EUROPEAN YOUNG LEADERS

DUBLIN SEMINAR
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DUBLIN SEMINAR

Report of the three-day seminar
This report reflects the conference rapporteur’s understanding of the views expressed by participants. These views are not necessarily those of the organisations that participants represent, nor of EuropaNova, Friends of Europe, its Board of Trustees, members or partners.

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Rapporteur: Sebastian Moffett
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The European Young Leaders programme, co-initiated by EuropaNova and Friends of Europe in 2011, is a unique and inventive initiative that aims to promote a European identity by engaging the continent’s most promising talents to contribute to Europe’s leadership through their capacity to bring together and inspire people.

The European Young Leaders embody a promising European leadership from all over the continent and with a wide variety of backgrounds including politics, business, civil society, academia, arts, science and the media. The 2015 class was selected by a jury headed by Enrico Letta, former Italian Prime Minister.

Young Leaders meet in symbolic European capitals, and are joined by decision-makers, stakeholders and key European actors to discuss issues of common concern and develop concrete proposals and recommendations to tackle the challenges faced by Europe, its citizens and businesses. The experience of the last few years has proven that the alumni network created - an exceptional mix of political leaders, business entrepreneurs, and inspirational leaders from the worlds of civil society, media & culture - remains a powerful and tightly-knit group that often works together on specific activities or topics, with lasting impact on the European project. Collectively, they form a unique community that crafts innovative responses to European challenges and positively affects the lives of future generations.
EUROPEAN YOUNG LEADERS
THE CLASS OF 2015-2016

Ana Antunes
Microbiologist, Portugal

Ricardo Baptista Leite
Member of Parliament, Portugal

Hanke Bruins Slot
Member of Parliament, The Netherlands

Jane Burston
Head of the Centre for Carbon Measurement at the National Physical Laboratory, UK

Martin Buxant
Senior Writer at L’echo, Belgium

Victor Capitanu
Managing Director of One United Properties, Romania

Karima Delli
Member of European Parliament, France

Stefania Duico
XBOX Marketing Director at Microsoft Italy, Italy

Lukasz Dziekonski
Member of the Management Board of the Marguerite Fund 2020 for Energy, Climate Change and Infrastructure, Poland

Damien English
Teachta Dála, Minister of State at the Department of Education and Skills, Ireland

Clémentine Forissier
Associate and Co-Founder of Contexte, France

Edvard Glücksman
Senior Environmental and Social Specialist at Wardell Armstrong LLP, Sweden

Jamy Goewie
Director of Ashoka, The Netherlands

María González Veracruz
Member of Parliament, Spain

Oisin Hanrahan
Co-Founder of Handybook, USA

Klen Jäärats
Director for EU Affairs at the Office of the Prime Minister, Estonia

Kalliopi Kalaitzi
Physician, Greece
Riccardo Lattanzi  
Assistant Professor at New York University, Italy

Sândor Léderer  
Co-Founder and CEO of K-Monitor, Hungary

Sander Loones  
Member of the European Parliament, Belgium

Frédéric Mazzella  
CEO and Founder of BlaBlaCar, France

Sandro Mendonça  
Professor at the Lisbon University Institute, Portugal

Michał Olszewski  
Deputy Mayor of the City of Warsaw, Poland

Giovanna Pancheri  
Brussels Correspondent at Sky TG 24, Italy

Michael Printzos  
Program Director at The Hellenic Initiative, Greece

Shazia Saleem  
Founder of ieat foods, UK

Ivan Štefunko  
Managing Partner and Investment Director of Neulogy Ventures, Slovakia

Sonja Stessl  
State Secretary of Administration and Public Service, Austria

Kamilla Sultanova  
Equipment Sales Manager at Maersk Line, Finland

Xenios Thrasyvoulou  
Founder & CEO of PeoplePerHour.com, Cyprus

Krasimira Velichkova  
Executive Director at Bulgarian Donors’ Forum, Bulgaria

Jan Veselý  
Director of Lean Startup CZ, Czech Republic

Boštjan Videmšek  
Journalist and writer at DELO, Slovenia

Andi Wecker  
Producer at Network Movie, Germany

Eberhart Wusterhaus Gomez  
International Business Manager at Schmack Carbotech, Germany
EYL DUBLIN
PARTICIPANTS
ANA ANTUNES
Portugal · Microbiologist

Ana is a microbiologist and formerly a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Institut Pasteur in Paris. After completing her PhD in Microbiology in 2010 at the University of Lisbon, she moved to Siena, Italy, where she was awarded a Marie Curie Fellowship and worked for Novartis Vaccines & Diagnostics. Having also lectured in vaccinology and pharmaceutical clinical development, Ana has published in peer-reviewed journals and spoken at numerous international conferences. Over the course of her academic career, she has received various grants and fellowships, including from the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT). Ana is also co-founder and President of AGRAFr – The Association des Diplômés Portugais en France, which brings together Portuguese expats and French nationals.

RICARDO BAPTISTA LEITE
Portugal · Member of Parliament

Ricardo is best known as a Member of the Portuguese Parliament, for the Social Democratic Party. He is also a medical doctor with specific training in infectious diseases, having studied at Johns Hopkins University and Harvard Medical School, and has an active role on a number of scientific and advisory boards of health-related foundations and organisations – including his role as Head of Public Health at the Catholic University of Portugal. Combining his expert medical knowledge and political career, Riccardo is working towards a PhD in Public Health/Health Management at Maastricht University. Since his election in 2011, the Portuguese-Canadian citizen has expanded his focus beyond health issues and currently serves as Coordinator and Permanent Member of the Foreign Affairs Committee as well as President of the Portugal-Canada Parliamentary Friendship Group.

HANKE BRUINS SLOT
The Netherlands · Member of Parliament

Hanke is a Dutch politician, former military officer and hockey player. Immediately after graduating from university, Hanke joined the Dutch Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations as a Senior Policy Officer. She remained in this position for four years before attending the Dutch Royal Military Academy (KMA) where she undertook officer training, and specialised as an artillery commander. Assigned as a Tank Platoon Commander in 2007, Hanke served in Afghanistan and by 2009 was Acting Field Officer assisting the Director of Operations, Land Forces Commando Staff. In 2010, Hanke was elected to the Dutch House of Representatives where she currently serves as party spokesperson on health and defence issues for the Christian Democratic Appeal party, and also focuses on local government, medical law, psychiatry and sports. Hanke is a keen hockey player and was on the team that won the Rabobank Premier Division national indoor hockey championship in 2005.
JANE BURSTON  
United Kingdom · Head of the Centre for Carbon Measurement at the National Physical Laboratory

Jane Burston has dedicated most her life to climate and environmental issues, serving first as a strategic consultant on low carbon policy to the Mayor of London and is now running a world-class climate science and low carbon technology centre at the UK’s National Measurement Institute. In 2008, she founded Carbon Retirement, an award-winning social enterprise working with the EU ETS. Her dedication to sustainability and entrepreneurial drive was rewarded with being named as one of the ‘Top 30 UK entrepreneurs under 30’ by Real Business in 2010, a ‘Social Entrepreneur of the Year’ by Square Mile in 2011 and one of the ‘Top 10 Outstanding Young Persons of the UK’ by the Chamber of Commerce International in 2015, among others.

MALCOLM BYRNE  
Ireland · Head of Communications at the Irish Higher Education Authority

Malcolm is Head of Communications at the Irish Higher Education Authority, the state agency that advises government on higher education and research and that funds the higher education institutions. He is also a councillor and former mayor for the centrist Fianna Fail party. A former Vice-President of the National Youth Council of Ireland, former Education Officer with the Union of Students in Ireland and a former Executive member of the European Students Union, he also previously worked as commercial manager of myhome.ie, Ireland’s most successful property website and as chief executive of a national children’s organisation. Malcolm is a graduate in law and in arbitration from University College Dublin. He has also completed 20 marathons.

VICTOR CAPITANU  
Romania · Managing Director of One United Properties

Victor is an entrepreneur and investor. He is the founder of Capital Partners, the leading independent investment banking company in Romania, which he continues to co-own with three other bankers. Victor is also the Managing Director of One United Properties, a property developer that focuses on exclusive residential compounds in Bucharest. Since May 2014, he has been a Board Director at SIF Oltenia SA, an investment company listed on the Bucharest Stock Exchange with a net asset value of €350 million. Victor has been the recipient of various awards including Acquisition International’s M&A Award in 2013, Ziarul Financiar’s Excellence Award in 2011 and Business Review’s 2009 Financial Adviser of the Year Award.
CÉDRIC DENIS-REMISS
France · French Dean, ParisTech Shanghai JiaoTong, Vice President of EuropaNova

Cédric is French Dean of ParisTech-Shanghai JiaoTong, an international engineering school located in Shanghai, based on the French model of excellence. Prior to this, he was European Executive Director of China-EU “Institute for Clean and Renewable Energy” (ICARE), the third institute for higher education and research founded in the context of political agreements between the European Union and China. He was previously a researcher and teacher at Chinese universities (Tsinghua and Tongji) and has worked for major companies in both China and Europe (Sanofi, Saint-Gobain and Carrefour) as a consultant and trainer in the fields of management and sustainable development. He also spent four years as a research associate at the Ecole des Mines de Paris.

STEFANIA DUCIO
Italy · XBOX Marketing Director at Microsoft Italy

At Microsoft Italy, Stefania leads on all efforts to increase sales of Microsoft’s interactive entertainment products. Since starting out as a PR specialist in 2000, she has shot up the career ladder joining Microsoft in 2002 as a Marketing Communications Specialist and later becoming a Senior Account Executive at Planners International Group, before returning to Microsoft and taking up her current position. Throughout her time there, Stefania has won 7 different awards for diligence and the many impressive marketing campaigns that she has run. Trained in information technology and business communication, she has a passion for creative writing.

LUKASZ DZIEKONSKI
Poland · Member of the Management Board of the Marguerite Fund 2020 for Energy, Climate Change and Infrastructure

Lukasz is a Senior Manager responsible for European structured finance at the Warsaw-based PKO Bank Polski, where he works on projects related to energy, transport and the environment with budgets ranging from €50 million to €1 billion. He is also a member of the management board for the Marguerite Fund 2020 for Energy, Climate Change and Infrastructure in Luxembourg. There, Lukasz oversees the formulation of financial and operational strategies. He is also on the supervisory board of Pomeranka Development, InvestGas and Energa Operator in Poland, and of PZU Ukraine Insurance Company and Kredobank, also in Ukraine. Lukasz began his career as an adviser in the European Parliament, focusing on energy policy and security as well as EU relations with Russia and Ukraine.
DAMIENT ENGLISH
Ireland · Teachta Dála, Minister of State at the Department of Education and Skills
Damien is Ireland’s Minister for Skills, Research and Innovation for the Fine Gael Parliamentary Party. He was first elected in the 2002 general election at the age of 24, when he was appointed party deputy spokesperson for Arts, Sport and Tourism. In October 2004, he became Deputy Spokesperson for Justice and Community Affairs with special responsibility for Drugs, Alcohol and Crime Prevention. From 2002-2007, Damien was a member of the British-Irish Parliamentary Assembly. He has also served as Fine Gael’s Deputy Spokesperson for Enterprise with special responsibility for Small Business and Labour Affairs from 2007 to 2010, and from 2010 to 2011 was party Deputy Spokesperson for Finance with special responsibility for Banking and Credit.

MARY FITZGERALD
Ireland · Libya analyst, Irish Independent foreign affairs correspondent
Mary Fitzgerald is a journalist and analyst specialising in the Euro-Mediterranean region with a particular focus on Libya. She has reported from Libya since 2011 and lived there throughout 2014. Her work has appeared in publications including the Economist, Foreign Policy, the New Yorker, the Washington Post, the Financial Times and the Guardian. She has conducted research on Libya for the European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR) and the European Institute of the Mediterranean (IEMED) among others. She is a contributing author to an edited volume on the Libyan revolution and its aftermath published in 2015 by Hurst/Oxford University Press. In her previous role as Irish Times foreign affairs correspondent, she reported from 40 countries across the Middle East, Africa, Asia and Europe.

CLÉMENTINE FORISSIER
France · Associate and Co-Founder of Contexte
Clémentine is a journalist who has gone from freelance reporting on the radio and in magazines to later becoming Chief Editor at EurActiv, France. She is now Chief Editor of Contexte, an online newspaper that focuses on French and European public policy which she co-founded in 2013. She is also Vice-President of Europresse, the association of French journalists who cover European affairs, and AJDE, an association for journalists who specifically report on energy issues. Educated in Paris and Brussels, Clémentine is a published author and was previously in charge of opening the Brussels office of the Robert Schuman Foundation.
EDVARD GLÜCKSMAN  
**Sweden · Senior Environmental and Social Specialist at Wardell Armstrong LLP**

Edvard was until recently a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Environment & Sustainability Institute of the University of Exeter, and has been the recipient of numerous scholarly awards. He is a member and coordinator of the Emerging Leaders in Environmental and Energy Policy network (ELEEP) and Associate Editor of the peer-reviewed journal Mine Water and the Environment. Formerly an adviser at the UK Parliamentary Office of Science & Technology, Edvard has held postdoctoral positions at the European Geosciences Union and the University of Duisburg-Essen. Currently, his research focuses on water-based challenges to the mining industry. He was educated in Belgium, Canada and Scotland before attending the University of Oxford where he gained a Master’s degree and a doctorate in Zoology.

JAMY GOEWIE  
**The Netherlands · Director of Ashoka**

Jamy supports young entrepreneurs as a member of the European Leadership Platform’s advisory board, and as the Country Director of Ashoka, the worldwide network of social entrepreneurs. She is also a board member of the Child at Venture Foundation, which she founded in 2005 and where she acted as Executive Director for over seven years, and established an office in the Philippines in 2010, where she remains chairperson of the Youth at Venture Foundation. She is also a board member of the Children of Bulgaria Foundation, which supports Bulgarian orphanages through food and educational programmes. She has a Master’s degree in Geography and another in Pedagogical Studies as well as a Bachelor’s in Policy, Strategy and Management for Non-Profit.

JAKOB HAESLER  
**Germany · Co-Founder of Project Alloy**

Before founding Project Alloy, Jakob was CEO and Co-Founder of Tinyclues SAS, a highly successful Paris-based Big Data start-up. He was previously a partner and consultant at McKinsey & Company in Germany and France where he worked on topics ranging from Banking to Public Sector Reform to Global Public Health issues, notably the creation and distribution of child HIV treatments. Prior to McKinsey he briefly worked at the World Bank. He holds a Master’s in Public Administration from Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government and a Bachelor of Science from the University of St. Gallen. Jakob is also a founding partner of the “Cercle du leadership”.
KLEN JÄÄRATS  
Estonia · Director for EU Affairs at the Office of the Prime Minister

As Director of the EU Secretariat in the Estonian government, Jäärats coordinates and develops all EU policy and acts as the chief European affairs adviser to the Prime Minister. A career civil servant, Jäärats started out in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, rising quickly to the position of Head of the Refugees Department. In this capacity, he dealt with a variety of NGOs and international organisations including the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). He later moved to Brussels where he spent six years working at the Estonian Permanent Representation to the EU during which time he dealt with many issues related to the preparation, ratification and implementation of the Treaty of Lisbon.

KALLIOPI KALAITZI  
Greece · Physician

“Popi” currently lives in Germany where she works as a doctor of physical medicine and rehabilitation. She aspires to become an expert in the field of anti-aging and age management medicine. Since the start of her university studies, Popi has worked and volunteered in a variety of NGOs to do with youth health and drug abuse. She later organised a special youth department in her local council when she served as the then youngest prefecture councillor ever to have been elected in Greece. She also held a variety of executive positions at the drug prevention centre, Serios, the Greek National Youth Council and the Cultural Union of Thessaloniki. Popi later spent four years as the Regional Commissioner of Lagkadas and is to this day the youngest person to have ever held the position.

SONY KAPOOR  
United Kingdom · Managing Director of Re-Define

Sony is the Director of the international think tank Re-Define. He is an influential economist, financial sector expert and development practitioner. Sony advises the EU, central banks, large investors, governments, regulators and multilateral institutions on economic, fiscal, investment and financial policy. He has a multidisciplinary role at the London School of Economics as Strategy Adviser to the Systemic Risk Centre and Senior Visiting Fellow in Development and Public Policy. He is also a special adviser to the UNEP on green finance. Before Re-Define, Sony worked for ICICI, India’s largest investment bank. Sony co-founded the International Tax Justice Network, Europeans for Financial Reform and Finance Watch, and launched the inter-governmental Illicit Finance Task Force.
**RICCARDO LATTANZI**  
*Italy · Assistant Professor at New York University*

Riccardo is a biomedical scientist who develops technology to improve the diagnostic power of Magnetic Resonance Imaging (MRI). Riccardo achieved his PhD in Medical and Electrical Engineering from Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in 2008. An Assistant Professor of Radiology, Electrical and Computer Engineering, he is also a course director and research supervisor at New York University, and has written numerous conference papers, book chapters and peer-reviewed journal articles. Riccardo holds the patents for the apparatus, method and computer-accessible medium for a high resolution magnetic resonance imager, and dipole array arrangement. For his scientific research, he has won the prestigious I.I. Rabi Young Investigator Award of the International Society for Magnetic Resonance in Medicine and an NSF CAREER Award.

**SÁNDOR LÉDERER**  
*Hungary · Co-Founder and CEO of K-Monitor*

Sándor is the Co-Founder and CEO of K-Monitor, a non-profit public funds watchdog based in Bucharest. The NGO was founded to increase efforts to improve the current levels of democracy and the rule of law nationally. It does this by raising the awareness of corruption thereby increasing transparency in the Hungarian political system. K-Monitor operates open data websites, conducts research and advocates for legal reform. In 2012 K-Monitor developed a website called the Network, a database and an interactive map on political and economic elite networks, public procurements, farm subsidies and EU funding. Sándor holds an MA in International Studies from Corvinus University, Budapest.

**ANDRÉ LOESEKRUG-PIETRI**  
*Germany · Founder and Managing Partner, A CAPITAL, China*

André is the CEO and Founding Managing Partner of A CAPITAL, the first private equity group focused on Chinese outbound investments. Previously, André was Executive Assistant to the CEO of Aerospatiale-Airbus and co-founded CEL Partners, a growth fund dedicated to China that focused on cleantech and healthcare. He is a graduate of the HEC School of Management, of the International MBA Program at the Michigan Business School in Ann Arbor, Michigan. He is also a visiting lecturer in Finance at Renmin University in Beijing and Chairman of the PE and Strategic M&A Working Group of the European Chamber in China.
Sander is a Belgian MEP and member of the European Conservatives and Reformists Group, and is Vice President of Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie (The New Flemish Alliance). In the parliament, Sander is Vice Chair of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs, and a member of Delegation for relations with the countries of Southeast Asia and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Sander has previously worked for the Belgian Ministry of Interior Affairs in the migration office, and as a scientific researcher at the Law faculty of Catholic University Leuven, where he had earned his Masters degree in Law.

Sandro’s work has focused on the economics of innovation and industrial strategies. He is a Fellow of the German Marshall Fund of the United States and was a Visiting Fellow at King’s College London in 2012. He is a member of the Executive Committee of OberCom (Observatory of Communication) and is on the Management Committee of the European Network for Conflict Research. He has published in major international journals and been cited in various academic and reference manuals. Sandro’s research has been used by various international organisations, including the United Nations, the European Commission and the US Senate. Sandro has a degree in Economics, a Master’s in Science & Technology Policy and a PhD from the University of Sussex with a thesis in economic history.

Currently Deputy Mayor of Warsaw, Michał has spent the entirety of his professional life in public service. He was already working as a senior expert in the Office of the Committee for European Integration while studying International Relations at Warsaw University. Michał rapidly rose to become Head of the EU Funds Department for the City of Warsaw in 2007, and simultaneously became Chairman of the European Policy Commission in the Association of Polish Cities, a position he remains in to this day. Tirelessly devoted to improving the city of Warsaw, Michał sits on six municipal councils and associations including the Warsaw Innovation Council and Labour Market Council, both of which he chairs.
**GIOVANNA PANCHERI**  
*Italy · Brussels Correspondent at Sky TG 24*

Since 2009 Giovanna has been the Brussels Bureau Chief Correspondent for Belgium, France and Germany at SKY TG24, where she was previously a reporter and special correspondent covering the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Her work has covered interviews with the US President Obama, President of the European Commission Jean-Claude Juncker, former US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, former ECB President Jean-Claude Trichet, President of the European Parliament Martin Schulz, and French President FranÁois Hollande. She has obtained two Master’s degrees, the first in Political Science and International Relations at the Sapienza University of Rome, and the second in European Studies at the College of Europe in Bruges. She has authored numerous academic publications on Italian and international politics.

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**Michael PRINTZOS**  
*Greece · Program Director at The Hellenic Initiative*

Michael is Program Director at The Hellenic Initiative, a global, non-profit, secular institution aiming to mobilise support and investment for sustainable economic renewal in Greece. He is also a Committee Member at the American Hellenic Chamber of Commerce, dedicated to achieving Greek competitiveness through properly informing and adequately motivating business employees. Michael is the co-owner of Green Systems, an engineering procurement and construction company in Athens, and Brainomix, a start-up company that develops medical imaging software to assess the eligibility of acute stroke patients for life saving treatment. He completed his secondary education in Greece before attending the University of Oxford where he gained a degree in mechanical engineering.

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**IVAN STEFUNKO**  
*Slovakia · Managing Partner and Investment Director of Neulogy Ventures*

Ivan has been Managing Partner and Investment Director at Neulogy Ventures since 2013, where he was previously Chairman. He has impressive experience in building companies from scratch and is the co-founder of Diagnose.me, MONOGRAM Technologies, Pelican Travel and the Startup Awards, all of which are based in Bratislava. Ivan was nominated as a member of the New Europe 100 project, a list of outstanding leaders from Central and Eastern Europe and for Manager of the Year 2014 by TREND. Educated in Slovakia and France, he previously worked for EurActiv in Brussels before returning to his native Slovakia in 2010.
KAMILLA SULTANOVA
Finland · Equipment Sales Manager at Maersk Line

Kamilla has had a very successful professional career in corporate sales, having worked for a number of large companies in Scandinavia. From a young age Kamilla was a high-achiever and in 1999 was awarded a full scholarship from the American Councils for International Education to attend a high school in Texas, USA as part of the "Future Leader Exchange". One of Kamilla’s achievements has been her work on gender equality. She regularly makes media appearances and writes on this topic and in 2013 was elected to represent Denmark as part of the European Women’s Lobby in Brussels. In this role Kamilla lobbied heavily for the increased participation of women and ethnic minorities in European politics.

XENIOS THRASYVOULOU
Cyprus · Founder & CEO of PeoplePerHour.com

PeoplePerHour.com is the UK’s largest freelance marketplace for digital work. As Founder and CEO, Xenios is in charge of the overall operation of the company as well as its latest innovation, SuperTasker.com, which outsources small tasks efficiently to a pool of curated experts. With offices in Europe and the United States, the company is truly making a dent in one of the world’s fastest growing markets. Xenios has been interviewed by and featured in a number of magazines and newspapers including The Financial Times, Business Insider and Bloomberg. An avid blogger, he is a regular contributor to such media outlets as the Huffington Post, Forbes and Wired Magazine. He is also a professional painter and obtained undergraduate and postgraduate degrees from the University of Cambridge.

DIMITRIS TSIGOS
Greece · President of the European Confederation of Young Entrepreneurs (YES)

Dimitris is Founder and CEO of StartTech Ventures, a seed fund, incubator and business angel network for the ICT sector. The Group was the first Greek Seed Fund member of the European Business Angels Network (EBAN) and has helped launch more than ten successful IT start-ups. From 2011 to 2014, Dimitris was President of the Hellenic Start-up Association, a collective effort of Greek start-up entrepreneurs promoting high-growth and innovative entrepreneurship in Greece. He is currently President of YES - the European Confederation of Young Entrepreneurs, which is the leading organisation of youth entrepreneurship in Europe. He holds an MBA from the Athens University of Economics and Business and a BSc in Computer Science from the University of Crete.
KRASIMIRA VELICHKOVA -
Bulgaria · Executive Director at Bulgarian Donors' Forum

Krasimira has been the Director of the Bulgarian Donors' Forum since 2007 - the only association of foundations and corporate donors in Bulgaria. The Forum has a leading role in the development of philanthropy and civil society in the country by advocating for a better legal and fiscal environment, advising corporate and individual donors, developing fundraising platforms, supporting NGOs to partner with donors, and working with the media to change public opinion towards philanthropy and volunteerism in society. Prior to this she was a development officer in "Altera Cultural" association and grants manager of the "Workshop for Civic Initiatives" foundation. Krasimira is experienced in organisational development strategies, fundraising for social and cultural projects, as well as developing and implementing social and cultural policies. Krasimira is a vice-chair of the steering committee of DAFNE (Donors' Associations and Foundations Networks in Europe).

WOUTER VERSCHELDEN -
Belgium · Founder & Publisher at NewsMonkey

Wouter is a journalist and entrepreneur, who founded Newsmonkey.be, a social media tailor-made news website, partly funded by a successful crowd-funding action. In 2013, he made a documentary and book about the future of the news business: Stop The Presses: the Golden Age of Journalism starts now. The documentary was partly based on his experience as the editor-in-chief of De Morgen that he managed for over 2 years. Before that, he worked at De Standaard, as a political journalist, and won several Belfius-press prizes. During that period he acquired his passion for politics and the inner workings of the system, which resulted in a fiction series about Belgian politics that he co-wrote for television and that will air in Belgium. He holds an MA in Political Journalism from the Columbia School of Journalism in New York. He also has a Master in Business from the Vlerick Management School in Ghent and a Masters in Politics at Ghent University and Université de Bretagne Occidentale.

JAN VESELY -
Czech Republic · Director of Lean Startup CZ

Jan specialises in helping start-up entrepreneurs take their first steps. He is the Director of Lean Startup CZ, a Prague-based business that aims to assist new companies in achieving financial stability, efficiency and longevity. The initiative features an accelerator programme for non-profit and social businesses and a 10-city roadshow promoting entrepreneurship, networking and workshops. In addition, Jan owns Struct s.r.o., a business development consultancy that helps businesses to monitor, upgrade and exchange the services they use as they grow. Jan is also passionate about innovation in education which led him to found EduFórum, a network designed to promote action in this area. He has been Director of EduFórum since its creation in 2012.
**BOŠTJAN VIDEMŠEK**  
**Slovenia · Journalist and writer at DELO**

Bostjan is a journalist, author and playwright. He is currently a foreign correspondent with Slovenia’s largest daily newspaper, DELO. He has also written for major international media outlets including The New York Times, BBC World and the Atlantic Post. An experienced war reporter, Bostjan has covered major events ranging from conflicts in Afghanistan and the Democratic Republic of Congo to natural disasters in Southeast Asia. He has so far published three books including 21st Century Conflicts: Remnants of War(s) in 2012, which was a national best-seller in his native Slovenia and was also published in the US. He has two ongoing projects: a book to be published in 2016 on immigrants and refugees, and his first stage play to be shown later this year.

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**ANDI WECKER**  
**Germany · Producer at Network Movie**

After working in various jobs including as a camera assistant, electrician and assistant director in film and television, Andi joined the film production company Network Movie in 2002 as a producer. Projects then included the first series of the international co-production "The Team" for which Andi was Creative Producer; several series of the crime drama, "Soko Köln" (PD Cologne), several TV-movies including an adaptation of Frank Schätzing’s bestseller, "Die Dunkle Seite" (The Dark Side). While fulfilling these responsibilities, he studied directing at the Academy of Media Arts in Cologne and wrote and directed several short films and commercials.

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**Eberhart Wusterhaus Gomez**  
**Germany · International Business Manager at Schmack Carbotech**

Eberhart is an engineer specialising in energy generation for heating, power and vehicle fuel from both conventional and sustainable sources. He also has expert knowledge of the feasibility of the development and practical application of energy generation based on local conditions. Born in Mexico and educated in Germany, Eberhart has a vital understanding of industrialised and developing countries alike. He has been responsible for national renewable gas projects in Germany, and for the mechanical design and commissioning of gas processing plants in developing countries. He has a strong understanding of the global energy market, current obstacles and future perspectives, with experience of various multi-million euro investment contract negotiations around the world.
EYL DUBLIN SEMINAR
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY & HIGHLIGHTS

EU NEEDS DECISIVE ACTION ON REFUGEES, INNOVATION, CLIMATE CHANGE, SAY EUROPEAN YOUNG LEADERS

The European Young Leaders meeting in Dublin in September 2015 addressed the multiple and complex domestic and international challenges facing Europe, including the massive arrival of refugees, increased terrorism threats and the danger of a rise in the radicalisation of its young Muslim population. Serious and urgent domestic tasks facing the European Union include the thrashing out of an efficient and effective “digital agenda”, combating climate change and dealing with questions such as British referendum on EU membership were also discussed.

Europe stands at a crossroads. It can either allow these challenges – and others - that threaten its prosperity, security and social cohesion to diminish Europe’s relevance and credibility, pushing the continent into a long decline. Or Europe and Europeans can use the current crises to revitalise and renew their domestic agenda and rethink their place in the world. The Young Leaders clearly believed that Europe should opt for the latter course and made many suggestions for giving the “old continent” a new lease of life. The message was simple: to revive the European project, Europeans need to start thinking and feeling like Europeans again.

Take the refugee crisis which has put an array of European values and qualities on display, not all of them
favourable. It is time for Europe to take a more rational and intelligent view of the situation, especially since, if handled correctly, the arrival of ambitious, hardworking people could add dynamism to Europe, as has been the case for the United States.

In fact, some individual Europeans and governments have been moved by images of suffering to offer aid and shelter to families trying to escape war and poverty. But others are afraid of immigrants, even though the refugee numbers are small compared with the population of the EU. As a result, barbed wire fences have been erected at national frontiers, while a series of emergency EU summits has resulted in disagreement and finger-pointing.

Short-term needs such as food, shelter and medical supplies are a priority, and humanitarian corridors could also ease refugees’ passage away from danger. However, the EU also needs to come up with a more coherent asylum policy and a better burden-sharing mechanism to deal with the emergency. In the longer term, the crisis also highlights the need to understand better why some young Europeans have left to join ISIS. Part of the attraction comes from the group’s cunning social media campaigns, which paint a false picture of life under areas it occupies in Syria and Iraq. But the actions of these young people also raise questions about European society and the hostility it seems to have bred in a small minority of its population. These issues require intense reflection and the implementation of more effective policies to integrate young Europeans of Muslim descent.

The EU also needs to take a closer look at its southern neighbourhood and work harder to bring peace to a region mired in war and conflict as well as immense economic difficulties. This has implications for European foreign and security policy.
At home, following a crippling economic crisis which has impacted many societies across Europe, the focus must be on eliminating social inequalities, including through better taxation policies. The problem is that favourable tax regimes are also used to attract multinationals, sparking criticism that countries such as Ireland and Luxembourg are engaged in unfair competition for investment. Some EU-level policymakers would like the EU to adopt common tax arrangements, or at least more coherent ones. However, tax is a national competence, and the current anti-EU mood in many member countries makes such moves unlikely.

European cohesion has a better reputation in environmental policy. The EU has led a significant reduction in greenhouse gases, although its flagship Emissions Trading System has been flawed in execution. It is important for Europe to lead and encourage others to act, including at the COP21 conference in Paris. Additionally, since many of the actions that can reduce emissions take place at local and regional level, Europeans should encourage the linking up of these forums and initiatives. Also, people working in environment-related fields need to reach out to others whose work also has an impact, such as those running health and finance policy. There should be an end to silo-thinking and isolated actions.

Europe has a good historical record in pure science, but must work harder to ensure that it does not lag behind others in technology and innovation. Particularly galling has been U.S. tech firms’ supremacy in the digital world, first in the PC era and now in search and social media. One way to change this is to increase R&D spending, which at less than 2% of GDP is far below the U.S. and the big Asian economies. Other questions that need to be tackled urgently are heavy regulation and charges, and the lack of single markets for energy and IT-related
products. Europeans need to think strategically on whether they need a 21st Century industrial policy. The focus should be on the bigger picture, less fear of risk-taking and lower resistance to new concepts and initiatives. European governments should think about providing the kind of frameworks in which digital entrepreneurs can thrive.

Europe’s cultural and linguistic diversity can be an asset rather than a weakness when it comes to promoting European cultural products on the global stage. It is often said that Europe’s diverse languages can be a disadvantage in a world dominated by English. As a result, film and TV producers in large countries such as Germany and France tend to focus on their domestic markets. By contrast, Denmark has been a surprise success in recent years, selling dramas overseas and developing a distinctive Danish brand. More creative efforts are therefore needed to turn diversity into a sellable product. And Europeans should be more active in exporting and selling their films and other cultural products outside their countries. What are really needed are stories that travel well and have universal appeal. Europe’s cultural sector needs to streamline questions like working hours and legal systems and ensure a new and better regulatory environment. In addition, public funding must not come with strings attached. Better distribution networks are crucial as well.

Present-day Europe appears to be struggling to withstand centrifugal forces. In recent years, the Greek debt crisis has threatened to break up the euro zone and underlined the north-south economic gap. In the near future, the UK might leave the EU after a referendum.

To tackle the challenge of Europe’s many divides and counter rising populism, the focus must switch from nation states to other actors which are getting stronger,
such as regions, cities and NGOs. This could be a way to preserve European diversity while also pushing forward with the European project.

It is important to highlight that despite the low participation in the 2014 European Parliamentary elections, voters were invited to choose their candidate for President of the European Commission. This illustrates that European democracy is moving forward and the succession of crises has led to a deeper understanding of the EU in some countries, a phenomenon which may help to create more “mature Europeans”. Even the British referendum on EU membership could be the trigger for Britons to become more aware about the EU and what it does. Engaging British citizens on Europe would help inform the British public and empower them to make a positive decision about their relationship with the EU.

Europe can still reconnect with citizens and tackle many of its other domestic and global challenges. But, time is short and decisive policies and actions are urgently required.
INTRODUCTION

“There is no alternative but to work together and address common challenges together.”

Geert Cami, Co-Founder and Director of Friends of Europe

Economic growth in Europe is slow, conflicts are raging close to the EU’s external borders and social problems are gnawing at communities. But European politicians have discovered a convenient reflex as the continent struggles with this unprecedented array of challenges. When real solutions are not easily found, it’s much easier to blame the EU itself.

“This morning, a news report on yesterday evening’s summit referred to ‘Europe’ like an anonymous bureaucracy – when decisions are taken by member states,” said Geert Cami, Co-Founder and Director of Friends of Europe, speaking after EU leaders’ informal meeting on 23 September to discuss the refugee crisis. As a result of endless "Brussels-bashing", he said, "for the first time in history, the irreversibility of the EU project is not guaranteed."

The dangers for the EU are underlined by forces weakening the European unity that existed just 10 years ago, from the Greek debt crisis to the UK’s upcoming referendum on EU membership. The rise in populist politics across Europe was reflected in the results of the 2014 European Parliamentary elections, and indicates widespread misunderstanding about Europe’s place in the world and the way European countries function.

“There is no alternative but to work together and address common challenges together,” said Cami. “One of the EU’s founding fathers Paul-Henri Spaak said that Europe consists of two types of countries: Small countries and countries that have not yet realised that they are small.”
Europe’s inability to respond effectively to the refugee crisis also shows a malign lack of imagination and leadership from national governments. The current humanitarian disaster is tragic, but the fears of many European citizens of mass immigration are genuine. Handled correctly, the arrival of ambitious, hardworking people could add dynamism to Europe, as has been the case for the United States. “There is a positive side to the migration,” said Carim. “Look at our demographic evolution, with the population and labour force declining. If we want to sustain our welfare systems, we will need immigrants.”

Ageing is just one of four major challenges identified by Ireland’s former Prime Minister John Bruton, and it leads directly into another: risk aversion. Older people tend to be more fearful, a trait that helps the agenda of terrorists. “The goal is publicity and that plays into the fearfulness of our society,” said Bruton, who is also a Trustee of Friends of Europe. “The risk of being killed by a terrorist is miniscule compared with the risks from drinking or driving too fast.”

Younger people are more inclined to take the kind of risks Europe needs to launch new industries. “Older people worry about what they might lose, so ageing will have adverse effects on our capacity to innovate,” he said. “But people are going to have to go on taking risks long after they would have retired in previous generations.”

Europe is overly dependent on 20th century technologies, such as its automotive industry; this is not only true of the homes of the major brands like France, Germany and Italy, but also surrounding countries that act as suppliers. While the Volkswagen crisis raises doubts over the future of diesel engines, new companies are entering the sector, including Apple, Google and Tesla. “Motor cars are a mature technology,” said Bruton. “What are we going to replace it with?”
The fourth challenge Bruton identified is that alluded to by Spaak. Many Europeans have not yet adjusted to their relative size in world, which is diminishing. “We are only 500m people. Compare that with the population of countries like India,” he said. “But we still think that we can more or less dictate the agenda. Or we think we can leave the European Union altogether.”

Britain’s EU referendum is particularly strange considering what the UK stands to gain from the EU in future. The UK’s strengths in financial and other business services mean that completion of the single market for services would add 7% to the British economy, compared to 2% for the rest of EU, according to Bruton. But this needs more EU-wide regulation. Though the British demands for repatriation of powers have not yet been made clear, one idea appears to be a “red card” system, whereby national parliaments could veto new EU regulations. Such a system could work directly against the UK’s own interests, Bruton said.

The decision to hold this referendum came about because British political leaders had lost confidence in themselves, Bruton said. “They decided: ‘We can’t make these decisions because they’re too hard, so you decide.’ This is a negation of parliamentary democracy and of political responsibility. If every country started to do this, the EU would not last more than another two years.”

To revive the European project, we need to start thinking and feeling like Europeans again. People need to be encouraged to turn out to vote in the European elections and to treat the EU as more than something to blame for the 21st century’s problems. “The European Union is a habit of thought,” said Bruton. “The institutions are only the instruments for our habit of thinking like a European, and the habit of mind that could easily be lost. The EU will not be here in 40 years unless there is a European patriotism.”
The gunman who killed four people at the Jewish Museum of Belgium in May 2014 was a Frenchman of Algerian origin who appeared to have spent a year in Syria working with the so-called Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS). Such decisions by young European individuals raise troubling questions about European society and the hostility it seems to have bred in a small minority of its population. The phenomenon also presents a new security risk with no obvious solutions.

“Thousands of people from round the world flock to join ISIS,” said Mary Fitzgerald, a Libya analyst and foreign affairs correspondent for the Irish Independent. “What motivates a 25 year old European to go and join something like ISIS? What happens when these young men and women return to Europe? This is a challenge that confers a responsibility on Europe and on Europe’s neighbours.”

The first step, according to Housam Najjair, author of the book Soldier for a Summer about the civil war in Libya, is exposure to propaganda videos. ISIS creates many of these videos to give a glamorous image of its violence and the Islamic state it claims to have established. “ISIS have become master manipulators of the media and of Islam,” said Najjair. “They make high-quality productions, the kind of thing that Hollywood produces to recruit marines. Young people watch these productions, and some are radicalised here in Europe.”
The next step is the arrival of a new radical in Syria. For young Europeans, the ongoing civil war is a nightmare of chaos and violence unlike anything they have experienced. Fright pushes them towards an organisation claiming to offer some kind of safety. “When you arrive in Syria, it is like a horror movie,” he said. “You are scared and vulnerable and unarmed and you have nothing. ISIS offers camaraderie, a weapon and protection. They take in these young men and offer them a place.”

But that could eventually turn out to be the group’s undoing said Riccardo Lattanzi, Assistant Professor at New York University. “Some experts say that is what could kill ISIS in the long term, because once you are a

“Some experts say that becoming a state is what could kill ISIS, because you have to provide for people’s families and you can be hit in the economy”

Riccardo Lattanzi, Assistant Professor at New York University
state you have to provide for people’s families and you can be hit in the economy,” he said. “That may be the weak point.”

ISIS has been particularly successful because it has learned from the failures of other terrorist groups in the Middle East including Al-Qæda, said Bostjan Videmsek, a journalist and writer at DELO. They operate in the black market for oil and produce narcotics that are sold in Europe. This helps them finance some of the public services associated with states, as well as the propaganda seen internationally. “They have organised life and attacked social injustice,” he said. “They are using all the possible modern tools at their disposal.”
The addition to violence of propaganda and other techniques is called hybrid warfare, and it should be treated as such, said Hanke Bruins Slot, a Member of the Dutch Parliament and former military officer. “ISIS glorifies terrorist violence through Youtube and Facebook,” she said. “That has to be a criminal charge. ISIS is superb with hybrid warfare and it’s unprecedented. It’s so big a difference, and we have to unite forces against it.”

There also needs to be greater awareness in schools, she said. “The teachers always say afterwards, ‘I saw his clothes, his friends and his Facebook posts changing.’ We need to reach out to those youths early on.”

Dealing with radicals who return to Europe – such as the killer at the Jewish Museum in Brussels – poses several problems. “If potential defectors believe they will be harassed, they will be put off from defecting,” said Fitzgerald. “Where is the balance there?”

Bruins Slot said that security concerns mean that they might have to be imprisoned until they have been rehabilitated and can be safely reintegrated. “It is
Radicalisation raises a number of doubts about European societies. First, the scale and style of media coverage on ISIS might play a direct role in recruitment. “Maybe we talk too much about terrorism,” said Kalliopi Kalaitze, a physician. “I deal every day with the dead. There are other reasons for death, but we don’t talk about pandemics. With ISIS, we create fear and maybe we make it attractive for young people because young people are attracted to things that are illegal.”

The social background of young European radicals is also a concern, as they tend to come from immigrant communities and feel estranged from society. “Some people from our communities probably already felt like refugees or foreigners and were inspired to leave,” said Krasimira Velichkova, Executive Director at the Bulgarian Donors’ Forum. “These seeds need soil to grow in. Did we fail in solidarity in our societies? What can we do in order to stop young people from believing

“Did we fail in solidarity in our societies? What can we do in order to stop young people from believing that they will have a brighter future with ISIS?”

Krasimira Velichkova, Executive Director at the Bulgarian Donors’ Forum
“Young Muslims do feel excluded”

Kamilla Sultanova, Equipment Sales Manager at Maersk Line

Denmark has developed a mentoring model for immigrant communities that involves mentoring parents as well as young people. “Young Muslims do feel excluded,” said Kamilla Sultanova, Equipment Sales Manager at Maersk Line. “There is racism here and they cannot get a job. So we suggested a model for parent mentoring, so that they can learn to bring up their children in a new European environment.”

Whatever has gone wrong in European societies, the real problem is bad governance in many countries in the Middle East, said Najjair. “The Arab Spring was about people in certain countries dealing with their oppressive regimes,” he said. “In Libya, people did not have the bare necessities. But the dictators were adamant about staying in power, and they are the root cause.”

The long-term solution is to help establish better states in Europe’s neighbourhood, so people are provided with their basic needs and freedoms. “You need 25 years for nation building,” said Bruins Slot. “The Dutch left Afghanistan in 2010, and now there are roads, which makes it harder to hide bombs. There is electricity, so more people are at work, which means fewer people wanting to join the Taliban.”
“Imagine you are living in Prague with your family, and you are bombarded with media reports and images of young men who resemble terrorists. You are scared.”

Jan Veselý, Director of Lean Startup CZ

A growing number of people in areas occupied by ISIS have decided to escape. But despite their hopes for a better and safer life in Europe, many have died trying to cross the Mediterranean, and those who have traversed the Sea have then been confronted by barbed-wire fences at national frontiers. “The catchphrase ‘Fortress Europe’ has become a reality in ways which were unthinkable two years ago,” said Fitzgerald.

Urgent action is needed in the short term and cannot follow a schedule for EU summits, said Videmsek. “All the debate in Europe is, in my opinion, going absolutely in the wrong direction,” he said. “There has to be a humanitarian corridor immediately. Two months is a long period. Two months means starvation. Two months means tragedy.”

Two open humanitarian corridors are needed, he said – one from Libya and one through the Balkans. A range of actors should decide this immediately: national governments, NGOs and EU institutions. Despite popular opposition to such a measure, corridors already exist – makeshift camps and soup kitchens, some run by volunteers and some by people who charge for their services. “It’s opportunistic humanitarianism,” he said. “People are getting €20 to help people. It is becoming a new job, a business opportunity.”

Politicians’ reluctance to act is rooted partly in popular fears of migration that have been generated by media coverage. These have even been prompting people to buy guns to protect themselves, said Jan Veselý,
Director of Lean Startup CZ. “Imagine you are living in Prague with your family, and you are bombarded with media reports and images of young men who resemble terrorists,” he said. “You are scared.”

But the crisis has also shown a more generous side to Europeans, some of whom have been moved to help families trying to escape war and poverty. “I don’t agree with the term ‘Fortress Europe’,” said Michael Printzos, Program Director at The Hellenic Initiative. “I am from a country that has been accepting thousands of refugees every day. There are people on the ground who are actually providing solutions.”
“In Holland, there are people who want to help, to open up their houses, but the system discourages them.”

Jamy Goewie, Director of Ashoka

But unfortunately, refugees cannot always reach the people who want to help them. “In Holland, there are people who want to help, to open up their houses,” said Jamy Goewie, Director of Ashoka. “But the system discourages them, and people see this as a huge problem. The crisis is really with the politicians.”

Even where short-term help exists, there is often no plan for assimilating refugees into the countries they have arrived in. “My organisation feeds people for six months, giving them humanitarian aid such as medical supplies,” said Velichkova. “What we lack and what we need immediately are systems of integration for these people.”

Some governments have been cowed by the rising threat of populist movements, which see growing
Muslim populations as a problem. Hungary has acquired a bad name during the crisis because of its border fences and police presence, as well as the intolerant rhetoric from Prime Minister Viktor Orbán. But part of the reason lies in political tactics, as the current government is trying to head off a far-right party. In fact, some Hungarians have displayed the same kindness as elsewhere in Europe.

“Hungary and its people are not worse or better,” said Sándor Léderer, Co-Founder and CEO of K-Monitor. “We have a very bad government, and there was a fight between political forces. Leftists have bought tons of food for refugees, and there were some terrible people who gave them poisoned food, and the journalist who was kicking them.”

“Hungary and its people are not worse or better. We just have a very bad government.”

Sándor Léderer, Co-Founder and CEO of K-Monitor
At the demonstration march in Paris to protest against the murders at magazine Charlie Hebdo in January, there were few participants who looked liked people’s idea of a Muslim, said Jakob Haesler, Co-Founder of Project Alloy. That is influencing political rhetoric. “Fear of the rise of right-wingers means their discourse has crept into that of mainstream politicians,” he said. “They try not to say anything and to be discrete. So they miss an opportunity to raise long-term questions.”

Sometimes it seems unfair to blame politicians, given the complex, unexpected nature of the challenges that crop up. “With forced migration, you can’t have a strategy because you don’t know the problem,” said Klen Jäärats, Director for EU Affairs at the Office of the Prime Minister of Estonia. “One day it’s Congo, the next it’s Rwanda. Then it’s the Balkans, and later Ukraine. You have to deal with it one way or another,
and of course we are going to have to learn each time. But we don’t have any solutions to the fundamental problems.”

Moreover, solving the problems in the Middle East will need actors beyond Europe too. “The instability in Libya, Syria, Iraq is a new deal,” said Guillaume Klossa, Founding President of EuropaNova. “The world system is not made for imploding states and people waging war against each other. And it’s not always clear who is at war with whom.”

Ricardo Baptista Leite, a Member of the Portuguese Parliament, said the crisis should be dealt with at global level. “We have always talked about solutions coming from the north and the west, but we have to involve the east and the south too,” he said. “There should have already been a G20 summit to discuss a solution globally.”

“We have always talked about solutions coming from the north and the west, but we have to involve the east and the south too”

Ricardo Baptista Leite, Member of the Portuguese Parliament
Above all, the crisis is a test for European values – and it’s not clear that Europe is passing. “Europe has a past and history, and it has values that you have been able to spread round the world,” said Kensika Monshengwo, Former Director of the Irish National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism. “But I don’t think Europe in 20 years will be somewhere that people are looking to for values. We need people at the political level to have the courage to go against the grain and say: ‘This is what we have to do’.”

“Above all, the refugee crisis is a test for European values and it’s not clear that Europe is passing.”

Kensika Monshengwo, Former Director of the Irish National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism
The EU has led the world in setting targets for reducing greenhouse gas emissions, and recent announcements by China and the U.S. have raised hopes for a legally-binding global deal at the upcoming UN Conference in Paris. Many effects of climate change have already been observed, including glacier retreat, weather pattern changes in certain regions and impacts on agricultural productivity. Scientists warn that if global temperature rises exceed 2°C, these damaging effects would be exacerbated and others could also be incurred.

An agreement in Paris is especially important after the failure to reach a strong deal at Copenhagen in 2009, when only a weak accord could be reached. “We have to be optimistic, otherwise it won’t happen,” said Paul Watkinson, Head of the Climate Negotiation Team at the French Ministry of Ecology, Sustainable Development and Energy. “What we are not going to get is agreement for 2°C and how to share out the burden of achieving that. So we are looking at national contributions. Getting everyone on board is a very important first step. The second important thing is to send a signal about the depth and seriousness of the transformation needed.”

Still, past experiences have shown the difficulty of getting large numbers of nations with diverging interests to commit to measures that could cause short-term economic pain. Jane Burston, Head of the Centre for Carbon Measurement at the UK’s National Physical Laboratory, said the Copenhagen meeting had stumbled in part due to petty arguments over protocol and terminology. “I am not hopeful that we can get a legally-binding deal in Paris,” she said.
However, the Paris conference might yield some positive results, she said, and it is important for Europe to lead and encourage others to act. In particular, Europeans should do three things.

First, they should let other countries learn from mistakes in areas such as the ground-breaking Emissions Trading System. Under this, industries can buy and sell “allowances” for carbon dioxide emissions depending on their needs. Carbon pricing could be a powerful tool for reducing greenhouse gas emission. However, the price of ETS credits has been lower than intended because of the economic downturn since 2008, reducing the scheme’s effectiveness. It has also been criticised by industry for imposing a burden not faced by competitors outside Europe.

“The ETS is a good thing and the EU has been showcasing it as a success”, said Burston. “But there have been mistakes in its execution, and we might do well to admit the mistakes that we’ve made and help other people learn from them.”

“Sometimes in the environmental sector, we are talking to ourselves. You can con yourselves that everyone is like you and it becomes like an echo chamber.”

Jane Burston, Head of the Centre for Carbon Measurement at the UK’s National Physical Laboratory
Many of the actions that can reduce emissions take place at local and regional level, and these should be encouraged by creating forums for links. “There is quite a lot of good stuff happening at city level, as this is where lots of bottom-up activities are happening,” Burston said. “London has a partnership with Beijing, and there’s the C40 Cities Climate Leadership Group. But some of the most innovative stuff is happening in smaller cities that maybe have fewer international links and aren’t able to showcase what they’re doing internationally.”

Third, people working in environment-related fields need to reach out to others whose work also has an impact, such as those running health and finance policy. “Sometimes in the environmental sector, we are talking to ourselves,” she said. “You can con yourselves that everyone is like you and it becomes like an echo chamber.”

The Paris conference arrives at a time of global slowdown, with governments fearing the effects of a deal on their
economic performance. “Everybody is talking about growth, which needs energy,” said Cédric Denis-Remis, French Dean of ParisTech Shanghai JiaoTong and Vice President of EuropaNova. “People support the idea of sustainable development, but they also want cars and aeroplanes.”

So Europe should be careful not to pursue policies that are too different from those in the rest of the world, said André Loesekrug-Pietri, Founder and Managing Partner of A CAPITAL, China. “Europe is so far ahead that we are killing our own industry by putting up hurdles for ourselves that are too high.”

Any signals that emerge from Paris need to change the way large corporations think about the future yield from their investments. “You need very clear signals to effect change in a big organisation, so that a lot of the oil on big oil companies’ balance sheets would have to stay in the ground,” said Johannes Meier, Chief Executive Officer of the European Climate Foundation. “Change will only happen if there is a new interpretation of risk.”

Stricter measurement of emissions is also needed, he said, as are red lines to define the kind of development that companies can engage in, such as coal mines and tar sands. Such efforts could push global industry to a tipping point moment like German reunification, in which everything changes. “We have to decouple growth and resource consumption,” Meier said.

Some pension funds are already divesting from fossil fuel industries because of signs of greater seriousness from politicians. “If you see that in future the risks will be higher, that already impacts investments today,” said Sony Kapoor, Managing Director of Re-Define. “Pension funds and insurance companies desperately need to make investments that yield good returns.”
Industry could think more about how to use carbon dioxide as well as just reducing its production, said Eberhart Wusterhaus Gomez, International Business Manager at Schmack Carbotech. For example, it could be serve to make other gases that might serve as relatively clean sources of energy. “Why are we not talking more about capturing carbon dioxide and using it for industrial purposes?” he said. “This would be a short-term solution, which would help reduce emissions in parallel with the long-term solutions.”

Developed countries committed in 2010 to mobilise $100bn a year from public and private sources by 2020 for climate mitigation and adaptation in the developing world. But trillions will be needed over the next decade to implement low-carbon technologies. “A lot of the effort is focused on how to mobilise resources,” said Watkinson. “We need to send signals on the direction of travel, and finance ministers and others need to be on board.”

He is optimistic about the Paris conference because China – which played a big role in blocking progress in Copenhagen – wants a significant agreement this time. This Chinese support is politically essential for the U.S. to also get behind a deal. “They have agreed with each other, and Obama has to be able to say that China is moving,” Watkinson said. “That is why the White House put so much effort into the China relationship. They see this as necessary for their domestic agreements.

Scientific communication also has a role to play. Most people are not yet seriously afraid of global warming, even though continuation at current rates would result in a high probability of devastating effects. Recently, climate change sceptics have been given more air time and they are playing a larger part in the debate, said Burston. “When scientists talk about uncertainty, the public says: ‘So you’re not sure?’ In fact, it means you know exactly how unsure you are.”
The John S. Latsis Public Benefit Foundation is a non-profit organisation established in 2005 to carry on the philanthropic legacy of John Latsis.

The Foundation plans, manages, and funds programmes across a wide range of issue areas, centered around five thematic strands:

EDUCATION  
SCIENCE  
SOCIAL WELFARE  
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT  
ARTS & CULTURE

An additional, diversified branch of activities fall under the operation of the Neraida Floating Museum. The Museum runs a variety of events and offers free access to visitors, highlighting the maritime and entrepreneurial history of Greece, familiarising the youth with maritime professions, and promoting environmental conservation.

The Foundation implements a venture philanthropy approach to its grant-making, which means prioritizing high engagement with grantees, tailored financing, non-financial support, involvement of networks, organisational capacity-building, performance measurement and remaining responsive to ongoing social needs.

HEAD OFFICE  
Heiligkreuz 6  
9490 Vaduz  
Liechtenstein

ATHENS OFFICE  
59, Diligianni st.14562 Kifissia, Athens – Greece  
T +30 210 6282 888,  
E info@latsis-foundation.org

www.latsis-foundation.org
BUSINESS & THE ECONOMY

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INDUSTRIAL MOTOR

For many Europeans, the period after 2008 has been the worst economic period in living memory. While southern economies have been harshly criticised for their economic mismanagement, many in the north have performed badly too. Finland, Denmark and the Netherlands have all had GDP growth lower than the eurozone average. Remedies that are often suggested – such as greater spending on research and development – don’t seem promising either, as the Nordic countries’ anaemic growth comes in spite of their relatively high R&D expenditure. And Japan, which consistently registers high numbers of patents, has grown little in the past 25 years.

“We are depressed about the state of growth capacity,” said Dan O’Brien, Chief Economist at the Institute of International and European Affairs (IIEA). “And we are depressed about the economics profession’s understanding of what can be done. Some people think we have come to the end of growth – that the past 200 years were an aberration.”

For Sandro Mendonça, professor of economics at the Lisbon University Institute, the problem is the disappearance of industrial policy, which in a sense was the foundation of the European Union. “The European Coal and Steel Community was a means for common management of core inputs,” he said. “But along the way, the idea of fostering production was replaced by the idea of markets, which came to dominate at the European level. The de-emphasising of industrial policy culminated in the crisis.”

“We are depressed about the state of growth capacity and we are depressed about the economics profession’s understanding of what can be done.”

Dan O’Brien,
Chief Economist at the Institute of International and European Affairs (IIEA)
While mainstream economists say that industrial policy is wrong, there has in fact been an industrial policy to support the financial sector for the past few years, Mendonça said. “We have become very reliant on just one sector.” The U.S., by contrast, has pursued an industrial policy to pursue fracking. Though fracking is associated with small private entrepreneurs, it was developed with the help of university-level research, meaning that it comes from active strategising. “In Europe, we are now shy regarding industrial policy,” he said. “Policymaking is now dominated by an axis: fiscal policy from Berlin and monetary from Frankfurt.”

Another big change has been a decline in the social side of industrial policy. “Recently, labour unions have been assigned guilt as if their demands are harming competitiveness,” he said. “In fact, aggregate demand is important. But this has ceased to become a reference, and the talk is always of efficiency and free markets.” He criticised the “on-demand” economy as being atomised
and anarchic. “We are in need of scale to optimise, but we have lost mechanisms on the social and productive side of the economy.”

However, cost-competitiveness has been an important factor in some countries’ economic success. “Poland has had stable growth for 20 years,” said Lukasz Dziekonski, member of the Management Board of the Marguerite Fund 2020 for Energy, Climate Change and Infrastructure. “One of the big reasons why Poland has grown is a big, highly-educated population with wages lower than in much of the rest of the European Union. We have an industrial base of products that are exported to Germany and France and sold under those countries’ brands. The issue for much of the European Union is that the cost base is high.”

Despite Europe’s strengths in certain areas of science and technology, this does not always translate into success in high value-added industries. “I would recommend that we remind ourselves that we have big potential in fundamental research,” said Klossa. “We need to develop critical mass in R&D talent in some sectors. We need to think strategically.”

Indeed, it is not enough simply to funnel money into research, said Haesler. Germany, for example, has an ecosystem of trade unions and financing that has protected the small- and medium-sized “mittelstand” companies from the financial crisis. German salaries in the export sector are more than 20% higher on average than in other sectors. However, while product innovation in Germany is still good, it is only incremental innovation and not the type that launches new industries. “The public money is there in Germany in techno parks, but it is not working,” he said.

“One of the big reasons why Poland has grown is a big, highly-educated population with wages lower than in much of the rest of the EU.”

Lukasz Dziekonski, Member of the Management Board of the Marguerite Fund 2020 for Energy, Climate Change and Infrastructure.
One of the notable points about economics today is the lack of a broad consensus. “The Keynesians say it is all about demand, but Ireland had austerity and is now growing,” said O’Brien. “The German speakers say it is all about competiveness. These are simply theories though, and it is not that simple. The only real hope is a grand bargain: services liberalisation, a capital markets union and a push on the demand and supply sides. And we hope that it works.”
Kapoor was a derivatives trader when he came to realise the extent of tax dodging in the corporate and financial world. “I realised that a third of derivative transactions are for tax avoidance – like an Italian discount on government bonds,” he said. In reaction, he helped set up the Tax Justice Network in 2003, which carries out research into different aspects of international taxation.

But no one paid much attention. The British economy had been growing for years, and even the left-of-centre British government of the time was happy to keep taxes relatively low, with no apparent concern for tax avoidance. “The campaign was unrealistic at the time,” said Kapoor. “Everybody was booming, so the UK Labour Party and the City of London had an unwritten agreement. They could pay for the welfare state even with reduced taxes. Then the financial crisis arrived, and everybody was scrambling for revenues. That really changed the public mood.”

The financial crisis and the economic slowdown that followed have renewed the focus on tax and other tools to reduce inequalities. This is somewhat because of growing recognition of the social consequences of disparities in wealth. It is also because national governments worry about the big increases in their debts.

Portugal, for example, has set up new income tax and VAT systems to ensure better collection. People whose declared incomes and lifestyles did not match came under increased scrutiny from authorities. “Tax evasion used to be cool,” said Baptista Leite. “Not anymore.”

“The companies I invest in often want to employ people but cannot find staff with adequate skills. So it’s economically bad for the country to have low taxation.”

Ivan Stefunko, Managing Partner and Investment Director of Neulogy Ventures
The role of tax revenues in the economy and wider society has been widely reconsidered too. “I am in venture capital, so I should be in favour of low taxation,” said Ivan Stefunko, Managing Partner and Investment Director of Neulogy Ventures. “But we had low tax in Slovakia and the lack of funds affected the education system. The companies I invest in often want to employ people but cannot find staff with adequate skills. So it’s economically bad for the country to have low taxation.”

The idea that low taxes are automatically good for economic growth is also in retreat. Ireland used to be very poor, and one of the reasons it has become richer is a massive redistribution of wealth, according to economist, broadcaster and bestselling author David McWilliams. By taxing the rich and seizing land from them after achieving its independence, Ireland became a far more equal society than before. Free education also played an important role.

“Capital taken from the rich gives people a stake in society”

David McWilliams, Economist, broadcaster and bestselling author
“Capital taken from the rich gives people a stake in society,” he said. “Jobs are created by aggregate demand – not the actions of the rich, but the actions of the relatively poor. What I earn is dependent on your spending, so we have to spend together.” Though some people argue against taxing or regulating the wealthy on the basis that they are job creators, this is not true, said McWilliams. “The rich do what with their money? They hoard it, or give it to hedge fund managers.”

Nowadays, though, it’s hard to use tax as a tool to promote equality, because of the increased mobility that allows people and corporations to shop around for residences in countries with lower taxes. “A lot of people live nowhere now,” he said. “If you want to go down this route of taxing capital and labour you have to close down loopholes. And I don’t think there is the coherence in the EU to fix this even if there was the will.”

Some countries use low taxes as an industrial policy. Ireland, for example, has attracted big multinationals thanks to its low rate of corporate tax. Other member states have been highly critical of this strategy, in particular when Ireland was bailed out by an EU-IMF financial support programme.

“Tax competition is fierce, especially in the European Union,” said Clémentine Forissier, Associate and Co-Founder of Contexte, France. “But the EU does almost nothing, as taxation is a national competence. The member states can only discuss ways to make the single market function better. We could propose more transparency.”

Even within member states, it’s not simple to make tax policies fairer. Greece has become notorious for the tax evasion practised by many of its wealthier people. But the tax rises that followed the country’s sovereign debt
“Taxation became a tool for broadening the gap in equality.”

Kalliopi Kalaitzi, Physician

“crisis have hit only those without the means to engage in elaborate ways to pay less. “We introduced higher taxes, but only the middle class is paying them,” said Kalliopi Kalaitzi, a Greek who currently lives in Germany. “They were always paying, and now they pay more. We had a middle class and now we don’t have a middle class. Taxation became a tool for broadening the gap in equality.”

Countries that already have high levels of taxation often experience such downsides. The income redistribution due to high taxes can discourage entrepreneurship, for example. “High taxation disenfranchises people from their lives,” said Sultanova. “They dive into the system and do not take risks or try harder.”

One idea is to use tools other than taxation to get big corporations to contribute to national treasuries. “Why doesn’t a country like Ireland say: ‘We won’t take tax, we’ll take shares off you.’ Then you have a capital fund for the country that would solder a country’s capital base and welfare state to the performance of multinationals investing in it.”
The Chinese president Xi Jinping began his recent visit to the U.S. in Seattle, where he attended a meeting of around 20 chief executives from companies including Amazon, Facebook, Google and Uber on one side, and Tencents and Alibaba on the other. “I had the impression of a digital Yalta, where the world was being divided up and Europe was completely absent,” said Loesekrug-Pietri.

The fear that Europe may fall behind on future industries is not new, but it has grown more acute. Europe has a good historical record in pure science, it leads in industries such as chemicals and has world-class manufacturers in industries such as automobiles. But the digital world is dominated by U.S. tech companies. “We feel very miserable that we don’t have a European Facebook,” said Dimitris Tsigos, Founder and CEO of StartTech Ventures. “We suffer from Silicon Valleynoia.”

Now, the rise of Chinese firms makes it look like there’s something wrong with Europe rather than just something exceptionally right about the U.S.

The crucial difference between China and the U.S. on the one hand and the EU on the other is the size of the markets available for businesses. The U.S. has a population of 300m, all English speaking, and China has between 300-400m active Internet users. Europe, by contrast, is fragmented by language and national regulation. As a result, said Loesekrug-Pietri, Europe has 28 different privacy entities and 32 telecom carriers.

“And the more we are in a world driven by innovation, the more important scale becomes,” he said. “If there is one thing we need in Europe, it is to get a unified digital market as soon as possible.”
market as soon as possible. Can a company be more successful in Greece, or in a market of 500m people? France, the UK and Germany are competing to attract Chinese start-ups. But instead they should create the right infrastructure here.”

European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker has made the creation of a digital single market a priority. The Commission points out that online barriers prevent citizens from getting the goods and services they want and limit the potential for Internet companies. It thinks the creation of a digital single market could contribute €415bn a year to the EU economy and create hundreds of thousands of new jobs.

One problem is that governments often fail to grasp how IT works, said Bruins Slot. “There is an absolute lack of knowledge in government about the digital world,” she said. “We are losing because of deficiencies in our own knowledge.”

More than anything else, though, Europe’s weakness lies in its attitudes towards risk and regulation, said Xenios Thrasyvoulou, Founder & CEO of PeoplePerHour.com. When it comes to risk, he said, “Americans think first about what can go right. Europeans think about what can go wrong. If you do that, then you stay in bed, where little can go wrong.”

Investors on opposite sides of the Atlantic think about projects differently. In the U.S., they see the big picture, which is that if just one of a number of enterprises goes well, its success will more than make up for any failed projects. “In Europe, people are optimising around the margins,” he said.

Protection against various kinds of risk is one function of regulation, and in Thrasyvoulou’s view there is too much
of it. The battle in European cities over the regulation of taxi services is one example. Now he uses taxis more than before in London because they have become more affordable. “I am not saying there should be zero regulation,” he said. “But regulation needs to address relevant problems. For example, in New York, yellow cab drivers can’t work for more than 11 hours because they’d get fatigued. Those things should be regulated. But that is not where the conversation is going.”

He compared the opposition to new services to the activities of trades unions in the past. “In comparison to the U.S., there is a lot more regulation in Europe that needs to be addressed,” he said. “People are protecting their own interests. But in the end, a new service improves customer interests and the customer is the winner. I think it pathetic to be stopping that.”

There’s no shortage of talented Europeans in tech, but many of them work in Silicon Valley. “There are all these apps that have been built there by Europeans, and we’ve let all that talent go,” said Thrasyvoulou. Governments should think about the kind of frameworks in which digital entrepreneurs can thrive, said Denis-Remis. “One of the key points in San Francisco is an ecosystem that attracts European engineers,” he said. “If we were able to build this kind of ecosystem in Europe, we would not have a problem.”

One opportunity for Europe is in content, said Malcolm Byrne, Head of Communications at the Irish Higher Education Authority. After all, the benefit of social media is that it makes it easier for people to share things. “Any of us can create news content and send a story out there,” he said. “People are interested in going to see the film or the story. They are not interested in the tech or how it was made, just in what’s delivered.”
That raises two challenges. One is assuring the quality of the information shared on social media and the Internet. “Lots of Facebookers believe in strange things like conspiracy theories,” said Videmsek. “I see it as a dictatorship of choice, and it is a direct challenge to a journalist in the field.”

Another is the business model. Young people are not interested in paying for news content, so producers have instead to figure out other ways of making money, said Wouter Verschelden, Founder & Publisher at NewsMonkey. “I don’t know a single person under 35 who doesn’t believe that news should be something that is free and accessible,” he said. “As much as I really believe that professional journalism should survive, I think we should try to find business models within that perspective. That doesn’t mean that there aren’t parts of professional financial journalism that can thrive behind pay walls. But the whole idea of an open market that is accessible for everyone is going to be dominant for the rest of our lives.”
Content production, too, needs to cope with the fragmentation of Europe’s market. Diversity can be a positive, but only if it’s approached in the right way. The raw material of artistic content is culture, which consists essentially of everyday life, said Andi Wecker, Producer at Network Movie. The immediate reaction to Europe’s diversity is therefore: “What potential! Let’s sell it!” Then people think again: “Sell what, exactly? Try to sell a pizza with 28 toppings? Not nice! It’s not at all simple to turn diversity into some kind of saleable good.”

One reason that European cultural products have fared poorly internationally is that they have also been largely ignored in Europe outside their own countries. Wecker said he is familiar with a wide range of aspects of American life, from inner-city drug problems, to the rules of dating, to military drill. “But we, as Europeans, are not used to exporting or promoting our culture like that on a global stage,” he said. “There’s no such thing as a European cultural product – something ‘Made in the EU’. We have national products.”

Countries like France and Germany have big domestic markets, so their producers are not used to having to look for overseas markets. But Denmark, as a small country, has been a surprise success in recent years, selling its dramas worldwide and developing a distinctive Danish brand consisting of murders, smart design and dark clothes.
Danish crime series also solve another problem – finding a story that travels well. “What is Europe really about today?” asked Damien English, Teachta Dála, Minister of State at Ireland’s Department of Education and Skills. “Peace. But films like Braveheart are about war.”

Instead of aiming for a specifically European cultural product, producers should try to make something that’s universally appealing, said Paul Young, Chief Executive Officer of Cartoon Saloon. “Americans do that really well – just tell a story,” he said. “My favourite description of art and what art means to humanity is that you can use art to tell another individual that they are not alone. That is what makes great art.”

Diversity can also make for tricky working conditions, said Wecker. “I just spent two years producing a major European TV series, which was a wonderful experience but also belongs to the category ‘Don’t try this at home’. You cross borders and you get lost in different working...
hours, legal systems and sometimes even currencies. You end up explaining to the Belgian guy that the Danish guy is not a jerk – it’s just his dry sense of humour. And to the Danish guy that the Belgian guy is not an alcoholic simply because he wants red wine at lunch. European reality is speaking bad English all day long, but it’s not really an identity.”

Financing can also create headaches. Public funding is a positive in Europe, but it comes with strings attached, Wecker said. Public broadcasting systems don’t want to finance products that are extreme – even though the movies that remain in the public consciousness are extreme. “And if you want to raise money from another country to produce a film, they’ll say, ‘Where is my French star or my Austrian mountain?’ You cannot just say: ‘It’s a great story, so give me the money.’ It won’t happen.”

One simple fix would be for European producers to spend more on promotion and on getting revenues out of their products over a longer period of time. “We make the best movies – cinema started in Europe,” said Young. “Maybe the problem is distribution. Americans will spend double the money they did making a film on selling it.”

Wecker suggested constructing a new regulatory environment so that Europeans can better enjoy each others’ products more. “Never before have so many people had the opportunity to produce, exchange and sell culture,” he said. “We have the technologies, the creatives, the content, the money and the will to co-operate. What we lack is the channel to use all that, a simple way for the creative industry to work together – a legal base that allows people to consume more than their own national content.”

“My favourite description of art and what art means to humanity is that you can use art to tell another individual that they are not alone. That is what makes great art.”

Paul Young, Chief Executive Officer of Cartoon Saloon
EUROPEANS TOGETHER?

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The first decades of the EU were a story of ever-closer co-operation. Just 10 years ago, the divisions in the EU were between the older and newer member states – divisions that were expected to reduce over time.

However, the financial crisis highlighted the economic division between north and south. It also stoked euroscepticism in the UK, and increased the tension between “core” and “peripheral” member states. Added to all of that, this year saw fresh east-west divisions over the acceptance of refugees.

“People are moving on slightly different tracks,” said Noelle O’Connell, Executive Director of the European Movement Ireland. “The divergence in business models and fiscal approaches has also led to fragmentation in terms of unity of purpose and commonality of approach.”

One factor is low economic growth. When all boats are rising, there is no need to find something to blame, such as the EU. Greater integration of EU markets might help remedy this, said O’Connell. “But then again, that seems to be very unpopular in many European countries, and maybe nonviable at a political level.”

The trend can be seen in a variety of ways. Eurobarometer data shows a declining trust in EU institutions. Populist political parties are rising all over the continent. In Ireland, which is overwhelmingly supportive of the European Union, politicians tend to nationalise successes and Europeanise failures.
Populist rhetoric is even rising in Poland, a European economic success story. Poles on social media have countered by sharing a quote from writer Ryszard Kapuscinski that describes three plagues threatening the world, nationalism, racism and religious fundamentalism: “All three share one trait, a common denominator — an aggressive, all-powerful, total irrationality.”

“This citation is going around in Poland as a comment on the current situation,” said Michal Olszewski, Deputy Mayor of Warsaw. “One of the reasons why we are in crisis is the growing number of movements which criticise the EU on a very irrational basis.”

However, it would be wrong to caricature all anti-EU feeling as based in ignorance and reactionary attitudes. The traditional reasons in favour of the European Union have been questioned because of the management of the sovereign debt crisis.
“I know a lot of highly-educated Greeks, Spanish and Portuguese who feel betrayed by the events of the last years,” said Fitzgerald. “These are committed Europeans who feel that the old ideas and arguments have been abandoned and the idea of solidarity has been sorely tested. It’s important not to dismiss the sentiment around the continent right now.”

Olszewski thinks a lot of the trouble is in national politics, and that state-level administrations are a barrier to further European integration. “They try to explain: ‘It’s not us - it’s someone in Brussels who decided this.’ But maybe national governments are not needed in this European integration project.”

In contrast, other institutional actors are getting stronger, such as regions, cities and NGOs. “The political crises at national level will strengthen decentralisation and might be a new opportunity for European integration,” he said. “We should change tracks from one that is slowing down to another track that is going to go faster.”

This could be a way to preserve European diversity while also pushing forward with the European project. “I am not against the European Union’s harmonisation and standardisation,” he said. “But maybe we should create a network that is not really based on politicians from national levels.”

Beyond the rhetoric and rising populism, Europe is actually integrating more in response to problems such as the sovereign debt crisis. “The integration of the EU over its first decades was very fast,” said Giovanna Pancheri, Brussels Correspondent at Sky TG 24. “When you grow so fast, you have two possible ends. Either you crash or you learn how to fly – and you evolve and you become something else.”

Giovanna Pancheri, Brussels Correspondent at Sky TG 24.
Despite the low participation in the 2014 European Parliamentary elections, voters were invited to choose their candidate for President of the European Commission. This, said Pancheri, was a sign of advancing democratic participation in the EU. Also, some national politicians welcome the chance to avoid introducing tough measures themselves by letting EU institutions take the decisions instead.

“There is this democratic part that is going forward,” said Pancheri. “I think it will be even faster in the eurozone member states, because there is no alternative. In Italy, because we are part of the eurozone, we had someone telling us: ‘You should keep your deficit at this level; you shall do this and this.’ That helped us retain the trust of investors.”

But such logic will not hold throughout the EU. “Countries outside the eurozone now have less reason than in the past to go towards integration,” she said. “So this could be fragmentation at work.”

The succession of crises has led to a deeper understanding of the EU in some countries, and this might even help create mature Europeans. The Slovak people have been big supporters of the EU, but have registered low participation in European Parliament elections. “They thought it was good to be in EU, but nobody was really describing what kind of European Union they wanted,” said Stefunko. “With this migration crisis, people are speaking for the first time about what powers the European Union should and should not have. This is legitimising the powers of the European Union in the eyes of citizens.”

For some people, there is too much talk of integration and not enough focus on simply improving the way people and businesses function. “There is an idea that

“I believe in a rule-based Europe, where we define very clearly where we are going, and everyone takes responsability to act.”

Sander Loones, Member of the European Parliament
Europe will centralise and then we will at last be sure that things get done,” said Sander Loones, a Belgian Member of the European Parliament. More integration, however, might just create more distance between European institutions and citizens. “Then you’re making it easier for people to blame everything on EU institutions,” he said. “There is no magic wand. It is not giving competences to a new institution. It is only hard work. I believe in a rule-based Europe, where we define very clearly where we are going, and everyone takes responsibility to act.”
The most extreme case of fragmentation would see a British exit from the European Union after the referendum that will be held in the UK by 2017. Much is uncertain about the specific impacts a “Brexit” would have, but it is widely seen as being bigger and more damaging than the “Grexit” that has also been threatened.

The UK and its referendum have sparked a mixture of reactions from people in other parts of Europe. It has not been a constructive member state of late, said Lucinda Creighton, Member of the Irish Parliament, Leader of Renua Ireland and former Irish Minister for European Affairs. “In fact, it has been quite difficult as a partner round the table for a number of years – not always for good reasons, and often gratuitously creating difficulties.”

On the other hand, she recognises the UK as an important partner with similar views to her own country on topics such as free trade and the single market. “The EU is shaped by the three big countries, and I see the triangle of France, Germany and the UK as complementary,” she said. “From Ireland’s point of view, as a peripheral member state, a small open economy, a lot of our interests are the same as the UK’s. The same goes for a lot of the Nordic and Baltic states and east European states. So the UK is a big voice at the table, and makes Europe the balanced social and economic entity that it is today.”

An odd aspect of the referendum is that Prime Minister David Cameron is widely considered to have never really wanted it. Instead, he promised the vote as a tactical move to assuage the right wing of his Conservative Party and to head off the electoral challenge from the
anti-EU United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP). “I think he’s backed himself into a corner, and I don’t think it’s by design that this referendum is taking place,” said Creighton. “He felt he had no choice electorally, though I don’t think it’s true.”

Still, the referendum could be the trigger for Britons to become more aware about the EU and what it does. “In Ireland, we have had a lot of referenda on the EU over the past decades and I think that has been a wholly positive experience,” she said. “It has been a really important way of engaging our citizens – explaining, informing and getting our citizens on board. Engaging British citizens on Europe would help inform the British public and empower them to make a positive decision about their relationship with the European Union.”

Recently, Cameron has begun to change the way he addresses other European leaders, said Loones. “I think he has realised that they won’t get special treatment and they will have to sell their demands as European reforms that will benefit the whole of the EU. Cameron’s narrative no longer forecasts a better deal for the UK, but for a better, reformed European Union for all of us on themes like competitiveness.”

Like Creighton, Loones welcomed the particular influence the UK brings to the European Union. “Britain can bring a strong intergovernmental stance to the table, which can counterbalance the more federalist view of Germany,” he said. “It’s that clash of ideas that makes the debate in Europe interesting and that makes it land somewhere in the middle.”

That said, if the UK achieves some kind of deal with other EU members, and if British voters then vote to remain in the EU, they need to adopt a more co-operative attitude. “The Brits are like spoiled babies,” he said. “I have three
little children and if you give them a finger they take
an arm, and that’s the atmosphere that surrounds this
discussion. Why do they always want more and more
exemptions? Are they no more than cherry pickers who
only want to benefit but not to share the burden?”

Many Britons have an extremely negative view of the
EU. “I am in a poor region that has received almost half
a billion euros of European development funding,” said
Edvard Glücksman, Senior Environmental and Social
Specialist at Wardell Armstrong LLP, and a Swede
who lives in the UK. “They absolutely don’t understand
Europe. They don’t like Europe. There are European
flags with red crosses over them 200 metres from my
house. People in Europe outside Britain don’t really
know the extent to which the Brits talk about Europe
and their lack of understanding of it.”

Fundamental to this negative British view of Europe
is a combination of post-empire hangover and media
reporting. “We still think that we’re this huge colonial
power that we aren’t,” said Burston, who is British.
“That’s why we feel able to throw our toys out of the
pram. We feel that if we stamp our feet on the ground,
people will jump.”

The British tabloids have long peddled twisted stories
about the EU, or engaged in bizarre campaigns against
it. When the European Commission decided to phase
out energy-wasting incandescent light bulbs, one of
the tabloids decided to give the bulbs to readers as an
act of defiance. “If we do hear about decisions in the
European Parliament, that’s the normal story we get:
these faceless eurocrats that you’ve never even voted
for, doing stuff that will make your life worse by making
you buy different light bulbs.”
The Irish worry too that a Brexit could complicate the peace process in Northern Ireland. Ireland has stayed out of the Schengen Area, so there are no border controls between it and the UK, and the EU has supported the peace process. “It’s unclear how that would work if the UK were to leave the EU,” said Creighton. “It’s in Ireland’s interest, it’s in the UK’s interest and most important it’s in the interest of the whole of the European Union that Britain remains within the EU, and hopefully becomes a more constructive member state. Nobody has yet given a convincing argument as to why the UK should leave.”

Still, she said, national pride was understandable, and she could see how emotions towards the EU might run high in the UK. “I have a certain sympathy,” she said. “I can see how it’s difficult for Britain to adapt to globalisation. It’s easy to blame the European Union for Britain no longer being a global power.”
One way for the British to get on better with Europe might be to think about it differently. For example, it might not be necessary to feel “European” in order to like Europe, and participate in and contribute to it.

“I love Europe,” said Tommy Tiernan, an Irish comedian, actor and writer. “But I am not a European. I am an islander and have always had a sense of otherness. I believe Ireland is a peasant culture. Ireland is more connected to peripheral places than to the heart of Europe.”

By contrast, many of the Young Leaders are resolutely cosmopolitan in outlook. Most speak at least two languages and some have spent their lives in a number of different countries. Some have been EU citizens since they were born, while others – especially from Eastern Europe – remember their countries joining as the time when they said goodbye to the era of Soviet domination.

“I am a Swede, my mother is from Cyprus, I grew up partly in Brussels and I live in the UK,” said Glücksmann. “So I am a true European. I don’t have national identity. That, for me, is what being European is all about.”

One danger for Europe is that it becomes identified with machine-like power, whether it’s the po-faced Brussels bureaucrats of British imagination or rules to guarantee free trade, which are too pro-business for some. The sovereign debt crisis momentarily made the EU appear a supreme financial authority with the power to decide member states’ futures. “I am afraid of power and the idea of being European being twisted in financial market-based identity,” said Tiernan. “Capitalism is getting more vicious and destructive and frenzied.”
The politics and business of finance also mean that people can lose sight of what’s really important. “The only energy that can transform Europe and the world and the trouble we suffer from... is love,” he said. “Love would solve the refugee crisis. Love can move money. Love would go to Syria and talk. Love would sit down with ISIS and talk. Love would renew the planet we are living on. Love, not an ideological system of one political approach versus another. Love: unless we’re starting from that point, then our efforts will be futile and lead to despair.”

Such sentiments could be close to global humanist values, said Haesler. “The founders of the European Union, like Adenauer, were Catholics and had the idea that Europe is about humanity with a big H.” Indeed, one expression of universal love is the motivation to help others. “I was working as a doctor in an emergency room,” said Baptista Leite. “There, you never ask whether someone is black or white, straight or gay. You just do what you have to do. With the refugee crisis, we have seen people taking the lead and helping others. There is a lot of love in the world, and we need to tap into it.” Care for refugees is another way. “I work for an organisation that based on love,” said Goewie.

But people can find it hard to maintain such instincts. “The more you get old, the more you think: ‘Can I trust these people to come into my house?’” said Tiernan. “We spend our lives building these empires. What you own becomes you, and you become more interested in protecting that.”

If Europeans can’t agree on any of this, they could at least learn not to mind their differences, said Tiernan, even to celebrate them. “The fact that there’s a huge lack of consensus is what gives us our vitality,” he said. “To enjoy each other is the greatest feeling.”
AGENDA
Welcome by Geert Cami, Co-Founder & Director at Friends of Europe
Introductory remarks by John Bruton, former Irish Prime Minister & Trustee of Friends of Europe

Europe is famously diverse, with its different national heritages and cultures constituting a rich mix of creative juices. Is the European Union being sufficiently used to develop new cultural activities that would help to bind the peoples of Europe closer together while highlighting European creativity on the global stage? Where EU countries have been less successful is in the harnessing of the internet to new services and social networks. If Europe’s technological strengths could be linked more closely with the arts and popular culture might America’s pre-eminence in this age of global communication be challenged?

Paul Young Chief Executive Officer of Cartoon Saloon
Andi Wecker Producer at Network Movie
Malcolm Byrne Head of Communications at the Irish Higher Education Authority & 2014 European Young Leader

Dublin hosts the European headquarters to many global high-tech giants, including Google, Facebook, Twitter, Yahoo, EBay and LinkedIn and is also home to a growing number of indigenous startups. This session explores how Europe can shape and be shaped by the information technology revolution, both in education systems, in work environments and in citizens’ everyday life.

André Loesekrug-Pietri Founder and Managing Partner, A CAPITAL & 2013 European Young Leader
Xenios Thrasyvoulou Founder & CEO of PeoplePerHour.com
Wouter Verschelden Founder and Publisher at NewsMonkey & 2014 European Young Leader
Ongoing conflict east and south of Europe increasingly threatens the continent’s security. The rise of ISIS in Syria and Iraq, and most recently its expansion to Libya, presents new risks. Thousands of European citizens, many of them very young, have either travelled to these countries to join ISIS or have been inspired by its ideology at home. How to tackle this phenomenon and the long term threat it poses to European security? With the battle against ISIS as much of an ideological battle as a military one, what should European governments be doing?

Housam Najjair Author of the book ‘Soldier for a Summer’

Hanke Bruins Slot Member of the Dutch Parliament and former military officer

Mary Fitzgerald Libya analyst, Irish Independent foreign affairs correspondent & 2014 European Young Leader
### CLIMATE CHANGE

With UN climate negotiations in their final leg, all eyes are on Paris, where global leaders are meeting later this year to seal a new, ambitious and legally binding climate deal. While the European Union is a success story when it comes to reducing CO2 emissions, the key question is whether it can maintain its climate leadership on the international stage and encourage other countries to take on comparable and ambitious climate commitments.

**Johannes Meier** Chief Executive Officer of the European Climate Foundation

**Paul Watkinson** C Head of the Climate Negotiation Team at the French Ministry of Ecology, Sustainable Development and Energy

**Jane Burston** Head of the Centre for Carbon Measurement at the National Physical Laboratory

**Cédric Dénis-Remis** French Dean, ParisTech Shanghai JiaoTong and Vice President of EuropaNova

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### MIGRATION: WHEN “FREE MOVEMENT” MEETS FORTRESS EUROPE

The heart-rending dramas of refugees displaced by conflict in the Middle East and by poverty in Africa are striking chords of sympathy and concern among public opinion across the EU. Whether it’s the plight of boatloads of people risking their lives to cross the Mediterranean or the spectacle of huge refugee camps, it seems clear that Europeans feel their governments should be doing more. But often those same Europeans vote to resist immigration and a more multi-cultural society. With perhaps 100m immigrants needed by 2050 to compensate for Europe’s ageing, what solutions should we consider?

**Kensika Monshengwo** Former Director of the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism

**Klen Jäärats** Director for EU Affairs at the Office of the Prime Minister, Estonia

**Mary Fitzgerald** Libya analyst, Irish Independent foreign affairs correspondent & 2014 European Young Leader
PARALLEL SESSIONS

**BREAKOUT WORKING GROUP**

**TAXATION: A POWERFUL TOOL FOR NARROWING INEQUALITY GAPS**

The EU’s member governments jealously guard their sovereign fiscal powers, and see tax matters as a vital part of their national political systems. But frictions over fiscal inducements to attract foreign investors and their corporate headquarters have of late shone unwelcome spotlights on countries as different as Luxembourg and Ireland. At the same time, EU-level policymakers have long pointed to the advantages of more coherent and even common tax arrangements. With taxation a crucially important element to combat social inequality, what fiscal arrangements should Europeans be pursuing?

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**Introductory remarks**

**David McWilliams** Economist, Broadcaster and Bestselling Author

**EYL contribution**

**Clémentine Forissier** Associate and Co-Founder of Contexte, France

**Moderation**

**Sony Kapoor** Managing Director of Re-Define & 2014 European Young Leader

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**BREAKOUT WORKING GROUP**

**HOW BRITAIN’S NEIGHBOURS SEE THE BREXIT THREAT**

Opinion in continental Europe seems to divide neatly between those who believe the UK’s departure could deal a mortal blow to the EU’s future, and those who are tired of British euroscepticism and say “good riddance”. But what of near neighbours like Ireland whose social and economic links are still so close? Would the wider benefits of EU membership, coupled perhaps with partnership with an independent Scotland that opts to stay in Europe, compensate for a British exit?

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**Introductory remarks**

**Lucinda Creighton** Member of the Irish Parliament, Leader of Renua Ireland and former Irish Minister for European Affairs

**EYL contribution**

**Sander Loones** Member of the European Parliament

**Moderation**

**Malcolm Byrne** Head of Communications at the Irish Higher Education Authority & 2014 European Young Leader

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Visit of the book of Kells at the Trinity College Library

Visit of the Guinness Storehouse & dinner
Greece’s debt crisis has broadcast to the world that Europe’s vaunted unity is at risk. The financial and economic crisis that engulfed Europe from 2008 onwards acted as a catalyst to reveal the vulnerabilities and fault lines in the EU’s national economies. The result has been a widening of the North-South gap separating the ‘Club Med’ countries bordering the Mediterranean from those of northern Europe. And it has highlighted the differences between the EU’s ‘core’ and its ‘periphery’. What sort of policies are needed - with or without treaty change - to bind the EU’s member states together again?

The contrast between EU countries’ achievements in pure science and the educational shortcomings that have bred the ICT skills gap is inescapable. Europe’s scientists have won over half of all the Nobel prizes awarded since 1901, but that’s no guarantee for the future. Surveys of EU business leaders now find a majority fearing China will overtake Europe in technological innovation by the early 2020s. What’s to be done? Nobody doubts that R&D is key to productivity and our global competitiveness, so where is the drive to restore Europe’s lead? The European Commission provoked a storm of criticism earlier this year, not least from several hundred Nobel laureates, over its plans to switch almost €3bn from the EU’s research budget to its new infrastructure programme, and in any case R&D spending in Europe averaging less than 2% of GDPs is far below the U.S. and Asia. What sort of policy initiatives would seize public imagination and reverse the decline? And how could they be linked with the revolution in schools education that’s needed to produce the high-tech workforce of the future?
Europhiles often complain about the systematically negative reporting on Europe in the media. The EU’s institutions, and the European Commission particularly, have long been criticised for failing to come up with a new narrative that can transform its myriad activities into a stirring clarion call that rallies popular support.

The EU’s origins and its competences of course militate against that sort of re-branding exercise - its powers and responsibilities are technocratic, and the sexier stuff of political drama is kept firmly in the hands of the nation states and their electorates.

But are there nevertheless ways in which the EU could present ‘Europe’ in a broader canvas that would underline the value of unity and engender pride in the simple phrase “I’m a European”? How can younger generations be encouraged to see the added value of the European project, and what, if anything, should be done about European citizenship in education systems?

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<th>SPOTLIGHT ON GLOBAL ISSUES</th>
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<td>GIVING NEW MEANING TO &quot;I'M A EUROPEAN&quot;</td>
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Friends of Europe is a leading think tank that aims to stimulate new thinking on global and European issues that span political, economic, social and environmental challenges. Our publications and debates produce sharp analysis and bold solutions because we promote the confrontation of different ideas.

DIFFERENT
Friends of Europe has become a Brussels institution because it is so ‘un-Brussels-like’. We are the think tank with a difference, making Europe’s policy choices relevant to people beyond the ‘charmed circle’ of eurocrats and EU specialists. About half of people taking part in Friends of Europe’s events are from outside Brussels. Friends of Europe’s widely disseminated publications are highly readable, explaining complex issues by avoiding “Eurojargon”.

Friends of Europe is part of the Europe’s World Group, an alliance that also includes the Europe’s World policy journal and the Debating Europe online platform. Europe’s World is the only pan-European policy journal offering policymakers and opinion-formers across Europe a platform for new ideas and for forging consensus. Debating Europe engages citizens and policymakers in an ongoing conversation on the critical issues shaping Europe’s future. It collects questions from its million-strong community of citizens and over 200,000 social media followers, and puts them to high-profile policymakers and experts to reply.

INDEPENDENT
Friends of Europe’s hallmark over its 15 years has been the absence of national or party political bias. We work with a wide variety of partners who are attracted by our lively approach to Europe’s big issues, and by our insistence that all sides and viewpoints must be fairly represented in our debates.

Partners range from EU and non-EU governments to international bodies like the UN and the World Bank, from the EU institutions to NGOs such as Transparency International and WWF, and from ‘big business’ to trade associations. We work closely with other think tanks, and with universities in Europe and worldwide.

POLICY AREAS
Friends of Europe has developed particular expertise in the areas of: Future Europe, Smarter Europe, Greener Europe, Quality Europe, Global Europe and Security Europe.

Specific initiatives include the Development Policy Forum (DPF), the Asia Programme and the Europe China Forum.
EUROPANOVA

www.europanova.eu /Europanova @Europa_Nova

EuropaNova was founded in 2003 by a group of young, professionally active, intellectuals committed to political and citizen life following the shock of the first round of the French presidential election. It gradually became, as of 2005, a think & action tank in favour of European integration. EuropaNova works closely with the European institutions, think tanks and civil society to develop solutions to solve the crisis and promote reform of the European Union as well as to promote the creation of a genuine European public space.

The uniqueness of EuropaNova stems from its multi-generational and multi-disciplinary way of producing and disseminating ideas, training new generations of Europeans and carrying out the citizen public debate with the global aim to contribute to the creation of a European public space.

The core missions of EuropaNova:

DEBATES
Nearly 60 years following the Hague Congress, EuropaNova launched the Etats Généraux de L’Europe (www.etats-generaux.eu). In preparation of the 2014 European elections, the Political Auditions

“Tous Européens?” were a monthly political meeting enabling key figures in French and European politics to face a jury composed of citizens on their European commitment, and on how to manage the current crisis and the general pessimism. In 2013, EuropaNova has also organised the Conference EUROPA, a 2-day forum that brought together over 60 international decision-makers to debate and exchange ideas on the future of Europe in an interdisciplinary and intergenerational context.

LEADERSHIP
Since its early years, EuropaNova has promoted talented individuals who have achieved or are on their path to great achievements and gave them a platform to express their opinions and views on Europe by organising the Young Leader Auditions.

IDEAS
EuropaNova contributes to the public debate and aims to reflect, analyse and suggest public policy choices to national and European policy makers.
EuropaNova

18/20, Place de la Madeleine, 75008 Paris, France
+33 1 43 42 40 90
contact@europanova.eu
www.europanova.eu

friends les amis of europe de l’Europe

4, Rue de la Science, B-1000 Brussels, Belgium
Tel: +32 2 893 9823 – Fax: +32 2 893 9829
info@friendsofeurope.org
www.friendsofeurope.org