

## Dr. Constanze Stelzenmüller

### EMPLOYMENT

Since Sept. 2022	Director, Center on the United States and Europe, The Brookings Institution
Since Dec. 2020	Fritz Stern Chair, Center on the United States and Europe, The Brookings Institution
Since Oct. 2019	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, 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
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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
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

## Dr. Constanze Stelzenmüller

### AFFILIATIONS & MEMBERSHIPS

#### Current

Member, Advisory Council, German Council on Foreign Relations (2022-)

Member, Board of Trustees, Bundeskanzler-Helmut-Schmidt-Stiftung (2021)

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-)

Honorary Governor, Ditchley Foundation, Oxfordshire/United Kingdom (2021-); Governor (2007-2021)

International Institute for Strategic Studies

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Außenpolitik

Board Member, Harvard German-American Conference (2018-)

Editorial Board, The Washington Quarterly

#### Concluded

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

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)

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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

“The west’s axis of prudence risks a Kremlin victory by default in Ukraine,”  
*Financial Times*, December 20, 2022,  
<https://www.ft.com/content/7ae8433c-c8c3-4e34-b555-9c1548bcd4cb>.

“Ukraine crisis could transform the future of neutrality,” *Financial Times*,  
November 22, 2022, <https://www.ft.com/content/2ddad5db-3500-44b9-a93e-d5ca40c7409e?sharetype=blocked>.

“The free world and its enemies: What Putin’s war and China’s global  
ambitions mean for us,” *On the Record*, November 4, 2022,  
<https://www.brookings.edu/on-the-record/the-free-world-and-its-enemies-what-putins-war-and-chinas-global-ambitions-mean-for-us/>.

“Russia may prefer sabotage of critical infrastructure over nuclear  
weapons,” *Financial Times*, October 20, 2022, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2022/10/20/russia-may-prefer-sabotage-of-critical-infrastructure-over-nuclear-weapons/>.

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National Security Strategy,” *Order from Chaos*, October 14, 2022,  
<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2022/10/14/around-the-halls-assessing-the-2022-national-security-strategy/>.

“Germany must shake off its habit of finding excuses for inaction,”  
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[order-from-chaos/2022/09/16/germany-must-shake-off-its-habit-of-finding-excuses-for-inaction/](https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2022/09/16/germany-must-shake-off-its-habit-of-finding-excuses-for-inaction/).

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“A German gas crisis will cause jitters across Europe,” *Financial Times*, July 18, 2022, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2022/07/18/a-german-gas-crisis-will-cause-jitters-across-europe/>.

“Merkel’s lack of regrets illustrates the fallacies of Germany’s Russia policy,” *Financial Times*, June 21, 2022, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2022/06/21/merkels-lack-of-regrets-illustrates-the-fallacies-of-germanys-russia-policy/>.

“Germany has a special responsibility to stop Putin’s evil,” *Financial Times*, April 26, 2022, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2022/04/26/germany-has-a-special-responsibility-to-stop-putins-evil/>.

“Western leaders must be honest about what it takes to stand up to Putin,” *Financial Times*, March 21, 2022, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2022/03/21/western-leaders-must-be-honest-about-what-it-takes-to-stand-up-to-putin/>.

With other Brookings scholars, “Around the halls: Implications of Russia’s invasion of Ukraine,” *Order from Chaos*, February 25, 2022, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2022/02/25/around-the-halls-implications-of-russias-invasion-of-ukraine/>.

“Scholz holds his ground in Putin’s den,” *Financial Times*, February 16, 2022, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2022/02/16/scholz-holds-his-ground-in-putins-den/>.

“Energy trilemma causes a headache for Germany’s new leaders,” *Financial Times*, January 18, 2022, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2022/01/18/energy-trilemma-causes-a-headache-for-germanys-new-leaders/>.

With other Brookings scholars, “Around the halls: Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and the European security order,” *Order from Chaos*, January 11, 2022, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2022/01/11/around-the-halls-russia-ukraine-kazakhstan-and-the-european-security-order/>.

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“Reflecting on Journalistic Responsibility,” in Tobias Bunde & Benedikt Franke (ed.s), *“The Art of Diplomacy: 75+ Views Behind the Scenes of World Politics,”* Berlin: Ullstein, 2022, 265-266, <https://www.ullstein-buchverlage.de/nc/buch/details/the-art-of-diplomacy-9783430210775.html>.

“Germany holds the key to deterring Russian moves against Ukraine,” *Financial Times*, December 21, 2021, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2021/12/21/germany-holds-the-key-to-detering-russian-moves-against-ukraine/>.

“Nuclear weapons debate in Germany touches a raw NATO nerve,” *Financial Times*, November 19, 2021, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2021/11/19/nuclear-weapons-debate-in-germany-touches-a-raw-nato-nerve/>.

“The world won’t wait for Germany’s coalition negotiators,” *Financial Times*, October 14, 2021, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2021/10/14/the-world-wont-wait-for-germanys-coalition-negotiators/>.

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“The war in Afghanistan has shaped an entire generation in the West,” *Financial Times*, September 2, 2021, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2021/09/02/the-war-in-afghanistan-has-shaped-an-entire-generation-in-the-west/>.

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“‘None of the above?’: Germany’s eminently resistible chancellor candidates have escaped the hardships of previous leaders,” *Financial Times*, August 4, 2021, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2021/08/04/none-of-the-above-germanys-eminently-resistible-chancellor-candidates-have-escaped-the-hardships-of-previous-leaders/>.

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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/KleineBrockhoff%20et%20al%20-%20More%20Ambition%20-%20German.pdf>.

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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>.

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“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/>.

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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/>.

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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/wpcontent/uploads/2020/06/Brookings->



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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/>.

“Germany’s Free Democrats are playing with fire in Thuringia,” *Financial Times*, February 6, 2020, <https://www.ft.com/content/13c06390-48c2-11ea-ae2-9ddbdc86190d>.

“The West must reassess its record on foreign intervention,” *Financial Times*, January 23, 2020, <https://www.ft.com/content/ebf24928-3b92-11ea-b84f-a62c46f39bc2>.

“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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“The power struggle to lead Germany’s CDU has been postponed,” *Financial Times*, November 26, 2019, <https://www.ft.com/content/fb35fe9a-0fad-11ea-a7e6-62bf4f9e548a>.

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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>.

“Trump treats Germany like ‘America’s worst ally,’” *Financial Times*, May 9, 2019, <https://www.ft.com/content/46008aee-717a-11e9-bf5c-6eeb837566c5>.

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

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“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>.

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### **TESTIMONY, BRIEFINGS & OTHER POLICYMAKER ENGAGEMENT**

June 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
January 2022	Briefing for congressional staffers
October 2021	Briefing for House Foreign Affairs Committee staffers
September 2021	UK House of Commons China Research Group (hosted by Tom Tugendhat MP), panelist

### **AWARDS**

2012	Medaille für besondere Verdienste um Bayern in einem Vereinten Europa
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