

# GMF annual report 2010



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The German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF) is a non-partisan American public policy and grantmaking institution dedicated to promoting better understanding and cooperation between North America and Europe on transatlantic and global issues.

GMF does this by supporting individuals and institutions working in the transatlantic sphere, by convening leaders and members of the policy and business communities, by contributing research and analysis on transatlantic topics, and by providing exchange opportunities to foster renewed commitment to the transatlantic relationship. In addition, GMF supports a number of initiatives to strengthen democracies.

Founded in 1972 through a gift from Germany as a permanent memorial to Marshall Plan assistance, GMF maintains a strong presence on both sides of the Atlantic. In addition to its headquarters in Washington, DC, GMF has six offices in Europe: Berlin, Paris, Brussels, Belgrade, Ankara, and Bucharest. GMF also has smaller representations in Bratislava, Turin, and Stockholm.

## letter from the president

From the eurozone's tumbles to populism's rise, from flare-ups in North Korea to crackdowns in Belarus, I conclude two things from the last year — that the world's problems only seem to grow in size, scope, and urgency, and that the transatlantic allies, though not perfect by any stretch, still offer the best hope for addressing intractable problems, especially when they work in concert.

Each new month in 2010 seemed to offer more hand-wringing and despair, from a deflated climate community starting the year with little hope for progress to arrests of opposition candidates on the streets of Minsk in December.

Country after country on the European Union's southern and western flanks faced austerity measures, economic meltdowns, and supranational bailouts. Heated partisan rhetoric in the United States obscured the hard choices that the Obama administration and Congress (still) need to make in order to right the economic ship of state.

A potent strain of populism bubbled up from the right both in the United States and in many European countries. Anti-immigrant and anti-government appeals appeared on both sides of the Atlantic, often in reaction to bad economic news.

Whether it was North Korea, Iran, or Afghanistan, developments in the world's

most troubling spots showed the limits of individual countries' power to deal with dictators, unpredictable regimes, or unreliable leaders.

It is easy to be pessimistic — and much harder to be optimistic — about the state of the world. It is even more difficult at times to be positive about the state of the transatlantic relationship.

But this, I feel, is why GMF is as important as ever. We will always work on the bilateral relationship (see: the economy), and on the not-quite-complete "Europe whole and free" project (see: Belarus, Moldova, the Western Balkans). But newer to the relationship is how the transatlantic allies deal — or don't — with China, India, climate change, immigration, and a host of other regional and global challenges.

From where I sit in Washington, from visits to our European offices, and from my travels to Asia and the Middle East, it is clear to me that the work GMF does to strengthen transatlantic cooperation to address these newer theaters of operation has never been more vital.

GMF continues to identify and promote new areas of cooperation for the transatlantic allies. We have begun work on what we call Southern Atlanticism — including South America and the Maghreb — as a way to expand the traditional scope of the



relationship. At the annual Halifax International Security Forum, we featured a panel on securing the "global commons" — essentially those spaces in-between, including the skies, sea lanes, space, and cyberspace.

With political turmoil in the Middle East and North Africa continuing in 2011, GMF will be a reliable contributor to the debate, whether through our Mediterranean Policy Program or by leveraging our considerable experience in working with civil society during transition times in Eastern Europe.

And work we are doing through several programs, including the Asia Program, the Economic Policy Program, and the in-house Transatlantic Academy, is addressing different aspects in a "global shift" of multilateral power, whether from the G8 expanding to the G20, or from a Western-centric power base to one that includes China and India.

This move toward "global transatlanticism" is not new for GMF, but our momentum continues in that direction.

I hope that you will continue to engage with us in 2011 through our various convening, grantmaking, publishing, or networking activities. Our redesigned website and our Facebook and Twitter communities make it easier than ever to keep up with what we are doing and where we are going.

This message would not be complete without expressing our gratitude for the support of and collaboration with our partners, whose commitment to GMF and to a strong transatlantic relationship is critical to making it through this difficult period in world history and sowing the seeds that will sprout new areas — and eras — of cooperation.

Among other things we look forward to in 2011, we are opening an office in Warsaw, Poland, as we expand our presence in Europe to seven offices and three representations. Despite outright reasons for pessimism, we are bullish on the transatlantic relationship and are prepared to deepen our investment in it.

Thank you for your continued support of and interest in GMF. I hope you join us in our optimism for the transatlantic relationship in 2011, and join us in our work to strengthen it.

Craig Kennedy  
President



Photo Credit: Michael Creagen

Former U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and Canadian Minister of Defence Peter McKay speak during a Halifax Forum panel.

▲ SLIDESHOW ▲

## convening

### BRUSSELS FORUM

Brussels Forum celebrated its fifth anniversary in 2010. This year, GMF brought together more than 350 North American and European government officials, scholars, journalists, and business leaders to debate important transatlantic issues.

The discussions focused on the economic crisis, the future of NATO, climate change, Afghanistan, Iran, the Balkans, and a broad spectrum of additional global challenges.

The 2010 Forum managed to assemble the most high-level and diverse group of speakers yet, including European Commission President José Manuel Barroso, President of the European Council Herman Van Rompuy, President of the European Parliament Jerzy Buzek, EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy Baroness Catherine Ashton, World Bank President Robert Zoellick, World Trade Organization Director General Pascal Lamy, NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen, Belgian Prime Minister Yves Leterme, Estonian President Toomas Ilves, Croatian President Ivo Josipović, Latvian President Valdis Zatlers, Serbian President Boris Tadić, and a delegation from the U.S. Congress, led by Senators Robert Casey and George Voinovich.

As in past years, GMF published a series of papers to stimulate further discussion at

the conference. Among the nine papers, authors addressed topics including Turkey, multilateralism, southern Atlanticism, climate policy, and the rise of Asia. All are available at

Alongside Brussels Forum, GMF hosted the first Young Professionals Summit (YPS), a joint initiative by the Young Transatlantic Network of GMF and Young Professionals in Foreign Policy. The Summit was a unique opportunity for 70 young professionals to meet leading figures in global politics and discuss the most pressing issues on the transatlantic agenda. It encouraged the participation of a younger generation from the European institutions, media, the business sector, NGOs, think tanks, and NATO in finding solutions to global problems.

Brussels Forum was organized by GMF in partnership with the Federal Authorities of Belgium, the Egmont Institute, and Daimler. Additional sponsors included the European Union Delegation to the United States, Eli Lilly and Company, and BNP Paribas Fortis, with further support from the Union of Chambers and Stock Exchanges of Turkey, the Ministry of Defence Republic of Latvia, and the Japan Foundation Center for Global Partnership.

### HALIFAX INTERNATIONAL SECURITY FORUM

Despite weather challenges, more than 300 global leaders and opinion makers in politics, government, business, academia, and media from 45 countries attended the 2010 Forum to discuss pressing global security and defense issues, such as the future of NATO, nuclear proliferation, homeland security, statebuilding, and responses to humanitarian disasters.

Participants included NATO Supreme Allied Commander Transformation Stéphane Abrial, Danish Minister of Defense Gitte Lillelund Bech, Canadian Minister of National Defence Peter MacKay, Commander of NORTHCOM and NORAD James Winnefeld, U.S. Under Secretary of Defense Michele Flournoy, U.S. Secretary of Homeland Security Janet Napolitano, Stanford University Professor of Political Science Condoleezza Rice, Canadian Minister of Public Safety Victor Toews, Norwegian Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Espen Barth Eide, Minister of State for Security in the British Home Office Pauline Neville-Jones, Parliamentary State Secretary in the German Ministry of Defense Christian Schmidt, Senior Pales-

tinian Negotiator Mohamed Shtayeh, and a delegation of six U.S. Senators, led by co-chairs John McCain (R-AZ) and Mark Udall (D-CO).

In order to further encourage thoughtful discussion, GMF published a series of six essays covering the future of NATO, nuclear proliferation, the security implications of the financial crisis, the rise of India and China, the Middle East peace process, and the enduring role of the United States and the transatlantic relationship.

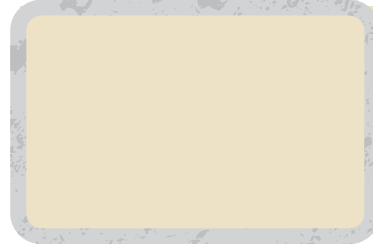
Local, national, and international media outlets covered the Forum, including the Associated Press, Reuters, *The Washington Post*, *The International Herald Tribune*, CNN, *The Globe & Mail*, and others.

The Halifax International Security Forum is organized by GMF in cooperation with the Government of Canada, the Canadian Department of National Defence, and the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency. For more information, visit

**A** Participants discuss Iran at the seventh Stockholm China Forum in June.



Christine Hawley



Tom Wassmann



Leonardo Puccini

**B** Transatlantic Forum on Migration and Integration fellows Koko Warner and Chinedu Onyejelem contribute to the TFMI meeting in Izmir, Turkey.

**C** GMF Senior fellow Ian Lesser and former NATO deputy secretary general Alessandro Minuto Rizzo at a Mediterranean Strategy Group meeting in Rome.

## convening

### STOCKHOLM CHINA FORUM

The sixth Stockholm China Forum was held on January 17 and 18, 2010, with the support of the STINT foundation, Riksbankens Jubileumsfond, and the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Forum brings together policymakers, intellectuals, journalists, and business representatives from Europe, the United States, and Asia, for an ongoing and systematic dialogue to assess the impact of China's rise and its implications for European and U.S. foreign, economic, and security policy. The agenda for the January edition included discussions about the future of climate policy

### INDIA FORUM

India Forum convenes policymakers, intellectuals, journalists, and business representatives from Europe, the United States, and India twice a year to establish networks across diverse communities and facilitate cooperation and coordination through informal discussion. On February 20 and 21, GMF held the inaugural India Forum in London, in partnership with the Legatum Institute and the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. As well as broader discussions on relations between Europe, the United States, and India, sessions included conversations on reforming global governance architecture, the rise of Asia,

after Copenhagen, exit strategies from the global economic crisis, China's national security strategy beyond Taiwan, and the China-India relationship.

The seventh Stockholm China Forum was held on June 12 and 13, 2010, again with the support of the Riksbankens Jubileumsfond and the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Topics discussed included Chinese foreign policy after the financial crisis, how to improve China's relationship with the West, the Iranian nuclear crisis, and ways to achieve economic rebalancing.

the unfolding situations in Afghanistan and Pakistan, the future of the Indian economy, maritime security, and counterterrorism.

On October 1-2, GMF held its second India Forum, also in partnership with the Legatum Institute and the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in Stockholm. Over two days, participants debated issues such as India's position in a changing world, cooperation in securing the global commons, climate negotiations and energy security, the possibility of closer economic and commercial ties, the trajectories of Afghanistan and Pakistan, the implications of China's rise, and India-Europe relations.

### TRANSATLANTIC FORUM ON MIGRATION AND INTEGRATION

GMF, in partnership with Robert Bosch Stiftung, held the 2010 Transatlantic Forum on Migration and Integration (TFMI) from July 7-11 in Izmir, Turkey. In its third year, TFMI assembled a group of 65 future decision-makers in the field of immigration and integration from Europe, the United States, and sending countries, and has established itself as a leading platform for exchange on crucial immigration and integration issues.

After past years in Germany and the United States, which are societies predominantly receiving immigrants, hosting TFMI in

Turkey offered an extended focus since Turkey is a significant country of origin for migrants in Europe. At the same time, it is also a major destination country and plays an important role in transit migration to the European Union.

Apart from the annual conference, TFMI has developed into a sustainable network that supports multiple networking activities and formats throughout the year. TFMI Fellows organize spin-off projects in all parts of the world, including study tours, regional meetings, academic exchanges, and professional exchanges.

### MEDITERRANEAN STRATEGY GROUP

Since 2009, GMF and its partners have held a series of events with related publications and outreach, all intended to raise the profile of the Mediterranean in the transatlantic policy debate. The focus is on key themes of concern to governments and the private sector, including regional integration, energy, and maritime commerce and security. The program aims to bring the debate on Mediterranean issues to a larger policy audience on both sides of the Atlantic, in particular in North America, where Mediterranean strategy is an underdeveloped topic, and in the southern Mediterranean, where new approaches to regional cooperation are sorely needed. GMF's Mediterranean work is conducted in partnership with the Compagnia di San Paolo, Enel SpA, OCP Group, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, and Fundação Luso-Americana.

The Mediterranean Strategy Group is at the center of GMF's growing Mediterranean Policy Program. Meetings of the Group alternate between Genoa and other Mediterranean venues. Discussion themes have included the challenge of regional integration in North Africa and the rapidly changing Mediterranean energy scene. The third full meeting of the Mediterranean Strategy Group was held in Genoa, October 24-26, 2010, on "Maritime Commerce and Security in the Mediterranean and Adjacent Waters," in cooperation with the City of Genoa. The debate stressed the role of the Mediterranean as a strategic commons, and the growing economic and security connections between the Mediterranean and other areas, including the Atlantic basin and the Indian Ocean.

## convening

### WIDER ATLANTIC PROGRAM

For the last 50 years, at least, the center of gravity in transatlantic relations has been firmly rooted in the Northern Hemisphere. But the next decade is likely to bring a significant rebalancing within the Atlantic space, with southern Atlantic partners, including Brazil and Southern and West Africa, playing a larger role. Maritime, energy, and human security policies will

### CITIES IN TRANSITION

From December 4-12, 2010, the Comparative Domestic Policy (CDP) Program, in partnership with the Surdna Foundation and the Kresge Foundation, led practitioners and policymakers from five U.S. Rust Belt cities on the first annual "Cities in Transition" study tour. The delegation, which included city planners, journalists, elected officials, and other civic leaders from Detroit, Flint, Cleveland, Youngstown, and Pittsburgh, met with political leaders and planners in Leipzig, Germany, and Manchester, England, to explore those cities' strategies for revitalizing vacant and underused land and buildings. In addition to meetings with high-level counterparts in

be at the center of the debate. In 2010, in partnership with Morocco's OCP Group, GMF launched a significant new program of convening and research to explore these emerging Atlantic issues. Activities will include an Atlantic Forum in Morocco, and studies on food security, energy, the geopolitics of new infrastructure projects.

city government, academia, and the private sector, the delegation visited redeveloping neighborhoods and economic development sites. Participants identified key elements that could help move U.S. cities forward including targeting investment towards strategically identified neighborhoods; bringing life to vacant properties with innovative temporary uses; and utilizing public-private partnerships to maximize both investment and support for a new vision. The CDP program is developing a series of follow up meetings and network expansion strategies for spring 2011 and beyond.



John Gallagher



John Gallagher

Participants in the Cities in Transition study tour in December 2010 were able to explore Leipzig, Germany. On the left, former mayor of Leipzig, Hinrich Lehman-Grube with Delrico Loyd of the Flint City Council. On the right, Andrew Butcher, CEO of GTECH; Alan Mallach, senior non-resident fellow at the Brookings Institute; and Lavea Brachman, Executive Director, Greater Ohio Policy Center.

### DETROIT-TORINO PARTNERSHIP

From November 14-20, 2010, the CDP program led the first of what will be three annual study tours bringing civic leaders from Detroit, Michigan, to Turin, Italy. GMF worked closely with the Kresge Foundation, Compagnia di San Paolo, the City of Turin, and Torino Internazionale to organize the tour. The inaugural delegation of Detroiters was led by Mayor David Bing and included high-level policymakers and thought leaders who were selected based on their professional achievements, their potential for establishing strong bilateral relationships with counterparts in Turin,

and ability to engender lasting change in Detroit. The focus of the trip was broad, in order to give participants a comprehensive overview of Turin's regeneration strategy and to help determine the project's objectives for the next two years. Accordingly, the delegation examined how Turin's leadership developed and implemented an urban strategic plan, repurposed and redeveloped the urban and industrial landscape, and created and implemented regional economic diversification strategies, as well as the role of higher education in the economy.



Brent Fiddle

Tamar Shapiro, CDP director; Valentino Casfellani, former Turin mayor; Wendy Jackson, Kresge Foundation; and David Bing, mayor of Detroit were able to discuss partnership opportunities during the study tour.

### CONGRESS-BUNDESTAG FORUM DAYTON

The seventh annual Congress-Bundestag Forum, a partnership with the Robert Bosch Stiftung, took place July 16 – 20 in Dayton, Ohio, and Washington, DC, under the leadership of Congressman Mike Turner (R-OH), a longtime participant. Ten members of the German Bundestag and six U.S. Representatives participated in the 2010 conference. Roundtable discussions in Dayton focused on a variety of topics, including intelligence-sharing, economic development, transatlantic security concerns, and nuclear non-proliferation.

Ohio proved to be a fitting host for the Forum given the strong trade relations

between Ohio and Germany. Ohio exports many agricultural and manufactured goods to Germany, while much of the manufacturing equipment used in Ohio is made in Germany. The group of lawmakers had the opportunity to tour Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, which highlighted the work being done in support of national security and of U.S. coalition partners in NATO. The Congress-Bundestag Forum concluded in Washington, DC, where the members of the Bundestag met with various U.S. government agencies to discuss trade, security, and foreign relations issues.



U.S. Air Force



Office of Rep. Turner

Congress-Bundestag Forum participants were able to tour the Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, as well as explore common challenges through discussion. Here, Ekin Deligöz, Eva Högl, and Otto Fricke, all members of the German Bundestag; U.S. Representative Michael Turner (R-OH); and John LeLand, director of the University of Dayton Research Institute.

## CANCUN CLIMATE CONFERENCE

GMF staff members Christina Elvers, Tessa Paganini, and Andrew Fishbein were among thousands of participants at the United Nations Climate talks in Cancun.



Thomas Legge

staff, and other participants. Speakers at GMF's events included Karsten Sach, deputy director general for international cooperation, German Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation, and Nuclear Safety; Trig Talley, director for global change at the U.S. Department of State; Elias Freig Delgado, coordinator of the Mexican Ministry of Finance Special CO<sub>2</sub> Task Force; Shalini Vajjhala, deputy assistant administrator for international policy at the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency; Norbert Gorissen, head of the International and EU Affairs Division in the Field of Renewable Energies, German Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation, and Nuclear Safety; Sasanka Thilakasiri, associate fellow, The Energy and Resources Institute, India; and Ray Kopp, senior fellow and director, Center for Climate and Electricity Policy, Resources for the Future.

GMF sent a delegation to the UN climate talks in Cancun, Mexico, in December 2010. The conference, a follow-up to the 2009 summit in Copenhagen, provided important opportunities for GMF visibility, networking, and programming. GMF hosted a reception, high-level dinner, and side event, gave media interviews, and networked with negotiators, congressional

## convening

### BRINGING DISCUSSIONS ON THE EUROZONE CRISIS TO WASHINGTON

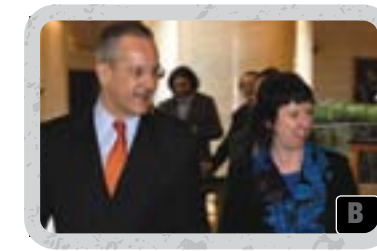
In October, Jean Pisani-Ferry, the director of the Brussels based think tank Bruegel, presented his views on the internal dynamics of the European sovereign debt crises and his ideas for the way forward. At the event titled "The Eurozone Crisis and Implications for the Transatlantic Economic Relationship," Pisani-Ferry provided an overview of the factors that contributed to

the crisis within the EU by stressing that policy inconsistencies, related to regulatory frameworks, supply side policies, and a lack of integration within the single market, significantly contributed to the rapid erosion of stability within the eurozone. The ensuing discussion with the audience focused on the impact of the crisis on the transatlantic economic partnership.

### IMMIGRATION EVENTS SERIES

In June and October, two event series were launched in Washington and Berlin that focused on key aspects of the broader immigration and integration debate. Both series are structured as off the record lunch or dinner discussions with a select group of high-level participants from the immigration policy community in both cities.

The series in Washington, *Taking the Immigration Debate Across Borders: GMF Embassy Event Series*, is conducted in cooperation with select embassies in Washington, DC. Events have been held with the Canadian, Belgian, and British embassies with speakers such as Sandra Harder, Director General of Immigration Policy for Citizenship and Immigration Canada; Damian Green, U.K. Minister of



GMF

- A** NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen outlined his vision for NATO's new strategic concept at a GMF speech in Brussels, Belgium.
- B** GMF vice president for programs, Ivan Vejvoda escorts EU High Representative for Foreign and Security Policy Baroness Catherine Ashton into a Serbian civil society meeting.



GMF



State for Immigration; and Mark Hugo Lopez, Associate Director, Pew Hispanic Center. The first event of the Berlin series, *GMF's Immigration Roundtables: A View from Berlin*, was held in December 2010 and featured Tamar Jacoby, president and CEO of ImmigrationWorks USA. The event focused on Tamar Jacoby's GMF policy brief "Selecting For Integration – What Role For A Point System?," which presents an innovative and new U.S. policy idea to admission and integration policy that was received well by the German participants.


Three events in Berlin were held in


cooperation with the Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung für die Freiheit, Berlin, the political foundation of the Liberal Party (FDP), focused on the impact of immigration on social resources, specifically on science and knowledge transfer, the economy, and the welfare system and social services. In October 2010, in cooperation with the Vodafone Foundation Germany and the Heinrich Böll Foundation in Berlin, a conference was held focusing on social mobility and social advancement in a transatlantic comparison, with an emphasis on immigrants' social advancement on both sides of the Atlantic.

### HOSTING TRANSATLANTIC LEADERS

Throughout 2010, GMF provided a venue for a number of North American and European leaders to address gatherings of policy professionals in Washington and European capitals.

On January 20, Carl Bildt, Swedish foreign minister; Sergey Markedonov, director of the Department for Problems of Ethnic Relations at the Institute for Political and Military Analysis in Moscow; and GMF Brussels Executive Director Ron Asmus participated in a discussion about the war in Georgia and Asmus' new book on the same subject entitled, *A Little War that Shook the World: Georgia, Russia, and the Future of the West*.

With growing public concern about Afghanistan  in both the United States and Germany, on January 22, GMF sponsored an America Abroad Media town hall event with German Defense Minister Karl-Theodor zu Guttenberg and the late Ambassador Richard Holbrooke, U.S. special envoy to Afghanistan and Pakistan, to discuss the critical issues affecting Afghanistan, NATO, and the transatlantic alliance.

On February 18, GMF's Balkan Trust for Democracy (BTD),  in cooperation with the Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence, hosted EU High Representative for Foreign and Security Policy Baroness Catherine

## convening

Ashton, along with other prominent representatives of civil society for a meeting in Serbia. In a press conference prior to the discussion, Ashton said that dialogue with civil society is an essential element of the EU's engagement around the world. She highlighted that the EU believes the future of the Western Balkans lies in its eventual accession to the EU, and that commitment to reforms and their implementation is of the utmost importance.

On April 30, GMF's Washington, DC, office hosted the Honorable Radoslaw Sikorski, Polish minister of foreign affairs, for a roundtable luncheon discussion. Sikorski discussed a range of issues including Poland's relationships with Russia and Ukraine, the EU and its economy, and the upcoming EU Polish presidency.

On October 1, in partnership with the Congressional Study Group on Germany and the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, GMF hosted a discussion with World Bank President Robert Zoellick, who had been a U.S. representative to the "Two-plus-Four" process in 1990, to reflect on the 20<sup>th</sup> anni-

versary of German reunification. Zoellick suggested the rapid design of the post-Cold War order, between the signing of the "Two-plus-Four" treaty and actual unification, was principally down to the significant impetus for change found on the ground in Germany at the time. Despite the public urge for unification, he explained that the United States was trying to build political structures for Europe and Germany that would stand the test of time.

On October 8,  NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen outlined his vision for NATO's new strategic concept at a GMF speech in Brussels, Belgium, and cautioned against deep defense budget cuts among members. Rasmussen outlined three areas of change for NATO. He said it needs to modernize its defense and deterrence capability to accommodate new threats. It also needs to update its crisis management capabilities to respond to situations like the one in Afghanistan and to develop its global partnerships to build cooperative security.

With Russian parliamentary elections scheduled for the end of next year and

presidential elections set for early 2012 as backdrop, GMF's Washington, DC, office hosted a discussion on Russia's political scene with Mikhail Kasyanov, former prime minister of the Russian Federation on October 19. Kasyanov described the political challenges facing Russia today, explaining that the controversial steps Vladimir Putin took following the Beslan massacre in 2004 played a key role in making it significantly harder for opposition parties to operate in Russia. While suggesting that many Russians had been hopeful that Dmitri Medvedev's 2008 appointment to the presidency would lead to positive political change, he said that after two years of inaction, disappointment was beginning to set in. He advocated a reset policy with the United States that is more "principled and intelligent," one that does not merely seek to avoid confrontation, but that is also critical of Russia's "misbehavior" in areas like human rights and democracy.

Ukrainian Minister of Foreign Affairs Kostyantyn Gryshchenko outlined the philosophy and some of the strategic goals of his country's foreign policy on October 26 during "Ukraine: A New President, a

New Foreign Policy?" The session, hosted by GMF's Brussels office along with the European Policy Centre and The EU Ukraine Business Council, focused on the direction of Ukraine's international affairs since Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich's February 2010 election. Gryshchenko underlined that Ukraine is pursuing a pragmatic foreign policy that seeks to position the country as a bridge — between Europe, the United States and Russia — and said that foreign policy decisions are made strictly in accordance with Ukraine's interests.


Polish President Bronislaw Komorowski's first official visit to Washington, DC, in the United States as president came at a German Marshall Fund-organized event at the historic Willard Hotel on December 8. Komorowski arrived from a meeting at the White House with U.S. President Barack Obama. In a speech peppered with colorful anecdotes and humorous asides, Komorowski spoke of the "luck" of the Polish people, but also of the country's difficult history sandwiched between Germany and Russia. Komorowski had hosted Russian President Dmitri Medvedev in Warsaw earlier that week. 



Photo Credit: Ashley VonClausburg

**World Bank President Robert Zoellick reflects on the 20th anniversary of German reunification.**

▲ SLIDESHOW ▲



## TRANSATLANTIC ACADEMY

The Transatlantic Academy serves as a forum for a select group of scholars from both sides of the Atlantic, and from different academic and policy disciplines, to examine a single set of issues. Working together from a transatlantic and interdisciplinary perspective, Academy fellows use research, publications, and ideas to make policy-relevant contributions to debates facing the transatlantic community.

On June 10, 2010, in Istanbul, Turkey, the Transatlantic Academy, in partnership with the Istanbul Policy Center, held a one-day conference to close out its second

academic year and launch the Academy's report *Getting to Zero: Turkey, Its Neighbors, and the West*. Written collaboratively by Transatlantic Academy fellows, *Getting to Zero* is a report from a multi-disciplinary study evaluating Turkey's evolving global and regional role, internal change in Turkey, and how these affect the transatlantic relationship. Academy fellows spent 10 months in Washington, DC, collaborating on this report and took study trips to the Middle East, the Black Sea region, and Turkey.

The theme for the third (2010-2011) academic year is "Global Shift: the Transatlantic Community and the New Geopolitics." Throughout the year, the Academy will consider how broader changes in the global political and economic order, with a particular emphasis on the rise of China, will affect the role of the transatlantic states and societies in the world. On September 28, the Transatlantic Academy held a conference, "Global Shift: Implications of a Post-Western World," to mark the opening of the year and to welcome its third generation of fellows.

The 2010-2011 fellows are:

**Daniel Deudney**  
Johns Hopkins University, United States

**James Goldgeier**  
George Washington University,  
United States

**Hanns Maull**  
University of Trier, Germany

**Stefan Schirm**  
Ruhr University of Bochum, Germany

**Soo Yeon Kim**  
National University of Singapore

**Iskander Rehman**  
Institute of Political Sciences, Science  
Po, France

The fellows participated in a study tour to Beijing, China, and Seoul, South Korea in October to gain deeper insights into the economic, security, and global governance implications of the shift of power from west to east. The group held a series of high-level meetings with Chinese and Korean academics and policymakers, as well as western diplomats, journalists, and nonprofit leaders. The fellows will continue to organize and take part in academic conferences throughout the year, and will spend February and March completing their collaborative report, with the release in May and June 2011.

The Transatlantic Academy is an initiative of GMF, the ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, the Robert Bosch Stiftung, and the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation. In addition, the Academy has received funding from the Transatlantic Program of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany through funds of the European Recovery Program (ERP) of the Federal Ministry of Economics and Technology, and the Compagnia di San Paolo.

## TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS 2010

*Transatlantic Trends 2010* — a project of GMF and the Compagnia di San Paolo (Italy), with additional support from the Fundação Luso-Americana, the Fundación BBVA, and the Communitas Foundation — measures broad public opinion in the United States, Turkey, and 11 European Union countries through interviews with more than 13,000 people. For the ninth consecutive year, participants were asked their views on each other and on global threats, foreign policy objectives, world leadership, and multilateral institutions. The survey was released on September 15, and the key findings included:

### THE OBAMA PUZZLE: THE WHOLE IS MORE THAN THE SUM OF ITS PARTS

*Transatlantic Trends 2010* found that President Obama is still viewed more positively in Europe (78 percent, down from 83 percent in 2009 for 11 EU countries) than the United States (52 percent). However, fewer than half of Europeans responded positively when asked specifically about his handling of Afghanistan and Iran. Unlike Europeans, Americans have similar or higher approval rates for many of his specific policies. The majority of Americans approved of his policies toward Russia (61 percent), climate change (56 percent), and Afghanistan (54 percent).

### A CRISIS OF THE EURO, NOT THE EU

There was little support for Europe's common currency in the countries surveyed that use the euro. When asked whether using the euro has been a good or bad thing for their country's economy, almost all majorities in the eurozone sample responded negatively. However, more than half of the EU respondents (57 percent) felt that economic difficulties in Europe should lead to greater commitment to build a stronger European Union.

### A CONTINUING DIVIDE ON TRANSATLANTIC SECURITY

As in previous years, the United States was the only country where a slight majority of respondents (51 percent) felt optimistic about stabilizing the situation in Afghanistan. Only 23 percent of EU respondents were optimistic. However, this year's survey shows that majorities or pluralities in all countries surveyed, including 62 percent in the EU and 77 percent in the United States, still support NATO being prepared to act outside of Europe to defend members from threats to their security.

### DIFFERENT TRANSATLANTIC VIEWS ON THE RISE OF ASIA

EU and U.S. respondents were divided about the role Asia would play in global affairs. Seventy-one percent of respondents in the United States found it very likely that China will exert strong leadership in the future, while only 34 percent of Europeans thought the same scenario is very likely.

### TURKEY AND THE WEST: DRIFTING AWAY

In 2004, 73 percent of the Turkish respondents said membership would be a good thing, but support has dropped to 38 percent by 2010. A plurality of Turks (48 percent) were not concerned about Iran acquiring nuclear weapons, in sharp contrast with EU (79 percent) and U.S. (86 percent) respondents who were concerned. In addition, the percentage of Turks who said Turkey should act in closest cooperation with countries in the Middle East on international matters doubled to 20 percent from 2009. This was accompanied by a nine-point decline in those who said Turkey should cooperate with EU countries (13 percent).



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## research



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## TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS: IMMIGRATION 2010

In 2010, GMF and its partners collected data for the third year of the *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* survey, which measures attitudes on immigration and integration topics on both sides of the Atlantic.

As many of the countries included in TTI were still grappling with the aftermath of the economic crisis in 2010, a primary focus of TTI 2010 was the economy and its effects on attitudes. *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration 2010* asked North Americans and Europeans several questions related to labor markets, their own economic situation, and their perception of their national economies in order to gauge whether attitudes about immigration issues have changed as a result of economic anxiety.

Another highlight of the TTI 2010 survey is a focus on integration issues. Given the salience of the European debate, in particular, the survey included questions that allowed respondents to evaluate the integration of various immigrant groups as well as the children of immigrants.

*Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* is a project of the German Marshall Fund of the United States, the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, the Compagnia di San Paolo, and the Barrow Cadbury Trust, with additional support from the Fundación BBVA. It measures public opinion on immigration and integration issues in the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and Spain. Key findings of the survey include:

### DISCONTENT WITH IMMIGRATION POLICIES

Most countries showed disapproval with

government management of immigration. Majorities in the United States (73 percent), the U.K. (70 percent), Spain (61 percent), France (58 percent), and the Netherlands (54 percent) believed the government was doing a poor job in immigration management. Only Canada was split, with 48 percent offering positive views and 43 percent responding less favorably to government policies.

### PERSONAL ECONOMIC FACTORS CORRELATED WITH FEARS

Among unemployed Europeans, 43 percent believed immigrants take jobs from natives; the average in Europe was 35 percent. In the United States, 63 percent of those whose financial situation worsened in 2010 saw immigrants as a threat in the job market jobs, more than the average of 56 percent.

### IMMIGRATION STILL SWAYS VOTES

Compared to 2008, respondents answering that a political party's stance on immigration would impact their vote was down slightly, to 45 percent from 50 percent in 2008. In the U.K., however, 63 percent said immigration policy would affect their vote, and 67 percent of Americans said likewise, up from 56 percent in 2008.

### IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION

Most in Europe held unfavorable views on the state of immigrant integration. Spain was the only country with a slight majority (54 percent saying that immigrants are integrating well. North Americans held a more positive view, with 59 percent of Americans and 65 percent of Canadians claiming that immigrants are integrating well.

## GMF FELLOWS PROGRAM

### Emiliano Alessandri

former Visiting Fellow, Center on the U.S. and Europe (CUSE), Brookings Institution; Associate Fellow, Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI), Rome

### Gilles Andreani

former Director of the Policy Planning Staff, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France

### Niels Annen

former Member, German Bundestag

### Autumn Bernstein

Director, Climate Plan

### Lavea Brachman

(Cities In Transition Fellow) Director, Greater Ohio Policy Center

### Peter Chase

former U.S. Chamber of Commerce senior European representative

### John Colm

Executive Director, WIRE-Net

### Pavol Demeš

former Director, GMF Bratislava Office

### Daniel Fata

Vice President, The Cohen Group; former U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary for Defense for Europe and NATO Policy

### Joe Guinan

Senior Policy Analyst, Environmental Working Group; Advisor, William & Flora Hewlett Foundation's Global Development Program

### Abby Hall

Policy Analyst, United States Environmental Protection Agency

### Jennifer Hillman

Member, Appellate Body, World Trade Organization

### Joerg Himmelreich

former Member, Policy Planning Staff, German Federal Foreign Office

### William Inboden

Distinguished Scholar at the Strauss Center for International Security and Law, Assistant Professor at the LBJ School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas-Austin

### Jim Kolbe

former Member, U.S. House of Representatives, representing the 8<sup>th</sup> Congressional District of Arizona

### Milos Kovacevic

Member of the Municipality Council, Savski Venac, City of Belgrade

### Katrin Kuhlman

President, Trade, Aid, and Security Coalition

### James Kunder

former Acting Administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development

### Ian Lesser

former Vice President, Pacific Council on International Policy, senior staff member of the RAND Corporation, and member of Secretary of State Warren Christopher's Policy Planning Staff, U.S. Department of State

### Robert Liberatore

former Head of Global External Affairs and Public Policy, DaimlerChrysler

### Nigel Purvis

President, Climate Advisers

### Joseph Quinlan

Chief Market Strategist, Bank of America Capital Management

### Ryo Sahashi

Associate Professor of International Politics in the Faculty of Law at Kanagawa University

### Tim Searchinger

former Co-Director, Center for Conservation Incentives, Environmental Defense

### Andrew Small

former Director, Foreign Policy Centre, Beijing

### Constanze Stelzenmüller

former Defense and International Security Editor, *DIE ZEITUNG*

### Bruce Stokes

International Economics Columnist, *National Journal*

### Ryan Streeter

editor of ConservativeHome.com

### Kati Suominen

former Trade Economist, Inter-American Development Bank

### Daniel Twining

former Member of Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice's Policy Planning Staff, U.S. Department of State

### Peter Van Praagh

former Senior Director of Foreign Policy and Civil Society programs, GMF

### Joshua Walker

Post-Doctoral Fellow at the Crown Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Brandeis University, Research Fellow at Harvard University's Belfer Center

### Joseph R. Wood

former Deputy Assistant to the U.S. Vice President for National Security Affairs

research



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## TRANSATLANTIC TAKE SERIES

GMF's Transatlantic Take series entered its second year featuring regular op-ed style pieces on the week's most important news and events. Each piece is written by GMF staff or fellows from both sides of the Atlantic and distributed by email. The authors comment on current events from a transatlantic perspective, in some cases highlighting new issues that should be on the transatlantic agenda. Every Transat-

lantic Take can also be found on the GMF blog, where authors and readers comment and continue the conversation. At the conclusion of 2010, almost 80 Transatlantic Takes had been published featuring stories ranging from the American midterm elections and the conflict on the Korean peninsula to Iran's nuclear ambitions and the economic crisis.

## CLIMATE CHANGE AND SECURITY PAPER SERIES

A series of papers commissioned by GMF's Climate & Energy Program advanced understanding  of the linkages between climate change and national security and set out options for transatlantic policy responses. The papers addressed the intersection of climate and security from several different angles. Joshua W. Busby ([watch video](#)) and colleagues at the University of Texas analyzed the particular vulnerabilities posed by climate change to North Africa, with a focus on

the region's significance to transatlantic partners. E3G's Nick Mabey argued that the security community must be proactive in addressing climate change. Tobias Feakin and Duncan Depledge of RUSI wrote of how the transatlantic community can benefit from a coordinated approach to climate change. And Adelphi's Dennis Taenzler and Alexander Carius framed future conflicts and opportunities arising from climate change, with an eye to developing multilateral adaptation strategies.

## ON TURKEY, UKRAINE, WIDER EUROPE, AND ASIA SERIES

GMF's Foreign Policy & Civil Society Program has developed several series of policy briefs to explore issues in different regions of the globe affecting the transatlantic relationship. The "On Ukraine" series, for example, examined that country's politics in the run-up to the 2010 presidential elections.  The ongoing "On Turkey" series continues to provide provocative commentary on Turkey's domestic and international policies, ranging from the

selection of political party leaders to relations with Israel and Armenia. The "On Wider Europe" series, as the name implies, focuses on the expansion of the EU and NATO, and relations with near neighbors such as Belarus and Azerbaijan. The "On Asia" series, launched in 2010, discusses established and rising powers in the east, from Japan to India, regarding global economics and security.

## MEDITERRANEAN POLICY PAPERS

In parallel with the Mediterranean Strategy Group, GMF has developed a wider program of research on Southern Europe, North Africa, the Levant, and strategic questions affecting the region. These include published studies from GMF's strategic partnership with the Institute for International Affairs (IAI) in Rome, a grant for analyses on the Mediterranean political economy to *Paralleli* in Turin,  and research commissioned directly from GMF in Washington. Key themes for publications in 2010 have included maritime

security, Libya, and new players in the Mediterranean.

GMF Senior Transatlantic Fellow Ian Lesser, who leads GMF's Mediterranean work, is engaged in an active program of writing and speaking on Mediterranean affairs, and regularly briefs research findings to policy audiences. In October 2010, Emiliano Alessandri joined the staff as a Transatlantic Fellow to extend the program's research and outreach capacity on Mediterranean issues.



[Download Mediterranean Policy Papers](#) 

## HARNESSING MARKET-BASED SOLUTIONS TO FOOD SECURITY

In order to link its work on agricultural and trade to the current debate on food security, GMF initiated a multi-stakeholder research and consultation process to develop a trade strategy for the United States that would harness market-based solutions to food security. The recommendations produced through this process fed into a White Paper by former GMF

Resident Fellow Katrin Kuhlmann, which outlines a detailed roadmap to identify barriers to and opportunities for the expansion of food markets in the developing world. The recommendations are reflected in the U.S. Administration's official implementation documents for the Feed the Future Initiative.

## ACCESSING GMF'S PUBLICATIONS THROUGH SCRIBD

GMF has revived its Scribd.com account and posted around 300 documents on the site, representing all of GMF's major publications, policy briefs, policy papers, and conference paper series since 2004.

Scribd is a social networking site for the sharing of publications. If you search for GMF on [Scribd](#) and become a "follower," you'll receive notification whenever a new publication is available.

research



[Download the "On Turkey" series](#) 

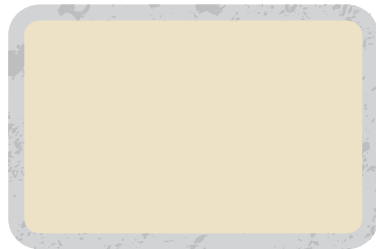
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[Download the "On Asia" series](#) 



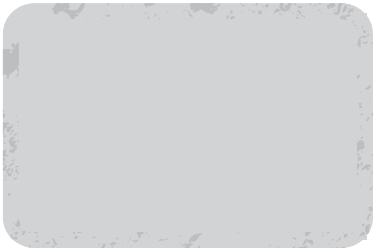
- A** European Marshall Memorial fellows Vedran Horvat (Croatia) and Alessia Lefébure (France) stayed with a host family in Bismarck, ND.
- B** Fall 2010 European fellows experience the New York subway on the last day of their trip. L-R: Markus Biegel (Germany), Alfredo Ingelmo (Spain), Sasha Kapadia (GMF staff), Katerina Economakou (Greece), Christian Olufsen (Denmark), and Alessia Lefébure (France).



Thomas Rötting



Thomas Rötting



## networking

### MARSHALL MEMORIAL FELLOWSHIP

GMF's flagship and longest running program, the Marshall Memorial Fellowship (MMF) is a professional development and networking initiative that enables participants to delve into the inner workings of American and European society through group and individual briefings and experiential learning opportunities with government officials, think tank leaders, media, and business representatives.

The MMF program in 2010 was made possible in part through partnership with

the Kresge Foundation, the Stavros S. Niarchos Foundation, and the Cleveland Foundation, and by in-kind contributions from the Council for the United States and Italy, Fundación Rafael del Pino, Gemeinnützige Hertie-Stiftung, and Patronat Catalunya Món. In addition to these partners, GMF would like to thank the transatlantic network of city coordinators and selection partners for their invaluable contributions and dedication.

### 2010 AMERICAN MARSHALL MEMORIAL FELLOWS

Over the course of 2010, 48 emerging American Marshall Memorial Fellows from 19 states and the District of Columbia traveled to five European cities to explore issues such as economic development, immigration, and politics. Destinations included Barcelona, Brussels, Freiburg, Turin, Sarajevo, and Warsaw. Highlights

of the 2010 American Fellows' programs included lunch with the president of Montenegro and his foreign affairs advisor; participation in "Aftenshowet," the Danish version of "Good Morning America"; and a walking tour through HafenCity to discuss the reinvention of downtown Hamburg.

### 2010 EUROPEAN MARSHALL MEMORIAL FELLOWS

GMF welcomed 55 emerging European leaders from 21 countries to travel extensively throughout the United States as Marshall Memorial Fellows, exploring issues such as gun control, business, religion, and culture. The fellows visited

five different cities and towns across the United States, spending time in destinations that included Billings, MT; Detroit, MI; Durango, CO; Houston, TX; Montgomery, AL; and New Orleans, LA. Fellows were also welcomed into the homes of American

families to gain a better understanding of daily life in the United States. Also in 2010, to better mirror the recent growth of the

EU, GMF initiated a new selection process allowing leaders in an additional 15 European countries to apply.

### MARSHALL MEMORIAL FELLOWSHIP ALUMNI

Since 1982, the MMF program has created a vibrant transatlantic network of more than 2,000 professionals, many of whom continue to take on leadership roles throughout the United States and Europe. In 2010, MMF alumni of all generations have answered the call to public service: Kasim Reed (MMF 2000) became mayor of Atlanta, Georgia; Viktor Orban (MMF 1992) was named prime minister of

Hungary; Laurent Wauquiez (MMF 2005) began service as French minister for European affairs; Gitte Lillelund Bech (MMF 2003) became the first woman to serve as minister of defence in Denmark; Jean Mendelson (MMF 1984) began service as ambassador of France to Cuba, and Darko Angelov (MMF 2009) is now ambassador of the Republic of Macedonia to Hungary.

### MARSHALL FORUM

From September 16 – 19, 2010, GMF and a North Carolina host committee of MMF alums hosted the Marshall Forum on Transatlantic Affairs in Raleigh-Durham, North Carolina. The theme of the conference, the future of innovation, was woven throughout the panel sessions and keynote speeches, which covered a range of topics including politics, science, education, immigration, energy, and biotechnology. Keynote speakers included Dr. Oliver Smithies, professor at UNC and a Nobel Prize winner; U.S. Representative David Price (D-NC); Dr. Roberta Blackman-Woods, a member of the U.K. parliament;

and Dr. Jim Johnson of the University of North Carolina (UNC). Drawing upon the richness of regional innovation, conference highlights included a site visit to Hillside New Tech High School, where the 55 participants learned about the innovative teaching techniques used there, followed by an al fresco dinner at a local organic farm. The conference was made possible through the dedication and hard work of the local American Marshall Memorial Fellowship alumni, in partnership with the Kenan Institute, IBM, Cisco, Capitol Broadcasting Company, SAS, and South by North Strategies.



Emily Robichaux

Roberta Blackman-Woods, English member of Parliament, and Ian Murray, Scottish member of Parliament, gave the closing keynote at the 2010 Marshall Forum.

## CLIMATE STUDY TOUR

GMF led a study tour for U.S. policymakers to learn about Europe's experience of renewable energy in Germany and Spain from September 4-11 with support from the Transatlantic Climate Bridge. The study tour was designed to offer U.S. officials first-hand insight into a range of European policies and business strategies to maintain a competitive edge in clean-energy technologies. In Hamburg, the delegation saw a city that had reinvented itself as a hub of clean-energy production, home to companies like REpower Systems AG (a manufacturer of wind turbines) and LichtBlick (an innovative electricity utility), whose senior management they met. They visited the City Hall to hear about the measures Hamburg has taken to win the title of European Green Capital 2011. Their visit to Bilbao, in the Basque Country in northern Spain, provided another example of how a port city had found new industrial life in the renewable energy sector.

The study tour allowed the delegates to understand how renewable energy — which is often variable and intermittent depending on the weather conditions — can be integrated at a large scale into the electricity grid. During

the visit to Madrid's Red Electrica, which is responsible for the management of the Spanish electrical grid, the delegates saw in real time how electricity from wind and solar electricity is balanced with more traditional coal- or gas-fired power generation.

Finally, the study tour considered the longer-term prospects for renewable energy. In Hamburg, delegates participated in an expert roundtable on the prospects for "Desertec," a German-led initiative to develop solar power in North Africa for export to Europe. The roundtable also featured discussion of a "SuperSmart Grid," an advanced, high-capacity power-distribution grid that could allow the transmission of power from Europe's periphery to the population centers across the continent. In Spain, delegates saw part of this technology in action: a concentrated solar power plant of 300MW installed capacity that is being built near Seville. The project is a commercial, functioning power plant that provided a concrete example of what could be done not just in Europe, via the Desertec project, but also in the United States, which has analogous geographical locations in southern desert states like Arizona, Texas, and California.



A study tour participant takes in a real-time representation of Spain's electricity generation and needs.



## ALLIANCE OF CIVILIZATIONS INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIP

GMF coordinated the pilot program of the Alliance of Civilizations International Fellowship in March 2010. Modeled on the Marshall Memorial Fellowship, this two-week long exchange program provided an opportunity for 24 emerging leaders from North America, Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa to explore media,

culture, politics, business, governmental institutions, civil society, and religion in one another's regions. GMF operated the pilot in partnership with the British Council; the League of Arab States; the Islamic Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization; the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Qatar; and the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations.

## TRANSATLANTIC CITIES NETWORK

The Transatlantic Cities Network (TCN), the signature project of GMF's Comparative Domestic Policy (CDP) program, provides a sustained framework for the exchange of information about innovative policies, best practices, and local policy challenges among a diverse network of policymakers, practitioners, and civic leaders who are well-positioned to put new ideas into practice in their home cities. The TCN is made possible through partnerships with the Compagnia di San Paolo and the Bank of America Foundation.

### TRANSATLANTIC CITIES FORUM ON WATERFRONT DEVELOPMENT

From May 20-23, 2010, GMF hosted waterfront development experts from 22 TCN member cities at its Transatlantic Cities Forum (TCF) on Waterfront Development in Genoa, Italy. At this first annual Transatlantic Cities Forum, delegates engaged in a dialogue about professional experiences, successes, and challenges, identified key thematic issues that face planners and practitioners working on waterfront projects in cities on both sides

of the Atlantic, and shared best practices and solutions for specific challenges.

### TRANSATLANTIC CITIES NETWORK ANNUAL MEETING

In late September, CDP hosted the annual meeting of its Transatlantic Cities Network members in Essen, Germany. The theme of this year's meeting, "Turning Liabilities Into Assets," focused on the Ruhr Valley's economic and cultural transformation in the post-industrial era, with workshops and site visits structured around the region's exemplary brownfield redevelopment projects and status as the European Capital of Culture 2010. In addition to discussing urban policy challenges around this topic, TCN members also discussed the shape, scope, and direction of the network itself.



Transatlantic Cities Forum participants visited Genoa's waterfront.

## APSA CONGRESSIONAL FELLOWSHIP

The American Political Science Association (APSA) Congressional Fellowship is a highly selective, non-partisan program devoted to expanding public knowledge and awareness of the U.S. Congress around the world. Each year, GMF provides support for two mid-career German professionals to participate in the prestigious ten-month fellowship. Fellows secure their own jobs as legislative assistants in Congress by reaching out directly to member offices and committees. GMF's Congressional Relations team offers support and guidance in this process. Once they obtain a position,

APSA Fellows gain an insider's view of Capitol Hill and an intimate understanding of the functioning of the federal government as a whole. The program provides participants an unparalleled experience of the American political system that informs their work at home in Germany. To date, GMF has supported the participation of 50 German Fellows.

The 2009-10 fellows were Ulrike Hornung, who worked in the office of Congresswoman Linda Sánchez, and Sonja Regler, who worked in the House Subcommittee on Africa and Global Health.

## CONGRESSIONAL STUDY TOUR TO DISCUSS GLOBAL ECONOMIC CHALLENGES

In July 2010, GMF organized a Congressional staff study tour to London, Brussels, and Berlin. The study tour focused on the rising importance of the G20 as a means to face global economic challenges, the state of financial reform on both sides of the Atlantic, and the global implications of the sovereign debt crisis in Europe. The bipartisan group of nine

staffers had the opportunity to meet with economic officials and representatives from governments, central banks, and parliaments, as well as the private and nonprofit sectors. Through these meetings, GMF aimed to foster greater understanding of these complex issues and to provide for an open exchange of policy ideas among staff and their counterparts in Europe.

## PETER R. WEITZ PRIZE AWARDED

On July 28, the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF) awarded the 2010 Peter R. Weitz Journalism Prize for excellence and originality in U.S. reporting on Europe and the transatlantic relationship to Sarah Wildman for her five-piece series on the International Tracing Service (ITS), the world's largest Holocaust archive, published in *Slate* magazine.

The award luncheon included a panel discussion featuring Wildman and Paul A. Shapiro, director of the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM). Mike Abramowitz, a non-resident GMF fellow and director of the Committee on Conscience at the USHMM, moderated the discussion.

Wildman opened the discussion by describing her personal struggle to understand the fate of a young German Jewish woman within the larger context of the field of Holocaust studies. She stressed the importance of ITS' work, explaining that the archive provided "the only type of happy ending possible by offering closure...some idea of what happened to the people you remember...to give survivors and victims back their humanity, despite not having been able to save [them], but to have been able to save [their] words."

## MANFRED WÖRNER SEMINAR

Begun in 1982 as the Multiplikatoren Seminar (Multiplier Seminar) and co-sponsored by GMF and the Armed Forces Office of the German Defense Ministry, the annual Manfred Wörner Seminar brings together 30 young Americans and Germans to examine German and European security policy and to discuss U.S.-German and U.S.-European security interests. The Seminar serves to deepen understanding between participants from both countries and offers an excellent opportunity to broaden professional networks.

The program takes place each year in three German cities — Bonn, Cologne, and Berlin — and in Brussels, Belgium, and consists of meetings with experts on security and defense in both the German-American and European-American framework. This year's seminar was held from April 30 to May 8, 2010.

The Weitz Prize was established in 1999 in memory of Peter R. Weitz, former director of programs at GMF, for his interest in promoting coverage of European affairs by American journalists. While GMF has in the past offered two awards to distinguish junior reporters aged 35 and under from senior reporters, Wildman was the sole recipient of this year's prize.

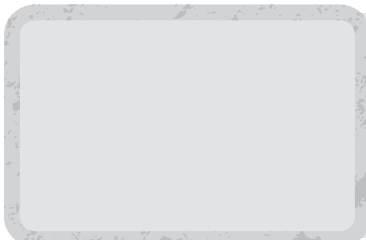


Ashley VonClausburg

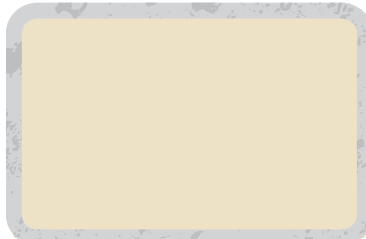
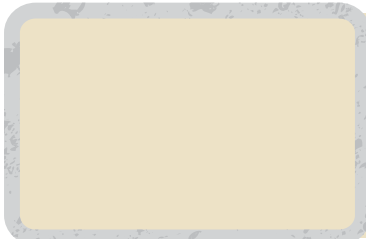
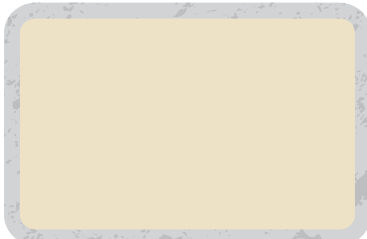
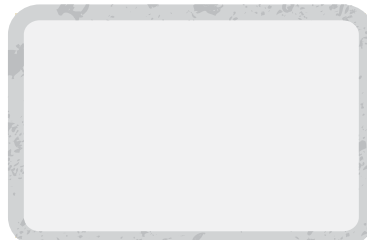
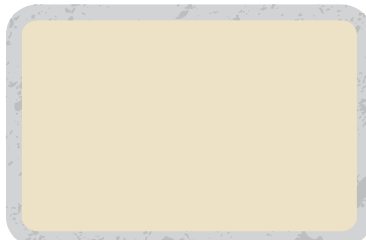
Sarah Wildman explains the process of researching her Weitz award-winning articles.



Serbian Unity Congress



Youth Communication Center



Mirela Ilic

- A** The Balkan Trust for Democracy (BTD) supported lobbying the Serbian Ministry for Diaspora on improving the post-war restitution process.
- B** Another BTD project connects 160 secondary schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina to coordinate youth advocacy campaigns.
- C** The Black Sea Young Reformers Fellowship encourages young people to make positive change throughout the region.

## grantmaking

### BALKAN TRUST FOR DEMOCRACY

The Balkan Trust for Democracy (BTD), an award-winning public-private partnership, was established in 2003 by the German Marshall Fund of the United States, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), and the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation. BTD is structured to allow both European and U.S. partners to join the effort to strengthen transatlantic cooperation in the Balkans. Since its founding, additional contributions from Compagnia di San Paolo, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Greece, Robert Bosch Foundation, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Royal Netherlands Embassy in Belgrade, Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, and Tipping Point Foundation have made BTD a true transatlantic partnership.

In 2010, BTD awarded over \$2.9 million in 112 grants to support democracy, good governance, and Euroatlantic integration throughout Southeastern Europe. In addition to grantmaking, the Balkan Trust for Democracy continually works to accelerate the region's integration into Euroatlantic structures and to raise the profile of the Balkans. Together with GMF's Washington headquarters and its other European offices, BTD connects local actors with

European Union, American, and international individuals and institutions in order to build networks and consensus on Balkan issues from a broader, multi-stakeholder perspective.

For example, the Serbian Unity Congress received BTD support to implement a project to promote the rehabilitation of victims of the previous regime and the restitution of confiscated property in Serbia. This increased public pressure on the government to proceed with the restitution process and to improve rehabilitation laws, through the creation and submission of policy papers to the Serbian government, the active lobbying of the Ministry for Diaspora on these issues, and the coordination of a forum for communication between civil society and government.

The Youth Communication Center (YCC) in Bosnia and Herzegovina received BTD support to strengthen a network of secondary school student councils, providing students with experience in decision-making processes at school and with a mechanism for participation in government. The network of secondary schools connects more than half of all of the secondary schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina and coordinated advocacy campaigns to raise public awareness of youth issues, successfully reaching and engaging more than 30,000 people.

### BLACK SEA TRUST FOR REGIONAL COOPERATION

Since 2007, the Black Sea Trust for Regional Cooperation (BST) has awarded more than 200 grants totaling over \$6 million to local and national NGOs, regional governmental entities, community groups, policy institutes, and other institutions in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Moldova, Romania, Russia, Turkey, and Ukraine.

Operating from Bucharest, Romania, BST was founded by USAID, the Government of Romania, the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, and the Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Latvia. The Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation also contribute to the activities of the Trust in the Black Sea Region by supporting study tours in the region.

BST promotes regional cooperation and good governance in the wider Black Sea region; accountable, transparent, and open governments; strong, effective civic sectors; and independent and professional media. In 2010, BST awarded 96 grants throughout the region, totaling over \$2.7 million, with the majority of grants falling within the three grantmaking priorities: enhancing regional

security, promoting pluralistic societies, and facilitating regional dialogue.

Efforts supported by BST to promote regional dialogue included the Black Sea Young Reformers Fellowship (BSYRF), launched in 2010 by the Institute for Regional and International Studies (IRIS) and the Munich-based Center for Applied Policy Research (CAP), with financial support from the Robert Bosch Stiftung, and BST. In April 2010, in Varna, Bulgaria, IRIS hosted the Fellowship's inaugural seminar, "Security, Development, and Regional Cooperation in the Black Sea Area." As part of the program, the 19 fellows met again in Berlin, Germany, in November. This project is an effort to support reformist thinking and activities across the Black Sea region through identifying and encouraging like-minded, reform-oriented, influential young policy-makers, civil servants, and civil society activists at national level from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Moldova, Romania, Russia, Turkey, and Ukraine.

## TRUST FOR CIVIL SOCIETY IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

The Trust for Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) was launched in 2001 as a \$75 million, ten-year sinking fund of the Ford Foundation, the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, the Open Society Institute, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, and GMF. Additional donors include Atlantic Philanthropies and the Pfizer Foundation. The Trust's grantmaking programs support civil society institutions and projects in Bulgaria, Czech

Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia. To date, the Trust has awarded nearly \$55 million in grants to organizations in the target countries. The Trust is managed by Executive Director Lidia Kolucka-Zuk and six staff members. Distinguished advisory committees in each country of the Trust's operations assist with the proposal review process.

## STRATEGIC GRANTMAKING

The Strategic Grantmaking Program fosters policy research across the range of transatlantic issues. GMF focuses on specific issue areas each year and invites individual proposals to be submitted. Recipients in 2010 included Italian Institute for International Affairs, Bruegel, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, and the Latvian Transatlantic Organization.

### ITALIAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

The Italian Institute for International Affairs (Istituto Affari Internazionali — IAI) is Italy's major research center in the fields of international politics, security, and economics. The partnership focuses on southern Europe, North Africa, and the Mediterranean and leverages each institution's intellectual expertise, convening capabilities, and networks in Washington and across Europe. This effort focuses on an enhanced program of research and analysis spanning key issues, such as new actors in the

Mediterranean, maritime security issues, and emerging opportunities and challenges for Euroatlantic cooperation.

### BRUEGEL

Bruegel is a European economic policy institute based in Brussels. The partnership leverages each institution's intellectual expertise, convening capabilities, and networks in Washington and in Europe. Among the program areas covered in the partnership are Globalization, Competitiveness, and the Transatlantic Economy; Transatlantic Cooperation in the Eastern Partnership; and Climate Change. The collaboration includes the development of research products, organizing conferences and seminars, publications for external audiences, and programming for fellows, staff, and other important visitors.

## IMMIGRATION GRANTMAKING

In May 2009, the GMF Immigration & Integration Program launched an annual, large-scale grantmaking initiative, the Transatlantic Study Teams. The grantmaking program focuses on a select topic area and gathers the leading experts on this topic to compile existing data, engage in a dialogue with policymakers, and promote open dialogue to advance the policy debate.

In 2010, the Transatlantic Study Team continued their research on the impact of climate change on migration patterns.

**1** Environmental deterioration, including natural disasters, rising sea level, and drought problems in agricultural production could cause millions of people to leave their homes in the coming decades. The debate is currently left off of legislative agendas due to the lack of knowledge about the relationship between climate change and migration. GMF's study team worked to fill this knowledge gap and bring the topic to the attention of policymakers and other stakeholders. The team consists

of members from three U.S.-based institutions (Georgetown University, University of California at Davis, University of San Francisco), three European based institutions (Bonn International Center for Conversion, Adelphi Research, Overseas Development Institute), and two international institutions (United Nations University, International Organization for Migration) as well as policymakers and practitioners with relevant experience.

Activities of the study team fell into four areas: 1) preparation of background documents; 2) study team working meetings with external experts; 3) site visits to affected areas in Senegal and Mexico; and 4) policy briefings and summary papers. Dissemination events with key policymakers and stakeholders were held in Brussels and Washington, DC. Members of the study team also presented their findings at the Global Forum on Migration and Development and the United Nations Climate Change Conference in Cancun, Mexico.



The Transatlantic Study Team in Senegal.

## ECONOMIC POLICY PROGRAM GRANTMAKING

Through its grantmaking, GMF's Economic Policy Program supports a wide range of institutions and individuals working on transatlantic economic, trade, agriculture, and development issues. Over the course of the last year, the program's grantmaking activities focused on monitoring several major policy developments in the United States and Europe, including transatlantic efforts on aid reform, food security, and developments in the G20. **2**

For example, in order to expand the global reach of GMF's new G20 initiative and more importantly raise questions related to the coordination of development assistance within the G20 Forum, the Economic Policy Program provided a grant to the Club de Madrid, a Spain-based organization composed of 79 former democratic presidents and prime ministers. The collabo-

ration culminated in a report titled "The G20's Role in the Post-Crisis World," which GMF co-sponsored and disseminated to its transatlantic network as part of its G20 newsletter. The report encourages G20 member states to take a more determined and creative stance on global free trade and enhance national capacities to promote sustainable development. Furthermore, GMF's initiative created a GMF-Club de Madrid podcast series, in which various former heads of state and government were interviewed on G20 agenda items discussed at the Seoul meeting including the larger questions surrounding the future role of the G20 in the international system and its outreach to non-G20 members. The collaboration also enabled GMF to host the former Bolivian President, Jorge Quiroga, in Washington, DC as part of its G20 Embassy series.

**A** Istituto Affari Internazionali president Stefano Silvestri (left) speaks at a GMF Mediterranean Strategy Group event in Rome.



Leonardo Puccini

**B** Former Bolivian President, Jorge Quiroga, discusses the role of the G20 at an Embassy Series event.



Ashley VanClausburg



## partnerships

Successful transatlantic relations depend on strong partnerships built over time, across sectors, and between regions of the world. The German Marshall Fund has integrated this model of partnership into its organizational strategy as a means to achieve greater cooperation between North America, Europe, and other regions. This approach has led to the inclusion in the transatlantic community and the GMF network of a broad range of individuals — policymakers, journalists, nonprofit leaders, and business leaders — and organizations cutting across the full spectrum of society.

GMF understands the crucial role that partnerships play in affecting and addressing the concerns facing the transatlantic community. GMF's goal is to address the fundamental issues surrounding the North American-European relationship by drawing on an extensive network of individuals and institutions on both sides of the Atlantic. Through partnering with other organizations, GMF is able to ensure that its projects, programs, and activities bring a unique perspective and provide innovative solutions to transatlantic problems rather than recapitulate existing work. GMF actively seeks forward-looking solutions and partners to develop a sustainable, effective transatlantic community.

GMF pursues a variety of partnership models, such as developing joint initiatives, undertaking matching funding projects, providing grants for projects carried out by other institutions and individuals, developing fully granted programs, and seeking in-kind contributions. GMF is grateful to all of its partners for their contributions to furthering transatlantic cooperation.

A number of organizations have made financial contributions to GMF's activities, including:

<a href="#">Air Canada</a>	<a href="#">Daimler</a>
<a href="#">Airbus Americas, Inc.</a>	<a href="#">Deloitte</a>
<a href="#">Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency</a>	<a href="#">Department of National Defence, Canada</a>
<a href="#">Bank of America Foundation</a>	<a href="#">Deutsche Post/DHL</a>
<a href="#">Barrow Cadbury Trust</a>	<a href="#">Duke Energy</a>
<a href="#">Bayer</a>	<a href="#">Egmont Institute</a>
<a href="#">BNP Paribas Fortis</a>	<a href="#">Eli Lilly and Company</a>
<a href="#">British Council</a>	<a href="#">Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, Belgrade</a>
<a href="#">Charles Stewart Mott Foundation</a>	<a href="#">EMD Serono</a>
<a href="#">Cleveland Foundation</a>	<a href="#">Enel SpA</a>
<a href="#">Communitas Foundation</a>	<a href="#">European Cultural Foundation</a>
<a href="#">Compagnia di San Paolo</a>	

[European Union Delegation to the United States](#)

[Federal Authorities of Belgium](#)

[Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian](#)

[Fundação Luso-Americana](#)

[Fundación BBVA](#)

[General Dynamics](#)

[German Federal Foreign Office](#)

[German Federal Ministry of Economics and Technology](#)

[IBM](#)

[Irving Shipbuilding Inc.](#)

[Japan Foundation Center for Global Partnership](#)

[Kenan Institute](#)

[KfW Bankengruppe](#)

[Koç Holding](#)

[Kresge Foundation](#)

[Legatum Institute](#)

[Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation](#)

[Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Sweden](#)

[Ministry of Defence Republic of Latvia](#)

[Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Belgium](#)

[Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark](#)

[Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania](#)

[Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic](#)

[Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the State of Netherlands](#)

[Munk School of Global Affairs](#)

[NATO](#)

[Office Cherifien des Phosphates Group](#)

[Riksbankens Jubileumsfond](#)

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[Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Norway](#)

[Stavros S. Niarchos Foundation](#)

[Surdna Foundation](#)

[Swedish Foundation for International Cooperation in Research and Higher Education](#)

[Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency](#)

[Tokyo Foundation](#)

[Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association](#)

[U.S. Agency for International Development](#)

[U.S. Embassy to Germany](#)

[U.S. Mission to the European Union](#)

[Union of Chambers and Stock Exchanges of Turkey](#)

[William and Flora Hewlett Foundation](#)

[ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius](#)

# financial statements

## CONSOLIDATED BALANCE SHEET

May 31, 2010  
(With Comparative Totals for 2009)

<b>ASSETS</b>	<b>2010</b>	<b>2009</b>
Cash and Cash Equivalents	\$ 15,907,184	\$ 16,670,383
Investments	169,322,474	173,535,754
Grants Receivable	4,142,155	8,745,290
Property and Equipment, net	16,762,972	17,176,474
Other Assets	716,752	302,536
	<b>\$ 206,851,537</b>	<b>\$ 216,430,437</b>
<b>LIABILITIES AND NET ASSETS</b>		
Liabilities		
Accounts payable and accrued expenses	\$ 2,158,463	\$ 1,995,649
Deferred revenue	17,854,922	19,429,338
Grants payable	951,831	1,998,642
	<b>20,965,216</b>	<b>23,423,629</b>
Contingencies (Note 4)		
Net Assets		
Unrestricted		
Undesignated	165,895,822	166,861,565
Board designated	14,024,574	14,747,128
	<b>179,920,396</b>	<b>181,608,693</b>
Temporarily restricted	5,965,925	11,398,115
	<b>185,886,321</b>	<b>193,006,808</b>
	<b>\$ 206,851,537</b>	<b>\$ 216,430,437</b>

## CONSOLIDATED STATEMENT OF ACTIVITIES

Year Ended May 31, 2010  
(With Comparative Totals for 2009)

	<b>2010</b>			<b>2009</b>
	<b>Unrestricted</b>	<b>Temporarily Restricted</b>	<b>Total</b>	
Support and revenue:				
Investment income (loss)	\$ 18,346,912	\$ -	\$ 18,346,912	\$ (23,040,557)
Non-federal grants and contributions	1,179,885	8,913,724	10,093,609	17,400,088
Federal grants	3,121,735	-	3,121,735	4,508,618
Other	37,552	-	37,552	500,540
Net assets released from restrictions	14,345,914	(14,345,914)	-	-
<b>Total support and revenue</b>	<b>37,031,998</b>	<b>(5,432,190)</b>	<b>31,599,808</b>	<b>(631,311)</b>
Expenses:				
Program services:				
Internal projects expense	17,028,438	-	17,028,438	13,944,483
Grant expense	8,566,190	-	8,566,190	11,825,514
Management and general	12,604,287	-	12,604,287	13,593,858
Fundraising	521,380	-	521,380	509,263
<b>Total expenses</b>	<b>38,720,295</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>38,720,295</b>	<b>39,873,118</b>
<b>Change in net assets</b>	<b>(1,688,297)</b>	<b>(5,432,190)</b>	<b>(7,120,487)</b>	<b>(40,504,429)</b>
Net assets:				
Beginning	181,608,693	11,398,115	193,006,808	233,511,237
Ending	<b>\$ 179,920,396</b>	<b>\$ 5,965,925</b>	<b>\$ 185,886,321</b>	<b>\$ 193,006,808</b>

## gmf on the web

In June, GMF relaunched its website, In addition to having a modern look-and-feel, the website organizes GMF's work in a new way, by breaking it down into user-friendly "Issues" and "Regions" among other categorization. In addition, there is a new emphasis on multimedia content through the Virtual Forum section, which highlights podcasts, videos, and slideshows produced by GMF staff. The new website makes it easier for users to find relevant and fresh content, publications, analysis, and multimedia.

Another emphasis of the new design is to create more opportunities for visitors to interact with GMF. The GMF blog continues to spark interest and discussion around current topics. GMF's Facebook and Twitter pages also continue to grow, with increasing numbers of friends and followers, respectively, getting frequent updates on the organization's activities and the chance to interact directly with GMF. Those interested in GMF's many publications can also subscribe for free by searching for German Marshall Fund at

Guido Goldman, co-chair

Marc E. Leland, co-chair

Michael Ahearn

Robert Bennett

Margaret Carlson

Gregory Craig

Marc Grossman

John Harris

David Ignatius

Nike Irvin

Roman Martinez IV

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Richard Powers

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J. Robinson West

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## board

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