

Dr. Constanze Stelzenmüller

EMPLOYMENT

Since Oct. 2019	Senior Fellow, 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, 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

Dr. Constanze Stelzenmüller

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
1986-1988	Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge/Massachusetts Master in Public Administration (MPA)
1986-1988	Studienstiftung des Deutschen Volkes McClory 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

Current Member, Strategic Council, European Policy Centre (2020-)

Member, Board of Trustees, Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes / German Academic Scholarship Foundation (2018-)

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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-)

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

Concluded

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

Member, Mercator Foundation Evaluation Commission (2018-2019)

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

Zukunftscommission 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)

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Articles, Book Chapters,
Papers

Hard road back to power for Germany's Social Democrats, *Financial Times*, August 17, 2020

Falken im Sturm, *Internationale Politik* 4, July/August 2020

With Fiona Hill, Tanvi Madan, et al., Balancing act: Major powers and the global response to US-China great power competition, *Brookings Interview*, interview by Bruce Jones, ed. Jesse I. Kornbluth, Emilie Kimball, and Ted Reinert, July 2020

Europäische Außenpolitik: Was nach der Pandemie übrig bleibt, und was dann zu tun ist, *ifo Schnelldienst*, 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

With Sam Denney, Reopening the World: Reopening Germany, 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

With Sam Denney, COVID-19 Is a Severe Test for Germany's Postwar Constitution, *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?, *Financial Times*, March 17, 2020

With Sam Denney, The government crisis in Germany's Thuringia is over — except it isn't, *Brookings Order from Chaos*, March 16, 2020

The fratboys vying to succeed Angela Merkel, *Financial Times*, March 5, 2020

With Sam Denney, The Thuringia debacle resets the Merkel succession — and proves the AfD is a force to be reckoned with, *Brookings Order from Chaos*, February 28, 2020

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Germany's 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 23, 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, *Brookings Foreign Policy Essay*, 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 9, 2019

Merkel's coalition is safe — for now, *Washington Post*, September 3, 2019

Hostile ally: The Trump challenge and Europe's inadequate response, *Brookings — Robert Bosch Transatlantic Initiative Paper*, 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 27, 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

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

A new Franco-German narrative for Europe, *Financial Times*, March 12, 2019

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

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

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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?, *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, *Washington Post*, June 17, 2017

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

In Germany, more momentum for Merkel, *Washington Post*, May 15, 2017

The comeback of Angela Merkel, *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, *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, *Washington Post*, November 14, 2016

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Why the U.S. election is terrifying to this German, *Washington Post*, October 27, 2016

Merkel's election woes are a warning to Berlin, *Washington Post*, September 7, 2016

A newly confident and audacious Germany, *Washington Post*, July 15, 2016

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

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

Kalter Krieg, Mon Amour: Warum zelebrieren Film und Fernsehen die Sehnsucht nach der Zeit vor 1989?, *Internationale Politik*, May/June 2016

Cold War, mon amour: why are films and television indulging a sudden nostalgia for the era?, *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, April 2016, Harvard University Press

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

How a Hot DC Summer Sparked my Love of Books, *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*, 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, *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

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

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

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

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

Germany, Putin's former friend, *Prospect*, February 2015

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, *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, *Glienicker Group*, October 19, 2013

With Josh Raisner et al., *Transatlantic Trends 2013*, GMF, September 2013

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

With Josh Raisher et al., *Transatlantic Trends 2012*, GMF, September 2012

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

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

Germany's Unhappy Abstention From Leadership, *Financial Times*, March 29, 2011

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

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

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

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 21st 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 *Conditionality, Impact and prejudice in EU-Turkey relations*, ed. Nathalie Tocci, 2007

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

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

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

AWARDS

2012 Medaille für besondere Verdienste um Bayern in einem Vereinten Europa