

DR. TOBIAS BUNDE

BORN APRIL 21, 1983, IN MARBURG, GERMANY
HERTIE SCHOOL CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL SECURITY | FRIEDRICHSTR. 180 | 10405 BERLIN
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EDUCATION

- September 2011 – October 2016 **Freie Universität Berlin – PhD Program in Political Science**
- PhD Candidate within the framework of the Berlin Graduate School for Transnational Studies (BTS), a program of the Freie Universität Berlin, the Hertie School of Governance, and the Social Science Research Center Berlin
 - Dissertation: “NATO’s Identity Crisis. The Contested Transatlantic Identity Terrain and the Patterns of Cooperation Within the Alliance” (Supervisors: Prof. Dr. Thomas Risse, Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Seibel), defended in October 2016
- April 2010 – September 2011 **Universität Konstanz**
- PhD student and associate member of the Research Group “Conflict Generators” within the Center of Excellence “Cultural Foundations of Integration”
- October 2006 – January 2009 **Freie Universität Berlin – M.A. International Relations (MAIB)**
- Master thesis: “The Notion of ‘National Interest’ in German Foreign Policy” (Supervisors: Prof. Dr. Thomas Risse, Dr. Ingo Peters)
- August 2007 – December 2007 **George Washington University, Washington, D.C. – Semester abroad at the Elliott School of International Affairs**
- October 2003 – September 2006 **Technische Universität Dresden – B.A. International Relations**
- September 2005 – January 2006 **Université Robert Schuman, Strasbourg – Semester abroad at the Institut d’Etudes Politiques (Sciences Po Strasbourg)**

SELECTED WORK EXPERIENCE

- Since January 2017 (part-time: 50%) **Postdoctoral/Senior Researcher, Centre for International Security, Hertie School (of Governance)**
- Research position contributing to research areas “Grand Strategy” and “Nuclear Security”, co-teaching or teaching courses on “International Security”, “Crisis Diplomacy” and “World Order Models in Theory and Practice”
- Since August 2020 (part-time: 50%) **Director of Research and Policy, Munich Security Conference (MSC)**
- Responsible for research and policy analysis, evaluation, and content for all MSC events and all MSC publications, leading the internal MSC “think tank” (15 people)
- Since December 2018 **Member of the Executive Board, Munich Security Conference Foundation**
- The MSC Foundation was established in 2018 to ensure the independence and long-term sustainability of the MSC and oversees its work.
- July 2014–July 2020 (part-time) **Head of Policy and Analysis, Munich Security Conference (MSC)**
- July 2015–December 2016 (part-time) **Research Associate to Prof. Wolfgang Ischinger, Hertie School of Governance**
- May 2009–June 2014 (part-time) **Policy Advisor to Wolfgang Ischinger, Munich Security Conference (MSC)**
- March 2009–September 2011 (part-time) **Teaching Assistant to Ambassador Wolfgang Ischinger**
- February 2009–November 2009 **Researcher, stiftung neue verantwortung, Berlin**

RESEARCH PROJECTS (AS PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR/PROJECT LEADER)

- Since 2014 **Munich Security Report (Munich Security Conference, MSC)**
- Lead-author and co-editor of this yearly digest of current developments in international security, based on data from numerous partner institutions, e.g. IISS, SIPRI, Brookings, and the so-called Munich Security Index (since 2021), a public opinion survey in the G7 countries, Brazil, China, India, and South Africa
- Since November 2023 **Raising the Nuclear IQ for a New Nuclear Age: Building a European Hub for Research, Teaching and Outreach on Nuclear Security (Hertie School/MS)**
- Principal Investigator (with Marina Henke and Julian Wucherpfennig) of a project on nuclear security in Europe, supported by an endowment from the Stanton Foundation and implemented in cooperation with the Munich Security Conference
- March 2020–
October 2020 **Zeitenwende: Munich Security Report Special Edition on German Foreign and Security Policy (MSC)**
- Lead-author and editor of a book-length report on German foreign and security policy, funded by the Press and Information Office of the Federal Government
- September 2020–
August 2023 **Understanding Nuclear Assurance, Deterrence and Escalation in Europe (Hertie School)**
- Principal Investigator (with Marina Henke and Julian Wucherpfennig) of a multi-year project on nuclear security, funded by the Stanton Foundation
- June 2018–
May 2019 **Non-Strategic Nuclear Weapons and the Future of NATO's Deterrence Posture (Hertie School)**
- Principal Investigator (with Julian Wucherpfennig) of a project on nuclear sharing and alliance politics, funded by an introductory grant of the Stanton Foundation
- May 2012–
January 2014 **History of the Munich Security Conference (MSC)**
- Member of the editorial team for the MSC anniversary volume, which featured contributions from many high-level authors (see list of publications)
- October 2006–
July 2009 **World Order Models for the 21st Century (Studienstiftung des dt. Volkes)**
- Co-initiator of a student-run project of the international law working group under the guidance of Prof. Dr. Christian Tomuschat (see list of publications)

INVOLVEMENT IN RESEARCH PROJECTS LED BY OTHERS

- Since February 2024 **REMIT, Reignite Multilateralism via Technology (Maastricht University and partners across Europe)**
- Member of the Stakeholder Advisory Board of a new research project, funded by the European Union's Horizon Europe Research and Innovation Programme under grant agreement no. 101094228.
- June 2021–
March 2023 **Re-Thinking Multilateralism (Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main)**
- Member of the External Study Group of experts, supporting the project team led by Prof. Dr. Gunther Hellmann, Dr. Daniel Jacobi, and Jens Bartsch, and funded by the Friede Springer Stiftung.
- July 2015–
June 2016 **Dahrendorf Forum (Hertie School of Governance/London School of Economics)**
- Research associate, supporting the working group on foreign policy
- May 2013–
October 2013 **Transworld: Transatlantic Relations and the Future of Global Governance (Freie Universität Berlin and partners across Europe)**
- Contributions to the security work package of this FP7 program

SCHOLARSHIPS/FELLOWSHIPS, AWARDS, AND NOMINATIONS

- **Visiting Scholar**, Perry World House, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia (September 2023–May 2024, non-resident, with two campus visits)
- **Appointment offer for a Professorship (W2)**, “Internationale Sicherheit, insbesondere Regionale Sicherheit in Mittel- und Osteuropa” (International Security with a focus on security in Central and Eastern Europe), Hochschule des Bundes, Department for Intelligence, Berlin (June 2020, declined)
- **DAAD/AICGS Research Fellowship** for interviews in Washington, DC (October–November 2013)
- **Participant in the Manfred Wörner Seminar** of GMF and the German Armed Forces (May 2013)
- **PhD Scholarship of the Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes (German National Academic Foundation)** (November 2010–April 2013)
- **Shortlisted for the Bernard Brodie Prize 2011** of the journal *Contemporary Security Policy* for “the outstanding article appearing in the journal during the previous year” (with Timo Noetzel)
- **Scholarship of the German National Academic Foundation** (November 2003–December 2008)
- **Scholarship of the German-American Fulbright Commission** (Exchange semester 2007)
- **Carl Joachim Friedrich Prize** of the Gymnasium Philippinum for outstanding achievements in the social sciences (June 2002)

OTHER POLICY-RELEVANT ACTIVITIES

- **Presentations and Briefings** for various governmental and non-governmental actors, including German Bundestag, European Parliament, Federal Ministry of Defence, Federal Foreign Office, NATO Headquarters, European External Action Service, *Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung*, *Brot für die Welt*
- **Co-Chair of the European Nuclear Study Group** (with Dr. Claudia Major and Prof. Dr. James Davis), leading a group of European scholars and think tankers between the ages of 30 and 45 to work on the future of nuclear deterrence in Europe, a joint project by the Hertie School Centre for International Security, the Institute of Political Science at the University of St. Gallen, and the Munich Security Conference (since February 2024)
- **Member of a Working Group on German Foreign Policy**, co-hosted by the German Marshall Fund and the Alfred-Landecker-Stiftung, chaired by former German foreign minister Joschka Fischer (since May 2024)
- **Member of the Advisory Board: Europe/Transatlantic Relations** (Fachbeirat Europa/Transatlantik), Heinrich Böll Foundation (since October 2023)
- **Member of the Working Group of Young Security Experts** of the Federal Academy for Security Policy in Berlin (April 2015–April 2018, three-year term)
- **Non-Resident Fellow of the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies (AICGS)**, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, DC (since 2014)
- **Member of the NATO Emerging Leaders Working Group**, tasked by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen to develop policy recommendations for the Wales Summit (April–September 2014)

MEDIA EXPERIENCE (SELECTION)

- **Interviews and Podcasts (TV and Radio):** *BBC*, *PBS*, *Monocle Radio*, *WDR*, *HR*, *DLF*, *Deutschlandfunk Kultur*, *FAZ Podcast für Deutschland*, *NDR Streitkräfte und Strategien*, *3sat*
- **Quoted in various media:** *Associated Press*, *The Atlantic*, *BuzzFeed News*, *Deutsche Welle*, *The Economist (Blog)*, *The Guardian*, *Foreign Policy*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Handelsblatt*, *NBC News*, *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, *tagesschau.de*, *World Politics Review*
- **Research featured in various media:** *Der Spiegel*, *FAZ*, *Die Welt*, *Deutsche Welle*, *The Guardian*, *Handelsblatt*, *NZZ*, *Phoenix*, *Politico*, *Reuters*, *Tagesschau*, *The Washington Post*, *New Statesman*

RECENT INVITED TALKS AND PANEL DISCUSSIONS (SELECTION)

- **Academic Institutions:** Freie Universität Berlin/Universität Zürich/DGAP (March 2024); Center for Advanced Studies at Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (January 2024); Perry World House, University of Pennsylvania (October 2023); European University Institute, Florence (October 2023)
- **Other Stakeholders:** *Petra-Kelly-Stiftung* (February 2024); *Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes*, Munich chapter (December 2023); Stanton Foundation (October 2023); German Marshall Fund (October 2023); NATO Nuclear Policy Symposium (September 2023); Wilton Park/Center for Global Security Research at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory Lab (July 2023); German Insurance Association (May 2023); German Confederation of Skilled Crafts/*Zentralverband des Deutschen Handwerks* (May 2023)

SERVICE TO THE PROFESSION (SELECTION)

- **Peer Reviewer for Journals:** *Contemporary Security Policy*, *Defence Studies*, *Die Friedens-Warte*, *Discourse and Society*, *European Security*, *International Politics*, *International Security*, *Journal of European Public Policy*, *Journal for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament*, *Politics and Governance*, *Sicherheit + Frieden*.
- **Editorial Board Membership:** *Contemporary Security Policy* (since 2018)

LANGUAGE SKILLS

German	Native speaker
English	Proficient
French	Good

List of Publications

EDITED VOLUMES

Bunde, Tobias/Franke, Benedikt, eds. (2022): *The Art of Diplomacy: 75 Views Behind the Scenes of World Politics* (Berlin: Econ). [Also available in German: *Die Kunst der Diplomatie: 75 Blicke hinter die Kulissen der internationalen Politik*]

Ischinger, Wolfgang, with Bunde, Tobias/Lein-Struck, Antje/Oroz, Adrian, eds. (2014): *Towards Mutual Security: Fifty Years of Munich Security Conference* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).

ACADEMIC JOURNAL ARTICLES, CONTRIBUTIONS TO EDITED VOLUMES & WORKING PAPERS

Bunde, Tobias (2024): Nuclear Zeitenwende(n): Germany and NATO's Nuclear Posture, in: Kühn, Ulrich, ed.: *Germany and Nuclear Weapons in the 21st Century: Atomic Zeitenwende?* (Abingdon: Routledge), pp. 87–111, <http://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9781003341161-7>.

Bunde, Tobias (2023): Social Constructivism, in: Mayer, Sebastian, ed.: *Research Handbook on NATO* (Edward Elgar), pp. 69–83, <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781839103391.00014>.

Bunde, Tobias (2022): Lessons (to Be) Learned? Germany's Zeitenwende and European Security After the Russian Invasion of Ukraine, in: *Contemporary Security Policy* 43:3, pp. 516–530, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2022.2092820>.

Bunde, Tobias (2021): Defending European Integration by (Symbolically) Integrating European Defense? Germany and Its Ambivalent Role in European Security and Defence Policy, in: *Journal of European Integration* 43:2, pp. 245–261, <https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2021.1877693>.

Bunde, Tobias (2021): The Future of the West: What If the United States Pulls Out of NATO?, in: Rynning, Sten/Schmitt, Olivier/Theussen, Amelie, eds.: *War Time: Temporality and the Decline of Western Military Power* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press), pp. 85–106, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7864/j.ctv13vdhw4.10>.

Bunde, Tobias (2019): Die Entwertung der NATO. Warum die „illiberale Internationale“ das Nordatlantische Bündnis gefährdet, in: *Sicherheit & Frieden* 37:1, pp. 19–23, <https://doi.org/10.5771/0175-274X-2019-1-19>.

Bunde, Tobias (2019): Make Strategy Grand Again. Gedanken zum Konzept der Grand Strategy in der deutschen Sicherheitspolitik, in: Hellmann, Gunther/Jakobi, Daniel, eds.: *Das Weißbuch 2016 und die Herausforderungen von Strategiebildung* (Wiesbaden: Springer VS), pp. 33–58, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-23975-6_3.

Bunde, Tobias (2017): Sicher mit Russland oder sicher vor Russland? Das transatlantische Identitätsterrain und seine Herausforderungen für eine gemeinsame Russlandpolitik der NATO, in: Böller, Florian/Hagemann, Steffen/Opitz, Anja/Wilzewski, Jürgen, eds.: *Die Zukunft der transatlantischen Gemeinschaft. Externe und interne Herausforderungen* (Baden-Baden: Nomos), pp. 55–94, <https://doi.org/10.5771/9783845287218-55>.

Bunde, Tobias/Ischinger, Wolfgang (2017): European Security Policy at the End of the Post-Cold War Era, in: *Global Policy* 8:S4, pp. 27–29, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1758-5899.12431>.

Bunde, Tobias (2016): Germany and the United States: Partners in Leadership on European Security?, in: Helwig, Niklas, ed.: *Europe's New Political Engine. Germany's Role in the EU's Foreign and Security Policy* (Helsinki: The Finnish Institute of International Affairs), pp. 173–190.

Ischinger, Wolfgang/Bunde, Tobias (2015): Neue deutsche Diplomatie?, in: Hellmann, Gunter/Jakobi, Daniel/Stark Urrestarazu, eds.: „Früher, entschiedener und substantieller“? *Die neue Debatte über Deutschlands Außenpolitik* (special issue of *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik*), pp. 313–333, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12399-014-0462-4>.

- Bunde, Tobias (2014):** Transatlantic Collective Identity in a Nutshell. Debating Security Policy at the Munich Security Conference (2002–2014), TRANSWORLD Working Paper, No. 45, Rome.
- Bunde, Tobias/Noetzel, Timo/Oroz, Adrian (2012):** The Graveyard of the Liberal Moment? Afghanistan and the Future of Liberal Order-Building, in: Ehrhart, Hans-Georg/Gareis, Sven Bernhard/Pentland, Charles, eds.: *Afghanistan in the Balance: Counterinsurgency, Comprehensive Approach, and Political Order* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press), pp. 187–204.
- Ischinger, Wolfgang/Bunde, Tobias/Noetzel, Timo (2011):** 20 Jahre nach der Vereinigung. Deutsche Außenpolitik in und für Europa, in: *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik* 4:1, pp. 89–107, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12399-010-0160-9>.
- Bunde, Tobias/Noetzel, Timo/Oroz, Adrian (2010):** Afghanistan als Ende des liberalen Moments?, in: *Sicherheit + Frieden* 28:3, pp. 169–175, <https://doi.org/10.5771/0175-274x-2010-3-169>.
- Bunde, Tobias/Noetzel, Timo (2010):** Unavoidable Tensions: The Liberal Path to Global NATO, in: *Contemporary Security Policy* 31:2, pp. 295–318, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2010.491380>.
- Bunde, Tobias (2009):** Das Völkerrecht der Demokratien. Ambivalenzen einer liberalen Weltordnung, in: Tomuschat, Christian, ed.: *Weltordnungsmodelle für das 21. Jahrhundert. Völkerrechtliche Perspektiven* (Baden-Baden: Nomos), pp. 99–162, <https://doi.org/10.5771/9783845220048-99>.
- Bunde, Tobias (2008):** The Democratic Community. Institutionalizing a Liberal World Order, in: *International Affairs Review* 17:2, pp. 1–29.
- Bunde, Tobias/Schöberl, Katja (2007):** Mehr Demokratieförderung wagen! Zum Stellenwert der Demokratieförderung in der deutschen Außen- und Entwicklungspolitik, in: Brand, Alexander/Niemann, Arne, eds.: *Interessen und Handlungsspielräume in der deutschen und europäischen Außenpolitik* (Dresden: TUDpress), pp. 59–84.
- Bunde, Tobias (2005):** Im deutschen Interesse? Der Begriff des „nationalen Interesses“ in der deutschen Außenpolitik, in: Niemann, Arne, ed.: *Herausforderungen an die deutsche und europäische Außenpolitik. Analysen und Politikempfehlungen* (Dresden: TUDpress), pp. 27–53.

THINK-TANK REPORTS, CONTRIBUTIONS TO POLICY JOURNALS, MISCELLANEOUS (SELECTION)

- Bunde, Tobias/Eisentraut, Sophie/Schütte, Leonard, eds. (2024):** Munich Security Report 2024: Lose–Lose? (Munich: Munich Security Conference), <https://doi.org/10.47342/BMQK9457>.
- Bunde, Tobias (2023):** Das neue Risikobewusstsein, in: *Internationale Politik Special* 3 (Reden mit der Republik), pp. 15–19.
- Bunde, Tobias et al. (2023):** Munich Security Report 2023. Re:vision (Munich: Munich Security Conference), <https://doi.org/10.47342/ZBJA9198>.
- Heusgen, Christoph/Bunde, Tobias (2022):** Historischer Wendepunkt, in: *Die Politische Meinung* 67:576, pp. 21–26.
- Bunde, Tobias/Eisentraut, Sophie (2022):** Zeitenwende for the G7. Insights From the Munich Security Index Special G7 Edition (Munich: Munich Security Conference), <https://doi.org/10.47342/JDIE4364>.
- Bunde, Tobias (2022):** Zeitenwende: Toward a Necessary Reset of NATO's Russia Policy, Thought Piece for the Workshop on “The Global Order After Russia's Invasion of Ukraine”, Perry World House, University of Pennsylvania, April 2022.
- Bunde, Tobias et al. (2022):** Munich Security Report 2022. Unlearning Helplessness: Turning the Tide (Munich: Munich Security Conference), <https://doi.org/10.47342/QAWU4724>.
- Bunde, Tobias (2022):** Overcoming Westlessness, in: Bunde, Tobias/Franke, Benedikt, eds.: *The Art of Diplomacy: 75 Views Behind the Scenes of World Politics* (Berlin: Econ), pp. 151–156.

- Brockmeier, Sarah/Bunde, Tobias (2021):** Kommt Zeit, kommt Rat?, in: *Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft*, October 11, 2021.
- Bunde, Tobias (2021):** The Risks of an Incremental German Exit from NATO's Nuclear Sharing Arrangement, in: *Texas National Security Review*, Policy Roundtable.
- My essay was also republished as "Germany and the Future of Nuclear Sharing", *War on the Rocks*, August 25, 2021.
- Bunde, Tobias et al. (2021):** Munich Security Report 2021. Between States of Matter – Competition and Cooperation (Munich: Munich Security Conference), <https://doi.org/10.47342/CYPE1056>.
- Bunde, Tobias (2021):** Beyond Westlessness: A Readout From the MSC Special Edition 2021 (Munich: Munich Security Conference), <https://doi.org/10.47342/NLUJ4791>.
- Bunde, Tobias et al. (2020):** Zeitenwende | Wendezeiten. Sonderausgabe des Munich Security Report zur deutschen Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik (Munich: Munich Security Conference), <https://doi.org/10.47342/Y-SUC7634>.
- English translation: Zeitenwende | Wendezeiten. Special Edition of the Munich Security Report on German Foreign and Security Policy (Munich: Munich Security Conference), <https://doi.org/10.47342/SBID8214>.
- Bunde, Tobias/Nelli Feroci, Fernando/Ruge, Boris/Tocci, Nathalie (2020):** European Vision and Ambition Needed: Italy and Germany Must Promote a Global EU Response to COVID-19 (Rome: Istituto Affari Internazionali).
- Bunde, Tobias/Eisentraut, Sophie (2020):** The Enabling Power. Germany's European Imperative (Munich: Munich Security Conference), <https://doi.org/10.47342/QTTO4437>.
- Bunde, Tobias et al. (2020):** Munich Security Report 2020. Westlessness (Munich: Munich Security Conference), <https://doi.org/10.47342/IAQX5691>.
- My introductory essay that coined the term "Westlessness" has been reprinted in: Engel, Jeffrey A./Lawrence, Mark Atwood/Preston, Andrew, eds. (2023): *America in the World: A History in Documents Since 1898, Revised and Updated*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Bunde, Tobias et al. (2019):** Munich Security Report 2019. Who Will Pick Up the Pieces? (Munich: Munich Security Conference), <https://doi.org/10.47342/Ryty8045>.
- Bunde, Tobias (2018):** Die Weltordnung vor dem Zerfall? Ende der Gewissheiten, in: *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* 68:36–37, pp. 4–7.
- Bunde, Tobias et al. (2018):** Munich Security Report 2018. To the Brink – and Back? (Munich: Munich Security Conference), <https://doi.org/10.47342/MXPT7760>.
- Bachmann, David/Bunde, Tobias/Maderspacher, Quirin/Oroz, Adrian/Witteck, Kai (2018):** Jetzt oder nie! Unser Militär muss vernetzter, leistungsfähiger und europäischer werden, in: *Internationale Politik* 73:1, pp. 44–50.
- Bachmann, David/Bunde, Tobias et al. (2017):** More European, More Connected, and More Capable. Building the European Armed Forces of the Future (Berlin: Munich Security Conference, McKinsey&Company, Hertie School of Governance), <https://doi.org/10.47342/BXTP7454>.
- Bunde, Tobias et al. (2017):** Munich Security Report 2017. Post-Truth, Post-West, Post-Order? (Munich: Munich Security Conference), <https://doi.org/10.47342/TJBL3691>.
- Bunde, Tobias (2017):** Holding the Center (on Germany's Changing Role in NATO), in: *The Cairo Review*, pp. 80–88.
- Bunde, Tobias (2017):** Wehret den Anfängen. Die liberale Demokratie ist kritische Infrastruktur, die es zu schützen gilt, in: *Internationale Politik* 72:1, pp. 50–56.
- Bunde, Tobias (2017):** Neue Lage, neue Verantwortung: Deutsche Außenpolitik nach dem Ende der Gewissheiten, in: Messner, Dirk/Ischinger, Wolfgang, eds.: *Deutschlands neue Verantwortung* (Berlin: Econ), pp. 238–241.

- Bunde, Tobias et al. (2016):** *Munich Security Report 2016. Boundless Crises, Reckless Spoilers, Helpless Guardians* (Munich: Munich Security Conference), <https://doi.org/10.47342/UGVL1868>.
- Bunde, Tobias et al. (2015):** *Munich Security Report 2015. Collapsing Order, Reluctant Guardians?* (Munich: Munich Security Conference), <https://doi.org/10.47342/FPKC7635>.
- Appelman, Rowinda/Bunde, Tobias, et al. (2014):** NATO at a Crossroads. Enhancing NATO's Credibility, Cohesion, and Capabilities for the Next Generation. Report of the NATO Emerging Leaders Working Group to the NATO Secretary General, Washington, DC/Brussels, June 2014.
- Bunde, Tobias/Jankowski, Dominik/Michelot, Martin (2014):** Reassurance First. Goals for an Ambitious Weimar Triangle, Center for European Policy Analysis (CEPA), Washington, DC, 10 June 2014.
- Bunde, Tobias (2014):** Deutsche Verantwortung, transatlantische Verstimmung und syrische Verzweiflung. Ein Bericht über die 50. Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz, in: *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik* 7: 2, pp. 237–250.
- Bunde, Tobias (2013):** Will There Be Another Generation of Atlanticists?, *AICGS Transatlantic Perspectives*, Washington, DC, 17 December 2013.
- Bunde, Tobias (2013):** NATO's Lost Nation? Prospects for a Reinvigorated German NATO Policy, *AICGS Transatlantic Perspectives*, Washington, DC, 6 November 2013.
- Bunde, Tobias (2012):** In Zeiten des Wandels. Die 48. Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz im Spiegel aktueller sicherheitspolitischer Debatten, in: *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik* 5: 2, pp. 319–327.
- Trettin, Frederik/Bunde, Tobias (2011):** Science Failed to Self-Regulate, in: *Nature* 295: 7343, p. 295.
- Bunde, Tobias (2011):** Vom Nahen Osten bis zum neuen Wilden Westen. Ein Bericht über die 47. Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz, in: *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik*, 4: 2, pp. 313–318.
- Bunde, Tobias/Oroz, Adrian (2010):** Warten auf Godot (Contribution to a debate on German foreign policy), in: *WeltTrends* 18: 73, pp. 101–104.
- Bruhns, Malte/Bunde, Tobias et al. (2009):** Die strategische Kultur der deutschen Sicherheitspolitik: Brauchen wir eine nationale Sicherheitsstrategie?, Policy Brief 08/09, stiftung neue verantwortung, Berlin.

NEWSPAPER ARTICLES AND BLOG POSTS (AVAILABLE UPON REQUEST)

I have written various opinion pieces, published by newspapers including *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Financial Times*, *Foreign Policy*, *Der Tagesspiegel*, *The Washington Post*, and [Project Syndicate](#) (republished by dozens of newspapers around the world) and a variety of blog posts for different think tanks or foundations.

UNDER REVIEW/WORK IN PROGRESS (AVAILABLE UPON REQUEST)

- Bunde, Tobias/Onderco, Michal:** Permissive Dissensus: The Nuclear Dimension of the German Zeitenwende. Contribution to a special issue for *The Nonproliferation Review* (under review).
- Bunde, Tobias/Onderco, Michal:** Nuclear Zeitenwende? The Consequences of Russia's Invasion of Ukraine for Nuclear Policies Around the World. Introduction to a special issue of *The Nonproliferation Review* (under review).
- Bunde, Tobias:** Making Sense of Zeitenwende: The Travails of German Foreign Policy Adaptation After Russia's Invasion of Ukraine. Drafts presented at the Hertie School/ZMSBw Conference on "European Zeitenwende?" and at the ISA Annual Convention 2024, under review at the *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*
- Bunde, Tobias:** Den Schuss nicht gehört? Die deutsche IB-Disziplin, Leerstellen der sicherheitspolitischen Forschung und die Zeitenwende.

Draft presented at a special conference of the Deutsche Vereinigung für Politikwissenschaft, to be submitted to *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen*.

Bunde, Tobias: Exit, Voice, and Allied Loyalty: Germany and NATO's Nuclear Sharing Arrangement.

Draft presented at the Hertie School workshop on nuclear security, to be submitted to a security studies journal after completion of additional interviews with high-level politicians, which are rather difficult to schedule.

Bunde, Tobias: An Alliance of (Il)Liberal Democracies? The Rise of Illiberalism and the Potential Paths to NATO's Disintegration.

Drafts presented at LMU Munich, a NATO/European Initiative for Security Studies (EISS) workshop, the University of Pennsylvania, and the ISA Annual Convention 2023, to be submitted to an IR journal after the presidential elections in the US (too much depends on the outcome).

Bunde, Tobias: Managing Deterrence and Assurance Demands in Heterogeneous Alliances. The Case of Non-Strategic Nuclear Weapons and the Future of Nuclear Sharing in NATO.

Project outline presented at an EISS workshop.