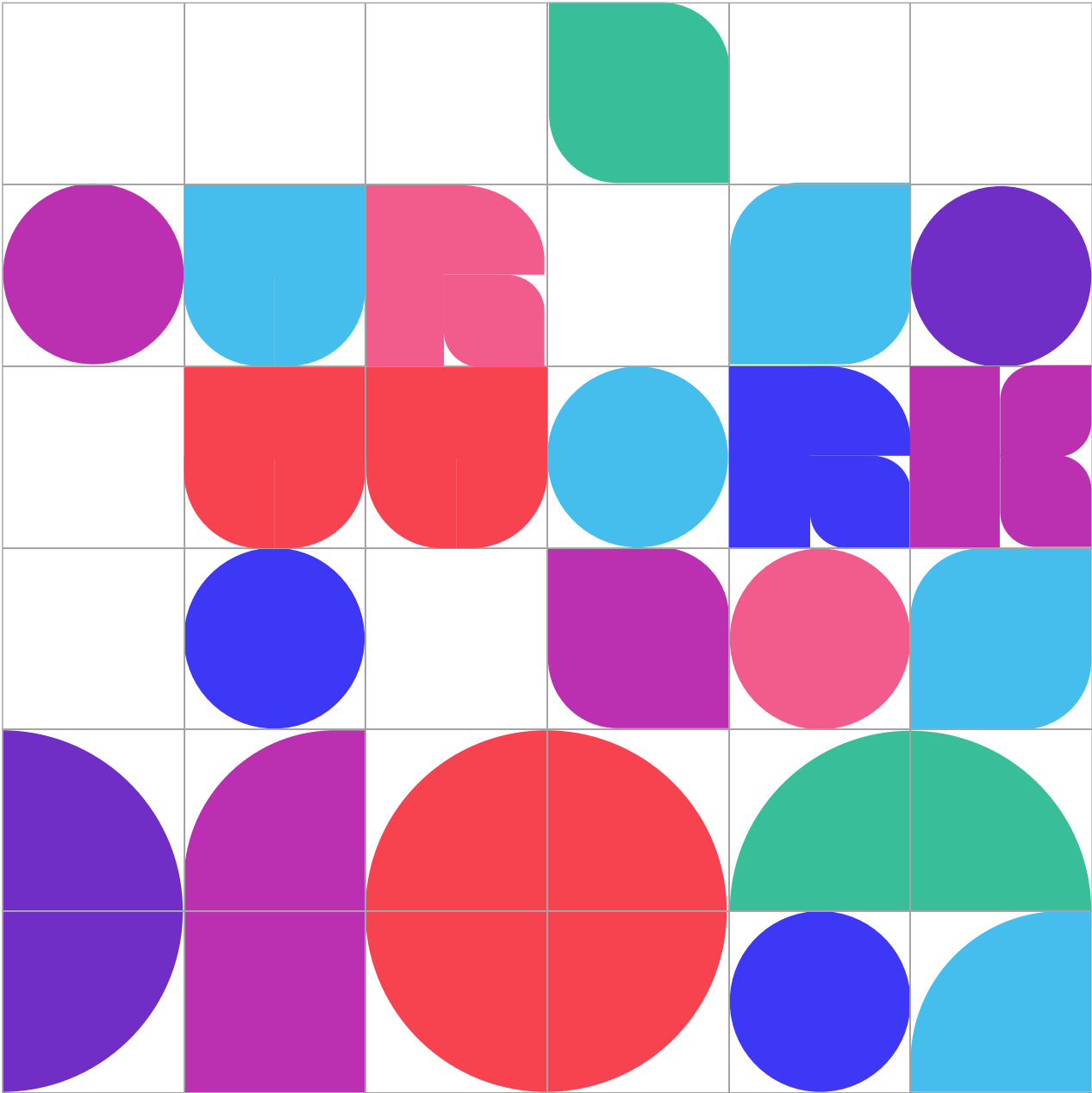


connect • debate • change



Spring 2022

Dear friends,

We saw glimpses of the best aspects of humanity in 2021. Faced with the ongoing challenges of the COVID-19 pandemic, vaccines developed in record time offered much needed relief. Solidarity took many forms within and between communities, from remarkable volunteer efforts to the approval of the European Union's largest stimulus package ever. Overcoming significant obstacles and establishing a degree of unanimity among member states, the Union demonstrated its commitment to Europe's recovery, while equally addressing challenges of democracy and the rule of law.

It was with this optimism for the future of Europe that the Friends of Europe work programmes had been established throughout 2021.

We both offer our heartfelt gratitude and appreciation to our entire team, who drove forward our goals and strengthened our successes, despite the obstacles of teleworking as the organisation continues to grow and expand. The reality of the pandemic pushed our team to create innovative hybrid debate formats, welcoming participants in person when possible, while simultaneously amplifying voices beyond Brussels in a virtual setting.

We published some ground-breaking reports and op-eds on a variety of issues and were delighted to forge new partnerships across the entire organisation, including the launch of the Africa-Europe Foundation, in close partnership with the Mo Ibrahim Foundation, the African Climate Foundation and the One Campaign. Our citizens' platforms Debating Europe and Debating Deutschland saw the creation of a new sister platform, Debating Africa. We launched a space programme and our impressive group of European Young Leaders reconnected in person for the first time since the outbreak of the pandemic, strengthening bonds between people of different backgrounds and perspectives, in an effort to contribute to Europe-wide solutions for the societal challenges of the 21st century across silos and frontiers. These reinforced our existing programmes and facilitated exciting growth in areas such as digital, health and the green transition or Europe's role in space.

The importance of solidarity and collaboration has never been more apparent. At the same time, recent events have emphasised the significance of the EU's strategic autonomy too. Russia's unprovoked and unjustified attack on Ukraine has disrupted stability and fundamentally changed existing paradigms. Exposed and with its

integrity put to the test, Europe needs to address the harsh realities of this ongoing conflict with urgency and great care. The acclaimed and sought-after experts in our Peace, Security & Defence team are continuously contributing analysis and recommendations.

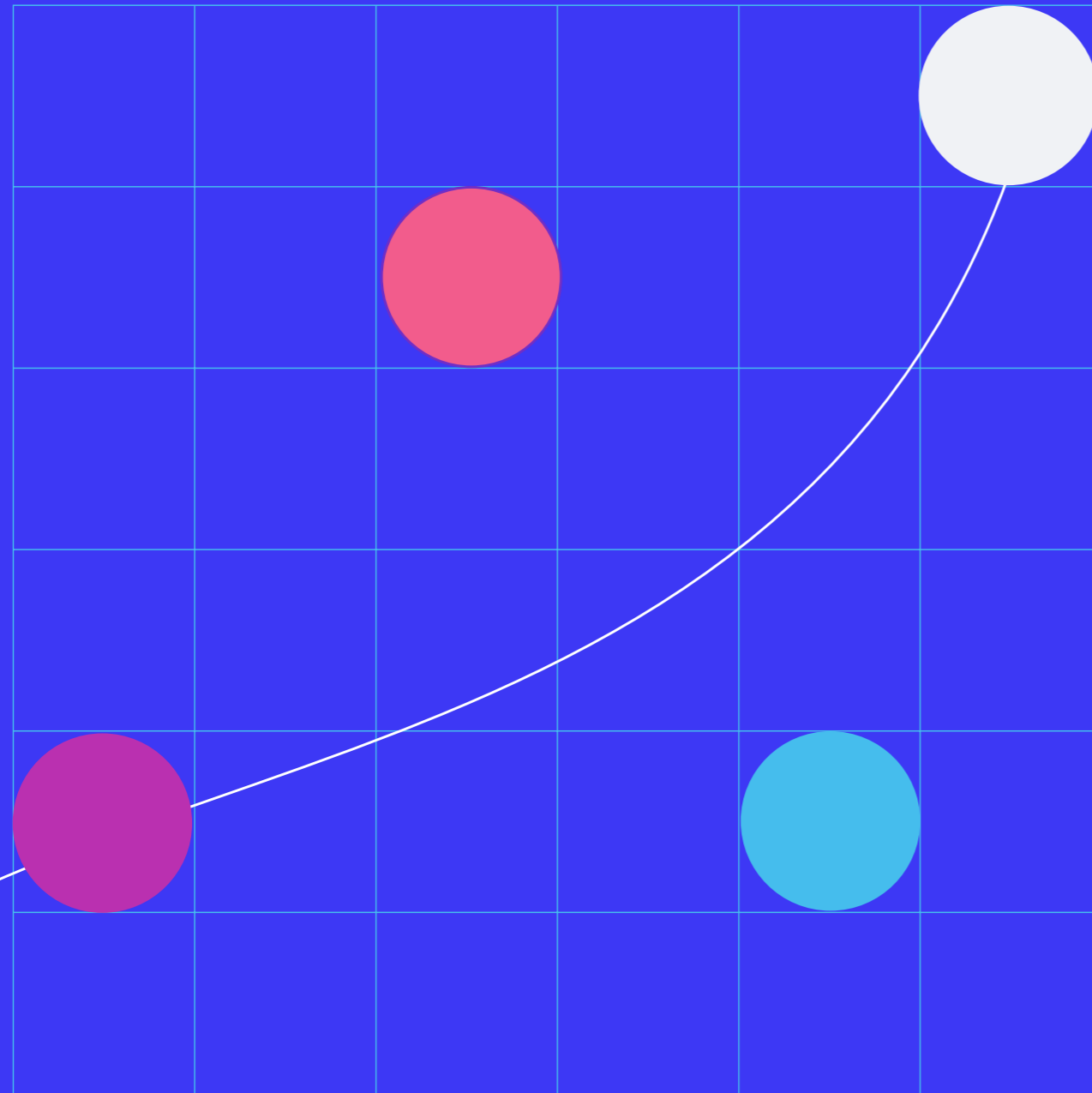
Our thoughts are with the victims of human suffering as a result of both the pandemic and the atrocities of war. Recent events have clearly demonstrated the continuous need for the European partnership to be resilient and effective. We can only hope the EU can further improve its strategic leadership capabilities outside of crises. Some day, visionary leaders may well be able to address hampering unanimity clauses or short-termism in our decision-making. In that sense, some of the recent German decisions are proof of European will and capacity. In today's world, more than ever, the famous words of Paul-Henri Spaak, one of the founders of the EU, resonate: "Europe has two types of countries: small ones, and those that don't realise yet they are small."

Committed to European values and freedoms, Friends of Europe will continue to support the construction of a more inclusive, sustainable and forward-thinking Europe, in partnership with our neighbours in Africa and our partners across the Atlantic or in Asia. We could not do that without the valued commitment of our funders and other types of partners, so many thanks to all of them. Our work in 2022 and the coming decade will focus on the construction of a new social contract and what it could look like in practice. It is only through rethinking the implicit and explicit foundations of our societies that Europe will be able to offer all that it can to its citizens.

*Etienne Davignon
Belgian Minister of State and President
of Friends of Europe*

*Geert Cami
Co-Founder and Secretary-General
of Friends of Europe*





Towards a Renewed Social Contract for Europe

Already before the pandemic struck in 2020, a debate was beginning on the weakening of the so-called ‘social contract’. The EU economy’s ‘social floor’ and ‘environmental ceiling’ are riddled with gaps, producing social and environmental costs that someone must pay (something economists call ‘negative externalities’). The regulatory state, legitimised and directed via traditional democratic systems (some hundreds of years old, but many of which date back to the 1940s, or even the 1980s), seems unable to close these gaps, paving the way for social and environmental catastrophe.

There are gaps in the social floor: from weakening labour protections in the informal sector and ‘gig economy’, to years of wage stagnation – or persistently high unemployment in countries with higher wages – coupled with rising prices for energy, food, healthcare, education and housing. These gaps have particularly squeezed people in the middle- and lower-income range.

There are gaps in the environmental ceiling: scientists warn that we have almost missed the opportunity to prevent catastrophic climate change, prompting a discussion on what we owe future generations. Meanwhile, we continue to exceed our planetary boundaries in everything from food systems, to biodiversity loss, to resource extraction, to air, water, and soil quality.

Frustration and hopelessness have filtered into politics, with either high abstention rates or growing support for populist demagogues promising to tear down a system that many voters feel is not working for them.

In response, a growing number of policymakers, economists, and institutions have been discussing ways to renew the social contract, both for Europe and globally, including in the

European Commission, the ECB, the UN, the IMF, and the World Bank.

What do policymakers mean by a ‘social contract’? The social contract is broadly understood as an implicit agreement setting out the roles and responsibilities we expect from individuals, families, communities, the state, private sector, and international institutions over the course of our lives. Essentially, the social contract answers the questions: Who can I expect support from when I need it? What support am I expected to give others in return?

Broadly speaking, there have been two distinct ‘social contracts’ in liberal democracies since World War 2; a strong ‘New Deal’ social contract based on the state, and a more flexible ‘Neoliberal’ social contract based on markets. Writing in the Financial Times, Martin Wolf puts it like this: “For western liberal democracies, the era after the second world war can be divided into two sub-periods. The first, running roughly from 1945 to 1970 was the era of a ‘social democratic’ or, as Americans might say, a ‘New Deal’ consensus. The second, starting around 1980, was that of the ‘global free market’, or the ‘Thatcher-Reagan consensus’.”

At Friends of Europe, we do not believe we can return to the 1945 ‘New Deal’ consensus. The post-war social contract was designed to look after people leading very different lives in a very different era: less global mobility; fewer women in the labour market; less pressure from automation and globalisation; greater membership in trade unions, churches and political parties; and less pressure from climate change and biodiversity loss. It is not fit for purpose today, particularly as we seek to challenge inequalities and to adapt to the impacts of the climate emergency, pandemic, digitalisation and demographic change.

Nevertheless, the ‘Neoliberal consensus’ is unsustainable. An individual growing up in the 2020s – no longer automatically assumed to be a straight, white, cisgender man – is unlikely to have a job for life. They may find themselves working in the ‘gig economy’ with greater flexibility but uncertain labour rights. Their wages are unlikely to rise significantly over the course of their working lives. Healthcare systems struggling to provide care to ageing populations may be unable to meet expectations in terms of quality and speed of care.

As a result of rapid digitalisation, this person is likely to require a lifelong learning approach, with regular upskilling and retraining to keep abreast of technological developments. They are no longer guaranteed a comfortable retirement, and they may never be able to afford their own house. They are constantly reminded that their consumption of cheap consumer goods is killing the planet. They are unable to safely assume they will have a higher quality of life than their parents’ generation.

The COVID-19 pandemic and war in Ukraine have further redefined the relationship between individuals and society – practically overnight. The decisions to come – when to put an end to state support, how to achieve energy independence, when (and how) to pay off public debt – will either make or break Europe’s social contract.

Friends of Europe is committed to playing its part in defining a renewed social contract for Europe. Already in 2018, we published our #EuropeMatters report, arguing that Europe needs a renewed social contract in place by the year 2030. The next year, we published our Vision for Europe report, setting out a policy toolbox to help establish this renewed European social contract.

Looking ahead, we will bolster this approach, with our activities built around the need to define a Renewed Social Contract for Europe. Looking through the lens of our strategic objectives, we are committed to challenge inequalities of opportunity (i.e. set a ‘social floor’), bolster a green transformation (i.e. set an ‘environmental ceiling’), promote new leadership and regenerate democracy (i.e. strengthen democratic mechanisms for deciding where and how these social and environmental boundaries should be set) and reframing Europe’s role in the world (i.e. promoting a global social contract based on human rights and environmental sustainability).

Friends of Europe’s wide-reaching programme of activities for 2022 allows us to take first steps towards building-up and defining our vision of a Renewed Social Contract for Europe.

The Renewed Social Contract is the fil rouge of Friends of Europe’s work from now through 2030. It is not a separate initiative, but rather the lens through which we present ourselves to the world – every activity we put together is in one way, shape or form connected to the ambition of designing a Renewed Social Contract for Europe.

Friends of Europe will only make progress towards designing a Renewed Social Contract by doing what it does best – acting as a facilitator and convener which brings together Europe’s best and brightest from across sectors, demographics and ideological lines.

Friends of Europe will work with our existing networks, trustees, European Young Leaders, members, partners, citizen networks and more, to come together around key elements of this new way of thinking. We will engage in acts of deliberative democracy with our community.

Practically, this happens by ensuring that

every one of our activities is designed with the Renewed Social Contract in mind and that our moderators, editors and facilitators push contributors to come up with innovative ideas and solutions. From there, we draw out the key lines of thought to engage in an iterative process which leads us to the Renewed Social Contract.

Roadmap to 2030

2022 has been planned as our ‘transition year’, for Friends of Europe to establish our thinking on the Renewed Social Contract and align internally as an organisation. Looking forward, we will move beyond our transition year and embed the Renewed Social Contract fully into our work. Over the course of 2022, we will be aligning staff and mapping the Renewed Social Contract’s implications for Friends of Europe more broadly – from the activities we deliver and the opportunities we offer to our members and partners, to how we engage our network and think about our external communications strategy.

As we design the 2023 agenda of activities, we will begin with the Renewed Social Contract in clear focus, with all areas of expertise fully contributing.

We will work towards a preparatory document, outlining a set of policy choices for a Renewed Social Contract for Europe to be presented and socialised amongst European and national institutions in the context of the 2024 European Parliament elections and the onset of a new European Commission mandate.

Taking on board input from those with whom we engage from 2023-2028, we engage in an iterative process to arrive at final recommendations for a Renewed Social Contract and have a further developed version ready ahead of the

2029 elections before concluding an overall stock-taking exercise to judge our impact in 2030.

Key milestones



AREA OF EXPERTISE

Climate, energy & sustainability

As the pandemic caused the deepest recession in the history of the EU, it created uncertainty and a false dilemma of economic recovery versus tackling climate change. The EU has prioritised the green transition, putting policy objectives on the right track aiming at a 55% reduction in greenhouse gas emissions by 2030 and climate neutrality by 2050. Our climate, energy and sustainability programme in 2021 therefore continued to focus on the crucial role of innovation, regulation, investment and competition to improve policy thinking and encourage action from all sectors of society.

With a focus on promoting inclusive climate action, we explored the potential

of the circular economy and the reforms needed in the agriculture and food sectors, and made the links between energy and digital infrastructure, industrial policy, carbon pricing and green investment, ensuring that cities and citizens were central to discussions.

Key to this work was our involvement in the **European Climate Pact**, a movement of people united around a common cause, each taking steps to build a more sustainable Europe for us all. Through targeted social media campaigns, articles and pledges by our European Young Leaders (EYL40), Friends of Europe contributed to the EU's ambition to be the first climate-neutral continent in the world by 2050.

Mauro Petriccione
European Commission Director-General
for Climate Action



Jane Burston
Executive Director of the Clean
Air Fund and 2015-2016
European Young Leader (EYL40)



Fatih Birol
Executive Director
of the International
Energy Agency (IEA)



Thomas Dermine
Belgian State Secretary for Scientific Policy,
Recovery Programme and Strategic Investments
and 2020-2021 European Young Leader
(EYL40)

AREA OF EXPERTISE

Peace, security & defence

Set amidst the European and global recovery from the coronavirus pandemic, the return of great power competition, and the new security challenges they present, Friends of Europe's 2021 peace, security and defence programme aimed to make sense of both the emerging geopolitical environment and our increasingly digitalised world, while exploring how it can strengthen the partnerships that are vital to Europe's stability and security.

To do so, we analysed ongoing transnational challenges, including the cost of human trafficking; efforts towards building more diverse and inclusive militaries; the transatlantic security partnership; next steps in the EU's security and defence evolution; the impact of increased digitalisation and emerging technologies; and their impact on the resilience of our institutions, societies and democracies.

The year saw a continuation of our *European Defence Studies* series, with timely publications produced on the Sahel and Black Sea regions: **'Crossing the wilderness: Europe and the Sahel'** and **'Murky waters: the Black Sea region and European security'**. Our innovative *hybrid crisis readiness tabletop exercise*, held in May 2021, focused on how to deal with emerging issues, such as increased reliance on resilient electrical systems; new developments regarding the impact of disinformation on societies during

crisis; and the role of cities and local actors, who often serve as the first line of defence and first responders in hybrid challenges.

We were also proud to launch new workstreams. The *'Iran in focus'* series aimed to identify new approaches to diplomatic relations with Iran based on strategic thinking and mutual interests with an understanding of the domestic politics underpinning Iran's political decision-making. Meanwhile, our **Balkan Journey** and the associated *Working Group on Women's Economic Empowerment in the Western Balkans* sought to circumvent stagnant debates on enlargement in order to focus on moving the Western Balkans forward in practical terms. By focusing on people-centred priorities, rather than on political goals, these projects aimed to overcome the impasse and close the region's gap to the EU, while developing a strong and fresh policy perspective.

We continued to work actively with partnerships to advance the conclusions reached and to exchange best practices globally. By building on our previous recommendations and proposed solutions to global security challenges, we sought to formulate and identify innovative means of reducing both internal and global tensions and countering the shift away from democracy and stability in an era of systemic shocks.

Kadi Silde
Undersecretary
for Defence Policy
at the Estonian
Ministry of
Defence



*Jamie Shea & Chris
Kremidas-Courtney*
Senior Fellows at
Friends of Europe

Majlinda Bregu
Secretary-General of
the Regional Cooperation
Council (RCC)



Jaap de Hoop Scheffer
Former secretary general of
NATO and Trustee of Friends
of Europe

Benedetta Berti-Alberti
Head of Policy Planning in
the Office of the Secretary-
General at North Atlantic
Treaty Organization (NATO)



AREA OF EXPERTISE - AFRICA

The Africa-Europe Foundation

Global challenges laid bare the limitations of existing international cooperation and exposed the need for a real partnership between Africa and Europe. The inception year of the Africa-Europe Foundation (AEF), a 'network of networks' founded by Friends of Europe and the Mo Ibrahim Foundation together with the African Climate Foundation and the ONE Campaign, centred on transformative dialogue, international policymaking and citizen engagement.

The AEF established a series of dialogue platforms aimed at opening the Africa-Europe partnership to diverse stakeholders from civil society, business, policymaking and the youth sector. This work centred around *Strategy Groups* on climate, energy, agri-food systems, transport, health and digital transformation, and also included the launch of the *Africa-Europe Women Leaders Network*.

Central to the AEF's inception phase was its positioning within the regional and international policymaking arena. This included securing the support of the co-chairs of the 6th African Union-European Union Summit to contribute to the agenda-setting of the political dialogue processes and supporting

concrete deliverables for the Africa-Europe partnership. The AEF also participated in multi-lateral fora, including the UN Food Systems Summit and the UN Climate Change Conference (COP26), introducing impactful insights from the AEF Strategy Groups. The **AEF flagship report** focused on the organisation's advocacy and outreach work in 2021.

Citizen outreach and engagement were key to amplifying the reach and impact of the 2021 programme. The AEF developed its '*Talking Africa-Europe*' broadcast series with a strategic focus on the youth sector, diaspora communities, cities and local governance. A series of dialogues and surveys with young people in Africa and Europe underpinned the **AEF Charter** on our common future.

In 2021, the AEF also implemented the first phase of its monitoring and evaluation strategy, to ensure its resources are orientated towards strategic objectives. Following its legal establishment as an independent foundation, the AEF developed a series of cooperation agreements with regional institutions and global foundations operating internationally and in Africa.



Mary Robinson

Honorary President of the Africa-Europe Foundation, former president of Ireland and Chair of the Elders



Chrysoula Zacharopoulou

Co-Chair of the Strategy Groups of the Africa-Europe Foundation and French Minister of State to the Minister for Europe and Foreign Affairs, for Development, Francophonie and International Partnerships

© European Union 2021 - Source : EP

Ellen Johnson Sirleaf

Honorary President of the Africa-Europe Foundation, former president of the Republic of Liberia and Nobel Laureate



Louise Mushikiwabo

Co-Chair of the Strategy Groups of the Africa-Europe Foundation, Secretary General of the Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie and former minister of foreign affairs of Rwanda



Mo Ibrahim

Co-Chair of the Africa-Europe Foundation and Founder & Chairman of the Mo Ibrahim Foundation

Bono

Co-founder, ONE Campaign



AREA OF EXPERTISE

Health

During the pandemic, health systems became a global concern as COVID-19 laid bare all of their flaws. From the frontline to the supply side, and from global governance to national and local coordination, the whole ecosystem of health was found to be wanting. The world learned a brutal lesson as the lack of preparedness and cooperation became clear.

Looking ahead, system resilience, leadership in health management, collaboration and reducing inequality have become watchwords for benchmarking improvements in health.

In 2021, Friends of Europe's health programme focused on what Europe should start, stop and do differently to improve the health status of Europeans, with a focus on embedding the lessons from the pandemic into reform. Beyond the debate about how much to spend on health, we argued for a smarter approach to investment and disinvestment – exploring how both existing and new money could make a positive difference for health outcomes – and looked beyond the current crisis to combatting rare and cardiovascular diseases.

Arguing the benefits and consequences of strengthening the EU mandate in health, we launched a series of working group meetings and discussions dedicated to rethinking healthcare delivery models in a post-pandemic world. Our resulting **'EU health systems post-pandemic: delivering care to patients at the right place and time'** report called for health systems to be digital by default and for patients to become the point of care. Three working group sessions on the European Health Data Space and rare diseases explored what is required from a modern, shock-absorbent health system and informed our **'Building a path for rare diseases in the European Health Data Space'** policy briefing.



Helle Thorning-Schmidt
Member of the WHO Pan-European Commission on Health and Sustainable Development, former CEO of Save the Children, former prime minister of Denmark and Trustee of Friends of Europe



Francesca Colombo
Head of the Health Division at the OECD



Bill Gates, Co-Chair at the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation

Carlos Moedas
Mayor of Lisbon and former European commissioner for research, science and innovation



Mario Monti
Chair of the WHO Pan-European Commission on Health and Sustainable Development, former prime minister of Italy and Trustee of Friends of Europe

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

AREA OF EXPERTISE

Digital & data governance

Digital transformation has far outpaced the ability of governments and international institutions to prepare, adapt and plan ahead for the new challenges and questions it raises. As the world continued to face health, economic, environmental and social crises, the ability of the digital sector to adapt and respond proved essential to ensuring society's resilience and ability to bounce back.

This transformation has raised questions about ethics, consumption habits, widening inequalities, data, capital flows, innovation and more. Friends of Europe's digital and data governance programme therefore continued to champion the potential of digitalisation to be Europe's competitive edge – if it succeeds in linking its research, development and innovation capacity with pathways to the market place.

Through our **Connected Europe initiative**, we explored how policymakers and industry can work better together

to boost Europe's connectivity and foster a transformation that is both sustainable and fair, building resilient communities, societies and economies along the way. The recommendations of this citizen-centric initiative and **'Connected Europe: A digital brand for a just transition'** report clearly indicated that it is time for Europe to build its digital 'brand'. Citizens want 'Made in Europe' to stand for fairness, quality and sustainability – with products and services contributing to mitigation of the climate emergency, while remaining affordable and of high quality.

We were also proud to launch our new **Making Space Matter** initiative, through which we are breaking new ground as one of the first think tanks in Europe to dedicate a body of work to space. In 2021, we started off by exploring the crucial role of space in climate change mitigation, as well as broader questions of governance and the potential of this domain to be considered a public good.

Lindsey Nefesh-Clarke
Founder and Managing Director of Women's Worldwide Web (W4), 2012 European Young Leader (EYL40) and Senior Fellow for Connected Europe at Friends of Europe



Luca Parmitano
Astronaut of the European Space Agency (ESA)



Josef Aschbacher
Director General of the European Space Agency (ESA)



AREA OF EXPERTISE

Asia

From cooperating with 'systemic rival' China for PPE (personal protective equipment) supply, to deepening relations with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the EU in recent years has acknowledged that while areas of divergence with eastern neighbours around trade and security remain, it's time to focus on where we converge.

Friends of Europe's Asia programme, including the *Europe-China Dialogue*, looked in 2021 at the political, economic and social facets of the 'Asian century' – but also at the relationship between the continents within a wider global context, bringing in African perspectives as well.

With a strong focus on connectivity – from physical transport infrastructure to digital connections between the continents – and possibilities for collaboration to save the world's biodiversity, our activities also offered a distinct opportunity to small- and medium-sized states who too often find themselves caught up in the midst of geopolitical competition among the world's larger powers.



Li Keqiang
Premier of the People's Republic of China



Supachai Panitchpakdi
Former secretary-general of UNCTAD



Mari Elka Pangestu
Minister of Tourism and Creative Industry of Indonesia



Zhang Ming
Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to the European Union



European Young Leaders

We've learned time and again that the challenges of the 21st century and of our ever-complex world cannot be addressed using the rulebooks of the past. The world is screaming for a new type of leadership and a renewed social contract in which the private sector, local and multilateral institutions, and citizens can collaborate and be the drivers of change.

Today's leaders may look back in time for inspiration, but they must lead with innovation.

The European Young Leaders (EYL40) represent an alternative infrastructure of leadership and a new generation of leaders able to inspire action and generate change. Together, their passion, diversity of backgrounds and opinions, and innovative thinking create the right formula for generating fresh ideas to build a more forward-thinking Europe.

In 2021, we were proud to establish our first *Working Group on Arts and Culture*, to share and brainstorm ideas for collaborating on pan-European projects we were able to draw on a wide range of artists, musicians, writers and cultural practitioners within the EYL40 network. Over the course of the year, the Working Group examined and contributed to proposals in different member states aimed at mitigating the devastating impact of COVID-19 on the cultural sector.

The EYL40 were also able to convene for the first *in-person seminar* since the beginning of the pandemic, which included a series of thematic sessions on salient topics – from multilateralism, constructive politics and the green and digital transformations, to feminism and the world of arts and culture.

Jon Worth
Political blogger and 2012 European Young Leader (EYL40)



Eva Maydell
President of the European Movement International, Member of the European Parliament and 2015-2016 European Young Leader (EYL40)

Magid Magid
Founder and Director of Union of Justice and 2019 European Young Leader (EYL40)



Matthew Caruana Galizia Investigative Journalist and Lead Engineer for the Paradise Papers Investigation and 2020-2021 European Young Leader (EYL40)



Mary Fitzgerald
Libya researcher, non-resident scholar at the Middle East Institute, Trustee of Friends of Europe and 2013 European Young Leader (EYL40)

Ulrik Haagerup
Founder and CEO of the Constructive Institute

Citizen engagement

The world we live in needs a new kind of leadership to regenerate a democracy fit for the 21st century – a democracy in which citizens play a central role in significant strategic and policy decisions that will affect their lives and the lives of future generations.

The future of democracy is in people speaking and listening. It is in respectful and thoughtful group discussions between citizens, taking place both online and in-person, and finding common ground, compromise and solutions.

Friends of Europe fully supports and fosters these values through our citizen engagement teams at *Debating Europe* and *Debating Africa*. They work with citizens across both continents to challenge traditional top-down thinking and put citizens right at the highest levels of politics. The qualitative and quantitative data generated via citizens' panels, focus groups, workshops and online debates underpin the work of Friends of Europe as it co-creates, with all stakeholders, a new social contract.

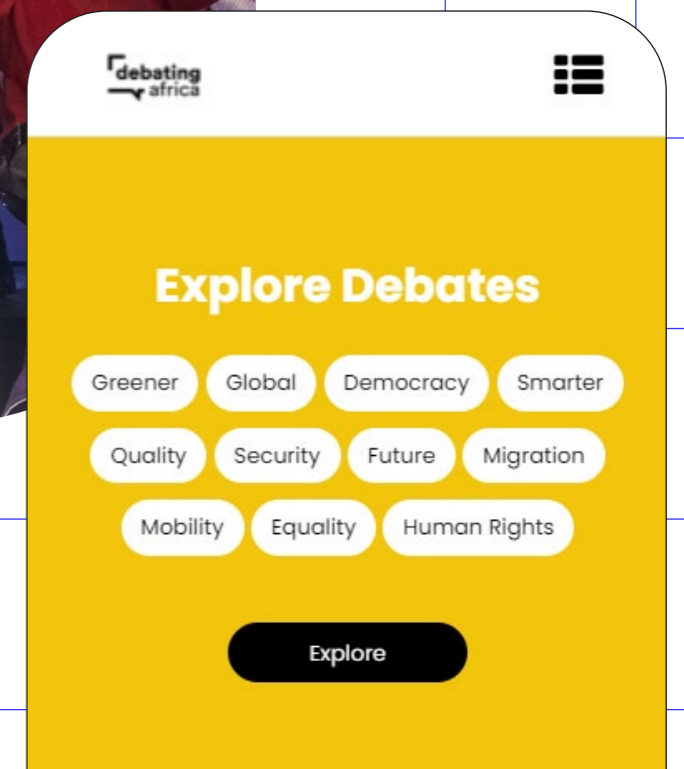
Caroline Will

Editor of Debating Europe/DE introducing a debate on the French election at Euronews



Joe Litobarski
Editor-in-Chief of Debating Europe

Alexander Stubb
Chair of the Board at Crisis Management Initiative (CMI), former prime minister of Finland and Director and Professor at the School of Transnational Governance at the European University Institute





Francesca Cavallo
Bestselling author of "Good Night Stories for Rebel Girls", Founder & CEO of Undercats and 2019 European Young Leader (EYL40)

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State of Europe

It is essential to move ahead fast with the green digital transition to build a sustainable, fair and resilient economy. Europe needs a stronger, more cohesive Union to address economic, environmental, social and technological challenges and forge global partnerships. It must construct a new social contract to redefine the role of governments, business and citizens, with their relationship built on trust, transparency and inclusion.

These were among the conclusions of 'State of Europe – the festival of politics

and ideas: a new Renaissance'. The 18th edition of Friends of Europe's flagship annual event took place in a hybrid format for the first time and welcomed over 180 top-level government, civil society and business representatives from over 32 countries.

This year's debates focused on the shape of the new Europe that will emerge from the pandemic as the EU mobilises its €750bn NextGenerationEU fund in an effort to make the continent greener, more digitally competitive and more socially cohesive.



Cecilia Malmström
Former European commissioner for trade and Trustee at Friends of Europe



Zarifa Ghafari
Afghan activist and former mayor of Maidan Shahr



Roberta Metsola
President of the European Parliament and 2018 European Young Leader (EYL40)



Francesca Cavallo
Bestselling author of "Good Night Stories for Rebel Girls", Founder & CEO of Undercats and 2019 European Young Leader (EYL40)

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Parliamentary State Secretary in the Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs and Climate Action in the coalition government of Chancellor Olaf Scholz, and 2012 European Young Leader (EYL40)

John Bruton

Advisor to Fair Observer and former prime minister of Ireland's Rainbow Coalition government

Dacian Cioloș

Former prime minister of Romania and former European commissioner for agriculture

Pat Cox

President of the Jean Monnet Foundation for Europe and former president of the European Parliament

Daniel Daianu

Member of the Board of the National Bank of Romania and former finance minister of Romania

Miriam Dalli

Member of the Maltese Parliament and former journalist

Alexander De Croo

Prime Minister of Belgium

Fernand de Donnea (**)

Honorary Chairman and former CEO of CBC Banque (a subsidiary of Belgian bank group KBC)

Jaap de Hoop Scheffer (Praes)

Dutch Minister of State, President of the Dutch Advisory Council on International Affairs, former NATO secretary-general and former Dutch foreign minister

Petra De Sutter

Belgian Deputy Prime Minister and former head of the Department of Reproductive Medicine at Ghent University Hospital (UZ Gent)

Ciaran Devane

Executive Director of the Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations, Associate Pro-Vice-Chancellor for International Relations at Coventry University and former CEO of the British Council

Anna Diamantopoulou

President of the Athens-based think tank DIKTIO, former European commissioner for employment, social affairs and equal opportunities, and former Greek minister for education and development

Mikołaj Dowgielewicz

European Investment Bank Director General for relations with EU institutions and former Polish secretary of state for European affairs and economic policy

Sorin Ducaru

Director of the European Union Satellite Centre (SatCen) and former assistant secretary-general for emerging security challenges at NATO

Isabelle Durant (Praes) (**)

Deputy Secretary-General of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and former deputy prime minister of Belgium

Tanja Fajon (Praes)

Slovenian Minister of Foreign Affairs

Mary Fitzgerald

Researcher, Non-resident Scholar at the Middle East Institute and 2013 European Young Leader (EYL40)

Monica Frassoni (Praes)

President of the European Alliance to Save Energy, former co-president of the European Green Party and former member of the European Parliament

Štefan Füle (Praes)

Chairman of the Administrative Board of the Czech China Chamber of Cooperation, former special envoy to the OSCE and the Western Balkans, and former EU commissioner for enlargement and European neighbourhood policy

Theodora Gentzis (**)

Director General for European Affairs at the Federal Public Service of Foreign Affairs in Belgium

Ana Gomes

Former member of the European Parliament

Sylvie Goulard (Praes)

Deputy Governor at Banque de France and former member of the European Parliament

Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović

Former president of Croatia

Baron Jan Grauls (*)

Senior Advisor at Ernst & Young and former secretary-general of Belgium's Foreign Affairs Department

Dalia Grybauskaitė

Former president of Lithuania and former European commissioner for financial programming and budget

Elisabeth Guigou

Former president of the French National Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee

Connie Hedegaard (Praes)

Chair of green think tank CONCITO, KR Foundation and the OECD's Round Table on Sustainable Development, Co-Chair of the Africa-Europe Foundation Strategy Group on Energy, former EU Commissioner for climate action and former Danish minister for the environment and for climate and energy

Toomas Hendrik Ilves

Distinguished Visiting Fellow at Stanford University and former president of the Republic of Estonia

Baron Daniel Janssen

Member of the Executive Committee of the Trilateral Commission and former president of the Board of Directors of Solvay

Jean-Claude Juncker

Former president of the European Commission and former prime minister of Luxembourg

Ilham Kadri (**)

Chairwoman of the Executive Committee, Member of the Board of Directors and CEO of Solvay

Kaja Kallas

Prime Minister of Estonia and 2017 European Young Leader (EYL40)

Zanda Kalniņa-Lukaševica

Parliamentary State Secretary of the Latvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Member of the Latvian parliament and 2017 European Young Leader (EYL40)

Sony Kapoor

Managing Director of the Re-Define think tank and 2014 European Young Leader (EYL40)

Jesse Klaver

Member of the Dutch House of Representatives, Leader of the Dutch green party GroenLinks and 2018 European Young Leader (EYL40)

Anna König Jerlmyr

Mayor of Stockholm and former member of the Swedish Riksdag

Miroslav Lajčák

EU Special Representative for the Serbia-Kosovo Dialogue, former Slovakian deputy prime minister and former president of the United Nations General Assembly

Pascal Lamy (Praes)

Honorary President of Notre Europe - Jacques Delors Institute, former director-general of the World Trade Organization and former European commissioner for trade

John Latsis

Member of the John S. Latsis Public Benefit Foundation and Associate Professor in Social and Organizational Theory at the University of Reading

Yves Leterme

Belgian Minister of State and former prime minister of Belgium

Linas Antanas Linkevičius

Former Lithuanian minister of foreign affairs and minister of national defence

Sir Philip Lowe

Executive Chair of the World Energy Council's Energy Trilemma initiative and former European Commission director-general for competition and energy

Magid Magid

Founder and Director of Union of Justice, former member of the European Parliament, former lord mayor of Sheffield and 2019 European Young Leader (EYL40)

Cecilia Malmström (Praes)

Former European commissioner for trade and home affairs, and former Swedish minister for European Union affairs

Eva Maydell (née Paunova)

President of the European Movement International, Member of the European Parliament and 2015-2016 European Young Leader (EYL40)

David McAllister

Chair of the European Parliament's Committee on Foreign Affairs and former prime minister of Lower Saxony

Giles Merritt (**)

Founder and former chairman of Friends of Europe, Author, former Financial Times correspondent and former columnist for the International Herald Tribune

Roberta Metsola

President of the European Parliament and 2018 European Young Leader (EYL40)

Carlos Moedas (Praes)

Mayor of Lisbon, former EU commissioner for research, science and innovation, and former Portuguese undersecretary of state

Federica Mogherini (Praes)

Rector of the College of Europe and former high representative of the European Union for foreign affairs and security, former vice-president of the European Commission, and former Italian minister for foreign affairs and international cooperation

Mario Monti (Praes)

Italian Senator for life, former prime minister of Italy and former European commissioner for the internal market, services, customs and taxation

Baroness Pauline Neville-Jones

Member of the United Kingdom House of the Lords, former governor of the BBC, former chairman of the British Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC) and former UK minister of state for security and counter terrorism

Alojz Peterle

Former prime minister of Slovenia

Andris Piebalgs

Former European commissioner for development

Hans-Gert Pöttering

Former president of the European Parliament and former chairman of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

Paul Révay

Former European director of the Trilateral Commission

Joachim Rogall

Former president and CEO of the Robert Bosch Stiftung and Adjunct Professor for Eastern European History at the University of Heidelberg

Jacek Saryusz-Wolski

Member of the European Parliament and former Polish minister for European affairs

Marietje Schaake

President of the CyberPeaceInstitute, Director of Policy at the Stanford Cyber Policy Centre and former vice-chair of the European parliament delegation for relations with the United States

Javier Solana

President of ESADE Center for Global Economy and Geopolitics, former EU high representative for the common foreign and security policy and former secretary-general of NATO

Christos Stylianides

Greek Minister for the Climate Crisis and Civil Protection, and former European commissioner for humanitarian aid and crisis management

Anna Terrón Cusi

Chair of the United Nations University Institute on Globalization, Culture and Mobility, and former Spanish secretary of state for immigration and emigration

Helle Thorning-Schmidt

Former prime minister of Denmark and former CEO of Save the Children International

Irene Tinagli

Chair of the European Parliament Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs (ECON) and 2014 European Young Leader (EYL40)

Baron Frans van Daele (Praes)

Belgian Minister of State, former chief of staff to the King of Belgium and former head of cabinet to the president of the European Council

Herman Van Rompuy

Belgian Minister of State, former president of the European Council and former Belgian prime minister

Frank Vandembroucke

Belgian Minister of State and Deputy Prime Minister

Guy Verhofstadt

Belgian Minister of State, Co-Chair of the Conference on the Future of Europe and former Belgian prime minister

Veronika Wand-Danielsson

Ambassador, Head of the Americas Department at the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs

Dirk Wouters (**)

Advisor at the Royal Palace to Princess Astrid and former Belgian ambassador to the United States of America and to the EU

CO-FOUNDER & SECRETARY-GENERAL

Geert Cami (**)



Commitments

Friends of Europe is proud to be part of the *United Nations Global Compact*, a global movement of stakeholders taking a principles-based approach to sustainability and taking shared responsibility for achieving a better world. *The work we do aspires to meet fundamental responsibilities in the areas of human rights, labour, environment and anti-corruption.* By incorporating the ten Principles of the UN Global Compact into our work, we aim to uphold our and our partners' basic responsibilities to people and the planet.

Friends of Europe's food policy reflects our commitment to carbon reduction. We encourage vegetarian food, as well as seasonal and organic produce. We also refrain from using plastic, including

wrappings, plates, cutlery, bottles and drinking cups.

Friends of Europe welcomes as wide an array of opinions as possible, and we do not shy away from provocative exchanges among different stakeholders. However, we wish to clarify the following restrictions we have imposed on ourselves:

- **Representatives from extremist parties**, which advocate racism, violence, or which have values that go against basic European values, **are not invited to write in our reports, to speak at our debates or to support our activities financially.**

- In line with the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC), a legally binding international treaty that aims to reduce the damaging health and economic impacts of tobacco consumption, **Friends of Europe refrains from working with the tobacco industry.**
- While arms manufacturers can become members of Friends of Europe, a few limitations do apply. **Friends of Europe will not offer arms manufacturers a high profile as partners of projects, nor accept partnership money from the production and sales of arms.** As listed in the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute's (SIPRI) most recent annual report on arms producing, Friends of Europe defines "arms manufacturers" as any company having more than 50% of its sales coming from the production of arms. (Friends of Europe excludes companies only providing consultancy & IT services to intelligence agencies, armed forces or ministries of defence from this definition, such as Booz Allen Hamilton through whom Friends of Europe has received US government funding.)
- **Friends of Europe refrains from accepting partnerships with fossil fuel firms that are responsible for the biggest cumulative carbon emissions as ranked by the Climate Accountability Institute.** We will further adapt our fundraising approach in line with Client Earth's report, Principles for Paris-alignment. This will allow us to look at the 'Paris alignment' or 'net-zero' strategies of fossil fuel companies and determine whether they are underpinned by basic principles of reasonability, transparency and accountability. This funding policy is specifically applicable to coal and oil companies.

Many decarbonisation scenarios predict a role for natural gas in the transition to a climate-neutral Europe by 2050, therefore we do not automatically exclude natural gas companies. A decision to work or not work with a company is not permanent, since we understand that a company's ambitions and approach to Paris alignment may evolve over time.

- **Non-EU countries are eligible partners** in an effort to engage in fruitful discussions that may help in certain cases at sharing best practices, or improving democratic and human rights conditions, **as long as our intellectual credibility or that of a project are not endangered.**

At Friends of Europe, **we believe that equality, diversity and inclusion (EDI) are integral to all aspects of our work** and our vision for a Renewed Social Contract for Europe.

Friends of Europe is proud of its commitment and action to be an inclusive workplace where we celebrate difference, we value everyone's contribution and people of all backgrounds can thrive.

We do not accept discrimination or harassment.

Friends of Europe encourages participation in its organisation and activities from all parts of our diverse community.

We believe that any organisation will be better, more creative and innovative in its work and as a workplace if it harnesses the benefits brought on by different perspectives, experiences and ways of thinking. **These values and commitments define who we are and how we work.**

Highlights 2021

Friends of Europe joins the **European Climate Pact**, a partnership of prominent organisations in climate, outreach and engagement to help the European Commission deliver its signature European Green Deal.

March



April

Friends of Europe launches the **Making Space Matter** initiative, in partnership with the European Space Agency, to answer pressing questions about how investing into European space capacity and infrastructure can boost governance, cooperation and societal empowerment.

May

On the occasion of Europe Day, Friends of Europe and the European Young Leaders (EYL40) release the **'Capital of Europe, Women of Europe'** map. The reinvented Brussels metro map renames each station after a notable European woman, in celebration of our common history, values and vision.



Friends of Europe publishes its eighth European Defence Study, **'Crossing the wilderness: Europe and the Sahel'**. Authored by Senior Fellow and journalist Paul Taylor, the report considers how European, African and international policies can be adapted to achieve durable peace and lasting stability in the region.



June



Debating Europe publishes its **'100 European Voices: Young People Debate Europe's Recovery Plan'** report, capturing the hopes and concerns of European youth for the future of the European project.

October

Friends of Europe hosts the 18th edition of its flagship event, **'State of Europe – the festival of politics and ideas: a new Renaissance'**, launching the **'Connected Europe: A digital brand for a just transition'** report in partnership with Vodafone. October was also the month of the **annual Climate and Energy Summit**.

STATE OF EUROPE

December

The Africa-Europe Foundation celebrates its first anniversary and publishes its charter, **'Choosing a common future in a rapidly changing world'**. December was also the month of two other annual summits: **Peace, Security & Defence** and **EU-Western Balkans**.

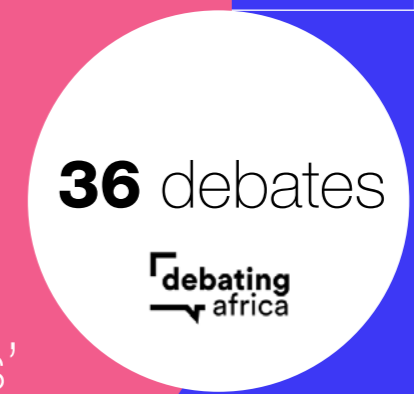


129 events
4,500+ attendees
5,000+ livestream viewers
1.5M+ website views

360,000+ followers
14 social media platforms
11,000+ new followers
150M+ hashtag impressions
2.2M Twitter impressions from our live tweeting



162 debates, panels and short posts
4 workshops
5 focus groups
1 report on '100 European voices'



36 debates

2021 in numbers

5 policy briefings
2 European Defence Studies
12 event reports
123 Critical Thinking articles
38 Frankly Speaking articles
90 authors
98,000+ readers

Critical Thinking
Friends of Europe invites leaders in politics, business, the media, academia, NGOs and civil society from around the world to contribute thought-provoking articles on political, economic and social issues to our online policy journal.

Frankly Speaking
Friends of Europe's own in-house pundits publish their insights on the latest European and international news in this weekly column.



774 mentions in top-tier media publications worldwide in **70+** countries



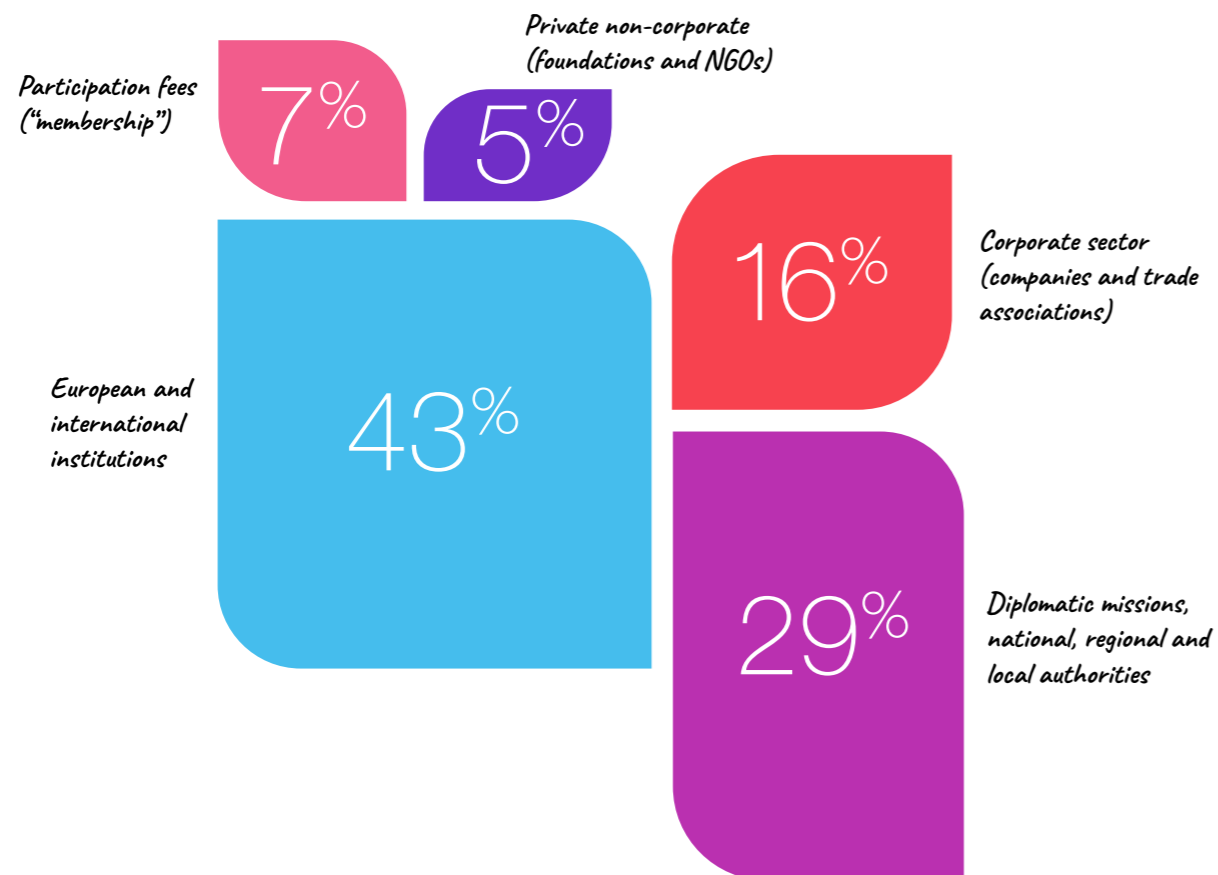
19.6M Twitter impressions on #StateofEurope
180 participants
32+ countries involved
99 pieces of media mentions in **10** different languages

Financials

In 2021, Friends of Europe's total revenue was €4,751,818. This money was contributed through participation fees ("memberships"), institutional and governmental subsidies, contributions to costs of events, reports or other projects.

Revenue breakdown

- European and international institutions: €2,050,894
- Diplomatic missions, national, regional and local authorities: €1,399,249
- Corporate sector (companies and trade associations): €779,102
- Private non-corporate (foundations and NGOs): €170,758
- Participation fees ("membership"): €351,815



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