

OCTOBER 2017

THE STATE OF EUROPE

PEOPLE POWER CHANGE:
NAVIGATING THE NEW ERA

REPORT



In partnership with



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NAVIGATING THE NEW ERA

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CONNECT

Friends of Europe is an independent think tank with a difference – we believe innovation is a mindset, behaviour and action. We aim to be catalysts for change and believe that real solutions come from transforming mindsets through the confrontation of ideas and the breaking down of silos between politicians, businesses and civil society.

Believing that change is achieved through inclusive policies and action, we reach out to and work with a wide network of policymakers, international organisations, civil society representatives, business leaders, academics, the media and citizens across Europe and beyond.

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CHANGE

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Estonian Presidency priorities are based on four ambitions listed below, which all include the digital factor and by prioritising the digital dimension in all EU policies, Estonia is already putting the future on Europe into practice.

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Matti Maasikas
Deputy Minister for EU Affairs

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Have we reached peak populism? After the Trump and Brexit earthquakes of 2016, the liberal order has been fighting back. This year has seen Emmanuel Macron's surge to power in France, Angela Merkel's re-election, the defeat of Geert Wilders in the Netherlands. Last year may, hopefully, have marked the crest of the populist wave. Yet, the debate showed this is clearly no time for complacency.

Populists on the left and right are now the most visible opposition in France; the far-right is a significant force in the German Bundestag for the first time since the Second World War; populists made fresh electoral gains in central Europe in the days after October's debate.

In the wider world, Europe has to cope with Russian meddling, the Trumpian disorder, the risk of an antagonistic slide to Brexit, violence and authoritarianism on the southern and eastern flanks.

The 2017 State of Europe high-level roundtable looked into the core of the many problems feeding in to populism and focused on finding concrete solutions – from innovative ways to narrow the gulf between people and politicians, to re-energising Europe's role on the crowded world stage; from harnessing technology for social good, to crafting an educational response to the fast-changing world of work, and promoting positive migration narratives.

The one overarching theme was a search for innovative ideas that can counter irrational, backward-looking rhetoric and turn the challenges of this age of uncertainty into opportunities for a brighter democratic European future.



**PEOPLE
POWER
CHANGE:
NAVIGATING
THE NEW
ERA**

The nature of the beast



“We see the politics of identity taking over. We are seeing the fracturing of the politics of Europe”

Carl Bildt

Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs (2006-2014), Prime Minister of Sweden (1991-1994) and Trustee of Friends of Europe

What populism is, what drives it and how to counter it where among the major questions of the day. “We see the politics of identity taking over,” warned [Carl Bildt](#), Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs (2006-2014), Prime Minister of Sweden (1991-1994) and Trustee of Friends of Europe. “Make America great again, make Islam great again, make Catalonia great again, make whatever great again: backward looking, not driven by the dreams of the age of ideology, but driven by the fears of the age of politics of identity. We are seeing the fracturing of the politics of Europe.”

Populism has flooded democratic Europe with alien values, said [Natalie Nougayrède](#), Columnist, Leader Writer & Foreign Affairs Commentator for the Guardian. “We are very much dealing with an influx of pressures from the authoritarian powers,” she cautioned. “We now live in a world where contrary values, different values, toxic values are being injected into our world.”

Another journalist, [Caroline de Gruyter](#), Author and European Affairs Correspondent for NRC Handelsblad, said part of the problem is that current political institutions have not kept up with the fast pace of change. “We have to recognise that the problems that we have in Europe are not just about Euroscepticism, they are not just the problems of Europe, the problem is the problem of structures that are set up and are not matching any more political realities of digitalisation and of globalisation,” she said.



By defining who is lured by the promises of populism and why, the political centre can find a way to fight back. “With income inequality growing, those feeling the most pressure are twice as inclined to claim that their fate is adversely affected by migration and trade, and are thus eager to resort to the voices of nationalism,” remarked [Jacques Bughin](#), Senior Partner at McKinsey and Company and Director of the McKinsey Global Institute (MGI).

Nougayrède expressed hope that 2016 had marked the ‘high-water mark’ of populism, but she was among several who accentuated the importance of resistance. [Etienne Davignon](#), President of Friends of Europe, Belgian Minister of State and former European Commission Vice-President, said a positive approach was needed to counter populist arguments. “It is completely wrong to explain in a debate with populists why they are wrong, we

“It is completely wrong to explain in a debate with populists why they are wrong, we have to explain why we are right”

Etienne Davignon

President of Friends of Europe, Belgian Minister of State and former European Commission Vice-President



“Let’s get out of this enormous pessimism in Europe and get on to a lot more optimism, that’s a very critical issue because pessimism feeds the wrong and bad politicians”

Erik Solheim

UN Under Secretary-General
& Executive Director of UN Environment

have to explain why we are right,” he said. “If you don’t try, don’t be disappointed with the absence of results.”

Erik Solheim, UN Under Secretary-General & Executive Director of UN Environment, went further, calling for a facts-based optimism offensive. “Let’s get out of this enormous pessimism in Europe and get on to a lot more optimism, that’s a very critical issue because pessimism feeds the wrong and bad politicians,” he argued. “We need a much more positive conversation.”

Calling the present day “the most beautiful, fantastic point in human history”, Solheim pointed to statistics showing 150,000 people are brought out of extreme poverty every day, or that global life expectancy has risen from 46 in the year when he was born, to 71 today. Real data can be used to counter populist alarmism, he insisted. “Many Europeans believe that the chance of being killed in terrorism is enormous: the number of Europeans last year killed by terrorism was similar to 17 hours of road accidents in Europe,” he concluded.

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The world needs Europe



“The EU now is more isolated and more threatened, and we remain as almost the only standard bearer of certain European values that used to be brought along strongly also from the US side”

Mario Monti

Prime Minister of Italy (2011-2013)
and Trustee of Friends of Europe

Still, we live in dangerous times. The threat of nuclear conflict looms in East Asia, antagonism between Russia and the West rumbles on, each tentative truce or liberated city in the Middle East seems matched by a new flare up of violence. Europe has to find coping mechanisms for fading American leadership and a slide to authoritarian regimes on – and sometimes within – its borders.

“The EU now is more isolated and more threatened, and we remain as almost the only standard bearer of certain European values that used to be brought along strongly also from the US side,” lamented [Mario Monti](#), Prime Minister of Italy (2011-2013) and Trustee of Friends of Europe.

A renewed focus on those values is the way to rebuild the international system, argued Natalie Nougayrède. “Multilateralism doesn’t make sense without values. We have to rebuild our self-confidence by restating those values confidently. Multilateralism in itself isn’t enough,” she said. “Multilateralism has to be, in every possible way, constantly plugged into this value system that we want to preserve.”



Kevin Rudd, President of the Asian Society Policy Institute (ASPI) and Prime Minister of Australia (2007-2010), acknowledged that Western democracies are in trouble, often due to problems of their own making, while countries such as China are surging ahead.

“The state of the Western project is in bad repair,” he told the roundtable. “Around the world what I see is a West increasingly lacking confidence in its own project, whether I’m talking about Europe, whether I’m talking about the United States or the broader West. I mean our permanent debates about the state of our democracies, concern about the rising inequalities within our countries, even debates in the United States now, and certainly elsewhere, about the basis for the facts of objective truth, challenges to reason, challenges empiricism, a challenge to basic values.”

“What you’ve managed to do here since the Treaty of Rome is fantastic. Your voice is needed in the defence and expansion of the democracy project which is now in retreat globally”

Kevin Rudd

President of the Asian Society Policy Institute (ASPI) and Prime Minister of Australia (2007-2010)



“Multilateralism doesn’t make sense without values. We have to rebuild our self-confidence by restating those values confidently. Multilateralism in itself isn’t enough”

Natalie Nougayrède

Columnist, Leader Writer & Foreign Affairs Commentator for the Guardian

Rudd said Europe must snap out of its torpor, recognise the positive example of the European Union and put more vigour into its engagement with the world. “What you’ve managed to do here since the Treaty of Rome is fantastic,” he added. “Your voice is needed in the defence and expansion of the democracy project which is now in retreat globally.”

Another outside voice, [HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal of Jordan](#), Chairman of the WANA Institute, also called for more EU engagement. “The Europeans have the choice, if they are going to formulate a policy as opposed to responding only to politics, to begin to consider what good neighbourhood really means,” he told the roundtable.

The EU’s example of cross-border cooperation and integration remains an inspiration for others seeking a



united response to shared challenges. “The new narrative is surely to talk about a new architecture for the Levant, because no single country can, in and of itself, solve its water problems, energy problems, employment problems, and I mean of the Levant, the Arab Levant, Lebanese, Jordanians, Palestinians, Syrians, Iraqis, and of course in a best-case scenario, Israelis, Turks and Iranians as well,” His Royal Highness said.

Wars afflicting countries in Europe’s near neighbourhood and beyond formed the backdrop of a series of roundtable masterclass sessions hosted by experts in the Afghanistan, Libya, South Sudan, Syria and Ukraine conflicts. Calls for a greater and better targeted European engagement to end the violence and promote reconstruction were a common theme.

“The Europeans have the choice, if they are going to formulate a policy as opposed to responding only to politics, to begin to consider what good neighbourhood really means”

**HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal
of Jordan**

Chairman of the WANA Institute



1. Jim Clarken, Oxfam Ireland & Antonia Meszaros, UNICEF Budapest Office

2. Ayman Mufleh, Hashemite Charity Organization & João Wengorovius Meneses, Startup Discoveries

3. Michael Printzos, The Hellenic Initiative

4. Matina Stevis-Gridneff, The Wall Street Journal



- 5. Eleni Antoniadou, Transplants without Donors
- 6. Eduardo Portal Martin, Antares Ensemble & Martijn Arets, Crowd Expedition
- 7. Zanda Kalniņa-Lukaševica, Latvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- 8. Kamilla Sultanova, Global Dignity Finland
- 9. Mary Fitzgerald, Libya Analyst





Political reconnection

Disconnect equals discontent. The perception that distant elites have lost touch with voters is a major driving force behind the populist rise. Throughout the roundtable, discussants stressed the need for politics to re-engage with the public, to move beyond institutional bubbles, fight the corruption and cronyism that revolt voters and counter backward-looking identity politics with innovative positive ideas.

“There is a sense that democracy is no longer effective. To rebuild trust, European citizens need to be more engaged in the European project,” said Jacques Bughin. “In addition to creating a better narrative, a more attractive narrative, improving government services and delivery, Europe must try directly to engage citizens in policy-making decisions.”

Institutions have to show they have moved with the times to allay citizens’ fears about changing society. “We have to recognize that people get anxious when old structures don’t function anymore. They are afraid and they want to hold on to the old structure,” said Caroline de Gruyter. “We have to show that we can give them security in the new times, not with closed societies, but with open societies. We all have to get up and roll up our sleeves, recognise what the problem is and set to work.”

“There is a sense that democracy is no longer effective. To rebuild trust, European citizens need to be more engaged in the European project”

Jacques Bughin

Senior Partner at McKinsey and Company and Director of the McKinsey Global Institute (MGI)



“It is time to move on with a bold emancipatory project for the next generation of Europeans”

Ulrike Guérot

Founder & Director of the European Democracy Lab and Author of ‘Why Europe must become a republic’

A number of speakers had very specific proposals to overcome the feeling of disconnect. “There has been a growing disconnect between the bubble talk in Brussels and the fears and the dreams and the possibilities that you encounter if you go to Leipzig or Luleå or wherever,” said Carl Bildt. People are not against Europe, but they are sceptical about what they hear coming out of the Brussels bubble.

A European republic, where all citizens are equal before the law, was the key idea of **Ulrike Guérot**, Founder & Director of the European Democracy Lab and Author of ‘Why Europe must become a republic’. “We are not the sovereigns of the political system called EU, if we want to overcome the democratic deficit, we should change this, we should build a parliamentarianism based on citizens’ sovereignty and, in that, people must be equal in front of the law,” she said.



The biggest danger, Guérot argued, lies not in the risk of populists taking power, but that the whole political system shifts under the pressure of populism. “This is what is happening more every day,” she warned. “It is time to move on with a bold emancipatory project for the next generation of Europeans.”

Making politics fun to overcome voter apathy and encourage younger people to engage in the democratic process, was the suggestion of [Karel Janeček](#), Founder & Former Chairman of the Board of RSJ, one of the most successful and largest algorithmic trading companies in the world, Founder of Democracy 2.1 (D21) and European Young Leader. “We need to think about how to renovate democracy so that it is attractive, so that it is motivating and so that it is really playful and powerful for the people at the same time,” he said.

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Karel Janeček

Founder & Former Chairman
of the Board of RSJ,
Founder of Democracy 2.1
and European Young Leader



- 1. Aaron Farrugia, Maltese Ministry of European Affairs and Equality & former European Commission Vice-President Joaquin Almunia
- 2. Silvia Console Battilana, Auctionomics
- 3. Paul Taylor, Friends of Europe; André Loesekrug-Pietri, A CAPITAL & Nagayo Taniguchi, Journalist
- 4. Malcolm Byrne, Irish Higher Education Authority
- 5. Markus Freiburg, Financing Agency for Social Entrepreneurship (FASE)
- 6. Ciara Clancy, Beats Medical
- 7. Katarzyna Anna Nawrot, Poznan University of Economics
- 8. Lukasz Dziekonski, Marguerite Fund
- 9. Former Romanian Secretary of State Manuel Costescu
- 10. Dawood Azami, BBC World Service





Democratic digitalisation



Edoardo Camilli, Hozint

Karel Janeček looked at how technology can be both friend and foe in the fight to strengthen democracy in the digital age. “Internet and technologies are used to manipulate people, but this is because the bad side, those that want power, that want to manipulate, are using them systematically,” he said. “On the positive side, and this is absolutely unique in history, we are in the situation where we have amazing technologies never seen before, we are all connected, we all have smartphones, we have the internet. And we have absolutely unique opportunities to change our societies.”

Also working to get citizens, and in particular younger citizens, to the ballot box is [Rachael Farrington](#), Founder of Voting Counts, a political resource in the UK that helps

voters make informed decisions. “There are 18-year-olds alive today that cannot remember a world before smartphones, before Twitter, before Facebook,” said Farrington. “It’s now taking over their lives as their main source of news, their main way to communicate with representatives. So, it’s important that we look at these tools and how citizens are using them and look to see how we can use them to better engage representatives and policymakers in order to engage citizens today.”

The EU in particular should reach out to younger voters for whom the ideals of integration after the Second World War have lost their direct resonance. “People in their lived experiences and their daily lives don’t experience the impact of the EU,” [Dharmendra Kanani](#), Director of Strategy at Friends of Europe, told younger discussants. “Most of your generation won’t have a sense of why this was a peace project post-war and why it was important. You don’t have that memory and it has not touched your lived experiences.”

Looking at the political communication capabilities of cyberspace, one hazard looms large: the opportunities it gives to extremists. “A lot of organisations, like Facebook and Google, are looking to see how their algorithms can be adapted in future. We need to work with these organisations to make sure that the extremist content, this populist content doesn’t lead people astray. We need to find a way of tackling fake news from a digital front,” Farrington said.

Though social media have been widely blamed for pushing fake news, old-style newspapers also have a rich history of peddling embellished or false versions of reality, recalled [Alexander De Croo](#), Belgian Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of the Digital Agenda and Trustee of Friends of Europe. “Fake news is not new,” he said. “If you look at Brexit, some people say it is linked to



“Perhaps we need to change our models of social insurance. We need to think about how we can change our society to encourage solidarity”

Helen Mountfield

Deputy High Court Judge and
Co-Chair of the Future of Work
Commission



“We need to find a way of tackling fake news from a digital front”

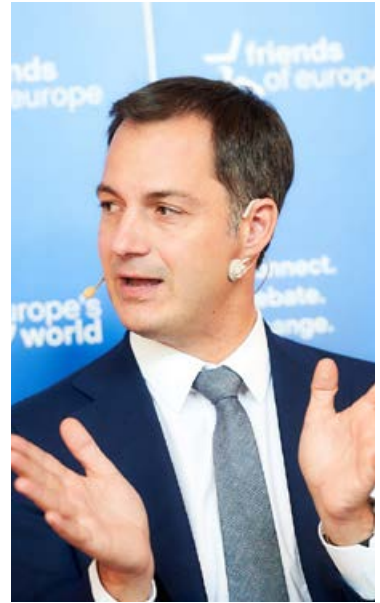
Rachael Farrington
 Founder of Voting Counts



Facebook. Is it? I think a big part of Brexit is the tabloids talking for the last 20 years complete stupidities about Europe. This is way before social media was there.”

De Croo expressed doubts over the scope of restrictions on social media content. “Yes, we need ways to filter that, but institutionalising it? I have my doubts. Are we going to create a Ministry of Truth, which is going to say, ‘This is OK and this is not OK’? I would be careful of what you do in an institutional way and instead work more on trust of the people. And I think if you trust people, in general they tend to do good things.”

One country often put forward as an example of how digital democracy and e-governance can help build bridges between citizens and the state is Estonia. “The



most important feature of democracy in Estonia is the chance for online, digital voting,” said [Matti Maasikas](#), Estonian Deputy Minister for European Affairs. “Estonia offers a wide range of digital services to its citizens, so it’s quite natural to have this as well.”

Online voting has caught on quickly in a country where citizens carry out most of their interactions with the government via the internet. “At the very first digital elections, back in 2005, where 2% of the voters cast their vote online, there was a pattern. The people who vote online were middle-aged educated men. After that, this changed completely. There is no typical digital voter in Estonia,” Maasikas explained. “The rate is now around one third of votes being cast digitally.”

“Fake news is not new. A big part of Brexit is the tabloids talking for the last 20 years complete stupidities about Europe. This is way before social media was there”

Alexander De Croo

Belgian Deputy Prime Minister,
Minister of the Digital Agenda
and Trustee of Friends of Europe



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Humanising the robot world

Globalisation, automatisisation, digitalisation, robotisation and soon the arrival of Artificial Intelligence are all combining to make working people uncertain about their livelihoods – and leading them to vote for politicians promising protection.

“In the US election, people who lost out to robots voted for Trump. The European idea is based on convergence, but exactly the opposite has happened in every single nation in the EU,” said [Carl Benedikt Frey](#), Co-Director of the Oxford Martin Programme on Technology and Employment.

The societal impact of the changing face of work was also taken up by [Helen Mountfield](#), Deputy High Court Judge and Co-Chair of the Future of Work Commission. “Work is more than about providing a living in a financial sense. It also gives people a sense of identity. It is about being respected,” she said. “When people feel less secure, they lose solidarity and social cohesion. In the US, Spain and the UK there is a high degree of inequality, and those are the places where the political shocks have been greatest.”

Past technology revolutions led to social revolutions, Frey recalled. “We have seen change like this before,” he said. “The industrial revolution produced railroads and factories – and the Communist Manifesto.”



“The European idea is based on convergence, but exactly the opposite has happened in every single nation in the EU”

Carl Benedikt Frey

Co-Director of the Oxford Martin Programme on Technology and Employment



“Everything we think of as a job is going to be done by machines”

Stuart Russell

AI Pioneer and Professor of Computer Science at the University of California, Berkeley



Although jobs will be replaced by digital technology, there will also be considerable upsides, said [Lie Junius](#), Director for EU Public Policy and Government Relations at Google. “Imagine doctors and nurses using smart diagnostic tools,” she said. “Digital tools help people to locate services. We know that with change anxiety comes. That’s normal. Some jobs will be displaced: video rental shops do not exist anymore, for example. But in the past, tech has created new jobs and has contributed to growth.” Education is key to reducing the negative impact. “Overall the effect will be positive. But it will not just happen if we just sit here,” said Junius. “We have a digital skills gap.”

The situation will get more complicated once Artificial Intelligence starts to become a major factor in the workplace. “Everything we think of as a job is going to be done by machines,” predicted [Stuart Russell](#), AI Pioneer and Professor of Computer Science at the University of California, Berkeley. “Some people say we



should retain everyone as data scientists. But we don't need one billion data scientists. So, what are we going to do with a billion people?"

Focusing on what is uniquely human could be the solution. "There are already professions where people try to improve the lives of other human beings," said Russell. "We are not very good at it. Many of these jobs are low paid because they are not very effective. To add value, we need to have a science base. Up to now science has been about objects, such as rockets, and very little has gone into understanding humans. It is going to take decades to change the education system, but we could have very rich lives."

A rethink of some of our society's familiar structures may also be required. "Do we need a broader sense of what a company is, that encourages cooperation and co-ownership?" asked Mountfield. "Perhaps we need to change our models of social insurance. We need to

“We know that with change anxiety comes. That’s normal. But in the past, tech has created new jobs and has contributed to growth”

Lie Junius

Director for EU Public Policy and Government Relations at Google



“What the basic income does is replace the safety net in which you get stuck and through the holes of which a number of people fall. You replace it with a floor”

Philippe Van Parijs

Political Philosopher
and Political Economist

think about how we can change our society to encourage solidarity. This could involve looking at taxation.”

Philippe Van Parijs, Political Philosopher and Political Economist, said the time has come for a universal, unconditional basic income to prevent people falling into a poverty trap in a polarised global workplace. “The idea is a very, very simple idea, it’s just an income paid unconditionally by some sort of political community to each of its members,” he said. “It’s universal in the sense that it’s given to the rich as well as to the poor. It’s obligation free.”

His plan would not be a replacement for employment, but rather a new, social backstop, stronger than current welfare systems. “My argument is not basic income as a substitution for the right to work,” Van Parijs clarified. “What the basic income does is replace the safety net in which you get stuck and through the holes of which a number of people fall. You replace it with a floor.”

Making migration great again

There are few of us who do not have friends, relatives, recent ancestors who are, or were migrants. Yet fear of migrants – be they refugees from Middle Eastern wars, job seekers from the global south, or workers exercising their right to labour mobility in Europe – has become a driving force behind the surge of nativist politics from Washington to Westminster and Warsaw. How to counter anti-immigrant xenophobia and provide a positive narrative on migration was a major theme of the 2017 State of Europe high-level roundtable.

“Populism – with its message of simple solutions, its anti-Muslim message is not going to go away, but the thing is, immigrants aren’t going to go away either, so we have to find a new way of living together in this multicultural diverse Europe,” said [Shada Islam](#), Director of Europe and Geopolitics at Friends of Europe. “Europe cannot be a fortress, Europe needs migrants for economic reasons,” she added. “We have to show we can manage the problem, that we’re not out of control. One of the most important things is to change the story of migration, to change the narrative.”

Despite the public concerns about sudden refugee flows, or floods of illegal immigrants, [Laura Thompson](#), Deputy Director-General of the International Organization for Migration (IOM), pointed out that the majority of the world’s 247 million migrants moves in regular, as opposed to illegal, ways. “Changing the discussion about migration from a problem to an opportunity, certainly



“We have to find a new way of living together in this multicultural diverse Europe”

Shada Islam

Director of Europe and Geopolitics
at Friends of Europe



“Changing the discussion about migration from a problem to an opportunity, certainly starts in the right way. For that, we need a discussion that is much more based on the real data”

Laura Thompson

Deputy Director-General of the International Organization for Migration (IOM)



starts in the right way,” she told the roundtable. “For that, we need a discussion that is much more based on the real data. Education of the public is fundamental for that.”

In Europe, that includes informing people about the role of migrants to counter the impact of an aging population, fill skills gaps and boost economic development. A revised narrative should stress the sacrifices migrants make to forge a new life for the families, the often-heroic nature of their endeavours. Successfully integrating immigrants will boost public understanding of their positive role.

“Obviously, well-integrated migrants within society are fundamental,” said Thompson. Integration, however, is a two-way process, she added. “You require migrants to be integrated, but also societies and communities to be open to the people that are coming.”

Ylva Johansson, Swedish Minister of Employment and Integration, spoke of her country’s experience in 2015,



Enrico Giovannini, University of Rome Tor Vergata

when it took in more refugees per head of population than any country in Europe. “This is, of course, a huge challenge that my government and society are facing, very, very demanding, but I would also like to underline that we can manage this and we will manage this,” she said.

More action is needed, however, at a European level. “It’s absolutely crucial that we manage to find a common response in the European Union, a common regulation, and all EU member states must take their responsibility to create a good welcome and an integration plan for refugees,” Johansson added, pointing to the benefits of opening up. “We welcome refugees because we are human beings. We do it as an act of solidarity and dignity. That is why we give shelter to people that have to flee their home country, but we also have a lot of opportunities with newcomers in our country.”



“All EU member states must take their responsibility to create a good welcome and an integration plan for refugees”

Ylva Johansson

Swedish Minister of Employment and Integration

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Digital Europe:
Realizing the continent's potential
(June 2016)



Poorer than their parents:
A new perspective on income inequality
(July 2016)



A window of opportunity for Europe
(June 2015)



New priorities for the European Union at 60
(March 2017)

In March 2016 MGI launched the **MGI Essay Prize: An opportunity for Europe?**

A new prize in the economics space to crowd-sourcing ideas on Europe's future growth. Over 400 entries were received from all over the world and three winners announced at the Friends of Europe's President's Dinner in Brussels in October. You can read the exclusive ebook containing the winning submissions for free at <http://bit.ly/2eb98NR>

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Recommendations

Funding ambition: How does Europe pay for its political choices?

The final session of Friends of Europe's 2017 State of Europe high-level roundtable gathered participants in small groups to brainstorm on the future financing of the EU in areas ranging from agriculture and entrepreneurship, to growth and health, to security and sustainability. The discussions were set against the preparations for the next round of negotiations on the Multiannual Financial Framework designed to set the EU's funding priorities for a seven-year period after 2020.

This new Multiannual Financial Framework offers an opportunity for EU member states to define new political priorities for the coming years, and a chance to re-connect with citizens in the context of European elections in 2019. The negotiations are expected to be particularly sensitive – EU governments are warming up for tough talks as they decide how best to share out a budget that is set to shrink after Britain's departure from the EU.

The table discussions brought together a diverse group of senior stakeholders from different backgrounds, countries, and ages, who aren't traditionally involved in budget discussions, in order to allow for a more transparent approach to the Multiannual Financial Framework, which has usually been the result of behind-the-scenes decisions. The discussions led to a concrete set of recommendations for the next EU budget on where to invest and how to make financial choices that reflect citizens' priorities.

Taking a bottom-up approach, the recommendations were compared to expectations from EU citizens, which had been previously collected through an online survey, hosted on our platform Debating Europe, with its 3.1m community of citizens across Europe and over 272,000 social media followers. The aim was to further strengthen the link between policymakers and citizens and allow for a reality check that ensure that priorities discussed at the EU level address the concerns of citizens in member states.

The session showed how different the choices of this diverse group of non-expert stakeholders were from those of traditional decision-makers. It indicated how opening up the process of budget discussions might help bridge the deepening gap between citizens and institutions, and demonstrated that policies affecting Europe would benefit from co-production with citizens to increase power-sharing between institutions and the people they intend to serve.

Change is needed. To turn the page on populism, Europe must have adequate funding that will allow it to face up to tough challenges ahead, and reflects citizens' concerns and priorities.



THE PROPOSALS INCLUDED:

1

Reform the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) to focus on the environment and citizens' health

2

Invest more in R&D, including on clean cities, electric vehicles and the circular economy

3

Develop an EU-wide benefit and employment scheme

4

Make sure there are more public loans to support research in the private sector

5

Create regulatory sandboxes enabling people to try entrepreneurial and innovative approaches

6

Develop rural areas, including through education, infrastructure and involvement of women

7

Create an EU military academy and ensure more collaboration with civil society

8

Devolve part of the European Defence Fund to R&D

9

Focus on improving digital skills to foster fair and inclusive employment

10

Increase health capacity building by investing in cross-border cooperation, infrastructure and prevention



- 1. German Jeub, German Ministry of Food and Agriculture & Jerzy Plewa, European Commission Directorate-General for Agriculture and Rural Development
- 2. Lindsey, Women's Worldwide Web (W4) & Jon Worth, techPolitics LLP
- 3. António Vicente, European Commission
- 4. Nicolas Schmit, Luxembourg Ministry of Labour, Employment and the Social and Solidarity Economy
- 5. Minna Salami, MsAfropolitan Blog
- 6. Former Italian Prime Minister Mario Monti
- 7. Danae Bezzantakou, Navigator Shipping Consultants







THE PRESIDENT'S GALA DINNER

The prestigious President's Gala Dinner preceded the high-level roundtable and was hosted by **Etienne Davignon**, Belgian Minister of State and former European Commission Vice-President, and **Matti Maasikas**, Estonian Deputy Minister for European Affairs.

It brought together a few hundred high-level guests from the worlds of politics, industry and civil society for an intellectually-stimulating and entertaining evening.



1. Etienne Davignon, Pascal Lamy, Mario Monti & Jacques Bughin
2. Silvio Gonzato, European External Action Service, Sylvie Goulard & Marietje Schaake, European Parliament
3. Matti Maasikas, Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs
4. Christian Leffler, European External Action Service & Fiona Hyslop, The Scottish Government
5. Kaja Kallas, European Parliament





3.

6. Valerie Amos, SOAS University of London

7. Tanja Gönner, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) & Giles Merritt, Friends of Europe

8. Julian King, European Commission



4.



5.



6.



7.



8.



ANNEX 1

Programme



Programme

EARLY-BIRD MASTERCLASSES

WAR AND PEACE: LEARNING FROM CONFLICTS AND PEACE TALKS

The continuing conflicts in Libya, Afghanistan and Syria have highlighted Europeans' inability to act collectively to shape global events. Against this backdrop, is a European 'defence union', capable of speedily projecting force, a realistic prospect?

This set of five parallel masterclasses will look at some of Europe's biggest foreign policy challenges, seeking to learn both from conflicts and their resolution. It asks, with the help of senior experts, whether and how Europe can assert itself globally and build a safer world.

Welcoming remarks by [Shada Islam](#), Director of Europe & Geopolitics at Friends of Europe

Table 1

AFGHANISTAN

[Sima Samar](#), Chairperson of the Afghanistan Independent Human Rights (AIHR) and Afghan Minister of Women's Affairs (2001-2003)

Table 2

LIBYA

[Mary Fitzgerald](#), Libya Analyst, Award-Winning Journalist and European Young Leader

Table 3

SOUTH SUDAN

[Matina Stevis-Gridneff](#), Africa Correspondent for the Wall Street Journal and European Young Leader

Table 4

SYRIA

[Angela Kane](#), Senior Fellow at the Vienna Center for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation (VCDNP)

Table 5

UKRAINE

[Iryna Brunova-Kalisetska](#), Executive Director of the Integration and Development Center for Information and Research

SCENE-SETTING

REINVENTING THE EUROPEAN PROJECT: NEW IDEAS TO REBOOT EUROPE AND ADDRESS PRESSING CHALLENGES

by [Jacques Bughin](#), Senior Partner at McKinsey & Company and Director of the McKinsey Global Institute (MGI)

PLENARY SESSION

POPULISM AND THE POLITICS OF PAN-EUROPEANISM

Populist politicians have eroded support for the EU and prised votes away from Europe's centre-right and centre-left. These politicians – often working across borders as a 'Populists International', with similar themes and approaches – offer simplistic solutions to globalisation's challenges and reflect dissatisfaction with mainstream parties.

This session will look at how Europe moves past its political and leadership crisis and ask whether populism can be harnessed to create a genuinely different kind of politics at national and European level – one that has popular support, input and trust – and so improve people's lives. The 2019 European elections will see the children of the 21st century voting for the first time: can we rethink Europe to match the expectations of this new generation?

We will ask innovative thinkers to pitch their 'wild ideas' for a more citizen-focused Europe, going beyond the options set out in the Commission's white paper on the future of Europe.

Welcoming remarks

[Etienne Davignon](#), President of Friends of Europe, Belgian Minister of State and former European Commission Vice-President

Introductory discussants

[Carl Bildt](#), Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs (2006-2014), Prime Minister of Sweden (1991-1994) and Trustee of Friends of Europe

[Caroline de Gruyter](#), Author and European Affairs Correspondent for leading Dutch newspaper NRC Handelsblad

[Ulrike Guérot](#), Founder & Director of the European Democracy Lab and Author of 'Why Europe must become a republic'

[Karel Janeček](#), Founder & Former Chairman of the Board of RSJ, one of the most successful and largest algorithmic trading companies in the world, Founder of Democracy 2.1 (D21) and European Young Leader

Moderator

[Dharmendra Kanani](#), Director of Strategy at Friends of Europe

HIGH-LEVEL MEETING ON MIGRATION TOWARDS THE GLOBAL COMPACTS ON MIGRATION AND REFUGEES

This high-level meeting on the sidelines of State of Europe gathers a select number of leading stakeholders under the chairmanship of [HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal of Jordan](#), Chairman of the West Asia and North Africa (WANA) Institute. As the international community works to formulate and agree upon two global compacts on migration and refugees, this ‘brainstorm’ will allow for a frank dialogue with the aim of forging a shared and agreed sense of how a multi-stakeholder perspective and approach can make meaningful inroads to this complex, unpredictable issue underscored by both politics and geopolitics.

Moderator

[Giles Merritt](#), Founder & Chairman of Friends of Europe



PARALLEL SESSIONS

SHAKING UP EUROPE,
SHAKING UP THE WORLD

PARALLEL SESSION I

DEMOCRACY IN THE DIGITAL AGE

The paper ballots still used in most elections around Europe symbolise a refusal to rethink our democracy. Many of our democratic practices are stuck in the era of the first or second industrial revolutions while the world moves into the 4th Industrial Revolution.

Digital technologies are changing politics. They are giving – for good and ill – a platform to those who were often ignored, including activists, citizen journalists and extremists. They are also hastening the fragmentation of the predominantly left-right political spectrum, already weakened by changes in society and the economy.

We will debate the implications of digital for democracy in Europe. Do online platforms such as Debating Europe offer lessons for the development of online democracy, and for reducing the voting age? What can be done to counter the rise of ‘fake news’ and hacking? And can we channel the positive elements of ‘people power’ online but prevent the rise of demagogues?

Introductory
discussants

[Alexander De Croo](#), Belgian Deputy Prime Minister,
Minister of the Digital Agenda and Trustee of Friends of Europe

[Rachael Farrington](#), Founder of Voting Counts, a political
resource that helps citizens make informed decisions when
voting

[Matti Maasikas](#), Estonian Deputy Minister for European Affairs

Moderator

[Dharmendra Kanani](#), Director of Strategy at Friends of Europe

PARALLEL SESSION II

**GLOBAL LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE:
HARNESSING UNUSUAL SUSPECTS TO DEFINE A NEW WORLD ORDER**

Brexit, Trump and populist movements around the world are shaking the post-war consensus. Institutions such as the European Union, NATO and the World Trade Organization were built by earlier political generations. They now have less currency and importance for many leaders and the public, as well as for emerging powers like China which is developing new multilateral organisations.

Is this just a sign of the times – a consequence of economic and social difficulties? Or are we seeing a more fundamental shift from openness to protectionism, from diplomacy to deal-making, from multilateralism to bilateralism and even nationalism?

This session looks at whether multilateralism still has a place in the 21st century – and if so, how we reshape, rebuild or even replace the current framework of institutions, making them fit to address such global issues as Artificial Intelligence, robotisation and increasing inequality within and between nations?

[Natalie Nougayrède](#), Columnist, Leader Writer & Foreign Affairs Commentator for the Guardian

Introductory
discussants

[Kevin Rudd](#), President of the Asian Society Policy Institute (ASPI) and Prime Minister of Australia (2007-2010)

[Erik Solheim](#), UN Under Secretary-General & Executive Director of UN Environment

Moderator

[Shada Islam](#), Director of Europe & Geopolitics at Friends of Europe

PARALLEL SESSIONS

DIVIDE AND RULE? ADDRESSING THE DEEP RIFTS THAT THREATEN EUROPE'S FUTURE

IDEA SHARING I

ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE: SHAPING THE POLITICS AND ECONOMICS OF TOMORROW

by [Stuart Russell](#), AI Pioneer and Professor of Computer Science at the University of California

PARALLEL SESSION III

THE FUTURE OF WORK: JOBS, EDUCATION AND WELFARE IN THE NEW ERA

Inequality remains the scourge of our era. The bargaining power of the low- and middle-skilled workers has been severely undermined by automation, overseas competition and weaker trade unions. Zero-hour contracts, the gig economy and other precarious forms of work mean that many people experience constant stress. The 'future of work' may well prove to be the greatest challenge yet to the European project: the information age is not only transforming jobs but polarising societies and creating social tensions that encourage populism.

Europe needs to rise to the challenge to create the environment for new types of jobs, and make the most of the opportunities of the 4th Industrial Revolution, such as AI and automation. Given the link between employment and health, how do we strengthen resilience in a future with fewer jobs? How could education and training structures be adapted to ensure that the benefits of digitalisation are evenly spread? Should we be thinking of 'skills security' rather than 'job security' (and how do we explain the difference)? Should social security and economic policies be reformed? And what roles should be played by national governments and by the EU through its long-term budget?

[Carl Benedikt Frey](#), Co-Director of the Oxford Martin Programme on Technology and Employment

Introductory discussants

[Lie Junius](#), Director for EU Public Policy and Government Relations at Google

[Helen Mountfield](#), Deputy High Court Judge and Co-Chair of the Future of Work Commission

Moderator

[Dharmendra Kanani](#), Director of Strategy at Friends of Europe

IDEA SHARING II

**BRINGING BACK THE 'LEFT BEHINDS':
IS A UNIVERSAL INCOME THE WAY AHEAD?**by [Philippe Van Parijs](#), Political Philosopher and Political Economist

PARALLEL SESSION IV

**THE CHANGING FACE OF EUROPE: HOW MIGRATION AND LOCAL
DEVELOPMENT POLICIES CAN BRIDGE ELECTORAL DIVIDES**

Europe's post-industrial service-based economy is throwing longstanding trends and loyalties into question. The support that mainstream political parties relied on from rural or manufacturing regions is shifting to the far-left and right. Populism is also being fuelled by concerns over immigration, even though an ageing Europe badly needs new manpower and a growing number of employers are taking migrants onto their payroll.

What priority should be given to integration of migrants and their children? How do we ensure that local development and infrastructure support designed to give opportunities to migrants doesn't place excessive pressure on scarce capacity and alienate long-term residents? How do we change the narrative on migration at a time Europe needs new blood to fuel its economies and to contribute taxes to EU countries' social support mechanisms?

[HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal](#), Chairman of the WANA Institute, Jordan

Introductory
discussants

[Ylva Johansson](#), Swedish Minister of Employment and Integration

[Laura Thompson](#), Deputy Director-General of the International Organization for Migration (IOM)

Moderator

[Shada Islam](#), Director of Europe & Geopolitics at Friends of Europe

TABLE DISCUSSIONS

FUNDING AMBITION: HOW DOES EUROPE PAY FOR ITS POLITICAL CHOICES?

The future financing of the European Union is a hot topic, with the European Commission's High-Level Group on Own Resources publishing new budget recommendations. In a post-Brexit environment, the EU budget will be smaller so tough choices will have to be made. Now is the time to decide how we should invest and what financial choices should be made.

As Europe faces up to the big challenges like climate change, demographics, digitisation and security, what should scarce EU funds be spent on and what should be left to member states? More than half of welfare and social spending worldwide is within the EU, but can we afford to continue this?

The session features parallel table discussions with top-level decision-makers on how to balance the needs of Europe. If we were to design the Multiannual Financial Framework to reflect the chief demands of EU citizens, what would it look like? How better could EU spending improve the daily lives of Europe's citizens?

Introductory remarks

[Mario Monti](#), Prime Minister of Italy (2011-2013) and Trustee of Friends of Europe

Table 1

DEVELOPING SUSTAINABILITY FOR PEOPLE AND THE PLANET

[Enrico Giovannini](#), Professor of Economic Statistics at the University of Rome Tor Vergata, Co-chair of the UN Independent Expert Advisory Group on the Data Revolution for Sustainable Development, and Italian Minister of Labour and Social Policies (2013-2014)

[Lindsey Nefesh-Clarke](#), Founder & Managing Director of Women's Worldwide Web and European Young Leader

Table 2

REMOVING BARRIERS TO INNOVATION AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP

[Ciara Clancy](#), CEO of Beats Medical and European Young Leader

[António Vicente](#), Head of Cabinet to EU Commissioner for Research, Science and Innovation Carlos Moedas

Table 3

MAKING FOOD AND AGRICULTURE POLICY WORK

[German Jeub](#), Director-General at the German Ministry of Food and Agriculture

[Jerzy Plewa](#), European Commission Director-General for Agriculture and Rural Development

Table 4

DELIVERING A SAFE AND SECURE EUROPE

[André Loesekrug-Pietri](#), Former Special Advisor to the French Minister of Defence and European Young Leader

[Paul Taylor](#), Senior Fellow at Friends of Europe, Contributing Editor for Politico and Author of ‘Jumping over its shadow: Germany and the future of European defence’

Table 5

MOVING TOWARDS A FAIR, INCLUSIVE AND COHESIVE GROWTH

[Silvia Console Battilana](#), Co-Founder & CEO of Auctionomics and European Young Leader

[Nicolas Schmit](#), Luxembourg Minister of Labour, Employment and the Social and Solidarity Economy

Table 6

TACKLING GROWING HEALTH CHALLENGES

[Eleni Antoniadou](#), Co-Founder of Transplants without Donors and European Young Leader

[Xavier Prats Monné](#), European Commission Director-General for Health and Food Safety

Moderator

[Tamsin Rose](#), Senior Fellow at Friends of Europe

Ideas on these topics will feed into a wider discussion in which representatives of each table debate policy choices and political challenges. These will examine how we design a budget that delivers for Europeans, providing effective government and a desirable and sustainable future.

Closing remarks

[Etienne Davignon](#), President of Friends of Europe, Belgian Minister of State and former European Commission Vice-President



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ANNEX 2
List of participants
and observers

List of participants

[Joaquín Almunia](#), European Commission Vice-President for Competition (2010-2014) & Trustee of Friends of Europe

[Hussein al-Rifai](#), International Affairs and Cooperation Consultant, Rifai Consultants International, Jordan

[Amadeu Altafaj](#), Permanent Representative to the EU, Government of Catalonia Delegation to the EU

[Valerie Amos](#), Director, SOAS University of London & UN Under Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator (2010-2015), United Kingdom

[Birgitte Andersen](#), CEO & CoCreator, Big Innovation Centre, United Kingdom

[László Andor](#), Senior Fellow, Hertie School of Governance; EU Commissioner for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion (2010-2014) & Trustee of Friends of Europe, Germany

[Eleni Antoniadou](#), Co-Founder, Transplants without Donors & European Young Leader, United Kingdom

[Martijn Arets](#), Initiator & Expedition Leader, Crowd Expedition & European Young Leader, The Netherlands

[Dawood Azami](#), Multi-Media Editor, BBC World Service; Laureate of the BBC Global Reith Award for Outstanding Contribution & European Young Leader, United Kingdom

[Seyed Azmayesh](#), Founder & Chairman, International Organisation to Preserve Human Rights (IOPHR), United Kingdom

[Yousef Bataineh](#), Ambassador, Mission of Jordan to the EU

[Lieven Bauwens](#), Secretary-General, International Federation for Spina Bifida and Hydrocephalus & Board Member, European Organisation for Rare Diseases (EURORDIS)

[Beatriz Becerra Basterrechea](#), Member, European Parliament, Committee on Development

[Brando Benifei](#), Member, European Parliament, Committee on Employment and Social Affairs

[Inge Bernaerts](#), Head of Cabinet, European Commission, Cabinet of EU Commissioner Marianne Thyssen

[Danae Bezantakou](#), Managing Director, Navigator Shipping Consultants & European Young Leader, Greece

[Carl Bildt](#), Prime Minister of Sweden (1991-1994) & Trustee of Friends of Europe, Sweden

[Joachim Bitterlich](#), Diplomatic Advisor to Helmut Kohl (1987-1998) & Trustee of Friends of Europe

[Ulf Björnholm](#), Head, UN Environment, Brussels Office

[Julie Bolle](#), Director of Business Administration, Friends of Europe

[Sixtine Bouygues](#), Deputy Director-General, European Commission, Directorate-General for Communication

[Elmar Brok](#), Member, European Parliament, Committee on Foreign Affairs & Trustee of Friends of Europe

[Iryna Brunova-Kalisetska](#), Executive Director, Integration and Development Center for Information and Research, Ukraine

[John Bruton](#), Taoiseach of Ireland (1994-1997); Head of the European Commission Delegation to the US (2004-2009) & Trustee of Friends of Europe

[Jacques Bughin](#), Senior Partner, McKinsey & Company & Director, McKinsey Global Institute (MGI)

[Malcolm Byrne](#), Head of Communications, Higher Education Authority & European Young Leader, Ireland

[Vasco Cal](#), Member, Scottish First Minister's Standing Council on Europe

[Geert Cami](#), Co-Founder & Managing Director, Friends of Europe

[Edoardo Camilli](#), Co-Founder & CEO, Hozint & European Young Leader

[Kumardev Chatterjee](#), Founder & President, European Young Innovators Forum (EYIF)

[Ciara Clancy](#), CEO, Beats Medical & European Young Leader, Ireland

[Jim Clarken](#), CEO, Oxfam Ireland, Ireland

[Stefan Collignon](#), Professor of Political Economy, Sant'Anna School of Advanced Studies, Italy

[Silvia Console Battilana](#), Co-Founder & CEO, Auctionomics & European Young Leader, United States of America

[Anna Maria Corazza Bildt](#), Vice-Chair, European Parliament, Committee on the Internal Market and Consumer Protection

[Daniel J. Costello](#), Ambassador, Mission of Canada to the EU

[Manuel Costescu](#), Romanian Secretary of State for Foreign Investments and Public-Private Partnerships (2016-2017) & European Young Leader, United Kingdom

[Robert Cox](#), Senior Advisor to the European Community Humanitarian Office (1993-1998); European Commission Representative to Turkey (1979-1983) & Trustee of Friends of Europe

[Heaven Crawley](#), Chair in International Migration, Coventry University, Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations (CTPSR), United Kingdom

[Lucinda Creighton](#), Irish Minister of State for European Affairs (2011-2013), Ireland

[Etienne Davignon](#), President, Friends of Europe; Belgian Minister of State & European Commission Vice-President (1981-1985)

[Alexander De Croo](#), Belgian Deputy Prime Minister; Minister of the Digital Agenda & Trustee of Friends of Europe

[Caroline de Gruyter](#), Author and European Affairs Correspondent, NRC Handelsblad, Norway

[Massimo Deandreis](#), General Manager, SRM - Economic Research Center, Italy

[Anna Diamantopoulou](#), President, Diktio Network; Greek Minister of Education and Development (2009-2012); EU Commissioner for Employment and Social Affairs (1999-2004) & Trustee of Friends of Europe, Greece

[Mikolaj Dowgielewicz](#), Representative to the EU institutions and Head of Brussels office, European Investment Bank (EIB); Polish Secretary of State for European Affairs and Economic Policy (2010-2012) & Trustee of Friends of Europe

[Sorin Ducaru](#), Assistant Secretary-General, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Emerging Security Challenges Division (ESCD) & Trustee of Friends of Europe

[Lukasz Dziekonski](#), Member of the Management Board, Marguerite Fund 2020 for Energy, Climate Change and Infrastructure & European Young Leader, Poland

[Christian Ebeke](#), Deputy Resident Representative to the European Union, International Monetary Fund (IMF)

[HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal](#), Chairman, The WANA Institute, Jordan

[Rachael Farrington](#), Founder, Voting Counts, United Kingdom

[Aaron Farrugia](#), Maltese Parliamentary Secretary for Social Dialogue and EU Funds, Ministry of European Affairs and Equality & European Young Leader, Malta

[Mary Fitzgerald](#), Libya Analyst and Award-Winning Journalist & European Young Leader, France

[Knut Fleckenstein](#), Member, European Parliament, Committee on Foreign Affairs

[Enrica Flores d'Arcais](#), Member of the Board & Head of Business Development and Communications, European Cultural Foundation (ECF), The Netherlands

[Monica Frassoni](#), Co-Chair, European Green Party; President, European Alliance to Save Energy (EUASE) & Trustee of Friends of Europe

[Markus Freiburg](#), Founder & Managing Director, Financing Agency for Social Entrepreneurship (FASE) & European Young Leader, Germany

[Carl Benedikt Frey](#), Co-Director, Oxford Martin Programme on Technology and Employment, University of Oxford, Oxford Martin School, United Kingdom

[Nathalie Furrer](#), Director of Programmes and Operations, Friends of Europe

[Alessandro Fusacchia](#), Strategic Advisor, H-FARM; Head of Cabinet to the Italian Minister of Education, Universities and Research (2014-2016) & European Young Leader, Italy

[Ralph Genetzke](#), Head of Mission, International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD)

[Enrico Giovannini](#), Professor of Economic Statistics, University of Rome Tor Vergata; Co-Chair, UN Independent Expert Advisory Group on the Data Revolution for Sustainable Development & Italian Minister of Labour and Social Policies (2013-2014), Italy

[Ana Gomes](#), Vice-Chair, European Parliament, Committee of Inquiry to investigate alleged contraventions and maladministration in the application of Union law in relation to money laundering, tax avoidance and tax evasion & Trustee of Friends of Europe

[Tanja Gönner](#), Chair of the Management Board, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), Germany

[Gie Goris](#), Editor-in-Chief, MO*

[Sylvie Goulard](#), French Minister of the Armed Services (2017), France

[Heather Grabbe](#), Director, Open Society European Policy Institute (OSEPI)

[Alexander V. Grushko](#), Ambassador, Mission of the Russian Federation to NATO

[Ulrike Guérot](#), Founder & Director, European Democracy Lab & Author of “Why Europe must become a republic”, Germany

[Enrique Guerrero Salom](#), Vice-Chair, European Parliament, Committee on Development & Shadow Rapporteur on “Addressing refugee and migrant movements: The role of EU External Action”

[Élisabeth Guigou](#), President, Anna Lindh Foundation & Trustee of Friends of Europe, France

[Serap Güler](#), Secretary of State for Integration, Ministry of Children, Family, Refugees and Integration, North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany

[Jakob Haesler](#), Co-Founder, Project Alloy & European Young Leader, France

[Jérôme Hamilius](#), Director, European Cooperation and Strategy, Council of Europe Development Bank (CEB), France

[Connie Hedegaard](#), Chair, KR Foundation & EU Commissioner for Climate Action (2010-2014), Denmark

[Solveigh Hieronimus](#), Partner, McKinsey & Company, Germany

[Edita Hrdá](#), Managing Director, European External Action Service (EEAS), Directorate for Americas

[Fiona Hyslop](#), Scottish Cabinet Secretary for Culture, Tourism and External Affairs, United Kingdom

[Shada Islam](#), Director of Europe and Geopolitics, Friends of Europe

[Anneli Jäätteenmäki](#), Member, European Parliament, Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Food Safety & Prime Minister of Finland (2003)

[Karel Janeček](#), Founder & Former Chairman of the Board, RSJ; Founder of Democracy 2.1 (D21) & European Young Leader, Czech Republic

[Suela Janina](#), Ambassador, Mission of Albania to the EU

[Daniel Janssen](#), Chairman of the Board of Directors, Solvay (1998-2006); Former Member of the Executive Committee, Trilateral Commission & Trustee of Friends of Europe

[Patrick Janssens](#), Member of the Management Board, Friends of Europe

[German Jeub](#), Director-General, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Germany

[Ylva Johansson](#), Swedish Minister of Employment and Integration, Sweden

[Marc Jorna](#), Head of Unit, Interinstitutional and International Relations, European Commission, Directorate-General for Justice and Consumers

[Lie Junius](#), Director for EU Public Policy and Government Relations, Google

[Kaja Kallas](#), Member, European Parliament, Committee on Industry, Research and Energy & European Young Leader

[Zanda Kalniņa-Lukaševica](#), Latvian Parliamentary State Secretary for EU Affairs, & European Young Leader, Latvia

[Dharmendra Kanani](#), Director of Strategy, Friends of Europe

[Angela Kane](#), Senior Fellow, Vienna Center for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation (VCDNP), Austria

[Constance Kann](#), Director, Institutional Relations and Public Affairs, European Investment Bank (EIB)

[Cezary Paweł Kasprzak](#), Leader, Obywatele RP Movement, Poland

[Julian King](#), EU Commissioner for the Security Union

[Lotte Knudsen](#), Managing Director, Human Rights, Global and Multilateral Issues, European External Action Service (EEAS)

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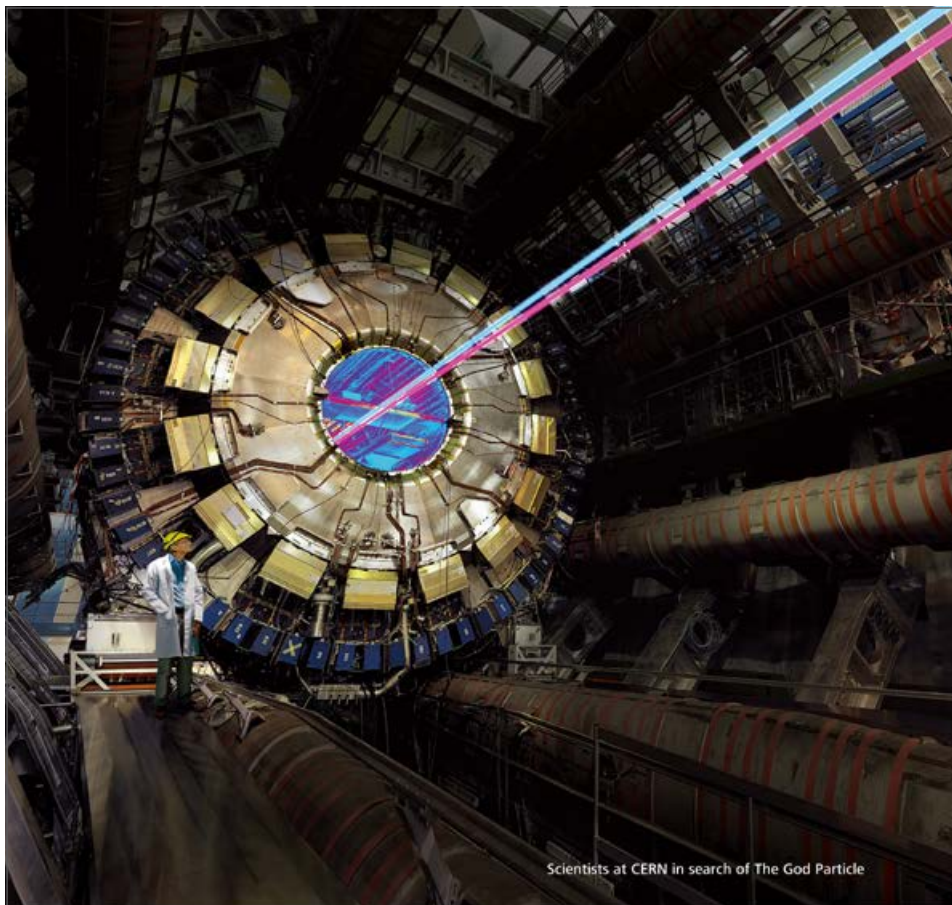
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