

EUROPEAN COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS ecfr.eu "We are living through a global counter-revolution. The institutions and values of liberal internationalism are being eroded beneath our feet and societies are becoming increasingly polarised. The consensus for EU action is increasingly difficult to forge, but there is a way forward.

In this new world, on our tenth anniversary, the European Council on Foreign Relations will build the consensus for European foreign policy by engaging in the debates at the national level to make the case for common European action as the most effective way of protecting European citizens.

But we will reach out beyond those already converted to our message, framing our ideas and calls for action in a way that resonates with key decisionmakers and the wider public across Europe's capitals."





"We believe a common foreign policy will allow individual countries to increase their global influence. A strong European voice in favour of human rights, democracy and international law will not just benefit Europeans; it will be good for the world."

Martti Ahtisaari, Joschka Fischer, Mark Leonard and Mabel van Oranje writing in the Financial Times, 1 October 2007



# **Our leadership**

The European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR) is an award-winning international think-tank that aims to conduct cutting-edge independent research in pursuit of a coherent, effective and values-based European foreign policy.

We provide a safe meeting space for decisionmakers and influencers to share ideas for common action; we promote informed debate on Europe's role in the world; and we build pan-European coalitions for policy change.



**Mark Leonard**Director

Mark is the Director and co-founder of ECFR. In 2014, he was chosen to chair the World Economic Forum's Global Agenda Council on Geoeconomics. Previously he was Director for Foreign Policy at the Centre for European Reform, and founding Director of the Foreign Policy Centre.



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# Our unique approach



# CONTAGIOUS IDEAS

# Developing proposals that people talk about

ECFR has brought together a team of distinguished policy entrepreneurs to link cutting-edge research to practical policy. Our research is presented through three regional programmes – Asia and China, Middle East and North Africa, and Wider Europe – and a cross-cutting thematic programme – European Power.



# PAN-EUROPEAN OUTREACH

# Being part of the national conversation

ECFR is the only think-tank that has a truly pan-European network, with a presence in Berlin, London, Madrid, Paris, Rome, Sofia and Warsaw, and an antenna in Brussels. Our pan-European structure allows us to understand national foreign policy priorities and challenges, be part of the national conversations, and grasp viewpoints from across the continent.



# A COMMUNITY OF LEADERS

# **Bringing Europe together**

The ECFR Council is the strongest and most visible expression of ECFR's pan-European identity. Our 300 Council Members act as ambassadors for ECFR's ideas within their networks and help us build the consensus for a common European foreign and security policy.

# **Our impact**

Over the past 10 years, ECFR has been unrivalled in its ability to shape European foreign policy debates and decision-making, with bold, counter-intuitive insights and compelling policy prescriptions.

# Beyond the EU's trade-centric approach to China

Our work on Asia and China, led by François Godement, has attracted attention at the highest levels in both China and Europe. Publications over the past decade, such as the Power Audit of EU-China relations, China Analysis quarterly bulletin, China 3.0 essay collection, and Xi Jinping's China, have been widely praised. In 2009, then Chinese Vice-President Xi Jinping specifically mentioned our work at the EU-China summit. German Chancellor Angela Merkel's 2010 China strategy speech reflected ECFR's memos on China, while the concept of "reciprocal engagement" and the need for realist bargaining with China, emphasised in our Power Audit, have worked their way into European Council conclusions and official EU policy.

# Reframing EU-Russia relations



European leaders and policymakers, helping them make sense of the often contradictory

# Libya: From ideas to action

approaches of Europe and Russia.

ECFR's Mattia Toaldo has quickly established himself as one of the leading experts on how European governments can support the democratic transition in Libya. His policy prescriptions were discussed at a ministerial summit on Libya convened by the British government in November 2016, with the participation of UK Foreign Secretary Boris Johnson, US former Secretary of State John Kerry and then Italian Foreign Minister Paolo Gentiloni and Libya's Prime Minister Fayez al-Sarraj.

# **Engaging** Iran



open an EU delegation in Tehran.

# Unlocking Europe's potential in the Middle East Peace Process

ECFR has worked relentlessly to re-energise European efforts to play a meaningful role in Israeli-Palestinian peace talks. ECFR's Mattia Toaldo and Hugh Lovatt were responsible for pioneering the concept of 'differentiation' and making it a bastion of EU policy. The concept was originally outlined in our 2015 report EU Differentiation and Israeli Settlements, and by December 2016 our approach had been endorsed by the first UN Security Council resolution on Israel/Palestine in seven years. It was also actively promoted by the EU External Action Service and over 20 EU member states.

# First to call for Europe's Global Strategy

We were the first to advocate a profound rethink in the EU's overall approach to European security. In our paper from November 2013, Why Europe needs a new global strategy, Mark Leonard, Susi Dennison and Nick Witney, put forward arguments on security and defence that armed European governments with the rhetoric to task the EU High Representative, Federica Mogherini, to conduct a strategy review. This resulted in the adoption of the EU Global Strategy in June 2016.

# Mapping Europe's leaders and slackers

Since 2011, ECFR's European Foreign Policy Scorecard has become a staple publication for the European foreign policy establishment. Our annual reckoning of the EU's global role has mapped the achievements and shortcomings of the EU institutions and each of the 28 member states on foreign, security and defence policy. It has attracted significant attention among senior policymakers and our online audience.

# CONTAGIOUS IDEAS



Since its launch in 2007, ECFR has built a reputation for innovation, intellectual rigour, and engaging communications. We are dedicated to developing new perspectives on difficult foreign policy questions, and conveying our findings to a wide audience in a compelling way.



"ECFR has the knack of producing the right paper at the right time, which really grabs people's attention with some new or counterintuitive insight."

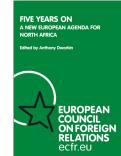
The Economist

"Foreign policy is back but
Europe is in danger of
losing the plot. With the
depth of its analysis and
the edge of its policy ideas
ECFR helps foreign ministers
to look beyond the latest
crisis and the next Foreign
Affairs Council."

**Carl Bildt** ECFR Co-Chair, former Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Sweden









## Mark Leonard's World in 30 Minutes

ECFR's weekly podcast series curated by Mark Leonard features top-level speakers from across the EU and beyond to debate and discuss Europe's role in the world. In less than two years, the podcast has attracted thousands of subscribers from across the continent. We also produce podcasts in French and Spanish.



## **Power Audits**

Instead of the usual institutional focus on EU policy, ECFR's Power Audits highlight the role and contributions of each EU member state towards global players such as China, India, the US, Russia and Turkey. The aim of these publications is to identify possible coalitions and foster a more constructive common approach to contentious issues among European governments.

## What does X think?

Our essay collections have showcased prominent local voices, often not accessible to European audiences, to present the native view on political developments. ECFR has presented the foreign policy debates in Russia, India, China, Germany, the Gulf States, and Turkey through this format.



## Flash Scorecards

Our Flash Scorecards help EU policymakers navigate the big questions about the future trajectory for European integration. Each Flash Scorecard presents the differences and similarities among Europeans on key foreign policy dilemmas, based on field research carried out by our team of associates based in the 28 member states

# **Views from the Capitals**

The Views from the Capitals series mobilises ECFR's pan-European network of Council Members and policy experts to examine the attitudes of selected European governments and public opinion towards the most pressing issues in European foreign policy.

# **Note from Berlin**

Our weekly Note from Berlin provides timely analysis of what Germany's leadership is thinking about domestic and international issues. Our notes have provided insight into issues as diverse as the reactions to the Berlinbrokered refugee deal with Turkey and Germany's view on the Brexit negotiations.

# **EUROPEAN POWER**

The European Power programme develops policy responses to issues affecting Europe's capacity to act. Our goal is to help achieve a foreign policy agenda that protects the EU's core values and challenges the upsurge of populist sentiment in Europe. In 2017, our priorities are analysing member state cohesion, rethinking European security, and exploring how the EU can work more flexibly through coalitions. We will take stock of the new transatlantic relationship under President Trump, work on the advancement of Europe's digital agenda, monitor impulses for EU institutional reform, and consider the evolving framework of international justice.

"Europe's diminished capacity to shape the world, and the different priorities in national capitals, make it all the more important for Europeans to focus on what they can do together. ECFR has an important contribution to make in moving us in that direction."

**Emma Bonino** ECFR Co-Chair, former European Commissioner, and Foreign Minister of Italy

### **KEY PUBLICATIONS**

**Connectivity wars:** why migration, finance and trade are the geo-economic battlegrounds of the future

The New European Security Initiative essay collection

**The world according to Europe's insurgent parties:** Putin, migration and people power

**Keeping Europeans together:**Assessing the state of EU cohesion

**The Future Shape of Europe:** How the EU can bend without breaking.



# **Susi Dennison**

European Power

Susi joined ECFR from Amnesty International. Her work focuses on the refugee crisis, human rights, democracy and justice, and EU-North Africa relations. Before that she was a senior adviser in HM Treasury in the UK.



## Sebastian Dullien

Economic integration, financial market regulation



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Deler



### **Josef Janning** EU integration, transatlantic relation

:U integration, transatlantic relations<sub>.</sub> Germany



# Manuel Lafont Rapnouil

New European Security Initiative,
Multilateralism



# Jeremy Shapiro

ecurity, transatlantic relations



# Stefan Soesanto



Nick Witney
Security, Post-Brexit EU

# **WIDER EUROPE**

The Wider Europe programme asks questions about how Europe should understand, and engage with, its neighbours to the east. The EU's deteriorating relationship with Russia, the uncertain trajectory of Turkey, and the difficult democratic transition in the Western Balkans, necessitate new ideas to defend the European liberal order. In 2017, many European countries are holding elections. We will therefore investigate and shed light on how Russia is seeking to influence domestic European politics. We will also explore how Europe can reinvigorate its relationship with Turkey and strengthen Ukraine's transition, as well as how to rekindle transatlantic dialogue on Russia.

"ECFR took an early and bold stand on Russia and Ukraine. It understood Russia's actions marked the end of post-Cold War Europe. Its analysis explored ways to keep dialogue open with Moscow and, as a result, it stood out for its clear analysis and recommendations, and its influence on Europe's leaders."

ECFR wins Prospect Think-tank Award 2015 EU International Affairs



# Fredrik Wesslau

Director
Wider Europe

Fredrik joined ECFR after working on conflicts and crisis management for the EU, OSCE, and the UN. Notably, he served as political adviser to the EU Special Representative for the South Caucasus and special adviser to the Special Representative of the UN Secretary General in Kosovo.



**Aslı Aydıntasbas**Turkish foreign policy



**Kadri Liik**Russian foreign policy

**Gustav Gressel** 

Military affairs, Russia, eastern neighbours



Andrew Wilson
Ukraine, Belarus

### **KEY PUBLICATIONS**

**Trouble on the tracks:** Averting the Turkey-EU 'train wreck'

**Keeping up appearances**: How Europe is supporting Ukraine's transformation

**Russia 2030:** A story of great power dreams and small victorious wars

Putin's hydra: Inside Russia's intelligence services

**The good, the bad, and the Gülenists:** The role of the Gülen movement in Turkey's coup attempt

# MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

The Middle East and North Africa programme advances a European leadership agenda aimed at reducina instability and strengthening resilience across the MENA region. In 2017, our priorities include supporting European efforts to: implement the Iran nuclear deal; de-escalate the conflicts in Svria and Yemen: stabilise post-ISIS Libya and Iraq; safeguard the two-state solution; and help manage migration flows through the Mediterranean. Our examination of European policy options will be framed within the context of the new US administration, increased Russian involvement in the region, and shifts in European domestic politics.

"ECFR has produced a balanced and sober argument exploring European policies to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, making a convincing case for a new European approach. Highly recommended."

**Javier Solana** former EU High Representative and NATO Secretary General

## **KEY PUBLICATIONS**

After ISIS: How to win the peace in Iraq and Libya

EU differentiation and the push for peace in Israel-Palestine

Syrian diplomacy renewed: From Vienna to Raqqa

Engaging with Iran: A European agenda

**Don't close borders, manage them:** How to improve EU policy on migration through Libya



Ruth Citrin
Director
Addle Fast and North Africa

Ruth joined ECFR following over 15 years with the US State Department, where she served as Director for Syria and Lebanon with the White House National Security Council, and advised the Secretary of State on Syria policy.



Julien Barnes-Dacey Lebanon, Syria



Adam Baron



**Anthony Dworkin** Human Rights, North Afric



Ellie Geranmayeh



**Hugh Lovatt** Israel/Palestine



**Mattia Toaldo** Libya, migration

# **ASIA AND CHINA**

The Asia and China programme develops ideas for how Europe can best respond to China's economic and military rise, and how it can better engage with other Asian partners. In light of Brexit and deteriorating US-China relations, our focus is to prevent intra-European division and help European governments pursue a more cohesive and assertive policy towards China, India, and other countries in the region. In 2017, our priorities include taking stock of Europe's policies towards China, and analysing China's new security environment, including the risk of escalation in key areas such as the South China Sea. We will consider how Europe should position itself in these scenarios.

"I am impressed by ECFR. Publications such as 'What does China think?' are serious efforts for getting into the mindset of the Chinese, especially Chinese intellectuals."

**Yu Yongding** Chinese Academy of Social Sciences



# François Godement

Director Asia and China

François is one of Europe's foremost experts on China, with a long track record as adviser to European policymakers and politicians. He is a former professor of political science at Sciences Po in Paris, and a research associate at Asia Centre. a think-tank he founded in 2005.



# **Jérôme Doyon**Chinese domestic politics, Chinese foreign policy

# Mathieu Duchâtel

North East Asia, Chinese foreign policy, Asian maritime security



# Agatha Kratz

Chinese economy, outward investment



Angela Stanzel
East and South Asia's foreign

### **KEY PUBLICATIONS**

**Absorb and Conquer:** An EU approach to Russian and Chinese integration in Eurasia

Market economy status and the European interest

**Expanded ambitions, shrinking achievements:** How China sees the alobal order

**Terror overseas:** understanding China's evolving counter-terror strategy

What does India think?



"Through its comprehensive, timely and accessible work, the European Council on Foreign Relations is a leader in explicating the EU's role on the world stage and the interests and values that underpin it."

**Strobe Talbott**President, Brookings Institution

# PAN-EUROPEAN OUTREACH





ECFR's website www.ecfr.eu attracted 1.5 million visits in 2016.



ECFR experts are respected columnists and regular contributors to El País, Die Zeit, Foreign Policy, La Stampa, Le Monde, Politico Europe, Project Syndicate, the Financial Times, and the Washington Post.



We were quoted 1,500 times in top media outlets in 2016



Our analysts are frequently interviewed on radio and television with the BBC, France 24, ARD, Deutsche Welle, Al Jazeera, CNN, Bloomberg and NPR.



Our podcasts had over 10,000 listens in 2016.

# **OUR OFFICES**

Land of the fight of the

ECFR's network of offices are a vital component of our pan-European identity. Our presence in seven EU countries allows us to understand and influence the debate in key national capitals, building networks with policymakers and journalists in each country, and making sense of the big policy foreign policy questions driving different EU member states.

# Madrid



Francisco de Borja Lasheras

Before joining ECFR, Borja worked at the think-tank, Fundación Alternativas. He then served at the Spanish Mission to the OSCE and worked for the OSCE Missions in Bosnia, and in Albania, with the Head of Mission.

# London



Mark Leonard @markhleonard

Mark Leonard is the Director and co-founder of ECFR. He splits his time between Berlin and London. ECFR's London office channels the national debate about Britain's role in European foreign policy in the post-Brexit environment.

# Rome



**Paris** 

Manuel Lafont Rapnouil @mlafontrapnouil

Before joining ECFR, Manuel served as a diplomat in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where he headed the Political Affairs Division of the Department for UN Affairs from 2011-2015.

Silvia Francescon @silviafrance

Before joining ECFR, Silvia was deputy head of the G8-G20 Sherpa office at the Italian Prime Minister's Office which she was asked to join again on the occasion of the G7 in Taormina in 2017. She has also worked at the UN, OECD, European Commission, and WTO.

# **Berlin**



Josef Janning
@JJ52



Almut Möller
@almutmoeller

Josef Jannina and Almut Möller are joint heads of the Berlin office. Before joining ECFR Josef served as Mercator Fellow at the German Council on Foreign Relations, as well as Director of Studies at the European Policy Centre and Senior Director at the Bertelsmann Foundation. Before joining ECFR, Almut led the Europe programme at the German Council on Foreign Relations and worked at the Center for Applied Policy Research in Munich.

# Warsaw



Piotr Buras

Before joining ECFR, Piotr was a columnist and Berlin correspondent for Gazeta Wyborcza, the largest Polish daily newspaper. Previously, he worked at the Center for International Relations in Warsaw and the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik in Berlin.

# Sofia



Vessela Tcherneva ®vtcherneva

Before joining ECFR, Vessela served at the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs as spokesperson for the Foreign Minister. She has also worked at the Centre for Liberal Strategies and the International Commission on the Balkans.

# **A COMMUNITY OF LEADERS**



Through their individual networks and collective engagement, our Council Members help to Europeanise national conversations on EU foreign policy priorities and dilemmas. Chaired by Carl Bildt, Emma Bonino and Mabel van Oranje, the Council is a strategic community of senior political leaders and influencers at both the national and European level. Former Heads of State and Prime Ministers 23

# **Our Council**

Ditmir Bushati Remzi Lani

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# ANNUAL COUNCIL MEETING





ECFR's Annual Council Meeting is the leading annual aathering on European foreign and security policy. The Council meeting has retained the intimacy of a private club, allowing a safe space for high-level speakers from across the world to think creatively and practically about how Europe can strengthen its role as a global power. The Annual Council Meeting follows the energy of the debate to different European cities every year. Past meetings have gathered memorable insights from high profile speakers, such as George Soros on the financial crisis; Jeroen Diisselbloem on the consequences of Brexit for the eurozone; UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Filippo Grandi, on the refugee crisis; Martti Ahtisaari on how to win a Nobel Peace Prize; Zbigniew Brzezinski on how to deal with Russia; and Catherine Ashton on building the European External Action Service.

"I have great respect for all the intellectual effort and policy advice that ECFR's team has produced over this past decade. I have personally profited from your insights and ideas more than once"

## **Frank-Walter Steinmeier**

President of the Federal Republic of Germany, on the 10th anniversary of ECFR, Berlin 2017









Clockwise, from top left to bottom right: Carl Bildt, Iranian Foreign Minister Javad Zarif, Mabel van Oranje; Matthias Nass, Emma Bonino, Filippo Grandi, Thomas Binder, Flavia Kleiner; Anne-Marie Slaughter, Javier Solana and David Miliband; Mark Leonard and Lapo Pistelli

"The annual ECFR meeting brings together the most influential and stimulating group of European policymakers, thinkers, and leaders. I cannot think of a better way to take Europe's pulse and assess its present and future health, wealth, and power."

# **Anne-Marie Slaughter**

President and CEO of the New America Foundation; former Director of Policy Planning for the United States Department of State (2009-2011)

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Ana Palacio

message

in these

Former Foreign Minister of Spain

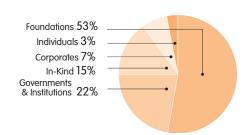
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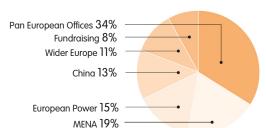
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# **HOW WE INFLUENCED** THE EUROPEAN DEBATE

Income received in 2016 amounted to £5.3m





Expenditure for 2016 amounted to £5.0m

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