

GERMAN MARSHALL FUND 2008 ANNUAL REPORT



THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND OF THE UNITED STATES (GMF) is a nonpartisan American public policy and grantmaking institution dedicated to promoting greater cooperation and understanding between North America and Europe.

GMF does this by supporting individuals and institutions working on transatlantic issues, by convening leaders to discuss the most pressing transatlantic themes, and by examining ways in which transatlantic cooperation can address a variety of global policy challenges. In addition, GMF supports a number of initiatives to strengthen democracies.

Founded in 1972 through a gift from Germany on the 25th anniversary of the Marshall Plan 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 seven offices in Europe: Berlin, Bratislava, Paris, Brussels, Belgrade, Ankara, and Bucharest.

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LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT



Caetan Miclote

Rrarely has the transatlantic relationship faced such a combination of crisis and hope. There have been many crises before—World Wars I and II, the Cold War—and there has been hope before—post-War reconstruction and prosperity, the fall of communism. But rarely have despair and hope arrived at nearly the same moment.

There are crises on several fronts all coming to a head at the same time—the collapse of the global economy; trouble spots such as Russia, Iran, Afghanistan, and Israel/Palestine; energy as a source of conflict; and environmental erosion. But with the election of Barack Obama as U.S. president, there is renewed hope from citizens on both sides of the Atlantic for transatlantic cooperation to confront these crises.

Obama has pledged to work with European leaders, and given the reaction to his European trip as a candidate, European governments and publics seem poised to work with the Obama administration. But there are difficult times ahead. It will take steadfast transatlanticists to ensure that both sides of the Atlantic are speaking to and listening to each other.

Through convening, research, networking, and grantmaking, the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF) is foremost among those who will continue to work to strengthen transatlantic relations. That has been GMF's mission since its founding more than 35 years ago, and it has been true these last eight years. In fact, once European leaders moved past the Bush administration decision to go to war with Iraq, the last four years have seen stronger cooperation between the North American and European governments than has been popularly believed.

In looking at the aforementioned crises, GMF is poised to facilitate transatlantic cooperation on those issues. GMF's Economic Policy Program works on a host of issues touched by the global economic crisis, from coherent aid policies for the developing world to unequal trade practices.

On Russia, GMF's offices in Europe—Belgrade, Bucharest, Bratislava, Ankara, Brussels, Berlin, and Paris—deal with their neighbor on a host of issues, whether it is Russia's bilateral relationship with former Soviet states, the enlargement of NATO and the European Union, or energy dependence.

When GMF organizes Brussels Forum or another high-profile event in one of its operating cities, Iran and Afghanistan are high-priority topics. In 2008, when GMF convened the Bucharest Conference on the sidelines of the NATO Summit, the Afghanistan panel was a true highlight, featuring Afghan President Hamid Karzai, Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper, and NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer. Later in the year, I traveled with a few colleagues to Afghanistan to get a firsthand view of the political, military, and civil society there.

While GMF has not tackled the Israel-Palestine issue head-on, GMF's new Mediterranean project and its Ankara office deal with the region as a whole, and especially Turkey's role as a bridge between the transatlantic allies and the Middle East.

On energy dependence and interdependence, GMF deals with the issue both on the environmental side and on the geopolitical side. Biofuels are mentioned as a possible replacement or supplement to oil, and GMF's biofuels project takes a hard look at the benefits and drawbacks of these controversial alternatives. GMF's work on Russia has long dealt with the geopolitical consequences of Russia's control of natural gas pipelines to Europe.

Finally, on the environmental front, GMF's new Climate and Energy Program has been a powerful convener on the issue, including at the UN's COP14 conference on climate change in Poznań, Poland, in 2008, and looking toward the COP15 negotiations in Copenhagen, Denmark, in 2009. GMF has played and will continue to play a bridging role between European and American climate negotiators.

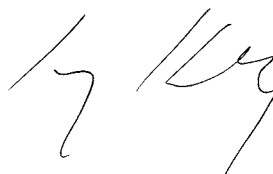
There are other issues that have not yet reached crisis proportion, but that GMF has identified as critical to the future of the transatlantic relationship. Asia, including the rise of China, continues to be an important arena. Urban issues, including housing and transportation, are fields where transatlantic information-sharing may not be obvious, but which GMF's long history has shown can be powerful in delivering tangible results. Countries in both Europe and North America deal with immigration and integration, and even on different scales and with different populations, lessons learned are relevant and significant.

Today's crises are certain to take time, effort, and money to overcome, both at the government level and at the policy institute level. GMF is committed to continue convening,

supporting research, promoting knowledge sharing, developing young transatlantic leaders, and grantmaking in support of the issues topping the transatlantic agenda.

GMF is proud of and thankful for the relationships it has developed with partner institutions, governments, and corporations to continue the important work of drawing the allies closer together. It has never been more important to develop these partnerships, and GMF welcomes new partners to join in this critical work.

With the world looking to the transatlantic allies for leadership once again, never has there been a better opportunity to effect positive change—to borrow another word—than at this moment of crisis and hope. GMF will be there. Stay tuned.



Craig Kennedy
President



CONVENING

STRENGTHENING COOPERATION



Radu Grozescu

The German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF) convenes annually a number of large and small events that support a wide range of institutions and individuals working on transatlantic policy issues. GMF's events bring together people and resources from both sides of the Atlantic to address how North America and Europe can work together on common interests and shared challenges. GMF's most recognized event is its annual Brussels Forum, which welcomes more than 300 guests annually for intimate, high-level discussions on the future of the transatlantic agenda. But more than that, GMF hosts a variety of smaller events throughout the year both in Washington, DC, and in European cities that include participation by American and European policymakers, think tank scholars, academics, and business people on issues ranging from foreign policy to immigration, economic policy to comparative domestic policy, to name just a few.

BRUSSELS FORUM

In March, GMF and its partners held the third annual Brussels Forum in Brussels, Belgium. Participants included EU High Representative Javier Solana, World Bank President Robert Zoellick, NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, then-U.S. Secretary of Homeland Security Michael Chertoff, then-Belgian Prime Minister Guy Verhofstadt, Estonian President Toomas Hendrik Ilves, Danish Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen, and many other American and European government officials, scholars, journalists, and business leaders.



Gaetan Micholite

World Bank President Robert Zoellick speaks at Brussels Forum.

Brussels Forum brings together leaders to consider important transatlantic issues through an intimate exchange of dialogue between panelists and participants that is punctuated by keynote addresses from senior officials. Main session themes focused on Afghanistan, the rise of sovereign wealth funds, climate change policies, and the rules of the global economy. Night owl and breakfast sessions explored the U.S. presidential election, the challenge of an assertive Russia, and the future of the Balkans with the recent declaration of Kosovo independence.

At Brussels Forum, Verhofstadt delivered his final international address as prime minister, Chertoff defended the use of passenger name record data, de Hoop Scheffer called for NATO engagement with Russia ahead of the April NATO Summit, Zoellick addressed the development crisis, and Solana discussed Middle East policy. To enhance the intellectual experience at Brussels Forum, GMF published six Brussels Forum Papers on topics including WTO reform, understanding the United States' image in Europe since 9/11,



Gaetan Micholite

FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: *Radosław Sikorski, Polish foreign affairs minister; Bernard Kouchner, French foreign affairs minister; Nik Gowing, BBC World lead anchor; Konstantin Kosachev, International Affairs Committee chairman, Russian State Duma; and Richard Holbrooke, vice chairman, Perseus LLC, debate the "West Under Challenge" at a taping of the BBC World Debate at Brussels Forum.*

transatlantic policy toward Iran, relations with a resurgent Russia, transatlantic power failures, and the transatlantic economic partnership.

Brussels Forum was organized by GMF in partnership with Bertelsmann Stiftung, Daimler, the Egmont Institute, the Federal Authorities of Belgium, Fortis, the Republic of Latvia Ministry of Defence, and the Tipping Point Foundation. Please visit the Brussels Forum web site for video, audio, transcripts, and other highlights: www.brusselsforum.org.

THE BUCHAREST CONFERENCE

The [Bucharest Conference](#) was held in April alongside the 2008 NATO Summit in Bucharest, Romania, providing a forum for leading policymakers, opinion shapers, scholars, and business leaders from both sides of the Atlantic to discuss the most pressing issues facing NATO and the international community. The conference was organized by GMF, the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Chatham House. Speakers and panelists included then-U.S. President George W. Bush, NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper, Afghan President

AT LEFT: U.S. Congresswoman Ellen Tauscher delivers a keynote address at the Bucharest Conference.



Michael O'Brien

Then-U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice delivers a speech on U.S.-Russia relations. The speech was hosted by GMF.

SPOTLIGHT: U.S.-RUSSIA SPEECH BY SECRETARY OF STATE CONDOLEEZZA RICE

At a speech hosted by GMF on September 18, then-U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice said the United States and Europe must stand up together in the face of an assertive Russia but rejected the idea of another Cold War.

The speech—broadcasted live by C-SPAN and national and international news outlets—was Rice’s first major speech on U.S.-Russia relations following the outbreak of armed conflict in South Ossetia. Speaking before an audience of more than 300 diplomats, policymakers, thought leaders, and international media, Rice deeply criticized Russia for its actions against Georgia, saying that its strategic objective of deposing the democratically-elected president, Mikhail Saakashvili, had failed and it had put Russia on a “one-way path to self-imposed isolation and international irrelevance.” Russia’s actions in Georgia were “a critical moment for Russia and the world,” Rice said, adding that the international community would not allow Russia to bully its neighbors.

Following Rice’s speech, Volker Stanzel, the political director of the German Federal Foreign Office, and Dan Fried, the U.S. assistant secretary of state for European and Eurasian affairs, responded to Rice’s comments at an event organized by GMF and the Friederich Ebert Stiftung in Washington, DC. Both Stanzel and Fried agreed that Russia’s aggression toward Georgia had amounted to increased isolation from the West. Stanzel said Germany will continue to support Russia’s modernization “sustainably,” and that it is a “painful” process that requires sacrifice, while Fried took exception to Russia’s recent push for “spheres of influence” in its neighborhood. “We profoundly reject the notion of spheres of influence,” Fried said. “Russian pressure on its neighbors will not yield results.”



Radu Grozescu

Then-U.S. President George W. Bush addresses an audience of more than 300 for a speech hosted by GMF in Bucharest, Romania, in advance of the 2008 NATO Summit.

Hamid Karzai, Romanian President Traian Băsescu, Latvian President Valdas Zatlers, and Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili.

The Bucharest Conference agenda reflected the current and emerging challenges for NATO and the alliance. It included discussion sessions on themes, such as NATO’s operation in Afghanistan, Russia’s relationship with the West, and NATO’s future role in global affairs. Night owl and breakfast sessions held under the Chatham House Rule explored challenges like the Balkans after Kosovo, the role of NATO in Europe’s East, the extension of a Membership Action Plan to Ukraine, and missile defense. Similar to Brussels Forum, the Bucharest Conference is a gathering heavily tilted toward intimate exchange among panelists and participants.

Ahead of the Bucharest Conference, GMF released a series of short policy papers on NATO’s mission in Afghanistan, NATO enlargement, NATO’s relationship with Russia, and NATO’s role in battling global cyberdefense.



Radu Grozescu

FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: Afghan President Hamid Karzai and NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer speak about Afghanistan during a panel discussion at the Bucharest Conference.



Radu Grozescu

FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: Canadian Defense Minister Peter MacKay, Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper, and BBC Presenter and Correspondent Lyse Doucet chat before the Afghanistan panel at the Bucharest Conference.

STOCKHOLM CHINA FORUM

In June and December, GMF held the third and fourth editions of the Stockholm China Forum. Now in its second year, the Forum brings together policymakers, intellectuals, journalists, and business leaders from the United States, Europe, 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 policies. This year, the Forum introduced a split format with a half-day of purely transatlantic discussions and a full day of discussions including Chinese and other Asian intellectuals and officials.

The June Forum focused on shared global challenges like climate change and the problems facing the world economy, topics that benefited significantly from the presence of both Chinese and transatlantic policymakers. The Forum also provided the opportunity for an extensive session with Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and Pacific Affairs Christopher Hill, who had recently returned from the Six-Party Talks on the North Korean nuclear crisis. The December Forum included discussions on U.S.-China policy after the U.S. presidential election, the current troubles in EU-China relations, the global economic crisis, and relations with Russia following the conflict in Georgia.

The Stockholm China Forum was organized by GMF in conjunction with the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Swedish Foundation for International Cooperation in Research and Higher Education, and the Riksbankens Jubileumsfond.

TRANSATLANTIC FORUM ON MIGRATION AND INTEGRATION

In cooperation with the Robert Bosch Stiftung, GMF launched the inaugural [Transatlantic Forum on Migration and Integration \(TFMI\)](#) from July 10–13, in Nürnberg, Germany. TFMI is a transatlantic learning community on migration and integration. This year, TFMI brought together 60 future leaders in migration and integration from Europe, the United States, and from sending countries. TFMI will be a leading platform for the convening of future decision-makers and an international forum for exchange on crucial immigration and integration issues. Participants of the inaugural TFMI work in academia, policymaking, the business sector, and the media.

International migration and the resulting challenges of integration will dominate the global policy agenda for decades to come. The broad expertise of young, highly qualified, and specialized experts from various professional backgrounds is vital to the political decision-making process and to shaping public discourse. TFMI provides participants with opportunities for professional networking and learning, thereby promoting new insights as well as deepening transatlantic and global understanding.

Final participant selections for TFMI were made by GMF and the Robert Bosch Stiftung based on the recommendations of advisory committee members: France 4 CEO Hayet Zeggar, former *Dallas Morning News* Columnist Macarena Hernandez, and Dr. Michael Bommers, dean of the social sciences department at the University of Osnabrück and director of the Institute for Migration Research and Intercultural Studies.



Elizabeth Boswell Rega

Participants of the 2008 Transatlantic Forum on Migration and Integration.

In order to examine national migration issues alongside local issues, the Forum offered a mix of formats, including a site visit to the German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees and meetings with NGOs working on integration projects in the German state of Bavaria. Participants discussed current immigration and integration issues such as migration and development, asylum and refugees, migration and security, media and the public discourse on immigration, and local integration policies. Alfonso Aguilar, chief of citizenship at U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, and Joachim Herrmann, minister of the interior for Bavaria, also addressed Forum participants.

GMF HOSTS TRANSATLANTIC LEADERS

GMF organizes more than 100 events each year. In 2008, a wide range of topics were viewed through the prism of the transatlantic relationship including the Russia-Georgia conflict and its implications, the U.S. presidential election, immigration, the conflict in Afghanistan, climate change, agricultural policy, and the financial crisis, among many others.

2008 kicked off with a visit to Washington, DC, from Bulgarian Foreign Minister Ivailo Kalfin, who emphasized the upcoming pitfalls and opportunities for the fragile Balkan region, emphasized the importance of stabilization and revitalization in the Balkans. Shortly after, GMF's Brussels office hosted a talk by Romanian President Traian Băsescu in which he gave a preview of the April 2008 NATO Summit and addressed prospects for future enlargement and partnership possibilities.

In February, GMF in cooperation with the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, hosted German Federal Minister and Head of the Chancellery Dr. Thomas de Maizière for a presentation and discussion titled "Germany After Two Years of Grand Coalition." The event featured opening remarks by John Podesta, president and CEO of the Center for American Progress and former chief of staff to President Clinton. Podesta praised Germany's leadership in the field of climate and energy security during the country's dual EU and G-8 presidency and encouraged Germany to stay on course. Federal Minister de Maizière followed Podesta's comments by outlining the major foreign policy issues on the German grand coalition and transatlantic



GMF's Brussels office hosts Romanian President Traian Băsescu for a speech on the 2008 NATO Summit in Bucharest.

community agendas. In his remarks, the Minister focused on the nexus of foreign and domestic policy, stating that "no country can stand up to its foreign policy challenges without a viable domestic agenda."



Europe through the Back Door travel author and radio host Rick Steves discusses with MMF Program alumni how travel can be used as a tool for citizen diplomacy during an event at GMF's headquarters in Washington, DC.

In March, GMF hosted travel author and TV host Rick Steves for a Washington, DC, event on "Citizen Diplomacy and the Transatlantic Relationship." Steves offered insights on the current transatlantic relationship, the American view of Europe, and potential lessons the United States can learn from Europe. In April, GMF's Washington office also hosted Zalmay Khalilzad, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, for a discussion on the future of Afghanistan and the role of the international community. In a conversation with German journalist Klaus-Peter Sieglöch of ZDF Television, Khalilzad expressed confidence in current multilateral efforts in Afghanistan and reaffirmed American support for new UN Special Representative Kai Eide.

In June, GMF and the Heinrich Böll Foundation hosted a discussion on "The Role of Soccer in the U.S. and Europe." The discussion was followed by a live screening of a Euro 2008 match featuring Germany and Croatia. The lighthearted talk featured German Ambassador to the United States Dr. Klaus Scharioth, DC United President and Chief Executive Officer Kevin Payne, and Dr. Heiko Hesse, a former professional soccer player turned International Monetary Fund economist.

In September, at GMF's Brussels office, Kurt Volker delivered his first public address as the new U.S. ambassador to NATO. Speaking to an audience of diplomats, scholars, and policymakers, the former U.S. deputy assistant



FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: Klaus-Peter Siegloch of ZDF television and U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Zalmay Khalilzad discuss the future of Afghanistan and the role of the international community at a GMF event in Washington, DC.

secretary for European and Eurasian affairs outlined his organizing principles for a modern NATO. In the wake of the August Georgia-Russia conflict, Volker said that NATO must continue to work with Russia, but that NATO countries must “be clear, and object when trampled” on when engaging with Russia. Also in September, GMF’s Brussels office hosted a debate entitled “The War in Georgia and Relations with Russia: What Happened and What Now?” The debate brought together leaders from both sides of the Atlantic to discuss the issues. Panelists included Radosław Sikorski, Polish foreign minister; Matthew Bryza, U.S. deputy assistant secretary of state for European and Eurasian affairs; Temuri Yakobashvili, Georgian minister for reintegration; Vladimir Chizov, Russian ambassador to the European Union; and Eckart Von Klaeden, foreign policy spokesman of the CDU/CSU in the German Bundestag. Sikorski and Bryza both acknowledged the rising tension but insisted that Georgia had made a mistake in responding militarily. Looking forward, Sikorski said that another Cold War was not out of the realm of possible scenarios. “This has implications that go far beyond the Caucasuses,” he said. Chizhov challenged the assertion of a new Cold War saying the ideological differences that had been the basis for that time in history were no longer there.

Finally, a December panel discussion on Georgia featured Georgian Prime Minister Grigol Mgaloblishvili, Georgian Foreign Minister Eka Tkeshelashvili, Robert Cooper from the European Council, and Jamie Shea from NATO. The panelists professed their organizations’ commitment to closer relations between Georgia and the EU and NATO.

TREMEZZO YOUNG LEADERS CONFERENCE

From October 1–3, GMF and the Bertelsmann Stiftung held the eighth annual Transatlantic Young Leaders Conference in Tremezzo, Italy. The 2008 conference, “Transatlantic Goes Global: Why the Atlantic is Not Enough,” focused on how the United States and Europe can work together on pressing global issues such as the global financial crisis, conflict in Afghanistan and Darfur, the rising threat of climate change, and the future of the West’s centrality in global affairs.

The three-day conference brought together 30 young European and American leaders from a variety of professional backgrounds with the goal of developing lasting professional and personal connections on both sides of the Atlantic. Before opening up to discussion, each session started with introductory remarks from both an American and European expert.

CONGRESS-BUNDESTAG FORUM

GMF and the Robert Bosch Stiftung held the fifth annual Congress-Bundestag Forum in Charleston, South Carolina, and Washington, DC, from February 22–26, 2008. Previous Forums have been held in Heiligendamm and Berlin (2007), San Diego, California (2006), Elmau and Berlin (2005) and Washington, DC and Florida (2004).

Ten members of the German Bundestag and seven members of the U.S. House of Representatives participated in the meeting in Charleston, joined by speakers from the U.S. administration as well as the think tank and business communities. In addition to concentrated working sessions on major transatlantic political issues, the Forum also provided participants with deeper insight into the cultural and historical significance of the Charleston region through visits to the Citadel and the involvement of regional political and business leaders. In Washington, the group dined with 14 additional members of the U.S. House of Representatives on Capitol Hill, followed by briefings at the Pentagon and at the White House.

The goal of the Congress-Bundestag Forum is to improve dialogue between American and German policymakers by providing opportunities for young members of the German Bundestag and the U.S. Congress to exchange ideas and establish close personal ties with one another. The program is designed to develop networks of policy leaders on both sides of the Atlantic committed to maintaining and improving U.S.-German relations, and to address a mix of foreign and domestic policy issues.



U.S. ELECTIONS TOUR

In April, GMF organized a speaker's tour on the 2008 U.S. elections. The tour brought three political insiders from Washington, DC, to Turin, Munich, and Stockholm for a series of events on the November elections. The traveling panel of experts featured Mike Allen, chief political correspondent at Politico; Juleanna Glover, senior advisor at the Ashcroft Group; and Jamal Simmons, president of New Future Communications. In each city, the group spoke to large audiences of academics, journalists, diplomats, and representatives from the private sector.

Panelists discussed issues that have been central in this year's debates, focusing on foreign policy and the consequences for the transatlantic relationship. On the domestic side, the declining economy brought trade, healthcare, and fiscal policies to the fore. According to Simmons, "climate change is probably going to be one of the major issues for whichever president wins the White House," and will be a "bridge to improved cooperation with other world leaders." While the panelists disagreed on their predictions for who would win in November, they agreed that all of the leading candidates at the time—John McCain, Hillary Clinton, and Barack Obama—were good options for Europe in strengthening the transatlantic relationship.



Ursula Soygez

In Berlin, GMF and the U.S. Embassy host a U.S. election night party featuring live commentary from GMF Executive Vice President Karen Donfried in Washington, DC, on ZDF Television.

U.S. ELECTION SERIES IN BERLIN

Working with various partners, the GMF Berlin office co-hosted several election-related events in Berlin throughout the 2008 year to provide the Berlin policy community with firsthand American perspectives and transatlantic debate on a number of relevant issues. Panel discussions in cooperation with the American Embassy in Berlin focused specifically on the campaign (in February after Super Tuesday and in September after the Party Conventions) and culminated in a joint election night party on November 4-5, that attracted 2,400 people. ZDF Television anchored their night's coverage from there, also featuring GMF Executive Vice President Karen Donfried



Jensen Sutta

FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: GMF Senior Director for Wider Europe Peter Van Praagh, GMF Senior Transatlantic Fellow Rob Liberatore, and former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright during a GMF co-sponsored event at the National Democratic Party Convention in Denver.

SPOTLIGHT: ELECTIONS WEB SITE

In March, GMF launched a web site devoted to helping Europeans and the transatlantic community follow the 2008 U.S. presidential election. “Presidential Election 2008: What Europe Needs to Know” (www.gmfus.org/election2008) provided a range of ways for Europeans to stay informed on candidates’ transatlantic policy issues and political maneuvers. The site had several main features. The candidates’ positions and third-party articles about top transatlantic issues were featured in a series of nine debate trackers on Afghanistan and NATO, climate change, China, Iran, immigration, Russia, trade, terrorism, and the financial crisis. In addition, the site featured a regularly updated Daily Election Monitor, which included select editorials and thought-provoking commentary from mainstream media, regional news outlets, and insider blogs that are not always well-known in Europe. The GMF Elections Blog featured regular commentary on the U.S. Elections by GMF experts, fellows, and members of the GMF transatlantic network, and the site featured the latest poll numbers, updated daily through a partnership with RealClearPolitics.



contributing analysis from Washington. Partners for that event also included Deutsche Telekom and Deutschen Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik. German broadcaster Phoenix also aired an analysis panel from that event the following day.

Other events over the course of the year looked at the transatlantic implications of potential policy changes under a new administration. Issues discussed were climate and energy policy, the future role of the “West,” and the role of religion in politics and public life. Event partners included the Heinrich Böll Foundation, the Hertie School of Governance, and the Evangelische Akademie zu Berlin. The last event in this series was an expert panel discussion co-hosted with the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung on December 1 which looked at the relationship triangle between the United States, Germany, and Russia.

GMF AT THE PARTY CONVENTIONS

At the Democratic National Convention in Denver, Colorado from August 24–28, GMF co-sponsored the International Leaders Forum hosted by the National Democratic Institute. More than 500 international leaders from over 100 countries attended the program that focused on foreign policy challenges and the inner workings of the U.S. political system. Speakers at the Forum included former U.S. President Bill Clinton, U.S. House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, and NBC news anchor Tom

Brokaw. GMF sponsored the closing lunch of the Forum where former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and GMF Transatlantic Fellow Rob Liberatore made presentations ahead of former Virginia Governor Mark Warner’s keynote address.

At the Republican National Convention in St. Paul, Minnesota, on September 1, GMF co-sponsored with the International Republican Institute and additional support from Oxfam America a panel discussion on “The Future of Foreign Assistance: Effective Development and National Security” at the Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs.

GMF Senior Transatlantic Fellow Jim Kolbe and Oxfam America President Ray Offenheiser were two of seven panelists who addressed the role of development in an increasingly interconnected world and emphasized the importance of U.S. aid modernization under a new administration. Other panelists included Richard Fontaine, senior foreign policy advisor, McCain ‘08; U.S. Representative John Boozman (R-AK); Andrew Natsios, former USAID administrator; Vin Weber, former member of Congress (R-MN); and Ambassador Michael Wilson, permanent representative of Canada to the United States. The panel was introduced by Brian Atwood, former USAID administrator and dean of the Humphrey Institute, and moderated by Matt McLean, vice president of Congressional and public affairs at the Millennium Challenge Corporation.

RESEARCH

DIGGING DEEPER



Radu Grozescu

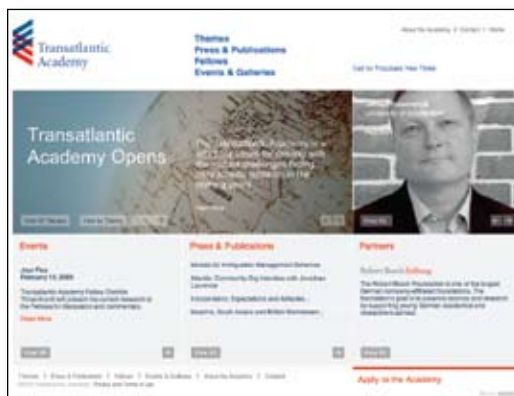
The German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF) invites policy practitioners, journalists, business leaders, and academics to conduct research on a wide range of issues affecting the transatlantic agenda. Such research helps to not only shape policy but also further the transatlantic debate. At the heart of GMF's research initiatives are its public opinion surveys. These surveys seek to gauge the transatlantic relationship and mood on a variety of foreign policy and economic and development issues.

TRANSATLANTIC ACADEMY OPENING

In October, GMF, the ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius of Germany, the Robert Bosch Stiftung, and the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation welcomed a group of academics and policymakers for a conference that celebrated the official opening of the [Transatlantic Academy](#).

A GMF-ZEIT initiative, the Transatlantic Academy serves as a forum for a select group of scholars, policy experts, and authors from both sides of the Atlantic and from different academic and policy disciplines to examine a particular issue for a year. Fellows collaborate to tackle one thematic issue at a time from a transatlantic and interdisciplinary perspective, and they use research, publications, and ideas to make relevant contributions to policy debates on both sides of the Atlantic. This year's inaugural focus was on migration. The permanent location of the Transatlantic Academy is at the headquarters of GMF in Washington, DC.

Former Italian Prime Minister Giuliano Amato opened the conference with a speech outlining current challenges faced by the European Union with regard to migrants and security. Amato said the EU should step up to these challenges and become more of a "player" in the global arena.



Transatlantic Academy fellows gather with Transatlantic Academy Executive Director Stephen Szabo (far right) for the inaugural opening of the Academy in October.

At the luncheon that followed, Jim Kolbe, former U.S. congressman and current GMF senior transatlantic fellow, delivered a U.S. perspective on the global challenges of immigration and the reaction to those challenges by a new U.S. administration.

2008 Transatlantic Academy Fellows:

- **Jeroen Doomernik** (Dutch), Lecturer in International Relations, University of Amsterdam Senior Researcher, Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies
- **Rey Koslowski** (American), Associate Professor, Political Science and Public Policy, University at Albany
- **Jonathan Laurence** (American), Assistant Professor, Boston College
- **Rahsaan Maxwell** (American), Assistant Professor, University of Massachusetts, Amherst
- **Ines Michalowski** (German), Senior Researcher, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin-Social Science Research Centre
- **Dietrich Thränhardt** (German), Professor Emeritus for Political Science, University of Münster



TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

The results of this year's *Transatlantic Trends* survey showed that nearly half of Europeans (47%) believed that relations between the United States and Europe would improve if Senator Barack Obama was elected the next U.S. president, compared with 29% who believed relations would stay the same, and 5% who believe relations will worsen. If Senator John McCain was elected, only 11% believed that transatlantic relations will improve, compared to 49% who believed relations would stay the same, and 13% who believed that relations would worsen.

Transatlantic Trends (www.transatlantictrends.org)—a project of GMF and the Compagnia di San Paolo in Turin, Italy, with additional support from the Fundação Luso-Americana (Portugal), the Fundación BBVA (Spain), and the Tipping Point Foundation (Bulgaria)—measures broad public opinion in the United States and 12 European countries and gauges transatlantic relations. For the sixth consecutive year, participants were asked their views on each other and on global threats, foreign policy objectives, world leadership, and multilateral institutions.

Key findings include:

- **Majority of Europeans favored Obama:** Sixty-nine percent of Europeans viewed Senator Barack Obama favorably, compared with 26% who viewed Senator John McCain favorably. Among Europeans who felt that U.S. leadership in world affairs is “undesirable,” 50% believed that relations will improve under an Obama presidency and 10% believed that relations will improve under McCain.
- **Number of Europeans who want closer relations with the United States on the rise:** While most Europeans continue to feel that Europe should take a more independent role in security and diplomatic affairs apart from the United States, modest increases in the percentage of those who felt relations should become closer were found in all countries. The overall percentage who felt relations should become closer increased from 27% in 2006 to 31% in 2008.
- **Russia and China seen as potential threats:** Americans (79%) and Europeans (65%) express concern about Russia's role in providing weapons to the Middle East, its weakening democracy (75% of Americans, 57% of Europeans); and its role as an energy provider (58% of Americans, 59% of Europeans). Americans and Europeans (54% and 48%, respectively) view China more as an economic threat than as an economic opportunity.
- **Terrorism and economic problems top the transatlantic agenda:** There were shared concerns among Americans and Europeans that international terrorism and the international economy should be top priorities of a new American president and European leaders. Forty-two percent of Americans identified international terrorism as one of the top two agenda priorities, followed closely by 39% who identified international economic problems. Among Europeans, 43% identified international terrorism as a top agenda item, followed by 41% who identified climate change and 37% who identified international economic problems.
- **Europeans less willing to isolate Russia:** Europeans are more willing than Americans to provide security assistance for neighboring democracies like Ukraine and Georgia (67% to 58%, respectively) and to increase support for democratic forces inside Russia (65% to 61%), but they are less willing than Americans to support restricting cooperation with Russia in international organizations (38% to 47%).
- **NATO support on the rise in Europe:** Fifty-seven percent of Europeans agreed that NATO is still essential to their country's security, an increase of four percentage points from last year. Increases were found in eight of the 12 countries surveyed.
- **Turkey warming to the EU and the United States:** Turkey's cooling trend since 2004 reversed in 2008, with Turkish “warmth” toward the European Union (on a 100-degree “thermometer” scale) increasing over the last year by seven degrees to 33 degrees and toward the United States by three degrees to 14. Sixty percent of Europeans and 48% of Americans thought it is likely that Turkey will join the European Union, compared with only 26% of Turkish respondents.



TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS: IMMIGRATION

In November, GMF and its partners launched a companion public opinion survey to build on the success of *Transatlantic Trends*. The inaugural *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration* public opinion survey addressed immigration and integration issues including national identity, citizenship, migration management policies, national security, and the economic opportunities and challenges presented by migrants. The results of this year's survey showed that 50% of Americans and 47% of Europeans think immigration is more of a problem than an opportunity, but a closer look showed nuanced views of immigration and integration on both sides of the Atlantic and marked differences within Europe.

Transatlantic Trends: Immigration is a project of the German Marshall Fund of the United States, with support from the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation (U.S.), the Compagnia di San Paolo (Italy), and the Barrow Cadbury Trust (U.K.). It measures public opinion in the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and Poland.

Key findings include:

- **Immigration is “more of a problem” for all but the French and the Dutch:** The average European response is similar to U.S. opinion on whether immigration is “more of a problem” or “more of an opportunity,” with 47% in Europe and 50% in the United States saying it is “more of a problem.” The United Kingdom, Germany, Italy, and Poland all have majorities or pluralities defining immigration as “more of a problem,” while pluralities in both France (46%) and the Netherlands (42%) say it is “more of an opportunity.”
- **Illegal, not legal, immigration is the biggest concern on both sides of the Atlantic:** Real anxiety about legal immigration exists, but it is dwarfed by concerns about illegal immigration: more than 40% of respondents on both sides of the Atlantic express concern only about illegal immigration. Additionally, significant numbers of respondents in Europe (29%) and the United States (37%) are not worried about either legal or illegal immigration.
- **Temporary labor schemes are not supported by any country:** While policymakers are increasingly proposing policies to admit workers on a temporary basis, support for these policies among the public is not found in this survey. Only 26% in Europe and 27% in the United States think that legal immigrants should be admitted temporarily and then be required to return to their country of origin. In fact, 64% in Europe and 62% in the United States favor giving legal immigrants the opportunity to stay permanently.
- **Cooperation with sending countries gets clear “no” in the United States, mixed reviews in Europe:** A majority of Americans (56%) favor the United States managing immigration on its own, a sentiment shared by Democrats and Republicans alike. Indeed, only 32% in the United States think that migration should be managed in cooperation with immigrants' countries of origin. In Europe, a majority (57%) support joint management with source countries, and only 40% favor management of immigration by their country alone.
- **Americans connect citizenship to nationality more than Europeans:** On the issue of whether citizenship is important to one's national identity, Europeans and Americans diverge slightly, with 95% of U.S. respondents and 81% of European respondents agreeing that it is. A more striking difference surfaces when one compared those Americans and Europeans who responded that they feel citizenship is “very important” to national identity, with 79% of Americans and only 48% of Europeans answering as such.



AFGHANISTAN

From October 17 through 23, a GMF delegation including GMF President Craig Kennedy, Senior Transatlantic Fellow and former Congressman Jim Kolbe, and Brussels Office Executive Director Ron Asmus traveled with NATO General Egon Ramms to Afghanistan. The delegation investigated the challenges of civil-military cooperation and explored how the nexus between security and development impacts the prospects of success on the ground. The group met with a number of civilian and military



Michal Baranowski

leaders including ISAF Commander General McKiernan; Kai Eide, special representative of the UN Secretary General for Afghanistan, and Michael Yates, USAID mission director. The delegation also had a chance to learn the perspective of the Afghan government, meeting with National Security Adviser Dr. Zalmay Rassouls, General Director of the Independent Directorate of Local Governance Jelani Popal, and Wais Ahmad Barmak, executive director of the National Solidarity Programme. Besides meeting in Kabul, the group traveled to Regional Command East, visiting three provincial reconstruction teams in Ghazni, Logar, and Bagram. The study tour was GMF's first trip to the region. Lessons from the study tour informed several public speaking engagements by Jim Kolbe and Ron Asmus in the months following the visit.



Michal Baranowski

GMF with the U.S. Army fly over Ghazni Province, Afghanistan during a fact-finding tour in October.



Michal Baranowski

ABOVE: A Macedonian soldier patrolling the streets of Kabul, Afghanistan.
BELOW: GMF and the U.S. Army flying over Afghani mountain range.

FELLOWS PROGRAM

GMF's Fellows Program helps the organization to shape important policy debates between North America and Europe. Each year GMF invites a small number of senior policy-practitioners, journalists, business leaders, and academics to develop a range of programs and initiatives and build important networks of policymakers and analysts in the Euroatlantic community. Spending their residency in Washington, DC, or Europe, fellows generate innovative policy approaches to transatlantic issues, research and write about relevant topics in the transatlantic sphere, and provide advice on programs of strategic interest. In 2008, fellows published articles and op-eds in *The Washington Post*, the *Financial Times*, the *International Herald Tribune*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Die Zeit*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and many other outlets.

2008 Fellows:

- **Douglas Davidson**, former Head of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe's Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina
- **Daniel Fata**, former U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Europe and NATO Policy
- **Charles W. Fluharty**, Founding Director and former President, Rural Policy Research Institute
- **Hans-Dieter Heumann**, Senior Career Diplomat, German Federal Foreign Office
- **Jennifer Hillman**, Member, Appellate Body, World Trade Organization
- **Jörg Himmelreich**, former Member, Policy Planning Staff, German Federal Foreign Office
- **Robert Kagan**, Contributing Editor, *Weekly Standard* and the *New Republic*; Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Columnist, *The Washington Post*
- **Til Knorn**, Office of the Prime Minister of Hesse, Germany
- **Jim Kolbe**, former Member, U.S. House of Representatives, representing the 8th Congressional District of Arizona
- **Ian Lesser**, former leader of a project on the future of U.S.-Turkish relations, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; President, Mediterranean Advisors, LLC; and Senior Advisor, Luso-American Foundation, Lisbon
- **Robert G. Liberatore**, former Head of Global External Affairs and Public Policy, DaimlerChrysler
- **Dan Morgan**, Correspondent, *The Washington Post*
- **Michael Polt**, former U.S. Ambassador to Serbia and career member of the Foreign Service, U.S. Department of State
- **Alice Poole**, Consultant, PA Consulting Group
- **Joseph Quinlan**, Chief Market Strategist, Bank of America
- **Richard Salt**, U.K. Civil Servant and former Economic Adviser to HM Treasury
- **Tim Searchinger**, former Co-Director, Center for Conservation Incentives, Environmental Defense
- **Bruce Stokes**, Economics Columnist, *National Journal*
- **Jack Thurston**, President, Farmsubsidy.org
- **Patrick Weil**, Director, Center for the Study of Immigration, Integration, and Citizenship Policies, Sorbonne University
- **Michael Werz**, Director, New York office, Hessen Universities Consortium
- **Joseph Wood**, former Deputy Assistant of National Security Affairs to former U.S. Vice President Richard Cheney



ON TURKEY

GMF launched *On Turkey*, an ongoing series of analysis briefs about Turkey's current political situation and its future. GMF provides regular analysis briefs by leading Turkish, European, and American writers and intellectuals, with a focus on dispatches from on-the-ground Turkish observers. (www.gmfus.org/onturkey)

On Turkey authors include:

- **Soli Ozel**, professor at Istanbul Bilgi University and a columnist for the Turkish national daily *Sabah*
- **Amberin Zaman**, Turkey correspondent for *The Economist* and columnist for the Turkish daily *Taraf*
- **Ian Lesser**, GMF senior transatlantic fellow and a longtime Turkey follower at the U.S. State Department, RAND, and the Woodrow Wilson Center



GEORGIA-RUSSIA CONFLICT

In response to the conflict between Russia and Georgia that erupted in August 2008 over the breakaway enclaves of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, GMF created a daily news digest covering the heated conflict. GMF experts from its Washington, DC, headquarters and European offices culled local-language articles and columns on the conflict and Georgia's previous democratic and economic development. GMF has a robust archive of policy papers and events related to Georgia and Russia online that goes back several years. (www.gmfus.org/georgiaconflict)

AID EFFECTIVENESS PROJECT

Established in 2007, GMF's Aid Effectiveness Project seeks to improve the outcomes of foreign aid in the developing world by convening American and European practitioners, policymakers, and business leaders to exchange views on the evolving aid architecture and new aid delivery platforms and approaches, and by injecting fresh policy research into these dialogues to strengthen transatlantic cooperation. Although the United States and Europe account for the bulk of the world's foreign aid, philanthropic, and investment flows to the developing world, the international aid system has become increasingly fragmented and complicated with the arrival of new actors and new donors, such as China. Coordination is limited and particularly weak in fragile and post-conflict states. To address these issues, the Aid Effectiveness Project has continued its "Innovations in Aid" event series, conducted primary strategic research, and formed a [Transatlantic Taskforce on Development](#). Co-chaired by GMF Senior Transatlantic Fellow Jim Kolbe and Gunilla Carlsson, Swedish minister for international development cooperation, the transatlantic taskforce on development consists of more than 20 representatives from North America and Europe who offer a wide array of perspectives, including public and private sectors, politics, research, business, and civil society.

The Aid Effectiveness Project continues to explore how the United States and Europe can work together to enhance aid effectiveness and policy coherence. In 2008, the Project gathered members of the U.S. and European corporate communities to examine the role of business in development, helped to educate the U.S. campaigns on the importance of



In April, Transatlantic Taskforce on Development members, including Co-Chairs GMF Senior Transatlantic Fellow Jim Kolbe and Swedish Minister for International Development Cooperation Gunilla Carlsson, meet for the first time in Washington, DC, to discuss four key challenges: development, democracy, and security; climate change; food security; and effective support for development.

development in American foreign policy, and commissioned research on U.S. and European coordination in foreign assistance to help provide policymakers on both sides of the Atlantic evidence-based analysis on aid effectiveness. Building on these activities and numerous consultations with government, NGO, business and military leaders, a final report by the Transatlantic Taskforce on Development will launch in February 2009. The final report will outline recommendations for enhancement of transatlantic cooperation in development policy, focusing on four workstreams: development, democracy, and security; climate change; food security; and effective support for development. A range of events are planned in the United States, Europe, and worldwide to disseminate the final report and help inform the incoming U.S. administration, members of Congress, and leaders and parliamentarians in Europe.

BIOFUELS

In the last eight years, interest in increased biofuels production has grown rapidly in Europe and the United States. Aiming to achieve energy independence and to reduce

carbon emissions, governments have implemented a series of tax credits, mandates, and other economic incentives to support the biofuels industry and develop rural economies. But a number of critics have raised concern that the total environmental costs of biofuels have not been recognized.

Within its Economic Policy Program, GMF worked in 2008 to bring the relevant stakeholders to the table and to promote improvements in European and U.S. biofuels policies that are currently being formulated to avoid trade barriers, to not compete with food and forest, and to open up sustainable economic opportunities for developing countries. GMF's work in this area also looks to inform potential trade and climate change agreements, perhaps two years from now, that will influence the future course of biofuels production. The goal is to provide sound analysis and frame the public discourse to help shape those agreements.

GMF continues to disseminate ongoing biofuels analysis to the trade, agriculture, energy, foreign policy, and environmental communities in the United States, Europe, and select emerging and developing economies.

NETWORKING

MAKING CONNECTIONS



Wit Bohlen

Since its inception, the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF) has worked to increase the world's understanding of the transatlantic partnership by linking Americans and Europeans through exchange programs, fellowships, travel, and site visits. Building an interconnected transatlantic network of people and organizations furthers GMF's goals to strengthen transatlantic relations. Helping people from the political, media, business, and nonprofit communities meet their counterparts on each side of the Atlantic leads to knowledge-sharing, international perspective, and new solutions to common problems, whether through broad cultural exposure or targeted learning opportunities.

MARSHALL MEMORIAL FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

Founded in 1982, the [Marshall Memorial Fellowship \(MMF\)](#) Program was created by GMF to introduce a new generation of European leaders to America's institutions, politics, and people. In 1999, GMF launched a companion program to expose future U.S. leaders to a changing and expanding Europe.

GMF works closely with partners in more than 60 cities on both sides of the Atlantic to make the MMF Program possible. Over the course of 2008, the program expanded to seven new cities with the help of MMF alumni and new partner organizations. For the first time, European fellows visited Baton Rouge, LA; Billings, MT; Memphis, TN; Roanoke, VA; and Waterville, ME. Similarly, Skopje, Republic of Macedonia, and Podgorica, Montenegro, welcomed American fellows for the first time in 2008.

Operating initially in four countries—Denmark, France, Germany, and the Netherlands—the MMF network now reaches across the United States and 22 European countries, counting among its members more than 1,650 alumni working in all sectors, including politics, media, business, and nongovernmental organizations. In 2008, the accomplishments of MMF alumni were numerous and included the election of MMF alumnus Erik Paulsen to the U.S. Congress, a first for the MMF alumni network. The 2008 programs included 112 fellows (61 European and 51 American), and another 111 have been selected to travel in 2009.

The MMF Program is made possible in part by financial contributions from the Cleveland Foundation and the Niarchos Foundation, and by in-kind contributions from the Compagnia di San Paolo, the Council for the United States and Italy, the Fundação Luso-Americana, and the ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius. The MMF Program values the contributions from its partners, who help make the program dynamic and engaging for current fellows and alumni alike.



Ursula Soygez

American MMFs discuss migration and integration in Germany with 12th grade students and teachers at Carl-Von-Ossietzky High School in Berlin.



Ursula Soygez

In front of a model of the City of Berlin, American MMFs gather to hear from MMF alum Ephraim Gothe of the Berlin Planning Department.

AT LEFT: Connie Hedegaard, Danish minister for climate and energy and MMF alumna, provides a roadmap from Bali to the 2009 UN Climate Summit in Denmark for participants of the Marshall Forum in Copenhagen.



Emily Reichertaux

European and American alumni of the MMF Program gather for the opening dinner of the Marshall Forum on Transatlantic Affairs, which was held at the Confederation of Danish Industry headquarters in Copenhagen.

MARSHALL FORUM 2008

In 2008, GMF, in cooperation with local partners and Marshall Memorial Fellowship (MMF) alumni, organized its annual events for MMF Program alumni. The American Marshall Forum on Transatlantic Affairs was held from September 18–21 in Los Angeles, California, and the European Marshall Forum on Transatlantic Affairs took place in Copenhagen, Denmark, from October 23–26.

The American Marshall Forum focused on issues that affect the United States and Europe on local, regional, national, and international levels but also highlighted issues of particular relevance to California. In the United States, panel sessions focused on immigration, climate change and the environment, sustainable agriculture and green business, and the media industry. Notable speakers at the Forum in Los Angeles included U.S. Congressman Ed Royce; Steve Cooley, district attorney for Los Angeles County; Mary Nichols, chair of the California Air Resources Board; Rick Steves, travel writer and founder of *Europe Through the Back Door*; and Edit Herczog, member of the European Parliament and MMF alumna.

The European Marshall Forum focused on the impact of globalization—as seen in the development of the media, the financial crisis, the growth of urban spaces, and climate and energy issues. The format included keynotes and small group discussions with experts and participants, followed by site visits featuring innovative local business approaches to the climate challenge such as windmills and a solar house. The European Marshall Forum also included a lively debate on the U.S. presidential campaign and politics. Among others, speakers included Jesper Møller, chief executive officer of Toms Confectionary Group and chairman of the Confederation

of Danish Industry; Steven Fries, chief economist at Royal Dutch Shell; the Hon. Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, former foreign minister of Denmark; and the Hon. Connie Hedegaard, minister for climate and energy of Denmark and MMF alumna.

Both editions of the Marshall Forum were conducted with support from the respective local MMF alumni communities and from partners including the Confederation of Danish Industry, the A.P. Møller and Chastine Mc-Kinney Møller Foundation, Southern California Leadership Network, Southern California Edison, Southern California Gas Company, and the Wine Institute, as well as Coca-Cola Nordic Services, SAS Scandinavian Airlines, the United States Embassy to Denmark, the DFDS Group, and DONG Energy.

BLACK SEA STUDY TOURS: EXAMINING REGIONAL THEMES IN THE CAUCASUS

Study tours of the Black Sea region have been one of GMF's hallmark projects over the past decade, raising the profile of the region, contributing to increased awareness of the issues facing the Black Sea, helping to lay the original groundwork for the creation of the Black Sea Trust for Regional Cooperation (BST), and feeding into GMF's policy programming. Since its founding, BST has assumed the responsibility of continuing these highly informative and influential projects. The tours increase participants' knowledge of the region, inform policy decisions, and highlight the region by generating media coverage. In November 2007, GMF organized a tour to Georgia, including South Ossetia, in the midst of a series of protests against Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili and his administration. In 2008, GMF and BST staff led senior government officials, policymakers, and journalists on study tours to Georgia, Ukraine, and



Tim Judah

In November, GMF organized a senior study tour to Ukraine and Turkey to explore the pivotal role both countries play in bridging Europe with Russia, Central Asia, and the Greater Middle East. While in Turkey the delegation met with the Ali Babacan, Turkish foreign minister, to discuss the role Turkey will continue to play as a regional energy hub, the potential rapprochement between Turkey and Armenia, and the regional consequences of the Georgia-Russia conflict in August.



Parol Demes

Turkey; two trips to Moldova (including Transnistria); and one trip to the countries of Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Turkey. Additionally, BST organized a fact-finding tour to Georgia for six GMF senior staff members (including GMF President Craig Kennedy) to inform GMF's policies and programming toward that country. Three of these tours occurred after the August conflict between Georgia and Russia, providing a tremendous learning opportunity to the participants and drawing much needed attention to the region during this critical period. As a valuable effort to allow senior officials, journalists, and thinkers to see these countries and regional conflicts firsthand, GMF intends to continue organizing study tours in 2009 and beyond.

APSA CONGRESSIONAL FELLOWSHIP

Each year, the American Political Science Association (APSA) Congressional Fellowship program, with the support of GMF, provides support for two mid-career German professionals to participate in a 10-month fellowship on Capitol Hill to gain an insider's view of the inner workings of the federal government. The U.S. fellows

secure their own jobs as legislative assistants in the U.S. Congress by contacting member offices directly. The program provides participants with a unique perspective of the American political system that they then take home with them. To date, GMF has supported the participation of 50 German fellows.

The 2007-2008 APSA fellows were Antonia Schabel and Immanuel Steinhilper. They found assignments in the offices of Jim McDermott (D-WA) and James E. Clyburn (D-SC), respectively. GMF has chosen two outstanding fellows for the 2008-2009 APSA program: Dr. Camilla Bausch, senior fellow and head of energy and climate at Ecologic in Berlin and Dr. Alexander Doerrbecker, executive assistant at the Federal Ministry of Justice. Both arrived in Washington in the fall of 2008.

MANFRED WÖRNER SEMINAR

The 26th Manfred Wörner Seminar, which brings together 15 American and 15 German young leaders to discuss U.S.–German and U.S.–European defense and security policies, was held in Berlin, Brussels, and Bonn in May. U.S. participants in the 2008 program included representatives from the U.S. Department of Defense, the U.S. State Department, the Brookings Institution, Booz Allen Hamilton, and the *Weekly Standard*. German participants came from the German Council on Foreign Relations, the German Institute for International and Security Affairs, and the European Commission, among others.



German Ministry of Defense

Participants of the 2008 Manfred Wörner Seminar.

Highlights of this year's agenda included visits to the NATO base in Geilenkirchen and the Allied Joint Forces Command in Brunssum, the Netherlands, as well as discussions at NATO Headquarters with Ulrich Brandenburg, the German ambassador to NATO. Participants also met with Dr. Ingo Friedrich, member of the European Parliament; Hans Ulrich Klose, member of the German Bundestag and deputy chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee; and General Wolfgang Schneiderhahn, chief of staff of the Bundeswehr.

Discussions centered on the transformation of the Bundeswehr and its integration into multinational organizations, the enlargement of NATO, and the state of transatlantic relations with regard to global challenges like negotiations with Iran, political developments in Russia, and climate change.

PETER WEITZ JOURNALISM PRIZE

On September 18, GMF hosted U.S. Senator Bob Bennett (R-Utah) to address the recipients of the Peter R. Weitz Prize for excellence and originality in U.S. reporting on Europe and the transatlantic relationship. The Weitz Prize, received this year by *The Wall Street Journal* reporter Andrew Higgins and freelance journalist Mary Wiltenburg, 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.

Higgins, staff reporter with *The Wall Street Journal*, was awarded the \$10,000 senior prize for his reporting on Europe published between January and November 2007. Focusing mainly on religion, Higgin's articles provided insight into secular and non-secular issues currently confronting Europe. While the growth of Islam has alarmed many in Europe and

given rise to more atheist groups, Christian immigrants have returned to the continent a faith that was thought to be lost two centuries ago. As century-old churches are being replaced by rented halls supported by U.S.-influenced evangelical groups, Higgins explains in his articles how economics has played a key role in the revival of a Christian campaign that is reinvigorating Europe.

The \$5,000 junior prize for outstanding coverage of Europe by a journalist under 35 was awarded to Wiltenburg, a freelance reporter whose award-winning stories appeared in *The Boston Globe* and *The Christian Science Monitor*, for her work profiling U.S. soldiers stationed in Germany.

CONGRESSIONAL STUDY TOURS



Dodie Jones

Participants from the WTO Conference on Reform at Oxford University.



Michael O'Brien

FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: Junior prize winner Mary Wiltenburg, GMF President Craig Kennedy, and senior prize winner Andrew Higgins at the Peter R. Weitz luncheon in September.

From May 24–31, GMF organized its third annual Congressional study tour to the Balkans region. Participants, which included GMF staff and nine senior U.S. Congressional staff members, met with leading government and community officials in Belgrade, Serbia; Sarajevo, Bosnia; Bana Luka; and Kosovo. As part of an ongoing effort by GMF to expand the dialogue between the United States and the Balkans region, the study tours expose Congressional staff members to the work of the Balkan Trust for Democracy, a 10-year initiative created by GMF and its partners in 2003 that awards grants to indigenous initiatives that work toward building productive, democratic, and peaceful societies in Southeastern Europe.

The need to “make the World Trade Organization (WTO)

work better” has become one of the most pressing problems within global governance, and open dialogue can help lead to innovative solutions to the problems facing the current world trading structure. To gain a better understanding of future options for the world trading system, GMF brought six U.S. Congressional staff members to the European Studies Centre at Oxford University to meet with European thought leaders and policymakers from May 22–25. The meetings took place in an informal setting to encourage open debate on the future of the WTO.

Also in May 2008, GMF took a delegation of five senior U.S. Congressional staff members on a study tour to the United Kingdom and Sweden to learn about aid and development policy. Participants met with development agencies, government officials, and representatives from both the private and nonprofit sectors to exchange ideas about improving aid effectiveness and development assistance.

The program brings GMF’s considerable networks, research, and convening power to bear on a policy debate that has at times strained relations across the Atlantic.

CLIMATE & ENERGY PROGRAM

In March, GMF launched a new [Climate & Energy Program](#) to facilitate transatlantic cooperation on climate policy solutions. The program brings GMF’s considerable networks, research, and convening power to bear on a policy debate that has at times strained relations across the Atlantic. The program is led by Cathleen Kelly, the former climate change policy director at the Nature Conservancy and a 14-year veteran on climate policy issues affecting the United States and Europe.



Matthew Wojtkun

Senior climate negotiators from the European Union meet with climate leaders from Washington’s NGO community, in July, to discuss U.S. and international’s climate policy and the prospects for agreement in December 2009 at the international negotiations in Copenhagen.

As significant generators of greenhouse gases, the United States and Europe are major players in international climate negotiations but currently advocate different approaches to controlling emissions. While Europe has been an early implementer of regulatory and incentive-based initiatives on climate change, including through the EU Emissions Trading Scheme, the United States, under the Bush administration, has traditionally opposed mandatory restrictions on emissions and has argued instead for voluntary approaches to responding to the problem of climate change. To bridge the climate change divide, the program focuses on three areas of cooperation: facilitating early dialogue between U.S. and European climate negotiators; helping move the United States into a leadership position on climate change; and addressing conflicts and opportunities that arise at the intersection of trade and climate policies. The new U.S. administration has pledged to reduce greenhouse gas emissions 80 percent by 2050 through such measures as an economy-wide cap-and-trade system and to make the United States a leader on climate change.

Highlights from 2008 included a series of roundtable discussions, hosted by GMF in Washington, DC, on U.S. and international climate policy issues for nine senior European climate negotiators representing Denmark, Germany, Norway, Poland, the United Kingdom, and the European Commission among others; a climate policy lunch discussion in June for senior officials from embassies

of G-8 countries and the United States government to discuss options for crafting a policy framework for future international climate cooperation; lunch events on Capitol Hill for congressional staff and NGO and business representatives featuring European and U.S. policy experts; and an event alongside the international climate negotiations at COP14 in Poznań, Poland.



Bill Harper

FROM LEFT TO RIGHT:
U.S. Congresswoman Betty McCollum and U.S. Congressman Kevin Brady, co-founders of the World Bank Caucus, speak at the launch on July 16.

WORLD BANK CAUCUS LAUNCH

On July 16, the U.S. Congress with the support of GMF launched the Caucus on Congressional-World Bank Dialogue, a forum for engagement on global development, poverty alleviation, and trade issues. The new bipartisan caucus provides a forum for members of Congress and congressional staff to engage with World Bank officials, parliamentarians, and policy

experts in the exchange of information and knowledge related to the impact of global development, poverty alleviation, and trade issues on developing and donor nations. At the launch, World Bank President Bob Zoellick and the Caucus' two founding members, Representative Betty McCollum (D-MN) and Representative Kevin Brady (R-TX), delivered remarks.

COMPARATIVE DOMESTIC POLICY PROGRAM

GMF's [Comparative Domestic Policy \(CDP\)](#) Program provides a forum for dialogue between U.S. and European civic leaders, professionals, and practitioners working to make, implement, and influence policy at the urban and regional level.

Transatlantic Cities Network: In 2008, in cooperation with the Bank of America Foundation and the Compagnia di San Paolo, with additional support from the Ford Foundation, the CDP Program launched its new signature initiative, the Transatlantic Cities Network (TCN). TCN provides a framework through which selected representatives from 25 cities in the United States and Europe can exchange information and ideas about

TRANSATLANTIC CITIES NETWORK

European Cities

Belgrade, Serbia
Birmingham, United Kingdom
Brussels, Belgium
Copenhagen, Denmark
Essen, Germany
Genoa, Italy
Krakow, Poland
Leipzig, Germany
Lille, France
Lyon, France
Rotterdam, The Netherlands
Turin, Italy
Valencia, Spain

American Cities

Austin, Texas
Boston, Massachusetts
Charlotte, North Carolina
Cleveland, Ohio
Denver, Colorado
Detroit, Michigan
Oakland, California
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
Portland, Oregon
San Antonio, Texas
Washington, DC

shared policy challenges, innovative policy solutions, and best practices. The TCN was officially launched in September with a study tour to the cities of Philadelphia and Washington, DC, followed by a three-day workshop at GMF's Washington headquarters for all representatives.

The TCN has four policy focus areas: the Sustainable City, the Educated City, the Affordable City, and the Integrated City. These four policy areas encompass key challenges facing cities in the network and across the United States and Europe, including mobility, affordable housing, workforce



Kristina Field

In September, TCN representatives gathered for the network's official launch at GMF's headquarters in Washington, DC. Following a brief study tour to the cities of Philadelphia and Washington, DC, representatives participated in an intensive three-day workshop, where they collaboratively defined TCN's policy priorities and exchanged ideas about major challenges in each other's communities.



Brent Riddle

In May, as part of a CDP-led study tour, U.S. Congressional staff members and state-level elected officials get a close-up view of Paris' Vélib bike-sharing system. By taking advantage of the bike-sharing system themselves, study tour participants view first-hand the city's cycling infrastructure and its integration with other modes of transportation.

training, and sustainable economic development. In the coming year, the CDP Program will coordinate study tours, conferences, and policy briefings that will both highlight TCN cities' innovative policies as well as address the challenges they face in those areas.

CDP Study Tours: In April, May, and October, the CDP Program coordinated study tours that gave three U.S. delegations an opportunity to explore how European cities and regions are addressing a number of challenges in these policy areas. In April, GMF brought ten civic leaders from the Charlotte, NC, metropolitan area to Frankfurt, Germany; Amsterdam, the Netherlands; and Brussels, Belgium, to learn about innovative projects those cities have implemented around sustainable development, open spaces preservation, and water management. In May, GMF took a group of U.S. Congressional staff members and state-level elected officials to Paris, France, and Stuttgart, Germany, to investigate transportation infrastructure, policy, and financing, with a focus on transit as a means for economic development and regional cooperation. In October, members

of Blue Ribbon Committee on Trails in Portland, OR, (tasked with the development of over 900 miles of trails in the Portland area) traveled to Amsterdam, the Netherlands, and Copenhagen, Denmark, to explore policies related to green spaces, bicycle planning and infrastructure, and the relationship between the two.

CDP Fellowships: Also in 2008, the CDP Program granted four fellowships. In November, American CDP Fellows Jess Zimbabwe, director of the Mayors' Institute on City Design, and John Swanson, transportation planner with the Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments, traveled to Turin, Italy, where they conducted research on policy impacts on city design and on public involvement in transportation planning processes, respectively. In the spring of 2009, European CDP Fellows Iolanda Romano, president of Avventura Urbana, and Patrizia Saroglia, research associate at A.Iea Consulting, will travel to GMF's Washington, DC, headquarters to study, respectively, public deliberation in planning projects and employment programs for people with disabilities.

GRANTMAKING

LAYING FOUNDATIONS



Brent Riddle

Grantmaking has been one of the German Marshall Fund of the United States' (GMF) core missions from its creation, and through this process, GMF supports a wide range of institutions and individuals working on transatlantic policy issues. Whether anchored in a region like the Black Sea or Balkans, or in a policy area like immigration, economic policy, or foreign policy, GMF awards grants that help build the structures to support the transatlantic relationship. Grants are awarded to institutions and individuals that make transatlantic cooperation a core element of their projects and programs.

BLACK SEA TRUST FOR REGIONAL COOPERATION

Based in Bucharest, Romania, the [Black Sea Trust for Regional Cooperation \(BST\)](#) was established in 2007 by GMF, along with four founding partners: the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, the Romanian government, and the Ministry of Defence of the Government of Latvia. BST has provided 74 grants totalling \$2 million to local and national NGOs, regional governmental entities, community groups, policy institutes, and other associations in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Moldova, Romania, Russia, Turkey, and Ukraine.

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 its first year of funding, BST grants focused specifically on conflict resolution, NGO sector development, local and regional good governance, environment protection, media freedom and professionalism, migration, development of independent policy institutes, transparency and accountability of central governments, women's issues, and youth development.

Among the various projects and organizations supported by BST are a Moldovan organization that brings young people from Moldova and Transnistria together to foster cross-border, and cross-cultural understanding; development of an annual Black Sea NGO Forum that will foster discussion of common challenges, mutual learning, and future areas of cooperation; a Georgian NGO that works to strengthen the capacity of 20 local newspapers to report objectively; an organization in Azerbaijan that brings internally displaced persons together with local administrations in communities housing them in order to better meet their needs and create

mutual understanding, and the creation of the International Commission on the Black Sea that will soon start working to outline future strategies toward the region for a broad, transatlantic audience.

Additionally, BST has worked to foster transatlantic dialogue on the Black Sea region and its issues, to promote cooperation between countries in the region, and to connect political and civic actors throughout the region and with counterparts from Central and East European countries.

BALKAN TRUST FOR DEMOCRACY

Since its inception in 2003, the [Balkan Trust for Democracy \(BTD\)](#) has invested more than \$14 million in 627 indigenous initiatives that work toward building productive, democratic, and peaceful societies in Southeastern Europe. Based in Belgrade and created by GMF, USAID, and the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation with additional support from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the Royal Netherlands Embassy in Belgrade, the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, the Tipping Point Foundation, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic, Compagnia di San Paolo, the Robert Bosch Stiftung, and the Danish Foreign Ministry, BTD awards grants to civic groups, nongovernmental organizations, news media, think tanks, governments, and educational institutions in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Romania, and Serbia.

BTD has built a strong reputation as an organization able to identify projects that will have significant impact in local communities or across the region. BTD's 2008 grantmaking successes included many projects that used effective and innovative means to encourage participatory governance and to engage citizens in the local decision-making process, including an Albanian project that monitored the practices of public state institutions and organized roundtables to

SPOTLIGHT: BT D CELEBRATES FIVE YEARS OF EFFECTIVE GRANTMAKING

On September 25–26, a diverse group of high-level civic activists, policymakers, and regional experts gathered in Serbia to celebrate BT D's fifth anniversary. Serbian Deputy Prime Minister Božidar Đelic proclaimed in his opening speech "we are very proud to have the Trust here in Belgrade." Noting the diversity of the crowd—comprised of Europeans, Americans, and representatives from throughout the Balkan region—Serbian Prime Minister Mirko Cvetkovic stressed in his keynote speech that "building a democratic society is our common objective."

The two-day conference drew together the Trust's broad network of regional and transatlantic experts and activists, and included interactive panels discussing the developing role of donors in the Balkans, the state of the region 20 years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the role of civil society in transitional democracies, and the future of development in these countries. Participants included representatives of GMF's two original partners in the founding of the Balkan Trust—the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation and USAID—as well as many from contributors since BT D's launch, including the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the Royal Netherlands Embassy in Belgrade, the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, the Tipping Point Foundation, Compagnia di San Paolo, the Robert Bosch Stiftung, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic.

"I am very proud of the role that the Balkan Trust for Democracy has played over the last five years," said GMF President Craig Kennedy. "This progress is due to the hard work of BT D Director Ivan Vejvoda and his talented staff, and to the dedication of hundreds of others throughout the region."



BT D Director Ivan Vejvoda welcomes participants to BT D's fifth anniversary celebration.

Milan Obrovacki

discuss the results. BT D has also played a strong role in supporting the creation and strengthening of regional networks that cooperate on shared problems, such as regional teams that collectively monitor war crimes trials, efforts to create common curricula in schools, projects that share experiences of new EU states with those working toward accession, and regional approaches to security sector reform. And with the support of the Robert Bosch Stiftung, BT D was instrumental in the expansion of a highly-praised project that sends top Serbian students to Europe. Additionally, through the support of the Czech Republic and the Danish Foreign Ministry, BT D supported various projects aimed at encouraging young people to vote and bring about fair and free elections in Serbia.

The Bulgaria Fund, a legacy program of USAID and managed by BT D, both reinforces and complements BT D's own network and grants. On May 15, the Bulgaria Fund introduced a new priority area called Vulnerable Groups, which supports initiatives that promote integration

and tolerance, uphold the basic human rights of at-risk communities, and addresses the root causes and main problems associated with the trafficking of persons. Since its inception, the Bulgaria Fund has received a total of 136 proposals. It has approved 42 projects and awarded more than \$2 million in grants. The Fund is expected to complete its grantmaking activities by May 2009 and focus on monitoring and evaluation thereafter.

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 joint \$75-million, 10-year project of GMF, the Ford Foundation, the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, the Open Society Institute, and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. Additional donors include Atlantic Philanthropies and the Pfizer Foundation. Today, the Trust is an independent public charity organization. The

Trust's mission is to strengthen the long-term sustainable development of civil societies in Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia. The Trust's grantmaking programs support civil society institutions, activities, and projects in each country. To date, the Trust has awarded nearly \$26 million in grants to organizations in the target countries. The Trust is managed under the leadership of Executive Director Rayna Gavrilova with nine staff members. Distinguished advisory committees in each country of the Trust's operations assist with the proposal review process.

FOREIGN POLICY GRANTMAKING

Transatlantic Policy Research Grants support think tanks and policy institutions conducting research that challenges and fosters transatlantic policy debate through fieldwork, collaborative conferences, and/or publications. Grants were awarded in 2008 to the following institutions:

- American Enterprise Institute
- American Institute for Contemporary German Studies
- Atlantic Council of the United States
- Center on the United States and Europe, Brookings Institution
- Center for Strategic and International Studies
- Centre for European Reform
- Chatham House
- Council on Foreign Relations
- Council on Public Policy, University of Bayreuth
- Estonian International Center for Defense Studies
- Europeum
- Friderici
- Global Public Policy Institute
- Institute for Public Affairs, Bratislava
- Institute of Public Affairs, Poland
- Istituto Affari Internazionali
- Nixon Center
- Prague Security Studies Institute

- Slovak Foreign Policy Association
- Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik

Transatlantic Network Building grants support ongoing lecture or seminar series, as well as recurrent small conferences targeting specific audiences, with an emphasis on transatlantic issues. Grants were awarded in 2008 to the following institutions:

- American Council on Germany
- Aspen Institute Berlin
- Aspen Institute France
- Atlantic Council of the United States
- Center on the United States and Europe, Brookings Institution
- Center for Strategic and International Studies
- Centre d'Études et de Recherches Internationales
- Centrum für Angewandte Politikforschung
- Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik
- European Institute
- Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy
- Istituto Affari Internazionali
- Transatlantic Policy Network
- United States Association of Former Members of Congress

The Transatlantic Network Building Grants and the Transatlantic Policy Research Grants came to an end this year and are being replaced with a new strategic grantmaking program. The new program will foster policy research across the range of transatlantic issues. GMF will focus on specific issue areas each year and invite individual proposals to be submitted.

IMMIGRATION GRANTMAKING

Immigration is on the top of the policy agenda on both sides of the Atlantic, and the exchange between research and policymakers is key to an informed debate. Each year, GMF awards grants to Key Institutions in the United States and Europe working on timely issues in the area of immigration and integration. In May 2008, grants were awarded to:

- Center for International and European Law on Immigration and Asylum, University of Konstanz, Germany
- Institute for the Study of International Migration, Washington DC, United States
- Migration Dialogue, University of California, Davis, United States
- Center for International Relations, Warsaw, Poland
- Economic Policy Institute, Sofia, Bulgaria
- International Migration Institute, Oxford University, United Kingdom
- Migration Research Program at Koç University, Istanbul, Turkey
- OSA Institute for Labour Studies, Tilburg University, The Netherlands
- Swiss Forum for Migration and Population Studies, University of Neuchâtel, Switzerland
- Institute for Urban and Regional Research, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, Austria

Institutions go through a competitive selection process and are invited to a launch event. At the May 2008 event, selected institutions were addressed by Tamar Jacoby, president of ImmigrationWorks and Cem Özedmir, former GMF transatlantic fellow and member of the European Parliament.

The Key Institution Program will come to an end in May 2009 and will be replaced with a new strategic grantmaking program that will focus on specific topic areas. The new program will make a large-scale investment in one specific topic, enabling GMF to work with leading experts, build capacities, and reach out to new constituencies.

ECONOMIC POLICY PROGRAM GRANTMAKING

Launched in 2004, the Economic Policy Program is a GMF initiative dedicated to promoting cooperation between the United States and Europe on domestic and international economic policies as vital instruments of global prosperity, especially for the poor and those affected by shifts in the global economy. Sean Mulvaney, former assistant administrator for management at the U.S. Agency for International Development, was named director of the Economic Policy Program in November, and he oversees the Program's grantmaking, research, and convening activities in the areas of international trade, agriculture, biofuels, and development assistance. Prior to his administration appointment, he served as an assistant to the speaker for policy in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Through its grantmaking, the program supports a wide range of institutions and individuals working on various trade, agriculture, aid, and development issues. In partnership with the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, the Economic Policy Program grants support ongoing dialogue in these areas. The program seeks to ensure that the benefits of globalization are distributed equitably and fairly through convening of events, transatlantic fellowships, policy research and analysis, and study tours. Grants were awarded in 2008 to the following individuals and institutions:

- Birdlife International, Cambridge, United Kingdom
- The Brookings Institution, Washington, DC, United States
- Center on International Relations, Warsaw, Poland
- Economic Centre for International Political Economy, Brussels, Belgium
- Ecologic Development Fund, Cambridge, MA, United States
- The European Network on Debt & Development, Brussels, Belgium
- The Evian Group, Lausanne, Switzerland
- Chuck Fluharty, Founding Director and Former President, Rural Policy Research Institute
- Keith Good, President, FarmPolicy.com
- Groupe d'Économie Mondiale, Sciences-Po, Paris, France
- Ralph Heimlich, Agricultural Economist and former Director, Natural Resources Division, U.S. Department of Agriculture

- Jennifer Hillman, Member, Appellate Body, World Trade Organization
- Humboldt University, Berlin, Germany
- Inspiris Limited, London, United Kingdom
- Institute for European Environmental Policy, Brussels, Belgium
- International Food and Agricultural Trade Policy Council, Washington, DC, United States
- Michael Kremer, Gates Professor of Developing Societies, Department of Economics, Harvard University, United States
- Dan Morgan, Correspondent, *The Washington Post*
- Overseas Development Institute, London, United Kingdom
- Oxford University, Oxford, United Kingdom
- Renewable Energy and International Law Project, Yale University, United States
- Tim Searchinger, former Co-Director, Center for Conservation Incentives, Environmental Defense
- Bruce Stokes, International Economics Columnist, *National Journal*
- Jack Thurston, President, FarmSubsidy.org
- The Trade Partnership Worldwide, Washington, DC, United States
- Trinity College Dublin, Ireland
- Roger Waite, Editor, AGRA FACTS and AGRA FOCUS
- Wilton Park, West Sussex, United Kingdom

PARTNERSHIPS



Gaëtan Michotte

Successful transatlantic relations depend on strong partnerships built up over time, across sectors, and between regions of the world. GMF has integrated this model of partnership into its organizational strategy as a means to achieve greater cooperation among the United States, 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 tackle the fundamental issues surrounding the U.S.–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 based on a shared vision, 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:

- Airbus Americas, Inc.
- A.P. Møller and Chastine Mc-Kinney Møller Foundation
- Bank of America Foundation
- Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation
- Barrow Cadbury Trust
- Bertelsmann Foundation
- Charles Stewart Mott Foundation
- Cleveland Foundation
- Compagnia di San Paolo
- Connect US Fund
- Daimler
- European Union Delegation of the European Commission
- Federal Government of Belgium
- Ford Foundation
- Fortis
- Foundation for the Carolinas
- Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian
- Fundação Luso-Americana
- Fundación BBVA
- General Electric Foundation
- German Federal Foreign Office
- German Federal Ministry of Economics and Technology
- Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation



Gaelan Mielotte



Gaetan Michotte

- Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Sweden
- Ministry of Defence Republic of Latvia
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Greece
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic
- Office Cherifien des Phosphates Group
- Portland Metro Council
- Rockefeller Brothers Fund
- Robert Bosch Stiftung
- Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Norway
- Royal Netherlands Embassy, Belgrade
- Stavros S. Niarchos Foundation
- Swedish Foundation for International Cooperation in Research and Higher Education
- Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
- The Coca-Cola Company
- Tipping Point Foundation
- Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association
- U.S. Agency for International Development
- U.S. Mission to Germany
- U.S. Mission to the European Union
- William and Flora Hewlett Foundation
- ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius

GMFUS.ORG

MULTIMEDIA AND PUBLICATION OUTREACH

GMF's web site, www.gmfus.org, is the best way to stay informed about GMF's events, publications, and multimedia content. Such expanded capability allows GMF to continue bringing expertise on transatlantic issues to the public. GMF's podcasts, publications, and blog can be accessed from the GMF web site at www.gmfus.org. GMF podcasts are also available through Apple's iTunes at www.apple.com. After installing the software, navigate to the podcast section of the iTunes Store and search for "German Marshall Fund" in the search field. When the GMF icon appears, click "Subscribe." When new content is posted, iTunes will automatically download the latest podcast. There is no charge for subscribing to podcasts through iTunes.

Podcasts include discussions, interviews, and keynote speeches that examine the most challenging issues facing the United States and Europe. This year, we are also offering an [audio version of the annual report](#), featuring the best clips from 2008. In 2008, GMF conducted interviews with Traian Băsescu, president of Romania; Matthew Bryza, U.S. deputy assistant secretary of state for European and Eurasian affairs; Vladimir Chizov, Russian ambassador to the European Union; Mirko Cvetković, prime minister of Serbia; Ambassador at Large Dell Dailey, coordinator of counterterrorism for the U.S. Department of State; Ambassador Mark Dybal, U.S. global aids coordinator for the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief; Daniel Fried, U.S. assistant secretary of state for European and Eurasian affairs; Zalmay Khalilzad, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations; Jim Kolbe, former U.S. Congressman and GMF senior transatlantic fellow; Ruprecht Polenz, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee in the German Bundestag; Condoleezza Rice, then-U.S. secretary of state; Radosław Sikorski, foreign minister of Poland; Volker Stanzel, political director of the German Federal Foreign Office; Rick Steves, travel writer and founder of *Europe Through the Back Door*; Kurt Volker, U.S. ambassador to NATO; Eckart von Klæden,



foreign policy spokesperson of the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union Parliamentary Group in the German Bundestag; and Temuri Yakobashvili, minister for reintegration for Georgia.

Throughout the year, GMF publishes original research and opinion pieces on a variety of transatlantic topics by staff, fellows, and partners. New publications for 2008 included a new series of papers to coincide with Brussels Forum; a new paper series also focused on immigration to complement GMF's programming in this area; and a new analysis series *On Turkey*, that features on-the-ground reporting and expands GMF's outreach in the Black Sea region.

GMF publications can be downloaded at no cost at www.gmfus.org/publications. Hard copies can also be requested by contacting GMF's headquarters in Washington, DC. New publications are posted frequently and GMF encourages individuals to check the website for new content or to subscribe to the GMF newsletter via the GMF website for updates.

The GMF blog is a platform for continued dialogue on transatlantic news and policy debates. In 2008, blog posts covered a variety of topics, including: the Georgia-Russia conflict, the global financial crisis, the U.S. presidential election, migration and immigration, the World Trade Organization and concluding the Doha Development Round, the transatlantic marketplace, climate change, China, and others. The blog can be accessed from the GMF home page or at <http://blog.gmfus.org>.

FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

GERMAN MARSHALL FUND OF THE UNITED STATES A MEMORIAL TO THE MARSHALL PLAN AND SUBSIDIARY

Statement of Financial Position

Years Ended May 31, 2008 and 2007

Assets	2008	2007
Cash and Cash Equivalents	\$17,569,356	\$15,007,399
Investments	219,874,430	218,034,274
Grants Receivable	2,224,914	2,261,661
Property and Equipment, net	17,578,876	17,830,771
Other Assets	748,690	921,476
	\$257,996,266	\$254,055,581
Liabilities And Net Assets		
Liabilities		
Accounts payable and accrued expenses	\$2,099,090	\$2,733,873
Deferred revenue	20,834,992	11,748,894
Grants payable	1,550,947	1,591,000
	24,485,029	16,073,767
Commitments and Contingencies		
Net Assets		
Unrestricted		
Undesignated	208,889,313	226,735,399
Board-designated	15,861,544	7,045,744
	224,750,857	233,781,143
Temporarily restricted	8,760,380	4,200,671
	233,511,237	237,981,814
	\$257,996,266	\$ 254,055,581

A copy of the organization's audited financial statement is available upon request.

Consolidated Statement of Activities
 Years Ended May 31, 2008 and 2007

	2008			2007
	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Total	
Support and revenue:				
Investment income	\$11,331,562	–	\$11,331,562	\$38,191,619
Non-federal grants and contributions	1,221,061	14,673,101	15,894,162	8,323,838
Federal grants	2,167,923	–	2,167,923	1,479,300
Other	1,256,823	–	1,256,823	411,334
Net assets released from restrictions	10,113,392	(10,113,392)	–	–
Total support and revenue	26,090,761	4,559,709	30,650,470	48,406,091
Expenses:				
Program services:				
Internal projects expense	13,264,126	–	13,264,126	11,485,284
Grant expense	8,543,482	–	8,543,482	6,326,804
Management and general	12,928,986	–	12,928,986	9,255,831
Fundraising	384,453	–	384,453	228,927
Total expenses	35,121,047	–	35,121,047	27,296,846
Change in net assets	(9,030,286)	4,559,709	(4,470,577)	21,109,245
Net assets:				
Beginning	233,781,143	4,200,671	237,981,814	216,872,569
Ending	\$224,750,857	\$8,760,380	\$233,511,237	\$237,981,814

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