

## Dr. Constanze Stelzenmüller

### EMPLOYMENT

Since November 2014	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, and (since 2012) Director, <i>Transatlantic Trends</i>
2005-2009	Director, Berlin Office, German Marshall Fund of the United States
1998-2005	Defense and Int. Security Editor, <i>DIE ZEIT</i> , Hamburg/Germany
1994-1998	Writer/Reporter, <i>DIE ZEIT</i> , Hamburg/Germany
1992-1994	<i>Der Tagesspiegel</i> , Berlin/Germany Journalism Trainee
1990-1992	Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Bonn/Germany Research Assistant/Tutor

### OTHER PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

October 2012	Mount Holyoke College Global Scholar
October 2010	Center for European Studies, Harvard University Visiting Scholar
April-June 2004	Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, DC Public Policy Scholar
June 2003	Grinnell College, Grinnell/Iowa German Marshall Fund Campus Fellow
1987	Concord Monitor, Concord/New Hampshire Summer Intern

### EDUCATION

1992	Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Bonn/Germany Doctorate in Law (on direct democracy in U.S. constitutional law)
1988-1989	Harvard Law School, Cambridge/Massachusetts Visiting Researcher

## **Dr. Constanze Stelzenmüller**

1986-1988	Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge/Massachusetts Master in Public Administration (MPA)
1986-1988	Studienstiftung des Deutschen Volkes McCloy Fellow
1985	Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Bonn/Germany First State Examination in Law
1981-1982	Law Faculty, University of Geneva, Geneva/Switzerland DAAD Fellow
1980-1985; 1988-1992	Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes (German National Scholar – undergraduate and doctoral)

### **LANGUAGES**

Native speaker	German
Other	English – bilingual French – good Spanish – good

### **AFFILIATIONS & MEMBERSHIPS**

Ongoing	Member, Board of Trustees, Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes (German Academic Scholarship Foundation, 2018-)  Called lifetime Member, Royal Swedish Academy of War Sciences (2014-)  Member, Beirat für Fragen der Inneren Führung, Bundesministerium der Verteidigung (Committee on Leadership Development and Civic Education, German Ministry of Defense, 2018-)  Member, Mercator Foundation Evaluation Commission  A Governor, Ditchley Foundation, Oxfordshire/United Kingdom (2007-)  International Institute for Strategic Studies  Deutsche Gesellschaft für Außenpolitik Board member, Harvard German-American Conference (2018-)  Editorial Board, The Washington Quarterly
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### Concluded

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

Fachbeirat Europa/Transatlantik, Heinrich-Böll Foundation (2012-2014)

Zukunftskommission der Bundeskanzlerin (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, Nomos Verlag, 1994  
(doctoral dissertation)

#### Articles, Book Chapters, Papers

Germany: Baffled Hegemon, *Brookings Foreign Policy Democracy and Disorder: The Struggle for Influence in the New Geopolitics*, February 2019

Der ratlose Hegemon, *Internationale Politik*, March/April, 2019  
(translation as Unready Hegemon, *Berlin Policy Journal*, March/April 2019)

America's policy on Europe takes a nationalist turn, *Financial Times*,  
January 30, 2019

Succeeding in German politics while female, *Washington Post*,  
December 13, 2018

Nord Stream 2 is a trap of Germany's own making, *Financial Times*,  
December 5, 2018

## **Dr. Constanze Stelzenmüller**

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, Brief aus Washington, *Internationale Politik*, May/June 2018

Reifeprüfung für Berlin, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, April 25, 2018

Trumps Truppen, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, February 17, 2018

America first" means America alone, *The Security Times*, February 9, 2018

Normal is over: Europeans hope that the Trump era is an anomaly. But the transatlantic divide has never been so stark, *Brookings – Robert Bosch Foundation Transatlantic Initiative Paper*, February 2, 2018

Germany weighs its coalition options, Europe waits, *The Financial Times*, December 11, 2017

Can Angela Merkel find her own way out of the crisis in Berlin?, *The Washington Post*, November 21, 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

Trump's abandonment of NATO in Brussels, *The Washington Post*, May 26, 2017

## **Dr. Constanze Stelzenmüller**

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*, March 2, 2017

Munich: A watershed moment for Europe, *Brookings Order from Chaos*, February 23, 2017

2017 is not looking so good for Germany, *The Washington Post*, January 4, 2017

NATO: Necessary but not sufficient, *Halifax: International Security Forum*, November 20, 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 15, 2016

Does Brexit Portend the End of European Unity?, *The Washington Post*, June 26, 2016

Germany's Grand Refugee Experiment, June 7, *The Washington Post*, June 7, 2016

Kalter Krieg, Mon Amour: Warum zelebrieren Film und Fernsehen die Sehnsucht nach der Zeit vor 1989?, *Internationale Politik*, Mai/Juni 2016, p. 122-129

Cold War, mon amour: why are films and television indulging a sudden nostalgia for the era?, *Berlin Policy Journal*, May/June 2016

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

For Angela Merkel, the Böhmermann affair is just a sideshow, *The Financial Times*, April 21, 2016

How a Hot DC Summer Sparked my Love of Books, *The Washington Post*, April 17, 2016

A Donald for all of us: How right-wing populism is upending politics on both sides of the Atlantic, *Brookings Order from Chaos blog*, March 11, 2016

Why European security depends on getting its democratic house in order, Expert Opinion # 19, *EU Global Strategy*, February 11, 2016

Germany's political contribution to the fight against Isis, *The Financial Times*, December 28, 2015

Not a reassuring night for Europeans, *CNN*, December 16, 2015

Europe Needs 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, *The 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, *GMF Policy Brief, Transatlantic Security and Future of NATO Series*, September 2015

Berlin must lead Europe towards closer union, *The Financial Times*, August 10, 2015

Germany's big fat Greek angst, *Brookings Order from Chaos Blog*, July 24, 2015

Germany and the euro crisis: Not just for austerity's sake, *Brookings Order from Chaos Blog*, July 10, 2015

Berlin's Strategic Moment: The OSCE Chairmanship to Test its Emergent Leadership, *Security and Human Rights*, June 2015

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Words don't come easy: "Führung aus der Mitte," *Berlin Policy Journal*, April 27, 2015

Germany, Putin's former friend, *Prospect*, February 2015 (essay)

Time for Germans to Earn the Gift of 1989, *Brookings UpFront Blog*, November 10, 2014

A Win for a Tough Woman Tested in Political Warfare, *The Financial Times*, December 17, 2013

New Power, New Responsibility: Elements of a German foreign and security policy in a changing world, *GMF-SWP*, October 2013 (as co-project leader)

Towards a Euro Union, *Gliencke Group*, October 19, 2013

*Transatlantic Trends 2013*, *GMF*, September 2013 (with Josh Raisher & others)

We Have Good Cause to Abhor the Surveillance State, *The Financial Times*, July 16, 2013

*Transatlantic Trends 2012*, *GMF*, September 2012 (with Josh Raisher & others)

Europe on its Own, *Eurofutures Paper Series*, *GMF*, June 2012

The West Runs Out of Power, *Policy Review*, March/April 2012 (essay)

Germany's Unhappy Abstention From Leadership, *The Financial Times*, March 29, 2011 (Op-ed)

Stopping the Drift: Recalibrating the Transatlantic Relationship for a Multipolar Age (with F. Pothier and T. Valasek), *Center for European Studies*, 2010 (essay)

Walk—But Learn to Chew the Gum Too, *Heinrich-Böll Foundation*, August 2010 (essay)

End of A Honeymoon: Obama and Europe, One Year Later, Brussels Forum Paper Series, *GMF*, March 2010 (essay)

## **Dr. Constanze Stelzenmüller**

Die Selbstgefesselte Republik, *Internationale Politik*, January/February 2010 (transl. as Hands Off Our Shackles, Please, IP Global, March 2010)

Germany shoots first and thinks again, *Financial Times*, September 9, 2009

Angela Merkel: The World's Most Powerful Woman? *The Observer*, August 23, 2009

*Shared Responsibilities: A national security strategy for the UK*, Final report of the ippr Commission on National Security in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, June 2009 (as Commission member)

Germany's Russia Question, *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2009

Transatlantic Power Failures, *GMF Brussels Forum Paper Series*, March 2008

Turkey's EU Bid: A View from Germany, in Nathalie Tocci (ed.), *Conditionality, Impact and prejudice in EU-Turkey relations*, t2007

Die transatlantische Maschinerie läuft leer, *Berliner Republik*, February 2007

Kontrollieren, was wir nicht verhindern können, *DIE ZEIT*, January 26, 2006

Bündnis in Bedrängnis. Die NATO in ihrer größten Bewährungsprobe, *Internationale Politik*, June 2004

## **AWARDS**

2012

Medaille für besondere Verdienste um Bayern in einem Vereinten Europa