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2009 ANNUAL REPORT

G|M|F The German Marshall Fund
of the United States
STRENGTHENING TRANSATLANTIC COOPERATION



RESEARCH



GRANT-MAKING

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MICHAEL CREAGEN



SASHA KAPADIA

2009 ANNUAL REPORT

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of the United States
STRENGTHENING TRANSATLANTIC COOPERATION



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GRANT MAKING

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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= Twitter

www = gmfus.org



= FORA online video

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT



Last year, I wrote about optimism for a new start to the transatlantic relationship. Americans and Europeans, politicians and regular citizens, heralded Barack Obama's inauguration as an opportunity to renew the transatlantic relationship and create a more vital and collaborative partnership.

One year later, we are still waiting for tangible evidence that transatlantic cooperation has been deepened and strengthened. The continuing popularity of Barack Obama in Europe has not produced major policy changes or bold new joint ventures with Europe. There have been missteps and missed opportunities on both sides. As I travel in the United States, Europe, and countries like India and Japan, disappointment is beginning to creep in to the voices of politicians and intellectuals.

The transatlantic agenda is filled with daunting challenges — Afghanistan, the economy, terrorism, climate change — so there is no shortage of work to be done. But American and European policymakers often have been distracted, disorganized, and stymied in their attempts to tackle these big issues.

American Presidents always focus on domestic issues during their first term in office unless external events force foreign relations onto their agenda. President Obama has been no different — the economy and health care took much of his attention during his first year. He has shown himself to be an adept leader and manager, but the sheer enormity of those twin domestic problems has crowded the space for foreign policy issues. But, when he has concentrated on international issues,

like Afghanistan and Iraq, European support for his initiatives has been moderate and sometimes tepid.

Europeans have been overwhelmingly positive toward Obama and what he represents. While many in Europe were surprised by his being awarded the Nobel Prize, almost all would agree that he has changed America's image and rhetoric to a style more appealing to the international community. GMF's annual *Transatlantic Trends* poll showed an astounding *quadrupling* of support for the American president's foreign policy as we changed administrations. But even overwhelming European public support for this dynamic American president — not to mention a good working-level transatlantic relationship that has carried over from George W. Bush's second term — has not yielded significant results in terms of support and cooperation from European governments.

One explanation for this state of affairs is that some Europeans had unnaturally high hopes for a President who seemed to think like them. The President fed these high expectations by making five major trips to Europe that show how seriously he takes the transatlantic relationship. But the American president is still the American president, no matter how "European" he may seem. His agenda on Afghanistan, climate change, the regulation of financial markets, and a dozen other issues of transatlantic importance will be dictated by American politics, not international sentiment. As Europeans realize this simple truth, I expect that the President's approval ratings in Europe will decline. And, if five trips to Europe failed to rally Europeans around his administration's goals, he may focus his time and energy on Asia, especially on China and other emerging powers in that region that are increasingly important to the United States.

The move to a strong Asia focus may be driven by the region's economic and strategic importance, but it is abetted by American frustration with Europe. Finding common ground with the European Union and its member states can be a challenging

exercise for American policymakers as the process moves from Brussels to the major capitals and back to Brussels. The European Union has just adopted the Lisbon Treaty, which centralizes more power into the EU, especially in the realm of foreign policy, and this change may make it easier to develop transatlantic perspectives on the major issues of the day. But, it won't make up for the fact that Europe has limited capacities and ambitions related to many of those big challenges, especially in relation to Asia. While Europe is a major economic player in India, China, and Japan, it does not have a comparable role to the United States in relation to regional security. Europe could have a greater role in Asia and be an important partner to the United States on a range of complicated problems. However, right now, it is often an observer, rather than a central actor, in this region.

Here at GMF, we are playing an active role in bringing North Americans and Europeans together to work on a broad spectrum of transatlantic issues and to provide depth and context to the debate. In 2009, we launched the Halifax International Security Forum with the help of the Canadian government. Paired with our annual Brussels Forum (which will enter its fifth year in 2010), our large conferences are central to our mission of bringing transatlantic — and global — leaders and thinkers together to strengthen cooperation.

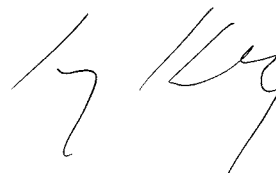
We also do convening on a smaller scale throughout the year. We are now sponsoring expert dialogues on Turkey, China, India, and the Mediterranean. We have helped to organize several meetings focused on giving journalists and policymakers a deeper look at the thinking of leading intellectuals in important countries like Russia and Japan. And, we have also held many briefings and conversations on climate change, immigration, trade and development, and a wide range of foreign policy topics.

GMF has also increased our analytical contributions to the transatlantic conversation. In the past year, we published several influential series related

to immigration, climate change, economics, and foreign policy priorities — written both by in-house GMF experts and by thinkers and practitioners from the larger transatlantic community. In the fall, we launched the *Transatlantic Take*, a series of op-ed pieces written by our own experts that both react to and forecast the transatlantic agenda. We added video to our multimedia products. If you have not yet seen some of these publications or multimedia, I encourage you to visit the GMF website or follow GMF on Twitter and Facebook.

GMF would not be able to do the work we do without the support of our partner institutions, governments, and corporations. We thank them for their help in fulfilling our mission, even when these economic times have been difficult. I see it as proof the transatlantic relationship remains vital, and that individuals, governments, organizations, and corporations find the community of common values worthwhile and worth continuing.

The great hopes for a stronger and bolder transatlantic alliance may be diminished one year after the inauguration of Barack Obama, but there is still a strong underlying feeling that the transatlantic allies *should* and *could* be working together to address common global and regional challenges. At GMF, we will continue our work to support that feeling, to bring people together, and to provide relevant information so that, optimism or not, the real work continues to get done. We look forward to working with you in 2010.



Craig Kennedy
President

Editor's Note: In 2009, Craig Kennedy was awarded the Officer's Cross of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany.

CONVENING

HALIFAX INTERNATIONAL SECURITY FORUM

Building on the successful Brussels Forum model, GMF held the Halifax International Security Forum in November in Halifax, Nova Scotia. The inaugural forum was the first of its kind to be held on the

North American continent and provided a forum for leading policymakers, opinion shapers, scholars, and business leaders from both sides of the Atlantic to discuss the top global security challenges facing the transatlantic community. The forum was organized by GMF with the generous support of the Government of Canada, including the Department of National Defense and the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency.

Speakers and panelists included Robert Gates, U.S. Secretary of Defense; Peter MacKay, Canadian Defence Minister; Karl-Theodor Freiherr zu Guttenberg, German Defense Minister; U.S. Supreme Court Associate Justice Stephen Breyer; Canadian Chief Justice Beverley McLachlin; Pieter De Crem, Belgian Defense Minister; Admiral

James Stavridis, Supreme Allied Commander for Europe and Commander of the United States European Command; Admiral Mark P. Fitzgerald, Commander of U.S. Naval Forces Europe and Africa; General Victor E. Renuart, Jr., Commander of the United States Northern Command and North American Aerospace Defense Command; U.S. Under Secretary of State for Arms Control Ellen Tauscher; then-White House Counsel Greg Craig; and a U.S.

Congressional delegation led by Senators John McCain (R-AZ) and Mark Udall (D-CO).



Dateline: #Halifax, #Canada. GMF pleased to announce the Halifax International #Security Forum. <http://www.halifaxforum.org>. Nov. 20-22 10:15 AM Jul 31st, 2009



Gates on #Afghanistan "effort that will require more commitment, more sacrifice and more patience" #HISF 2:47 PM Nov 20th, 2009

zu Guttenberg on Afghanistan: we don't need "an exit strategy, but a strategy of handing over responsibility" #HISF 4:00 PM Nov 20th, 2009



RT @SenJohnMcCain: Great trip Halifax with Sen Mark Udall and Sen Shaheen. Canadians: great friends and allies! <http://yfrog.com/4e57475197j> 3:20 PM Nov 21st, 2009



MICHAEL CREAGEN

GMF and the Government of Canada convene the inaugural Halifax International Security Forum in Halifax, Nova Scotia. From left to right: Peter MacKay, Defence Minister, Canada; Robert Gates, Secretary of Defense, United States; and Karl-Theodor zu Guttenberg, Minister of Defense, Germany.

The Halifax Forum agenda reflected the current state of transatlantic

security, focusing on changing global realities and emerging threats. It included discussion sessions on themes such as international law, nuclear proliferation, and the future of NATO. Off-the-record breakout sessions explored challenges associated with North Korea, development, climate change, and counter-terrorism, among other topics. Keynote addresses by senior officials punctuated a gathering heavily tilted toward intimate exchange of dialogue among panelists and participants.

Ahead of the Halifax Forum, GMF released the Halifax Papers, a series of seven policy briefs on Arctic security, Afghan policy, nuclear non-proliferation, maritime security, climate change, and Japan. Please visit the Halifax Forum web site for video, audio, transcripts, and other highlights: www.halifaxforum.org.

Videos on Fora.TV: http://fora.tv/partner/German_Marshall_Fund



BRUSSELS FORUM

In March, GMF and its partners held the fourth annual Brussels Forum in Brussels, Belgium. Participants included then-EU High Representative Javier Solana, World Bank President Robert Zoellick, then-NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov, Canadian Defence Minister Peter MacKay, Polish Foreign Minister Radosław Sikorski, U.S. Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan Richard Holbrooke, a 12-person Congressional delegation led by U.S. Senators Robert Bennett (R-UT) and Robert Casey (D-PA), along with many other American and European government officials, scholars, journalists, and business leaders.

Participants at Brussels Forum discuss and debate important transatlantic issues through keynote addresses, discussions, and breakout sessions.

WWW

Videos and transcripts available at <http://www.brusselsforum.org>

The 2009 edition focused on the global financial crisis, Russia, Afghanistan, NATO at 60, and more. Off-the-record breakout sessions explored challenges like Asia, the Middle East, and climate change.

At Brussels Forum, Zoellick predicted that the global economy would shrink by 1 to 2 percent in 2009, de Hoop Scheffer urged leaders to refocus NATO's goals at the April NATO Summit, Holbrooke called for

increases in the Afghan police force, and Barroso asked that the U.S. and the EU avoid protectionism. To continue the forum's enhanced intellectual experience, GMF again published six Brussels Forum Papers on topics that included protectionism and the global financial crisis, the international development of fragile states, Russia, biofuels, immigration and brain drain, and the legacy of 1989.

Brussels Forum was organized by GMF in partnership with the Federal Authorities of Belgium and the Egmont Institute, the Government of the Czech Republic, and Daimler. Additional sponsors included the Ministry of Defence Republic of Latvia, the Bertelsmann Stiftung, the Tipping Point Foundation, and Fortis Bank, among others. Please visit the Brussels Forum website for video, audio, transcripts, and other highlights: www.brusselsforum.org.



GAETAN MICLOTTE

Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, then-NATO Secretary General, speaks about NATO's 60th Anniversary with a group of high-level politicians, academics, and journalists at GMF's annual Brussels Forum in March.

CELEBRATING 1989

In 2009, GMF helped celebrate the 20th anniversary of the historic fall of the Berlin Wall.

OFFICIAL DELEGATION: GMF President Craig Kennedy was chosen by U.S. President Barack Obama to join a delegation attending the anniversary celebration in Berlin, Germany. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton led the delegation, which also included Philip D. Murphy, U.S. ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany; Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, former national security advisor to President George H.W. Bush; USAF (Ret.), former national security advisor to U.S. Presidents Gerald Ford and George H.W. Bush; and

Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, former national security advisor to U.S. President Jimmy Carter.

PANEL DISCUSSION: On November 2, GMF reunited a panel of key players from 1989 to discuss the events surrounding the historic anniversary and how it has shaped today's world. The panel included Hans-Dietrich Genscher, former foreign minister of the Federal Republic of Germany; Brent Scowcroft, former national security advisor to President George H.W. Bush; and Robert Kimmitt, former U.S. ambassador to Germany and under secretary of state for political affairs. BBC World News Washington Correspondent Katty Kay moderated the discussion.

CONVENING

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Kay asked the panelists to describe their experiences, both political and personal, at the close of the Cold War era. Speaking first, Genscher recalled his opinion of then-Soviet leader Mikhail

Gorbachev, remarking that

Gorbachev “believed one can

reform socialism,” but that “later, he had to learn that you could not reform socialism, you could only overcome socialism. That happened in 1989.” He then spoke about the reforms and revolutions that spread gradually across the Eastern bloc, emphasizing that the fall of the Berlin Wall was not just a German revolution, but a European one as well.

MULTIMEDIA SERIES: On November 3, GMF

launched a multimedia

series titled “My 89,”

comprised of interviews with individuals

from all backgrounds giving their personal

accounts of events in Europe during 1989

through podcasts, videos, and photographs.

The series opened with a video from GMF Senior

Director of Policy Programs,

Thomas Kleine-Brockhoff, retelling

his participation in the first mass

exodus of East Germans during

the Pan-European Picnic in the summer of 1989.

Other podcast interviews included accounts of

the Velvet Revolution, the Leipzig protest, and the

night the Berlin Wall fell from Jens Reich, Hinrich

Lehmann-Grube, and Dan Morgan, among others.

See <http://www.gmfus.org/my89>

Story of a great East German escape from Hungary in #1989
<http://www.gmfus.org/my89>
12:11 PM Nov 7th, 2009



GMF HOSTS TRANSATLANTIC LEADERS

GMF has long been host to transatlantic leaders visiting Washington or one of the European capitals. In 2009, GMF hosted a number of leaders who spoke before transatlantic-oriented audiences.

On March 6, Canadian Defence Minister Peter MacKay spoke in Washington about Canada's leading role in NATO. MacKay spoke frankly about the challenges facing the alliance in Afghanistan and around the world. MacKay emphasized the importance of the Afghanistan mission and

reaffirmed Canada's “profound commitment to common security” through the alliance. He also spoke more broadly about Canada's commitment to NATO and his vision for moving the alliance forward. MacKay outlined a dual approach, focusing on both getting back to basics as well as modernization. Most of all, MacKay articulated that the alliance must remain the global security partner of choice that is there to “protect, project, and deliver.”



MATTHEW WOJTKUN

Canadian Defence Minister Peter MacKay discusses Afghanistan, NATO, and other major security issues facing the transatlantic alliance, at a GMF event in Washington, DC.

SPOTLIGHT

20 YEARS AFTER 1989, BERLIN HOSTS ANNUAL MARSHALL FORUM ON TRANSATLANTIC AFFAIRS

From October 22-25, GMF hosted the European Marshall Forum on Transatlantic Affairs in Berlin. The event, “20 Years After 1989 — Looking Back and Ahead: Are the Ideals of Democracy and Market Economy Still Valid?,” looked at the legacy of the fall of the Berlin Wall 20 years ago, as well as current policy challenges and developments on both sides of the transatlantic community.



Fmr German politician (and scientist) Jens Reich brings #marshallforum audience to standing O with recollections of 1989 and reunification. 3:07 PM Oct 22nd, 2009

The event opened with a dinner hosted by the Deutsche Telekom. Guido Kerkhoff, board member of Deutsche Telekom, and U.S. Ambassador to Germany Philip Murphy welcomed the 200 participants to Berlin. Jens Reich, a molecular biologist who co-founded one of the core opposition movements in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) in 1989, delivered the keynote speech on how life in the GDR changed with reunification.

A number of sessions took place at the Berlin State Parliament, situated close to where the Berlin Wall once divided the city. Participants, largely drawn from Marshall Memorial Fellowship alumni, tackled current challenges for NATO, possible solutions for the financial crisis, and global security. The conference closed with remarks by Rolf-Ernst Breuer, former president of the board of Deutsche Bank, who gave his personal views on how the financial crisis developed, what should be done to avoid a crisis like this one in the future, and ways to avoid similar situations in the future, and by Paris Bureau Chief Steven Erlanger of *The New York Times*, who reflected on his personal experiences in Central and Eastern Europe before and after the fall of the Berlin Wall. Participants also visited a variety of sites that highlighted the cultural, historical, and political aspects of Germany's capital.

The Marshall Forum was held in conjunction with partners, including Air Berlin, Deutsche Telekom, the U.S. Embassy to Germany, Deutsche Bank, and Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ).

Biggest laugh in room: Jens Reich calls German politics a “snake nest” #marshallforum 3:22 PM Oct 22nd, 2009



Rolf-Ernst Breuer, Deutsche Bank Speaker of the Board (1997- 2002) and Director of the Board (2002-2006), gives the keynote address on the “Causes of the Financial Crisis and Perspectives Going Forward.”



2009 MMF Fellows [from left] Charlie Henn, Ali Arikan, Leon Saltiel, and Lucy Okumu catch up before the Marshall Forum opening dinner in Berlin.



PHOTOS: WILL BOHLEN

CONVENING

On July 16, GMF hosted a high-level roundtable discussion in Washington on Central and Eastern European (CEE) expectations of the Obama administration. The meeting featured the Honorable Madeleine K. Albright, former U.S. secretary of state and now principal of the Albright Group, as a commentator. Senator Alexandr Vondra of the Czech Republic and Ambassador Istvan Gyarmati, president and chief executive officer of the International Centre for Democratic Transition in Hungary, presented the CEE perspective.

Leading up to this event, GMF supported the work of a Central European Task Force comprised of prominent experts from the region with extensive experience in think tanks and government. Out of that meeting came a new GMF policy brief, “Why the Obama Administration Should Not Take Central

and Eastern Europe for Granted.” The brief outlined a renewed and continued relationship between

the United States and Central and Eastern Europe. Secretary Albright, stressing that the CEE countries are her “favorite part of the world,” said this was a timely effort to reinforce the transatlantic partnership and help solidify the democracies in Central and Eastern Europe. She closed her commentary by saying, “I hope you see this policy brief and these letters not as victims saying ‘Pay attention to us,’ but as an understanding of the fact

that these are issues that need to be dealt with as partners in an incredibly complicated world.”

On December 8 in Washington, Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan delivered a speech on Turkish foreign policy and Turkish-U.S. relations. Erdoğan’s speech touched on U.S. President Barack Obama’s proposed “model partnership” between Turkey and the United States, the Turkish economy’s post-recession strength, and Turkey’s foreign policy objectives.

The United States and Turkey, Erdoğan said, share much in common, which “makes stronger cooperation between our two countries a necessity



ASHLEY VONCLAUSBURG

Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan discusses Turkish-U.S. relations at a GMF event in December.

for both bilateral interests and international stability and peace.” Describing his meeting with President Obama, Erdoğan said they talked frankly about improving bilateral ties and coordinating efforts to counter political crises and economic uncertainty. On Iran’s increased belligerence over its nuclear aspirations, Erdoğan was confident that Turkey had a key role to play as “a diplomatic channel in talks.”

On December 14, Belgian Defense Minister Pieter De Crem spoke at GMF’s Washington headquarters. De Crem opened his remarks by giving a brief overview of Belgium’s domestic political scene and the significance of the nation’s role in European and global politics. In addition to Belgium’s commitment in Afghanistan, the country maintains a strong presence in Lebanon, Kosovo, and with the European Union’s anti-piracy force, Operation ATALANTA. Historical ties also bind Belgian troops and resources to areas in the Congo, Burundi, and Uganda.

De Crem emphasized the importance of Belgium taking on the responsibilities of an international player rather than a tiny nation. Since he took office in 2007, De Crem has stressed reform of the



GMF Policy Brief: Why the Obama Administration Should Not Take Central and Eastern Europe for Granted <http://tr.im/sba0>
5:06 PM Jul 13th, 2009



Albright: #Russia needs to realize #NATO and #EU enlargement wasn't about Russia.
2:10 PM Jul 16th, 2009

ministry's budget, support for President Obama's policies in the Middle East, and an interest in seeing closer European integration under the EU's new Lisbon Treaty.

On December 16, GMF's Brussels Office, in partnership with NATO's public diplomacy division, hosted former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright for a speech and discussion on the future of the transatlantic relationship and NATO. Albright's speech focused on the need to keep transatlantic connections strong and discussed reworking NATO to make it more relevant and decisive in a post-Cold War world.

In her speech, Albright remarked that perceptions of NATO have changed as "the sources of danger in the world have grown more diverse." The younger generation has no memory of the World Wars or the Cold War, and therefore lack confidence in and understanding of international institutions, she said. In her role as chair of the Advisory Group to the Secretary General tasked to devise a new Strategic Concept for NATO, Albright said they are considering suggestions for attracting and maintaining popular support in order to gain backing both inside and outside NATO. Albright said that NATO must adjust to "meet new dangers and to cope with the constant churning of events," but "should do so with confidence that the democratic values we each embrace are the right ones."



Madeleine Albright speaks in Brussels on NATO strategic concept (with video)... <http://bit.ly/4U1iQM>
1:18 PM Dec 17th, 2009



LORENA LOMBARDUZZI

Former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright discusses the NATO strategic concept and emphasizes the importance of the transatlantic alliance at a GMF event in Brussels.

THE ROAD TO COPENHAGEN/ COPENHAGEN CLIMATE CONFERENCE

In the lead-up to the Conference of Parties (COP15) to the United Nations Framework Conference on Climate Change in Copenhagen, GMF hosted a number of high-level events before and during the December conference. GMF conducted interviews with climate change policy experts like Warren Maruyama, former general counsel at the Office of the United States Trade Representative; Nat Keohane of the Environmental Defense Fund; and Cédric Philibert of the International Energy Agency. GMF also commissioned a number of papers relating to climate change policy and legislation that included: "Blueprint for a Transatlantic Climate Partnership," by GMF Senior Transatlantic Fellow Nigel Purvis; "Climate Policy and Industrial Competitiveness: Ten Insights from Europe on the EU Emissions Trading System," by Michael Grubb of the U.K. Carbon Trust, Thomas L. Brewer of Climate Strategies, Misato Sato of the London School of Economics, Robert Heilmayr of the World Resources Institute, and Dora Fazekas of Climate Strategies; and "The Effect of EU Climate Legislation on Business Competitiveness," by Mark Kenber, Oliver Haugen, and Madeleine Cobb of The "Climate Group.

On the ground in Copenhagen, GMF's Climate & Energy Program blogged about the proceedings and held several events for key U.S. and EU stakeholders in the climate debate to network, share intelligence on the progress of the negotiations, and discuss transatlantic cooperation in securing a positive outcome at COP15. The discussions also focused on the likely implications of Copenhagen on domestic climate policy in the United States and Europe.



New GMF publication: "10 Insights from Europe on the EU Emissions Trading System" <http://bit.ly/JhJ1C>
2:35 PM Aug 10th, 2009



GMF is in Copenhagen for the Climate Summit #COP15, and is blogging about it here:... <http://bit.ly/5dMXlj>
5:50 PM Dec 10th, 2009

CONVENING

Copenhagen events included:

CLIMATE AND ENERGY FUNDERS BRIEFING AT COP15

On December 15, GMF Senior Transatlantic Fellow Nigel Purvis and Director of International Climate Policy at the World Resources Institute Rob Bradley briefed a delegation of 50 climate and energy funders on the status of the climate negotiations in Copenhagen.

NO GREEN GROWTH WITHOUT INNOVATION

On December 15, GMF, in cooperation with Bruegel, organized a COP15 side event that focused on a Bruegel paper, “No Green Growth without Innovation.” The panel consisted of Reinhilde Veugelers and Phillipe Aghion from Bruegel; Per Callesen, deputy permanent secretary at the Ministry of Finance in Denmark; and Nigel Purvis, GMF senior transatlantic fellow.

DESIGNING A TRANSPARENT AND CREDIBLE GLOBAL CARBON MARKET AT COP15



Fora.TV: http://fora.tv/2009/12/16/Creating_a_Strong_and_Credible_Global_Carbon_Market

On December 16, GMF, in partnership with the Nicholas Institute at Duke University, hosted an official UNFCCC side-event on how the United States can design a transparent and credible carbon market with the possibility of linking to a future global carbon market system. The event featured Jos Delbeke, deputy director general for environment at the European Commission; Nigel Purvis, GMF senior transatlantic fellow and president of Climate Advisers; Patrick Woodcock, legislative assistant for Senator Olympia Snowe; and Martin Gitlin, managing director at Noble Carbon.



KRISTIN LUBER

Panelists at an official UNFCCC side event, “Designing a Transparent and Credible Global Carbon Market,” organized by GMF.

U.S. CENTER RECEPTION FOR U.S. AND EUROPEAN POLICYMAKERS AT COP15

On December 16, GMF also hosted a reception at the U.S. Center featuring David Sandalow, assistant secretary of the U.S. Department of Energy, and Jos Delbeke, deputy director general of DG Environment at the European Commission.

THE U.S. CLIMATE AND ENERGY DEBATE, COPENHAGEN AND BEYOND AT COP15

On December 14, GMF, in partnership with the Nicholas Institute at Duke University and Evolution Markets, hosted a dinner event. The event connected key stakeholders in the climate debate from the United States, Europe, and emerging economies to discuss the status and implications of the Copenhagen negotiations.

WHAT DOES JAPAN THINK?

From December 7-10, in Tokyo, Japan, GMF, in collaboration with the Tokyo Foundation, held a seminar entitled “What Does Japan Think?” At the seminar, senior European and U.S. journalists, scholars, and policymakers discussed a changing Japan with Japanese journalists and scholars and met with ministers and representatives of the new Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) government.



New section on GMF website on GMF's work on transatlantic approaches to the rise of Asia: <http://gmfus.org/asia/index.cfm>
2:43 PM Apr 29th, 2009

WWW

On the web at: http://www.gmfus.org/event/detail.cfm?id=652&parent_type=E

Discussions touched upon the impact of the new Hatoyama administration on domestic politics, the U.S.-Japan alliance, Japan's defense policy with reference to North Korea and China, Japan's economic policy, multilateralism in Asia and Asia-Pacific, and Japanese perspectives on climate change.

The seminar gave opinion leaders from the United States and Europe a rare and timely opportunity to network with their peers in Tokyo, and to gain an insight into the priorities and workings of the new government, as well as a Japanese analysis on the state of Japan's relationship with Europe and the United States.

After the seminar, participants published columns in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, the *Financial Times*, and the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* addressing Japan's role in the world.



Panelist Noboru Yamaguchi, Lieutenant General (retired), Japan Ground Self-Defense Force, speaks at GMF's “What Does Japan Think?” conference, held in December.



Participants take notes at the fifth Stockholm China Forum in Sweden.

STOCKHOLM CHINA FORUM

In May 2009, GMF held the fifth edition of the Stockholm China Forum. Now in its third 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 American foreign, economic, and security policies. This year, the Forum topics included U.S.-EU-China cooperation on Afghanistan-Pakistan, the political and strategic implications of the economic crisis, the situation in North Korea, the prospects for a climate deal at Copenhagen, and the European and Chinese response to U.S. President Obama's foreign policy agenda.

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 (STINT), and the Riksbankens Jubileumsfond.

PODCAST

GMF Senior Fellow for Asia Daniel Twining spoke with Liu Xuecheng of the China Institute for International Studies, Francois Godement of the European Council of Foreign Relations, and Michael Green of the Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University for a podcast interview on U.S.-EU-China relations.

For this and other podcasts, search GMF on iTunes or visit www.gmfus.org.

CONVENING

WHAT DOES RUSSIA THINK?

In July, GMF President Craig Kennedy, GMF Senior Transatlantic Fellow David J. Kramer, GMF Balkan Trust for Democracy Executive Director Ivan Vejvoda, and GMF Board Members David Ignatius and Robin West participated in “What Does Russia Think?” in Moscow. Organized by GMF, in cooperation with the Russian Institute (headed by Gleb Pavlovskiy) and the Centre for Liberal Studies (headed by Ivan Krastev), the five-day seminar featured top intellectuals, political consultants, and policy analysts advising Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin and Russian President Dmitri Medvedev. Participants included: Dmitri Trenin, Carnegie Moscow Center; Valerii Fadeev, editor-in-chief of *Expert* magazine and director of the Institute of Social Engineering; Vladislav Inozemtsev, director of the Centre for Research of a Post-Industrial Society; and Vyacheslav Glazyshev, chairman of the Public Chamber Commission on Regional Development. Also participating in the seminar was a distinguished group of European analysts and Russia watchers including Aleksander Smolar of the Batory Foundation, Heather Grabbe of OSI – Brussels, Mark Leonard of the European Council on Foreign Relations, Sandra Breka of the Robert Bosch Stiftung, and Soli Ozel of Bilgi University.

The overarching focus was on what the ruling class in Russia has on its mind in terms of governance, foreign policy, and the economy. Much of the discussion centered on what Russia wants, as much as what it thinks, and, on occasion, what Russia needs. At the top of the list, the Russian participants repeatedly voiced aspirations that Russia be respected and that it be viewed as influential with a say in global matters. They were eager to restore public confidence after the global economic crisis shook the foundation on which the Putin years were based, though many economic forecasts offered during the seminar were not optimistic.

There was considerable attention focused on the U.S.-Russian relationship given that the conference took place just days before the first visit to Moscow by U.S. President Barack Obama. The seminar also revealed lingering distrust and disagreement between the Russians and the Europeans/Americans on issues of security, human rights, policy toward and treatment of countries along Russia’s borders (and along the borders of the EU in many cases), and energy security. Following the seminar, *The Washington Post* published several columns based on seminar discussions and papers. In addition, the European Council on Foreign Relations published a compilation of the papers presented by Russian participants.



GMF's Delancey Gustin [left] and 2009 TFMI Participants Suzanne Hafidi-Gevers, Victoria Stoiciu, and Jill Marie Gerschutz participate in an open discussion on personal and cultural values.

TRANSATLANTIC FORUM ON MIGRATION AND INTEGRATION

In cooperation with the Robert Bosch Stiftung, GMF held its second annual Transatlantic Forum on Migration and Integration (TFMI) from July 15-19, in Austin and San Antonio, Texas. TFMI is a transatlantic learning community on migration and integration focused especially on future decision-makers. This year, TFMI brought together 58 young leaders from 26 countries working on immigration issues.



Members of the German Bundestag [from left] Hoger Haibach and Alexander Bonde, and U.S. Congressman Steve King discuss the day's events at the 2009 Congress-Bundestag Forum.

ANDREW FISHBEIN

CONGRESS-BUNDESTAG FORUM

GMF and the Robert Bosch Stiftung held the sixth annual Congress-Bundestag Forum in Bavaria and Berlin, Germany, from February 13-17.

Ten members of the German Bundestag and seven members of the U.S. House of Representatives participated, joined by speakers from the U.S. administration as well as the think tank and business communities. Speakers included Professor Harald von Witzke of Humboldt University; Volker Stanzel, Political Director of the Federal Foreign Office; Jürgen Stark, a member of the European Central Bank's Executive Board; and journalists Daniel Brössler of *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and Ulrich Ladurner of *Die Zeit*.

Topics of discussion in 2009 included China and India, food security, the international financial crisis, Afghanistan, climate and innovative technologies, transatlantic relations after the U.S. elections, and Russia. Highlights included a keynote speech focused on the Middle East and the challenges that lay ahead for transatlantic cooperation from Volker Perthes, director of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP).

The Congress-Bundestag Forum is designed to improve dialogue over the long term 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, including in international trade, public diplomacy, the use of military force, demographic change, civil liberties, energy supply, climate change, immigration and integration, and public health.

Of the 58 participants, 42 were attending the forum for a second time, deepening the existing network while also adding voices from countries previously not represented, including Japan, Russia, and El Salvador. Like in 2008, the 2009 TFMI participants came from various work backgrounds, including business, government, media, academia, and nongovernmental organizations on both sides of the Atlantic. Participants were selected through a thorough nomination and application process.

In order to examine international as well as North American migration issues alongside particular local concerns, TFMI offered a mix of formats over three days. The events included an opening dinner and "armchair discussion" at the Bob Bullock Texas State History Museum, site visits to ten local NGOs providing services to immigrants, workshops, and a trip to an immigration court hearing in San Antonio. In the spirit of giving participants more ownership over TFMI this year, participants brought in their expertise by organizing workshops themselves and functioning as input speakers on topics such as the effects of the current economic crisis on migration, religion and ethnicity, and migration as a security concern.

Citing the involvement of TFMI in the local NGO community, Austin Mayor Lee Leffingwell declared July 16, 2009, as the official TFMI Day in the city of Austin.

CONVENING

MEDITERRANEAN POLICY PROGRAM

In 2009, GMF launched a Mediterranean Policy Program to promote transatlantic analysis and dialogue on issues affecting Southern Europe, North Africa, the Levant, and the Mediterranean basin. The program's priority areas are: understanding trends in Mediterranean societies, including opportunities for south-south cooperation and integration; research and debate on key functional issues affecting Mediterranean security and development; and strengthening the North American policy debate on the region and fostering transatlantic cooperation on Mediterranean strategy.

Core projects include:

MEDITERRANEAN STRATEGY GROUP: A convening and networking activity based in Genoa (Italy) bringing together leading officials, experts and opinion shapers from both sides of the Mediterranean and both sides of the Atlantic. GMF organizes this activity in cooperation with the Italian Institute for International Affairs (IAI) in Rome, and with support of the Compagnia di San Paolo, ENEL, the OCP Group, the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, and the Luso-American Foundation.

The inaugural meeting, entitled “Is Regional Cooperation in the Maghreb Possible? Implications for the Region and External Actors,” was held May 10-12.

TRILATERAL STRATEGY GROUP: In addition to programming from GMF's Ankara office, and projects supported through the Black Sea Trust for Regional Cooperation, GMF has launched a multi-year effort bringing together leaders from the United States, Turkey, and Europe for twice-yearly off-the-record discussions on selected themes affecting all sides of the “triangle.” GMF partners with the Turkish Industrialists' and Business Men's Association (TUSIAD), Koc Holding, and the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs on this activity, which will also include a series of briefings and publications for wider policy audiences.

The inaugural meeting, entitled “The Global Economic Crisis: Strategic Implications for Turkey, Europe, and the United States,” was held in Istanbul, June 4-6.



Panelists [from left] Baroness Pauline Neville-Jones, Shadow Security Minister, U.K. House of Lords; Dr. Michael Leigh, Director General for Enlargement, European Commission; Dr. Ian Lesser, Senior Transatlantic Fellow, The German Marshall Fund of the United States; Ambassador Oğuz Demiralp, Secretary General, Secretariat General for EU Affairs; and Mr. Mark Leonard, Executive Director, European Council on Foreign Relations participate in the inaugural meeting of the Trilateral Strategy Group held at the Rahmi Koc Museum in Istanbul, June 5.

RESEARCH

TRANSATLANTIC ACADEMY

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

In the first half of 2009, the Academy's inaugural fellows concluded their research on migration and integration. On June 4, the Academy released "No Shortcuts: Selective Migration and Integration," a report that reveals the collapse of the economic financial system will have repercussions for the immigration of highly-skilled workers for years to come.

"Immigration, migration, the competition for highly-skilled workers in aging societies, and the social and cultural integration of new Europeans and new Americans will be key to not only the competitiveness of Western economies in a global

economy, but also the changing nature of their identities in this century," said Stephen Szabo, executive director of the Transatlantic Academy.

In the same month, the Academy announced its 2009-2010 fellows. Their research examines the role of Turkey in the Black Sea and Middle East, and how that will influence Western policy in those regions. Fellows examine perceptions of this new role by key players in the region and in the transatlantic community.

During the course of the year, fellows contribute policy-relevant articles and papers to inform the policy debate on both sides of the Atlantic. They also contribute to academic conferences and work together on an Academy publication at the end of their fellowship.

Fellows for the 2009-2010 year are:

Ahmet Evin

Sabancı University, Turkey

Kemal Kirisci

Boğaziçi University, Istanbul

Ronald H. Linden

University of Pittsburgh, United States

Nathalie Tocci

Istituto Affari Internazionali, Rome

Juliette Tolay-Sargnon

University of Delaware, United States

Joshua W. Walker

Princeton University, United States

WWW

On the web at:
www.transatlanticacademy.org



RESEARCH

TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS 2009

The results of the 2009 *Transatlantic Trends* survey showed that European support for U.S. President Barack Obama's handling of foreign policy is quadruple the approval given to his predecessor, George W. Bush. But people in Central and Eastern Europe and Turkey were markedly less enthusiastic about Obama and the United States than were their

West European counterparts. And Obama's personal popularity has

not bridged serious transatlantic differences over Afghanistan, Iran, and climate change, according to the survey.

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 eighth

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:

OBAMA'S TRANSATLANTIC IMPACT

To Europeans, President Obama is certainly no George W. Bush. Support of the current American president jumped 80 percentage points in Germany, 77 points in France, 70 in Portugal, and 64 points in Italy. No other single annual indicator changed this much in the eight years of *Transatlantic Trends*. Even in Turkey, where only half the respondents (50%) support Obama, that backing represents a 42 percentage-point increase over approval of President Bush (8%) in 2008.

NOT ANTI-AMERICAN, BUT LESS ATLANTICIST

The Obama bounce was more pronounced in Western than in Central and Eastern Europe. West Europeans (86%) overwhelmingly view Obama's policies favorably. But respondents in Central and East European countries, while still supportive (60%), are markedly less enthusiastic. In 2009, fewer people in Central and Eastern Europe (53%) than in Western Europe (63%) see America in a positive light. That is a reversal from 2008 when, by a slight margin, Central and East European nations (44%) were more favorably disposed toward the United States than were their West European counterparts (40%). People in Central and Eastern Europe (25%) are far less likely than West Europeans (43%) to believe that relations between the United States and Europe have improved over the past year. Fewer Central and East Europeans (53%) than West Europeans (63%) believe that NATO is essential.

SUPPORT FOR AFGHANISTAN MISSION WANING IN EUROPE

Notwithstanding growing European support for transatlantic security cooperation, the NATO allies disagree about Afghanistan. Nearly two-thirds of Europeans (63%) are pessimistic about stabilizing the situation in that war-torn country. At the same time, a majority of Americans (56%) are optimistic. The prevailing view in all of the nations surveyed, except for the United States, is to see the number of their troops reduced or their forces totally withdrawn. More than half of West Europeans (55%) and two-thirds of East Europeans (69%) want to reduce or remove their soldiers from Afghanistan.

MARS AND VENUS ON IRAN, TREPIDATION ABOUT RUSSIA

Europeans and Americans disagree on what to do about Iran. If diplomatic efforts would fail to prevent Tehran from acquiring nuclear weapons, a majority of people in the European Union (53%) would increase diplomatic pressure on Iran, but rule out the use of military force. Americans (47%) favor increasing diplomatic pressure on Iran while maintaining the option of resorting to force. Moscow's behavior

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TransTrends tidbit: Brits and Americans
had only majorities who agree that
war is sometimes necessary to obtain
justice.

11:45 AM Sep 14th, 2009



toward its neighbors is a growing concern among the NATO allies. In 2009, seven-in-ten Europeans (70%) favor the European Union providing security assistance for emerging democracies such as Ukraine and Georgia. And a majority of Americans (68%) back Washington taking similar action.

IMPROVING TRANSATLANTIC TIES

The Obama presidency has been a boon for transatlantic relations. In 2009, the proportion of the population that believes transatlantic ties improved over the past year has doubled in the European Union (to 41%) and tripled in the United States (to 31%) from 2008. There is less of a sense of improvement in Central and Eastern Europe (25%), however.

NO UNDERMINING OF U.S. ECONOMIC LEADERSHIP

The economy is a main concern on both sides of the Atlantic. Europeans look to Washington for help, in part because of Obama's popularity. A plurality of both Americans (29%) and Europeans (31%) believe that managing international economic problems should be the top priority for the American president and European leaders, trumping concerns over international terrorism, climate change, or the Middle East. And more than half of respondents in the European Union (53%) think strong U.S. leadership on world economic affairs

is desirable in addressing that priority. Four-in-five Europeans (79%), but barely half of Americans (54%), approve of Obama's handling of international economic affairs in his first few months in office.

Events were held in Paris and Washington, DC, to mark the survey's launch. On September 9, in Washington, DC, GMF's event "The Obama Bounce in Europe: Its Reach, Its Limits," featured remarks by James B. Steinberg, deputy secretary of state for the U.S. Department of State. The event focused upon Obama's popularity in Europe, key transatlantic foreign policy challenges, an emerging divide in Europe, perceptions and effects of the economic crisis, differences in attitudes about climate change, the role of the European Union in world leadership, and Turkey's position in the transatlantic relationship. The findings were presented by Bruce Stokes, international economics columnist for *National Journal* and a GMF transatlantic fellow. On September 11, in Paris, GMF hosted a discussion on transatlantic relations that included U.S.-France relations at Sciences Po. Philip Gordon, U.S. assistant secretary of state for European and Eurasian affairs; David Ignatius, author and columnist for *The Washington Post*; François Richier, advisor to the president of the French Republic on international security and military-political issues; and Nicole Bacharan, political scientist and senior researcher at Sciences Po, commented on the findings and offered their views of transatlantic relations under the new Obama administration. Gordon, who was pleased with the survey's findings — that showed European support for President Obama's handling of foreign policy quadrupled the approval given to his predecessor, George W. Bush — cautioned that transatlantic cooperation is necessary, but sometimes that it is not enough to get things done. He said the United States needs strong European partners, and the three visits President Obama had then made in Europe are signals that Obama values what is happening in Europe.

RESEARCH

TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS: IMMIGRATION 2009

For the second year, GMF and its partners released *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration*, a public opinion survey that is part of the successful *Transatlantic Trends* brand. The survey shows that while majorities on both sides of the Atlantic

are preoccupied with economic troubles, the global financial crisis has not had a strong impact on views toward immigration.

Overall assessments of immigration as more of a problem than an opportunity have gone up slightly from last year; in 2009, 50 percent of Europeans and 54 percent of respondents in the United States described immigration as “more of a problem,” an increase from 43 percent and 50 percent, respectively, in 2008.

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.), with additional support from the Fundación BBVA (Spain). It measures public opinion on immigration issues in the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and Spain.

Key findings include:

ECONOMIC CRISIS HAD LITTLE EFFECT ON ATTITUDES, POLITICAL LEANING IS STRONGER

In all countries except the United States, respondents whose household economic situation got worse in the past year were slightly more likely to be worried about legal immigration. However, the economic crisis has not had a large effect on overall attitudes. Instead, self-described political leaning is much more pronounced when related to changing attitudes — those on the political right in Europe and describing themselves as Republican

in the United States had 7- and 15-point jumps, respectively, in saying that immigration was more of a problem than an opportunity compared to 2008.

SUPPORT FOR LEGALIZATION IS UP IN EUROPE, DOWN IN THE UNITED STATES

Countries were divided on whether or not to give illegal immigrants the opportunity to obtain legal status — German and French respondents were in favor, Italians and Brits were against, and Dutch, Spanish, and Canadian respondents were split. But all European countries saw an increase in support for legalization over the previous year. The United States showed declining support for a legalization measure (49% supported it in 2008, 44% in 2009).

TRANSATLANTIC MAJORITIES FAVOR PERMANENT OVER TEMPORARY LABOR PROGRAMS

As in 2008, majorities in all countries surveyed indicated that “legal immigrants who come to the country to work” should be given the opportunity to immigrate permanently, rather than forced to return to their countries of origin after a temporary period.

ALL COUNTRIES SUPPORT SOCIAL BENEFITS FOR LEGAL IMMIGRANTS

Majorities in all countries supported providing social benefits and granting political participation rights to legal immigrants, though only France (65%), Italy (53%), and Spain (53%) clearly support granting local voting rights to them.

MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES SUPPORT DEVELOPMENT AID TO REDUCE ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION

A plurality or majority in the three Mediterranean countries surveyed — France (44%), Italy (45%), and Spain (51%) — thought that increasing development aid would be the best way to reduce illegal immigration, favoring this policy over border controls, employer sanctions, and facilitating legal immigration.

WWW

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PODCAST SERIES: INSIDE BRUSSELS

In November, GMF launched the podcast series “Inside Brussels,” designed to give insight into the Brussels decision-making process

and events in the European capital. In the first

installment, GMF Transatlantic Fellow Gilles Andreani gives

his view on the implications of the Lisbon Treaty on European foreign policy. Topics discussed include the relationship between the foreign policy of the member states and the Union, the relationship between NATO and the EU, and the role of the new external action service.

Other installments include discussions on the roles of Baroness Catherine Ashton, high representative of the Union for foreign affairs and security policy, and Herman Van Rompuy, president of the European Council, and the future political difficulties they may face.



New Inside Brussels podcast on the implications of the Lisbon Treaty for European foreign policy <http://bit.ly/1VUORq>
10:32 AM Nov 12th, 2009

ASSESSMENTS OF GOVERNMENT SUCCESS ON IMMIGRATION POLICY VARY GREATLY

Opinions as to how governments are managing immigration differed wildly across countries — British (71%), Spanish (64%), American (63%), and Italian (53%) respondents disapproved of their governments’ management, but Germans (71%), Canadians (59%), the Dutch (53%), and the French (50%) approved of the steps taken thus far.

ON TURKEY SERIES

GMF continued its *On Turkey* series in 2009. Topics included Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s visit

to the United States, the Kurdish issue, relations with Armenia, regional missile defense, and the

role of women in Turkish politics. 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. In 2009, the series added a new author, Diba Nigar Göksel, senior analyst and Caucasus coordinator of the European Stability Initiative and editor-in-chief of *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, for its on-the-ground reporting in Turkey. (www.gmfus.org/onturkey)



New analysis piece released for GMF’s On Turkey series by Ian Lesser, The New Turkish Lexicon <http://bit.ly/38RCs5>
1:46 PM Nov 3rd, 2009

Other series authors include:

Soli Ozel, a professor at Istanbul Bilgi University and a columnist for the national daily *Sabah*

Amberin Zaman, Turkey correspondent for *The Economist*

Ian Lesser, GMF Senior Transatlantic Fellow and a longtime Turkey follower at the State Department, RAND, and the Woodrow Wilson Center

TRANSATLANTIC TAKE SERIES

In September, GMF launched a regular series of op-ed style pieces called the *Transatlantic Take*. Each week, GMF distributes several emails with a short take on the week’s news or topics GMF is following closely. Each piece is written by GMF staff or fellows

from both sides of the Atlantic. Every *Transatlantic Take* piece is then posted to the GMF blog, where authors and readers are welcome to comment and continue the conversation. The authors comment on current events from a transatlantic perspective, in some cases highlighting new issues that should be on the transatlantic agenda.

At the conclusion of 2009, more than 30 Transatlantic Takes had been published, including many that received attention from international media outlets including *The New York Times*, *RealClearWorld*, and *EurActiv*.



Craig Kennedy launches our new “Transatlantic Take” series: Obama, Europe, and the inevitable: <http://bit.ly/408Lzj>
11:15 AM Sep 22nd, 2009

RESEARCH

ECONOMIC-RELATED POLICY RESEARCH

E-BOOK ON FUTURE OF ECONOMIC PARTNERSHIP AGREEMENTS

On November 19, GMF released an electronic book on the future of Economic Partnership Agreements (EPA) titled, "Updating Economic Partnership Agreements to Today's Global Challenges." The book features a compilation of essays authored by high-ranking government officials and senior experts on

EPA negotiations. In their essays, authors take stock of negotiations

of EPAs between the European Union and a large number of African, Caribbean, and Pacific states, and make recommendations for the improvement of the agreements.

The following authors contributed to the publication: Emily Jones (Oxford University) and Darlan F. Marti (UNCTAD), Katrin A. Kuhlmann (GMF), Patrick Messerlin (GEM, Sciences Po Paris), Christian Haeberli (WTI), Sanoussi Bilal (ECDPM), Bert Koenders (Government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands), Joao Aguiar Machado (European Commission, DG TRADE), Xavier Carim (Government of the Republic of South Africa), Jean Noel Francois (African Union Commission), Ablassé Quedraogo (WAEMU Commission for EPA negotiations), Christopher Stevens (ODI), David Laborde Debucquet (IFPRI), Pierre Sauvé (WTI) and Denis Audet, Stephen Karekezi, John Kimani and Oscar Onguru (all AFREPREN), Ruth L. Okediji (University of Minnesota), Xavier Cirera (University of Sussex), and Eckart Naumann (TRALAC).

GLOBAL TRADE ALERT

The global economic downturn has manifested itself in a sharp contraction of consumer demand and employment, and it has severely undermined business and consumer confidence. This situation is worrisome since it could conceivably lead to a vicious circle of protectionism. In London on April 2, G20 leaders pledged that "[w]e will not repeat the historic mistakes of protectionism of previous eras"

and charged the World Trade Organization (WTO) to monitor new state measures published in a global surveillance report on a quarterly basis. However, the WTO Secretariat is a strictly impartial body, and its mandate and resources are limited.

To fill the gap the WTO and other institutions cannot fill, the Centre for Economic Policy Research launched the Global Trade Alert (GTA) project in London on June 8. In partnership with GMF, the Department for International Development, the International Development Research Center, the Center for International Governance Innovation, the Department for Business, Enterprise and Regulatory Reform, and the World Bank, four other launches took place around the world in the second-half of 2009. This included Washington, DC, on June 22, Beijing on August 11 and 12, Bangkok on August 13, and Brussels on September 3.

The GTA allows policymakers, government officials, exporters, the media, and analysts to search the posted government measures by implementing country, trading partners harmed, and sector. In this regard, GTA will complement and go beyond the WTO and World Bank's monitoring initiatives by identifying those trading partners likely to be harmed by state measures. The GTA has released several reports since its launch, including one that cited over 100 "blatantly discriminatory measures" by members of the G20.

TIM SEARCHINGER'S BIOFUELS RESEARCH IN SCIENCE

In October, GMF Transatlantic Fellow Tim Searchinger and 12 other authors released an article in the journal *Science* that details an important but fixable error in legal accounting rules for bioenergy that could undermine efforts to reduce greenhouse gases by encouraging deforestation.

According to the article, "Accounting Error Undermines Climate Change Laws," the burning of bioenergy and fossil energy releases comparable

WWW

On the web: http://www.gmfus.org/economics/event/detail.cfm?id=637&parent_type=E

WWW

On the web: <http://www.globaltradealert.org/>

amounts of carbon dioxide from tailpipes or smokestacks. However, bioenergy use may reduce emissions overall if the biomass results from additional plant growth, which absorbs carbon dioxide from the atmosphere and therefore offsets the emissions from the eventual burning of the biomass for energy. However, the greenhouse gas consequences of using bioenergy vary greatly with the source of the biomass.

According to the authors, the solution is to count all emissions from energy use, whether from fossil fuels or bioenergy, and then to develop a system to credit bioenergy to the extent it uses biomass derived from “additional” carbon sources, thereby offsetting energy emissions.

AID EFFECTIVENESS PROJECT

Established in 2007, GMF's Aid Effectiveness Project aims to elevate development as a key priority on U.S. and European policy agendas. Through its Transatlantic Taskforce on Development, Innovations in Aid Series, and Transatlantic Dialogue on Development-Security Coherence, the project continues to support efforts to modernize foreign aid systems and increase shared understanding among development, diplomatic, and defense practitioners. Because four out of five dollars of overseas development assistance originates from the United States and Europe, transatlantic stakeholders share a responsibility for ensuring that aid is less fragmented and more coherent and effective. Coordination is limited and particularly weak in fragile and post-conflict states. To address these issues, the Aid Effectiveness Project furthered its “Innovations in Aid” event series, conducted high-level practitioner seminars, commissioned primary research, and launched and continues to disseminate a set of strategic recommendations in the Transatlantic Taskforce on Development's 2009 policy report, “Toward a Brighter World: A Transatlantic Call for Renewed Leadership and Partnerships in Global Development.”



Co-chaired by GMF Senior Transatlantic Fellow Jim Kolbe and Gunilla Carlsson, minister for International Development Cooperation for Sweden, the Taskforce consists of more than 20 representatives from North America and Europe who bring a wide array of perspectives to the development debate, including knowledge and experience from public and private sectors, politics, research, business, and civil society. The Taskforce examined four priority challenges: development, democracy, and security; climate change; food security; and effective support for development. Final report recommendations included improving the autonomy and vitality of USAID; eliminating or reducing U.S. and EU domestic agricultural and biofuel subsidies; and creating a post-Kyoto deal that effectively links development and climate change.

On February 10, the Transatlantic Taskforce on Development urged renewed leadership and partnerships in global development to political leaders on both sides of the Atlantic.

The Aid Effectiveness Project continues to help promote structural changes in the global and

WWW
On the web: <http://www.gmfus.org/taskforce/>

GMF FELLOWS

Gilles Andreani

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

Daniel Fata

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

Charles Fluharty

Founding Director and former President, Rural
Policy Research Institute

John Glenn

Policy Director, U.S. Global Leadership Coalition

Jennifer Hillman

Member, Appellate Body, World Trade
Organization

Joerg Himmelreich

former Member, Policy Planning Staff, German
Federal Foreign Office

Jim Kolbe

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

David Kramer

former Assistant Secretary of State for
Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, U.S.
Department of State

Katrin Kuhlman

President, Trade, Aid and Security Coalition

James Kunder

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

Robert Liberatore

former Head of Global External Affairs and
Public Policy, DaimlerChrysler

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

Dan Morgan

Correspondent, *The Washington Post*

Alice Poole

Consultant, PA Consulting Group

Nigel Purvis

President, Climate Advisers

Joseph Quinlan

Chief Market Strategist, Bank of America Capital
Management

Tim Searchinger

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

Andrew Small

former Director, Foreign Policy Centre, Beijing

Constanze Stelzenmüller

former Defense and International Security
Editor, *DIE ZEIT*

Bruce Stokes

International Economics Columnist, *National
Journal*

Jack Thurston

President, Farmsubsidy.org

Daniel Twining

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

Patrick Weil

Director, Center for the Study of Immigration,
Integration, and Citizenship Policies, Sorbonne
University

Joseph Wood

former Deputy Assistant of National Security
Affairs to former U.S. Vice President Richard
Cheney

transatlantic aid systems. In 2009, the Project convened policy experts and decision-makers from the U.S. and European legislative, government agency, NGO, and business sectors to support increased understanding on key issues such as interagency coordination, transparency and mutual accountability, aid harmonization and alignment, and country ownership. Under the leadership of Senior Transatlantic Fellows Jim Kolbe and Jim

Kunder, the project also facilitated transatlantic dialogue on greater development-security coherence, focusing on the challenges of achieving human security and development in hostile and post-conflict environments. During 2010, the project will continue to fund research and bring together thought leaders to explore key questions on how to create a more modern and flexible transatlantic aid architecture.

NETWORKING

MARSHALL MEMORIAL FELLOWSHIP

Founded in 1982, the Marshall Memorial Fellowship (MMF) 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.



RT @hilaaj: Had a nice dinner & interesting conversation about Macedonia's name issue with a European Marshall Fellow from Athens. 5:13 PM Jul 2nd, 2009

GMF works closely with dedicated individuals and partner organizations in more than 50 cities to make the MMF program possible. The Fellowship continues to expand and provide new opportunities to Fellows and cities on both sides of the Atlantic. Fellowship schedules in 2009 included visits to four new cities: Leipzig, Germany; Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina; Zagreb, Croatia; and West Palm

SPOTLIGHT

AMERICAN MARSHALL MEMORIAL FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM CELEBRATES ITS 10TH ANNIVERSARY ON CAPITOL HILL

On March 5, GMF celebrated the 10th anniversary of the American Marshall Memorial Fellowship (MMF) program. More than 100 alumni, current and former GMF staff, embassy representatives, and assorted friends of the German Marshall Fund and the MMF program attended a reception on Capitol Hill marking the occasion.

U.S. Congressman Erik Paulsen (MMF 2007) spoke at the reception about how the MMF program opened his eyes to new issues and new perspectives and how it has made him a better legislator and representative.



SASHA KAPADIA

Fall 2009 European Marshall Memorial Fellows Kristóf Szombati, international relations coordinator, *Lehet más a politika!*, Hungary; Ionut Sibian, executive director, Civil Society Development Foundation, Romania; Thijs Niemantsverdriet, reporter, *Vrij Nederland*, The Netherlands; and GMF Bucharest Office Manager Anemari-Helen Neculescu outside Ben's Chili Bowl, in Washington, DC, following a breakfast discussion on DC voting rights.

Beach, Florida. With the help of new partners, GMF reestablished programs in a number of cities, including Strasbourg and Lyon, France; Barcelona, Spain; Munich, Germany; and Detroit, Michigan.

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 nearly 2,000 alumni

working in all sectors, including politics, media, business, and nongovernmental organizations. In 2009, the accomplishments of MMF alumni were numerous and notable, including the nomination of MMF alumna Connie Hedegaard as EU Commissioner, a first for the MMF alumni network. With the help of GMF's partners, 105 fellows participated in the 2009 programs, and a further 105 fellows have been selected to travel in 2010.

The MMF program is made possible in part through partnership with the Cleveland Foundation and the Stavros S. Niarchos Foundation and by in-kind contributions including BMW Stiftung Herbert Quandt, Compagnia di San Paolo, Council for the



European MMFs travel to U.S. cities to build networks and explore issues that face the transatlantic relationship: <http://tinyurl.com/lp9dq8> 1:56 PM Jun 26th, 2009

NETWORKING

United States and Italy, Fundação Luso-Americana, German Consulate General San Francisco, Patronat Catalunya Mon, and ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin and Gerd Bucerius. Please visit the GMF website for a full list of the 2009 MMF selection partners and city coordinators.

U.S. MARSHALL FORUM ON TRANSATLANTIC AFFAIRS REUNITES FELLOWS

From April 30 to May 3, GMF hosted the 2009 U.S. Marshall Forum on Transatlantic Affairs. This was the

first Marshall Forum to be held in Washington, DC, and it offered GMF the opportunity to welcome nearly 90 Marshall Memorial Fellows

(MMFs) from across the United States and Europe back to GMF's headquarters.

The three-day Forum reviewed the first 100 days of the Obama administration and covered a range of

topics relevant to the transatlantic relationship. Keynote speakers included Paula Dobriansky, former under secretary of state

for democracy and global affairs; Tim Adams, former under secretary of treasury for international

affairs; Nick Burns, former U.S. ambassador to NATO and under secretary of state for political

affairs; and Catherine Raggio, secretary of the Maryland Department of Disabilities.

In October, GMF also hosted a similar event for MMFs in Berlin, Germany, celebrating 20 years after the fall of the Berlin Wall that was mentioned under the Convening section of this report.

COMPARATIVE DOMESTIC POLICY PROGRAM

Empowering local leaders to introduce innovative strategies to their communities by connecting practitioners who can share insights about policy successes and challenges, the Comparative Domestic Policy (CDP) program works within the framework of its Transatlantic Cities Network (TCN), a network of 25 cities whose leaders and decision-makers the CDP program supports with tools including research fellowships, study tours, issue-specific local workshops and researched multimedia web content.

The CDP program works within four conceptual areas that encompass key policy challenges facing cities across the United States and Europe, including mobility, affordable housing, workforce training, and sustainable economic development. Focus areas are framed as aspirations and include:

THE AFFORDABLE CITY is one in which citizens of all economic strata have access to basic resources, including housing, healthcare, transportation, food and cultural amenities.

THE EDUCATED CITY is one in which all adults can obtain skills and training to prepare them for jobs that provide at least a living wage, and youth are exposed to opportunities to develop into productive and engaged drivers of regional economies and culture.

THE INTEGRATED CITY is one in which citizens of all ethnic and national backgrounds, in all stages of life and from all parts of the region are able to actively participate in and take leadership of the civic, economic, political and cultural life of the city, and have equitable access to institutions and resources.

THE SUSTAINABLE CITY is one in which the built environment, including both individual structures and infrastructure networks, is designed to minimize the impact on the natural environment while continually creating new economic opportunities and adequately providing for the overall health of its citizens.



Marshall Forum wrapped up this morning. Thanks to all the MMF alumni who participated, organized, and otherwise made it a great event.
10:40 AM May 3rd, 2009



WashPost's Dana Milbank is keynoting Marshall Forum opening dinner and has room in stitches. <http://www.gmfus.org/marshallforum>
8:00 PM Apr 30th, 2009



Marshall Forum summary <http://tr.im/II9m> includes podcast interviews with Nick Burns, Paula Dobriansky, Tim Adams, others
11:40 AM May 14th, 2009

TRANSATLANTIC CITIES NETWORK

In cooperation with the Bank of America Foundation and the Compagnia di San Paolo, with additional support from the Ford Foundation, TCN provides a framework that

creates opportunities for selected representatives from 25 cities in the United States and Europe to exchange information and ideas about shared policy challenges, innovative policy solutions, and best practices.

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette: Lessons for Pittsburgh from Turin, Italy, and Ruhr Valley, Germany <http://bit.ly/Ab5fg>
10:02 AM Aug 17th, 2009

GMF-supported RT @modeld: Turin and Essen: Turnaround Lessons for Detroit: <http://bit.ly/mQaym> #europe #transatlantic
5:19 PM Jul 15th, 2009

2009 activities included:

CENTRAL TEXAS TRANSATLANTIC RAIL WORKSHOP

The workshop brought five European rail and public transportation experts to San Antonio, San Marcos, and Austin, Texas from February 18-20, to help local leaders and the broader public think about ways to address the challenges inherent in several passenger rail initiatives—commuter rail, light rail, bus rapid transit, and intercity rail. The workshop consisted of closed-door meetings with local decision-makers, agency leaders, nonprofits, and other individuals, as well as three full days of panel presentations open to the public in each city.

GREAT LAKES REGIONALISM AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

In September, GMF, with the support of the Ford Foundation and in close cooperation with local leaders, hosted workshops in Cleveland, Ohio, and Detroit, Michigan, to examine the concept of regionalism. Themes included the development of regional identities and how regional strategies can help promote economic development. The workshops drew on the experiences of both older industrial European cities as well as local and regional leaders to explore a number of topics relating to these concepts. The workshops were the final phase of a study tour conducted in June that took 12 civic leaders from across the Great Lakes Region in the United States to examine how the Piemonte region in Italy and the Ruhr region in Germany have developed innovative and successful economic development strategies through regional governance and cooperation.

Great convo with CEO of W Industries about manufacturing alternatives in Detroit- Wrkshp 2morrow should be very interesting
11:20 AM Sep 17th, 2009

Audio, video, and PowerPoint presentations from the U.S. workshops are highlighted at: www.gmfus.org/template/page.cfm?page_id=561

PORTLAND AND OAKLAND ACTIVE TRANSPORTATION

GMF was pleased to help organize the Transatlantic Active Transportation Workshops, held September 27 to October 3, in Oakland, California, and Portland, Oregon. The workshops brought together local stakeholders and community representatives with a small delegation of European mobility experts to discuss their experiences developing and implementing integrated transportation strategies with a particular emphasis on incorporating cycling into a region's mobility plan.

STRATEGIES FOR TRANSFORMING TO A GREEN ECONOMY: LESSONS FROM GERMANY

From October 24-31, a delegation of state, local, and regional policymakers and stakeholders visited Berlin, Leipzig, and Hamburg, where they conducted briefings, site visits and high-level meetings with government, non-profit, and business leaders working to design and implement technologies and infrastructure to reduce carbon emissions and stimulate economic growth.

Valentino Castellani, former Mayor of Torino [front left], discusses the Detroit workshops with other study tour participants and guests at the Great Lakes Regionalism and Economic Development conference.



BRENT RIDDLE

NETWORKING

MANFRED WÖRNER SEMINAR

The 27th 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.

In 2009, participants included representatives from the University of the Federal Armed Forces in Munich, several staffers from the German Bundestag, the German Foreign Office, and the German Council on Foreign Relations, and representatives from the U.S. Department of Defense, the U.S. Department of State, EADS North America, AEI, the Council on Foreign Relations, and Chemonics International.

The group's program included briefings by senior representatives of the German Ministry of Defense and the European Commission. In addition, participants met with Dirk Brengelmann, deputy permanent representative of Germany to NATO, Egon Ramms, commander of NATO's Joint Forces Command in Brunssum, and Hans Ulrich Klose, member of the German Bundestag and deputy chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

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 ten-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. To date, GMF has supported the participation of 52 German fellows.

The 2008-2009 fellows were Dr. Camilla Bausch, senior fellow and head of energy and climate at



ASHLEY VONCLAUSEBURG

Peter Weitz Junior Prize Winner Nicholas Kulish and Senior Prize Winner Tara Bahrapour are congratulated by GMF President Craig Kennedy.

Ecologic in Berlin, and Dr. Alexander Doerrbecker, executive assistant at the Federal Ministry of Justice.

For the 2009-2010 program, the two fellows are Dr. Ulrike Hornung, a counselor at the Federal Ministry of the Interior (Division of Counterterrorism and International Cooperation), and Sonja Regler, Ph.D. candidate at FU Berlin, where she researched Chinese-American interaction in the Darfur Crisis.

PETER R. WEITZ JOURNALISM PRIZE CEREMONY

On July 13, GMF hosted Swedish Ambassador Jonas Hafström 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 Washington Post* reporter Tara Bahrapour and Nicholas Kulish of *The New York Times* 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.

Bahrapour, a staff writer with *The Washington Post*, was awarded the \$10,000 senior prize for her reporting on the war in Georgia and its aftermath in 2008. For his reporting on Germany, Kulish, the Berlin bureau chief of *The New York Times*, was awarded the \$5,000 junior prize for outstanding coverage of Europe by a journalist under 35.

Swedish DC Ambo Jonas Hafstrom speaks at journalism awards for NYT's Kulish and WaPo's Bahrapour [#journalism #europe](http://bit.ly/eRERZ)
1:28 PM Jul 15th, 2009



GRANTMAKING

STRATEGIC GRANTMAKING

The Strategic Grantmaking Program fosters policy research across the range of transatlantic issues. GMF focuses on specific issue areas each year and invites individual proposals to be submitted. In 2009, issue areas included the Mediterranean, Asia, Turkey, and NATO. Recipients included: European Council on Foreign Relations, European Centre for International Political Economy, Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey, Paraleli Institute, Center for European Reform, and the International Centre for Democratic Transition.

GMF has awarded two larger strategic grants to forge partnerships with the Italian Institute for International Affairs and Bruegel.

ITALIAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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

BRUEGEL

Bruegel is a European economic policy institute based in Brussels. The partnership leverages each institution's intellectual expertise, convening capabilities, and networks in Washington and in Europe. Among the program areas covered in the partnership are the financial crisis; Central and Eastern European (CEE) economies and economic relations with the CEE countries; and climate change policies and competitiveness. The collaboration includes the development of research products, organizing conferences and seminars,

written publications for external audiences, and programming for fellows, staff, and other important visitors.

BLACK SEA TRUST FOR REGIONAL COOPERATION

Based in Bucharest, Romania, the Black Sea Trust for Regional Cooperation (BST) was founded in 2007 by GMF and four 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. Since its founding, BST has provided more than 150 grants totaling just under \$4 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 second year of funding,

Grantee success story: Civil Development Agency: http://www.gmfus.org/template/page.cfm?page_id=581

WWW



Held on the island of Kalymnos, Dodecanese/Greece, from June 30 to July 5, BST supported the International Black Sea Symposium (IBSS). Launched in 2008, IBSS contributes to dialogue, understanding, and cooperation in the Black Sea region and beyond by providing a forum for study, dialogue, and networking in a multi-cultural and interdisciplinary environment.

GRANTMAKING

BST grants focused specifically on increasing citizen engagement; transparency, accountability, and inclusiveness of governments; free and independent media; dialogue on critical development issues for societies; conflict resolution/prevention; raising awareness on regional issues; and increasing regional linkages and shared practices.

Additionally, BST staff work 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.

Throughout the past year, BST organized study tours to Georgia, Azerbaijan, Ukraine, Turkey, and Russia. Study tour delegations were comprised of members of the U.S. Congress, members of the German Bundestag, policymakers, analysts, and journalists from both the United States and the EU. The study tours included zones of conflict (Transdniestria) and zones of political tension (Crimea). Participants met and discussed at length with political and civic leaders, journalists, analysts, businessmen, and government officials from the countries mentioned above. The tours allowed participants to look deeper into the new realities in the countries and in the region, and to better understand the local needs and challenges.

The Black Sea Trust, in cooperation with the Bertelsmann Foundation, TEPAV (Turkey), and the International Center for Black Sea Studies (Greece), launched the Commission on the Black Sea in January 2009. The Commission was established to reassess the importance of developments in the region and develop a comprehensive, policy-oriented study on the future of the Black Sea region. Members of the Commission are prominent policymakers and analysts with an interest and expertise in the region. Over the past year, the Commission met to discuss the region and its relations with and relevance to the EU and the U.S.

In 2010, the Commission will produce and publicize a set of policy recommendations for further development and increased stability in the region, addressed to all actors interested and involved in the Black Sea.



Alida Vracic, from the Bosnian think tank Populari, speaks in front of the Bosnian Parliament.

BALKAN TRUST FOR DEMOCRACY

Since its inception in 2003, the Balkan Trust for Democracy (BTD) has invested more than \$18 million in 661 indigenous initiatives that work toward building productive, democratic, and peaceful societies in Southeastern Europe. Based in Belgrade, 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 is a public-private partnership that was created by GMF, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), and the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, with additional support from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the Embassy of the Kingdom of Netherlands in Belgrade, the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Compagnia di San Paolo, the Robert Bosch Stiftung, and the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.



"It is not important how they vote, but how we count their votes" New blog post on the upcoming #elections in #Moldova: <http://tr.im/tHON>
11:20 AM Jul 23rd, 2009

BTD has built a strong reputation as an organization identifying projects that have significant impact in promoting democratic development and reconciliation in local communities or region-wide. The varied projects and organizations supported by BTD during this past year have included a project based in Croatia that aimed to improve the employment prospects of national minorities by creating minority employment councils; a project in Macedonia that successfully advocated against unfair political campaigning practices; a project in Bulgaria that organized a series of public debates between youth from the political right and left; a project in Albania that supported the increased policymaking involvement of citizens from rural communities; and a watchdog project in Montenegro that monitored members of the National Parliament of Montenegro to better hold Parliament members accountable to their constituents.

BTD has also strengthened its role in connecting stakeholders throughout the Balkans and abroad, becoming a “hub” for regional debate and the

sharing of ideas while also raising awareness of important issues in the Balkans. Regionally-

focused projects supported by BTD this past year included an initiative by seven leading civil society organizations from throughout the Balkans to address European Union enlargement efforts toward the region.

The Bulgaria Fund, a legacy program of USAID that is managed by BTD, both reinforces and

complements BTD’s own network and grants. In its third year of operations, the Bulgaria

Fund completed the grantmaking phase of the program. At the conclusion of this phase, the Fund had supported 48 grants totaling more than \$2.4 million. Funded projects included those intended to advance the rule of law and judicial and governmental reform, to ensure economic opportunities and social integration for vulnerable



SNEZANA VUKOVIC

BTD Executive Director Ivan Vejvoda [second from right] leads a BTD Advisory Board meeting in October with [from right] Douglas Davidson, Senior State Department Advisor, U.S. Helsinki Commission; Ivan Vejvoda, Executive Director of the Balkan Trust for Democracy; Srđan Dvornik, freelance journalist; Pavlina Filipova, Program Officer, Balkan Trust for Democracy; and Nathan Koeshall, Program Officer, Balkan Trust for Democracy.

groups, or to generate a more competitive labor force and labor market through training programs and career development services. The Fund now focuses solely on the monitoring and evaluation of its supported projects, and is expected to complete this final phase of operations by the end of 2010.

TRUST FOR CIVIL SOCIETY IN CEE

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 \$50 million in grants to organizations in the target countries. The Trust is managed under the leadership of Executive Director Rayna Gavrilova with six staff members. Distinguished advisory committees in each country of the Trust’s operations assist with the proposal review process.



EU opens up visa-free travel to Serbians, Macedonians, and Montenegrins. GMF’s Ivan Vejvoda blogs about what it means <http://bit.ly/7pPNsm>
12:35 PM Dec 22nd, 2009



GMF grantee spotlight – Na Chisto, a #Bulgaria TV show that is tackling corruption: <http://bit.ly/2Z23Yp>
2:37 PM May 30th, 2009

GRANTMAKING

IMMIGRATION GRANTMAKING

Immigration is atop of the policy agenda on both sides of the Atlantic, and the exchange between research and policymakers is key to an informed debate. In May 2009, the GMF Immigration and Integration Program launched a new large-scale grantmaking initiative, the Transatlantic Study Teams. This new grantmaking program focuses on a select topic area and gathers the leading experts on this topic to compile existing data, engage in a dialogue with policymakers, and promote open dialogue to advance the policy debate. Study Teams are chosen by a competitive selection process based on the overall quality of their proposal and its policy relevance, institutional strength, sustainability, and potential for synergies.

The Study Team 2009 focused on the topic of climate-induced migration. Environmental deterioration, including natural disasters, rising sea levels, and more-frequent droughts could cause millions of people to leave their homes in the coming decades. The debate on this issue is currently left off of legislative agendas because of a lack of knowledge about the relationship between climate change and its links to migration. GMF's Study Team aims to fill in this knowledge gap and bring the topic to the attention of policymakers and other stakeholders.

Chaired by the Institute for the Study of International Migration at Georgetown University and co-chaired by the United Nations University Institute for the Environment and Human Security, the Study Team consists of the following participating organizations:

The University of California at Davis

The University of San Francisco

Bonn International Center for Conversion

Adelphi Research

Overseas Development Institute

The International Organization for Migration (IOM)

World Resources Institute

German Technical Cooperation (GTZ)

Refugees International

**Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration,
U.S. Department of State**

European Commission

**Ministry for Intergenerational Affairs, Family,
Women and Integration, State of North Rhine-
Westphalia, Federal Republic of Germany**



Dieter Berg, chairman of the board of the Robert Bosch Stiftung, speaks at the Transatlantic Forum for Migration and Integration dinner event held at the Bob Bullock Texas State History Museum in July.

TOM WASSMAN

In June and September, high-level expert meetings were held in Berlin and Washington, DC, respectively, which targeted policymakers and allowed them to give their input into the projects that the Study Team would conduct throughout the year. The Study Team has prepared background documents on the phenomenon of climate-induced migration and has organized site visits to areas currently or potentially affected by climate-induced migration in Senegal and Mexico. Dissemination and dialogue with relevant stakeholders in the policy community will continue in Brussels in April 2010, and a final report, providing a review of findings and recommendations, will be published in June 2010.

ECONOMIC POLICY GRANTMAKING

GMF's Economic Policy Program is dedicated to promoting cooperation between the United States and Europe on domestic and international economic policies as vital instruments of global prosperity. Over the course of the last year, the program's grantmaking, research, and convening activities focused on monitoring several major policy developments in the United States and Europe — including in particular the impact of the economic crisis on both the transatlantic economies and developing countries — and fostering greater cooperation across sectors and across the Atlantic in key areas critical to the transatlantic economic relationship

Through its grantmaking, the program supported a wide range of institutions and individuals working on various trade, agriculture, aid, and development issues.

Grants were awarded in 2009 to the following individuals and institutions:

Steven Barry

Independent Consultant, New Haven, CT

BirdLife International

Brussels, Belgium

David Blandford

Penn State University, State College, PA

Paul Blustein

Journalist-in-Residence, The Brookings Institute, Washington, DC

Centre for Economic Policy Research

London, United Kingdom

EuroCare

Brussels, Belgium

European Centre for International Political Economy

Brussels, Belgium

The Evian Group

Lausanne, Switzerland

Farmsubsidy.org/EU Transparency.org

London, United Kingdom

Cesar Hidalgo

Research Fellow, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA

Ralph Heimlich

Independent Consultant, Laurel, MD

Initiative for Global Development

Washington, DC

Institute for European Environmental Policy

London, United Kingdom

GRANTMAKING

Patrick Jomini

Groupe d'Economie Mondiale, Sciences-Po,
Paris, France

Rick Leach

Independent Consultant, Washington, DC

Meridian Institute

Washington, DC

Timothy Othieno

Independent Consultant, London, United Kingdom

North South Institute

Ottawa, Canada

Overseas Development Institute

London, United Kingdom

Katy Schalch

Freelance Journalist, Washington, DC

Uwe Schneider

Centre for Marine and Atmospheric Science,
Hamburg, German

Transport and Environment

Brussels, Belgium

The Trade Partnership

Washington, DC

University of California

Berkeley, CA

Roger Waite

Editor of Agrafacts/Agrafofucs, Brussels, Belgium

The World Trade Institute

Bern, Switzerland

GERMANY-RELATED GRANTMAKING

The Germany-related Grantmaking Program provides support to institutions and programs dedicated to strengthening the U.S.-German relationship. In 2009, grants were awarded to the American Council on Germany, the American Political Science Association, the Association of Former Members of Congress, the Deutsche Gesellschaft fuer Auswaertige Politik, and the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies.

PARTNERSHIPS

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

GMF understands the crucial role that partnerships play in affecting and addressing the concerns facing the transatlantic community. GMF's goal is to 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:

Air Berlin

Airbus Americas, Inc.

Airbus Military

Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency

Atlantic Forum on Israel

Bank of America Foundation

Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation

Barrow Cadbury Trust

Bertelsmann Foundation

Brandeis University

British Council

Centre for European Studies

Center for Global Partnership

Charles Stewart Mott Foundation

Cleveland Foundation

Compagnia di San Paolo

Daimler

GAETAN MICLOTTE



PARTNERSHIPS

Department of National Defence, Canada

Deutsche Post/DHL

Deutsche Telekom

EGMONT

**Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands,
Belgrade**

ENEL

**European Union Delegation of the European
Commission**

Federal Government of Belgium

Ford Foundation

Fortis Bank

Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian

Fundação Luso-Americana

Fundación BBVA

German Federal Foreign Office

**German Federal Ministry of Economics and
Technology**

Group d'Economie Mondiale

Irving Shipbuilding Inc.

KFW Bankengruppe

Koç Holding

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

Legatum Institute

Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation

Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Sweden

Ministry of Defence Republic of Latvia

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Belgium

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania

Office Cherifien des Phosphates Group

Rockefeller Brothers Fund

Robert Bosch Stiftung

Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Norway

Sciences Po

Stavros S. Niarchos Foundation

**Swedish Foundation for International Cooperation
in Research and Higher Education**

**Swedish International Development Cooperation
Agency**

Tipping Point Foundation

Tokyo Foundation

**Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's
Association**

U.S. Agency for International Development

U.S. Embassy to Germany

U.S. Mission to the European Union

U.S. Mission to NATO

William and Flora Hewlett Foundation

ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius

MULTIMEDIA AND PUBLICATION OUTREACH

In 2009, GMF made the jump into social media, and you will find us on Twitter (@gmfus or www.twitter.com/gmfus), Facebook (search German

Marshall Fund), and YouTube. Sign up to follow GMF on these services, and you can join a community of

people around the world interested in transatlantic issues.

GMF's website, www.gmfus.org, is the best way to stay informed about what GMF is doing. On the web, GMF continues its blog, video, podcasts, and publication outreach. Such expanded capability allows GMF to continue bringing expertise on transatlantic issues to the wider public. 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 the "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.

of State; Michael Leigh, Director-General for EU enlargement; Douglas Alexander, U.K. Secretary of State for International Development; Ambassador Demetrios Marantis, Deputy U.S. Trade Representative; Carl Bildt, Swedish Foreign Minister; Wolfgang Schaeuble, German Interior Minister; George Voinovich, U.S. Senator (R-OH); and Valdis Zatlers, President of Latvia.

The GMF Blog is an open platform for continued dialogue. New issues are posted weekly, including all articles from the Transatlantic Take series. GMF encourages individuals wishing to stay actively engaged on the U.S.-Europe agenda to comment on the blog, which can be accessed from the GMF home page or at <http://blog.gmfus.org>. The GMF blog addresses a variety of critical issues currently being debated within the transatlantic community. In 2009, blog posts covered numerous topics, including the Lisbon Treaty, the global financial crisis, the new U.S. administration, German parliamentary elections, COP15 and climate change, NATO, and Afghanistan, among others.

GMF publications present research on a variety of transatlantic topics by staff, fellows, and partners of the organization. New publications in 2009 include a report by the Transatlantic Taskforce on Development, several publications focusing on climate change leading up to the COP15 negotiations, a new paper series on immigration to complement GMF's programming in this area, a report by the Transatlantic Academy on migration and integration, and several foreign policy series.

GMF publications can be downloaded for free 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 for updates.



Think tank softball alert! GMF sweeps @heritage in doubleheader last night! 10-8 and 6-2. Akin to the Nationals sweeping the Red Sox.
9:50 AM Jul 16th, 2009



UK Minister discusses #Afghanistan, #development, and the international aid system in new GMF Podcast: <http://bit.ly/23iily>
3:55 PM Aug 17th, 2009



New 3-part GMF Video: Job Creation, Innovation, and the Importance of the TEC for the Transatlantic Relationship <http://bit.ly/1Lx74i>
1:26 PM Oct 27th, 2009

Podcasts and videos include discussions, interviews, and keynote speeches that examine the most challenging issues facing North America and Europe. In 2009, GMF produced media content with key international figures, including Peter MacKay, Canadian Minister of National Defence and Minister for the Atlantic Gateway; the Honorable Madeleine Albright, former U.S. Secretary



GAETAN MICLOTTE

FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

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

CONSOLIDATED BALANCE SHEET

May 31, 2009 (With Comparative Totals For 2008)

ASSETS	2009	2008
Cash And Cash Equivalents	\$16,670,383	\$17,569,356
Investments	173,535,754	219,874,430
Grants Receivable	8,745,290	2,224,914
Property And Equipment, net	17,176,474	17,578,876
Other Assets	302,536	748,690
	\$216,430,437	\$257,996,266
LIABILITIES AND NET ASSETS		
LIABILITIES		
Accounts payable and accrued expenses	\$1,995,649	\$2,099,090
Deferred revenue	19,429,338	20,834,992
Grants payable	1,998,642	1,550,947
	23,423,629	24,485,029
COMMITMENTS AND CONTINGENCIES (NOTES 4 AND 5)		
Net Assets		
Unrestricted		
Undesignated	166,861,565	208,889,313
Board-designated	14,747,128	15,861,544
	181,608,693	224,750,857
Temporarily restricted	11,398,115	8,760,380
	193,006,808	233,511,237
	\$ 216,430,437	\$257,996,266

CONSOLIDATED STATEMENT OF ACTIVITIES

Years Ended May 31, 2009 and 2008

	2009			
	UNRESTRICTED	TEMPORARILY RESTRICTED	TOTAL	2008
SUPPORT AND REVENUE:				
Investment (loss) income	\$(23,040,557)	\$–	\$(23,040,557)	\$11,331,562
Non-federal grants and contributions	166,505	17,233,583	17,400,088	15,894,162
Federal grants	4,508,618	–	4,508,618	2,167,923
Other	500,540	–	500,540	1,256,823
Net assets released from restrictions	14,595,848	(14,595,848)	–	–
TOTAL SUPPORT AND REVENUE	(3,269,046)	2,637,735	(631,311)	30,650,470
EXPENSES:				
Program services:				
Internal projects expense	13,944,483	–	13,944,483	13,264,126
Grant expense	11,825,514	–	11,825,514	8,543,482
Management and general	13,593,858	–	13,593,858	12,928,986
Fundraising	509,263	–	509,263	384,453
TOTAL EXPENSES	39,873,118	–	39,873,118	35,121,047
CHANGE IN NET ASSETS	(43,142,164)	2,637,735	(40,504,429)	(4,470,577)
NET ASSETS				
Beginning	224,750,857	8,760,380	233,511,237	237,981,814
Ending	\$181,608,693	\$11,398,115	\$193,006,808	\$233,511,237

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