

Dr. Constanze Stelzenmüller

EMPLOYMENT

Since Dec. 2020	Fritz Stern Chair, Center on the United States and Europe, The Brookings Institution
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

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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

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

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AFFILIATIONS & MEMBERSHIPS

Current

Member, Sitra International Advisory Panel (2021-)

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

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-)

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)

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)

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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

Nord Stream 2 impasse threatens trans-Atlantic ties, *Financial Times*,
March 23, 2021, <https://www.ft.com/content/43361fe1-81b3-416c-b0dc-44ede3dee640>.

EU support for Russian democracy is inadequate, *Financial Times*,
February 9, 2021, <https://www.ft.com/content/22f49ebf-53db-415d-84c2-4c8f6732218c>.

With Pavel Baev, Celia Belin, et al., Around the halls: Brookings experts
analyze President Biden's first foreign policy speech, *Brookings Order
from Chaos*, February 5, 2021,
<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2021/02/05/around-the-halls-brookings-experts-analyze-president-bidens-first-foreign-policy-speech/>.

With Sam Denney, Wahn und Berechnung am Potomac, *Internationale
Politik*, January/February 2021,
<https://internationalepolitik.de/de/wahn-und-berechnung-am-potomac>.

With Benjamin Becker, Deidre Berger, et al., *Transatlantisch? Traut
Euch! Für eine Neue Übereinkunft zwischen Deutschland und Amerika*,
German Marshall Fund, January 2021,
<https://www.gmfus.org/sites/default/files/Kleine-Brockhoff%20et%20al%20-%20More%20Ambition%20-%20German.pdf>.

Germany is pouring cold water on the Biden-Europe love fest, *Foreign
Policy*, January 22, 2021,
<https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/01/22/germany-biden-europe-love-fest/>.

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With Madiha Afzal, Ranj Alaaldin, et al., Around the halls: How leaders and publics around the world are reacting to the events at the Capitol, *Brookings Order from Chaos*, January 8, 2021,

<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2021/01/08/around-the-halls-how-leaders-and-publics-around-the-world-are-reacting-to-events-at-the-capitol/>.

Imagining Germany without Angela Merkel has got harder, *Financial Times*, January 6, 2021, <https://www.ft.com/content/c0eb07da-c4c5-425d-9b91-9461a803542c>.

With Nicholas Burns, Daniela Schwarzner, et al., *Stronger Together: A Strategy to Revitalize Transatlantic Power*, Harvard University, December 2020,

<https://www.belfercenter.org/publication/stronger-together-strategy-revitalize-transatlantic-power>.

The West must live up to its own principles on democracy, *Financial Times*, December 3, 2020, <https://www.ft.com/content/19d44ecb-152e-4db7-b2c6-de5928712cca>.

With Madiha Afzal, Ranj Alaaldin, et al., What leaders overseas will want to ask of the Biden administration, *Brookings Order from Chaos*, November 13, 2020, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2020/11/13/what-foreign-leaders-will-want-to-ask-of-the-next-administration/>.

America's dysfunctional Russia policy is unlikely to improve under Biden, *Foreign Policy*, October 30, 2020,

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/10/30/election-2020-u-s-russia-trump-biden/>.

With Madiha Afzal, Pavel Baev, et al., A list of specific, actionable foreign policy ideas for the next president, *Brookings Order from Chaos*,

October 27, 2020, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2020/10/27/a-list-of-specific-actionable-foreign-policy-ideas-for-the-next-president/>.

Germany needs to step up to Europe's defense, *Financial Times*,

October 26, 2020, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2020/10/26/germany-needs-to-step-up-to-europes-defense/>.

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Angela Merkel's final year, *Internationale Politik Quarterly*, September 30, 2020, <https://ip-quarterly.com/en/angela-merkels-final-year>.

Germany is well placed to lead a tougher EU response to Russia, *Financial Times*, September 10, 2020, <https://www.ft.com/content/92038be0-cd5e-402a-90df-25a6aeac617a>.

Hard road back to power for Germany's Social Democrats, *Financial Times*, August 17, 2020, <https://www.ft.com/content/92904ea8-f289-4e1a-b44f-c7c9bf2590a2>.

Falken im Sturm, *Internationale Politik* 4, July/August 2020, <https://internationalepolitik.de/de/falken-im-sturm-0>.

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, <https://www.brookings.edu/research/balancing-act-major-powers-and-the-global-response-to-us-china-great-power-competition/>.

Europäische Außenpolitik: Was nach der Pandemie übrig bleibt, und was dann zu tun ist, *ifo Schnelldienst*, July 2020, <https://www.ifo.de/publikationen/2020/aufsatz-zeitschrift/europaeische-aussenpolitik-was-nach-der-pandemie-uebrig>.

Europe faces a fateful choice on Huawei, *Financial Times*, July 17, 2020, <https://www.ft.com/content/7d909f98-67b8-4dd2-b31d-b020f7d960e5>.

Germany's far-right a major loser from COVID-19, so far, *Financial Times*, June 18, 2020, <https://www.ft.com/content/d79a157d-c1bc-49e4-a8b1-f8800fc4f012>.

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, <https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/Brookings-Reopening-the-World-FINAL.pdf>.

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Europe's battle lines are drawn at a uniquely perilous moment, *Financial Times*, May 28, 2020, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2020/05/28/europes-battle-lines-are-drawn-at-a-uniquely-perilous-moment/>.

With Sam Denney, COVID-19 Is a Severe Test for Germany's Postwar Constitution, *Lawfare*, April 16, 2020, <https://www.lawfareblog.com/covid-19-severe-test-germanys-postwar-constitution>.

Coronavirus is also a threat to democratic constitutions, *Financial Times*, April 15, 2020, <https://www.ft.com/content/961b33ae-7efc-11ea-8fdb-7ec06edeef84>.

Germany pulls out the 'bazooka' against the coronavirus — But is it doing enough?, *Financial Times*, March 17, 2020, <https://www.ft.com/content/1b0f0324-6530-11ea-b3f3-fe4680ea68b5>.

With Sam Denney, The government crisis in Germany's Thuringia is over — except it isn't, *Brookings Order from Chaos*, March 16, 2020, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2020/03/16/the-government-crisis-in-germanys-thuringia-is-over-except-it-isnt/>.

The fratboys vying to succeed Angela Merkel, *Financial Times*, March 5, 2020, <https://www.ft.com/content/bb88bcda-5ede-11ea-ac5e-df00963c20e6>.

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, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2020/02/28/the-thuringia-debacle-resets-the-merkel-succession-and-proves-the-afd-is-a-force-to-be-reckoned-with/>.

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A European security force in Syria is a courageous idea, *Financial Times*, October 30, 2019, <https://www.ft.com/content/0bf10a02-faf7-11e9-a354-36acbbb0d9b6>.

The AfD wolf is at the door in east Germany, *Financial Times*, September 9, 2019, <https://www.ft.com/content/4bcc0f7a-cfcb-11e9-b018-ca4456540ea6>.

Merkel's coalition is safe — for now, *Washington Post*, September 3, 2019, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/09/03/merkels-coalition-is-safe-now/>.

Hostile ally: The Trump challenge and Europe's inadequate response, *Brookings — Robert Bosch Transatlantic Initiative Paper*, August 2019, <https://www.brookings.edu/research/hostile-ally-the-trump-challenge-and-europes-inadequate-response/>.

Germany should pull together a European naval mission in the Gulf, *Financial Times* - August 7, 2019, <https://www.ft.com/content/360238bc-b870-11e9-8a88-aa6628ac896c>.

National conservatism is coming for Washington, *Financial Times*, July 25, 2019, <https://www.ft.com/content/b8a2f888-ae02-11e9-b3e2-4fdf846f48f5>.

German radical right threatens the survival of democracy, *Financial Times*, June 27, 2019, <https://www.ft.com/content/a414d624-9751-11e9-9573-ee5cbb98ed36>.

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Der ratlose Hegemon, *Internationale Politik*, March/April, 2019 (translation as Unready Hegemon, *Berlin Policy Journal*, March/April 2019), <https://internationalepolitik.de/de/der-ratlose-hegemon>.

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Germany: Baffled Hegemon, *Brookings Foreign Policy Democracy and Disorder: The Struggle for Influence in the New Geopolitics*, February 2019, <https://www.brookings.edu/research/germany-baffled-hegemon/>.

America's policy on Europe takes a nationalist turn, *Financial Times*, January 30, 2019, <https://www.ft.com/content/133ef614-23b3-11e9-b20d-5376ca5216eb>.

Succeeding in German politics while female, *Washington Post*, December 13, 2018, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2018/12/13/succeeding-german-politics-while-female/>.

Nord Stream 2 is a trap of Germany's own making, *Financial Times*, December 5, 2018, <https://www.ft.com/content/37c7670e-f7d1-11e8-a154-2b65ddf314e9>.

German centre's collapse brings Merkel era to a close, *Financial Times*, October 29, 2018, <https://www.ft.com/content/728f5b3c-d925-11e8-aa22-36538487e3d0>.

John Bolton is wrong to attack International Criminal Court, *Financial Times*, September 13, 2018, <https://www.ft.com/content/3fe44656-b694-11e8-a1d8-15c2dd1280ff>.

Germany faces its worst security dilemma since the 1950s, *Financial Times*, August 5, 2018, <https://www.ft.com/content/de7fcc78-964f-11e8-95f8-8640db9060a7>.

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Vesuv am Potomac, Brief aus Washington, *Internationale Politik*, May/June 2018, <https://internationalepolitik.de/de/vesuv-am-potomac>.

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, <https://www.the-security-times.com/america-first-means-america-alone/>.

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, <https://www.brookings.edu/research/normal-is-over/>.

Germany weighs its coalition options, Europe waits, *Financial Times*, December 11, 2017, <https://www.ft.com/content/bdba5d2e-de66-11e7-a0d4-0944c5f49e46>.

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After the election, Germany's democracy faces its hardest test since 1949, *The Washington Post*, September 25, 2017, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/global-opinions/wp/2017/09/25/after-election-result-germanys-democracy-faces-its-hardest-test-since-1949/>.

Besser nicht widersprechen?, *Internationale Politik*, July 1, 2017, <https://internationalepolitik.de/de/besser-nicht-widersprechen>.

The Impact of Russian interference on Germany's 2017 elections, *Testimony before the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence*, June 28, 2017, <https://www.brookings.edu/testimonies/the-impact-of-russian-interference-on-germanys-2017-elections/>.

Helmut Kohl: A great and flawed statesman, *Washington Post*, June 17, 2017, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/global-opinions/wp/2017/06/17/helmut-kohl-a-great-and-flawed-statesman/>.

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Trump's abandonment of NATO in Brussels, *Washington Post*, May 26, 2017, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/global-opinions/wp/2017/05/26/trumps-abandonment-of-nato-in-brussels/>.

In Germany, more momentum for Merkel, *Washington Post*, May 15, 2017, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/global-opinions/wp/2017/05/15/in-germany-more-momentum-for-merkel/>.

The comeback of Angela Merkel, *Washington Post*, May 9, 2017, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/global-opinions/wp/2017/05/09/the-comeback-of-angela-merkel/>.

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How Merkel can disarm Trump – and hold the line on Western values, *The Washington Post*, March 16, 2017, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/global-opinions/wp/2017/03/16/how-merkel-can-disarm-trump-and-hold-the-line-on-western-values/>.

Meet Martin Schulz, the Europhile populist shaking up Germany's elections, *The Washington Post*, March 2, 2017, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/global-opinions/wp/2017/02/27/meet-martin-schultz-the-europhile-populist-shaking-up-germanys-elections/>.

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Why the U.S. election is terrifying to this German, *Washington Post*, October 27, 2016, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/global-opinions/wp/2016/10/27/why-the-u-s-election-is-terrifying-to-this-german/>.

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Germany's Grand Refugee Experiment, June 7, *Washington Post*, June 7, 2016, https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/germanys-grand-refugee-experiment/2016/06/07/e89ce7d6-2cc5-11e6-9b37-42985f6a265c_story.html.

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Cold War, mon amour: why are films and television indulging a sudden nostalgia for the era?, *Berlin Policy Journal*, May/June 2016, <https://berlinpolicyjournal.com/cold-war-mon-amour/>.

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For Angela Merkel, the Böhmermann affair is just a sideshow, *Financial Times*, April 21, 2016, <https://www.ft.com/content/58e799b8-07b0-11e6-9b51-0fb5e65703ce>.

How a Hot DC Summer Sparked my Love of Books, *Washington Post*, April 17, 2016, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/arts-entertainment/2021/03/04/best-books-about-washington-dc/>.

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AWARDS

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Medaille für besondere Verdienste um Bayern in einem Vereinten Europa