Security Forum (2023–present)

Member, Strategic Council, European Policy Centre (2020–present)

Trustee, Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes / German Academic Scholarship Foundation (2018–present)

Editorial Board Member, The Washington Quarterly (2015–present)

Called lifetime Member, Kungliga Krigsvetenskapsakademien (Royal Swedish Academy of War Sciences) (2014–present)

Honorary Governor, Ditchley Foundation (2007–present)

Member, International Institute for Strategic Studies

Concluded

SITRA International Advisory Panel (2021–2024)

Beirat für Fragen der Inneren Führung, Bundesministerium der Verteidigung (Committee on Leadership Development and Civic Education, German Ministry of Defense) (2018–2022)

Senior Advisory Board, Führungsakademie der Bundeswehr (General Staff College of the Federal Armed Forces) (2013–2018)

Mercator Foundation Evaluation Commission (2018–2019)

Fachbeirat Europa/Transatlantik (Expert advisory council on Europe/Transatlantic Relations), Heinrich Böll Foundation (2012–2014)

Zukunftskommission der Bundeskanzlerin (Chancellor's Commission on the Future) (2013)

Chairwoman, WIIS.de (Women in International Security Germany) (2008–2013)

Chair, Wissenschaftlicher Beirat, Deutsche Stiftung Friedensforschung (Academic Advisory Board, German Foundation for Peace Research) Osnabrück/Germany (2007–2014)

Advisory Council of the Protestant Academy of Berlin-Brandenburg, Berlin/Germany (2006–2014)

Remarque Forum, Remarque Institute, New York University (2007–2010)

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

Books *Direkte Demokratie in den Vereinigten Staaten*, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1994 (doctoral dissertation)

Articles, Book Chapters,
Papers

[“The AfD’s love-in with MAGA,”](#) *Financial Times*, December 17, 2025.

[“Breaking down Trump’s 2025 National Security Strategy,”](#) with other scholars, Brookings, December 8, 2025.

[“Germany and Poland must bury the hatchet,”](#) *Financial Times*, September 29, 2025.

[“Germany’s national security council isn’t up to the task,”](#) *Financial Times*, August 28, 2025.

[“As Germany’s centrists squabble, the far right prepares to pounce,”](#) *Financial Times*, July 16, 2025.

[“Germany’s Chancellor Merz goes to Washington,”](#) with Sophie Roehse, Brookings, June 17, 2025.

[“Europe’s Very Special Relationship Problem,”](#) International Centre for Defence and Security, June 11, 2025.

[“Shall We Go Forward Together? Of Deals and Red Lines,”](#) *Lennart Meri Lecture*, International Centre for Defence and Security, May 17, 2025.

[“Merz averted disaster, but the knives are out,”](#) *Financial Times*, May 8, 2025.

[“Germany: An internationalist vision in crisis,”](#) in *Competing visions of international order – Responses to US power in a fracturing world*, ed. Leslie Vinjamuri, Chatham House, March 27, 2025.

[“Opening Nord Stream 2 would be a catastrophic mistake,”](#) *Financial Times*, March 20, 2025.

[“Will strict neutrality serve Switzerland?”](#) (Testimony before the Foreign and Security Policy Committee of the Swiss Senate, January 18), Brookings, March 18, 2025.

[“Should China have a role in ending the war in Ukraine?”](#) with Pavel K. Baev, Robin Brooks, Jonathan A. Czin, Patricia M. Kim, and Michael E. O’Hanlon, and convened by Ryan Hass, Patricia M. Kim, and Emilie Kimball, Brookings, March 6, 2025.

[“Action must replace anger as Germany grapples with US,”](#) *Financial Times*, February 26, 2025.

[“What is going on in Germany?”](#) with Sophie Roehse, Brookings, February 6, 2025.

[“Ukraine Index: Tracking developments in the Ukraine war,”](#) with Michael E. O’Hanlon and David Wessel, Brookings, last update January 22, 2025.

[“Norway is assessing its EU options as a second Trump term looms,”](#) *Financial Times*, December 18, 2024.

[“Germany finds itself in a predicament of its own making,”](#) *Financial Times*, November 20, 2024.

[“How is Trump’s reelection likely to affect US foreign policy?”](#) with other scholars, Brookings, November 14, 2024.

[“Germany will play a pivotal role in Ukraine’s future,”](#) *Financial Times*, October 29, 2024.

[“Victory for the AfD raises difficult questions about east Germany,”](#) *Financial Times*, September 2, 2024.

[“Extremist surge in eastern Germany threatens a political earthquake,”](#) *Financial Times*, August 14, 2024

[“In memory of Martin Indyk,”](#) with other scholars, Brookings, August 2, 2024.

[“Clash of the new Republican visions for America’s global role,”](#) *Financial Times*, July 12, 2024.

[“Europe in the Firestorm,”](#) in: “Europe Alone: Nine thinkers on the continent’s future without America’s embrace,” *Foreign Policy*, July 1, 2024.

[“Europe’s messy Russian gas divorce,”](#) with Samantha Gross, Brookings, June 18, 2024.

[“Stability for Europe, tensions at home: Germany’s paradoxical European Parliament vote,”](#) Brookings, June 11, 2024.

[“Germany’s mature democracy must beat the far right without banning it,”](#) *Financial Times*, May 30, 2024.

[“Don’t relax, Europe — the US hard right isn’t finished yet,”](#) *Financial Times*, April 22, 2024.

[“Flirt mit der Diktatur? US-Präsidentschaftswahlen im Krisenjahr 2024,”](#) *John McCloy Lecture*, Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main, April 16, 2024.

[“Switzerland: Europe’s critical vulnerability,”](#) Brookings, March 12, 2024 (translated version of: “Europas kritische Verwundbarkeit,” in Martin Meyer and Georg Häsler, “Sicherheitspolitik Schweiz: Strategie eines globalisierten Kleinstaats,” Zürich: NZZ Libro, 2024.

[“Germany, France and how not to do deterrence,”](#) *Financial Times*, March 4, 2024.

[“Does the West’s Ukraine policy need a reality check? A Brookings debate,”](#) with other scholars, Brookings, February 15, 2024.

[“Germany’s moderate middle is back in a volatile political age,”](#) *Financial Times*, January 31, 2024.

[“A midwinter update on Ukraine,”](#) Brookings, January 26, 2024.

[“Flirt mit der Diktatur,”](#) *Internationale Politik*, January 2, 2024 (translated version: [“Flirting with dictatorship,”](#) *Internationale Politik Quarterly*, January 10, 2024).

[“Merz holds the future of the German centre-right in his hands,”](#) *Financial Times*, December 29, 2023.

[“What to watch in Ukraine in 2024,”](#) with Michael E. O’Hanlon and David Wessel, Brookings, December 20, 2023.

[“US and Germany risk owning Ukraine’s stalling war effort,”](#) *Financial Times*, November 21, 2023.

[“Relations between Warsaw and Berlin deteriorate as Polish elections near,”](#) *Financial Times*, October 12, 2023.

[“Germany’s New Normal?,”](#) with Liana Fix, *Foreign Affairs*, October 10, 2023.

[“How a quiet regional poll turned into a debate about Germany’s past and future,”](#) *Financial Times*, September 12, 2023.

[“The return of the enemy: Putin’s war on Ukraine and a cognitive blockage in Western security policy,”](#) The Talbott Papers on Implications of Russia’s Invasion of Ukraine, Brookings, August 17, 2023.

[“Mainstream German parties have made it too easy for the far-right AfD,”](#) *Financial Times*, August 1, 2023.

[“With the counteroffensive underway, 12 charts show the latest from Ukraine,”](#) with Michael O’Hanlon and David Wessel, *The Washington Post*, July 10, 2023.

[“Die große Welt und ihre vielen Feinde,”](#) *Die Presse*, July 5, 2023.

[“What is the fallout of Russia’s Wagner rebellion?”](#) with other scholars, Brookings, June 27, 2023.

[“Putin imperiled? What to know about the Wagner Group’s Russian revolt,”](#) with other scholars, Brookings, June 26, 2023.

[“Die Freie Welt und ihre Feinde,”](#) *Rede an die Freiheit*, NEOS Lab, Vienna, June 16, 2023.

[“Germany finds that on defence, growing up is hard to do,”](#) *Financial Times*, June 16, 2023.

[“Viewed from Kyiv, Europe’s strengths and weaknesses are painfully visible,”](#) *Financial Times*, June 8, 2023.

[“Die Wiederkehr des Feindes. Die Debatte um einen ukrainischen Kompromissfrieden und die Denklücken der Sicherheitspolitik,”](#) *Kursbuch* 59(214): 117–131., June 2, 2023.

[“Germany’s China dilemma takes on a new urgency,”](#) *Financial Times*, April 28, 2023.

[“What 6 data points tell us about the status of the war in Ukraine,”](#) with Michael O’Hanlon and David Wessel, *The Washington Post*, April 26, 2023.

[“A reckoning on Germany’s Russia policy is long overdue,”](#) *Financial Times*, March 21, 2023.

[“Around the halls: AUKUS defines an emerging alliance at sea,”](#) with other scholars, Brookings, March 15, 2023.

[“Lessons from Ukraine: Brookings scholars assess Vladimir Putin’s assault, Ukraine’s resistance, and the world’s response after one year of war,”](#) The Talbott Papers on Implications of Russia’s Invasion of Ukraine, Brookings, February 24, 2023.

[“These charts suggest peace isn’t coming to Ukraine anytime soon,”](#) with Michael E. O’Hanlon and David Wessel, *The Washington Post*, February 21, 2023.

[“Germany’s policy shift is real but still falls short,”](#) *Financial Times*, February 13, 2023.

[“Around the halls: Brookings experts on Biden’s performance in the Middle East,”](#) with other scholars, Brookings, February 3, 2023.

[“Scholz is a wartime chancellor, whether he likes it or not,”](#) *Financial Times*, January 17, 2023.

[“The west’s axis of prudence risks a Kremlin victory by default in Ukraine,”](#) *Financial Times*, December 20, 2022.

[“Ukraine crisis could transform the future of neutrality,”](#) *Financial Times*, November 22, 2022.

[“The free world and its enemies: What Putin’s war and China’s global ambitions mean for us,”](#) *On the Record*, November 4, 2022.

[“Russia may prefer sabotage of critical infrastructure over nuclear weapons,”](#) *Financial Times*, October 20, 2022.

[“Around the Halls: Assessing the 2022 National Security Strategy,”](#) Brookings, October 14, 2022.

[“Germany must shake off its habit of finding excuses for inaction,”](#) *Financial Times*, September 16, 2022.

[“Germany is now the fulcrum for Vladimir Putin’s pressure,”](#) *Financial Times*, August 11, 2022.

[“A German gas crisis will cause jitters across Europe,”](#) *Financial Times*, July 18, 2022.

[“Merkel’s lack of regrets illustrates the fallacies of Germany’s Russia policy,”](#) *Financial Times*,

June 21, 2022.

[“Germany has a special responsibility to stop Putin’s evil,”](#) *Financial Times*, April 26, 2022.

[“Western leaders must be honest about what it takes to stand up to Putin,”](#) *Financial Times*, March 21, 2022.

[“Around the halls: Implications of Russia’s invasion of Ukraine,”](#) with other scholars, Brookings, February 25, 2022.

[“Scholz holds his ground in Putin’s den,”](#) *Financial Times*, February 16, 2022.

[“Energy trilemma causes a headache for Germany’s new leaders,”](#) *Financial Times*, January 18, 2022.

[“Around the halls: Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and the European security order,”](#) Brookings, January 11, 2022.

“Reflecting on Journalistic Responsibility,” in [The Art of Diplomacy: 75+ Views Behind the Scenes of World Politics](#), ed. Tobias Bunde and Benedikt Franke. Berlin: Ullstein, 2022, 265-266.

[“Germany holds the key to deterring Russian moves against Ukraine,”](#) *Financial Times*, December 21, 2021.

[“Nuclear weapons debate in Germany touches a raw NATO nerve,”](#) *Financial Times*, November 19, 2021.

[“The world won’t wait for Germany’s coalition negotiators,”](#) *Financial Times*, October 12, 2021.

[“Grounds for hope,”](#) *Ekathimerini*, October 1, 2021.

[“Action Plan for Security and Defense Policy,”](#) with Claudia Major and Christian Mölling, German Council on Foreign Relations, September 21, 2021.

[“The war in Afghanistan has shaped an entire generation in the West,”](#) *Financial Times*, September 2, 2021.

[“Around the halls: The Taliban retakes Afghanistan,”](#) with other scholars, Brookings, August 16, 2021.

[“‘None of the above?’: Germany’s eminently resistible chancellor candidates have escaped the hardships of previous leaders,”](#) *Financial Times*, August 4, 2021.

[“Sharper strategic thinking will help Germany mend fences with U.S.,”](#) *Financial Times*, July 14, 2021.

[“The Singular Chancellor,”](#) *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2021.

[“East German political winds ruffle feathers in Berlin,”](#) *Financial Times*, May 31, 2021.

[“Nord Stream 2 impasse threatens transatlantic ties,”](#) *Financial Times*, March 23, 2021.

[“EU support for Russian democracy is inadequate,”](#) *Financial Times*, February 9, 2021.

[“Wahn und Berechnung am Potomac,”](#) with Sam Denney, *Internationale Politik*, January/February 2021.

[“Transatlantisch? Traut Euch!”](#) with Benjamin Becker, Deidre Berger, and others, German Marshall Fund of the United States, January 2021.

[“Germany Is Pouring Cold Water on the Biden-Europe Love Fest,”](#) *Foreign Policy*, January 22, 2021.

[“Imagining Germany without Angela Merkel has got harder,”](#) *Financial Times*, January 6, 2021.

[“Stronger Together: A Strategy to Revitalize Transatlantic Power,”](#) with Nicholas Burns, Daniela Schwarzer, and others, Harvard University, December 2020.

[“The West must live up to its own principles on democracy,”](#) *Financial Times*, December 2, 2020.

[“America’s Dysfunctional Russia Policy Is Unlikely to Improve Under Biden,”](#) *Foreign Policy*, October 30, 2020.

[“Germany needs to step up to Europe’s defence,”](#) *Financial Times*, October 26, 2020.

[“Angela Merkel’s Final Year,”](#) *Internationale Politik Quarterly*, October 1, 2020.

[“Germany is well placed to lead a tougher EU response to Russia,”](#) *Financial Times*, September 10, 2020.

[“Hard road back to power for Germany’s Social Democrats,”](#) *Financial Times*, August 16, 2020.

[“Falken im Sturm,”](#) *Internationale Politik*, July/August 2020.

[“Balancing act: Major powers and the global response to US-China great power competition,”](#) with Fiona Hill, Tanvi Madan, and others. Interview by Bruce Jones, ed. Jesse I. Kornbluth, Emilie Kimball, and Ted Reinert. Brookings, July 2020.

[“Europäische Außenpolitik: Was nach der Pandemie übrig bleibt, und was dann zu tun ist,”](#) *ifo Schnelldienst* ifo Institut, July 2020.

[“Europe faces a fateful choice on Huawei,”](#) *Financial Times*, July 17, 2020.

[“Germany’s far-right a major loser from Covid-19, so far,”](#) *Financial Times*, June 18, 2020.

[“Reopening the World: Reopening Germany,”](#) with Samuel Denney, in: *Reopening the World: How to Save Lives and Livelihoods*, ed. John R. Allen and Darrell M. West, June 16, 2020.

[“Europe’s battle lines are drawn at a uniquely perilous moment,”](#) *Financial Times*, May 28, 2020.

[“COVID-19 Is a Severe Test for Germany’s Postwar Constitution,”](#) with Sam Denney, Lawfare, April 16, 2020.

[“Coronavirus is also a threat to democratic constitutions,”](#) *Financial Times*, April 15, 2020.

[“Germany pulls out the ‘bazooka’ against the coronavirus – But is it doing enough?”](#) Brookings, March 17, 2020.

[“The government crisis in Germany’s Thuringia is over – except it isn’t,”](#) with Samuel Denney, Brookings, March 16, 2020.

[“The fratboys vying to succeed Angela Merkel,”](#) *Financial Times*, March 5, 2020.

[“The Thuringia debacle resets the Merkel succession – and proves the AfD is a force to be reckoned with,”](#) with Samuel Denney, Brookings, February 28, 2020.

[“Free Democrats are playing with fire in Thuringia,”](#) *Financial Times*, February 6, 2020.

[“The west must reassess its record on foreign intervention,”](#) *Financial Times*, January 22, 2020.

[“Shadows of the past threaten Europe’s shared future,”](#) *Financial Times*, December 30, 2019.

[“The power struggle to lead Germany’s CDU has been postponed,”](#) *Financial Times*, November 26, 2019.

[“German Lessons — Thirty years after the end of history: Elements of an education,”](#) Brookings, November 2019.

[“A European security force in Syria is a courageous idea,”](#) *Financial Times*, October 30, 2019.

[“The AfD wolf is at the door in east Germany,”](#) *Financial Times*, September 8, 2019.

[“Merkel’s coalition is safe – for now,”](#) *The Washington Post*, September 3, 2019.

[“Hostile ally: The Trump challenge and Europe’s inadequate response,”](#) Brookings – Robert Bosch Foundation Transatlantic Initiative paper, Brookings, August 2019.

[“Germany should pull together a European naval mission in the Gulf,”](#) *Financial Times*, August 7, 2019.

[“National conservatism is coming for Washington,”](#) *Financial Times*, July 25, 2019.

[“German radical right threatens the survival of democracy,”](#) *Financial Times*, June 26, 2019.

[“Trump treats Germany like ‘America’s worst ally,’”](#) *Financial Times*, May 9, 2019.

[“Germans must start taking defence spending seriously,”](#) *Financial Times*, April 2, 2019.

[“Der ratlose Hegemon,”](#) *Internationale Politik*, March/April, 2019 (translated version: [“The Unready Hegemon,”](#) *Berlin Policy Journal*, March/April 2019).

[“A new Franco-German narrative for Europe,”](#) *Financial Times*, March 12, 2019.

[“Germany: Baffled hegemon,”](#) Brookings, February 2019.

[“America’s policy on Europe takes a nationalist turn,”](#) *Financial Times*, January 30, 2019.

[“Succeeding in German politics while female,”](#) *The Washington Post*, December 13, 2018.

[“Nord Stream 2 is a trap of Germany’s own making,”](#) *Financial Times*, December 5, 2018.

[“German centre’s collapse brings Merkel era to a close,”](#) *Financial Times*, October 29, 2018.

[“John Bolton is wrong to attack International Criminal Court,”](#) *Financial Times*, September 13, 2018.

[“Germany faces its worst security dilemma since the 1950s,”](#) *Financial Times*, August 5, 2018.

[“Angela Merkel to Donald Trump: thank you for making me great again,”](#) *Financial Times*, June 20, 2018.

[“Vesuv am Potomac,”](#) *Internationale Politik*, April 27, 2018.

[“Eine ungemütliche Aufgabe für die Kanzlerin,”](#) *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, April 27, 2018.

[“Es sind nicht nur weiße Männer, die hinter Trump stehen,”](#) *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, February 17, 2018.

[“‘America first’ means America alone,”](#) *The Security Times (The Atlantic Times)*, February 9, 2018.

[“Normal is over,”](#) Brookings – Robert Bosch Foundation Transatlantic Initiative paper, Brookings, February 2, 2018.

[“Germany weighs its coalition options, Europe waits,”](#) *Financial Times*, December 11, 2017.

[“Can Angela Merkel find her own way out of the crisis in Berlin?”](#) *The Washington Post*, November 21, 2017.

[“Fröhliche Kämpferin,”](#) with Thomas Schmid, *Internationale Politik*, November 2, 2017.

[“After the election, Germany’s democracy faces its hardest test since 1949,”](#) *The Washington Post*, September 25, 2017.

[“Besser nicht widersprechen?”](#) *Internationale Politik*, July 1, 2017.

[“The impact of Russian interference on Germany’s 2017 elections,”](#) Testimony before the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, June 28, 2017.

[“Helmut Kohl: A great and flawed statesman,”](#) *The Washington Post*, June 17, 2017.

[“At last: The Trump Doctrine, revealed,”](#) Brookings, June 5, 2017.

[“Trump’s abandonment of NATO in Brussels,”](#) *The Washington Post*, May 26, 2017.

[“In Germany, more momentum for Merkel,”](#) *The Washington Post*, May 15, 2017.

[“The comeback of Angela Merkel,”](#) *The Washington Post*, May 9, 2017.

[“Europe in 2022: Alternative futures,”](#) Atlantic Council, March 29, 2017.

[“How Merkel can disarm Trump – and hold the line on Western values,”](#) *The Washington Post*, March 16, 2017.

[“Meet Martin Schulz, the Europhile populist shaking up Germany’s elections,”](#) *The Washington Post*, February 27, 2017.

[“Munich: A watershed moment for Europe,”](#) Brookings, February 23, 2017.

[“2017 is not looking so good for Germany,”](#) *The Washington Post*, December 30, 2016.

[“NATO: Necessary but not sufficient,”](#) Halifax International Security Forum, December 7, 2016.

[“Is Angela Merkel the leader of the free world now? Not quite,”](#) *The Washington Post*, November 14, 2016.

[“Why the U.S. election is terrifying to this German,”](#) *The Washington Post*, October 27, 2016.

[“Merkel’s election woes are a warning to Berlin,”](#) *The Washington Post*, September 7, 2016.

[“A newly confident and audacious Germany,”](#) *The Washington Post*, July 14, 2016.

[“Does Brexit portend the end of European unity?”](#) *The Washington Post*, June 25, 2016.

[“Germany’s grand refugee experiment,”](#) *The Washington Post*, June 8, 2016.

[“Kalter Krieg, mon amour: Warum zelebrieren Film und Fernsehen die Sehnsucht nach der Zeit vor 1989?”](#) *Internationale Politik*, May 1, 2016 (translated version: [“Cold War, Mon Amour,”](#) *Berlin Policy Journal*, May/June 2016).

[“Germany,”](#) in *Shaper Nations: Strategies for a Changing World*, ed. William I. Hitchcock, Melvyn P. Leffler, and Jeffrey W. Legro. Harvard University Press, April 2016.

[“For Angela Merkel, the Böhmermann affair is just a sideshow,”](#) *Financial Times*, April 21, 2016.

[“The Palisades and the ladies of the second floor,”](#) *The Washington Post*, April 15, 2016.

[“A Donald for all of us: How right-wing populism is upending politics on both sides of the Atlantic,”](#) Brookings, March 11, 2016.

[“Why European security depends on getting its democratic house in order,”](#) Expert Opinion # 19, *EU Global Strategy*, February 16, 2016.

[“Germany’s political contribution to the fight against Isis,”](#) *Financial Times*, December 28, 2015.

[“Not a reassuring night for Europeans,”](#) *CNN*, December 16, 2015.

[“Europe Needs a Closer Union to Survive,”](#) *Proceedings and Journal of the Royal Swedish Academy for War Sciences* 4-2015, December 2015.

[“Angela Merkel stands between triumph and failure,”](#) *Financial Times*, October 21, 2015.

“Frieden schaffen in Syrien—mit Putin?” *Wirtschaftswoche*, September 18, 2015.

[“Europe to Planet America: Stay with us, but don’t stampede us,”](#) Transatlantic Security and Future of NATO Series. The German Marshall Fund of the United States, September 2015.

[“Berlin must lead Europe towards closer union,”](#) *Financial Times*, August 10, 2015.

[“Germany’s big fat Greek angst,”](#) Brookings, July 24, 2015.

[“Germany and the euro crisis: Not just for austerity’s sake,”](#) Brookings, July 10, 2015.

[“Berlin’s Strategic Moment: The OSCE Chairmanship to Test its Emergent Leadership,”](#) *Security and Human Rights*, June 2015.

[“Words don’t come easy: ‘Führung aus der Mitte,’”](#) *Berlin Policy Journal*, April 27, 2015.

[“Krieg in unserer Zeit?”](#) *Internationale Politik*, March 1, 2015.

[“Germany, Putin’s former friend,”](#) *Prospect*, January 22, 2015.

[“Time for Germans to Earn the Gift of 1989,”](#) Brookings, November 10, 2014.

[“What is at Stake in Ukraine,”](#) with Daniela Schwarzer, Europe Policy Paper. The German Marshall Fund of the United States, March 19, 2014.

[“A win for a tough woman tested in political warfare,”](#) *Financial Times*, December 17, 2013.

[“New Power, New Responsibility: Elements of a German foreign and security policy for a changing world,”](#) The German Marshall Fund of the United States/Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik paper, October 2013 (as co-project leader).

[“Towards a Euro Union,”](#) Glienicker Group, October 18, 2013.

[Transatlantic Trends 2013](#), with Josh Raiser and others, The German Marshall Fund of the United States, September 2013.

[“We have good cause to abhor the surveillance state,”](#) *Financial Times*, July 16, 2013.

Transatlantic Trends 2012, with Josh Raiser and others, The German Marshall Fund of the United States, September 2012.

[“Gates was far too nice about NATO’s failings,”](#) *Financial Times*, June 16, 2011.

“Europe on its Own,” Eurofutures Paper Series. The German Marshall Fund of the United States, June 2012.

[“Die Schwäche des Westens,”](#) *Internationale Politik*, May 1, 2012.

[“The West Runs Out of Power,”](#) *Policy Review*, March/April 2012.

[“Mittelmeer, Schicksalsmeer!”](#) *Internationale Politik*, July 1, 2011.

[“Germany’s unhappy abstention from leadership,”](#) *Financial Times*, March 28, 2011.

[“Stopping the Drift: Recalibrating the Transatlantic Relationship for a Multipolar Age,”](#) with Fabrice Pothier and Tomas Valasek, Centre for European Studies, 2010.

[“Walk—But Learn to Chew the Gum Too,”](#) Heinrich Böll Foundation, September 27, 2010.

[“Solidarität mit den Taliban!”](#) *Internationale Politik*, May 1, 2010.

[“End of A Honeymoon: Obama and Europe, One Year Later,”](#) Brussels Forum Paper Series. The German Marshall Fund of the United States, March 2010.

[“Die selbstgefesselte Republik,”](#) *Internationale Politik*, January/February 2010 (translated version: [“The Debate Over German Security Policies,”](#) *Der Spiegel International*, March 11, 2010).

[“Why Germany looks set to go on punching below its weight,”](#) in: *Europe’s World*, 2010.

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[“Angela Merkel: The World’s Most Powerful Woman?”](#) *The Observer*, August 22, 2009.

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[“Germany’s Russia Question,”](#) *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2009.

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[“Turkey’s EU Bid: A View from Germany,”](#) in *Conditionality, Impact and prejudice in EU-Turkey relations*, ed. Nathalie Tocci, July 2007.

[“Staring at false choices,”](#) in: *European Union: The Next 50 Years*. Financial Times Business, March 2007.

[“Die transatlantische Maschinerie läuft leer,”](#) *Berliner Republik*, February 2007.

[“Gesucht: Magischer Bund,”](#) *DIE ZEIT*, November 24, 2006.

[“Kontrollieren, was wir nicht verhindern können,”](#) *DIE ZEIT*, January 26, 2006.

[“Merkel’s coalition will be lucky to survive two years,”](#) *Financial Times*, October 10, 2005.

[“Klüger geht’s nicht,”](#) *Internationale Politik*, January 1, 2005.

[“Bündnis in Bedrängnis. Die NATO in ihrer größten Bewährungsprobe,”](#) *Internationale Politik*, June 2004.

TESTIMONY, BRIEFINGS & OTHER POLICYMAKER ENGAGEMENT

Jan. 2025	Testimony to the foreign policy committee of the upper chamber of the Federal Assembly of Switzerland in Bern on the Swiss neutrality initiative
Jun. 2022	“Putin’s war and European energy security: A German perspective on decoupling from Russian fossil fuels,” Testimony before the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe on European energy security
Sep. 2021	U.K. House of Commons China Research Group (hosted by Tom Tugendhat MP), panelist
Jun. 2017	“The Impact of Russian Interference on Germany’s 2017 Elections,” Testimony before the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence

AWARDS

2025	Volkmar and Margret Sander Prize, Deutsches Haus at New York University
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- 2025 Order of Merit, Second Class, Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- 2012 Medaille für besondere Verdienste um Bayern in einem Vereinten Europa
(Medal for special services to Bavaria in a United Europe)