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The German Marshall Fund
of the United States

STRENGTHENING TRANSATLANTIC COOPERATION

ANNUAL REPORT 2014



ABOUT GMF

The German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF) strengthens transatlantic cooperation on regional, national, and global challenges and opportunities in the spirit of the Marshall Plan.

GMF contributes research and analysis and convenes leaders on transatlantic issues relevant to policymakers. GMF offers rising leaders opportunities to develop their skills and networks through transatlantic exchange, and supports civil society in the Balkans and Black Sea regions by fostering democratic initiatives, rule of law, and regional cooperation.

Founded in 1972 as a non-partisan, non-profit organization 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 offices in Berlin, Paris, Brussels, Belgrade, Ankara, Bucharest, and Warsaw. GMF also has smaller representations in Bratislava, Turin, and Stockholm.

Connect with GMF at www.gmfus.org, on Twitter [@gmfus](https://twitter.com/gmfus), and on [Facebook](https://www.facebook.com/gmfus).

WITH THE PRESIDENT

An interview with GMF's president, Dr. Karen Donfried.

Q You've been at GMF before. What drew you back to take the helm?

A I love GMF's mission. I've devoted my career to working on transatlantic relations. To be in an organization that is dedicated to strengthening transatlantic cooperation on issues that are relevant to policymakers is something near and dear to my heart. I had worked at GMF before, so I knew the organization and much of the staff, which is comprised of a terrific group of people.

Q What is your vision of where GMF is going?

A GMF has evolved over the past 40 years. In 2015, the challenge we are facing is the need to focus on all three parts of the mission. One is consolidating the core transatlantic relationship. Two is contributing as best as we can to helping create a Europe that is whole, free, and at peace. Three is how the U.S. and Europe work together beyond Europe, for example, the work of our Asia program. We need to make sure that we are focusing on areas where we have a comparative advantage in helping to strengthen transatlantic ties.



Q What were you most proud of at GMF in 2014?

A 2014 was a year of transition for GMF. We had a dynamic president, Craig Kennedy, who stepped down after 19 years. It was under Craig that GMF grew dramatically and transformed from a foundation to a hybrid organization with the attributes of a foundation, as well as a think tank. 2014 saw the organization bid him farewell, welcome new leadership, and think afresh about GMF's role and mission going forward. I am most proud of GMF staff for embracing change and the opportunity that change brings for the organization.

Q What was GMF's most valuable contribution to the transatlantic conversation?

A When we think about the work GMF does, we divide it into three categories. We talk

about policy, leadership, and civil society. In each of those areas, GMF is making a contribution. On policy, the expertise we have across our eight offices — and the analysis produced by GMF staff and programs — contributes to a deeper understanding of transatlantic relations. We highlight those issues of policy relevance in our convening, whether at our signature conference **Brussels Forum** or any of the number of smaller events we do across GMF. When you look at the leadership component of GMF's work, we have an amazing network of about 2,300 alumni of our **Marshall Memorial Fellowship Program**. For example, in 2014, we celebrated the naming of an alumna, Federica Mogherini, as the European Union's high representative on foreign and security policy. These leadership programs not only bring new people into a vibrant transatlantic network, but also keep alumni involved over time. Finally, on the civil society piece, to take one example, GMF's **Black Sea Trust** promotes regional cooperation and good governance in the Wider Black Sea region, including Ukraine. Our ongoing support, including that of our Black Sea Trust partners, has made a tangible contribution to helping Ukraine at this critical moment.



forum.org

The ultimate soft power instrument in the world is Brussels Forum.

Carl Bildt

Former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sweden

POLICY

The work of GMF staff and fellows helps shape policy on both sides of the Atlantic and around the world. They have expertise in a wide range of subjects, from security to migration and from energy to trade, and a wide range of regions, from North America to Asia and from Europe to the Wider Atlantic Basin.

In 2014, GMF experts made considerable contributions to the conversations around Russian actions in Ukraine. Joerg Forbrig, director of GMF's Fund for Belarus Democracy, had well over 150 **media interviews** on the subject. He also co-edited **Regional Repercussions of the Ukraine Crisis: Challenges for the Six Eastern Partnership Countries** together with GMF Senior Director of Research Daniela Schwarzer and Black Sea Trust Director Alina Inayeh. Andrew Small, a transatlantic fellow with the Asia Program, authored **Ukraine, Russia, and the China Option**, one of GMF's most popular documents on iTunes this year.

GMF experts used the occasion of a new incoming European Commission to offer **advice** on its priorities. A cornerstone of this was **Ideas for Europe's New Leadership: A Transatlantic Perspective**, with chapters from 12 different GMF authors.

4,514 attendees
at **272** events 

92 
countries
represented at events


 **182**
publications



 **509,113**
total website visits

18,900  followers
41% increase

34,189  likes
30% increase

1,023 
media hits

74,676 views of video of the
first-ever public discussion between Saudi
and Israeli former intelligence heads

The interactions at The Atlantic Dialogues have informed my thinking on a number of issues important to my work, and established a number of what I expect will be lasting professional relationships with thoughtful people from around the Atlantic Basin.

Colin Woodard

Author and Journalist, Jill Grinberg Literary Management

2014 GMF Event Topics




Convening **events** are some of GMF’s most effective tools to build bridges in the transatlantic policymaking community. In 2014, GMF organized more than 250 talks, forums, and conferences, ranging from small lunch gatherings to full weekend conferences for hundreds of participants.

Ukraine dominated the conversation at the ninth annual **Brussels Forum**, where heads of state, foreign ministers, and other policymakers **debated** the EU’s response to Russian actions. Discussions at **The Atlantic Dialogues**, GMF’s other major conference in 2014, focused largely on the Atlantic Basin’s role in the world, particularly in light of the **Ebola crisis** in West Africa and security concerns in the basin as a whole.

In June, GMF hosted the **Bilbao Urban Innovation and Leadership Dialogues (BUILD)**, the organization’s first event focused exclusively on urban policy and leadership issues.

Also of note, Jens Stoltenberg, the new NATO secretary general, chose GMF as the setting for his **first policy address** since taking up his post and Ban Ki-moon, secretary general of the United Nations, gave the **keynote address** at GMF’s inaugural Copenhagen Energy Security Dialogues.



BUILD has been absolutely rewarding and stimulating... you share ideas, inspire each other, and solve problems much more quickly through peer-to-peer learning.

Alison Seabrooke
CEO, *Community Development Foundation*

LEADERSHIP

Successful leaders recognize the value of collaboration — both to meet their own professional objectives and to forge partnerships that develop sustainable solutions to global problems. For 40 years, GMF has pioneered a variety of programs that offer rising leaders dynamic opportunities to hone their leadership skills.

The **Marshall Memorial Fellowship** emphasizes networking, idea exchange, and experiential learning for emerging leaders from the United States and Europe. Every year, the **Manfred Wörner Seminar** brings together 30 young Americans and Germans to examine European security policy and to discuss common security interests. The **Asmus Policy Entrepreneurs Fellowship** brings entrepreneurial policy practitioners under the age of 40 together to advance policy questions and to frame innovative alternatives to shared challenges. The **Young Transatlantic Network** provides a unique opportunity to young professionals from different fields to engage in discussions with senior leaders on topics of transatlantic concern. And the **Congress Bundestag Forum** annually brings newly elected members of the German Bundestag together with their counterparts in the U.S. House of Representatives to foster strong relations.

MMF Fights to Tear Down Walls of Disability



Kerry Thompson, MMF 2014

After undergoing a comprehensive restructuring, the Marshall Memorial Fellowship selection process for 2014 produced the most competitive application process to date, yielding a class of fellows who are breaking boundaries and leading change in a variety of fields.

Charting new ground for MMF was Kerry Thompson, GMF's first ever deafblind fellow, who traveled with the fall 2014 U.S. cohort to Europe. Thompson is a program associate at the Disability Rights Fund in Boston, and was selected from the Northeast selection region to represent the United States in Europe. A graduate of Harvard and longtime advocate for the human rights of the disabled, Thompson looked forward to her MMF experience as an opportunity to increase her international portfolio of contacts to advance equity for disabled people around the world. The program has been “a terrific enrichment to my life,” she reports.

After visiting cities around Europe and blogging for the GMF website as part of her fellowship, a Spanish newspaper in Bilbao profiled her, headlining her observation that the city is a model of accessibility compared to other parts of Europe. “Bilbao, Spain’s recent revitalization incorporated what many revitalizations and developments fail to do: include accessibility in its blueprint,” she wrote in her **blog post**.

Thompson is already feeling the positive effects of the fellowship on her international networks and connectivity to the policy issues she is passionate about. “In a time when many people with disabilities are sidelined and prevented from expressing their voice,” she says, “I am grateful to MMF for the opportunity to use my voice but also for giving me an audience.”

[The Marshall Memorial Fellowship] has been one of the most interesting and exciting experiences in my life — very valuable. Some of the contacts I have around not only in Europe but also the world come from that experience.

Federica Mogherini

*High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy
and Vice-President of the European Commission*

434

MMF applications submitted



73

MMF participants, from **21** countries; **10** countries visited



1,219

members of the Young Transatlantic Network



2,274

MMF alumni, representing **39** countries



28

sitting legislators on study tours

6

study tours

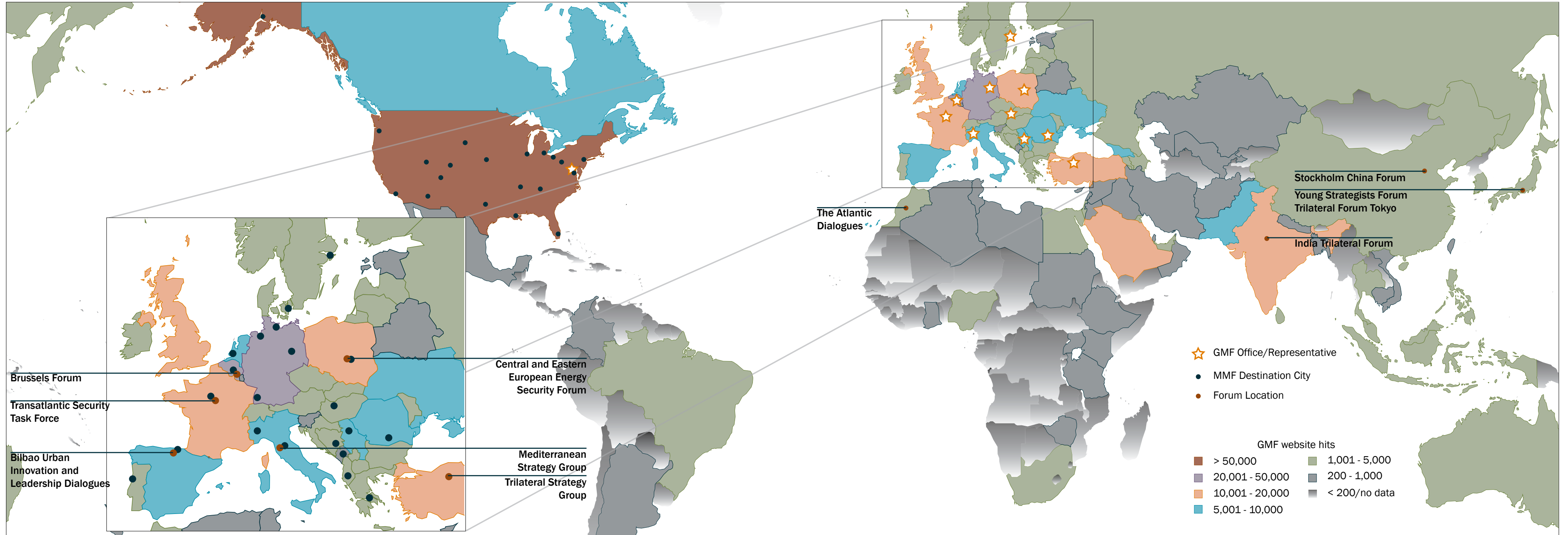
to **6**

countries



The Transatlantic Leadership Seminar (TLS) is an annual, seven-day, expert-guided program for established leaders from the United States and Europe. It offers the practical insights, tools, and contacts needed to rise to the top in a highly globalized world. Each seminar transports participants to a dynamic region, where they benefit from expert briefings, high-level meetings, and thematic site visits, each designed to provide valuable lessons for effective global leadership. This year, 16 participants traveled to France and Morocco, where they explored the effects of globalization, immigration, and economic development. “Participating in a TLS is a very enriching and unique experience that will provide you with experiences and teachings that will last a lifetime,” said Brent Leslie, a 2013 MMF, of his experience.

Back in Washington, DC, **The Richard G. Lugar Institute for Diplomacy and Congress** works to change the way the United States Congress relates to the international community by improving communication and understanding between the Washington diplomatic corps and Congress. Ambassadors and embassy staff are able to increase their dealings with members of Congress, and members are able to learn directly about international concerns.



A photograph of a winter scene. In the foreground, a cobblestone path leads from the bottom left towards the center. To the right of the path, a layer of snow covers the ground. Several large, leafless trees with dark trunks and intricate branch structures stand in a row. In the background, a large, light-colored building with a prominent dome and classical architectural features is visible. The sky is a pale, overcast blue.

Whether it is providing seed money for the development of a new [technological] tool for citizen engagement, supporting election monitoring activities, or convening high level regional security policy discussions, [the Black Sea Trust] has been able to support the right projects at the right time.

Paige Alexander

*Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Europe
and Eurasia, USAID*

CIVIL SOCIETY

Since 2001, GMF has managed highly regarded public-private partnerships in Eastern, Central, and Southeastern Europe that empower citizens to take active roles in their country's governance. These partnerships, or trusts, also bring together civil servants, politicians, and activists from countries in conflict, which in turn is leading to new understanding and cooperation.

Trusts operate in countries that lack the resources or political will to build a society in which all citizens can influence the decisions that affect their lives. By investing in these partnerships, donors give citizens, civil servants, and politicians an important message: you are not alone.

In 2014, GMF oversaw three trusts in Europe:

1. **The Balkan Trust for Democracy;**
2. **The Black Sea Trust for Regional Cooperation;** and
3. The Fund for Belarus Democracy.

In June, GMF handed the MENA Partnership, which supported reform efforts in the Middle East and North Africa, back to the U.S. Department of State, to continue the work GMF successfully began.

270 grants in
38 countries

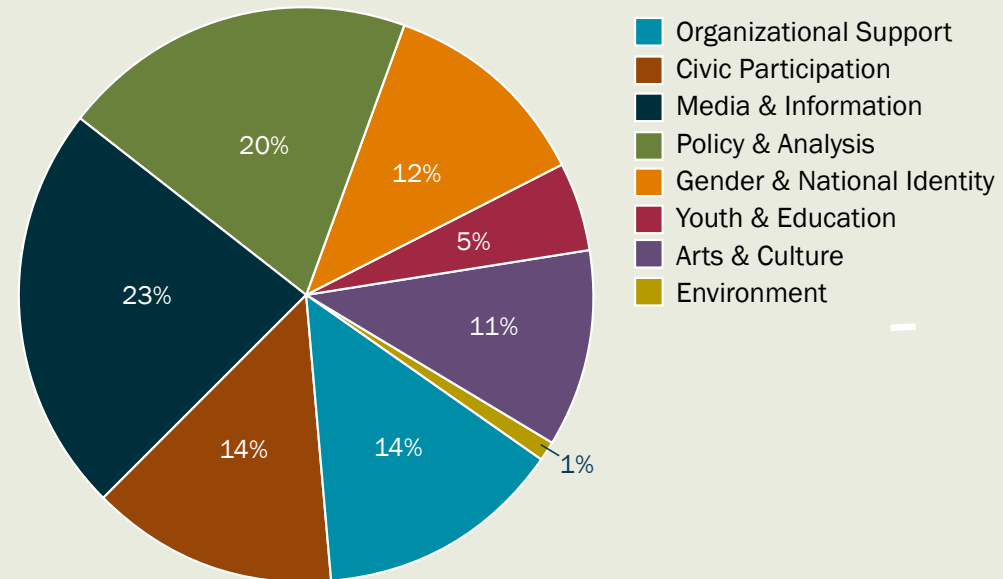


\$6,534,861

in grants awarded



Investment Areas of GMF Trusts



The Balkan Trust for Democracy has had a significant impact on the development of democracy in the Balkans through its support for civil society organizations.

Andrew S. Natsios

Former U.S. Agency for International Development Administrator

Bosnian Youth Help Build Their Communities, and Build Hope

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, young people face serious obstacles, including one of the highest youth unemployment rates in the world, 57.5 percent. In order to give Bosnian youth hope for a future in their country, the Mozaik Community Development Foundation brought the YouthBank program from Northern Ireland to Bosnia, with a grant from the Balkan Trust for Democracy (BTD), along with funding from the Community Foundation of

Northern Ireland, the National Endowment for Democracy, and USAID.

“The YouthBank program and model empower youth to reach their potential and to cooperate in a multi-ethnic context,” said Željko Pauković, Mozaik program director.

Each YouthBank board, consisting of ten members between the ages of 13 and 15, reviews applications made for local project proposals to benefit the local community.

Mozaik allocates between €8,000 and €10,000 to each municipality’s Youth-Bank to support up to 20 local projects, such as improving parks and sports fields or organizing cultural events or public space clean-ups.

The YouthBank model uses a bottom-up approach. First, the

program builds up the local level, mobilizing and sharing best practices between municipalities. At the higher level, Youth-Bank works to integrate their model into strategy papers and government policies with the support of BTD. Funds for Youth-Banks are now clearly outlined in the official budgets of local municipalities, rather than allocated on an ad-hoc activity basis.

Pauković emphasized that YouthBanks’ close cooperation with local governments and the community’s recognition of the projects’ positive effect are vital to the program’s success. While 46 percent of funding comes from Mozaik and its donors, more than half of the funds are mobilized by local municipalities, businesses, and organizations.

YouthBank’s successful model is catching on elsewhere. Mozaik has shared the Youth-Bank model with the Divat Foundation in Serbia, also a BTD grantee, to develop their own program, providing them with initial training and information-sharing.



If it had not been for
GMF and their initial
invitations to me to go to
Ukraine...I would never
have been able to start
writing about the country.

Tim Judah
The Economist



SUPPORT

GMF is deeply grateful to all of its partners for their contributions to furthering transatlantic cooperation. For more information about supporting GMF, please visit www.gmfus.org/support or contact development@gmfus.org.

\$2,000,000 and Above

Anonymous | C
Charles Stewart Mott Foundation | P, C
OCP Foundation | P, L

\$1,000,000–\$1,999,999

Compagnia di San Paolo | P, C
Robert Bosch Stiftung | P, C
U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development | P

\$500,000–\$999,999

Chevron | P
German Federal Foreign Office | G
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Sweden | P
U.S. Department of State | P, C, L

\$250,000–\$499,999

Bank of America Foundation | G
Bilbao International – Bilbao City Council | P, L
Daimler AG | P
Fritz Thyssen Stiftung | P
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan | P
Open Society Foundations | P, L
Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America | P
Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Norway | C
ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius | P

\$100,000–\$249,999

Airbus Americas, Inc | P, G
Barrow Cadbury Trust | P
BP | P
Brussels Capital Region | P
Eli Lilly & Company | P
European Cultural Foundation | C
Fundación BBVA | P
Government of Montenegro | P
Kresge Foundation | P, L
Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation | P
Mercator Program Center for International Affairs | P
Meridium Infrastructure | L
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Belgium | P
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Latvia | P
Ministry of Internal Affairs of Romania | C
NATO | P, L
Noble Energy | P
Sasakawa Peace Foundation | P
United Kingdom Foreign & Commonwealth Office | P, C

\$50,000–\$99,999

Asan Institute for Policy Studies | P
City of New Orleans | P
Cleveland Foundation | P, L
Deloitte | P
Deutsche Post – DHL | P
Fundacao Calouste Gulbenkian | C
German Federal Enterprise for International Cooperation | P
Lockheed Martin | G

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Lithuania | P
Solvay S.A. | P
The Hungary Initiatives Foundation | P
Tokyo Foundation | P
Total S.A. | P
Turkish Industry and Business Association | P
Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies | P
William Penn Foundation | P

\$25,000–\$49,999

American Israel Education Foundation | P
Brazilian Trade and Investment Promotion Agency | P
EMD Serono | G
European Union Commission | P
Ford Motor Company | P
Foundation Asset Management | G
Marc E. Leland | L, G
Maren Otto | L
Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office | P
Volkswagen Stiftung | P

\$10,000–\$24,999

Annie E. Casey Foundation | P
Audi AG | G
EP Global Energy | P
European Investment Bank | P
European Liberal Forum | P
Robert G. Liberatore | G
Ministry of Defense of France | P
James Quigley | G
J. Robinson West | G

The Cities in Transition program has proved immensely valuable to me in my work as a journalist, both by introducing me to cities as innovative as Leipzig, Manchester, and Hamburg, and by helping me create a transatlantic network of urban experts that I consult with.

John Gallagher
Reporter, Detroit Free Press

\$5,000–\$9,999

Ericsson Inc. | P
 Guido Goldman | G
 Joyce Chang | L
 Richard Powers | G

\$1,000–\$4,999

Michael S. Brown | L
 Kevin Cottrell and Marc Grock | L
 Gregory B. Craig | G
 Cal Dooley | G
 Marc Grossman | G
 David Ignatius | G
 Roman Martinez | G
 Lucy Okumu | L
 Palantir Technologies | P
 Shyam Reddy | L
 Paul K. Stafford | L
 Unitas Communications | L
 Universita degli Studi di Napoli L'Orientale | P
 Robert Wexler | G

Up to \$999

David Abbot | G
 Stacey J. Ackerman | L
 Anonymous | L
 Lennart Booij | L
 Kelly J. Brough | L
 Terry C. Bruner | L
 Neal D. Carlson | L
 Margaret Carlson | G
 Carrie L. Carroll | L
 Luke Clippinger | L
 Jeremy Cole | L
 Ginette Dennis | L

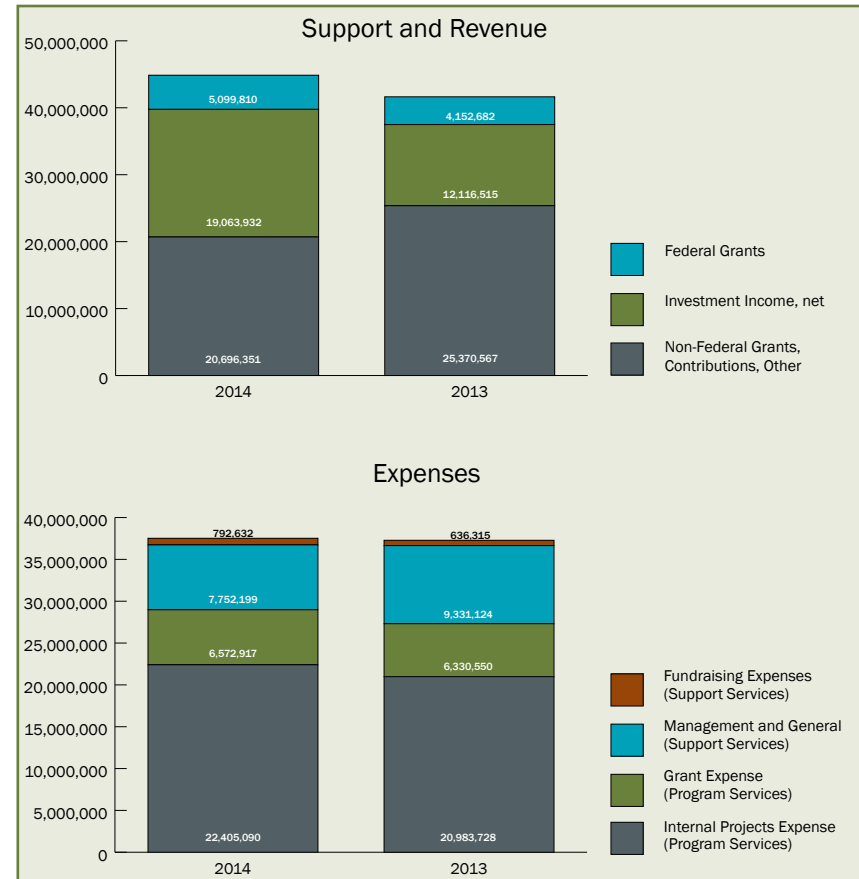
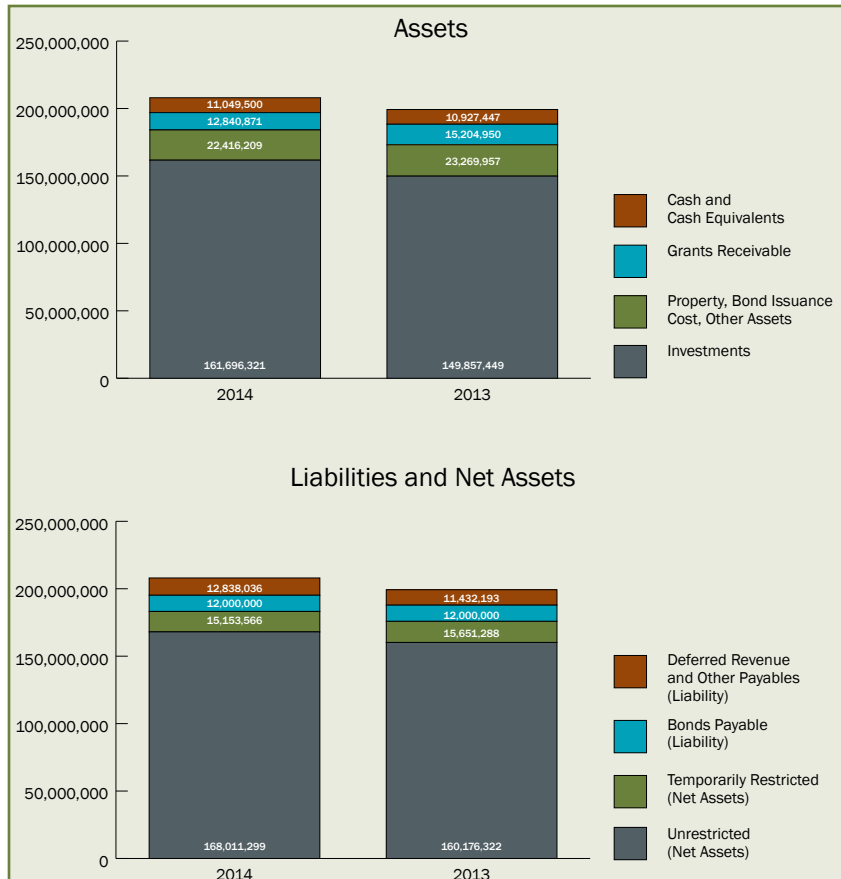
Janelle Doughty | L
 Klaus Frandsen | L
 Mary Barr Gallivan | L
 Chandak Ghosh | L
 Linda Griego | G
 Jefferson T. Hancock | L
 Christopher J. Hansen | L
 Hilliard Hardman | L
 Kellie M. Hawkins | L
 Rachel M. Heier | L
 Thomas J. Heier | L
 Susan L. Henry | L
 Irvin Hicks | L
 Nike Irvin | L
 Marek Jakoby | L
 Randall Kempner | L
 Maria Kim | L
 Tricia N. Llewellyn | L
 Jack Martin | L
 Theresa E. Mintle | L
 Patrick H. Murray | L
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 Chad A. Readler | L
 Michael T. Rhoades | L
 Spencer G. Rhodes | L
 Tracy O. Russ | L
 Alexis Y. Senger | L
 Zoltán Simon | L
 Adam R. Snyder | L
 Coen Teulings | L
 Timothy L. Tramble | L
 Dara Troutman | L
 Diane Tran | L

Vivian U. Truong | L
 Mijo I. Vodopic | L
 George B. Walker | L
 Jennifer A. Wells | L
 Marc Wheat | P
 Susan Woolsey | G

This list shows levels of support in 2014 as well as areas of support as indicated with the following abbreviations:

C civil society
 G general operating
 L leadership
 P policy

FINANCIAL STATEMENT



Audited financial statements are available upon request. info@gmfus.org

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