

## PERSONAL INFORMATION

### Dr. Christian Mölling



📍 German Marshall Fund – Berlin  
Vossstrasse 20, 10117 Berlin, Germany  
☎ 0049 – (0) 152 22 78 06 06  
✉ [cmoelling@gmfus.org](mailto:cmoelling@gmfus.org)

## EXPERTISE

European security & defence, military capabilities, defence industry, EU /CSDP, NATO, security & defence policy of Germany and other major European countries

## WORK EXPERIENCE

- |                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| Since 10/2015     | Senior Resident Fellow –, Security Policy Department<br>German Marshall Fund, Berlin  |
| 01/2012 - 09/2015 | Project Director, European Defence Monitoring<br>German Institute for International and Security Affairs / Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Berlin                      |
| 07/2013 - 06/2014 | Project Director, Security and Defence in Northern Europe<br>German Institute for International and Security Affairs / Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Berlin          |
| 11/2009 - 09/2015 | Research Fellow, Defence Cluster – International Security Division<br>German Institute for International and Security Affairs / Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Berlin |
| 11/2007 - 10/2009 | Research Fellow – Unit on Strategy and Doctrine<br>Center for Security Studies - ETH Zurich   |
| 06/2007 - 10/2007 | Visiting Fellow<br>Foundation pour la Recherche Stratégique (FRS), Paris  |
| 10/2006 - 12/2006 | Visiting Staff<br>Politico-Military Unit, Permanent Representation of Germany to the EU, Brussels   |
| 05/2006 - 08/2006 | Visiting Fellow<br>Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies (RUSI), London  |
| 01/2006 - 04/2006 | Visiting Fellow<br>Institute for Security Studies of the European Union (EU ISS), Paris   |
| 2004 - 2005       | Research Consultant<br>German Institute for Human Rights, Berlin  |
| 2000 - 2004       | Research Fellow<br>Hamburg Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy   |

## LANGUAGES

**German:** mother tongue

**English:** fluent

**French:** advanced

## EDUCATION AND TRAINING

- 2005-2009      PhD in Political Science  
Ludwig Maximilian University, Munich, Germany
- 1994-2000      Diploma in Social Science  
University of Duisburg, Germany
- 1993-1994      Paramedic  
Order of St. Johns Ambulance Services
- 1990-1994      Electronics-engineer (Training)  
German Telekom

## EVIDENCE &amp; HEARINGS

German Foreign Office, Ministry of Defence, German Whitebook Commission, German Bundestag - Foreign Affairs Committee, Social Democratic Party, Christian Democratic Party, British Parliament – Defence Committee, European Parliament – Foreign Affairs Committee; NATO- Parliamentary Assembly

## MEDIA

TV: ARD, ZDF, NTV, DW, WDR, NDR, Phönix,  
Radio: Deutschlandfunk, Deutsche Welle, SWR, WDR, NDR,

## PROJECTS

- 2012 - 2015      **European Defence Monitoring – Continuous Collection and Analysis of Open Source Defence and Military Capabilities Data.** Project director of a research project funded by the European Defence Agency (Ref: 11.CAP.OP.166).
- 2013 -2014      **Security and Defence in Northern Europe.** Project director ad interim of a joint research project with CSIS-Washington and IFS-Oslo funded by the Norwegian Ministry of Defence.
- 2010 - 2011      **Spending clever together? The impact of the financial crisis on EU member states' defence sector and defence cooperation.** Project director of a research project funded by the European Parliament, Subcommittee on Security and Defence.
- 2009 - 2011      **SANDERA: The Future Impact of Security and Defence Policies on the European Research Area.** Lead researcher for one work package of a joint research project, led by the University of Manchester, funded under the Seventh EU Research Framework Programme.
- 2008 - 2009      **Reviving the NPT – what Role for the EU? Options and caveats towards a common EU Position for the 2010 NPT Review.** Researcher in a joint project of Center for Security Studies, ETH Zurich and Friedrich Ebert Foundation, funded by Friedrich Ebert Foundation.
- 2007 - 2011      **Achieving a virtual face – an internet presence for the ESFPS Programme.** Project director of an outreach project at the Geschwister-Scholl-Institute for Political Science, Ludwig-Maximilian-University Munich, funded by the Volkswagen Foundation.
- 2008 - 2009      **Comprehensive approaches to crisis management – A comparison of international organisations and state level approaches.** Researcher in a project, funded by the Swiss Ministry of Defence.
- 2008 - 2009      **Conceptualizing strategy and military strategy.** Researcher in a project, funded by the Swiss Ministry of Defence.

- 2006 - 2009 **Towards a European Security and Military Strategy? - Coherence and Consequences of the European Union's Policies on Military Crisis Management, Armaments Cooperation and Arms Control.** PhD research project at the Geschwister-Scholl-Institute for Political Science, Ludwig-Maximilian-University Munich and Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy – Hamburg, funded by Compagnia di San Paolo, the Riksbankens Jubileumsfond, and the VolkswagenStiftung.
- 2004 - 2005 **Security Policy and Human Rights: Human Rights and European Security and Defence Policy and UN-Operations.** Consultancy project financed by the German Institute for Human Rights, Berlin.
- 2003 - 2004 **„Collateral Damage“ - The Impact of Modern Warfare in four case studies.** Researcher in a project funded by the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy – Hamburg.
- 2001 - 2003 **The Future of Arms Control,** Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy – Hamburg (IFSH). Researcher in a project funded by the Berghof Foundation.
- 2000 - 2001 **Preventive Arms Control: Methods, Practices and Concepts,** Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy – Hamburg. Project coordinator and researcher in a project funded by the German federal ministry for science and technology.

## PUBLICATIONS

Publications marked with <sup>GER</sup> are written in German language – translated for the purpose of accessibility of the information into English.

### 2015

- Between Crises and Responsibility: a first assessment of Germany's new defence policy.** <sup>GER</sup> Note du Cerfa, Paris, IFRI, October 2015, forthcoming (with C. Major).
- Arming Security** <sup>GER</sup>, Reader Security Policy, Ministry of Defence, October 2015, (forthcoming).
- Weather Reports, Defense Budgets, and Military Power,** GMF Policy Brief, Transatlantic Security and Future of NATO Series, September 2015.
- The Place of Security in the EU's new Global Strategy,** European Leadership Network, August 2015 (with C. Major).
- Europe's defence industrial base.** Between national politics and industrial globalisation <sup>GER</sup>. SWP-Studien 2015/S 12, June 2015.
- State of play of the implementation of EDA's pooling and sharing initiatives and its impact on the European defence industry.** Paper for the European Parliament's Sub-committee on Security and Defence, June 2015.
- Parliamentary approval:** This does not pave the way for a European Army <sup>GER</sup>. Op Ed in: Zeit- Online, June 2015 (with A. von Voss).
- Paradigm Change in German Defence Export Policy?** <sup>GER</sup> In: Jahrbuch Öffentliche Sicherheit - 2014/2015, H. W. Möllers & R.C. van Ooyen (Eds.) Frankfurt / Main, 2015 (with T. Schütz).
- The EDA and the Development of a European Defence Technological and Industrial Base.** Between Nationalisation and Globalisation in: Nikolaos Karampekios and Iraklis Oikonomou (eds.), The European Defence Agency. Arming Europe. London, New York, 2015, pp. 207-224. (with T-Schütz & M.-L. Chagnaud).
- Conflict management:** Germany's light-footprint approach is not enough. In: Global Affairs, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 209-213 (2015), (with C. Major & J. Vorrath).
- Deterrence Plus.** In: Berlin Policy Journal, 21.05.2015 (with C. Major).
- More than deterrence** – hybrid threats need to be countered by a hybrid security policy <sup>GER</sup>. In: Internationale Politik Mai/Juni 2015, pp. 46-51 (with C. Major).
- Enter the European Army** <sup>GER</sup>. Op Ed in: NZZ, 29.04.2015, p. 19 (with C. Major).
- A Hybrid Security Policy for Europe.** Resilience, Deterrence, and Defense as Leitmotifs, SWP Comments 2015/C 22, April 2015 (with C. Major).
- Le concept allemand de nation-cadre pour une coopération de défense en Europe,** in: Revue de Défense Nationale, Nr. 779, April 2015, pp. 90-95 (with C. Major).
- The Role of EU National Parliaments in Defence Affairs,** A Comparison of Decision-Making Powers across Europe concerning International Troop Deployments and Procurement Processes, SWP Working Paper FG03, WP No. 01, March 2015 (with A. von Voss).
- The Debate on the European Army:** pragmatism instead of visions <sup>GER</sup>, Op Ed in: SWP Kurz Gesagt, March 2015 (with C. Major).
- European Defence Monitoring** – Collection and Analysis of Open Source Defence and Military Capabilities, sixth project report prepared for the European Defence Agency Ref: 11.CAP.OP.166, March 2015.
- The ideological battle on the European Army** <sup>GER</sup>, Op Ed in: Handelsblatt, 14.03.2015 (online) (with C. Major).
- Five suggestions for the defence White Book,** Op Ed in: Süddeutsche Zeitung, 17 February 2015.
- The German Defence White Book:** internal challenges determine future opportunities more than strategic environment. <sup>GER</sup> SWP-Aktuell 2015/A 21, February 2015 (with H. Linnnekamp).
- Not a hegemon, but the backbone:** Germany takes a leading role in NATO's strategic adaptation, European Leadership Network, 23.02.2015 (with C. Major).
- Train + Equip = Peace?** Stabilization Requires More Than Capacity Building, SWP Comments 2015/C 04, February 2015 (with C. Major & J. Vorrath).

## 2014

- The Framework Nations Concept**, SWP Comments 2014/C 52, December 2014 (with C. Major)
- Post-elections Tunisia: Security Issues as a Threat to Democratisation**, SWP Comments 2014/C 53, December 2014 (with I. Werenfels).
- Arm + Empower = Pacify?**,<sup>[GER]</sup> SWP-Aktuell 2014/A 74, December 2014 (with C. Major, J. Vorrath).
- European Defence Monitoring** – Collection and Analysis of Open Source Defence and Military Capabilities, sixth project report prepared for the European Defence Agency Ref: 11.CAP.OP.166, September 2014.
- The European Defence Technological and Industrial Base – time for a reality check.**<sup>[GER]</sup> in: Büro für Sicherheitspolitik des Bundesministeriums für Landesverteidigung und Sport Parameter europäischer Sicherheit. Die GSVP zwischen strategischer Herausforderung und nationalstaatlicher Rason (with M.-L. Chagnaud, A. von Voss).
- NATO's Two Percent Illusion**, SWP Comments 2014/C 36, August 2014.
- German Defense Policy - Is the Change for Real?** German Marshall Fund of the United States GMF Paris, Policy Brief, Transatlantic Security Task Force Series, June 2014 (with C. Major).
- German Responsibility: Sometimes Military Interventions Are Necessary,**<sup>[GER]</sup> Op Ed in: ZeitOnline, 30.06.2014 (with C. Major)
- Dependent on Weapons,**<sup>[GER]</sup> Op Ed in: Handelsblatt, 06.08.2014, p. 15.
- German Defence Policy in 2014 and Beyond – Options for Change** - Note du Cerfa, Paris, IFRI, June 2014 (with C. Major).
- Warships for Europe, not for Russia,**<sup>[GER]</sup> in: Handelsblatt, 19.05.2014 (with C. Major).
- French Warships should go to Europe, not to Russia**, OP ed in SWP Point of View, 13.05.2014 (with C. Major).
- Shattered Trust?**<sup>[GER]</sup> Op Ed in: Handelsblatt, 23.04.2014, p. 13 (with C. Major).
- Mistral: Et si l'Europe achetait les vaisseaux de guerre que la France destine à la Russie?** Op Ed in: Figaro Vox, 16.05.2014 (with C. Major).
- The Future of European Defence: From EU Battlegroups to European Brigades,**<sup>[GER]</sup> in Johann Frank; Walter Matyas (Hg.), Strategie und Sicherheit 2014, Böhlau Verlag: Wien, Köln, Weimar, 2014, pp. 429 – 438 (with C. Major).
- European Defence Monitoring** – Collection and Analysis of Open Source Defence and Military Capabilities, sixth project report prepared for the European Defence Agency Ref: 11.CAP.OP.166, March 2014.
- Breaking the Taboo**<sup>[GER]</sup> Op Ed in Handelsblatt, 31.01.2014, p. 17 (with C. Major).
- Five good reasons for more German Engagement in Africa,**<sup>[GER]</sup> Op ed in: SWP Kurz gesagt, January 2014 (with C. Major).
- European Defence Monitoring (EDM)**, Working Paper FG 03, No. 01, January 2014 (with M.-L. Chagnaud, T. Schütz, A. von Voss).

## 2013

- A concept for European Defence,**<sup>[GER]</sup> Deutsche Welle, Politisches Feuilleton, 18. December 2013.
- The State of Defence Cooperation in Europe**, Working Paper, FG 03-WP No 3, December 2013 (with C. Major, A. von Voss).
- Frameworknation instead of Battlegroups – What Germany can do for European Defence,**<sup>[GER]</sup> SWP-Kurz gesagt, Berlin November 2013.
- Europe, the Transatlantic Defense Industry, and How to Make the Right Choice?** Paris, German Marshall Fund of the United States GMF Policy Brief, Transatlantic Security Task Force Series, November 2013.
- German Arms Exports need a security rationale,**<sup>[GER]</sup> SWP-Aktuell A66/2013, SWP Berlin, November 2013.
- European Defence Monitoring – 2013 Collection and Analysis of Open Source Defence and Military Capabilities**, fourth project report prepared for the European Defence Agency Ref: 11.CAP.OP.166, September 2013.
- A Doable Agenda for the European Defence Council 2013 - Three Proposals.** SWP Comments 2013/C 28, August 2013, 4 Pages (with H. Linnenkamp).
- Pour un programme de drone européen.** Op Ed in: Les Echos Nr. 21478, 15. July 2013, p. 8 (with J.-P. Maulny).
- Towards a European MALE programme,** Op Ed in: SWP Kurz gesagt, June 2013 (with J.-P. Maulny).
- The Future of the EDTIB at the Defence Council 2013. The German Position, European Realities and December Opportunities,** in: Hélène Masson (ed.) Definition of the “European Defence Technological and Industrial Base”: Debates & Dilemmas, Note n°22/13 Fondation pour la recherche stratégique, July 2013: 2-3.
- The Development of the European Defence Technological and Industrial Base**, Report for the European Parliament, Subcommittee on Security and Defence, Brussels, June 2013 (with V. Briani, A. Marrone, T. Valasek).
- Synergies between EU and NATO? Specialisation as the litmus test for “Smart Defence” and “Pooling and Sharing” Notes de la FRS, n°12/13,** Paris FRS Paper, May 2013 (with C. Major).
- Defence cooperation in Europe In the light of the fiscal crisis.**<sup>[GER]</sup> In: J. Pucher/J. Frank (eds): Strategie und Sicherheit 2013. Solidarische Sicherheitsvorsorge in Europa, Vienna May 2013 (with C. Major).
- The Dependent State(s) of Europe: European Defence in Year Five of Austerity.** In: Biscop, S. & Fiott, D. (eds.) The State of Defence in Europe: State of Emergency? (Brüssel, Egmont Paper, 62: 2013): 13-18 (with C. Major).
- Ways out of the European Defence Crisis.**<sup>[GER]</sup> SWP-Studie 2013/S 08, April 2013.
- Towards an EU Peacebuilding Strategy: The Effects of the Lisbon Treaty on the Comprehensive Approach of the EU in the Area of Civilian Crisis Management** (2013) 18, European Foreign Affairs Review, Issue 4: 45–62 (with C. Major).
- The European Defence Crisis: Towards a Reform of the EU Defence Sector.**<sup>[GER]</sup> SWP Studie, April 2013, 34 pages.
- EU- Defence Politics in Crisis.**<sup>[GER]</sup> In: M. Overhaus/R. Kempin (eds.): The Impact of the Fiscal Crisis on EU- Foreign Policies, April 2013: 88-94.
- European Defence Monitoring – Future Perspectives for European Defence 2013-2017.** Third project report prepared for the European Defence Agency (Ref: 11.CAP.OP.166), March 2013, 83 pages.
- CSDP, European Security and the German Contribution – Written Evidence for the public hearing of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the German Bundestag.**<sup>[GER]</sup> 20. February 2013.
- Pooling and Sharing in EU und NATO.**<sup>[GER]</sup> In: A. Wiesner (ed): Deutsche Verteidigungspolitik, Berlin 2013: 361-370.

## 2012

- Time for a comprehensive reform of the European defence sector.** Brussels, EDA: Defence matters 2/2012: 50-51.
- European Defence Monitoring – the Future of European Defence: Budgets, Personnel, Procurement.** Interim report prepared for the European Defence Agency (Ref. 11.CAP.OP.166), November 2012, 30 pages.
- A Franco-German Air Force as nucleus of European defence cooperation.**<sup>[GER]</sup> Op-ed in SWP Kurz Gesagt, November 2012 (with C. Major).
- Key Strategic Activities (KSA) in Germany. Methodological, legal, industrial and military features,** study commissioned by the Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI), Rome, November 2012 (with C. Major).
- EADS and BAE – crashing defence industrial policy.**<sup>[GER]</sup> Op-ed in SWP Kurz Gesagt, October 2012.
- Pooling and Sharing – or how the EU countries risk their defence.**<sup>[GER]</sup> Vienna, AIES Fokus 3/2012, 8 pages.
- European Defence Monitoring – Continuous Collection and Analysis of Open Source Defence and Military Capabilities Data.** 1. Project report prepared for the European Defence Agency Ref. 11.CAP.OP.166, August 2012, 80 pages.
- Trends within the European Union.** In: Clara Marina O'Donnell (ed.): The Implications of Military Spending Cuts for NATO's Largest Members, Washington: Brookings, Analysis paper, July 2012: 6-9.
- Towards a European Defence Review.** SWP-Comment 2012/A 40, July 2012, 4 pages (with M. Dickow and H. Linnenkamp).
- Smart but too cautious: How NATO can improve its fight against austerity.** Centre for European Reform, Policy Brief, May 2012, 8 pages (with C. Major and T. Valasek).
- Pooling and Sharing in the EU and NATO: European Defence Needs Political Commitment rather than Technocratic Solutions,** SWP Comments 2012/C 18, June 2012, 4 pages.
- German Defence Policy. Some propositions for the overdue debate on the military conceptual basis of the Bundeswehr.**<sup>[GER]</sup> SWP-Aktuell 2012/A 18, March 2012, 4 pages.

## 2011

- Europe Without Defence? CSDP After the Lisbon Treaty and Amidst the Financial Crisis.**<sup>[GER]</sup> In: Döring et al. (eds.): DWT Info 2011 – Innovative Wehrtechnik für die Bundeswehr 2011, December 2011, 5 pages.
- Strategic Prospects and Pitfalls. How to Use the Bundeswehr's Conceptual Dynamics for A Strategic Reorientation.**<sup>[GER]</sup> SWP-Aktuell 8 pages, forthcoming November 2011.
- EU Battlegroups: What Contribution to European Defence? Progress and Prospects of European Rapid Response Forces.** SWP Research Paper, 2011/08, June 2011 (with C. Major).
- The Impact of the Financial Crisis on European Defence.** Report for the European Parliament, Subcommittee on Security and Defence, Brussels, April 2011. 144 pages (with S. Brune).
- The Bundeswehr and its New Place in the Sun? Explaining the Reform of the Reform.**<sup>[GER]</sup> SWP-Aktuell 2011/20, April 2011.
- The Future Role of the Bundeswehr and the European Imperative.**<sup>[GER]</sup> SWP-Aktuell 2011/5, March 2011 (with S. Brune, M. Dickow and H. Linnenkamp).
- Between a Rock and a Hard Place: The British Strategic Defence and Security Review is Short-sighted and Vague.**<sup>[GER]</sup> In: Innere Führung 1/2011: 33-36.

## 2010

- The Financial Crisis as a Security Crisis. The Impact of the Changed Financial Environment on International Crisis Management.**<sup>[GER]</sup> SWP-Ausblick (with E. Schöndorf and C. Major).
- Financial Crisis and Defence Cooperation: An Overview of Dynamics in Europe and the United States.**<sup>[GER]</sup> SWP-Arbeitspapier 4/10, November 2010 (with S. Brune and M. Dickow).
- EU Military Capabilities - Some European Troops, but not yet a European Army.** In: E. Greco, N. Pirozzi and S. Silvestri (eds.): EU Crisis Management: Institutions and Capabilities in the Making, IAI Quaderni English Series No. 19, November 2010: 11-28 (with C. Major)
- EU-Battlegroups – Status Quo of and Prospects for the Development of European Rapid Response Forces.**<sup>[GER]</sup> SWP-Studie 22/10, August 2010 (with C. Major).
- Pooling and Sharing in Defence.** Background paper for the EU member states seminar at EDA, Brussels, May 2010 (with C. Major).
- Workshop Report for the Seminar on Pooling and Sharing of Capabilities and Assets.** Brussels, June 2010 (with C. Major).
- Permanent Structured Cooperation in EU Security Policy. The Impact of the Lisbon Treaty on Capabilities Development and Armament Cooperation.**<sup>[GER]</sup> SWP-Aktuell 2010/A 13, February 2010.
- The Bundeswehr in Times of Financial Turmoil: Making Best Use of National Restructuring Initiatives and European Efficiency Potential.**<sup>[GER]</sup> SWP-Aktuell 2010/05, January 2010 (with S. Brune, M. Dickow and H. Linnenkamp).
- Towards an EU Peacebuilding Strategy? EU Civilian Coordination in Peacebuilding and the Effects of the Lisbon Treaty.** Briefing for the European Parliament, Subcommittee on Security and Defence (with C. Major).
- Military Crisis Management as Part of the EU's Security and Defence Policy. Structures and Processes for Planning and Decision-Making.**<sup>[GER]</sup> CSS Working Paper, Zurich Center for Security Studies, 2010.
- The Grand Bargain in the NPT: Challenges for the EU Beyond 2010.** In: J.-P. Zanders (Ed.) Nuclear Weapons after the 2010 NPT Review Conference. Chaillot Paper 120, Paris, EU ISS, 2008: 49-70.
- NPT Review 2010: What Role for the EU?** Berlin: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, International Policy Analysis, 2010 (with C. Katsioulis).

A list of earlier publications can be made available upon request.