



# Brochure



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, the European Council on Foreign Relations will take a bottom-up approach to building grassroots consensus for greater cooperation on European foreign and security policy. Our vision is to demonstrate that engaging in common European action remains 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 decision-makers and the wider public across Europe's capitals.

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of stylized, cursive letters that appear to read "M. Leonard".

Mark Leonard, Director



“9 November is one of these portentous dates which characterised German and European history. I feel you couldn't have chosen a better day on which to launch the new European Council on Foreign Relations here in Berlin.” - 9 November, 2007

**Frank-Walter Steinmeier**  
President of Germany

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# OUR LEADERSHIP

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

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



## MARK LEONARD DIRECTOR

Mark is the Director and co-founder of ECFR. He was chairman of the World Economic Forum's Global Agenda Council on Geoeconomics until 2016, director of foreign policy at the Centre for European Reform, and director of the Foreign Policy Centre.



**Susanne Baumann**  
Senior Director,  
Advocacy and  
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**Anna Kuchenbecker**  
Senior Director,  
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**Jeremy Shapiro**  
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**Vessela Tcherneva**  
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# OUR UNIQUE APPROACH

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## CONTAGIOUS IDEAS

### Developing proposals that people talk about

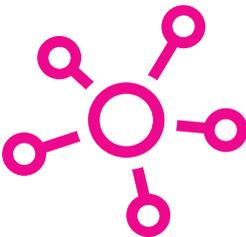
ECFR has brought together a team of distinguished policy entrepreneurs to link cutting-edge research to practical policy. Our research is presented through three regional programmes – Asia and China, Middle East and North Africa, and Wider Europe – and a cross-cutting thematic programme – European Power.

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## 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 over 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.

# 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.

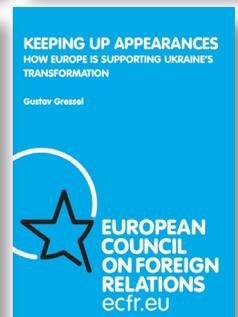
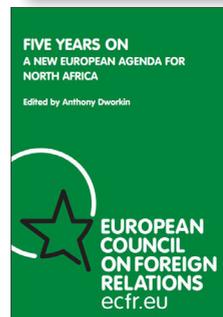
“Foreign policy is back but Europe is in danger of losing the plot. With the depth of its analysis and the edge of its policy ideas ECFR helps foreign ministers to look beyond the latest crisis and the next Foreign Affairs Council.”

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

## 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, the US, and Russia. The aim of these publications is to identify possible coalitions and foster a more constructive common approach to contentious issues among European governments.

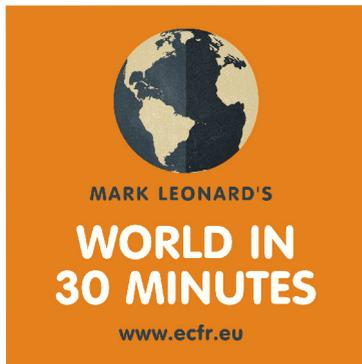
Our **Flash Scorecards** help EU policymakers navigate the big questions about the future trajectory for European integration. Each Flash Scorecard presents the differences and similarities among Europeans on key foreign policy dilemmas, based on field research carried out by our team of associates based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





## 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.



## Mark Leonard's The 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. The podcast attracts thousands of subscribers from across the continent.



## 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 Berlin-brokered refugee deal with Turkey and Germany's view on the Brexit negotiations.

## 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.

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

**The Economist**

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# OUR PROGRAMMES



## AFRICA

The Africa programme analyses the geopolitics of the Africa-Europe relationship. This includes relations between the African Union and the European Union; foreign policy tools and strategies; and opportunities to find creative policy solutions.

## ASIA

The Asia programme seeks to help Europe recalibrate its relationship with China and its Asian partners. The programme analyses China's domestic situation, its role in the region and its increasing influence around the world and put a renewed emphasis on fostering Europe's relationships with India and Japan.

## EUROPEAN POWER

The European Power programme was created in 2015 to help Europeans develop policy responses to the issues affecting the EU's capacity to act on the global scene. The programme explores the obstacles to sustainable unity on current and future foreign policy challenges and seeks to develop solutions for overcoming them.

## MIDDLE EAST & NORTH AFRICA

The Middle East and North Africa programme follows political upheaval and sectarian conflict in the region, aiming to identify political solutions and help Europe develop coherent responses to North Africa's transitions and the Middle East peace process.

## WIDER EUROPE

To remain relevant in the region, the European Union needs a coherent and consistent strategy to promote its interests and values together with the political will to follow this through. The Wider Europe programme was launched in 2007 with the aim of fostering this process.

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.

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

## KEY PUBLICATIONS

**Give the people what they want: Popular demand for a strong European foreign policy**

**Three crises and an opportunity: Europe's stake in multilateralism**

**What Europeans really feel: The battle for the political system**

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

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



Susi Dennison  
@sd270

Director European Power



Anthony Dworkin  
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Human rights, North Africa



Ulrike Esther Franke  
@RikeFranke

German foreign and defence policy, UAVs/drones, revolutions in military affairs, military technology



Jonathan Hackenbroich

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Jana Puglierin  
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EU/German foreign policy, transatlantic relations



Jeremy Shapiro  
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Security, transatlantic relations



Tara Varma  
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French foreign policy, European security



Nick Whitney

Security, post-Brexit EU



Pawel Zerka  
@PawelZerka

EU affairs, international trade, Poland in EU

The European Power programme has a number of Visiting and Associate Fellows building a research community of experts who are both from and/or living in the region.

The Wider Europe programme asks questions about the European understanding and engagement 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.

"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**

## KEY PUBLICATIONS

**Zelensky unchained: What Ukraine's new political order means for its future**

**Winning the normative war with Russia: An EU-Russia Power Audit**

**The discreet charm of hypocrisy: An EU-Turkey Power Audit**

**The last of the offended: Russia's first post-Putin diplomats**

**A new Gaza: Turkey's border policy in northern Syria**



**Nicu Popescu**  
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Director Wider Europe



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Western Balkans



**Vessela Tcherneva**  
@vtcherneva  
Foreign and security policy, transatlantic relations, EU enlargement, Balkans and the Black Sea region



**Andrew Wilson**  
Ukraine, Belarus

The ECFR Wider Europe programme has a number of Visiting and Associate Fellows building a research community of experts who are both from and/or living in the region.

# MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

@ECFRMena

The Middle East and North Africa programme advances a European leadership agenda aimed at reducing instability and strengthening resilience, as well as follows political upheaval and sectarian conflict in the MENA region, aiming to identify political solutions and help Europe develop coherent responses to North Africa's transitions and the Middle East peace process.

"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



**Julien Barnes-Dacey**  
@jbdacey  
Director Middle East and North Africa



**Anthony Dworkin**  
@AnthonyDworkin  
Human rights, North Africa



**Ellie Geranmayeh**  
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Iran



**Hugh Lovatt**  
@h\_lovatt  
Israel-Palestine



**Tarek Megerisi**  
@Tmegrisi  
Libyan affairs, and politics, governance and development in the Arab world



**Arturo Varvelli**  
@arturo\_varvelli  
Geopolitics and International Relations, Libya, EU-MENA relations, Italian-Libyan relations Italian foreign policy

## KEY PUBLICATIONS

**The Middle East's new battle lines**

**China's great game in the Middle East**

Reviving the revolutionaries: How Trump's maximum pressure is shifting Iran's domestic politics

**Mapping armed groups in Mali and in the Sahel**

**Deep sea rivals: Europe, Turkey, and new eastern Mediterranean conflict lines**

The ECFR MENA programme has a number of Visiting and Associate Fellows building a research community of experts who are both from and/or living in the region.

The Asia programme seeks to help Europe recalibrate its relationship with China and its Asian partners.

The programme analyses China's domestic situation, its role in the region and its increasing influence around the world and put a renewed emphasis on fostering Europe's relationships with India and Japan.



**Janka Oertel**  
@oertel\_janka  
Director Asia

"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



**Andrew Small**  
@ajwsmall  
US-China/Europe-China relations

The ECFR Asia and China programme has a number of Visiting and Associate Fellows building a research community of experts who are both from and/or living in the region.

## KEY PUBLICATIONS

### **Blue China: Navigating the maritime silk road to Europe**

The meaning of systemic rivalry: Europe and China beyond the pandemic

### **China at the gates: A new power audit of EU-China relations**

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

**What does India think?**

ECFR's growing Africa Programme analyses the geopolitics of the Africa-Europe relationship from several angles. This includes relations between the African Union and the European Union; foreign policy tools and strategies; common challenges; and opportunities to find creative policy solutions. As part of this approach, the Africa Programme also focuses on two regions in transition that are particularly relevant for Europe: the Horn of Africa and the Sahel.



**Theodore Murphy**  
@TheodoreMurphy  
Director Africa

"In an increasingly bruising international order, the Africa-Europe partnership needs to be understood for its geopolitical potential. The two continents can support one another in anchoring a third way; avoiding a trend towards zero-sum bipolarism in the global order. The launch of ECFR's Africa Programme is a recognition of the critical inflection point the Africa-Europe relationship currently stands before."

**THEODORE MURPHY**, Programme Director



**Andrew Lebovich**  
@AnthonyDworkin  
North Africa, the Sahara, the Sahel

**The ECFR Africa programme has a number of Visiting and Associate Fellows building a research community of experts who are both from and/or living in the region.**

## KEY PUBLICATIONS

**A return to Africa: Why North African states are looking south**

**Bad company: How dark money threatens Sudan's transition**

**Disorder from Chaos: Why Europeans fail to promote stability in the Sahel**



“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**

former President, Brookings Institution

# PAN-EUROPEAN OUTREACH



ECFR's website [www.ecfr.eu](http://www.ecfr.eu) attracted over a 1 million unique visitors in 2019. We have over 150,000 active followers on social media.



We were quoted 2,500 times in top media outlets in 2019 in 100 countries.



ECFR experts regularly contribute to *El País*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Foreign Policy*, *La Stampa*, *Le Monde*, *Politico Europe*, *Project Syndicate*, the *Financial Times*, and the *Washington Post*.



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



Our podcasts had around 250,000 listens in 2019. *The World in 30 Minutes with Mark Leonard* was named one of the "Best podcasts on EU politics" by PolicyLab.

# OUR OFFICES

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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 foreign policy questions driving different EU member states.

## Paris



**Tara Varma**

@lara\_varma

Tara is the Head of our Paris office. She previously worked for the French MFA in their Shanghai consulate and at CEIS. ECFR Paris maintains close links with key foreign policy actors in France.

## Madrid



**Jose Ignacio Torreblanca**

@jitorreblanca

José Ignacio is the Head of our Madrid office and was previously the Editorial Director of El País. ECFR Madrid advocates for a pan-European approach for Spanish foreign policy.

## London



**Alba Lamberti**

@alba\_lamberti

Alba is ECFR Deputy Director (Operations) and Head of the London Office. She previously served as ECFR Senior Director for Advocacy and Programme Director. She also worked for International Crisis Group. ECFR London channels the national debate about Britain's role in European foreign policy in the post-Brexit environment.

## Rome



**Arturo Varvelli**

@arturo\_varvelli

Arturo is the Head of our Rome office. He previously worked or the Italian Institute for International Political Studies (ISPI). ECFR Rome promotes a pan-European debate on strategic issues for Europe in Italy.

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## Berlin



**Jana  
Puglierin**

@jana\_puglierin

Jana is the Head of the Berlin office. Previously, Jana was the head of the Alfred von Oppenheim Center for European Policy Studies at DGAP and a program officer at the DGAP's Future Forum Berlin. ECFR Berlin plays a central role in the organisation's pan-European network, and aims to strengthen the European perspective in Germany's national political discourse.

## Warsaw



**Piotr Buras**

@piotrburas1

Piotr is the Head of our Warsaw office. Previously, he wrote for Gazeta Wyborcza, and worked at the Centre for International Relations in Warsaw and at SWP in Berlin. ECFR Warsaw stimulates the Polish debate on the future of the European Union and its foreign policy.

## Sofia



**Vessela  
Tcherneva**

@vtcherneva

Vessela is ECFR Deputy Director (Programmes & Advocacy) and Head of the Sofia Office, having previously served as the spokesperson for the Bulgarian Foreign Minister. ECFR Sofia involves the Bulgarian political community in a discussion on European foreign policy and is a liaison with south-east Europe and the Caucasus.



# 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, Lykke Friis and Norbert Röttgen, the Council is a strategic community of current and former heads of state, senior political leaders and influencers at both the national and European level.

<b>19</b> Heads of State and Government	<b>31</b> Prominent European Officials	<b>38</b> Business Leaders	<b>70</b> Civil Society Leaders
<b>16</b> Senior IO Officials	<b>29</b> Foreign Ministers	<b>12</b> Government Ministers	<b>19</b> Ambassadors
<b>41</b> Parliamentarians	<b>7</b> European Commissioners	<b>32</b> Academics	<b>20</b> Journalists and Influencers



From left: Norbert Roettgen, Timothy Garton Ash, Carl Bildt, Frank-Walter Steinmeier, Mabel van Oranje, Coen van Oostrom, Javier Solana, Mark Leonard



From left: Susi Dennison, Norbert Röttgen

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# ANNUAL COUNCIL MEETING



ECFR's Annual Council Meeting is the leading annual gathering 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, Jeroen Dijsselbloem, Filippo Grandi, Martti Ahtisaari, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Catherine Ashton, and other heads of state and government, leaders in academia, business, and journalism.





From left: Anu Bradford, Helle Thorning-Schmidt, Anthony Dworkin, Andrey Kortunov, Marietje Schaake



“Unless we rekindle the desire to build Europe, we will loose against the rising tide of internal problems. We must further push European defence cooperation.”

**Florence Parly, Minister of the Armes Forces on France**

“There is a way of ever-growing nationalism in Italy. Ultimately, it has become a tsunami. In these times... people like the experts of ECFR are most needed.”

**Emma Bonino, former Co-chair of the Board of ECFR**

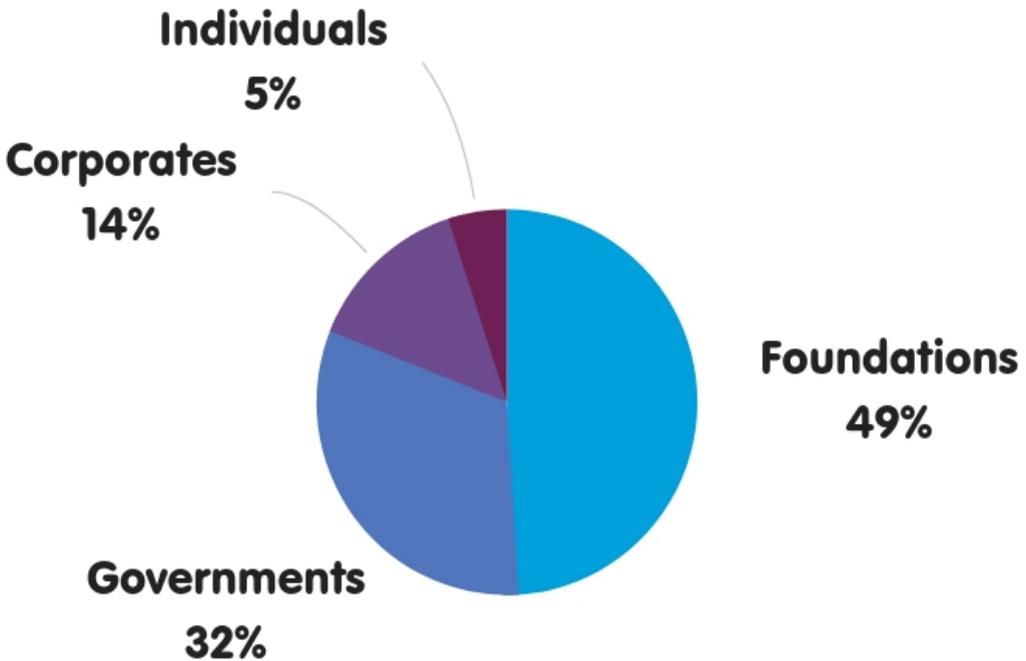
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## HOW YOU SUPPORTED US

ECFR relies on a broad range of support from foundations, governments, corporations, and individuals. The diversity of funding sources is critical to ensure the independence of our organization.



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Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Spain  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Sweden  
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Coen van Oostrom

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If you would like to receive a copy of our full audited accounts please email your request to

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From left: Sylvie Kauffmann, Volker Stanzel, Lykke Friis



From left: Gordon Bajnai, George Soros, Gideon Rachman

# OUR TEAM



