



Annual Report 2023

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IDEAS LEADERSHIP HOPE





Introduction:

Letter From the President

We live in remarkable geopolitical times. Not since the 1950s has the United States had to address simultaneously two conflicts on two continents, with tensions rising on a third. Destabilizing global events and accelerating domestic polarization were hallmarks of 2023 and preludes to 2024.

This moment has been described as a “global inflection point”. Russia tramples the sovereignty of its neighbors through its ongoing war and illegal occupation of eastern and southern Ukraine and parts of Moldova and Georgia. The People’s Republic of China (PRC) tests the boundaries of the sovereignty of its neighbors, too, and seeks to shape a future international system with Chinese characteristics. North Korea violates UN resolutions with destabilizing regional effect. Iran supports a range of proxy groups that unleash conflict and instability throughout the Middle East. These four autocratic regimes—Russia, Iran, North Korea, and the PRC—are also increasingly aligned against long-standing Western alliances that have grown more fluid and unpredictable in a shifting international order. All these events—exacerbated by the climate crisis, global migration, and technological upheaval—widen the chasm between the governed and government.

Humankind lived in similarly remarkable geopolitical times 75 years ago when, between 1947 and 1949, the United States and its allies also faced global instability and domestic uncertainty. Back then, Washington made a decisive call to remain internationally engaged by investing in its global network of allies that, in turn, strengthened American prosperity, democracy, and security, and that of US allies, through the Marshall Plan and NATO’s founding.

By adapting these winning principles for a new era, GMF rededicated itself in 2023 to offering new ideas and solutions-oriented policy proposals for a new generation of transatlantic leaders so that they may meet today’s inflection point. We continued advancing a [modern Marshall Plan for Ukraine](#), a flagship project. We also helped to bring greater attention to the significant shifts in the international system, which, in part, stem from the increasing importance of middle powers, or “[swing states](#)”. We highlighted in the latest edition of [Transatlantic Trends](#) the shift, in the United States and Europe, in the younger generation’s increasingly negative attitudes toward democracy, and more positive attitudes toward the PRC, and Russia. This development in particular underscores the significance of GMF’s [leadership programs, which provide young future transatlantic leaders](#) with the tools and insights to navigate today’s inflection point.

GMF’s work gained even greater prominence in 2023 as it sought to improve the ways in which democracy at the [community and local level](#) delivers the promise of a better tomorrow. In the United States, GMF nurtured innovation around climate adaptation and affordable housing, and it bolstered democratic resilience by defending [election integrity](#) from malign finance and disinformation, whether from sources internal or external to democratic societies, or through generative AI. We also launched a [Whistlestops for Ukraine](#) tour that allows us to discuss in-person with stakeholders and communities in the American heartland the strong links between confronting Russian aggression and defending US security. In Europe, GMF expanded its [grantmaking](#) capacity to build key democratic institutions, defend individual rights, and strengthen local NGOs and vulnerable communities in Central and Eastern Europe, the Western Balkans, and Eurasia.

GMF’s vision and mission—a living memorial to the response to a past inflection point—maintain an unrelenting focus on the power of ideas, leadership, and hope. With the fundamentals of democracy at the forefront of our work, GMF will continue to seek ways for the United States and its allies and partners to increase their prosperity and security based on the protection of freedom and dignity for the individual.

Heather A. Conley

President, German Marshall Fund of the United States

Mission and Vision

Our Vision

GMF envisions a democratic, secure, and prosperous world in which freedom and individual dignity prevail.

Our Mission

GMF strives to champion democratic values and the transatlantic alliance by strengthening civil society, forging bold and innovative policy ideas, and developing a new generation of leaders to tackle global challenges. GMF delivers hope by upholding the dignity of the individual and defending freedom in the spirit of the Marshall Plan.

Why

GMF?

- We view all our research, convening, grantmaking, and policy work through an **allied, and specifically transatlantic, lens. With seven offices in Europe and our headquarters in Washington, DC**, we identify creative ways to address complex problems with US allies and partners to strengthen the international system and defend the dignity of the individual.
- We **build and defend democracy** from the “bottom up” through our networks of civil society organizations and from the “top down” through our engagement with senior government officials. All our work strengthens democracy, with a focus on human rights and inclusion, disinformation, transparency and accountability in governing, and more.
- We deeply **understand the challenges of nations in transition** through our more than 30 years of **expertise with Central and Eastern European, Western Balkan, and Caucasus nations’** economic, political, and security transformations.
- We **actively work at the subnational level** and are **sought-after conveners to all tiers of policymaking**—local, regional, national, EU, and international. We have more than **50 years of experience** bringing together thought leaders, the private sector, civil society, and experts to vigorously debate and solve problems.
- We **are building a new generation of inclusive transatlantic leaders by harnessing the energy and innovation of the people and places we touch**, bringing the best of local practices to improve national and global policymaking.



GMF

Democracy

With democratic declines across the transatlantic community and upcoming elections in the United States and Europe, GMF's work in 2023 fortified and built democracy by helping secure individual rights and freedoms, especially for vulnerable populations; combating threats to democracy from autocrats and abuse of new technologies; and shedding light on widespread efforts to manipulate information online and interfere in elections.

Bolstering Civil Society



Democracy and human rights are the North Star of our work and ensuring that all citizens have the rights and freedoms to participate in society is a key pillar of our programming. GMF's [Black Sea Trust for Regional Cooperation](#) supported the efforts of the Bilitis and GLAS foundations, both leading LGBTQ+ organizations, to build a regional platform in the Black Sea region for dialogue between activists and political leaders. One forum hosted 26 political leaders and civil society representatives in Bulgaria's National Assembly. Such dynamic advocacy initiatives played a pivotal role in gaining passage for groundbreaking

Bulgarian legislation on hate crimes based on sexual orientation. This landmark legal provision, enacted July 28, 2023, stands as a testament to 15 years of sustained efforts by Bulgarian LGBTQ+ organizations and European institutions.

Countering Authoritarian Regimes



The Engaging Central Europe initiative's AUTHLIB project explored authoritarian challenges and liberal responses. The project developed a toolkit of principles to counter illiberal populists and neo-authoritarians in Europe, translating academic output into policy products. AUTHLIB convened experts on topics such as authoritarian trends in Central Europe, civic education across the EU, media freedom and pluralism, and international cooperation among authoritarian actors.

GMF's Alliance for Securing Democracy (ASD) experts tracked the influence of autocrats on

some of the most consequential elections in 2023, publishing, for example, "Autocrats Within", which examined democratic backsliding in Poland and Türkiye ahead of those countries' votes.

Election Security

ASD engaged with US officials and experts to discuss lessons learned from the country's 2020 and 2022 midterm elections that can be used to prepare for the 2024 vote. The team published "Securing 2024: Defending US Elections through Investment and Reform", which details 13 recommendations for election security reforms at the federal and state level. Minnesota Senator Amy Klobuchar entered the report into the US Senate record. Other publications focused on elections in [Poland](#) and [Türkiye](#).

Fighting Disinformation



The fight against information disorder is undermining democracy worldwide. To help combat this, ASD experts tracked and analyzed the flow of state-sponsored online information manipulation. In a report for UK communications regulator Ofcom on state-sponsored misinformation in British search engine results, ASD discovered that Russian state-backed content still permeates the internet through lesser-known websites

with no apparent connection to Moscow. The team also investigated the prominence of Russian conspiracy theories about the war in Ukraine on popular US political podcasts. And, in early August, ASD released the "War in Ukraine: Military Bloggers" dashboard to analyze the messaging of prominent Russian military bloggers on Telegram.



GMF expertise and research on information disorder helped guide conversations in media and government around the **Summit for Democracy**. ASD served as a co-lead, alongside the governments of Canada and Latvia, for the summit’s information integrity cohort, which aimed to build a global community of practice on solutions to information disorder. As part of this effort, ASD developed the [Information Integrity Organization Map](#), an interactive tool that identifies groups working to combat disinformation, misinformation,

and malinformation. The cohort also convened organizations from across the globe to share best practices and lessons learned, which fed into a recommendations document that was included in the summit’s official record.

Nurturing Next-Generation Leaders

Eleven young policy experts from Central Europe, the Western Balkans, and Eastern Europe who conduct policy research on challenges to democracy, security, and prosperity were selected for the ReThink.CEE Fellowship, a one-year, nonresident program. Policy papers published this year covered European prospects for eastern neighbors, the role of Central Europe in supporting EU enlargement, Ukrainian responses to Russia’s cyberwar, prospects for democracy in Belarus, the democratic potential of Russian emigrants in Europe, and approaches to countering strategic lawsuits against public participation (SLAPPs). The GMF Democracy team also organized the Policy Designers Network and hosted 18 young leaders from Armenia, Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine for a program focused on leadership, policy, stakeholder engagement, and writing training.

Grantees Spotlight: Combating Disinformation and Misinformation

Through grants from its trusts, GMF supported civil society efforts to track and build resilience to disinformation and misinformation. WatchDog.MD, a grantee in Moldova examined the role of the Russian elite’s influence in the small country. In Ukraine, GMF supported “Donetsk anti-propaganda”, a project designed to counter Russian information operations in that region. The initiative debunks fake videos and produces preemptive “anti-fakes” that provide truthful, unbiased information to the public and serve as an essential alternative news source for Russian speakers. The project has so far produced more than 30 videos garnering more than 10 million views, 28,000 comments, and 177,000 reactions.



GMF Democracy and Ukraine



In 2023, the Democracy team prioritized efforts to support Ukraine. Through its **“Ukraine: Relief, Resilience, Recovery”** program, GMF has funded **138 projects** in the country to ensure the safety and operations of civic and media organizations, support journalists and other media actors in their fight against disinformation, engage the public in recovery planning, and

increase the safety of vulnerable groups. The NGO Expert Center for Human Rights, for example, developed four informative booklets for internally displaced persons (IDPs) that cover legal aid, medical support, monetary assistance, and social services; provided direct assistance to IDPs; and engaged local and regional public officials to advance IDP support. Another GMF partner, the Ukrainian Students League, opened a shelter for displaced families, provided social and legal services to IDPs, and delivered 620 tons of humanitarian aid to the Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovsk, and Kherson regions.

On the policy side, ASD has been a leading advocate for anti-corruption standards in Ukraine’s reconstruction. With the Brookings Institution, ASD published [“Ukraine’s Anti-Corruption Front”](#), which highlights Ukraine’s dual fight against corruption and Russia. It also offers recommendations to international stakeholders for ensuring transparent reconstruction efforts. ASD hosted events during the international [Ukraine Recovery Conference](#) in London in June and on the sidelines of Brussels Forum.

Grantmaking in Ukraine

(number of funded projects)

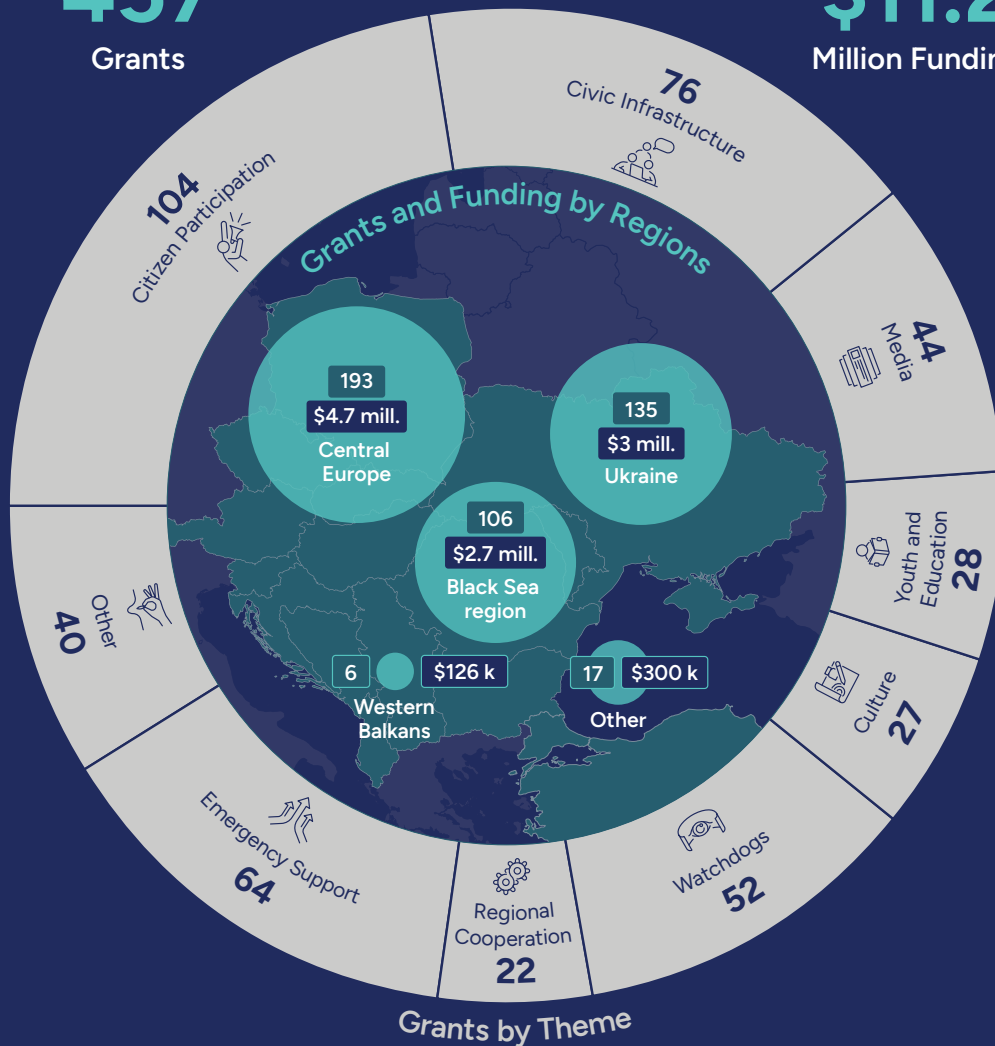


Overall Grantmaking by Transatlantic Trusts in 2023

Engaging Central Europe | Black Sea Trust for Regional Cooperation | Ukraine: Relief, Resilience, Recovery | Balkan Trust for Democracy | Fund for Belarus Democracy

457
Grants

\$11.2
Million Funding







GMF Geostrategy provides policymakers and business leaders on both sides of the Atlantic with in-depth and comprehensive analyses of the political, economic, and strategic trends that impact them. GMF Geostrategy divides its portfolio into five areas: GMF East, GMF North, GMF South, GMF Indo-Pacific, and GMF Risk and Strategy, with team members based throughout the organization’s offices.



In a year marked by intense cooperation among transatlantic allies to support Ukraine and to adapt to new political realities in several European countries, GMF Geostrategy focused on the debates and policymaking processes that reinforce the transatlantic community and EU policy coordination.

The new security environment in Europe, brought on by the Russian invasion of Ukraine, was the central issue of a series of projects, such as the [Transatlantic Security Task Force](#). It brought together US, Canadian, and

European officials and experts to discuss policy opportunities and challenges on the eve of NATO’s Vilnius summit.

GMF Risk and Strategy continued to be a forum for American and German lawmakers in which future transatlantic leadership shared perspectives on geopolitical challenges. The team gathered members of the US Congress and the German Bundestag immediately

following the Munich Security Conference to consider further the weighty issues that framed the high-level meeting and consider strategies for strengthening democracies on both sides of the Atlantic, a major concern in light of internal and external threats to democratic principles and institutions.

Transatlantic Public Opinion



The latest edition of GMF’s annual public opinion survey, “[Transatlantic Trends 2023](#)”, provided a deep dive into perceptions of topical geopolitical issues. Covering 14 countries in North America and Europe, the study highlighted continuing popular support for aiding Ukraine while revealing a significant generational gap in perceptions of the PRC, Russia, and the United States. The report’s publication was followed by a series of private briefings with US, Canadian, and European policymakers, and renowned media and academic figures.

Transatlantic Policymaking and the Business Sector



GMF Risk and Strategy also deepened its engagement with the corporate sector by expanding its partnership model and providing geopolitical expertise to high-level representatives of the industrial, financial, and technology sectors. Initiatives such as the [European Cyber Agora](#) and the European Competitiveness project positioned GMF as a leading research and policy organization in the effort to [promote transatlantic and European cooperation in cyber](#) and [economic matters](#).

NATO’s Northern Flank



GMF North launched research, analysis, and convening on geostrategy in the High North and Arctic. Expanded cooperation between the PRC and Russia in the region is a growing concern, one which spurred publications that offered [recommendations](#) for the US military’s approach to this challenge and for NATO’s addressing the topic at its upcoming Washington, DC summit. GMF North also convened the alliance’s Arctic partners to consider changing threat perceptions for kinetic and gray-zone attacks. Maintaining a European security focus is core to GMF North’s mission, and its portfolio includes publica-

tions such as “[US Military Support for Ukraine is Helping Put American Industry Back on Track](#)”, which explained to the US public the domestic benefits of supporting Ukraine.



GMF Geostrategy and Ukraine

GMF East expanded its work in 2023 to include a “[A Marshall Plan for Ukraine](#)”. The team facilitated debate on the Western approach to the country’s recovery, proposed solutions to the most urgent policy problems, and championed civil society’s engagement in the reconstruction process. GMF East convened stakeholders from government, civil society, business, and academia to outline designs for Ukraine’s recovery, and team members provided regular government briefings on both sides of the Atlantic on a wide range of Ukraine-related issues ranging from donor coordination to war insurance to anti-corruption to a green energy transition.

At the Munich Security Conference, GMF East convened a high-level gathering of several foreign ministers and civil society representatives to discuss collective Western action on Ukraine’s reconstruction, strategies for engaging private investment, and the overlap between the country’s recovery and Western security. At [Brussels Forum](#), the team presented “[Toward a Marshall Plan for Ukraine](#)”, a paper that lays out concrete policy recommendations for a recovery process that includes private investment, transparency, and accountability. The study, which also addresses challenges to Ukraine’s needed green energy transition and offers an approach to dealing with Russia’s frozen state assets, was well received. **US government conditions for aid to Ukraine include nine out of 10 relevant recommendations in the report.** In addition, the G7, following another GMF recommendation, adopted a collective approach to Ukraine’s reconstruction. Finally, the study propelled consideration of and funding for risk insurance for investors who would participate in reconstruction efforts.

GMF East played a key role as a transatlantic partner in the 10th Warsaw Security Forum, at which President Heather A. Conley spoke about postwar Ukraine and Managing Director Michał Baranowski moderated a high-level panel on NATO’s role in Central and Eastern Europe. The team led a brainstorming seminar that explored the essential components of a plan to attract investment to Ukraine and entice refugees to return, crucial aspects for the country’s postwar growth.

Swing States



Recognizing the emergence of a new order that is shifting and redefining international alliances, GMF Geostrategy provided policy recommendations to the transatlantic community for maintaining its ability to shape global developments. "[Alliances in a Shifting Global Order: Rethinking Transatlantic Engagement with Global Swing States](#)", a GMF publication that broke new ground, explores the preferences for international cooperation of six key states (Brazil, India, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, and Türkiye) with global leverage but varying and changing geopolitical and geo-economic alignments. Based on an innovative mixed-methods

approach and visualization, the study offers insights into the six nations' priorities for cooperation on security, economics, technology, and the international rules-based order, and provides groundbreaking recommendations for the transatlantic partners, individually and collectively, to engage with these global "swing states".

The Mediterranean



GMF South focused in 2023 on Southern Europe, Türkiye, the Middle East, and North Africa, and their interaction with the wider transatlantic community, producing analyses of critical topics facing the region, such as its digital connectivity, security, migration, energy, and future NATO and EU strategy. GMF South also held its annual [Trilateral Strategy Group](#), bringing together government officials, business leaders, and opinion shapers from the EU, Türkiye, and the United States to discuss emerging issues and implications for the Mediterranean region.

Asia



Given the regional and global ramifications of US-PRC competition and the need for greater transatlantic coordination, GMF Indo-Pacific uses innovative discussion formats to bring together US, European, and Asian officials and experts to discuss shared challenges and opportunities for cooperation. In addition to holding two [India Trilateral Forums](#), two [Stockholm China Forums](#), and one [Taiwan Trilateral Forum](#), the team launched a Korea Trilateral Forum and convened the first in-person Japan Trilateral Forum since 2020. Highlights from these trilaterals include a keynote address by Swedish Prime Minister Ulf Kristersson at the 27th Stockholm China

Forum and a discussion between Indian Foreign Minister Subrahmanyam Jaishankar and Swedish Foreign Minister Tobias Billström at the 24th India Trilateral Forum.



GMF Geostrategy and Taiwan



Bonnie Glaser appearing on CNN

Rising concern about a military conflict in the Taiwan Strait in the run-up to Taiwan's January 2024 elections was a focus of programming, publications, and 25 episodes of the highly acclaimed China Global podcast. GMF Indo-Pacific created a Track 2 dialogue between American and Chinese experts who gathered online and in Singapore to discuss ways to manage their countries' growing friction over Taiwan. The team's analysis of ways to strengthen deterrence and enhance the island's security appeared in leading media outlets including [The New York Times](#) and [Foreign Affairs](#). Senior US and European officials, members of Congress and their staffs, and CEOs of major companies received briefings on the risk of a Taiwan Strait conflict.

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GMF Geostrategy Stats 2023



The most widely read 2023 GMF publications:



["Transatlantic Trends 2023"](#)

25,000 page views



["Alliances in a Shifting Global Order: Rethinking Transatlantic Engagement with Global Swing States"](#)

17,500 page views

GMF South



Organized **19 events** that attracted more than **600 participants**

GMF Indo-Pacific



The seven trilateral forums held in 2023 brought together more than **425 high-level participants**.

GMF East



More than **50 interviews and 410 media mentions** related to Poland's parliamentary elections in October.

GMF North



["US Military Support for Ukraine is Helping Put American Industry Back on Track"](#) garnered more than **15,000 reads** on GMF's website, making it among the most widely read publications



GMF President Heather A. Conley



Brussels Forum: GMF President Heather A. Conley, US Senator Cory Booker, and Ukrainian Minister of Infrastructure Oleksandr Kubrakov



Brussels Forum: NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg and Helene Cooper, GMF Board of Trustees member



GMF South Vice President and Brussels Office Executive Director Ian Lesser



GMF Guido Goldman Distinguished Fellow Thomas Kleine-Brockhoff



Brussels Forum: Ginny Badanes, Senior Director for Democracy Forward, Microsoft; Stephen Biegun, Senior Vice President of Global Public Policy, The Boeing Company and GMF Board of Trustees member; Margaritis Schinas, Vice-President for Promoting our European Way of Life, European Commission; Julianne Smith, Ambassador, US Mission to NATO



GMF East Managing Director Michal Baranowski at the Warsaw Security Forum



High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy Josep Borrell, US Special Presidential Envoy for Climate John Kerry, NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg, and Executive Vice-President of the European Commission Frans Timmermans speaking in Brussels on climate security



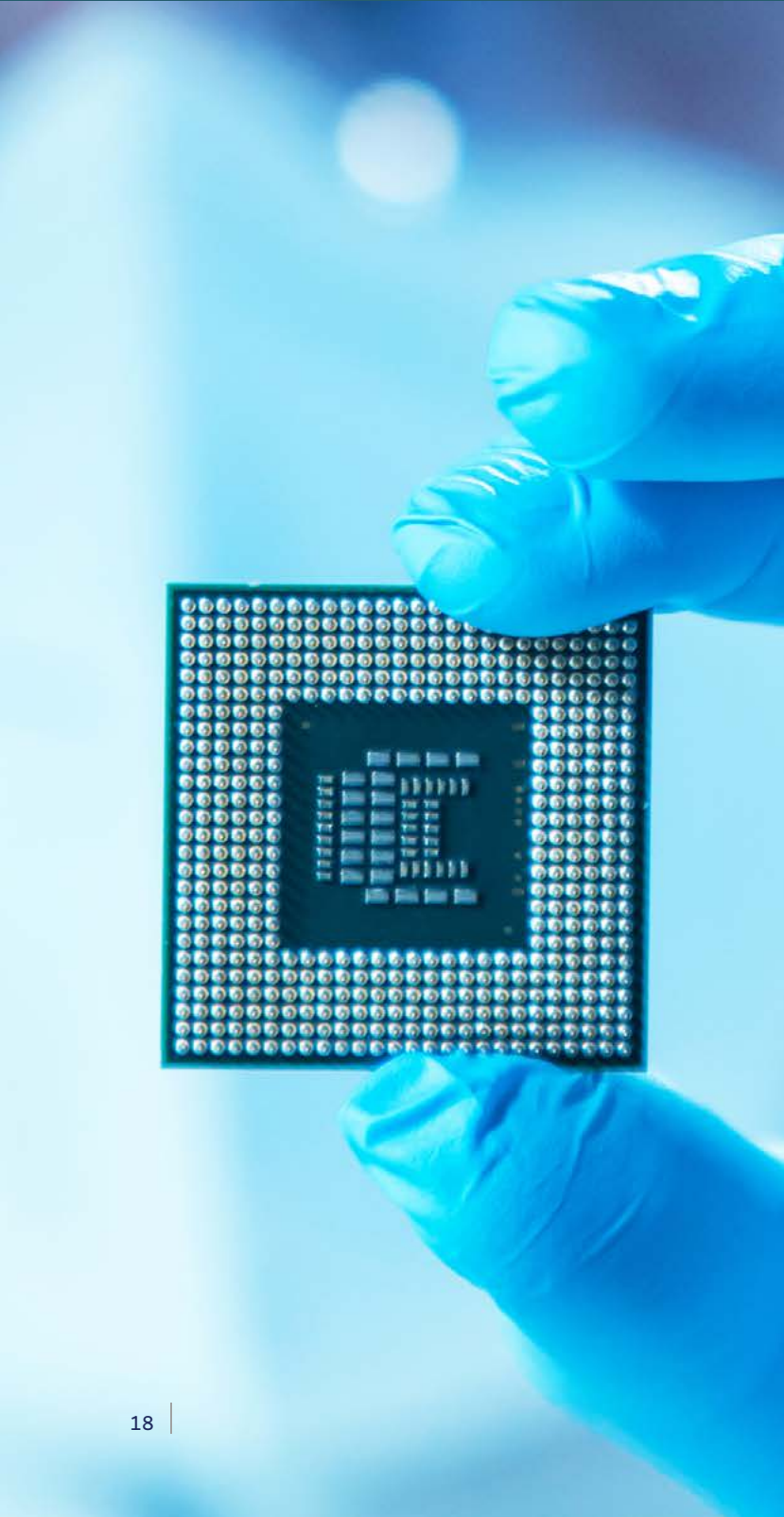
CBS News' Margaret Brennan, US Ambassador at Large Nate Fick, and US Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency Director Jen Easterly



GMF President Heather A. Conley and US Assistant Secretary of European and Eurasian Affairs James O'Brien



Candles for Ukraine - Power of Humanity Foundation, GMF grantee



GMF

Innovation



The GMF Innovation team incubates policies and practices for digital and technological advancement, industrial policy, allied competitiveness, entrepreneurship, and climate justice. Cities play a significant role in spurring innovation in these areas. GMF Innovation is comprised of two teams, GMF Digital and GMF Cities.

GMF Digital

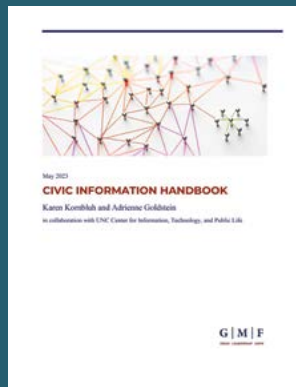
Technology Policy



GMF Digital developed policy analysis, actionable proposals, and convenings to ensure digital technologies support democracy, national security, and prosperity. The team's report, "[The New American Foreign Policy of Technology](#)", proposes a roadmap for democracies and their allies to address 21st-century technological challenges. In a reflection of the high-level interest in the topic, presentations of the report convened leading policy voices including [US Ambassador Nate Fick](#), [US Senator Mark Warner](#), [Washington Post columnist David Ignatius](#), and [Financial Times columnist Rana Foroohar](#).

A central question for the future of the foreign policy of technology is implementing historic industrial policy commitments. GMF Digital built a centralized repository for tracking and comparing semiconductor investments in the United States and Europe from 2020 onwards. The [Semiconductor Investment Tracker](#) includes information on the location, amount, and type of fab/chip for each investment, plus the estimated number of jobs, direct and indirect, created by each investment. In 2023, GMF Digital tracked more than \$70 billion of new semiconductor private investment in the United States, and more than \$40 billion of private investment and more than \$46 billion of government investment in Europe.

Technology and Elections



GMF Digital co-led, with the American Bar Association, a working group on Harnessing Technology for the Benefit of Open, Democratic Societies within the Biden administration's Summit for Democracy's technology cohort. The team also co-led, with the International Foundation for Electoral Systems, a private workshop to develop guidelines for accessible election technology. To promote civic information and counter deceptive information campaigns, GMF Digital created, in collaboration with the University of North Carolina's Center for Information, Technology, and Public Life, the "[Civic Information Handbook](#)". The publication helps civic

leaders understand how networked information campaigns build distribution pipelines and disseminate information to broad audiences with compelling narratives that use emotion, identity, and trusted messengers. In this way, the handbook serves as a resource for empowering transparent communication on elections, natural disasters, public health guidelines, and other civic information.

Data Flows



GMF Digital also helped inform Japan's G7 presidency and its goal to operationalize the Data Free Flows with Trust concept by overseeing the group's Taskforce to Promote Trusted Sharing of Data. The taskforce, comprised of global leaders in government, industry, academia, and civil society, published "[A Trusted Framework for Cross-Border Data Flows](#)", which provides a roadmap for advancing a multilateral, multistakeholder, and transparent process for securing the free flow of data. The report was launched with a [public panel event](#) featuring global experts on data flows.



Artificial Intelligence (AI)



2023 saw policymakers getting serious about AI, encouraging its use to advance innovation while guarding against its risks. GMF Digital made key contributions to the deliberations.

- An [AI Policy Tracker](#) mapped US federal action in this area, comparing legislative goals, applications, enforcement, timing, and legal outcomes across government branches and federal agencies. The tracker listed 13 US federal policy actions on AI in 2023.
- A GMF-organized event, [AI Governance and Accountability](#), considered the balance among innovation, accountability, and responsible development and use of AI technology. The gathering featured high-level speakers Ellen Goodman, senior adviser for algorithmic justice at the US Department of Commerce’s National Telecommunications and Information Administration; Miriam Vogel, National AI Advisory Council chair; Rashida Richardson, Mastercard senior counsel for AI; and Sarah Myers West, AI Now Institute managing director.
- The team convened, as part of a Transatlantic Tech Exchange event series, key EU Parliament and US Congress staffers to share perspectives on AI regulation.
- Building on its 2022 report, [“AI Audit-Washing and Accountability”](#), the team conducted research that continued to highlight the need for meaningful algorithmic audits in AI governance frameworks.

GMF Digital continued to build transatlantic policymaking bridges, including through its Transatlantic Tech Exchange, which was launched in 2023 with a virtual discussion on AI policy between EU parliamentary and US congressional staff.

GMF Digital Stats 2023



23 congressional briefings conducted



14 events with more than **1,200** attendees hosted



11 publications released



Monthly newsletter, [Digital Digest](#), launched with more than **15,000 subscribers**

GMF Cities

Cities and Democracy



GMF Cities connects the United States and Europe at the local level to address shared transatlantic challenges. The team works with and for transatlantic cities that further and fortify democracy; strive for agency and equity for all; promote social, economic, and climate justice; and drive enterprise and entrepreneurship to do social good. In 2023, GMF Cities focused on reenergizing local democracy, promoting racial equity, advocating for the role of cities in global affairs, and launching new initiatives to support Ukrainian cities.

Through its [Cities Fortifying Democracy](#) project, the team assisted cities with initiatives to strengthen democracy. These included creating a [Democracy Actions in Cities database](#), promoting the [Global Declaration of Mayors for Democracy](#), and inviting leading thinkers and practitioners to explore the ideas for solidifying democratic practices laid out in a report, "[Democracy and the Life of Cities](#)", released with the Chicago Council on Global Affairs. The team worked with city practitioners, experts, and partners to apply these insights to critical issues such as addressing youth disenchantment with democracy, combating disinformation and polarization, and building socially cohesive multiracial/multiethnic societies.

Chicago-Turin Lab



As part of its [Racial Equity and Municipal Practices](#) work, GMF Cities ran a [learning lab](#) for municipal officials, community leaders, researchers, and philanthropic partners from Chicago and Turin. The lab explored socio-spatial segregation in both cities and efforts to mitigate inequalities and other dividing lines. Following a series of virtual discussions among participants, visits to the cities took place in late 2022 and spring 2023. The 20-strong group demonstrated the power of bringing smart and passionate individuals together to learn from each other as they considered strategies to bolster inclusion and social mixing, and to fight discrimination, racism, and systemic challenges.



Global Declaration of Mayors for Democracy



GMF Cities and the Global Parliament of Mayors and the Pact of Free Cities developed and promoted the [Global Declaration of Mayors for Democracy](#), which more than 250 mayors in more than 50 countries signed. The declaration commits the signatories to uphold the values and practices of democracy and to address urban and global challenges in ways that uphold democratic principles. US Secretary of State Antony Blinken endorsed the declaration at the 2023 meeting of the US Conference of Mayors, and a G7 communiqué highlighted it as an important example of cities' taking responsibility for addressing global challenges and playing a critical role in democratic innovation.

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City Directors of International Affairs (CDIA)

The US Department of State recognized the growing role of cities in global affairs through its appointment of a special representative for city and state diplomacy. GMF Cities is also acting in this vital area. Its CDIA network, which includes municipal officials from more than 70 cities in more than 20 countries, continues to strengthen transatlantic cooperation at the municipal level and helps these professionals leading their cities' international engagement explore the evolving role of cities in a changing geopolitical world. In 2023, GMF Cities held six virtual, interactive convenings on issues such as municipal relations with the PRC, feminist foreign policy for cities, and AI.



GMF Innovation and Ukraine



In partnership with the Howard G. Buffet Foundation, GMF Cities launched the "Whistlestops for Ukraine" tour, a multi-state public diplomacy effort to support the country's victory and reconstruction. At each stop of the tour through the American heartland, representatives from local governments, civic and faith-based organizations, agricultural groups, local businesses, and Ukrainian diaspora communities gather to showcase the importance of a free and sovereign Ukraine to US security. By bringing together community leaders for these critical conversations, GMF

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strives to bolster support for Ukraine among the American people. The first stop of the tour was Minnesota; nine more stops follow in 2024.

GMF Cities works to support Ukraine's local reconstruction and energy transition with the aim of fostering a [Green Marshall Plan for Ukraine](#). As a member of the European Alliance of Cities and Regions for the Reconstruction of Ukraine, GMF Cities fosters peer-to-peer learning between Ukrainian and international cities. The team brought local voices into high-level 2023 events on Ukraine's recovery, such as [Brussels Forum](#), and supported Ukrainian mayors in their call for more direct and [renewable energy aid to cities](#) with a roundtable gathering in Washington, DC. GMF Cities has launched an effort to become the secretariat for the Ukraine Cities Partnership (UCP), a new international public-private initiative that assists small Ukrainian cities with sustainable reconstruction.

GMF Cities Stats 2023



A monthly newsletter, "Four on the 4th", has more than **6,300 subscribers** and an average open rate of 42%



90 cities engaged in and benefited from projects and activities



26 in-person and virtual events hosted



19 publications released

GMF

Leadership Programs



Advancing the transatlantic relationship by cultivating diverse US and European leaders is the mission of [GMF's Leadership Programs](#). Thirty leaders from Armenia, Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine participated in the 2023 [Policy Designers Network](#) and Leadership Lab, which aims to secure democracy in those countries. Twenty-five leaders from both sides of the Atlantic joined the [Transatlantic Inclusion Leaders Network](#), which offers elected officials from underrepresented groups and select civil service and corporate leaders an opportunity to build 21st-century skills that further inclusion. The [Marshall Memorial Fellowship](#) boasted 57 fellows who first met in Washington, DC before traveling to three other US cities to meet political leaders, civil society actors, and GMF alumni to deepen professional transatlantic networks. In addition to these fellowships, Leadership Programs organized its [Young Leaders Seminar](#), which annually gathers 50 participants to create pipelines of future US and European leaders.

GMF Leadership Programs now has more than 4,000 alumni who remain engaged with GMF by partnering on traditional and new projects.



GMF Leadership Programs Stats 2023



30 leaders

participated in the 2023 [Policy Designers Network](#)



25 leaders

from both sides of the Atlantic joined the [Transatlantic Inclusion Leaders Network](#)



57 fellows

met in Washington, DC



+4,000 alumni

who remain engaged with GMF



Statement of Values

GMF is guided by four core values. Our work will be: (1) democracy-affirming and (2) diverse, equitable, and inclusive. We also ensure that our work is conducted with the (3) highest standards of personal integrity and research independence, and will contain (4) measurable policy impact.

Democracy Affirming

GMF affirms and seeks to further the fundamental democratic principles of individual and opposition rights, rule of law, representative government, transparent and accountable institutions, free and fair elections, protections for marginalized communities, and freedoms of expression, religion, and the media. These values are reflected in all GMF work to build, defend, and deliver democracy in the United States, Europe, and worldwide.

Diversity, Equity, and Inclusivity

GMF seeks diverse voices and views, open discussion, and exchange of ideas internationally and within the GMF community. We are committed to behavior and approaches founded in appreciating and recognizing all GMF staff and partner contributions. GMF believes that diversity is crucial to advancing our mission and workplace, and that our institution should reflect the international community in which we work and serve.

Integrity and Intellectual Independence

GMF is committed to integrity, the highest standard of individual professional conduct, intellectual independence, objective and fact-based analysis, and intellectual rigor from our staff and our partners. We hold ourselves accountable to our institutional values and our human and fiscal resources.

Measurable Impact

GMF seeks to achieve our mission by rigorously evaluating the impact of our efforts across policy and programmatic work, civil society engagement, and thought leadership. The question of impact should be core to any GMF event, convening, or product from the time of inception.

All GMF representatives—trustees, employees, and affiliated associates—are expected to uphold the organization's values in the conduct of their professional activities, including writing and publishing, convening, talent management, board membership, revenue development and expenditure, investment strategy, and networking.

GMF, as a living memorial to the Marshall Plan's strong American leadership, robust cooperation of allies, and delivering hope through advancing democracy, is guided by these powerful ideals and values. Our implementation of them may be imperfect, but we guard against complacency by consistently exploring opportunities for improvement. We strive to achieve impact, and the values that guide our work are fixed, firm, and enduring.

Diversity, Equity,

Inclusion, and Belonging (DEIB)

GMF envisions a world where equity is foundational, inclusion is fostered, diversity is celebrated, and belonging is the result. While GMF, through its initial mission and vision, was not established on the values of diversity, equity, inclusion, and belonging, we recognize that holding these values at our core makes us better internally and externally. GMF plays an active part in fostering a more inclusive transatlantic space and is striving to achieve this through myriad intentional shifts.

2023 was the first year that GMF dedicated a full-time position to internal DEIB initiatives. The introduction of a senior manager of diversity, equity, and inclusion allowed GMF to make strides toward a more equitable and inclusive workplace.

2023 was also the year in which GMF assembled its inaugural Equity Report, which revealed seven DEIB strengths and 15 DEIB opportunities for fostering more equity and inclusion in the organization (see below). An equity report will be conducted annually and incorporated into GMF's Inclusion Roadmap, a five-year guide for DEIB initiatives.

Internally, GMF strives to:

- establish equitable policies and transparent practices that promote an inclusive and psychologically safe environment for all
- address racial inequities and discrimination against underrepresented groups through internal capacity-building for staff and fellows to better understand current DEIB practices and how to integrate them into their work

- be transparent in setting expectations and defining available career paths, providing greater opportunities for our employees to feel valued and empowered at every level

Externally, GMF strives to:

- integrate diversity, equity, and inclusion initiatives into our leadership development, programmatic functions, and policy recommendations
- provide platforms and convenings that allow for different views and perspectives while maintaining an inclusive culture for all

GMF recognizes that DEIB efforts are a journey. GMF is constantly evolving to meet the needs of what it means to be truly inclusive and equitable with all staff and affiliates. GMF owns its DEIB challenges and commits to holding itself accountable by:

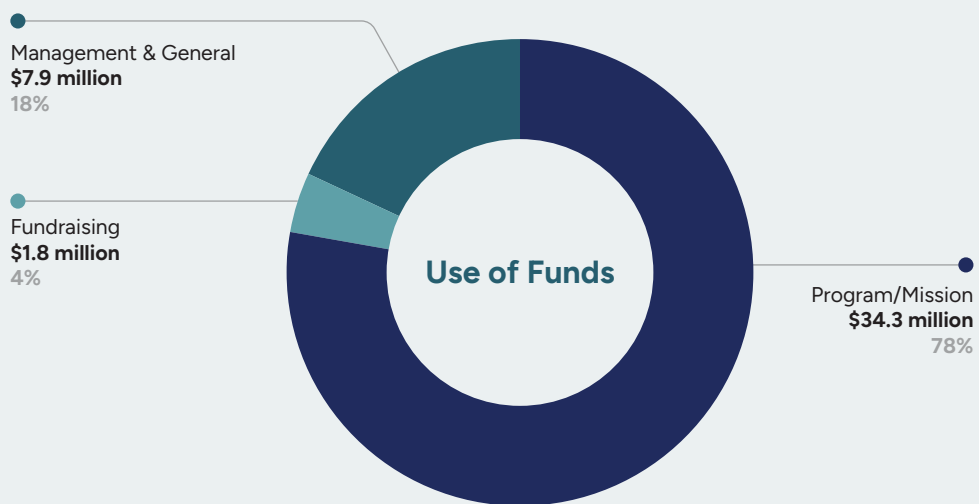
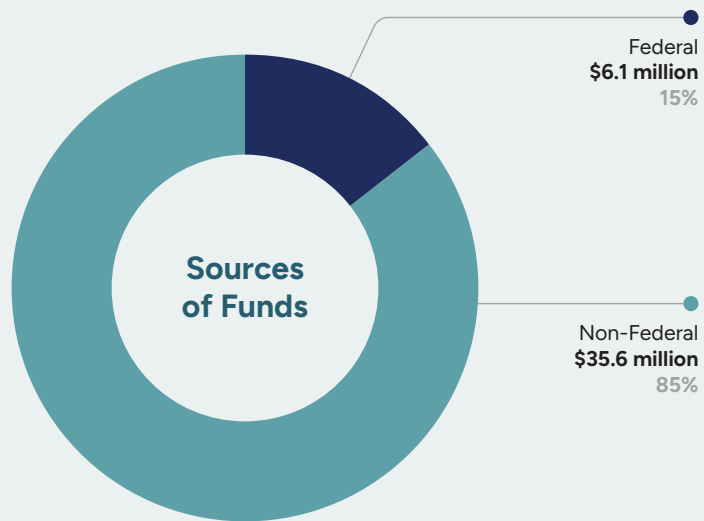
- periodically updating our Inclusion Roadmap
- publishing an Equity Report annually that details our DEIB progress, opportunities to build more equity and inclusion, and recommendations for continuing to create a more inclusive transatlantic space
- publicly disclosing our workplace demographics and diversity, equity, and inclusion efforts through our annual Equity Report
- publishing our five-year Inclusion Roadmap showcasing GMF's DEIB goals and metrics

Financial Statement

	2023*	2022
Condensed Statement of Activities	REVENUE, EXPENSES, AND NET ASSETS	
US dollars, millions		
Total Revenue & Support	\$41.7	\$16.7
Total Expenses	\$44.0	\$38.6
Change in Net Assets	(\$2.3)	(\$21.9)
Net Assets, beginning of year	\$165.4	\$187.3
Net Assets, end of year	\$163.1	\$165.4

Condensed Statement of Financial Position	ASSETS	
US dollars, millions		
Cash	6.5	6.3
Investments	151.7	156.1
Other Assets	26.3	26.9
Total Assets	184.5	189.3
	LIABILITIES & NET ASSETS	
Liabilities	21.4	23.9
Net Assets	163.1	165.4
Total Liabilities & Net Assets	184.5	189.3

*2023 numbers are preliminary and have not been audited.



Board

Members

as of December 31, 2023

J. Robinson West (Chair), Managing Director, Center for Energy Impact, Boston Consulting Group

Christopher Schroeder (Vice Chair), Author, Entrepreneur, and Venture Capitalist

Heather A. Conley, President, German Marshall Fund of the United States

Stephen Biegun, Senior Vice President of Global Public Policy, The Boeing Company

Joyce Chang, Chair of Global Research, JP Morgan Chase & Co.

Helene Cooper, Pentagon Correspondent, The New York Times

John B. Emerson, Vice Chairman, Capital International, Inc.

Frank Friedman, CEO & President, Imperial PFS

Susannah Gray, Trustee, German Marshall Fund of the United States

Heidi Heitkamp, former Senator, North Dakota

Thomas Kelly, Co-Founder and Managing Partner, CHB Capital Partners

Janet Lamkin, Senior Vice President, Market and Community Innovation, United Airlines

Annie Maxwell, Executive Vice President, Omidyar Network

Curtis Scaparrotti, Senior Counselor, The Cohen Group

Shawn Turner, General Manager and Director of Broadcasting, WKAR Public Media

Margit Wennmachers, Operating Partner, Andreessen Horowitz

In Memoriam

Guido Goldman

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Ministry of Defence, Republic of Latvia

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Belgium

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Denmark

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sweden

North Atlantic Treaty Organization

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Sandler Foundation

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Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States

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Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey

\$10,000 - \$99,999

Air Liquide

Apropos

Audi AG

BAE Systems

Bank of Japan

Bertelsmann Foundation North America

Capital Group

Common Ground

Eastern Europe Studies Centre

Erin McGrain

ESET, s.r.o.

Foundation for Polish-German Cooperation

Global Taiwan Institute

Heinrich Böll Foundation

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Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Estonia

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Finland

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Lithuania

Mission of Japan to the European Union

Nokia Corporation

North American Aerospace Defense
Command

PAX Sapiens

PricewaterhouseCoopers International Limited

Rhodium Group

Taiwan Foundation for Democracy

The Office of Communications (Ofcom)

Turkish Industry and Business Association

Unitas Foundation

United States Embassy to Estonia

United States Embassy to France

VALEO

Wallenberg Foundations

Zeit-Stiftung

\$1,000 - \$9,999

Bailey Childers

Dr. Robbins Family Fund

Frank and Sondra Friedman Family
Philanthropic Fund of the Jewish Community
Foundation of Greater Kansas City

Jack Martin

James M. Alexander

JP Morgan Chase & Co.

Mercedes Badia

Ministry of Defence, Norway

ONCE

Özgür Ünlühisarcıklı

Ricardo Estrada

Steven Bosacker

Taipei Representative Office in the EU and
Belgium

United States Embassy to Belgium

United States Embassy to the Netherlands

United States Embassy to Spain

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