

AUTUMN 2020

# State of Europe 2020

The festival of politics and ideas to transform Europe

REPORT



STATE OF  
EUROPE



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Co-funded by the  
Europe for Citizens Programme  
of the European Union

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# Friends of Europe

Friends of Europe is a leading think tank that connects people, stimulates debate and triggers change to create a more inclusive, sustainable and forward-looking Europe.

We believe an EU of partnership and solidarity matters, and we believe globalisation needs global rules to make it work for everyone. We think it's time for a new 21st-century social contract based on peace, prosperity and sustainability. We support a multilateral world with cities, regions, states, supranational institutions, companies and citizens cooperating to solve common challenges, and we embrace European values and freedoms.

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# The festival of politics and ideas to transform Europe

Only one theme could provide the focus for State of Europe in 2020. The virus which forced us online has infected over 40 million people, killed more than a million and debilitated the world economy. State of Europe heard how the pandemic is dragging millions back into poverty, exacerbating social, economic and gender divides and straining superpower relations. Yet, the debates searched for the positive.

This time of turmoil opens opportunities to rethink healthcare and social protection; invigorate Europe's green and digital transitions; reboot European solidarity and global cooperation. State of Europe's four-day online debate generated a profusion of concrete ideas for post-pandemic progress. They point the way for strengthened European leadership in line with citizens' aspirations for more engagement on the environment and economic recovery, as shown by Friends of Europe's latest **#EuropeMatters** citizens' poll.

As the EU prepares to deploy its biggest-ever funding package and national governments borrow on an unprecedented scale to overcome the most disruptive economic shock since World War II, the festival of politics and ideas focused on the search for solutions that break with the past and build new models of growth, innovation, industrial policy and public-sector preparedness. The debates' positive tone was reflected in celebrations of musical diversity from award-winning concert pianist **Alexandra Dariescu** and the Belgo-Syrian **Damast Duo**.

# Future-proofing healthcare



“Even as we use every tool at our disposal to end the pandemic, we must all use this period of crisis as an opportunity to look in the mirror and ask what we must do differently.” With those words, **Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus**, Director-General of the World Health Organization (WHO) set the tone for this year’s State of Europe. Tedros said all countries need to make three ‘fundamental shifts’: switch investment from ‘medicalisation’ to stronger primary healthcare; adopt a ‘one health’ approach to address the ‘critical interface’ between human and animal health, and the ‘existential threat of climate change’; go beyond the health sector to bring all areas of government into the recovery and future preparedness.

“Even as we use every tool at our disposal to end the pandemic, we must all use this period of crisis as an opportunity to look in the mirror and ask what we must do differently

**Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus**, Director-General of the World Health Organization (WHO)



Tedros' call for a refocus on universal healthcare built on a flourishing primary care sector was backed up by research presented by **Jaana Remes**, Partner at the McKinsey Global Institute (MGI), which shows how inexpensive improvements in European healthcare efficiency could bring huge benefits. "We actually could add 10 active healthy years to every one's lives, we could make 65 the new 55. Who wouldn't want that for all of us? And on the economic side we could boost the European economy by \$2.5 tln in 2040," Remes said. "With just a moderate improvement in efficiency, we actually could achieve these benefits, without having to spend more."

COVID-19 is promoting such efficiencies by pushing forward the use of digital medicine. From now on, the roundtable heard, primary medical consultations should be 'digital by default'. "Innovation has helped ... during this period, but when we get out of this situation, those innovations should stay in the hospitals and be used on a larger scale than they were used before the outbreak," said **Jean-Luc Lemerrier**, Corporate Vice-President for Europe, Middle East, Africa, Canada & Latin America at Edwards Lifesciences.

A cultural shift – including a rethink of privacy concerns – will be needed to fully harness the power of digital healthcare innovation through greater use of Artificial Intelligence, biotech and big data. "We want to be leading the way, to be driving technologies such as AI, and changing the culture, because the culture is the biggest barrier here," said **Loubna Bouarfa**, CEO, OKRA Technologies. "How can we show that



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**Jaana Remes**, Partner at the McKinsey Global Institute (MGI)

those algorithms can help us to tackle diseases?” Ensuring the consent and understanding of all stakeholders is key. “If we just give technologies to patients and physicians then nothing will happen, but if we use technologies that can support doctor-patient relationships, then we are on the right track,” said **Bertalan Meskó**, Founder of The Medical Futurist and European Young Leader, in an ‘idea sharing’ session that centred on how ‘tech for good’ can harness the potential of digital healthcare to produce a harm-free societal revolution.

Hopes for a positive technological transformation were also put forward by **Matthias Evers**, Senior Partner at McKinsey & Company, in another ‘idea sharing’ session. He explained how the convergence of revolutionary advances in biology, computing automation and Artificial Intelligence was opening up a new era of change. “This is a special moment of time and an opportunity that will impact on how we live, our societies, our economies,” Evers said.

There was agreement that the expansion of healthcare technology must not worsen divides along wealth, age, education or gender lines. “Digital healthcare can really transform society. How can we make sure that we do not end up creating a digital divide?” asked **Pankaj Tagra**, Executive Vice-President, Head Nordics & DACH, at HCL Technologies. He stressed the role of government to ensure “society is able to adopt and consume digital healthcare at the same level, and we do not leave a few people far behind.”



“Innovation has helped ... during this period, but when we get out of this situation, those innovations should stay in the hospitals and be used on a larger scale than they were used before the outbreak

**Jean-Luc Lemerrier**, Corporate Vice-President for Europe, Middle East, Africa, Canada & Latin America at Edwards Lifesciences



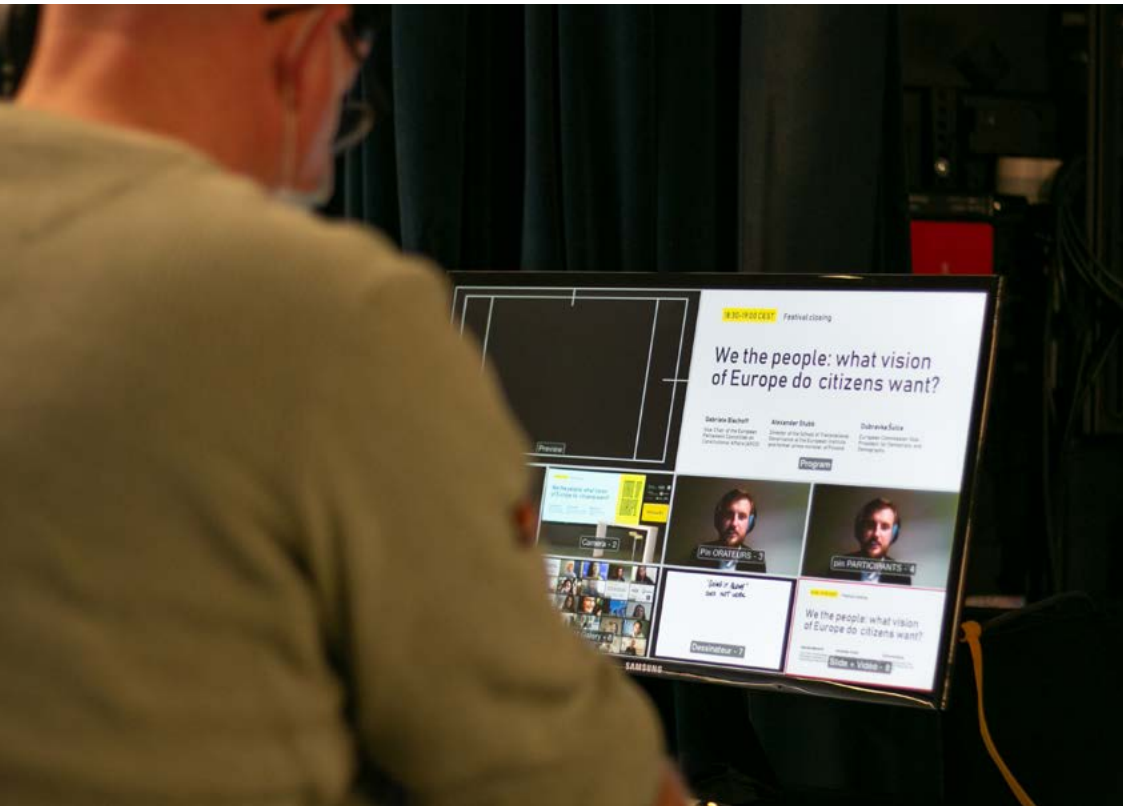
It was noted that COVID-19 has made healthcare the “the Cinderella in the big ballroom” for government spending, but it could again drop down budget priority lists once the pandemic fades. To optimise funds, governments must match spending on innovation with the ‘less sexy’ task of disinvestment in obsolete services. For that, health system performance assessments are essential.

Many speakers lamented the divided international response when the pandemic struck and underscored the importance of cooperation. “If we were united, we wouldn’t have been where we are now, we could have reduced the damage,” said Tedros. “It’s still not too late to cooperate in true solidarity, to fight this virus together, but we have paid dearly because of the division, the lack of cooperation, lack of solidarity.”

“We do need to consider something like a NATO for health, or an organisation of some sort at a global level

**Ricardo Baptista Leite**, Founder and President of UNITE, Member of the Portuguese National Parliament and European Young Leader (EYL40)

**Ricardo Baptista Leite**, Founder and President of UNITE, Member of the Portuguese National Parliament and European Young Leader, suggested a new alliance to coordinate multilateral preparation against biological threats. “Maybe we do need to consider something like a NATO for health, or an organisation of some sort at a global level,” he said. Tedros suggested a strengthened WHO could fulfil such a role. Coordinated international efforts to develop and prepare distribution of a vaccine were praised. “There is a green light at the end of the tunnel,” said **Zsuzsanna Jakab**, WHO’s Deputy Director General. “We hope that within the next couple of months the new vaccine will be available.”





**1. Ulrik Vestergaard Knudsen,**  
Deputy Secretary-General of the  
Organisation for Economic Co-  
operation and Development (OECD)

**2. Alexandra Dariescu,**  
Award-winning concert pianist,  
producer of "The Nutcracker and  
I" and creative entrepreneur, 2018  
European Young Leader (EYL40)

**3. Mario Monti,** Italian Senator for  
life, Chair of the World Health  
Organization's (WHO) Pan-European  
Commission on Health and Sustainable  
Development, former prime minister,  
former European commissioner  
and Trustee of Friends of Europe





# Environmental urgency

An animal-borne disease, COVID-19 has highlighted interconnections between humanity and the species we share the planet with. It should serve as wakeup call on the need to protect biodiversity and fight climate change. “We have to admit that in the general public, the biodiversity crisis does not have the same sense of urgency as the climate or the COVID emergency. We need to use all our efforts to increase the sense of urgency,” said **Frans Timmermans**, European Commission Executive Vice-President for the Green Deal. Everybody needs to pull together to bring that about, he said, calling for alliances among civil society, the private sector and the general public to demand action from politicians. “If you want us to succeed ... you all need to put pressure on the legislators, both in terms of the governments and the European Parliament,” the Commissioner insisted. “There is a lack of sense of urgency in both institutions.”

Timmermans was among speakers who insisted on a whole-of-society approach to shift key economic drivers towards sustainable production and consumption practices. Damage done to the climate and nature is immense, but it is not too late to reverse biodiversity decline, said **Marco Lambertini**, Director General of the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF). He designated energy, farming, fishing, forestry, mining and infrastructure as key sectors for transition to a climate-neutral and nature-positive economy. He said COVID-19 creates



“The private sector will be key in our efforts to make the transition to a low-carbon and more climate-resilient future

**Emma Navarro**, Vice-President of the European Investment Bank (EIB)

‘an incredible opportunity’ to compress that transition into a few years, using post-pandemic recovery plans. “The picture is bleak, but the opportunity to change is in our hands,” he said. Aligning governments, investors and business with the objectives of the Paris Agreement is crucial. “The private sector will be key in our efforts to make the transition to a low-carbon and more climate-resilient future,” said **Emma Navarro**, Vice-President of the European Investment Bank (EIB). “Without the private sector we will not succeed.”

Business leaders insist they have got the message. “All companies, all societies need to have a healthy planet,” said **Tim Brett**, Western Europe President at the Coca-Cola Company. For example, he said, Coca-Cola is working to guarantee that it puts back more water than it uses and that its packaging in Europe is 100% recyclable. COVID-19 has been a wakeup call for companies to take a more sustainable and socially aware stance. “It has caused us to pause, and to think about what is important,” Brett added. “Never before has that ‘make-a-difference’ part of our purpose, our mission, been more valid. We are determined to make a difference.”

“We have made energy transition our *raison d’être*,” added **Jean-Pierre Clamadieu**, Chairman of the Board of Directors of ENGIE. “The green deal for us is a great enabler, a great accelerator of the energy transition in Europe.” Laggards can expect pressure from nature-aware customers. “Consumers are increasingly buying things on the basis of companies that they feel aligned with from a values point of



“Consumers are increasingly buying things on the basis of companies that they feel aligned with from a values point of view

**Joakim Reiter**, Vodafone’s Group External Affairs Director and member of the Group’s Executive Committee

view,” explained **Joakim Reiter**, Vodafone’s Group External Affairs Director and member of the Group’s Executive Committee. Governments can crank up that pressure by putting a ‘price on nature’, applying fiscal penalties, or incentives, relative to companies’ biodiversity impacts. That idea was broadly welcomed by business representatives, although there were differences with civil society over how to calculate the metrics of such a system. “The problem is combining all the metrics. We can put a science-based target on climate, a metric on climate, through carbon emissions that we will be held accountable to, and we sign up to that,” said Brett. “When you get to the broader issues of water sustainability, how we are using agriculture, how we are using our packaging, it is difficult to find a common metric that everybody is using.” However, he explained that Coca-Cola is among companies working with WWF and others to agree industry-wide standards.

Ahead of talks on reforming the EU’s Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), participants called for an overhaul of EU farm and trade practices to promote environment protection, for example by halting trade deals that promote deforestation or undermine social and environmental standards. “If you want society to accept trade agreements, they’d better be fair trade agreements, which they are not today,” said Timmermans. Agricultural policy can be reformed to offer farmers a viable, sustainable future. “We should make the argument that there is a future for a different kind of agriculture,” Timmermans asserted. “We need to stop seeing the agricultural field as something completely sealed off from the rest of society ... this can no longer be the case; they are



“We have to bring broadband everywhere in the rural areas. [...] Bringing back a natural relationship with our natural environment needs digitalisation, it sounds like a contradiction in terms, but it’s not, these two need to strengthen each other

**Frans Timmermans**, European Commission Executive Vice-President for the Green Deal





interlinked to everything else we do.” To that end, the Commissioner urged authorities to open a direct dialogue with farmers as ‘custodians of the land’ rather than talking through big landowners and agro-industrial corporations. Investment is also needed to ensure rural communities are not left behind in the digital transformation. “We have to bring broadband everywhere in the rural areas,” Timmermans said. “The only way we can create a successful and sustainable agriculture is if we introduce digitalisation, if we introduce precision agriculture. Bringing back a natural relationship with our natural environment needs digitalisation, it sounds like a contradiction in terms, but it’s not, these two need to strengthen each other.”

“Climate change is hurting agriculture more than any other industry, any other human activity,” said **Emmanuel Faber**, Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer of Danone. “Farmers ...

“People are not cognisant today that they do not pay the full price for their food

**Emmanuel Faber**, Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer of Danone

are all ready to change, but they need support, they need funds.” As well as government support, consumers need to contribute to more sustainable farming. “People are not cognisant today that they do not pay the full price for their food,” Faber said. “They system has ... disconnected people from the reality of their food.” A shift in consumption patterns away from non-essentials - such as updating digital gadgets - and a re-focus on essentials is required. CEO's of companies dealing with farmers are well aware of the problems, Faber added. “If we still want to collect from farms, to harvest from farms, five or ten years down the road, you need to make sure that we sink carbon back into the soil and restore soil health.” Health and biodiversity can be boosted by promoting a greater variety of crop and livestock species, he said. “There is a critical and incredible lack of diversity in the way that we farm,” Faber explained. “There is a need to re-expand the number of seeds, the number of varieties, the number of species that are involved in agriculture.” Governments should open carbon markets for farmers, to encourage regenerative agriculture; and the EU should adopt labelling rules that show the environmental impact of food products so consumers can make sustainable choices.





1. **Marco Lambertini**, Director General of the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) International
2. **Mary Robinson**, Former President of the Republic of Ireland, chair of the Elders and Adjunct Professor of Climate Justice
3. **Joseph Nye**, Professor of International Relations at Harvard University, political scientist, author and commentator
4. **Damast Duo**, Syrian violinist Shalan Alhamwy and Belgian accordionist Jonas Malfliet



# Industrial strategy in the digital age

Digital transformation is essential to ensure Europe's Green Deal maximises its economic punch. "Alongside ... ecological restructuring, digitalisation must be at the core of our recovery," said **Minna Kelhä**, Finland's State Secretary for Education. "They are both crucial, in any case, if we want Europe to achieve its goals of sustainability, climate justice and economic vitality, but the current crisis has brought a new sense of urgency to these tasks."

An ambitious push for digital transition is essential to lift European competitiveness. "The first thing is to make sure that the digital deal is at the same level of ambition, political will, as the green deal," contended **Frank Heemskerck**, Secretary-General at the European Round Table for Industry (ERT) and former Dutch minister for foreign trade. "If you look, for example, at the roll out of 5G, it is terrible. Europe is horribly behind. And 5G is not about faster Netflix, it's also not the reason why we have corona, 5G is important because it's the software, it's the infrastructure for the plants, for the factories, for the jobs of the future." The ERT has developed 28 Key Performance Indicators to monitor digital progress. "If we don't measure the progress, then it doesn't keep that momentum," Heemskerck concluded.



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**Frank Heemskerck**, Secretary-General at the European Round Table for Industry (ERT) and former Dutch minister for foreign trade



**Ulrik Vestergaard Knudsen**, Deputy Secretary-General of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), identified three things Europe needs to boost competitiveness: roll out connectivity with investments in 5G and AI; complete the digital single market; keep working with international partners. “Whether you look at this from a geopolitical viewpoint or an economic viewpoint, or even just a viewpoint of inclusiveness - getting everyone on board this digital transformation - connectivity is tremendously important,” he said. That will involve ensuring Europe has the right investment policies, industrial strategy and regulatory framework. “We need to change the rules regarding competition policy to take into account the fact that digital platforms do not have the same business models as bricks-and-mortar companies,” said **Agnès Pannier-Runacher**, French Minister Delegate for Industry. “This is an economic fact and we need to draw the consequences.”

Such changes will help secure a level playing field for European companies alongside competitors from the United States, China and elsewhere. Achieving that does not mean lurching towards protectionism, asserted Pannier-Runacher. “We need to be strong, but we need to be in an open mind and not a protectionist mind,” she said. “If we want to be strong, we have to build a competitive edge, and to build a competitive edge means investing in innovation, enhancing competences in our labour skills, and supporting digital and green transitions. That is massive investments to be done, now.” Disruption in the early days of the pandemic underscored Europe’s need



“We need to change the rules regarding competition policy to take into account the fact that digital platforms do not have the same business models as bricks-and-mortar companies

**Agnès Pannier-Runacher**, French Minister Delegate for Industry

for resilient supply chains, but COVID-19 has also reinforced the importance of cooperation, openness and a multilateral outlook.

“The whole world has suffered ... This is a global crisis, so it's time for more cooperation than ever,” said **Cecilia Malmström**, former European Commissioner for Trade and Trustee of Friends of Europe. “The global world order is really under pressure and no country is sovereign enough to deal with this alone. So, what we need to do is to reinforce cooperation.” She said Europe needs to become more sovereign in foreign affairs and push for a level playing field in world trade, including through reforming the World Trade Organisation and persuading China to ‘play by the rules’. However, that should mean shutting the door on open trade. “Europe cannot turn into protectionism; it would be a huge mistake, because nobody has achieved more from open trade in the past decades than the European Union,” Malmström, said. “Import and export is good for Europe, it will be key for the recovery.” A strong economic rebound from the pandemic could see Europe positioned to take a lead in dealing with pressing global challenges. “If we recover and become stronger economically, we are also more resilient and we can set a model in Europe for climate-friendly technology standards,” Malmström concluded.

Investment in technology will mean little without investment in research, education and training. “We have to make sure that people have the skills,” said **Rebeca Minguela**, Founder and CEO of Clarity AI and European Young Leader. “We need to invest more in R&D, in science and research. It's not just about technology,



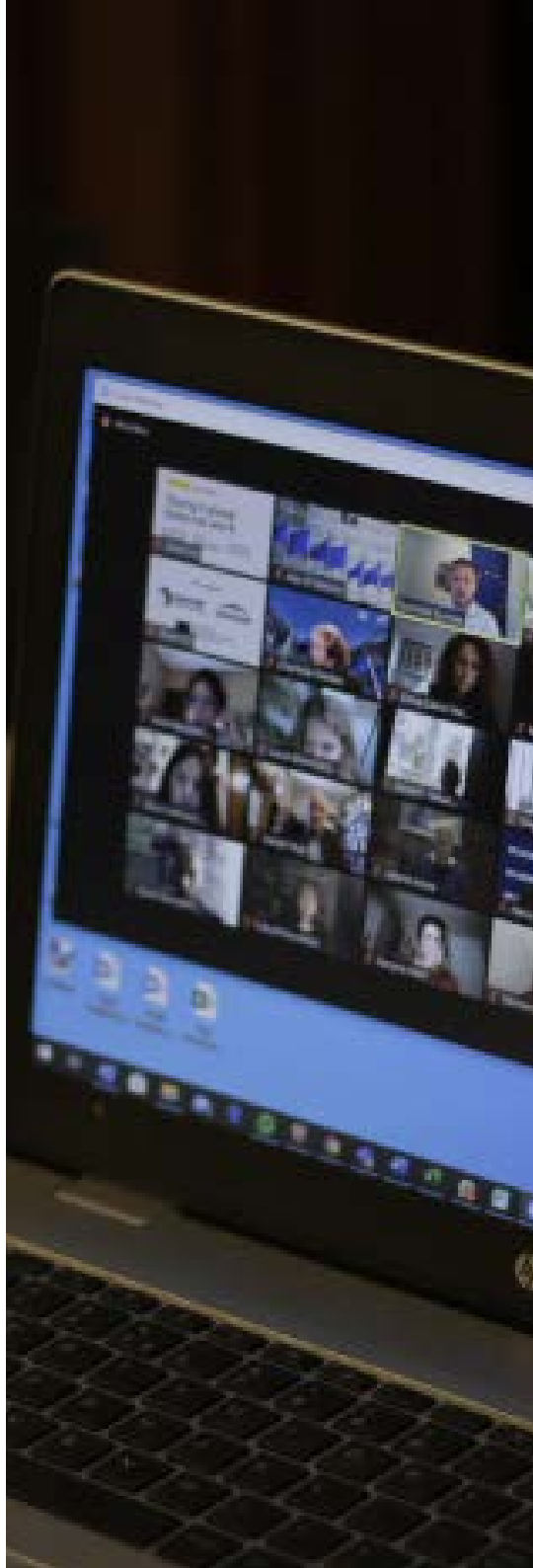
“The global world order is really under pressure and no country is sovereign enough to deal with this alone. So, what we need to do is to reinforce cooperation. [...] Europe cannot turn into protectionism. [...] Import and export is good for Europe, it will be key for the recovery

**Cecilia Malmström**, former European Commissioner for Trade and Trustee of Friends of Europe

it's also about the proper research.” Developing skills can also reduce society’s digital divide: as examples, **Răzvan Foncea**, Romanian U.N. Youth Delegate, said investment is needed to prevent young people in vocational and technical training being denied access to digital education, as happened during pandemic lockdowns; and **Anne Riechert**, CEO and co-founder at ReDI School of Digital Integration, explained how her organization is bringing tech skills to refugees and migrant women.

Several speakers cautioned against any drive to replicate US-style tech giants. They argued that Europe’s small enterprise ecosystem is more competitive, more sustainable and more socially aware. “The extraordinary diversity of Europe’s human capital ... creates an innovation capacity that is perhaps unequalled in the world,” wrote **Che Van Dÿck**, Director of the Digital Leadership Institute.

As policy makers plot a post-COVID recovery, there were calls for a rethink of the traditional focus on expanding gross domestic product. “We need to move away from economic growth focused on GDP, towards economic growth focused on wellbeing,” argued Portuguese lawmaker Baptista Leite. “Without having economic growth that can trickle down to the people we will not address the inequalities.” **Jessica Micklem**, Coordinator of the Global Youth Biodiversity Network (GYBN), had a similar idea. “Let’s not aim for the past measure of success but implement a new one that integrates social and environmental wellbeing and intergenerational equity,” she wrote.



The post-COVID economy will need a welfare system adequate to face challenges thrown up by the pandemic, which has hit the poor hardest. “COVID has exposed the price ... of letting housing, incomes, health access become extraordinarily unequal in our societies,” cautioned **Ngairé Woods**, Founding Dean of the Blavatnik School of Government and Professor of Global Economic Governance at the University of Oxford. To change, Europe must invest in resilient and innovative social protection structures. “We have to invent the social welfare state for the new economy,” said **Nicolas Schmit**, European Commissioner for Jobs and Social Rights, former Luxembourg minister for labour, employment, and the social and solidarity economy. With pandemic spending pushing deficits and debt to record levels, **Domna Michailidou**, Deputy Minister of Labour and Social Affairs of Greece and 2020 European Young Leader, argued for a mindset shift on welfare. “For financing of the welfare system to be sustainable, it needs to be understood as an investment rather than just spending,” she said. “We can transform the notion, the very concept of welfare policy from a draining factor to actual investment in human capital.”

Social policy also has to take account of COVID-19’s disproportionate impact on women. “No crisis is gender neutral; it’s true that this crisis at the moment is worse for women,” said **Mary Robinson**, Former President of the Republic of Ireland, chair of the Elders and Adjunct Professor of Climate Justice. Participants argued contributory social protection schemes carry built-in discrimination against women who



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carry the burden of unpaid care work. “Social protection policies must correct the gender imbalance,” insisted **Birgit Van Hout**, Regional Representative for Europe, United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR). **Lindsey Nefesh-Clarke**, Founder & Managing Director Women’s Worldwide Web (W4) and European Young Leader, suggested the work of such unpaid carers be factored into GDP.

Fairer taxation is key to sustainable social systems. State of Europe featured widespread calls for a crackdown on tax loopholes exploited by wealthy individuals, financial institutions and large corporations. “Big companies ... though they have billions of reserves, billions of profits, they are not taxed anywhere. This is a situation that puts our budgets and our welfare states under heavy pressure,” Schmit recognised. “The Pandemic should inspire us and lead us to more internationally agreed measures and fairer taxation.” One idea for making taxation fairer came from **Jakub Zientala**, EU Affairs Officer, Circle of Sustainable Europe. “Data is becoming the new oil,” he said. “Every company on the internet ... is mining this data, with or without our consent, and they are making a ton of money from that, so why not tax it?”



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**Nicolas Schmit**, European Commissioner for Jobs and Social Rights, former Luxembourg minister for labour, employment, and the social and solidarity economy



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1. **Jean-Pierre Clamadiou**,  
Chairman of the Board of  
Directors of ENGIE
2. **Gabriele Bischoff**,  
Vice-Chair of the European  
Parliament's Committee on  
Constitutional Affairs (AFCO)
3. **Hélène Conway-Mouret**,  
Vice-President of the  
French Senate
4. **Tim Brett**, Western  
Europe President at the  
Coca-Cola Company



# Recovery and EU reform

Key to Europe's recovery plans are the €750 bn NextGenerationEU fund to help economies hardest hit by the pandemic and the €1.074 tln EU budget for the next seven years. How that money is spent is key to determining Europe's future. "When we look back, this will be a decisive moment in Europe's history," predicted **Paul Tang**, Chair of the European Parliament's Subcommittee on Tax Matters. "It will be a breakthrough, or we get a backlash." There were divergent opinions on the economic punch packed by the recovery fund. Some said it counted more in terms of political symbolism than real economic weight, while others viewed the plan as key for triggering Europe's post-COVID rebound.

Either way, it's clear EU money has to be spent efficiently. Speakers insisted the 30% of the budget earmarked for climate objectives has to be targeted at projects with maximum impact. "We need to have climate-smart and biodiversity-smart policies that will drive jobs and will drive growth opportunity to kickstart the economies," said **Inger Andersen**, Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). "As we are taking this stimulus package, we are borrowing from the future – this is not money sitting in government coffers. Are we going to borrow and stay in that groove of the dirty, of the toxic and the grey?" There were differences among participants over whether the green transition should include funding for



“We need to have climate-smart and biodiversity-smart policies that will drive jobs and will drive growth opportunity to kickstart the economies. [...] Are we going to borrow and stay in that groove of the dirty, of the toxic and the grey?”

**Inger Andersen**, Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP)

‘cleaner’ fossil fuels such as natural gas to help ease economies off dependence on coal and oil; and on the role of nuclear in energy transition. One idea to maximise use of the EU funds was to invest money not taken up by national governments in pan-European projects.

Speakers stressed the imperative of transparency to prevent misuse of the new fund. They demanded rule-of-law conditionality to make sure recovery money does not end up filling the pockets of crooks, oligarchs and authoritarians. In a special ‘idea sharing’ session, **Timothy Garton Ash**, Professor of European Studies at Oxford University, historian, author and commentator, presented a study on what young people want from Europe. It confirmed high support for climate action but said other issues should not be neglected. “In the territory of the Green New Deal, which is what we’re in at the moment, we mustn’t forget those other dimensions of jobs and social security, of the freedom of movement, but also issues like immigration, like hard external security.”

Governments must resist pressure to use the funding to prop-up ‘dead-end jobs’ in obsolete industries, argued **Paul Taylor**, Senior Fellow at Friends of Europe and Contributing Editor at POLITICO. “Tough decisions ... will have to be made to pull the plug slowly, or rapidly, on sectors or jobs which are unlikely ever to come back, or that public policy should not want to come back, to make sure that the recovery fund money is used really on jobs of the future,” he said. Several contributors also called for governments to support individuals directly rather than companies. For example, **Alexandra Dariescu**,



“We think that citizens have to have a greater say. [...] Nothing is off the table.

**Dubravka Šuica**, European Commission Vice-President for Democracy and Demography

European Young Leader, award-winning concert pianist, producer of ‘The Nutcracker and I’ and creative entrepreneur, appealed for assistance for artists. “I would like to see them ... focus on the individual creators,” she said. “While we’ve seen so many organisations being bailed out, individual artists, mostly freelancers continue to see their contracts cancelled well into the future.”

The upcoming Conference on the Future of Europe was welcomed as an opportunity for a bottom-up assessment of reform priorities. “In this state of confusion ... we need to have confidence in what we really believe we should do,” said **Etienne Davignon**, President of Friends of Europe, Belgian Minister of State and former vice-president of the European Commission. From both the European Commission and the Parliament came pledges to listen to the public and encourage free-ranging debate. “We think that citizens have to have a greater say,” explained **Dubravka Šuica**, European Commission Vice-President for Democracy and Demography. “Nothing is off the table;” “If you want to have a new reborn Europe, you have to change some things fundamentally;” added **Gabriele Bischoff**, Vice-Chair of the European Parliament’s Committee on Constitutional Affairs (AFCO). **Alexander Stubb**, Director of the School of Transnational Governance at the European Institute and former prime minister of Finland, welcomed the Conference as an opportunity for a shake-up. “We should go full Monty, fully disruptive, use modern technology, let all the flowers bloom, have absolutely no limits on this,” he said. Some participants said the Conference would be an opportunity to push for an end to unanimity voting in the Council in



“We should go full Monty, fully disruptive, use modern technology, let all the flowers bloom, have absolutely no limits on this

**Alexander Stubb**, Director of the School of Transnational Governance at the European Institute and former prime minister of Finland





policy areas such as foreign affairs and taxation; others warned that would lead the Conference into deadlock.

Europe's efforts to improve refugee and migration policy was also discussed, in the light of the continent's declining population. "Migration will be one of the components of how to make Europe great again," suggested Šuica. To combat racism, her colleague **Helena Dalli**, European Commissioner for Equality, said Europe had to look beyond legislation to grapple with underlying prejudice. "We may have the best legislation in the world, but what we have to change are attitudes and prejudices," she said. "What we have to work on, to be effective, are policy responses that address racism in all its different forms." Recruitment policy in the EU institutions should be 'key instruments to foster diversity', Dalli added.

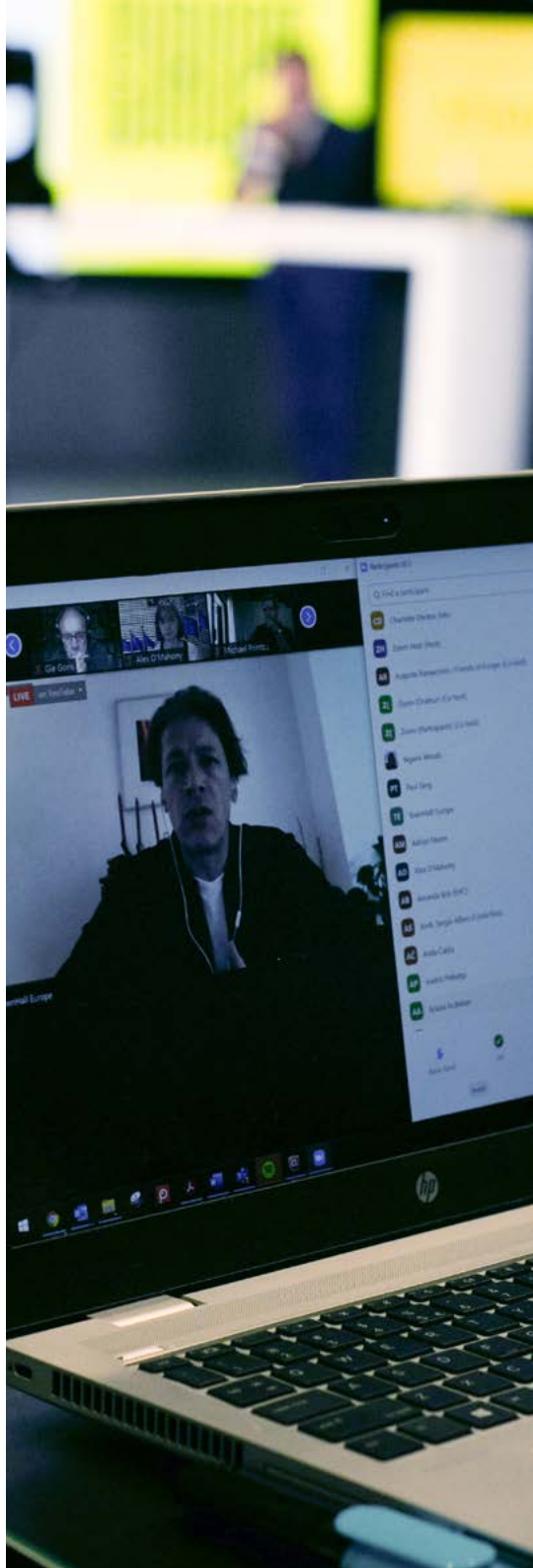
Education from an early age is also essential for eliminating prejudice, said **Samira Rafaela**,

“We need to invest in education that teaches us about the shared history that we have, that teaches us about different cultures, different people and the way we can have inclusion

**Samira Rafaela**, Co-chair of the European Parliament Anti-Racism and Diversity Intergroup

Co-chair of the European Parliament Anti-Racism and Diversity Intergroup. “We need to invest in education that teaches us about the shared history that we have, that teaches us about different cultures, different people and the way we can have inclusion.”

To combat political polarisation and prejudice of all sorts, **Kris De Meyer**, Research Fellow in Neuroscience at the Department of Neuroimaging, Kings College London, showcased work in organizing silo-busting debates where people with divergent views seek practical solutions to real problems. “Opinions naturally fragment and polarise on what to do about big, abstract problems,” he wrote. “We have to . . . bring people together to work systematically on concrete solutions and actionable ideas.” Social media’s role spreading hate speech and facilitating extremism must be regulated, said **David McNair**, Executive Director Global Policy, The ONE Campaign. “New social media platforms . . . need to increasingly be treated the same as tobacco companies in terms of the public health and societal implications,” he wrote.





- 1 **Helena Dalli**, European Commissioner for Equality
- 2 **Etienne Davignon**, President of Friends of Europe, Belgian Minister of State and former vice-president of the European Commission
- 3 **Rebeca Minguela**, Founder and CEO of Clarity AI and 2018 European YoungLeader (EYL40)
- 4 **Matthias Evers**, Senior Partner at McKinsey & Company





# Make up or breakup? Europe's role in the wider world: how to be more effective in the era of Trump and COVID

While some Europeans were sceptical on the impact of Europe's recovery fund, an influential voice from across the Atlantic was impressed by the scale of the plan and the push by France and Germany to secure its approval. "That was real leadership and a very important step for Europe moving in the right direction," said **Joseph Nye**, Professor of International Relations at Harvard University, political scientist, author and commentator.

Chinese muscle-flexing, Russian belligerence and US unpredictability have spurred calls for Europe to develop 'strategic autonomy' to defend its interests, democracy and the multilateral world order. However, from the country most vocal in those calls came assurances autonomy would not undermine

the Atlantic Alliance. "When France defends strategic autonomy in Europe, it is with a view to be able to defend European interests and not – and I think France is wrongly accused of that too often – to challenge NATO," explained **Hélène Conway-Mouret**, Vice-President of the French Senate. That dovetailed with the view from Alliance headquarters: "I strongly believe that the European Union needs a stronger place in the world," said **Mircea Geoană**, NATO Deputy Secretary-General. "But we have to do it in a way to not weaken the political West, to not weaken the transatlantic bond." He likened the 71-year-old Atlantic Alliance to an 'old marriage' and suggested it was time 'to renew our vows', mend fences and inject fresh energy into the relationship. Participants made the point that strategic autonomy does not only

concern military capabilities, but is also about Europe strengthening supply chains; enhancing innovation; and competing on the global stage to advance its standards and norms.

Naturally, November's U.S. presidential election loomed large. Many were optimistic a Biden victory will reset transatlantic relations. Nye said he'd been worried 'less about the rise of China than the rise of Trump, and by the rise of Trump, I mean the rise of nationalist populism', but he was hopeful relations could recover if Trump was limited to a single term. "I don't think we are at a stage of irreversibility. We can repair most of what Trump has done," he added. However, others cautioned that, even if Biden restores predictability in foreign relations, the U.S. focus is likely to take an Asia-Pacific turn, so Europe will still have to play a stronger international role to better assert its values and defend its interests in a changing world. "We have no other choice but to be geopolitical, taking into account the realities around us," said **Pawel Herczynski**, Managing Director of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) and Crisis Response at the European External Action Service (EEAS).

As Portugal prepares to take on the EU presidency in January, Defence Minister **João Cravinho Gomes** recognised the Union needs 'a very frank, very realist reading of the world.' He revealed Portuguese presidency will aim to build up capabilities and partnerships; develop Europe's maritime security; strengthen civil-military cooperation; and look south to Africa and the MENA region. "We have to move forward on the European defence identity in a



“I strongly believe that the European Union needs a stronger place in the world. But we have to do it in a way to not weaken the political West, to not weaken the transatlantic bond.

**Mircea Geoană**, NATO Deputy Secretary-General

way that is perfectly harmonious with and does not jeopardise, but on the contrary strengthens, the transatlantic relationship,” he said. To be effective, Europe must match words with action, in particular on defence spending. “On security and defence, rather than the production of paper, we really ought to concentrate a lot more on what we do in practice,” said **Nathalie Tocci**, Director at the International Affairs Institute (IAI). Government spending is likely to be switched away from defence budgets during the post-pandemic recovery so, Herczynski said, it is more important than ever for European nations to avoid costly duplication by upping coordination of spending.

Europe’s quest for strategic autonomy should not just be related to Trump. Even with a Biden presidency, the US international role will not go back to what it used to be. Even with a more benign transatlantic relationship, Europe will need to better assert its values and defend its interests in a changing world. So, the worse thing the EU could do would be to interpret a Biden presidency as a pretext to relax its efforts on strategic autonomy.

Nye was clear Washington should welcome a more muscular Europe. “The stronger Europe gets, the better it is for us,” he said. “The Americans can’t do this acting alone and that’s more true than ever ... If you are going to deal with these issues, the global transnational issues, you are going to have to do with others.” Despite international concerns over its more forceful role, there were reassurances Beijing remains committed to the global order. “China of course was one of the biggest beneficiaries



“China of course was one of the biggest beneficiaries of the global system but now China wants to uphold that, wants to maintain that and also wants to support that

**Henry Huiyao Wang**, President of the Centre for China & Globalization (CCG)

of the global system but now China wants to uphold that, wants to maintain that and also wants to support that,” asserted **Henry Huiyao Wang**, President of the Centre for China & Globalization (CCG).

With international rivalries hampering effective UN action and so many governments looking inward, some saw hope in new forms of ‘grassroots multilateralism’ reflected in the cooperation among academics and the private sector to develop and distribute a COVID-19 vaccine, or youth-led activism against climate change and racism. “There is a certain gloominess about the quality of global leadership, but ... it depends on where we are looking for the leadership,” said **Baroness Valerie Amos**, Master of University College Oxford and Trustee of Friends of Europe. She added that Europe can play a role in addressing and advancing the needs of the developing countries in multilateral fora like the UN at a time when the US is distracted and China is pursuing its particular model and interests. Finally, she praised the role of youth in upholding cooperation values: “We are inspired by the young people who have been leading global movements.”



“There is a certain gloominess about the quality of global leadership but [...] we are inspired by the young people who have been leading global movements

**Baroness Valerie Amos**, Master of University College Oxford and Trustee of Friends of Europe



1. **Gábor Kerpel-Fronius**, Deputy Mayor of Budapest responsible for Smart City initiatives and Participatory Democracy
2. **Jasna Gabric**, Mayor of Trbovlje and 2020 European Young Leader (EYL40)
3. **João Cravinho Gomes**, Portuguese Minister of Defence
4. **Timothy Garton Ash**, Professor of European Studies at Oxford University, historian, author and commentator
5. **Nathalie Tocci**, Director at the International Affairs Institute (IAI)





# Conclusion

COVID-19 may have kept speakers physically apart, but State of Europe 2020 proved there are no barriers to the flow of ideas. From corporate leaders taking forward the cause of green transition, politicians pointing the way to economic rebound, medical professionals heralding healthcare reform and resilience, and innovators promoting the benefits of AI, big data and biotech, there was no shortage of optimism. After a decade blighted by depression, division and disease, policymakers, opinion-setters and market movers now need to build on the optimism generated in this festival of politics and ideas to ensure the 2020s offer a brighter, more inclusive and sustainable future for all.



# Citizens' poll 2020

For the third year in a row, Friends of Europe conducted the **#EuropeMatters** poll of European citizens to get a taste of how they feel about the EU in their lives and where they think the block's focus should be.

This year, we commissioned YouGov to poll over 10,500 European citizens from 11 EU Member States (France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Sweden and Denmark). Participants were asked to choose from a list of policy areas they think the EU should prioritise over the next 5 years.

Overall, 49% of Europeans surveyed said they want the EU to prioritise working for the environment and a sustainable future. This compares to 43% who said they wanted the EU to prioritise helping European countries recover from the economic damage caused by the coronavirus and lockdown measures.

Prioritising the environment was broadly popular across Europe, with 43 – 64% of Europeans from 10 of the 11 countries surveyed saying that it should be a priority for the EU over the next 5 years. However, there exists a strong North-South divide when it comes to the EU's economic recovery plan. Around two thirds (65-66%) of those in Spain, Greece and Portugal and a majority in Italy (58%), said they wanted the EU to prioritise economic recovery, compared to only around a quarter of Germans (28%), Swedes (26%) and Danes (25%).

Citizens were also asked whether they thought their lives would be better, worse, or the same if the European Union no longer existed; 44% of those surveyed said their lives would be 'slightly worse' or 'much worse' without the EU, versus 21% who thought they would be 'slightly better' or 'much better' off without the European Union, and 20% who expected no difference either way.

In 2020, the number who prioritised securing European borders was 41% though, as in previous years, that number masks a significant generational divide; 31% of people aged 18-44 listed it as a priority, compared to 48% of people aged 45+.

**We asked 10,500 Europeans from 11 Member States whether they thought their life would be better, worse, or the same without the EU.**

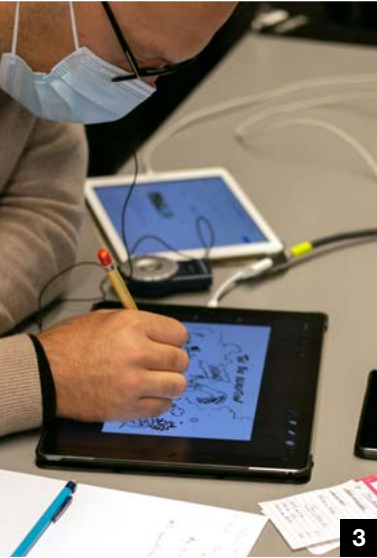


**We asked 10,500 Europeans from 11 Member States what areas the EU should prioritise over the next 5 years.**



said they wanted the EU to prioritise economic recovery





1. **Bertalan Meskó**, Founder of The Medical Futurist and 2019 European Young Leader (EYL40)
2. **Pawel Herczynski**, Managing Director of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) and Crisis Response at the European External Action Service (EEAS)
3. **Frederic Thonar (TONU)**, Freelance cartoonist
4. **Domna Michailidou**, Deputy Minister of Labour and Social Affairs of Greece and 2020 European Young Leader (EYL40)



# Programme Day 1 - 12 OCT

09.30-11.00  
**high-level  
session**

FESTIVAL OPENING

## **A question of leadership, governance and trust**

There is nothing like a crisis to bring into sharp relief the short-sightedness of leadership. Agile decision-making and dynamic policy thinking are fine words but they don't mean anything if citizens don't see any actual effects on their lives and livelihoods. In this period of back to back crises, leaders will have to tackle dilemmas in the nexus of public safety, continuity of services and access to essentials, whilst managing and abating the downward spiral of an economy.

How do we get the leadership, governance and trust dynamic right to ensure a recovery that strengthens the resilience of the EU project?

INTRODUCTORY DISCUSSANTS

**Paul Tang**, Chair of the European Parliament's Subcommittee on Tax Matters

**Ngairé Woods**, Founding Dean of the Blavatnik School of Government and Professor of Global Economic Governance at the University of Oxford

MODERATOR

**Dharmendra Kanani**, Director of Insights, Friends of Europe

WELCOMING REMARKS

**Etienne Davignon**, President of Friends of Europe, Belgian Minister of State and former vice-president of the European Commission

14.00-15.00  
**high-level  
session**

PLANET, CLIMATE AND DEMOGRAPHICS

## **Stepping up government and corporate leadership: towards a new approach to growth**

A minimum of 55% target of emission reduction in Europe by 2030 means doing business differently. This means adopting a new approach to growth which puts climate needs, alongside solving inequalities and digital transformation, as central drivers of the recovery. As businesses are revolutionising the way they make decisions by proactively identifying, measuring and valuing their impacts and dependencies on natural capital, they can also bolster a more sustainable, just and resilient economy. How can businesses align growth with the EU's recovery plan and contribute in the EU's "build back better" phase?

INTRODUCTORY DISCUSSANTS

**Tim Brett**, Western Europe President at the Coca-Cola Company

**Marco Lambertini**, Director General of the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) International

**Emma Navarro**, Vice-President of the European Investment Bank (EIB)

MODERATOR

**Dharmendra Kanani**, Director of Insights at Friends of Europe

16.00-16.30

**Debating Europe  
citizens' panel**

PEOPLE, TRUST AND FAIRNESS

**What will be the 'new normal' for European cities?**

Public life will need to adapt to a 'new normal' due to COVID-19, and cities will be at the forefront. People will have new requirements from offices, schools, shops, parks, and so on. Streets, for example, will be shut to car traffic to allow more outdoor space for restaurants; public transport systems need to adapt to lower passenger capacities; more indoor events need to be held outdoors. Cities and mayors will need to be innovative as they navigate these challenges, and will need the support of government and citizens. How can citizens be more involved in local problem solving as we emerge from lockdown? How can solutions at the local level be brought to the heart of the EU approach?

INTRODUCTORY DISCUSSANTS

**Jasna Gabric**, Mayor of Trbovlje and 2020 European Young Leader (EYL40)

**Gábor Kerpel-Fronius**, Deputy Mayor of Budapest responsible for Smart City initiatives and Participatory Democracy

MODERATOR

**Joe Litobarski**, Editor at Debating Europe

17.15-17.30

**idea sharing**

PEOPLE, TRUST AND FAIRNESS

**What young Europeans want the EU to do**

Young Europeans will be hard-hit by the economic consequences of the Covid crisis. The long-term future of the EU depends on it having their continued support. Europe's Stories, an Oxford University research project led by Professor Timothy Garton Ash, is trying to find out what the next generation in the EU really wants the EU to deliver. Climate change, social security and freedom of movement are near the top of the list. What are the implications of inter-generational solidarity in Europe and for EU policy thinking?

WITH

**Timothy Garton Ash**, Professor of European Studies at Oxford University, historian, author and commentator

17.30-18.30  
**high-level  
session**

PEOPLE, TRUST AND FAIRNESS

## **How do we pay social protection?**

The crisis has created the biggest economic shock in history, deepening inequalities and creating the largest public debt ever. Providing a safety net for workers and businesses has been costly but necessary. As we move to recovery, can the EU turn its social pillar into the foundation of a new social contract which guarantees welfare to all citizens and ensures the private sector play its part ?

INTRODUCTORY DISCUSSANTS

**Domna Michailidou**, Deputy Minister of Labour and Social Affairs of Greece and 2020 European Young Leader (EYL40)

**Mary Robinson**, Former President of the Republic of Ireland, chair of the Elders and Adjunct Professor of Climate Justice

**Nicolas Schmit**, European Commissioner for Jobs and Social Rights, former Luxembourg minister for labour, employment, and the social and solidarity economy

MODERATOR

**Tamsin Rose**, Senior Fellow for Health at Friends of Europe

# Programme Day 2 - 13 OCT

09.30-09.45  
**idea sharing**

TRADE, MARKETS AND GEOPOLITICS

## **The Bio Revolution**

Advances in biological science could transform economies and societies. Unleashing innovation in biosciences will help to tackle global challenges from climate change to pandemics. Managed investment and innovation could create a competitive edge for Europe, but how do we allow this revolution to flourish while keeping the risks at bay?

WITH

**Matthias Evers**, Senior Partner at McKinsey & Company

09.45-11.00  
**high-level  
session**

TRADE, MARKETS AND GEOPOLITICS

## **Reshaping the EU's industrial strategy, from competition to trade policy**

The social market economy has been and will continue to be a successful model for the EU and worldwide. The European industrial strategy is a strategic tool to strengthen it. EU's future industrial approach will have to think long and hard about the interdependencies and value chains between sectors, regions and countries across the globe. How do we reshape the single market, competition, industrial and trade policies, while drawing from the lessons of the vulnerabilities exposed by the pandemic and reaping the benefits of an internally and externally open social market economy? Ultimately, responding to and stabilising crises will have to be a key objective of any future strategy, whilst finding clever ways to maintain sustainable growth.

INTRODUCTORY DISCUSSANTS

**Jean-Pierre Clamadieu**, Chairman of the Board of Directors of ENGIE

**Frank Heemskerk**, Secretary-General at the European Round Table for Industry (ERT) and former Dutch minister for foreign trade

**Cecilia Malmström**, Former Commissioner for Trade and Trustee of Friends of Europe

**Agnès Pannier-Runacher**, French Minister Delegate for Industry

MODERATOR

**Dharmendra Kanani**, Director of Insights at Friends of Europe



14.00-15.00  
**high-level  
session**

TRADE, MARKETS AND GEOPOLITICS

## **Beyond hard security: towards a broader concept of strategic autonomy**

At a time of growing geopolitical competition, many are pushing for a more independent EU, while ideas like “strategic autonomy” and “European sovereignty” are back in vogue.

What would strategic autonomy mean in terms of Europe’s traditional alliances as well as its role in the world and in its own neighbourhood? How can the EU - on its own if necessary - stabilise its neighbourhood and enhance its own internal resilience and crisis management capacity against future global shocks and disruptions?

INTRODUCTORY DISCUSSANTS

**Hélène Conway-Mouret**, Vice-President of the French Senate

**Mircea Geană**, NATO Deputy Secretary-General

**João Cravinho Gomes**, Portuguese Minister of Defence

**Pawel Herczynski**, Managing Director of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) and Crisis Response at the European External Action Service (EEAS)

**Nathalie Tocci**, Director at the International Affairs Institute (IAI)

MODERATOR

**Jamie Shea**, Senior Fellow for Peace and Security at Friends of Europe and former NATO Deputy Assistant Secretary General

17:30-18.30  
**high-level  
session**

PLANET, CLIMATE AND DEMOGRAPHICS

## **Stepping up government and corporate leadership: towards a landmark deal for biodiversity**

The health of people and that of the planet are interconnected. As we work to end the pandemic, we have a once-in-a-generation opportunity—and responsibility—to correct our relationship with the environment. In light of the EU Biodiversity Strategy and the Convention on Biological Diversity (COP15) of 2021, business and government engagements are key. More than ever, the two are encouraged to get their acts together, double their efforts and strike a landmark deal for biodiversity. Europe is now at a pivotal moment. It has to steer its political determination and count on pioneering business leadership to revitalise and restore biodiversity for the health of citizens.

What leadership commitments could governments and companies make to tackle climate and biodiversity emergencies alongside COVID-19 crisis? How can European institutions, governments and businesses advance an international agreement on biodiversity conservation and demonstrate global leadership as they did for climate action?

INTRODUCTORY DISCUSSANTS

**Inger Andersen**, Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP)

**Emmanuel Faber**, Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer of Danone

**Frans Timmermans**, European Commission Executive Vice-President for the Green Deal

MODERATOR

**Dharmendra Kanani**, Director of Insights, Friends of Europe

# Programme Day 3 - 14 OCT

09.30-09.45  
**high-level  
session**

PEOPLE, TRUST AND FAIRNESS

## **Tech for good**

The crisis has accelerated digital capacities to serve all aspects of social needs. How do we harness the phenomenal capacity of tech to revolutionise our societal systems without doing harm.

WITH

**Bertalan Meskó**, Founder of The Medical Futurist and 2019 European Young Leader (EYL40)

9:45-11:00  
**idea sharing**

PEOPLE, TRUST AND FAIRNESS

## **Rethinking world health systems**

COVID-19 has been a litmus test for healthcare systems around the world, often laying bare significant deficiencies. The pandemic triggered a welcome modernisation of the health sector through increased use of digital tools. International collaboration on data-sharing and joint public-private investments in research have also shortened the race to find a vaccine and new therapies. Increasing resilience, regaining more control over essential supply chains, and opening the door for more EU involvement top the political agenda in Brussels, but global crises require global responses. How can the EU, along with the rest of the world, use the virus as a catalyst to rethink and revolutionise health systems?

INTRODUCTORY DISCUSSANTS

**Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus**, Director-General of the World Health Organization (WHO)

**Ricardo Baptista Leite**, Founder and President of UNITE, Member of the Portuguese National Parliament and 2015 European Young Leader (EYL40)

**Jean-Luc Lemerrier**, Corporate Vice-President of Europe, Middle East, Africa, Canada & Latin America at Edwards Lifesciences

**Jaana Remes**, Partner at the McKinsey Global Institute (MGI)

MODERATOR

**Tamsin Rose**, Senior Fellow for Health at Friends of Europe

17.00 MOMENTS OF ARTS AND CULTURE

### **Alexandra Dariescu — a musical journey**

Alexandra Dariescu, Friends of Europe 2018 Young European Leader (EYL40), is an international concert pianist, creator and producer of *The Nutcracker and I*, RNCM Honorary Associate Artist, Cultural Ambassador of Romania, Patron Music in Lyddington and Officer of the Romanian Crown. Alexandra has performed throughout the world, from Carnegie Hall in New York, to Sydney Opera House, Dubai Opera House, Concertgebouw Amsterdam and in 2013 she became the first ever female Romanian pianist to perform at the Royal Albert Hall. An activist for gender equality rights in classical music, Alexandra dedicates her life to education projects, building bridges and reaching out to the younger generation.

## Programme Day 4 - 15 OCT

09.30-10.00

**Debating Europe  
citizens' panel**

PEOPLE, TRUST AND FAIRNESS

### **The reality of racism: breaking Europe's self perpetuating power structure**

While the Treaty of the European Union stipulates a foundation based on equality and non-discrimination, the fact is that structural racism has long prevented millions within the region from having equal access to opportunities. It's time for Europe to confront its reality – openly and honestly – and break the bonds of structural racism from top down. What can the EU do to move beyond polite acknowledgement towards real change?

INTRODUCTORY DISCUSSANTS

**Helena Dalli**, European Commissioner for Equality

**Samira Rafaela**, Co-chair of the European Parliament Anti-Racism and Diversity Intergroup

MODERATOR

**Joe Litobarski**, Editor at Debating Europe

10:00-11.00

**policy  
makers’  
debate (by  
invitation only)**

PEOPLE, TRUST AND FAIRNESS

## **Building the resilience of EU's healthcare systems**

Resilience of healthcare systems is on top of the agenda again. Patients with chronic diseases saw their care disrupted while the COVID 19 pandemic threatened to overwhelm hospitals. Global supply chains were called into question and medicine shortages were exacerbated. Establishing a European Health Union and undepinning it with biomedical research and development have been the policy responses to date.

Will the Member States overcome their historic reluctance to vest power in a shared approach to health at EU level? How can Europe support strategic investment in the resilience of health systems?

CHAIR

**Mario Monti**, Italian Senator for life, Chair of the World Health Organization's (WHO) Pan-European Commission on Health and Sustainable Development, former prime minister, former European commissioner and Trustee of Friends of Europe

MODERATOR

**Tamsin Rose**, Senior Fellow for Health at Friends of Europe

14:00-15.00  
**high-level  
session**

PEOPLE, TRUST AND FAIRNESS

## **Connected Europe: a digital enabled recovery**

The post-COVID-19 environment necessitates different and new ways of working, as Europe and the world grapple with pathways to recovery and transformation. In working for a better-connected Europe, all stakeholders have an opportunity to transform and support the creation of more sustainable and inclusive economies and societies.

How can the next decade be Europe's digital decade with clearly defined goals for connectivity, skills and digital public services. How can national and EU policymakers as well as businesses take the opportunity to make the right policy choices and proper investment in infrastructure and regulation for Europe to be the world's digital pathfinder?

INTRODUCTORY DISCUSSANTS

**Minna Khelä**, Finnish State Secretary for Education

**Rebeca Minguela**, Founder and CEO of Clarity AI and 2018 European YoungLeader (EYL40)

**Joakim Reiter**, Vodafone's Group External Affairs Director and member of the Group's Executive Committee

**Ulrik Vestergaard Knudsen**, Deputy Secretary-General of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)

MODERATOR

**Dharmendra Kanani**, Director of Insights at Friends of Europe

15:30-17:00  
**by invitation only**

## **Friends of Europe's Board of Trustees meeting**



17:30-18.30  
**high-level  
session**

TRADE, MARKETS AND GEOPOLITICS  
**‘Going it alone’ does not work**

The crisis has laid bare that a unilateral approach is bound to fail. However, many current global and regional governance and cooperative mechanisms are in a weak state.

How do we preserve a rules-based multilateral order, upholding liberal, democratic values and working with like-minded partners, without being dragged into a Cold War-style confrontation between the United States and China?

INTRODUCTORY DISCUSSANTS

**Baroness Valerie Amos**, Master of University College Oxford and Trustee of Friends of Europe

**Joseph Nye**, Professor of International Relations at Harvard University, political scientist, author and commentator

**Henry Huiyao Wang**, President of the Center for China & Globalization (CCG)

MODERATOR

**Jamie Shea**, Senior Fellow for Peace and Security at Friends of Europe and former Deputy Assistant Secretary General for emerging security challenges at NATO

18:30-19.00

**Debating Europe  
citizens' panel**

FESTIVAL CLOSING

**We the People: What vision of Europe do citizens want?**

Since the Lisbon treaty came into force in 2009, EU leaders have been desperate not to talk about treaty change. Since then, the EU has been buffeted by crisis after crisis, and calls for reform have grown. The upcoming Conference on the Future of Europe will ask citizens their thoughts on the future of the EU.

Can citizens trust the process will be genuinely accountable, following a bottom-up rather than top-down approach? How can the EU ensure muchneeded reforms have public legitimacy?

WITH

**Gabriele Bischoff**, Vice-Chair of the European Parliament's Committee on Constitutional Affairs (AFCO)

**Alexander Stubb**, Director of the School of Transnational Governance at the European University Institute (EUI) and former Finnish prime minister

**Dubravka Šuica**, European Commission Vice-President for Democracy and Demography

INTERVIEWED BY

**Nadia Gullestrup Christensen**, Danish Youth Climate and Environment Delegate to the UN

**Elitsa Hadzhieva**, 'Europe is what we make of it' Youth Bulgarian Activist

**Abdulmajid Kamar**, Storyteller and ONE Youth Ambassador

INTRODUCED BY

**Joe Litobarski**, Editor at Debating Europe

19.00

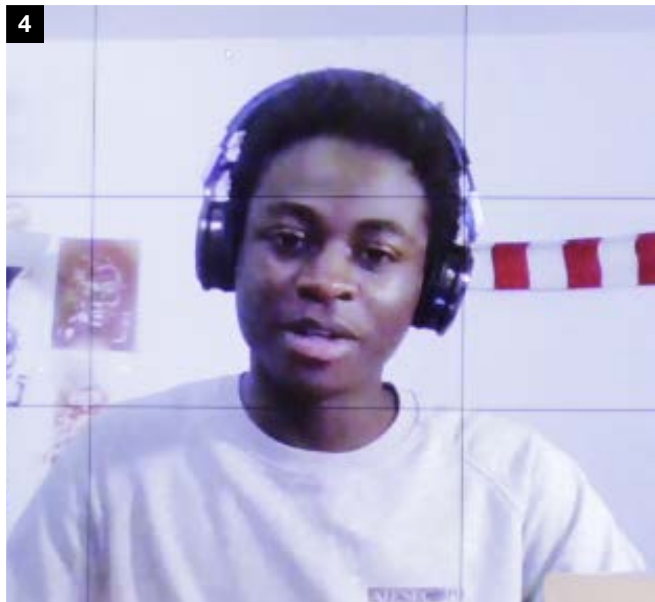
MOMENTS OF ARTS AND CULTURE

**Syrian violinist Shalan Alhamwy and Belgian accordionist Jonas Malfliet, best known as Damast Duo, bring our festival of politics and ideas to a close.**

With thanks to Bozar for their collaboration.



1. **Elitsa Hadzhieva**, 'Europe is what we make of it' Youth Bulgarian Activist
2. **Nadia Gullestrup Christensen**, Danish Youth Climate and Environment Delegate to the UN
3. **Minna Khelä**, Finnish State Secretary for Education
4. **Abdulmajid Kamar**, Storyteller and ONE Youth Ambassador



# They joined us

## **Olav Aamliid Syversen**

Country Manager, Equinor

## **Nagla Abed**

Senior Monitoring Officer for CSO Grants, Anna Lindh Foundation, Egypt

## **Arnaldo Abruzzini**

Member of the Advisory Board, European Business and Technology Centre (EBTC)

## **Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus**

Director general, World Health Organization (WHO) Headquarters, Switzerland

## **Philippe Adriaenssens**

Policy Director, European Round Table of Industrialists (ERT)

## **Maria Pilar Aguar Fernandez**

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