

## 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

## **Dr. Constanze Stelzenmüller**

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-)

Honorary 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 Int. 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)

## Dr. Constanze Stelzenmüller

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

Forthcoming: "The Singular Chancellor: The Merkel Method and its Limits," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2020.

"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 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/>.

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

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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>.

“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/>.

“Germany needs to step up to Europe’s defense,” *Financial Times*, October 26, 2020, <https://www.ft.com/content/1fa7dd18-9365-4b0b-b86c-87290bae7878>.

“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-c7cdf2590a2>.

“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->

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[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>.

“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>.

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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/>.

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“Shadows of the past threaten Europe’s shared future,” *Financial Times*, December 30, 2019, <https://www.ft.com/content/4a201686-2af6-11ea-a126-99756bd8f45e>.

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



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“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>.

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“Angela Merkel to Donald Trump: thank you for making me great again,” *Financial Times*, June 20, 2018, <https://www.ft.com/content/4b6de43e-7475-11e8-bab2-43bd4ae655dd>.

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„Trumps Truppen,“ *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, February 17, 2018.

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“Can Angela Merkel find her own way out of the crisis in Berlin?,” *Washington Post*, November 21, 2017, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/global->

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[opinions/wp/2017/11/21/can-angela-merkel-find-her-own-way-out-of-the-crisis-in-berlin/](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/wp/2017/11/21/can-angela-merkel-find-her-own-way-out-of-the-crisis-in-berlin/).

“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/>.

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“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/>.

“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/>.

“Europe in 2022: Alternative futures,” *Atlantic Council*, March 29, 2017, <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/in-depth-research-reports/report/europe-in-2022-alternative-futures-2/>.

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“Meet Martin Schulz, the Europhile populist shaking up Germany’s elections,” *Washington Post*, March 2, 2017, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/global-opinions/wp/2017/03/02/meet-martin-schulz-the-europhile-populist-shaking-up-germanys-elections/>.

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[opinions/wp/2017/02/27/meet-martin-schultz-the-europhile-populist-shaking-up-germanys-elections/](https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/wp/2017/02/27/meet-martin-schultz-the-europhile-populist-shaking-up-germanys-elections/).

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“Is Angela Merkel the leader of the free world now? Not quite,” *Washington Post*, November 14, 2016, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/is-angela-merkel-the-leader-of-the-free-world-now-not-quite/2016/11/14/e01917dc-aa7a-11e6-977a-1030f822fc35\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/is-angela-merkel-the-leader-of-the-free-world-now-not-quite/2016/11/14/e01917dc-aa7a-11e6-977a-1030f822fc35_story.html).

“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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## AWARDS

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Medaille für besondere Verdienste um Bayern in einem Vereinten Europa