

CONCLAVE

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EUROPE 2040: TOMORROW IS TODAY

Co-building a global, sustainable,
and responsible power.

17 fundamental issues Europeans
need to tackle to remain relevant.

A report based upon the exchanges between the participants
of the First European Conclave and endorsed by the Conclave Board:

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17 Fundamental Issues Europeans need to Tackle to Remain Relevant

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Foreword

In times of continuous polycrises, leaders focus on emergencies, and this can come at the expense of planning for the medium and long term.

It is precisely in such moments, however, that engaging with civil society, the world of business, academia and opinion leaders can bring added value to think about future challenges, break down silos, and construct a shared vision of what needs to be put in place. Crucial European Council meetings lie ahead and the European elections will take place in June 2024. So the time to look ahead is now - because "tomorrow is today"!

This type of foresight and planning is what motivated a group of opinion-leaders to create the Conclave, a trans-disciplinary and forward-looking annual agora dedicated to the future of Europe. The aim of the Conclave is to develop a shared understanding of the European political context and its underlying dynamics, also to identify the fundamental issues that political leaders need to tackle for the European Union and its Member States to remain relevant.

This first Conclave was hosted last 24-26 November by the President of the Republic of Portugal, Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa, in the presidential palace of Cascais with the support of the Prime Minister of Portugal, António Costa. It brought together top politicians, academics, scientists and thinkers, entrepreneurs, trade-unionists, artists and of course citizens, all of them representing the diversity of the European Union.

This report is the result of this first meeting. The key message is clear: in a period of tectonic shifts and acceleration, the European Union must undergo a radical transformation, scale up and accelerate. That's why it needs to change the way it operates: it must reinforce its decision-making capacity but also its execution ability. Such a transformation might clearly require treaty change. But changing the treaty will take time and should not be used as an excuse

for not taking decisions now. Especially knowing that the decisions of today pave the way for the European Union of 2040. We are together responsible for our shared future.

Today, a change of paradigm and a new mindset are clearly required. The European Union must dare to assert itself as a global, sustainable and responsible power and not only as a participant torn between other powers. In this respect, the EU needs to review its model to be able to produce the common goods that citizens need in domains such as democracy, defence and security, education, science and technology, environment, energy, health, agriculture or culture... and that none of the Member States has the capacity or the resources to build alone.

Taking Europe to where it needs to be, will be possible if, and only if, we, the citizens of the European Union, develop real ownership of the process and take the transformation of the European Union as the responsibility of each and everyone of us – and not just that of a political elite. We are the key to success, and it is fundamental that we engage in the process of transforming the European Union into a fully multi-national and democratic power. More than ever, Europe needs the active, concrete and continuous participation of its citizens.

So now is the time to act.
After all, *"Tomorrow is today"*.

Guillaume Klossa
Chairman of the Board, CONCLAVE

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY A VISION FOR EUROPE IN 2040

Participants in the First Conclave “Europe 2040” (see Appendix 1) discussed the collective destiny of Europeans, which is at stake in a rapidly changing world. After having listened to leaders from the outside world with challenging views (see Appendix 2), they aimed to identify what might be the new European public goods of tomorrow and the ways and means to produce them. The aim was to design the European Union we need in the short term and by 2040.

On this basis, they pledge for a much stronger promotion of European common interests, values, and unity by the Member States and the EU institutions. They propose a major focus on four fields which, for a long time, were not at the heart of European priorities but should now structure the strategic agenda: Geopolitics, Science and Technology, Development model, and Democracy. They draw the conclusion

that these four domains, which are increasingly intertwined, need a radically new approach and much higher ambition at the earliest if the EU and its Member States want to remain relevant to their citizens. In this respect, they identify seventeen fundamental issues that Europeans need to tackle as early as now to prepare a collective positive future. These issues are developed in the report.

More generally, they insist on the fact that the European Union needs to change its mindset to assert itself as a global, sustainable, and responsible power for citizens, equipped with significantly enhanced decision-making and execution capabilities – all of which will indeed require treaty changes and budgetary increases.

This fundamental mutation can only happen if the citizens are on board and feel part of this democratic adventure.

1 Co-building a Geopolitical Power

War is back in our immediate neighbourhood. The post-Cold War order is dead and buried. Russia is a direct threat, while the United States, Europe's main ally and protector, may wane once again. Concurrently, China intends to establish its own order. To survive in such a context, the European Union must engage in bold and continuous forward strategic planning allowing the EU and its Member States to better anticipate. This requires developing a common understanding of the challenges ahead and a shared vision of the desirable future. Embracing this approach will enable the EU to stop considering itself as a player tossed between superpowers. Instead, the EU must quickly assert itself as a systemic and responsible power. This would constitute a Copernican revolution for its Member States and citizens.

Exporting Pax Europaea and prosperity to the less stable and less economically developed regions of the European continent is a crucial investment in collective security and democracy. However, it can only be a first step in a flexible and gradual process that leads to an expanded EU as a multi-purpose construction. A construction in which countries are bound by core political commitments (notably the four freedoms and democratic practices) while they participate in more ad hoc policy cooperation (e.g., in the security and defence fields). Future enlargements should not only provide new members with the opportunity to integrate the EU's *acquis*, but also expedite their transformation into modern, well-functioning States and societies, thereby avoiding repeating the mistakes of past enlargement process.

Reconciling demography and immigration represents a major challenge as Europe ages and its population is set to shrink. Immigration is essential for sustaining growth, given the declining birth rates. Thus, a steady influx of immigrants will be needed for the labour force and social security systems of the EU, while

requiring proper regulation by European agencies and effective integration measures. In this respect, migration, integration, and economic policies should be designed together and not siloed as they are today. However, migration flows shall need to be regulated.

The creation of a strong European defence pillar as part of NATO constitutes a key priority for Europeans and a matter of collective survival. The development of a European Defence Force, through closer cooperation between our armies, based first upon an enhanced common strategic culture and planning, should be accompanied by clear and unequivocal support for building European multinational defence industries. This support should be based on European Defence Funds and programmes, as well as joint procurement policies. The capacity to be ahead on new technologies will be facilitated through the creation of a "European DARPA" (Defence Advanced Research Projects Agency).

It is a fact that strategic rivalry has become a key feature of the world we now live in. Yet, Europe's open economies in combination with a strong legacy of cooperation and consensus building should make it a strong defender of a renewed multilateralism 4.0. This multilateralism should be based on revived global institutions, common rules, and objectives (specifically on climate change, health, and artificial intelligence). In parallel, Europeans must find their way between the US and China: taking into account their values, interests and alliances, they must develop their own strategic objectives while diversifying their friendship networks in a more multipolar world.

To maximise its capacity to be heard by its partners and rivals and to be in a position to influence in-depth the rules of the world game, the EU must also regain scientific and technological leadership.

2 Co-building a Science and Technology Power

To maintain and enhance its manufacturing competitiveness, Europe urgently needs to implement an EU-wide advanced manufacturing plan to allow a faster and scaled-up deployment of existing key enabling technologies, akin to what the USA and China decided to do over a decade ago.

However, to build tomorrow's science and technology leadership, demonstrate the impact of science for citizens, regain strategic autonomy, and boost its growth and competitiveness, Europe needs to leverage its scale effectively. Therefore, it must radically accelerate the implementation of a real and functioning comprehensive single market for science and technology. The single market should be rapidly extended to all strategic sectors, including venture capital, technology, digital technology, defence, health, and other future-looking areas. This expansion must be facilitated by a European Business Law Code and the removal of bureaucratic hurdles that inhibit boldness and speed. Additionally, there should be much enhanced and smart funding capabilities (including via a European Sovereignty Fund) and ambitious multinational public procurement policies, focusing on areas deemed too risky for the private sector, without neglecting the social dimension. Such an integrated market will provide the needed size for major breakthroughs and enable innovative companies to naturally project themselves as European companies from the get-go. Combined with deep foresight capabilities, this achieved single market will empower Europeans to make successful big bets and set the science and technology agenda for the future.

In terms of methodology, Europe needs to promote a 'continuum approach' from research to deployment, thereby breaking down the existing silos between R&D and industrial policies. This EU continuum public policy will ensure the deep coordination of developments in R&D, innovation, skills, industries, and services. Its impact will be maximised by the achievement of the single market.

After lagging in digital development, Quantum and Artificial Intelligence are major opportunities. However, Europe cannot limit itself to smart regulation in these fields. "Moonshot" projects and public actions are needed to enable home-made solutions to take the lead and bring citizens' support to a selection of topics with massive societal and strategic impact. The fact that national and public authorities have been much quicker to spot opportunities, support start-ups, and invest adequately is promising. The EU must do the same. The development of sectoral systemic platforms must leverage the potential of Artificial Intelligence for the benefit of the European economy and society, creating massively high-added-value jobs and establishing the fundamental conditions for our technological sovereignty, which paves the way for our sustainable economic and democratic sovereignty.

Europe needs to couple its lead in building a low-carbon economy with technological tools and social measures to mitigate the impact of the transition on citizen's lives. This alignment will create more jobs and opportunities through systemic public policies favouring the rapid development of the new skills required for the green transition, the production of Made in Europe technologies incorporating European values, as well as coordinated and properly scaled-up innovation deployment plans in these areas.

The current scientific and technological revolutions enable Europeans to design a more effective and efficient next-generation health system that provides improved prevention, diagnostics, prognosis, and follow-up for all patients. This will empower citizens to manage their health capital with better personalised treatments while reinforcing industrial and clinical innovation capabilities. It is also a condition of survival of our health systems.

Overall, to regain scientific and technological leadership, the EU needs a dedicated policy to develop and retain its talents and to attract the world's best talents.

3 Co-building an Inclusive and Fair Development Model

Europeans are facing pressing common challenges in defence, physical security, cybersecurity, environmental protection, energy, agriculture, digital technology, health, social welfare, and culture. These challenges demand the development of new shared competences between the EU and its Member States. We need to promote a “*European Development model*” and provide new European public goods by bridging the existing “*gap*” between citizens’ continuously rising expectations and the structurally insufficient legal, political, and financial means that can be mobilised at national level to meet ambitious strategic objectives in all these fields. This gap nurtures populism and temptations of self-retreat. The “*European Development Model*” does not entail limiting economic growth but rather pursuing a more inclusive way forward that remains competitive.

EU institutions should uphold their objective of reducing carbon emissions by 90% by 2040 and establish more precise and ambitious “*Decarbonization plans*” for all sectors (transport, agriculture, housing, energy, ...). This effort will be significantly more demanding than the requirements for 2030. To succeed, such a process needs a radically new bottom-up and inclusive approach involving all stakeholders and developing ownership. The revised Green Deal should also be coordinated with the social pillar to engage all citizens in the huge effort required to reach the objectives.

In addition to regulatory efforts in the digital sector, Europeans need to implement a EU-wide Digital Infrastructure strategy by creating new platforms aligned with their preferences, capable of providing or supporting the delivery of new public goods and services for citizens.

Developing European citizens’ rights and social protection systems in our ageing societies should lead to massively investing in “*care activities*” as a new component of the European social pillar.

European Public Procurement platforms for the joint purchase of vaccines, medical diagnostics, gas, and critical raw materials should be created. Europeans should also fund a new generation of Trans-European networks, particularly a European electricity grid that maximises the use of all available low-carbon energy sources, supported by a sustainable foundation of controllable power options. This should go along with a European Freight Railways network, a European public digital infrastructure enabling better access to health and education, and European Cloud services for SMEs, among others.

Significantly larger increases in European expenditure and investment are necessary beyond the strict limits of the Stability and Growth Pact. This includes a permanent “*Unemployment Reinsurance Scheme*” financed by the EU budget, building upon the experience of the “*Support to mitigate Unemployment Risks in an Emergency*” (SURE) during the Covid-19 pandemic, a “*European Sovereignty Fund*” fostering the environmental and digital transitions, and the development of multinational defence industries, among others. To achieve these objectives, EU and national budgets should be funded by new sources of revenues, beyond labour and consumption, by taxing other sources of added value (particularly in the digital sector) and a wide range of carbon emissions. The issuance of European bonds by a European treasury must become a regular option rather than an ad hoc exception, serving a massive “*Next Century EU investment Plan*.”

4 Co-building a Democratic power

The much-needed reinforcement of EU powers must rely on increased involvement and continuous direct participation of its citizens in its functioning, along with rebooted democratic mechanisms at both (sub-)national and European levels. The EU should position itself as a leading player in promoting citizen-centred democracy.

Democracy is based upon an informed society equipped with strong critical thinking skills and mechanisms. Europeans should guarantee effective media independence and pluralism, as well as judicial independence in the EU Member States and candidate countries. There should be in-depth and effective regulation of social platforms and social media, combined with continuous efforts to combat aggressive disinformation campaigns. In addition to media literacy, information literacy should be taught to all European citizens from kindergarten onwards. European civic education, humanities, and STEM subjects (sciences, technologies, engineering, and mathematics) should be accessible to all citizens throughout their lives, facilitated in particular but not only by a genuine humanities and STEM European education strategy. Europeans need to feel comfortable with sciences and technologies to harness their potential, broaden their social and professional perspectives, and navigate an increasingly technology-driven society. An *“EU popular education programme”* dedicated to *“European affairs”* should also be launched to allow a shared understanding of the EU’s meaning and purpose

Europeans should also rejuvenate their democratic lives by better integrating and extending representative and participatory democracy. They should in particular make use of citizens panels and conventions

at both national and EU levels, hence providing participatory experiences to all EU citizens. Forthcoming technological advancements, including progress made in the field of automated translations, could envision, by 2040, a multinational, multilingual democratic public space, enabling citizens to inform themselves, debate, contribute to the reflection on the future of Europe, and be consulted on European issues across borders in their own languages. Such a transnational, multilingual participatory public space should also be made possible through funding an *“EU public space platform,”* granting visibility to professional-quality media and leading civic social networks’ actors. Direct human exchange and conversations, however, remain key to developing European citizenship. European schools should offer bilingual education from the first grade, and youth mobility programmes should be expanded and made accessible to all segments of society, starting with an Erasmus programme for middle school students. Consequently, European citizens should be empowered to take part in European political, economic, social, scientific, and cultural life.

To enforce connection with citizens, it is imperative for the EU to extend its reach beyond the nation-state to the sub-national level. Developing a genuine European political public space requires European political parties to open up for direct membership and engage more closely as a vital link between citizens and the political system. Simultaneously, efforts to promote more legitimate and efficient EU institutions and decision-making systems are needed to enhance citizen involvement and prepare for the accession of new Member States. This requires expanding qualified majority voting at the Council.

So now is the time to act. After all, *“Tomorrow is today”*.

Report of the First European

CONCLAVE

In a rapidly changing world, the European Union must transform itself, scale up, and accelerate

The time of new builders and new European public goods has come

Our world started to change drastically at the end of the 1980s: the fall of the Berlin wall paved the way for a geopolitical rebalancing and a definitive end to the colonial era. Meanwhile, the 1992 Rio Summit initiated reflection on the need for a climate transition. Three decades later, Europeans live in a period of multiple uncertainties with two wars in their immediate neighbourhood, the new threat from Russia, increasing competition between the USA and China, the multiple effects of climate change, and the latest rapid developments in terms of artificial intelligence and quantum technologies. More generally, thanks to combined major scientific and industrial revolutions, we have entered a period of unprecedented acceleration in the history of humankind. These geopolitical, technological, and ecological shifts are accompanied by an in-depth transformation of our societies and constitute major challenges for our democracies.

Up to now, the EU and its Member States have primarily demonstrated resilience and, ultimately, unity in response to successive crises, from the financial crisis that turned into a euro-crisis, to the immigration crisis, the pandemic, and the Russian invasion of Ukraine. Yet, the feeling is that we are losing control of our collective destiny, and these crises have eroded the EU. This triggers fear and anxiety in EU citizens and paves the way for populism. In addition, the cost of reaction is often much higher than

the cost of a more proactive approach based on better identification of our present and future European common interests. The ongoing changes call for the EU to scale up its level of ambition and its means to deliver on it.

In this perspective, a more systemic European reflection should be based on the concrete identification of what are the new European public goods, including security, health, energy, environment, transportation, digital infrastructures, education, and culture. The democratic governance of Europe should be adapted accordingly to produce different types of public goods: those that can be best provided at the European level and those that primarily remain the responsibility of Member States.

The production of European public goods should rely on a combination of legal means (competences), political means (programmes, common procurement platforms or infrastructures) and financial means (European Funds, taxes, and bonds, among others).

To safeguard the relevance of the European project, a radical change in methodology is essential. Prioritising speed as a significant measure of success is critical, emphasising the need for impact assessment to guide decisions over the sheer amount of money invested. Anticipation should form the foundation of

this approach, fostering the development of genuine strategies and prioritisation. This, in turn, necessitates strong and continuous involvement of citizens in creating these strategies, ensuring that European citizens gain a sense of shaping, control, and ownership over the direction of their collective future.

Against this background, the First European Conclave 2040 participants (see Appendix 1&4) gathered in Cascais for three days of listening, exchanging, and discussing challenges, including listening to views from the world outside (see Appendix 2). They identified seventeen fundamental issues that the EU and its Member States must anticipate and adapt to, in order to mutate and remain relevant for their citizens, while also being able to exert real influence in global decision-making during this period of acceleration.

These key issues can be mapped onto four interrelated domains:

- Geopolitics: the unstable and challenging international environment in which the EU and Member States need to assert and effectively defend their common interests and values (see Part 1).
- Scientific and Technological leadership: in today's world, it is the main driver for geopolitical influence,

high growth, effective sovereignty, and the capacity to find solutions in the climate and energy fields, but also to answer health, social, education, and informational challenges (see Part 2).

- Development Model: the backbone of a socially just, modern, sustainable, and cohesive society based on the common goods perceived as fundamental by EU citizens, and then to be properly financed (see Part 3).
- Democracy: how to establish the conditions for a fair, informed, rational, and inclusive public debate that enables citizens to make the best possible collective choices while respecting and strengthening our core values based on the Rule of Law and human rights (see Part 4).

On this basis, this Report has been drafted and finalised under the supervision of the Conclave Board members (see Appendix 3). They are the only ones responsible for its content, even though the Conclave participants made significant contributions and were consulted throughout the production process of this report.

The Board members thank all Conclave participants for their invaluable contributions to this pan-European collective work, which aims to contribute to much-needed thinking about the future of the European Union and our continent at large.

Issue 1:

Fostering enlargement & neighbourhood relationships while reinforcing EU cohesion & flexibility

Setting the scene and key challenges

- Despite challenges, the enlargement process has been Europe's most successful foreign policy since the 1970s.
 - The EU can become the world's first democratic, cohesive, multi-national, multi-lingual, sustainable, and technological power. It would comprise more than 30 countries and over half a billion citizens, aiming to establish mature and peaceful relations with its partners.
 - Yet, the reluctance of EU citizens toward new waves of enlargement needs to be directly addressed.
 - It is now clear that Russia's invasion of Ukraine has profoundly changed the meaning and geostrategic value of the consolidation of the European continent, making enlargement a geopolitical necessity. Europe's global leadership begins and ends with its capacity to successfully integrate and enlarge at the same time.
 - Furthermore, Europeans have been trying to promote the EU as a global leader while failing to exert a direct and effective influence in crises affecting their immediate neighbourhood (Syria, Libya, Sahel, Israel-Palestine).
 - Reforming the EU, especially its decision-making processes, remains a top priority to successfully integrate new Member States.
-

Europe's track-record so far

- By granting "candidate status" to nine countries and having already opened negotiations with six of them, EU members have made a bold and far-reaching decision.
- The EU has put in place instruments and mechanisms that have allowed countries to gradually begin integrating into the Single market. Meanwhile, the EU is increasing its financial support to help countries close the development gap.

Imperatives and key milestones

- By 2030 the EU needs to be ready to enlarge with the new Member States.
- To meet this deadline, a civilisational narrative for enlargement must be co-created with citizens and disseminated across European publics to build awareness of the added value of new Member States in the EU.
- Institutional reforms must be adopted to make the enlarged EU more functional and efficient, notably via the generalisation of qualified majority voting (see § 4.5).
- The EU must clearly present itself as a multipurpose construction, and a flexible approach to membership should be privileged.
- The next phase of enlargement should be viewed as a process that accelerates transformations in the educational, informational, societal, technological, and environmental sectors in enlargement countries—and appropriate funding needs to be identified in this respect.
- The core principles of the EU, respect for the Rule of Law, democracy, media pluralism, and civic education must absolutely be asserted as key preconditions to membership in all candidate countries.
- The EU must prioritize the resolution of the last remaining security and political issues within and among candidate countries. Their resolution would not only enhance the stability of the European continent but would also give Europe a strategic and geopolitical advantage.
- Managing the internal free movement of people to avoid brain drain effects in some of its new (or less new) members is crucial. Such a focus was absent from previous enlargement waves and was costly in terms of democracy and economic development.
- Europeans must maintain their momentum in systematically mobilising a variety of actors and fora (such as the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Council of Europe, OESC, EPC, etc.) to dynamize relations with their neighbours.
- EU neighbourhood strategies should be widely open to all stakeholders (civil society organisations, business actors, researchers, students, migrant communities, etc.).
- Europeans need to be less paternalistic and must promote more equal partnerships and joint actions with the African continent and Middle East countries: comprehensive strategies and agreements including economic, security, education, research, environment, energy, and migration issues need to be concluded as soon as possible.
- In parallel, Europeans must progressively but steadily reinvent their relationship with the UK, which is to remain a major partner in meeting defence, climate change, and financial challenges.
- They also need to clarify their relationship with Turkey as a strategic partner for reasons of security and migration among others, yet unlikely to become an EU member in the foreseeable future.

Issue 2:

Fostering cooperation on the management of people: demographics, immigration, and integration

Setting the scene and key challenges

- Europe is the oldest continent in terms of the median age of its people, and its population is shrinking. Today, EU-27 represents 5,5% of the world population.
- Europe is the continent where people live the longest and is confronted with major ageing challenges in economic and social terms, from competitiveness to care via pensions. Controlled migrations to Europe thus appears to be an absolute necessity and a logical solution.
- Further enlargement will not resolve Europe's ageing challenge, underscoring the continued high demand for migrants in key sectors like tech, caring, and tourism, which are crucial for social cohesion, culture, and sustaining European pension systems.
- Immigration to Europe, although much needed due to its shrinking and ageing labour force, has become

a contentious political issue domestically. In fact, it faces a dual negative perception. It is perceived both as a problem within EU countries due to uncontrolled migrant flows, sparking cultural anxieties, racism, and political opposition, and as an issue in origin countries, viewing the EU as a selective fortress, which increasingly undermines the international influence of the EU and its Member States. Europeans are divided in seeing migrants as resources or threats, struggling with trust deficits in controlling borders and solidarity deficits in redistributing migrants. Countries like Hungary, while officially advocating a zero-migrant approach, engage in unspoken competing strategies for selective migrant attraction. Admission policies, remaining national due to the absence of a central European authority, cause irregularities in migrants' statuses when moving across EU countries, highlighting the lack of effective coordination in national policies.

Europe's track-record so far

- EU Member States have developed diverse national strategies to attract migrants from the outside world while being divided on the management and distribution of asylum seekers. The welcoming of about four million Ukrainian citizens since 2022 has been the exception rather than the rule.
- Europeans fail to expel asylum seekers who are not authorised to stay on EU soil, as well as other irregular workers and migrants.
- A New Pact on Migration and Asylum, aiming to streamline asylum and border procedures, has been adopted.

Imperatives and key milestones

- First, European leaders need to do much more to shape perceptions of migration and emphasise its positive aspects while, of course, recognising that external migration needs to be regulated.
- Second, Member States need to be guided by independent data and analyses. An independent Task Force could provide regular public prospective analyses and studies (for instance: identifying EU countries' needs).
- Third, to regain control of migrant flows, there is a strategic need for enhanced cooperation and partnerships with countries of origin and transit, more effective border checks, and improved return and reintegration procedures. To reduce the resulting trust and solidarity deficit, Europeans should aim to transform Frontex into a "*European Border and Coast Guard Corps*" by providing it with more human and technical resources. Proper implementation of the new Pact on migration and asylum will be necessary. Concurrently, Europeans must continue to share responsibility and, hopefully, redistribute asylum seekers and recognized refugees entitled to international protection.
- Last but not least, proper integration policies will be needed for those who have the legal right to stay. This involves implementing consistent migration and integration strategies at national and local levels, combining professional training, language and civic education, job, and housing policies, supported by a dedicated EU program that underlines the vital role of local authorities and civil society in executing these strategies.
- Finally, promoting European demography through increased financial and fiscal support to women and couples wishing to have children is strategically important, positioning migration as a complement to the needs of our economies and societies.

Issue 3: Preparing for America's waning commitment to Europe

Setting the scene and key challenges

- Historically, Europeans and Americans have been bound by common interests and values, both of which have come under increasing pressure in the last two decades.
- American interest in Europe has been declining, with attention increasingly shifting to Asia. Cultural and demographic changes in the US have also contributed to this trend. Europe was more and more perceived as neither a solution nor a problem until the Russian invasion of Ukraine.
- Growing competition between the USA and China is leading our traditional ally to expect our complete alignment with them, while the IRA reminds us that European companies can be strongly impacted by American decisions. An EU able to assert itself as a sovereign, economic, technological, military, and monetary power is the only way to be able to defend common European interests and values and to be heard by our American partner.
- The unpredictability of US foreign policy due to extreme polarisation domestically means that American protection of Europe can no longer be taken for granted. A return of Donald Trump to the White House might lead to an abrupt end of American support to Ukraine, the disintegration of the Atlantic alliance, and/or mounting pressures on European countries to align themselves completely with US trade policies, among others.
- Beyond elections, Europeans and Americans must prepare to act and interact together in a “*post-Western*” world where the assumption of their common leadership is increasingly challenged by others.

Europe's track record so far

- Europeans reacted firmly when US trade sanctions were adopted.
- The bilateral “Trade and Technology Council”, created to promote alignment in global competition with China and other countries, has, for now, produced limited results.
- The Russian invasion of Ukraine led Europeans to act alongside their American partners and to rely on their military support, while reaffirming the key importance of NATO with the addition of Finland and Sweden.
- Europeans have participated in the “Alliance of Democracies’ Summits” launched by the Biden Administration, though with limited enthusiasm.

Imperatives and key milestones

- The EU and the US should establish a high-level working group designed to rethink and reshape the transatlantic relationship on a more equal footing. This would promote new pathways in the fields of economics, environment and defence. Such work could lead to a new comprehensive Treaty between the EU and the USA.
- The creation of a European defence pillar integrated into NATO and able to act autonomously if needed must be another common EU/US objective for 2030. While NATO must remain central to Europe's security, this new European defence pillar should be compatible with the rapid consolidation of a European defence industry (see §1.4).
- Europeans and Americans should define a common strategy to support their environmental transitions, combining CO2 emissions regulations, carbon pricing, public financial support, as well as disruptive innovation.
- While Europe's relations with China need de-risking, Europeans must find a way to balance their need for a relationship with both their strategic American ally and their Chinese trade partner and systemic rival.

Issue 4: Building a much stronger European defence

Setting the scene

- The lack of a credible European defence may have facilitated the Russian Invasion of Ukraine, thus accelerating the EU's geopolitical transition to a more security-based approach. The increasing number of security risks, the structural disengagement of the US, and the rising cost of defence plead for Europe to develop its own defence capabilities and armed forces.
- After the failure of the European defence community in the 1950s, European construction has been mainly devoted to economic challenges while NATO protected an expanding number of European countries against the USSR and later Russia.
- Currently, Russia, China, and the USA are de facto in war economies with accelerated defence programmes. Europeans must equip themselves for a hostile environment by developing a European defence. Any delay will result in outdated capacities by 2040.
- With an armed conflict on their doorstep, Europeans have failed to spend adequately for their defence.
- Lack of interoperability is a clear handicap: Europe has over 180 weapon systems compared to around 30 in the USA.
- Defence investment is a key driver of innovation and industrial competitiveness, given its magnitude and the dual use of technologies in satellites, aircrafts, drones, etc. In the USA and China, many breakthroughs in civilian sectors have derived directly from the defence sector, spanning domains such as platform technologies, health, cybersecurity, web, optics, photonics, and payment technologies.

Europe's record so far

- Europeans have adopted headline goals in terms of military deployments and battle groups. They are meant to establish a European Rapid Reaction Capacity by 2025, including naval forces.
- Europeans have adopted a “*Strategic Compass*” to strengthen their security and defence, based on a common diagnosis of the challenges and threats, and an inventory of the various tools to be mobilised.
- The European Intervention Initiative was launched in 2018 to develop a common strategic culture in Europe.
- EU institutions have started to plan and reinforce the “*European Defence, Technological and Industrial Base*”, including a “*Coordinated Annual Review on Defence (CARD)*” covering review capability and equipment development plans across Member States.
- The new “*European Defence Fund*” has been granted around 8 billion euros in support of joint research projects dedicated to combating emerging and future threats, as well as collaborative capacity-building projects.
- The launch of the Permanent structured cooperation (PESCO) has supported more than 60 projects for capability development and reinforcement of means used for Common Security and Defence Policy operations and missions.

- The “*European Peace Facility*” has financed arms deliveries to Ukraine, with its financial threshold more than doubling since 2021.
- The EU has adopted an Act aiming to strengthen the European defence industry through joint procurement (EDIRPA), filling key industrial gaps and providing financial incentives for Member States to acquire defence products jointly.
- Responding to Ukraine’s needs, the Support Action for the production of ammunition (ASAP) has allowed the EU to support the strengthening of its industrial production capacities for defence products and remedy supply shortages, including via joint procurement.
- The EU has drafted and is about to adopt a “Critical Raw Materials Act” aiming to secure their supply for civil and defence uses, favouring the success of Europe’s climate, digital, and geopolitical transitions.

Imperatives and key milestones

- European citizens’ security concerns must be addressed. This means, first and foremost, making clear that war is “materially possible and intellectually thinkable.” This also means that Europe’s security needs must be properly addressed, and resources mobilised accordingly.
- A European defence pillar must be created within NATO by 2030. This pillar must be able to act on its own if needed. In parallel, Europe should launch a public debate on what a European defence (including armed forces and nuclear deterrence) should look like.
- Europeans must focus even more on investment and capabilities, financing common R&D, standardisation, and interoperability.
- The EU should establish a genuine internal market for defence, within which European companies could operate freely and without discrimination in all Member States. An EU-wide “security of supply” regime should be created to guarantee the supply of armed forces in all circumstances, regardless of the nationality of their suppliers (just like during the Covid-19 crisis for medical devices).
- Political leaders should promote a shift in the European approach and organisation for defence, from one that is national industry-driven to one that is common and mission-driven.
- Development of Dual-Use Technologies: European technological and industrial alliances, involving volunteering industrialists, should be formed to develop dual-use technologies. A significant increase in European financial support for transnational collaborative projects will be needed to produce transformative effects.
- To enhance the continent's security and foster a robust European defence industry, the EU should undertake a multifaceted approach by 2030, including the creation of the "EU Defence Advanced Research Projects Agency" (EU DARPA). This agency will finance breakthrough technologies and capacities, utilising a methodology that emphasises speed, impact, and experimentation. Alongside, the European defence industry and procurement strategies will receive enhanced financing and coordination, with a strong focus on Community preference for strategic joint projects such as drones, aircraft, and battle tanks. Furthermore, the EU institutions should launch the ambitious "European Defence Investment Programme" (EDIP), representing at least 100 billion euros in funding through borrowing. This programme should aim to boost joint weapons procurement and increase domestic arms production. The European Investment Bank (EIB) can play a crucial role by establishing a specific window dedicated to financing defence projects.
- Europeans need to quickly regain, and subsequently consolidate, their access to space through a smarter combination of public and private investments.

Issue 5: Co-creating the foundations of a renewed multilateralism

Setting the scene

- Europeans have benefited from an open and rules-based world order that has promoted and preserved stability and global interdependencies – indeed, they live on the smallest and most open of all continents.
- The EU is by its very nature committed to addressing global economic, environmental, and political challenges through multilateralism.
- The world we now live in is increasingly characterised by strategic rivalry and the weaponization of economic interdependence, along with the emergence of non-aligned regional actors, most notably the BRICS+.
- In this emerging multipolar world, an increasing number of countries prefer ‘open relationships’ and short-term practical benefits over stable alliances.
- The EU commitment to a renewed multilateralism will lack credibility unless the EU is perceived as a powerful player.

Europe’s record so far

- Europeans have used the EU as a successful model of regional multilateralism, inspiring and supporting other actors such as the African Union and Mercosur.
- Europeans have been calling for reform of multilateral organisations, from the UN to the WTO, so as to give more room to new powers. They have also actively engaged in the G20.
- Europeans have been a driving force in the promotion of a global environmental strategy to combat climate change and protect biodiversity.
- The “*European Peace Facility*” has financed arms deliveries to Ukraine, with its financial threshold more than doubling since 2021.
- The EU has adopted an Act aiming to strengthen the European defence industry through joint procurement (EDIRPA), filling key industrial gaps and providing financial incentives for Member States to acquire defence products jointly.
- Responding to Ukraine’s needs, the Support Action for the production of ammunition (ASAP) has allowed the EU to support the strengthening of its industrial production capacities for defence products and remedy supply shortages, including via joint procurement.
- The EU has drafted and is about to adopt a “Critical Raw Materials Act” aiming to secure their supply for civil and defence uses, favouring the success of Europe’s climate, digital, and geopolitical transitions.

Imperatives and key milestones

- Europeans need to plan for the future. This can only happen if they can rely on forward-looking capabilities at the level of the European Council, and with a dedicated Task Force. This is the necessary condition for a shared, Europe-wide assessment of the challenges ahead and for Europe to start thinking as a geopolitical power.
- Europe must cast itself as a pole of stability and a model for others to imitate.
- Europeans must co-create a new multilateralism 4.0, preferably alongside the USA, and with the support of new actors and allies from Africa, South America, and Asia. This entails adapting voting rights and

memberships of international institutions to the new balance of economic and political power. EU and national policies should facilitate the establishment of new friendship networks across all continents.

- The EU must assert its global leadership in sustainability and climate protection, continuing to be a driving force globally in these areas. Additionally, the EU should leverage the size of its market and commercial policies to negotiate more 'new generation' free trade agreements that integrate economic, environmental, and security objectives. These agreements should target partnerships with regions and countries such as Mercosur, India, Indonesia, South Korea, Australia, Japan, and others.

Issue 6:

Promoting a scientific, technological, and industrial continuum public policy

Setting the scene

- Research and Innovation constitute the foundations of competitiveness and growth. They enable EU nations to adapt public services to new needs and realities and ensuring the well-being of Europeans amidst intense global economic and technological competition.

- The world's most successful economic powers have adopted a 'continuum approach' to deal with this issue, emphasising the relationships between key building blocks – namely R&D, Innovation, Skills, Industries, and Services - through a web of interconnected funding mechanisms and ambitious public procurement strategies. The success of the Pfizer-BioNTech COVID-19 vaccine is a success story that highlights the added value of an effective continuum approach, from speculative fundamental research on Messenger RNA to public procurement. However, Europe suffers from highly fragmented and siloed ap-

proaches to innovation. Several combined factors account for this: a heterogeneous distribution of competencies, insufficient connections between R&D and industrial development, and divergent and competing national policies. This lack of coherence also applies to cooperation between civilian and defence industries.

- Europeans account for only 10% of global R&D, a decline from past levels and significantly less than the USA and China. This decline is particularly acute in the Tech sector. These dynamics could rapidly worsen and accelerate industrial decline and widen the per capita GDP gap between China and the US on the one hand, and the EU on the other.

- The motivation of European researchers is continuously being eroded by administrative, financial, and infrastructural constraints, as well as the absence of proper incentives.

Europe's record so far

- The deepening of the Single Market and its increasing openness to the world have been driving forces behind R&D and innovation on our continent. Both expanded economic opportunities, albeit with limited progress over the last two decades.

- Europeans have set an objective of dedicating 3% of their GDP to R&D, but they fall far short of meeting it.

- Despite some emblematic European initiatives such as Galileo and the European Research Council,

industrial, technological, and digital policies, as well as education, remain predominantly national, regional or even local, lacking scale effects.

- There is no single market for any of the areas that are crucial for the future of the EU (healthcare, cyber, space, quantum, AI, energy, culture...). This is a major hurdle to the emergence of European technology champions where scale is the name of the game. Worse, it allows US investors to offer higher valuations by simply investing in European start-ups.

Imperatives and key milestones

- The EU needs to establish the conditions for its leadership in science and technology while maintaining manufacturing competitiveness. Europe urgently needs to implement a EU-wide advanced manufacturing plan, akin to initiatives launched in the USA and China more than a decade ago, to speed up and scale up the deployment of existing key enabling technologies.
- Consolidating a ‘Continuum approach’ and then formulating a continuum public strategy should be a top priority for the EU.
- Europeans must think in terms of strategic and societal impact rather than in purely budgetary terms.
- They must consolidate the ERC, which is considered as the world-wide top reference in terms of R&D institution. R&D budgets should only be attributed based on excellence criteria and should have a separate instrument for ensuring European cohesion.
- Reforming the EIC is necessary. The EIC has become a private equity fund – but it lacks the excellence of the best funds. It crowds out private money without filling the gap in disruptive innovation financing. The focus should shift towards genuinely supporting research organisations driven by civil society and philanthropies, rather than attempting to centralise all activities within the Research and Technical Development (RTD) framework.
- Completing the Single Market in the digital, technological, and defence fields should be a major priority for the next Commission.
- R&D initiatives must be based on bottom-up projects, while top-down support should focus on a reduced number of strategic areas with enough continuity.
- Major European industrial alliances and Important Projects of Common European Interest (IPCEIs) should be supported and launched by 2030 in strategic fields to foster private and public partnerships (e.g., Digital, Quantum – see §2.2).
- A stronger and deeper pan-European capital market infrastructure is urgently needed to fund scaling-up projects and prevent leading innovators from leaving our continent. Access to the American market for European scale-ups often results in them effectively becoming US companies. This dynamic should be properly addressed.
- The attractiveness of research careers must be drastically improved by 2030 through stable employment, financial incentives, increased mobility, and a focus on creating attractive, high-performing eco-systems and networks.
- Europe must eliminate the georeturn rule, which ties contract allocations to national contributions, prioritising competitiveness and smart investment over political motives.

Issue 7: Developing a digital platform strategy to leverage our AI & Quantum potential

Setting the scene

- Systemic digital platforms continue to transform our lives and behaviours in a sense that reflects their strategic interests and those of their countries of origin. The ultra-rapid and structural changes that they entail do not provide sufficient space and time for democratic or societal adaptation. As for markets, and supply chains, they have not kept up with these ultra-fast transformations. Yet, platforms capture most of the economic value they create on EU territory. In many ways, they behave like colonial companies and develop a sustainable competitive advantage. This significant advantage will be further reinforced by their capacity to leverage the potential of Artificial Intelligence (in areas such as generative AI) and Quantum technology.

- American and Chinese platforms have been dominant since the advent of the internet. And Europe has only managed to influence them ex post facto through regulation, remaining a second rank power in these areas.

- Most EU competitors (USA, China, India, and the UAE) are developing a digital platform strategy (through private sector ecosystems or through government led programmes) to lead geopolitically and economically, and leverage the potential of AI to the benefit of their citizens. American and Chinese

companies have achieved clear leadership in this field, India is preparing for it.

- Given the weakness and fragmentation of the European digital and informational market, European systemic digital platforms have barely emerged. The EU and its Member States have given up on supporting such developments, resulting in European countries serving as mere providers of AI and tech talents for non-European markets, while all other major economies have created conditions to develop their own platforms.

- The EU cannot be the only economic superpower exclusively relying on systemic digital platforms born outside of Europe. These platforms are designed to take into account the culture, values, principles, and economic interests of their country and society of origin, not those of the EU and its Member States. They have a direct, rapid, and structural impact on our economic, social, and democratic lives, creating de facto major individual and collective dependencies that are not wished for - contrary to the Versailles declaration that intends to limit such interdependencies. They also threaten our economic foundations, social cohesion, and identities, as well as our capacity to leverage the artificial intelligence revolution.

Europe's record so far

- The EU has asserted its leadership in regulating the digital sector through “GDPR”, the Digital Market Act, the Digital Services Act, and the Artificial Intelligence Act.

- In an area globally dominated by private investors, the EU has, since 2018, devoted 1 billion euros to a large-scale, long-term research initiative bringing

together research institutions, industrial actors, and public funders, namely the “Quantum Technologies Flagship” Initiative.

- Europe is to have its first supercomputer with quantum acceleration by 2025, paving the way for cutting-edge quantum capabilities by 2030.

Imperatives and key milestones

- Developing European digital platforms is the absolute priority for 2030-2040. It can only happen if clearer incentives for entrepreneurship are in place, along with tools to make the regulation effective and easy to implement and monitor.

- Transnational public procurement should be implemented in this respect in fields of public interest such as public service media, health, cybersecurity, civic tech, education, higher education, and lifelong learning.

- Attracting and retaining the best talents in digital is of key importance, as well as developing quick and efficient competence acquisition.

- An additional reason to explain the limited success rate of European Tech innovative projects is the much greater difficulty to restructure in these fields: it is an extra competitive disadvantage for Europeans. In the US, Amazon, X or Uber can review their strategies and restructure within days, while this is not possible in Europe. The cost of potential restructuring should also be drastically reduced in Europe via the adoption of ad-hoc social schemes at the Member States level to limit the cost of experimentation for investors and to support agile entrepreneurs.

- An ambitious effort on AI and Quantum, connecting R&D and scale-ups, is required – now – to ensure that this lag does not occur again and that digital developments in the future and their societal

implications are consistent with Europe's democratic and inclusive project.

- “*Moonshot*”-style projects must be financed to retain and attract the best scientists in order to support the development of a world-class quantum technology ecosystem across Europe. The EU should be the world's “quantum valley”.

- The Single Market should be leveraged more efficiently in this area to achieve real economies of scale effects and create a pro-innovation level playing-field. The rapid implementation of a European Business Law Code will make day-to-day life and scaling up easier for companies. The creation of a Capital Market Union to provide adequate private funding to our digital entrepreneurs to incentivise them to stay on the continent is essential. National and pan-European funding and procurement should help leverage our demography and internal markets to develop European Digital Platforms and, more generally, disruptive companies in specific sectors.

- European institutions should support researchers in their use of Artificial Intelligence to “*accelerate science*” in a variety of areas (bits-digital/ atoms-materials/neurons/genes...).

- In parallel, the EU should create pan-European actors such as an Institute for Safe AI.

Issue 8: Boosting European R&D for a rapid and successful green transition

Setting the scene

- Climate change and biodiversity loss require green, economic, and societal transitions rooted in normative measures that are understood and agreed upon by citizens. The emergence of such measures depends significantly on R&D successes.
 - Europeans have lost their leadership on wind turbines and solar panels to China and are confronted with energy and environmental actors in the US who receive massive public support.
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Europe's record so far

- The EU *"Green Deal"* aims to transform Europe into the first climate neutral continent by 2050 through the mobilisation of key R&D tools, drawn in particular from the Horizon Europe programme and the ETS Innovation Fund.
- The Horizon Europe programme has already made available 1 billion euros under the Green Deal call and selected more the 70 major R&D projects dedicated to the environmental transition.
- The ETS Innovation Fund supports highly innovative technologies and flagship projects that can bring significant emission reductions by pooling the risk with project promoters.
- European Missions were overly bureaucratised and the set goals were too broad ("cleaner oceans"). R&D projects need to be prioritised and clear goals must be set.
- European IPCEIs have not yet been delivered (the battery IPCEI is a case in point) because they provide ground-level funding without setting clear objectives. The result has been slow, bringing incremental change rather than radical change.

Imperatives and key milestones

- Europeans should promote a “made in the EU” Green Transition that mobilises and incentivises researchers and focuses on technology and innovation while accompanying citizens.
- Europe needs to couple its lead in building a low-carbon economy with technological tools and social measures to soften the transition’s impact on citizen’s lives. It will create more jobs and opportunities through systemic public policies favouring the rapid development of the new skills required to accompany the green transition, the production of Made in Europe technologies, as well as coordinated and properly scaled-up innovation deployment plans in these areas. While different regions may embrace various approaches and paces in their journey towards decarbonization, it is essential for Europe to maintain its firm commitment to consistent investment and favour coordinated approaches wherever possible to leverage its critical mass. This steadfast support will ensure that all regions, regardless of their individual strategies, can benefit from Europe’s funding and assistance.
- The EU should triple the amount of R&D funding dedicated to the fight against climate change, particularly regarding climate-neutral and smart cities as well as the restoration of oceans and waters.
- Citizens directly affected by green transition measures must be supported appropriately through transparent and non-bureaucratic processes. Easy to follow indicators about the effectiveness of measures adopted have to be developed, implemented, and shared.
- Tax frameworks have been a particular challenge in Member States. A specific tax framework driving R&D and investment to the green transition’s key challenges should be created in all EU Member States.
- A new European Sovereignty Fund should support R&D and innovation projects devoted to the environmental transition and to the emergence of a low-carbon, resilient economy.

Issue 9: Leading in health and providing high quality care for all

Setting the scene

- Europe is doing well on life expectancy because its citizens benefit from universal health coverage, preventive care, public health, and well-trained health professionals.
- The European health sector faces numerous and serious challenges: from budget constraints, to bureaucratic inefficiency in hospitals, via regional healthcare deficits, and ageing populations.
- Significant funding for fundamental research in the health sector is required since it is precisely what leads to breakthroughs (e.g., “*CRISPR*”, mRNA vaccines, etc.).
- The European Health Union became a priority after COVID-19 led Europeans to the realisation that Europe lacks a health policy.
- Crucially, ongoing progress in key medical areas combined with ongoing AI developments creates the possibility of a transformed health system by 2040— with at its core, far more preventive and personalised medicine, radically improved diagnostics, prognostics, patient follow-up, staff training, research development, and drugs testing. Such a medical revolution will allow not only for the de facto monitoring of pandemics and epidemics but also improved monitoring of the impact on citizens, of climate change, pollution, and declining biodiversity. It paves the way for a global European public health strategy in a more legible landscape

Europe’s record so far

- The “*Conference on the Future of Europe*” identified health as an essential European priority and underlined that the two basic pillars of EU action in this field should be equal access to health and citizens’ education on behaviour and lifestyle.
- The EU has long been drafting pharmaceutical legislations into the framework of the Single Market while regulating access based on the assessment of the European Medicines Agency.
- A “*European Health Union*” has been launched, mainly based on sectoral approaches: an EU “*Beating cancer plan*”, measures for mental health, and “*Crisis preparedness*” mechanisms.
- The COVID-19 pandemic led European countries to the common purchase of vaccines and the creation of the “*Health Emergency Preparedness and Response Authority*” (HERA) based on intelligence gathering and joint response capacities.

Imperatives and key milestones

- Europeans should boldly invent their ideal public health system for 2040. The objectives should aim to provide better diagnostics and prognostics for all, develop prevention, empower citizens to manage their health capital, enhance personalised treatment, and speed up research through real trans-disciplinarity. Europeans are undergoing scientific and technological revolutions, this should allow for the design of a new health system that performs better in terms of universality, quality, and personalisation, while potentially being more holistic and much less expensive. To achieve critical mass, this new system should be thought de facto at the EU level.
- Europeans should do much more in preventive care by achieving equal access for diagnostics and follow-up by 2030, based on clear EU political recommendations.
- The EU should invest twice as much to prevent the rise of new infectious diseases. Alongside vaccine development, antibiotics, and other drugs should benefit from much more funding and quicker approval processes.
- When it comes to clinical trials and pharmaceutical products, the EU has stricter regulations than the USA. Without affecting the quality of the trials, these should be more open and practical to facilitate technological innovation and industrial developments.
- Building on the newly launched European Health Data Space, the EU should promote health data-driven policies and pioneer the use of health data to improve the efficiency of the health systems across Europe.
- Health related technologies and artificial Intelligence are bringing a lot to the health systems and can have a big impact on the industry. The EU should assert its leadership in the health-tech sector by increasing support to researchers and industrial actors, favouring whenever possible transnational public procurement for new generation medical equipment.
- The dichotomy between the public and private health sectors must be overcome through social innovation, based on public-private partnerships (as Slovenia and Portugal have done), offering more access to citizens and industrial actors.

Issue 10: Meeting climate change objectives by 2040 and preparing 2040-50 ones.

Setting the scene

- Although EU countries only account for around 8% of global CO₂ emissions, they have contributed to around 20% of emissions since the start of the industrial era. Consequently, they should acknowledge a major responsibility in playing a key role in reducing emissions.
 - EU countries cannot address climate change and save the planet single-handedly; thus, they should act in cooperation with other key international actors (the USA, China, and “*emerging*” countries) to convince them to act in the same direction.
 - The fight against climate change fuels social concerns about the costs of the environmental transition whilst fuelling political resistance against changes in the “*European way of life.*”
 - Agriculture is an essential sector for food production and national/regional economies and ecosystems. It has been from the start of the EU, fuelled and supported by large EU-programs. In the fight against climate change, the transition of this sector needs proper attention.
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Europe’s record so far

- The EU “*Green Deal*” aims to transform Europe into the first climate neutral continent by 2050, through the use of complementary legal and financial tools.
- In 2023, Europeans reduced their CO₂ emissions by 32% in comparison with 1990; the path to the targeted 55% reduction by 2030 will be particularly challenging.
- The EU has recently started to focus on the industrial and technological dimensions of the environmental transition and competition, by adopting acts and measures promoting European economic actors and producers.

Imperatives and key milestones

- The EU should continue to behave as a driving international force on sustainability and climate protection during successive COPs, while continuing to adopt measures that “green” the practices of its partners through a combination of legal tools (CBAM, Deforestation-free Regulation, new generation Trade agreements...) and financial aid to non-industrialised countries and climate vulnerable countries.

- The EU has to maintain its global leadership via the establishment of an ambitious milestone target of 90% reduction of its CO2 emissions by 2040 to reach climate neutrality in 2050. To this end it must extend carbon pricing to all economic sectors. This milestone target will be much more difficult to achieve than the 2030 milestone and will require a radically new bottom-up and inclusive approach.

- EU institutions must define their climate strategies and actions on the basis of the effective coordination and ownership of all the stakeholders concerned (private sector, government, NGOs, youth organisations, scientists, and citizens).

- The agricultural sector should be involved in climate change strategies both nationally and at EU-level.

The EU has to set the right regulations and incentives for sustainable agriculture, with fair inclusion of small and medium-sized farms. This is even more important in the perspective of EU enlargement.

- The centrality of innovation as a key pillar of the EU’s climate change strategy must be enhanced. This must be achieved through technology-related diplomacy to secure supply of key components, through an even stronger focus on European net zero technological industrial projects, and through support for social and lifestyle innovations.

- Europeans must work on bold “Moonshot” projects such as nuclear fusion, synthetic biology to grow critical materials, and carbon capture.

- The decrease in Europe’s energy demand should be aligned with UN Sustainable Development Goals, with a focus on less resource-intensive lifestyles and the use of renewable energy sources (RES).

- EU and national authorities should double the public funding dedicated to the environmental transition, including via the two next Multi-Annual Financial Frameworks (2028-2034 and 2035-2041).

Issue 11: Preserving and developing European citizens' rights, social protection and well-being

Setting the scene

- Since the EU is an important rule setter but is not seen as a direct provider of common goods, European citizens may not be convinced that it is acting for their well-being.
- A key element of well-being is employment and the related income, which enables freedom, security, purchasing power, professional and social satisfaction, etc. Europe has a solid tradition of cooperation in public-private partnerships for employment. This results in national strategies and traditions of collective bargaining and dialogue between governments and social partners (mainly conducted at the national and local levels). However, the European economic and fiscal framework should be conducive to quality job creation.
- Another key element to ensure well-being is sharing the costs of the transition to a green economy, which is promoted by the EU. If this is not done properly, European and national authorities will lose legitimacy and lose their political and social licence to operate.

Europe's record so far

- Europeans have financed structural and cohesion policies in partnership with local and national authorities – though these have limited visibility at the citizen level.
- Europeans have been discussing minimum wage for at least 20 years. Given that a uniform nominal wage-level would destroy developing economies and disrupt existing wage structures in more advanced economies, common principles and targets were only finally adopted in 2022.
- In 2017, the EU adopted a “European pillar of social rights” based on “20 Key Principles” and three complementary categories: the promotion of equal opportunities and access to the labour market (education, training, gender equality), fair working conditions (such as wage-levels, social dialogue and involvement of workers in decision-making, and work-life balance), and social protection and inclusion (such as unemployment benefits, old age income, pensions, and health care).
- In the context of COVID-19, the EU developed the capacity to triple the assets for social and economic support programmes and to create a public insurance instrument through the “Support to mitigate Unemployment Risks in an Emergency” (SURE) of up to 100 billion euros, financed with special EU social bonds. Nineteen national labour market measures supported by SURE are estimated to have reduced the levels of unemployment by almost 1.5 million people in 2020, despite large falls in GDP.
- The ECB provides Europeans with price stability and financial stability, contributing to the protection of EU citizens' purchasing power, to a more stable economic growth, and to the resilience of the financial system.

Imperatives and key milestones

- The social dimension of the green transition must be properly addressed by European, national, and local authorities. The EU should create and coordinate a Social Pillar as part of the Green Deal, based on a substantial increase in financial support, adequate professional training, and civic education to explain the need for change.
- The EU should enable social investment and the development of lifelong learning and care services in the national welfare systems, also to support gender equality.
- The EU should transform SURE into a permanent instrument to cushion other potential shocks and support short-time labour risks in all its Member States.
- The EU should create an “*Unemployment Reinsurance Scheme*” financed by the EU budget and supporting all the National Unemployment Insurance systems on a permanent basis.
- The EU should communicate much more directly to citizens on the instruments that provide European public goods (Structural funds, European social rights, “*SURE*” ...) and make them more visible and accessible.
- The EU should focus its actions on the most common social issues and respect the subsidiarity principle for the less consensual ones (e.g., retirement age).

Issue 12: Making the necessary Investments and Transfers within European societies

Setting the scene

- Dealing with climate and digital transitions requires massive adaptation, transformation, investment, and transfers within European societies and between countries.
- Since the poorest Europeans cannot be expected to contribute as much as the richest, climate change policies need to be redistributive to be effective.
- The necessity to devote more money to European collective security but also ageing societies means redistributing public expenditures in Europe while respecting intergenerational balances.
- The EU enhanced the alignment between monetary and fiscal policies in inflationary environments, where fiscal policy should be temporary and targeted to protect the most vulnerable without hindering the transmission process of monetary policy.
- EU Trade deals have been a way to redistribute private wealth and investments between our continent and developing countries, as well as within European societies, but they are under growing pressure for social and environmental reasons.

Europe's record so far

- The ambitious European Green Deal based on normative measures includes some limited financial tools but leaves national and local actors on the frontlines.
- Europeans have been incorporating more environmental content in their new Trade deals and legal norms and decisions.
- In 2026, the EU is to launch a “*Social Climate Fund*” to finance temporary direct income support for vulnerable households. The fund will privilege investments in energy efficiency measures, and measures and investments that reduce emissions in road transport and construction (for vulnerable households, micro-enterprises, and transport users).

Imperatives and key milestones

- Reorganising European taxation systems is essential to increase the costs of polluting activities (e.g. thermic transport, airlines, shipping,...) as well as to redistribute resources as financial incentives to the most deprived households and fragile economic actors.
- The launch of the “*Social Climate Fund*” should be accelerated and it should be able to draw on twice as many resources (up to 130 billion euros) while benefiting from a massive communication campaign targeted at EU citizens.

Issue 13: Putting our money where our priorities are

Setting the scene

- None of the recommendations so far can take shape unless European decision-makers and citizens agree to give Europe the financial means of their ambitions. What is outlined below is a set of necessary conditions that underpin every aspect of the vision and measures put forward by this Report.
- There is a huge gap between the ambitious common objectives adopted by Europeans and the financial means available to meet them. This gap must be reduced.
- Massive investments are needed in Europe to foster the environmental and digital transitions as well as collective security efforts in a more dangerous international environment.
- Most European public expenditures continue to be spent at the national and local levels – with the EU accounting for only 3% of the total.
- Whilst the European rules on state aid should be flexible in times of acute crises, this flexibility generates unfair competition in the medium run and affects the economic functioning and political acceptance of the single market.
- The existence of European public goods in several key fields (health, energy, environment, transport, digital, security...) should lead to the creation of adequate EU resources and expenditures.

Europe's record so far

- EU Member States have been able to finance a common budget amounting to around 1% of EU GDP mainly through national transfers.
- Europeans were able to create an “Isoglucose” tax in the 1960s, to implement a tax on single plastics use from 2021 onwards, and a Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism, to shape private actors' behaviours.
- Europeans have accepted more flexibility on state aid to face acute crises on a temporary basis.
- Europeans have borrowed money together to face asymmetrical shocks, in particular to finance the European Stability Mechanism during the “Euro Area crisis”, and the “*Recovery and Resilience Facility*” in the framework of the Next Generation EU Plan.
- Europeans have revised the Stability and Growth Pact to try and articulate better debt control and reduction and public investment and expenditures. Risk reduction is key to guarantee trust among Europeans and a more harmonised inter-generational evolution.

Imperatives and key milestones

- Europeans should go beyond structural funds and anti-crises mechanisms (e.g., Next generation EU Plan or SURE) by creating permanent financial tools designed to meet their common strategic objectives and to consolidate their Development model.
- Europeans should go on creating carbon taxes and resources (ETS, CBAM, etc.) to fight climate change and provide new resources to the EU and national budgets. Europeans should also create joint taxes on profits in the digital sector, as well as taxes on energy intensive sectors (such as crypto and AI).
- Europeans should borrow much more money together, well beyond crises, to react efficiently to structural challenges, such as the environmental transition and the reinforcement of European civil and military technologies. The issuing of “*European bonds*” by an EU Treasury should become a regular option rather than an ad hoc exception at the service of a massive “*Next Century EU investment Plan*”.
- The “*Next Century EU Investment Plan*” should support the development of real European futures-driven industries and services complying with European values, in a ‘Tech for Good’ perspective and in all fields that are vital to EU citizens - defence and security, energy, health, education, democracy, information, and culture.
- The “*Support to mitigate Unemployment Risks in an Emergency*” (SURE) mechanism should be transformed into a permanent public insurance instrument devoted to short-time work and financed with special EU social bonds.
- Europeans must put in place deposit insurance schemes to achieve their banking union.
- A new European Sovereignty Fund should support R&D and innovation projects devoted to the environmental transition and the emergence of a low-carbon, resilient economy.

Issue 14: Preserving and reinforcing the role and quality of plural media and the Rule of Law

Setting the scene

- European democracies are under threat, with the emergence of autocracies inside and outside the EU, aiming to suppress independent powers such as judges and media.
- This threat is increased in the digital age given the impact of social media in particular and structural digital platforms in general. Both fragment society by design and challenge mainstream media as key sources of information, whilst disseminating polemical content and fake news. In addition, by capturing the resulting economic value, they undermine the business models of mass media.
- The respect of the Rule of Law in all Member States is essential for the EU, defined as a “*Community of law*” whose very existence and consistency require that citizens and companies can appeal to independent judges and authorities to protect their rights.
- The dissemination of in-depth information on European issues is all the more needed given the limited knowledge of EU citizens with respect to what happens in Brussels and in EU countries other than their own.

Europe’s record so far

- An “*East Stratcom Task Force*” that fights disinformation has been created within the European External Action Service. It brings together experts in communication, journalism, social sciences, and Russian studies.
- Article 7 of the Treaty of the EU has been activated to monitor breaches of the Rule of Law in some Member States, and some funding has been suspended to put pressure on the reluctant governments.
- The Digital Services Act (DSA) gives EU institutions the power to impose more rules and moderation on systemic platforms in order to combat misinformation more effectively.
- Annual “*Rule of Law Reports*” are published by the Commission from 2020 onwards to monitor all EU Member States’ situations and call them to correct potential failures.

Imperatives and key milestones

- Stronger EU regulations on data ownership and data protection should be adopted and implemented to avoid their misuse in the information and democratic spheres.
- The absolute respect of the DSA provisions on fake news and moderation must be guaranteed by the use of effective sanctions, up to the suspension of systemic platforms.
- Reinventing democracy in the digital age should be a societal project that engages citizens of all walks of life, drawing on education and the use of GenAI/avatars ('positive deep fakes') to create a true European public space
- Beyond media literacy, a Pan-European information literacy and anti-disinformation strategy articulating national and EU actions and programmes should be defined and launched.
- The EU should implement a strategy to support cooperation across media and reinforce media economic sustainability at EU level, to massively fund European innovation, and to promote public and private digital infrastructures for media.
- The EU should favour access for all European citizens to free multilingual quality media and quality information platforms to allow citizens to benchmark information.
- Citizens must be empowered to evaluate and recognise disinformation through dedicated voter education programmes such as the one developed in Sweden.
- The respect of the Rule of Law in all the EU Member States must be guaranteed by a combination of EU jurisdictional control, political peer pressure, and support of national civil societies and their representatives.
- The democratisation of EU decision-making (via more transparency and direct participation) is also key to demonstrate that "Brussels" puts pressure on itself and not just on Member States (see §4.2 to 4.4).

Issue 15: Consolidating EU democracy foundations via education, culture, and science

Setting the scene

- The EU has been granted powers (“kratos”) but enjoys only weak connections with its peoples (“demoi”), whose diversity is both an invaluable asset as well as a source of misunderstanding and mistrust.
- Democratic values and practices are the cornerstone of EU membership, yet they seem increasingly under fire as distance and mistrust grow between citizens and those usually entrusted with their guardianship—traditional institutions, traditional media, and the scientific community.
- The weakening of traditional media and media pluralism is accelerated by both the development of social media and targeted foreign disinformation strategies. Recent developments have exponentially increased their impact to undermine European post-war democracy while favouring populisms of all kinds. The EU and its members have been better so far at resisting the onslaughts of populism than the USA, India, or countries such as Brazil and Argentina, but for how long?
- To allow citizens to be able to navigate such a world and exercise their citizenship, a strong familiarity with humanities but also with STEM (Sciences, Technologies, Engineering and Mathematics) is fundamental. These underpin both critical thinking capabilities and access to professional paths. All European citizens should consequently be appropriately equipped.
- There is also an absolute need to empower EU citizens in their ability to get access to EU history, identity, and policies, through education and culture.

Europe’s record so far

- Some education actions on European affairs have been conducted (in particular via the Jean Monnet programme) to reinforce students and elites’ knowledge of the EU.
- The Eurovision Song Contest offers a yearly yet rare opportunity to bring dozens of millions of Europeans together and to make them feel part of the same community.
- The European Heritage label aims to bring to life the European narrative and the history behind major sites.
- European Sport competitions (e.g., UEFA Champions League) regularly attract massive crowds on a cross-border basis, even if only two elitist competitions welcome a European team (the Golf “Ryder Cup” and Tennis “Laver Cup”).

Imperatives and key milestones

- Civic education about Europe should be generalised at primary and secondary levels.
- The EU should reinforce information literacy and make it an obligation and a right for all European citizens.
- The EU should develop a humanities and STEM European educational strategy for all EU citizens from early to adult education to continuous training.
- Euro Notes should welcome famous pan-European cultural characters and locations to fuel a sense of belonging in all the countries concerned and abroad.
- Eurovision style cultural contests should be supported by EU institutions in many other fields (dance, cinema, painting & graphs...), to offer many more pan-European opportunities to get to know each other better and to feel part of the same human and cultural community.
- The EU should devote much more money and visibility to cultural itineraries offering direct access to European history (e.g., Via Carolus Magnus) as well as to youth cultural mobility (by combining a European Museum Pass with the Interrail Pass).
- European schools should offer bilingual learning from the first grade onwards and mobility programmes for young people should be extended and made accessible to larger segments of society. An Erasmus for middle school students will allow each European to have early in life a European mobility experience.
- A European popular education programme on European affairs (through movies, books, videos, songs, ...) should be launched in 2030 (to be called the "*Jacques Delors programme*").
- The EU should finance and support "Team Europe" in as many new sport competitions as possible (football, volleyball, athletics).

Issue 16:

Developing a transnational, multilingual, representative, and participative public space

Setting the scene

- The much-needed reinforcement of EU powers at the 2030-2040 horizon should go hand in hand with the deepening of EU citizens' powers.
- Living in the EU may make one feel European as a consumer, worker, or tourist but hardly as a citizen – the EU still suffers from a “*civic deficit*.” Institutional “*Europe*” has been made by successive treaties and achievements, but - to paraphrase the fathers of Italian unification - Europeans are still to be “*made*”.
- EU institutions benefit from a twofold democratic legitimacy derived from the powers conferred to Member States representatives and directly elected MEPs, as well as the election and appointment of EU Commission members by the Council and the European Parliament.
- There is a growing demand for direct and regular participation by European citizens, who consider that electing their representatives is only one dimension of democracy. Thus, more and more OECD countries have organised citizens' assemblies and deliberative fora to modernise and reinvigorate their democratic life and practices.
- The case for citizens' participation in the EU is made all the stronger by the fact that it appears as a complex and distant political and institutional system.

Europe's record so far

- The open public consultations organised by the Commission offer any EU citizen and actor to have their say on potential EU initiatives – but they have had limited popular success.
- EU institutions, policies, and meetings have been monitored increasingly carefully and widely by traditional media and on social media even if this does not entirely reduce the civic deficit.
- Some pan-European media have been established over time, from Euronews to Politico, but their audience remains quite elitist and specialised.
- The direct election of members of the EU Parliament remains the main experience of European democracy available to EU citizens. While it has gained importance over time it remains too occasional.
- By promoting a “*Spitzenkandidaten / Lead candidates process*,” European political parties have tried to establish a more direct link between the European elections and the choice of the Commission's President – but this practice has not been accepted as a regular fixture.
- Erasmus and other emblematic exchanges programmes remain too limited, despite having received increased funding to benefit more of the EU population.

- Long established twinning programmes have favoured the development of informal exchanges at a more popular level.
- The “*European citizens initiatives*” launched in 2011 have made it possible for one million citizens, drawn from at least 7 EU countries, to ask the Commission to draft a legislative proposal, with no major impact at this stage.
- The “*Conference on the Future of Europe*” was a striking ad hoc example of what a multilingual representative and participative forum could deliver in terms of citizen ownership and added value.
- From 2022, the Commission convened representative and participative citizens’ conventions and panels with a view towards framing some of its major legislative initiatives.

Imperatives and key milestones

- By 2030 the Europeanisation of MEP elections should be strongly deepened via the harmonisation of eligibility and voting ages, the identification of a single voting day, the systematic respect of the “lead candidate” practice by EU institutions, and the creation of transnational lists – in order to make it a genuinely European democratic experience.
- Long before 2040, the “lead candidate process” must become the regular and accepted practice to appoint the President of the European Commission.
- EU Institutions should organise a multilingual digital public space, leveraging the potential of new technologies (including artificial intelligence for translation), by financing a European multilingual platform giving visibility to professional media and leading civic social networks’ actors. This “EU public space platform” (EUPSP) should welcome contents on the EU and national public debates and initiatives.
- The EU should build on the “*Conference on the Future of Europe*” exercise, which was a transformative experience for those who participated and should become a generalised opportunity for European citizens.
- EU institutions (from the Commission to the Council) must structure a multilingual, physical and digital public space by gathering online and in-site deliberative citizens’ panels and citizens’ conventions, assisted by experts, aiming at setting the agenda and priorities of EU institutions, as well as shaping the content of EU policies. An inter-institutional legal framework should be adopted to this end, providing details and options on the citizens’ selection and implication, the ways their recommendations will be followed up, and the visibility granted to the whole participative process.
- In complement, Europeans - in cities, towns, and villages - should be given a more direct say in the definition of EU priorities, given the intensity of democratic life at this level: citizens coming from a representative network of European cities and villages should be invited to participate in yearly citizen panels gathered by the Committee of the Regions to shape all policies dealt with by this consultative body.
- All EU citizens should have access to EU civic education, and access to Erasmus should be enlarged to all European secondary students.

Issue 17: Granting the EU efficient decision-making and execution capacities

Setting the scene

- While “*unity in diversity*” should remain the foundation of the EU spirit, the pressing international and internal challenges the EU faces require stronger capacities to take common decisions and to guarantee they have an effective impact.
- European democratic principles and procedures are a key asset in terms of collective intelligence and social acceptance. However, they must be reconciled with the need to compete with autocratic countries (e.g., China and Russia) as well as with other federal major powers (the USA, India).
- Consensual decisions were adopted in the face of acute crises and threats (COVID-19 and the Russian invasion of Ukraine), but the need to reach unanimity of the Member States remains counter-productive, even more so ahead of the likely membership of up to 9 new Member States.
- The concrete execution of European decisions relies mainly on national and regional actors, under the control of EU institutions (Commission and Court of Justice).

Europe’s record so far

- European decision-making procedures have been steadily reformed through successive Treaty revisions, by providing more qualified majority votes between Member States and more co-decision between the European Parliament and the Council.
- Some European agencies were created to prepare and implement some EU decisions (e.g., Reach Agency) and to guarantee a more direct delivery.
- A “*Conference on the Future of Europe*” has been organised aiming to promote a more democratic and efficient EU. The main institutional proposals remain to be implemented.
- The “*European citizens initiatives*” launched in 2011 have made it possible for one million citizens, drawn from at least 7 EU countries, to ask the Commission to draft a legislative proposal, with no major impact at this stage.
- The “*Conference on the Future of Europe*” was a striking ad hoc example of what a multilingual representative and participative forum could deliver in terms of citizen ownership and added value.
- From 2022, the Commission convened representative and participative citizens’ conventions and panels with a view towards framing some of its major legislative initiatives.

Imperatives and key milestones

- The generalisation of qualified majority voting in the Council should be achieved by 2030-2040 and the scope of unanimity voting reduced to “*corporate*” decisions (e.g., new membership, Multiannual financial framework).

- The EU should be promoted as a “*multi-purpose house*”, where countries are on the one hand bound by core political commitments (e.g., on the Four freedoms and Democratic practices), but on the other hand can form “*coalitions of the willing*” to deal with

actual challenges. Following the agreements on border control (Schengen) and monetary union (Eurozone), European countries can form coalitions in the security and defence fields.

- European agencies and bodies must be granted financial, human, and technological resources in line with the magnitude of the challenges they face (e.g., European Food Safety Authority, Reach Agency, European Border Guard Corps, European Defence Agency).

The European leaders' agenda & next European elections and Commission

It is our strong wish and ambition that the main diagnoses and recommendations provided by the Conclave Report should feed the necessary public reflection and debate on the role of Europeans in a rapidly changing world. This comes at a time when the European Union's agenda is set to be redefined by its people and new decision-makers at the 2030 horizon and beyond.

The time has come for the EU to assert itself as a Union that provides geopolitical power and technological innovation while ensuring the well-being of its citizens, upholding the Rule of Law, and maintaining democratic practices. All this thanks to new capacities to act and the resources to achieve shared goals.

In this perspective, the dissemination of this Report aims to contribute to:

1 The strategic discussions of the European Council which is set to draft and propose new priorities for the 2024-2029 term this spring, ahead of the next European elections.

2 The programmatic platforms built by European and national political parties and their candidates campaigning for the European elections scheduled for the 6th to 9th of June 2024.

3 The orientations and proposals prepared by the services of the European Commission and incoming

Commissioners, ahead of the letters of mission assigned by the future president of the European Commission to each Commissioners, and their hearings by the European Parliament in September and October 2024.

4 The work conducted by the European Economic and Social Committee and the European Committee of the Regions.

5 The reflections of any concerned stakeholder and citizen eager to use this Report as a building block in the democratic process, leading to the adoption and definition of the future priorities of the European Union.

All feedback and comments received on this Report will be highly beneficial in the context of the second edition of the Conclave, given the ongoing efforts deemed necessary to build a European Union capable of evolving and meeting the multiple challenges its citizens face.

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Europeans from the outside in: Some Take-aways from the Conclave international Conference

This synthesis is based on personal contributions from Rukia Bakari of the Gorée Institute (Kenya/Senegal), Pedro Miguel Da Costa e Silva, Brazilian Ambassador to the EU (Brazil), Anthony Gardner, former US Ambassador to the EU (USA), Maja Pisevic of the Atlantic Council (Serbia), and Trisha Shetty of the Paris Peace Forum (India), and the discussions they had with the Conclave Participants.

They graciously agreed to participate in a public conference held in Cascais on November 24, 2023, just before the Conclave meeting. This allowed participants to hear external perspectives on Europe.

The synthesis was drafted under the sole responsibility of the Conclave Board.

1. Outside Views on the EU Today

- From the outside, the European Union is perceived as one of the greatest political successes in History, but the EU, its Member States, and its citizens have not developed the narrative and ownership to leverage this achievement. On the contrary, they are often seen to be focused on what divides them, while ignoring what unites them. Yet, the latter is deep and strong. The lack of a shared narrative drives the citizens and Member States of the EU to overvalue their divisions and underestimate their major and unique strengths.
- The EU is seen as a highly attractive region, offering excellent economic, social, cultural, and political living conditions. This appeal is evident as new Member States and many migrants seek to join it.
- Europeans are rapidly falling behind in demographics, energy, innovation, and technology; this endangers their growth potential and puts their influence at risk. This is particularly critical for technology, the major driver for power, growth, and influence.
- The EU is a superpower in areas such as trade, climate, competition, and sanctions. It sets crucial regulations and wields significant global influence, often underestimated by Europeans.
- The EU is very far from fulfilling its economic, technological, and diplomatic potential, hindered as it is by the limited exploitation of the Single Market and of the euro, by its decision-processes, and by divergent political stances on international issues.
- The EU is an essential economic and political partner for most world regions.
- In developing and emerging countries, the EU is perceived as a fortress in trade and migration management. This perception nurtures increasing hostility and suspicion from the Global South with regards to the EU. This has costs which should be taken into account.
- The EU faces accusations of cynicism and double standards in promoting peace, democracy, human rights, and the Rule of Law, particularly due to its relationships with dictatorships and the prioritisation of security and economic interests. Its conduct in accession negotiations is also criticised.
- Europe's restrictive approach to migration is seen as contrary to its economic needs; so is its support for certain authoritarian regimes that fuel instability and irregular migrations.

2. Outside Views on What the EU Should Do

- The EU should develop, with its Member States and citizens, a common narrative about the positive impact of the European integration process on: building peace between the Member States, granting the world's most effective rights and liberties to all European citizens in line with the European values and principles, and enlarging personal and professional perspectives for all. Europeans should develop awareness, ownership, and pride about what they have built and are building and they should promote it.
- In the short term, the EU's international action should prioritise its immediate neighbourhood (candidate countries, Africa, the Middle East, etc.), especially in light of the European resistance to Russia's invasion of Ukraine.
- By pursuing new waves of enlargement, the EU can expand its sphere of common values and stability, while emphasising in the strongest possible terms that this is a geopolitical investment in European and world security.
- Europeans should integrate more security concerns into their economic strategies and policies, including FDI and export control, anti-dumping and anti-subsidy measures, and rules of origin.
- While Europe's allies, particularly the USA, find the concept of "strategic autonomy" ambiguous, it is similarly perceived by the rest of the world. More accepted objectives would be "reducing dependencies and vulnerabilities", and asserting the EU as a power.
- From Washington's perspective, Europe's significance is measured by its contributions to the US competition with China. However, if the EU wants to be heard and listened to by the US, it needs to behave as a power and not just as a participant and achieve much greater technological leadership. This is also the condition for a balanced EU-US partnership and a renewed American interest in committing to Europe beyond the circumstances of the Russian aggression on Ukraine.
- The rest of the world expects the EU to adopt a more open and balanced geopolitical and commercial stance, offering an alternative to the US-China confrontation and their de facto duopoly, which is in no one's interest except the US, China, and their military and technological industries.
- If Europeans are unwilling to take in charge their collective security alone, even if they have the capacity to do it in the medium run, they should develop it in conjunction with their American ally, particularly for high-end defence, while being more proactive in other security aspects, like counter-terrorism.
- Europeans should continue to advocate for the consolidation of the post-war multilateral order by promoting more representative organisations open to new actors.
- The lectures Europeans give to the outside world are often counterproductive and perceived as post-colonial, whether concerning human rights, geopolitical challenges, or environmental issues even if in many ways the EU leads by example.
- The EU and its Member States should demonstrate much more empathy and listening with regards to the outside world and be capable of inspiring themselves from the rest of the world and showing it.
- Development, migration, climate, and security challenges should be addressed through partnerships that go beyond donor-recipient relations, even if more EU aid is necessary and provided.
- The EU needs a more unified political and institutional representation at the international level, based on a new distribution of roles between the Commission and the Council. A single, unified voice from the Member States is also fundamental.
- The "*Empowerment*" of Europeans and the EU should be viewed as a key challenge and objective for the coming years and decades.

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President of EuropaNova, President of T-Life,
former special adviser on Artificial intelligence
of the Vice-President of the European Commission.

Conclave Cofounders and Board members

Piero BENASSI,
Ambassador of Italy,
Permanent representative to the EU (2021-2023)

Jean-Pierre BOURGUIGNON,
Mathematician, former President of the European
Research Council,
member of the Academia Europaea

Étienne DAVIGNON,
former Vice-President of the European Commission

Philippe ÉTIENNE,
Ambassador of France, former Diplomatic adviser
to the French President of the Republic,
President of the Mission of the 80th anniversary
of the liberation of France

Aart de GEUS,
former Minister of Social Affairs of The Netherlands
and OECD Deputy Secretary General

Peter GRK,
Diplomat, Secretary General of the Bled Strategic Forum

Maria João RODRIGUES,
former Minister of Employment
of Portugal and MEP, final Negotiator
of the Lisbon Strategy, the Lisbon Treaty
and the European Pillar of Social Rights

Grégoire ROOS,
Head of Political Dialogue & Policy Innovation,
BMW Foundation

Daniela SCHWARZER,
Political scientist, member of the Executive Board
of the Bertelsmann Foundation

Erika STAËL von HOLSTEIN,
Chief Executive Officer of Re-Imagine Europa

Loukas TSOUKALIS,
President of ELIAMEP Athens,
Professor at Sciences Po, Paris

António VITORINO,
former European Commissioner
and former Director general
of the International Organization
for Migration

Guillaume Klossa

Guillaume Klossa is an actor and thinker of the European project, a political advisor and an entrepreneur. Strategist and expert in European affairs, he is the founder and president of the board of the Conclave and of EuropaNova, a Paris-based European think tank. He served as a special advisor to the French Presidency of the Council of the European Union during president Sarkozy's mandate, and later as a sherpa of the European Council reflection group on the future of Europe chaired by president Felipe Gonzalez. More recently, he has advised Andrus Ansip, vice-president of the European Commission, on artificial intelligence and platform regulation. His entrepreneurial spirit also led him to create and preside over T-life, a Deeptech company that aims to revolutionize biological diagnosis through physics and AI. His career also includes senior executive positions in globally leading companies like Bureau Veritas and Hill+Knowlton Strategies (WPP), as well as in international organizations like the European Broadcasting Union, which operates Eurovision. He has co-authored impactful reports on topics including Europe's reindustrialization, digital sovereignty and artificial intelligence, cybersecurity, and treaty reform. He has been instrumental in several European endeavours, such as the Treaty of Lisbon, expanding the Erasmus program, organizing the first Eurovision debate for candidates to the presidency of the European Commission, drafting the post-British-referendum EU roadmap, and paving the way to the regulation of systemic digital platforms. He initiated the May 9, 2016, call for a "Roadmap for a New European Renaissance," which led to the creation of the Civico Europa citizens' movement and the WeEuropeans consultation, reaching 38 million citizens across 27 European countries. A former professor at HEC Paris, Sciences Po, and the College of Europe, he currently lectures at ESCP Business School and is also a columnist in several media outlets, essayist, and author. His latest book *Fierté européenne, manifeste pour une civilisation d'avenir* (preface by Jean-Claude Juncker), reviewed by philosopher Slavoj Zizek, was a finalist for the 2022 European Book prize against Antonio Scurati's *M*. A graduate of HEC Paris Grande Ecole (MBA), Sciences-Po Paris (MPA), and the LSE (CEMS Master), he is committed to knowledge transmission and is the creator of the European Young leaders program.

Piero Benassi

is an accomplished Italian diplomat with a rich career in international relations. Graduating in Political Science from the University of Padua, he embarked on his diplomatic journey in 1984 at the Directorate General for Economic Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. His career saw him serving as the Second Commercial Secretary in Havana, First Secretary of the Embassy in Warsaw, and First Counselor at the Italian Embassy in Berlin. He further distinguished himself as the Head of Staff of the Undersecretary of State, and as Ambassador to Tunisia from 2009 to 2013 and to Germany from 2014 to 2018. In 2018, he was appointed as the Diplomatic Advisor to the President of the Council of Ministers G. Conte and in 2021, he took on the role of Secretary of State with responsibility for the secret services in the second Conte government. His diplomatic service culminated with his appointment as the Permanent Representative to the European Union from 2021 to 2023.

Jean-Pierre Bourguignon

is a mathematician, presently Honorary Professor at the Institut des Hautes Études Scientifiques in Bures-sur-Yvette (France) and emeritus Directeur de recherche at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS). He has been the President of the European Research Council (ERC) from 2014 to 2019, and then by interim from July 2020 to August 2021. His main interests are science policy and the support of the next generations. He has an extensive international experience with Asian countries, in particular China and Japan.

Ambassador **Philippe Étienne**

is a distinguished French diplomat, deeply involved in European and international relations. His diplomatic career is highlighted by his tenure as Ambassador of France to key nations including Romania, the European Union, Germany, and the United States. Additionally, he served as the Sherpa and diplomatic advisor to French President Emmanuel Macron from 2017 to 2019. His extensive experience in European affairs is underscored by his 20 years dedicated to this field, including a 13-year tenure at the French permanent representation in Brussels. Here, his roles varied from advisor on internal market and competition law to deputy permanent representative, showcasing his deep involvement in shaping EU policies. His chairmanship of Coreper I in 2000 and his appointment as permanent representative further cement his status as a pivotal figure in European diplomacy.



Guillaume Klossa



Piero Benassi



Jean-Pierre Bourguignon

Aart Jan de Geus

holds a Master's in Law from Erasmus University Rotterdam. His career began in the Dutch Christian Trade Union (CNV), where he advanced from a lawyer to the Vice Chairman position. After serving four years as a partner at Boer & Croon, a consultancy firm based in Amsterdam, he was appointed Minister of Social Affairs and Employment for the CDA (Christian Democrats) in 2002, under Prime Minister Balkenende. In this role, he was responsible for significant reforms in social security, pensions, and the labor market. From 2007, he served as the Deputy Secretary-General of the OECD in Paris. During this time, he oversaw the annual Ministerial Council meetings and led the "Making Reform Happen" project. In 2011, he moved to Germany to join the Bertelsmann Stiftung. He served as its Chairman and CEO from 2012 to 2019, focusing on socio-economic and European projects. Notably, in 2016, the "Europe Reforms Labour Markets" report was published under his leadership, along with the development of international indices like the European Social Justice Index and the global SDG-index. Upon returning to the Netherlands in 2020, he became the Chairman and CEO of the Goldschmeding Foundation, where he stayed until 2023. During his tenure, he developed national programs focusing on inclusive labor markets, sustainable work, and a humane economy. Besides his executive roles, Aart de Geus has been a member of various supervisory and advisory boards. He was the Chairman of the Supervisory Board of Triodos Bank from 2014 to 2022. Currently, he is the Chairman of the academic institute for CDA (WI-CDA) and a member of CvT, the supervisory authority over the Dutch Bar.

Peter Grk

has been Secretary General of the Bled Strategic Forum since 2016. He is also National Coordinator for the Western Balkans at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Slovenia. With more than 20 years of experience in the diplomatic service, Peter Grk has held posts in Ankara, Copenhagen and Brussels. During Slovenia's EU Presidency (2008), he served as Chair of the Committee for Civilian Aspects of Crisis Management (CIVCOM). He was also posted to New York (2011) as Political Coordinator at the Permanent Mission of the Republic of Slovenia to the UN and served as an advisor in the Cabinet of the Foreign Minister of Slovenia (2009 to 2011) and as Chief Foreign Policy Advisor to the Prime Minister of Slovenia (2013 to 2014). He holds a degree in political science.

Maria João Rodrigues,

a former Portuguese Minister of Employment under Prime Minister Antonio Guterres, is a European politician with extensive experience in various European institutions. Her roles have included positions in EU Presidencies, the Council, the European Council, the European Commission, and, more recently, the European Parliament, where she served as Vice- President of the S&D Group. In this capacity, she was responsible for general coordination and interfacing with other EU institutions. She has played a significant role in several key European initiatives such as the Lisbon Treaty, the Lisbon and Europe 2020 strategy (the EU's agenda for growth and jobs), Eurozone reform, interfacing with EU strategic partners, the roadmap for the EU's future, and more recently, the European Pillar of Social Rights and the plans to respond to the COVID crisis. Currently, she is the Chair of the Advisory Board of Re-imagine Europa, a Brussels-based think tank. Academically, she has been a professor of European economic policies at the European Studies Institute – Université Libre de Bruxelles and at the Lisbon University Institute. She also served as the chair of the European Commission Advisory Board for socioeconomic sciences.

Grégoire Roos

is geopolitical analyst, currently serves as the Head of Political Dialogue and Policy Innovation at the BMW Herbert Quandt Foundation. In this capacity, he coordinates all Europerelated programmes, with a focus on geopolitics, economic transformation and democracy. After working at UNDP Regional Center for Africa, Mr Roos joined the financial industry as a senior business and market intelligence analyst, focusing on the impact of technology and geopolitics on markets and society. Mr Roos was a visiting fellow at Globsec in the fall of 2020 as a recipient of the Visegrad Fund scholarship, is a member of the German Marshall Fund's Transatlantic Leaders network and a reserve officer in the French Navy. A long-time associate of the St. Gallen Symposium, Mr Roos has conducted regular in-depth interviews with international public figures from politics (Lech Wałęsa, Frederik de Klerk), defence (James Stavridis), academia (Niall Ferguson) and science (Jane Goodall).



Philippe Étienne



Aart Jan de Geus



Peter Grk



Maria João Rodrigues



Grégoire Roos

Appendix 4 - Participants' biographies

Prof. Dr. Daniela Schwarzer

is currently a member of the Executive Board at the Bertelsmann Stiftung and also holds the position of honorary professor of political science at Freie Universität Berlin. Until April 2023, she was the Executive Director of the Open Society Foundations in Europe and Central Asia. Previously, from 2016 to 2021, she directed the German Council on Foreign Relations. Her earlier tenure includes being part of the Executive Team at the German Marshall Fund of the United States from 2013 to 2016. From 2004 to 2013, she worked at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik), leading its Europe research division starting in 2008. Earlier, from 1999 to 2004, she served as the opinion page editor and France correspondent for Financial Times Deutschland. She is renowned as an expert in international and European affairs, with a focus on geoeconomics, foreign policy, democracy, and governance dynamics. In 2023, she corraporteured the working group on EU reform, convened by the French and German governments. Additionally, she was a visiting professor at the Harvard Kennedy School in the autumn of 2022. Between 2020 and 2022, she served as a special advisor to Josep Borrell, the High Representative of the EU and Vice President of the European Commission. She has also provided advisory services to the French Prime Minister's Centre d'Analyse Stratégique and to the French and Polish EU presidencies.

Erika Staël von Holstein,

Chief Executive of Re-Imagine Europa (RIE), has over a decade of experience in linking science, society, and policy. She's a fellow at PlusValue, a UK company specializing in social innovation, and a board member of the Citizen Communication Platform, a Swedish project for enhancing citizen communication. She also supports Luc Van den Brande's work, Special Adviser to President Jean-Claude Juncker, on the "Outreach towards Citizen" Strategy. Until September 2016, she chaired the Advisory Board of REIsearch, a non-profit European platform co-funded by the European Commission. This initiative demonstrated how technological tools and networks could assist policymakers in making evidence-based decisions for societal benefit. From 2010 to 2015, she was the Executive Director of Atomium – European Institute for Science, Media, and Democracy, focusing on topics like Responsible Research and Citizen Engagement. She is a frequent speaker and moderator at European conferences, addressing issues like science in policy and citizen engagement, including events at the European Parliament and the European Commission.

Loukas Tsoukalis

was born in Athens. He studied economics and international relations at the University of Manchester, the College of Europe in Bruges, and the University of Oxford, where he obtained his doctoral degree and taught for many years. He later returned home as Professor of European Integration at the University of Athens and was subsequently elected to the Eleftherios Venizelos Chair at the European Institute of the London School of Economics. He was also the long-serving head of the economics department at the College of Europe in Bruges. He has held visiting professorships at the European University Institute in Florence, King's College London, and the Kennedy School at Harvard University. He has advised former presidents of the European Commission and the European Council. He is now Professor at the Paris School of International Affairs (Sciences Po) and Emeritus Professor of the University of Athens. He is also President of the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP), Greece's leading think tank. An author of many books translated into several European languages, in 2021, Oxford University Press published a Festschrift in his honor with contributions by leading personalities from academia and politics across Europe. His latest book, "Europe's Coming of Age," was published by Polity Press in 2023. He is an active European public intellectual.

António Vitorino

has served in the Portuguese Parliament (1980- 2007), where he has been Chairman of the Constitutional Affairs Committee (1985-1986) and of the European Affairs Committee (2005-2006), and in the Portuguese Government as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence (1995-1999). He has also served as EU Commissioner for Justice & Home Affairs from 1999 to 2004 and as Chairman of the Civil Liberties and Internal Affairs Committee of the European Parliament (1994-1995). As a representative of the European Commission he was a member of the Praesidium of the Convention of the Charter of Fundamental Rights (1999-2001), as well as of the Convention on the Future of Europe that drafted the Constitutional Treaty (2002-2003). He has also been the Director-General of the International Organization of migration (IOM) from 2018 to 2023. He was a Judge at the Portuguese Constitutional Court from 1989 to 1994 and holds a Degree in Law from the Universidade Clássica de Lisboa in 1981 and a Master in Law & Political Science in 1986.



Daniela
Schwarzer



Erika
Staël von Holstein



Loukas
Tsoukalis



António
Vitorino



Isabelle
Négrier



Piotr
Arak

Isabelle Négrier

is the Executive Director of EuropaNova, the operator and organizer of the Conclave. She holds a degree in political science and an ESCP diploma in business administration. President of the humanitarian association COEUR, Citizen Open European for Ukraine Roofs, she was previously head of international public relations at EDF and development director for Paris director of the Agence Parisienne du Climat, the Société de la Tour the Eiffel Tower and the Electric Mobility Agency.

Piotr Arak

is macroeconomic analyst, director and co-creator of the Polish Economic Institute, he previously worked at Deloitte, the Polityka Insight think-tank, the United Nations Development Program, the Ministry of Administration and Digitization, and the Chancellery of the Prime Minister of Poland. Holds a PhD in public policy from the University of Warsaw, Postgrad in statistics, MA in social policy. Received a MBA from the Warsaw School of Economics and the Université du Québec à Montréal. Graduated from the executive programme in Leading Economic Development at Harvard Kennedy School. His research is focused on macroeconomics, sustainable development and social indicators.

Jan Krzysztof Bielecki

is a former Prime Minister of Poland and Minister for European Integration. He is also the co-founder of the Liberal - Democratic Congress and Freedom Union. Serving as the Executive Director at the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development in London, Jan Krzysztof Bielecki has been active on the political and economic stage for over two decades. He played a pivotal role in the Polish banking sector as the President and CEO of Pekao Bank S.A. from 2003 to 2010. His dedication to cultural and political affairs is exemplified by his membership on the Board of Trustees of the National Museum and his leadership of the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM), a leading independent thinktank focusing on international relations, from 2009 to 2015. In 2010, he was appointed by Prime Minister Donald Tusk as the Chairman of the Economic Council, where he provided independent and objective opinions on government activities and assessed Poland's socio-economic situation in comparison with other economies until 2014. In January 2015 Mr Bielecki joined EY Poland as Chairman of the Partners Advisory Board.

Mário Centeno,

is the Governor of Banco de Portugal and member of the Governing Council of the European Central Bank since July 2020. He served as President of the Eurogroup and Chair of the Board of Governors of the European Stability Mechanism, and for over four years he was Finance Minister of Portugal. An experienced economist, Mr. Centeno has held several positions in Banco de Portugal, where he started his career in 1993. Holding a Ph.D. in Economics from Harvard University, he also contributed to the field through several scholarly publications.

Professor Stefan Collignon

is a research professor at Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok (competitive track) and a visiting professor at the European Institute, London School of Economics, where he taught from 2001 to 2005. From 2005 to 2007, he was a visiting professor at Harvard University. From 2007 to 2022, he served as a Professore ordinario at Sant'Anna School of Advanced Studies, Pisa. His research has focused on European monetary economics and the political economy of regional integration. He played a significant role in the creation of the euro and worked as deputy director general at the German Treasury from 1999 to 2000. Recently, he has published several books on the transforming economy of Myanmar and is presently working on a new book titled *"The Political Economy of Liberty and Money"*.

Nadia Crisan

is Executive Director of the Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination at the Princeton School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University. She joined the Institute in March 2020 to run the institute in tandem with Professor Andrew Moravcsik. She manages a comprehensive portfolio ranging from LISD's programming by leading and advising on substantive projects to research, communications, budget and financial management— administration and personnel issues, she started the International Policy Associates Program, an experiential learning initiative for undergraduate students who plan to pursue careers in foreign policy and international business. Prior to joining Princeton University, she served for 13 years as Senior Vice President of International Government Affairs at a major U.S. law firm with responsibility for negotiating large transactions and providing strategic advice to private and public investors across the globe. She was based in Europe and the US and her main portfolio included technology, energy, agribusiness and manufacturing. She is a former diplomat who served in Washington for 4 years, focusing primarily on transatlantic security, investment and economic policy matters. She earned her master's degree at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and taught international relations in the U.S., Europe and South America. She is also a foreign policy analyst and commentator, with a particular emphasis on Central and Eastern European affairs.



Jan Krzysztof Bielecki



Mário Centeno



Stefan Collignon



Nadia Crisan

Samantha Cristoforetti

graduated in 2001 from the Technische Universität Munich, Germany, with a master's degree in aerospace engineering. In 2001, she was accepted into the Italian Air Force Academy, where she earned a bachelor's degree in aeronautical science. She then attended the Euro-NATO Joint Jet Pilot Training program at Sheppard Air Force Base in the United States, where she earned her fighter pilot wings in 2006. She was selected as an astronaut by the European Space Agency in May 2009. In 2012, she was assigned to fly as a flight engineer on the Soyuz TMA-15M, as part of the crew of Expedition 42/43 on the International Space Station, where she spent 200 days in 2014- 2015. After her return, she led the ESA student research team "Spaceship EAC," investigating technologies for Lunar exploration, and then served as a crew representative in the development phase of the cislunar outpost "Gateway." In April 2022, she returned to the ISS on a SpaceX Dragon vehicle as part of Expedition 67/68. In July 2022, she performed a spacewalk in the Russian Orlan suit to support the commissioning of the European Robotic Arm. In September 2022, she took command of the ISS Expedition 68a.

Péter Csákai-Szőke

is a citizen participant representing the Conference on the Future of Europe, particularly as a citizen ambassador of Panel 4, "EU in the World". As a medical student, Csákai-Szőke also brings a unique and essential viewpoint to the discussions, one that intertwines the intricacies of healthcare and medical knowledge with broader European issues. His participation is especially critical in a time when global health challenges and the role of medical diplomacy are at the forefront for Europe. In this capacity, Csákai-Szőke is actively involved in shaping policy recommendations and contributing to dialogues that consider the intersection of health and other common goods. His work in the Conclave is a testament to the impact that young professionals and students can have in high-level policy-making forums, particularly in addressing complex global challenges that will shape the lives of future generations.

Eszter Dávida

is the visionary director of KÉK-Hungarian Contemporary Architecture Center. She stands at the forefront of shaping sustainable and inclusive cities in Central Europe. Her innovative approach to data-driven urban planning and involvement in the New European Bauhaus High-Level Roundtable position her as a key figure in the evolution of European urban landscapes and architectural discourse. Her work not only redefines urban spaces but also contributes significantly to the development of European urbanism, blending contemporary architectural practices with sustainable development principles.

Annemie De Clerck

is a retired Belgian educator with a rich career in primary education and school administration. She initially spent a decade teaching primary education before advancing to headmaster of various primary schools and later overseeing a school community of 27 primary schools. Her last 15 years in her career were dedicated to policy-making and support roles in education. In 2021, she was selected as a citizen participant in the Conference on the Future of Europe (CoFoE), where she engaged as a member of citizen panel 2 and as an ambassador of the panel. Her focus on democracy and 'citizen participation' within the theme of the conference demonstrated her commitment to enhancing European Union cooperation and responsibility sharing. Her skills in supervising change processes and her ability to connect people, honed during her active career, were instrumental in her contributions to the CoFoE.

Marianne Dony

is an honorary professor at the Université libre de Bruxelles, within both the Faculty of Law and the Institute for European Studies (IEE), where she holds the Jean Monnet Chair in European Union Law. Her previous roles include Director, Vice- President, and President of the IEE, as well as President of the Center for European Law. She is a member of the Royal Academy of Belgium, specifically the Classe des Lettres et des Sciences morales et politiques. Dony's initial research area was State aid control, a field in which she has become one of Europe's leading specialists, beginning with her doctoral thesis and deepening her analysis over time. She has also extensively researched the financing of services of general interest, making it her second major research topic. Moreover, Dony has expanded her research interests to encompass other areas, such as the competences of the European Union, its external relations, and institutional developments within the EU.



Samantha Cristoforetti



Péter Csákai-Szőke



Eszter Dávida



Annemie De Clerck



Marianne Dony



Florian Drücke



Sorin Ducaru

Florian Drücke

is a trained lawyer with qualifications from both Germany and France, specializing in the music industry since the post-Napster, Wild West days. He has a keen interest in the disruptive dynamics of the music and creative industries, which he views as vital to the European economy. He has been actively involved in several legislative processes at both the European and German levels, focusing on the Digital Single Market, copyright reforms, and the liability of intermediaries. Concurrently, he has contributed to central court cases aimed at improving the legal framework and ensuring legal certainty. He is deeply engaged in the German-French dialogue, serving as Co-President of the German-French Cultural Council. He has a strong interest in media literacy and the interplay of conflicting civil liberties. He is the co-editor of the renowned *"Handbuch der Musikwirtschaft"* (Handbook of the Music Industry) and serves on several boards and committees.

Ambassador Sorin Ducaru

has been the Director of the European Union Satellite Centre (SatCen) since June 2019. In this role, he significantly contributes to the development and implementation of the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), particularly focusing on the EU Strategic Compass in recent years. He is a member of the European Council on Foreign Relations and the Board of Trustees of Friends of Europe, and a longstanding guest lecturer at the European Security and Defence College and the NATO Defence College. Previously, he held the position of NATO Assistant Secretary General and Head of the NATO Emerging Security Challenges Division. He also served as Romania's ambassador to NATO, the USA, and the UN in New York. Throughout his career, both in his current role and previous NATO function, he has been a dedicated supporter of EU-NATO relations. He played a key role in the successful development, approval (in 2016), and subsequent implementation of the EUNATO Technical Arrangement on Cybersecurity Cooperation. He holds degrees in Applied Electronics & Computer Studies (BS, Bucharest Polytechnic University), European and International Studies (M.Phil, University of Amsterdam), and International Economic Relations (Ph.D, Academy of Economic Studies, Bucharest). He is actively engaged, both intellectually and professionally, in exploring the impact of technology on global politics and security.

Daniela Dumitru

has a notable background in psychology and sociology, and has spent two decades working in Human Resources for multinational companies. Her active participation in the Conference on the Future of Europe as a citizen ambassador for Panel 1 reflects her commitment to advocating for social justice, education, cultural exchange, and digital transformation within the EU. Her proposals, which include ideas for an equal minimum salary in the EU and an online platform for education accessible to all citizens, highlight her dedication to improving socio-economic conditions across Europe.

Professor David Farrell,

MRIA, holds the Chair of Politics at University College Dublin. He currently chairs the European Consortium for Political Research, Europe's premier political science association. As a specialist in the study of representation, electoral systems, and parties, his recent publications include "The Oxford Handbook of Irish Politics" (2021), and *"Deliberative Mini-Publics: Core Design Features"* (2021). Other notable works include his award-winning book "Political Parties and Democratic Linkage: How Parties Organize Democracy" (2011). His current work is focused on deliberative mini-publics (DMPs). This includes providing advice to several government-led DMP processes in Ireland, the UK, and Belgium, as well as supporting the work of one of the EU-wide citizens' panels during the recent Conference on the Future of Europe.

Mariya Gabriel

is the current Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria. She has significantly contributed to the European digital landscape. She obtained her bachelor's degree in Bulgarian and French Philology at the Paisii Hilendarski University of Plovdiv and a Master's in Comparative Politics and International Relations at the Doctoral Academy of Political Science, Bordeaux. She was elected three times as a Member of the European Parliament (2009, 2014 and 2019), actively engaging in the work of the Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs, the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality. Between 2014 and 2017 she was Vice-Chair of the EPP Group in the European Parliament. She is a two-time winner of the MEP of the Year Award. She is the first Vice-President of EPP and Vice-President of EPP Women. From July 2017 until November 2019, she was European Commissioner for Digital Economy and Society. Her main areas of work were on digital skills, the European Artificial Intelligence Strategy, the Digital Europe programme, the fight against disinformation and fake news, and high-performance computing technologies. From December 2019 until 10 May 2023, she was European Commissioner for Innovation, Research, Culture, Education and Youth. Under her leadership the Horizon Europe, Erasmus+ and Creative Europe programmes achieved an unprecedented budget for the period 2021-2027 and put at the forefront new initiatives, including the European Universities Alliances, the New European Innovation Agenda, the role of young researchers in the European Research Area, unlocking the potential of the cultural and creative sectors in Europe, and the European Year of Youth 2022. She led the work on making the European Education Area a reality by 2025.



Daniela Dumitru



David Farrell



Mariya Gabriel

Anthony Gooch Galvez

has over 30 years of experience as a senior international official. During his 15-year tenure as a Director at the OECD, he focused on strategic policy development in response to global crises, including reforms in international tax standards under the G20 mandate, and contributing to the implementation of the Paris Agreement on climate change. He was instrumental in creating the OECD Better Life Index and played a key role in expanding the OECD's membership to 38 countries. He also established the OECD Global Parliamentary Network, which facilitated worldwide legislative involvement in tax reform and artificial intelligence. As Director of the OECD Forum and its Network community, he led initiatives for stakeholder engagement and youth inclusion. Previously, as an EU Commission official, trade negotiator, and diplomat for 14 years, he coordinated the EU/Mexico FTA negotiations, served as EU Trade Spokesman, and advised Commissioner Pascal Lamy. He participated in significant trade negotiations, including the WTO Ministerial Meetings and managed key trade disputes. He holds an MA from Cambridge University, a Postgraduate degree from Sciences Po, and is an IESE Business School graduate.

Reiner Hoffman,

a prominent German labor leader and sustainability advocate, began his career in 1972 with the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the IG Bergbau, Chemie, Energie (IG BCE) union. After an apprenticeship at HOECHST AG and civilian service at the Wuppertal Clinic, he studied economics at the Wuppertal Comprehensive University. He then worked at the Hans Böckler Foundation and later became the Director of the European Trade Union Institute (ETUI) and Deputy General Secretary of the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) in Brussels. He served as the district chair of the IG BCE in Düsseldorf before being elected President of the Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund (DGB) from 2014 to 2022. Currently, he is a member of the Economic and Social Committee in Brussels, Vicepresident of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, and the Chairman of the German Council for Sustainable Development. He also holds the role of SDG Ambassador for Decent Work Worldwide, appointed by the Federal Minister for Economic Cooperation.

Sophie Javary

brings over 30 years of experience in investment banking, having been involved in a wide range of transactions including privatisations, equity capital markets, M&A, and debt deals. Starting her career at Bank of America in Paris, she later joined Rothschild in 1994 to head equity capital markets, becoming a General Partner in 2002 and managing ABN AMRO Rothschild in Paris from 2001 to 2008, before becoming head of European restructuring and joint head of debt advisory until 2011. In 2011, she joined BNP Paribas as a Senior Banker, later overseeing all corporate finance activities in EMEA. Appointed Vice-Chairman CIB EMEA in 2018, she now focuses, as an executive sponsor, on strategic advice and investment banking business development. She has also been a senior advisor on major transactions like the privatisation and IPO of La Française des Jeux and OVHcloud IPO. She is also Vice-president of EuropaNova.

Ivan Krastev

serves as the chairman of the Centre for Liberal Strategies and is a permanent fellow at the Institute for Human Sciences (IWM Vienna). He is also a founding board member of the European Council on Foreign Relations, and holds positions as a member of the Board of Trustees of The International Crisis Group and as a member of the Board of Directors of GLOBSEC. His past roles include being a contributing opinion writer for the New York Times from 2015 to 2021. Currently, he is a contributing editor for the Financial Times. As an author, he has written several notable works on Europe and democracy. These include *"Is it Tomorrow, Yet? How the Pandemic Changes Europe"* (2020); *"The Light that Failed: A Reckoning"* (2019), co-authored with Stephen Holmes, which won the 30th Annual Lionel Gelber Prize; *"After Europe"* (2017); *"Democracy Disrupted. The Global Politics on Protest"* (2014); and *"In Mistrust We Trust: Can Democracy Survive When We Don't Trust Our Leaders?"* (2013). Additionally, he was honored with the Jean Améry Prize for European Essay Writing in 2020.



Anthony Gooch Galvez



Reiner Hoffman



Sophie Javary



Ivan Krastev



Jörg Kukies



Mikael Leyi



Sven Otto Littorin

Jörg Kukies

is State Secretary for Economic, Finance and European Affairs at the Federal Chancellery. He also serves as G7/G20 Sherpa for German Chancellor Scholz. Prior to that he was State Secretary for Financial Market Policy and European Policy at the Federal Ministry of Finance. He was Co-Chief Executive Officer of Goldman Sachs AG and Managing Director of the Frankfurt branch of Goldman Sachs International from 2014 to 2018. He has also previously held positions in the product development team of Goldman Sachs International in London, in the equities division for Germany and Austria in Frankfurt, and as head of equity derivatives for Europe, the Middle East and Africa at Goldman Sachs International from 2011 to 2014. He studied Economic Sciences at Pantheon-Sorbonne University in Paris, has a Master in Public Administration from John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, and a PhD in Finance from the University of Chicago, Graduate School of Business.

Mikael Leyi

is the Secretary General of SOLIDAR, a European network comprising over 50 progressive civil society organizations. These organizations are dedicated to fostering social justice through a transition to a more social and sustainable society, both in Europe and globally. As a political scientist, Leyi has worked across five continents with various European and international groups, including trade union and popular education movements. His collaborations extend to institutions like the EU, OSCE, and the UN. His work primarily focuses on supporting democracy, human rights, social justice, sustainability, citizens' participation, inclusion, equality, peace, and dialogue. He possesses extensive knowledge in progressive policy, organizing, civil society, international development cooperation, and EU policy and political developments.

Sven Otto Littorin

is an accomplished figure in European entrepreneurship and public policy. Currently, as the Chair of White Pearl Technology Group, an international IT transformation agency listed on Nasdaq First North in Stockholm, with offices in 28 countries. He also notably served as Sweden's Cabinet Minister for Employment, and contributed as an advisor to the Ministry of Labor and Social Development in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, developing and delivering a New Labor Market Strategy aligned with Vision 2030, a transformative initiative aimed at diversifying and strengthening the Saudi economy. Beyond his political and leadership roles, he holds numerous board positions across various sectors, ranging from merchant banking to real estate development, highlighting his ability to adapt and contribute meaningfully across a diverse range of European industries.

André Loesekrug-Pietri

is the Chairman & Scientific Director of the Joint European Disruptive Initiative (JEDI), which serves as a precursor to a European ARPA. This initiative brings together over 5000 leading scientists, startup founders, and industrialists from 30 European countries, with the aim of accelerating the continent's leadership in disruptive innovations in climate technologies, life sciences, space, and digital fields. Holding both French and German nationalities, he has held leadership positions in private equity, industry, and as an entrepreneur. He has also served in government as a former special adviser to the French Minister of Defense. He is recognized as a Young Global Leader by the World Economic Forum and as one of the European 40under40. He holds the rank of Colonel with the French Air & Space Force and serves on the Innovation Board of the Munich Security Conference, as well as on the Advisory Board of the Saarland 3 billion Euro Transformation Fund.

Sofia Moreira de Sousa

is the current Head of the EU Commission Representation in Portugal, appointed in September 2021. Prior to this, she held various significant roles in the EU, including Deputy Head of the EU Delegation to South Africa and senior adviser to the European Union's Deputy Secretary General, focusing on Iran negotiations and EU relations with Eastern Partners. She contributed to EU relations with Russia and Ukraine and participated in the mediation of the Ukrainian Orange Revolution while working with the EU High Representative Javier Solana. She holds a law degree from Portugal and an LLM in International Law and International Relations from the University of Hamburg, Germany.

Stjepan Orešković

is a scientist and entrepreneur dedicated to blending the positive values of both fields. M+ Group, a publicly listed company (MRUL) where he is a majority shareholder, grew to become a leading European CX industry player with over 13,600 employees in 62 markets globally in only five years. The group was recognized with Frost & Sullivan's 2022 European Entrepreneurial Company of the Year Award as a leader in promoting and implementing ESG sustainability goals. Stjepan was recently honored with the prestigious Transparency International Nikola Tesla Award for Ethical Business. He is a regular member of the European Academy of Sciences and Arts. He has served as the principal investigator or director of research projects with Harvard Medical School, London School of Economics - LSE Health, Bocconi University, the University of Trieste, and Ljubljana University. He is currently the principal investigator for Pfizer's Global GRAND Project (2018-2023), which involves research teams from Harvard Medical School - Massachusetts General Hospital, Ljubljana, and Zagreb School of Medicine.



André
Loesekrug-Pietri



Sofia
Moreira de Sousa



Stjepan
Orešković

Fabrizio Pagani

is currently a Senior Advisor at Vitale & Co., a financial advisory firm, and the Global Head of Economics and Capital Market Strategy at Muzinich & Co., a New York fund. His previous roles include serving as the Chief of the Office of the Italian Minister of Economy and Finance and as an economic advisor to the Italian Prime Minister. In these capacities, he focused on economic policies related to budget, public debt, taxation, national competitiveness, foreign investments, capital market reform, and banking system reform. He also played a significant role in European affairs, preparing for European Council meetings and participating in Ecofin sessions. He was a G20 Sherpa, leading the Italian delegation in G20 meetings. Between 2008 and 2013, he headed the OECD Sherpa Office in Paris during the Great Financial Crisis, representing the organization in G20 and G8 summits. He has held various positions within the Italian government and international economic organizations, including in the Ministry for European Affairs. He has served on the boards of several companies, including as a member of the Board of Directors and Chairman of the Advisory Board of ENI. He is a professor at SciencesPo in Paris and the President of the Advisory Board of the PNRR Lab at Bocconi University in Milan. Additionally, he heads the Fondazione M&M Foundation, a think tank focusing on public policies.

Karin Roelofs

is a Professor of Experimental Psychopathology at Radboud University Nijmegen, The Netherlands. She chairs the "Experimental Psychopathology and Affective Neuroscience" group at the Donders Centre for Cognitive Neuroimaging. She is a member of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Academia Europaea. In addition, Roelofs holds the position of vice-president of the Association for ERC Grantees and is the chair of the International Resilience Alliance. She has been recognized with several awards for her research on stress resilience. She received the ERC-starting grant (NEURODEFENSE) and an ERC-consolidator grant (DARE2APPROACH) from the European Research Council. From the Dutch research council, she was awarded VENI, VIDI, VICI, and Open Competition grants. Her involvement extends to several research consortia, including the European Horizon2020 (DYNAMORE) and the NWO-Crossover (NTENSE) consortium. In 2020, Roelofs was awarded the Evens Science Prize, an international recognition for her contributions to the field of stressresilience research in cognitive neuroscience with societal stressresilience relevance.

Oliver Röpke

was elected as the president of the EESC in April 2023. Member of EESC since 2009, he was the president of the EESC Workers' Group, a member of the EESC Bureau and rapporteur of many EESC resolutions and opinions on employment and social policy, single market and innovation. Prior to his role at the EESC, he headed the Brussels office of the Austrian Trade Union Federation (ÖGB) and took on several senior positions including as ÖGB representative to the EU institutions, the Executive Committee of the ETUC, and an advisory member of the ÖGB federal executive board. His legal background, with a law degree from the University of Vienna, has been crucial in his advisory roles and policy-making efforts.

Jochen Sandig,

a renowned cultural entrepreneur and founder of multiple Berlin art institutions, initiated the Tacheles Art Centre in 1990, a hub for over 100 international artists. In 1993, he co-founded Sasha Waltz & Guests, contributing significantly to dance. He established Sophiensæle in 1996, an independent dance and theatre venue in Berlin, and served as its director until 1999. He was one of the Artistic Directors at Schaubühne am Lehniner Platz from 2000 to 2004. In 2006, he co-founded Radialsystem Berlin, an arts and science incubator. In 2012, he staged "human requiem," interpreting Johannes Brahms' "Ein Deutsches Requiem," awarded the "Classical Next Innovation Award 2016." He co-founded the World Human Forum in Delphi, Greece, in 2017, and since 2020, he has been the Intendant of the Ludwigsburg Festival, emphasizing arts, democracy, and sustainability. In 2022, he received the Cross of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany.



Fabrizio Pagani



Karin Roelofs



Oliver Röpke



Jochen Sandig



Iva Tolić



Daniel Traça

Iva Tolić

is a Professor of Biology and a tenured Senior Research Group Leader at the Ruđer Bošković Institute in Zagreb. She obtained her degree in molecular biology from the University of Zagreb and completed her PhD in cell mechanics at Harvard University. Her postdoctoral research in cell biophysics was conducted at the Niels Bohr Institute in Copenhagen and the University of Florence. Tolić led a research group at the Max Planck Institute of Molecular Cell Biology and Genetics in Dresden from 2004 to 2014, before returning to Zagreb in 2015. Her research specializes in the biophysics of cell division, focusing on how mother cells divide their genome between daughter cells and the related errors in cancer cells. Tolić has received prestigious European Research Council (ERC) grants, including the ERC Consolidator and ERC Synergy grants. She is a member of Academia Europaea and the European Molecular Biology Organization (EMBO), and an associate member of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts. Honored by the journal Cell as one of the "40 under 40" global scientists, her awards include the Ignaz Lieben Award, the EBSA Young Investigators' Medal and Prize, the European Life Science Award for Investigator of the Year, the Croatian Women of Influence Award, and the National Science Award of Croatia.

Daniel Traça

is an esteemed Portuguese economist, currently a Full Professor of Economics at the Nova School of Business and Economics in Lisbon and a Visiting Professor at INSEAD, Singapore. He served as Dean of the Nova School from 2015 to 2023, where he led a successful fundraising campaign for a new campus and significantly increased the school's international rankings. With a Ph.D. in Economics from Columbia University, his academic focus spans Economic Development and Sustainable Development. Additionally, Traça holds a role as a Non-Executive Board Member at Banco Santander Totta S.A. His professional contributions include numerous publications in economic development, trade, and corruption, solidifying his standing as a respected figure in both academia and the financial sector.

Jean-François van Boxmeer

holds the position of Chairman at Vodafone Group plc and also serves as the Chairman of the European Roundtable for Industry (ERT). He initially joined ERT in 2005, served as its Vice-Chairman from 2016 to mid-2020, and became Chairman in May 2022. Additionally, he is the Chair of the Vodafone Nominations Committee and a member of the ESG Committee. Before these roles, van Boxmeer was the Chairman of the Executive Board and Chief Executive Officer of Heineken N.V. from 2005 to 2020. His career at Heineken N.V. began in 1984 in the Netherlands. In 1987, he moved to Africa to undertake Sales and Marketing roles, first in Rwanda and then in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). He returned to Europe in 1996 as President & General Manager of Zywiec S.A. in Poland and was appointed Managing Director of Heineken Italia in 2000. In 2001, he joined the Executive Board of the Heineken Group, assuming worldwide responsibility for the supply chain and technical services, as well as overseeing operations in North-West Europe, Sub-Saharan Africa, and Central and Eastern Europe. Upon becoming Chairman of the Executive Board and Chief Executive Officer in 2005, he led Heineken through a period of substantial growth, establishing it as the most geographically diverse brewer in the world, the largest in Europe, and the second largest globally.

Professor Agnieszka Wykowska

leads the "Social Cognition in Human-Robot Interaction" unit at the Italian Institute of Technology in Genova, Italy. Her research specializes in human-centered robotics and AI, with a focus on healthcare applications. Additionally, she plays an advisory role in European science policy and decision-making. She is a delegate to the European Research Area (ERA) Forum and is involved in the Coalition for Advancing Research Assessment (CoARA), contributing insights into the societal impact of science. Her academic background includes cognitive neuroscience from the Ludwig Maximilian University in Munich and philosophy from the Jagiellonian University in Krakow. She has a PhD in psychology and was awarded an ERC Starting grant in 2016 for her work in human-robot interaction. She serves as the Editor-in-Chief of the International Journal of Social Robotics and is the President of the European Society for Cognitive and Affective Neuroscience (ESCAN), also holding a position on the board of the Association of ERC Grantees.

Malte Tim Zabel

is Co-Director of the Europe's Future Program at Bertelsmann Stiftung, focusing on projects related to EU sovereignty, a coherent internal market, and understanding European public opinion. Before assuming this role in mid-2021, he led the Office of the Executive and Supervisory Boards at Bertelsmann Stiftung, advising the CEO on strategic matters. He has also been an advisor to a German Bundestag member, spanning over three and a half years. He holds a Ph.D. from the University of Bonn, where his research centered on the development of Euroscepticism in the context of European integration and the EU's increasing politicization.



Jean-François van Boxmeer



Agnieszka Wykowska



Malte Tim Zabel

Speakers

at the International public Conference of the Conclave

Dr. **Rukiya Bakari**,

a Senegalese national born in Kenya, is currently associated with the Gorée Institute, based in Dakar, Senegal, as a Gender, Peace, and Security Specialist. Her role involves coordinating projects aimed at empowering feminists and feminine organizations to strengthen their agency. Additionally, she has been engaged in peace mediation and conflict resolution activities at both national and continental levels in East and West Africa. She completed her Ph.D. in Global Studies, with a focus on Women, Peace, and Security, at the University of Leipzig, Germany. Her interests primarily focus on gender and development work, especially in promoting the equal participation of women and youth in sustainable economies. Currently, she is collaborating on research exploring the various dynamics and roles of the AU-EU partnership, and its impact on stability, peace, and security in the Sahel region.

Ambassador **Pedro Miguel da Costa e Silva**

is the head of Brazil's Mission to the European Union since August 2022. A graduate of Universidade Nova de Lisboa with a bachelor's degree in History, he began his diplomatic career at the Rio Branco Institute, Brazil's diplomatic academy, in 1991. His early career involved roles at the Division of Foreign Trade and Manufactures and internships at the Brazilian Embassy in Caracas and the Mission of Brazil to the United Nations in New York. From 1996 to 2000, he served in Geneva, focusing on WTO and UNCTAD issues and held key positions in the WTO. Between 2000 and 2005, he led sections at the Brazilian Embassies in Santiago and La Paz. In 2005, he presented a thesis on "*Petrobras in Bolivia*" at the Rio Branco Institute. Following roles at the Special Advisory Office of the Presidency and as Minister Counsellor in Madrid and Ottawa, he returned to Brazil's Foreign Ministry in 2016. He served as Secretary of Bilateral and Regional Negotiations in the Americas from 2019 to 2022, also coordinating Brazil's involvement in MERCOSUR and the Amazon Cooperation Treaty Organization.

Ambassador **Anthony Gardner**

has made an indelible mark in the realm of international relations, particularly in strengthening transatlantic ties. He served as US Ambassador to the European Union (2014-2017). In that capacity, he played a key role in the negotiations of a Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership Agreement and of Privacy Shield, the legal framework enabling flows of personal data from Europe to the United States. He was instrumental in bringing about a change in US privacy legislation that gives European citizens greater rights to protect their privacy interests before US federal courts. Following his impactful diplomatic career, Gardner transitioned into the world of finance, where he currently serves as a Managing Partner at Brookfield Asset Management. He also holds a senior advisory role at Brunswick Group, a leading global communications and public affairs group. Additionally, Gardner contributes his expertise as a Vice President of the Board of Iberdrola, a major global utility company, demonstrating his breadth of knowledge in both finance and international business. Gardner's insights and experiences from his diplomatic career culminated in the authorship of *"Stars with Stripes: The Essential Partnership between the European Union and the United States,"* published by Palgrave MacMillan in 2020. This book, acclaimed by Foreign Affairs as one of the best foreign policy books of 2020, offers a comprehensive analysis of the EU-US partnership, underscoring its critical importance in global politics and economics.

Maja Piscevic

is a senior fellow at the Atlantic Council and representative of the Atlantic Council in the Western Balkans. Previously, Piscevic she served as vice president at the EastWest Institute in New York City. In her role, she designed the ongoing Balkan Dialogues program focused on promoting a constructive dialogue among experts and policymakers from the Western Balkans, EU, and the U.S. in pursuit of promoting democracy, rule of law, and lasting solutions to conflicts in the Balkans. A trained attorney, she is recognized as a leading advocate for economic integration and political stability in the Western Balkans. In 2012, she graduated from the Stanford University Program on Development, Rule of Law, and Democracy, chaired by Professor Frances Fukuyama. She has received multiple certificates of appreciation and meritorious honors from the US State Department and USAID.

Trisha Shetty

is an Indian human rights advocate and the founder of SheSays, a youth-led NGO that works on GBV through legislative reforms. She currently serves as the President of the Paris Peace Forum Steering Committee. She is part of the highlevel advisory committee that helped draft Olof Palme's Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues, Common Security report. She serves as a Health Commissioner on Improving Population Health Post COVID for Lancet-Chatham House Commission alongside being on the Global Advisory Board for Unleash, the largest youth incubation platform for the SDGs. She was an Obama Scholar at Columbia University, was named Vogue's Woman of the Year and is a TED speaker.



Rukiya Bakari



Pedro Miguel da Costa e Silva



Anthony Gardner



Maja Piscevic



Trisha Shetty

Partners of the First European CONCLAVE



The Conclave, as a new annual gathering, offers an open invitation to prospective partners passionate about shaping the future of Europe. The Conclave stands out for its distinctive, transdisciplinary approach that underpins its commitment to charting a strategic course for the future of the European Union. This initial report, born of the collaborative efforts of 46 distinguished European leaders across a spectrum of fields, serves as a powerful testament to our dedication. It reflects our aim to help the EU transform itself from a reactive entity in times of crisis to a proactive, leading global force.

We invite you to join us as partners in the upcoming Conclave, an opportunity to be at the forefront of shaping Europe's strategic agenda. Your participation is not just about cooperation. It is about becoming part

of a movement that envisions a dynamic, forward-thinking Europe.

By joining us in this new annual tradition of strategic foresight and intellectual exchange, you will contribute to a richer, more inclusive dialogue that reflects the diverse perspectives essential for a holistic European vision. Your partnership in the next Conclave is your chance to influence the future of Europe and ensure that the EU remains a pivotal player on the world stage, adept at addressing the challenges and embracing the opportunities of our times.

Embrace this unique opportunity to contribute to a proactive, visionary Europe. We are excited about the prospect of having you with us, to forge new paths toward a resilient and vibrant European Union.

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