

# European Policy Centre Annual Report 2021

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**European Policy Centre**  
Rue du Trône 14-16  
1000 Brussels – Belgium

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+32 2 231 0340  
info@epc.eu  
www.epc.eu  
@epc\_eu  
facebook.com/epcbrussels  
linkedin.com/company/european-policy-centre



Foreword

**Herman Van Rompuy**  
*President*

I am pleased to introduce the 2021 Annual Report of the European Policy Centre (EPC). The following pages hold a comprehensive overview of the EPC’s recent activities and present the many ways in which the organisation has had an impact on EU policies and the debate on the future of Europe.

Hindsight is 20/20. As I write this, 2021 feels very long ago indeed. Russia’s invasion of Ukraine was a watershed moment for Europe, creating a new ‘before’ and ‘after’.

With the present moment so fraught, it is easy to forget events of the immediate past. In 2021, the covid pandemic was still the main priority of decision-makers around the world. Periods of relative reprieve followed by strict lockdowns continued to test the fortitude of our societies. There were some signs of hope: the arrival of vaccines, which would go on to save millions of lives, and the launch of the biggest ever EU stimulus package to support the recovery of our economies.

But 2021 also saw the departure of Angela Merkel, after 16 years at the helm of German politics, and in many ways, the EU; the Conference on the Future of Europe, an incredibly ambitious exercise in participatory democracy, finally took off; and the inauguration of US President Joe Biden signalled a potential renewal of the transatlantic partnership.

At the same time, the January 6 US Capital attack showed that even in a democratic bulwark like the United States, democracy, freedom, and the peaceful transfer of power can never be taken for granted. In Europe, too, we continue to see attacks on the rule of law and other values,

such as media freedom and respect for diversity and human rights, that are central to who we aspire to be as a Union.

The work done by the EPC is, therefore, more important than ever. We need forces that can push back against growing apathy and authoritarianism, disinformation and blind aggression.

There is a lot at stake. “Barbaros ante portas”. The enemies of our way of life are at the door.

The military war in Ukraine is far from over, with its terrible loss of human lives, but neither is the economic war resulting in high inflation and recession. The EU member states will need to work together even more. It is the time for unity, not fragmentation. Without unity, the EU27 cannot tackle current and future challenges. Without unity, the Union and its members cannot defend their collective interests and enhance European sovereignty. In the next few years, the challenge will be to find a new balance between protecting our people against threats – real and perceived – without lapsing into protectionism. Building that kind of strategic autonomy will not be a luxury, but a matter of survival.

The EU and its members have a lot of work ahead of them, as do we. I am sure that the EPC will continue to guide the European integration progress in the right direction by doing what it does best: bringing people together to hash out new ideas, providing timely, fact-based insights and operational recommendations for EU policymakers, and championing the values that still form the bedrock of our Union.



## Message from the Chief Executive

**Fabian Zuleeg**  
*Chief Executive*

2021 was a year of resilience and renewal for Europe, and for the EPC. As we left the most acute phase of the pandemic behind us and settled into a ‘new normal’, the EPC stayed the course, continuing to provide inspiring publications and thought-provoking events.

But beyond focusing on the immediate needs of the crisis, we also considered the long-term implications for us as an organisation. Anticipating a definitive shift to more online working and convening, we upgraded our onsite hybrid capacities. We invested considerably in expanding the analytical clout of the EPC team to encourage research that ties different policy areas together. We continued to grow our network with other think tanks across Europe and develop ideas for the future of the European think tank sector. Notably, through the PRO-RES project, the EPC has played an active role in coming up with a new set of ground rules for research ethics and integrity that also applies to think tanks.

In our analysis, we began to see and understand the political, social, and economic ramifications of Covid-19. The prolonged lockdowns hit EU economies hard and laid bare the necessity for a more socially inclusive and protective Europe. Our research and analysis were dictated by the effects of this crisis, and we restructured our work to explore Europe’s post-Covid future and the possibility of a sustainable recovery.

To this end, we looked closely at the Union’s economic governance and the launch of the Recovery and Resilience Facility; investigated the impact of digital solutions for building a circular, carbon-free economy; invited prominent climate and energy experts to share their viewpoints on the European Green Deal; and considered the challenges of creating a socially inclusive Europe.

We also strove to place citizens’ voices at the centre of the debate on Europe’s future. The Connecting Europe project expanded its network, bringing the perspective of 25 civil society organisations to Brussels. Additionally, during the Conference on the Future of Europe, we launched the Moving Europe Together (MEET) project and the Conference Observatory to closely follow the process and share our insights and recommendations with policymakers.

Alongside our efforts to strengthen participatory democracy, we worked to reinforce Europe’s ability to speak with one voice. Our newly minted *EPC Talks Geopolitics* series explored the EU’s approach to international relations and its changing role in the world through dialogues with high-level foreign policy experts and dignitaries. We also continued to monitor the Union’s relationship with its neighbourhood.

Our output continues to be impressive. With 234 events, we offered a valuable platform for policymakers and decision-makers to share and exchange ideas. Our experts’ 98 publications contributed to shaping crucial policy debates in Brussels and beyond. Their analysis was often featured in major news outlets, such as *The Financial Times*, *The Guardian*, *The Economist*, and many others. We also continued our podcast series and successfully boosted our online presence, offering social media coverage for all our events.

The remarkable work we produced makes me optimistic about the EPC’s ability to navigate through hard times. As I am writing this message, Europe finds itself in a period of continued crisis – a ‘permacrisis’ as we have coined it. Rather than be the exception, a state of emergency has become the norm. On top of the pandemic and climate change, the Russian war in Ukraine has led to an energy, food and cost-of-living crunch that will test the limits of our resolve to stand by Ukraine. In this time of uncertainty, clear-headed and evidence-based analysis is more important than ever.

I am greatly impressed by the team’s ability to adapt to this challenging situation and I am grateful for everyone’s commitment to delivering exceptional work. In particular, I extend my gratitude to Elizabeth Bisland, who

retired at the end of 2021 after working for the EPC for 20 years. We are thankful for her passion and belief in the EPC’s mission.

I also send a warm welcome to some new additions: Emma Woodford, who joined as Chief Operating Officer; and Ricardo Borges de Castro, Georg Riekeles and Elizabeth Kuiper, who joined as Associate Directors and heads of the Europe in the World, Europe’s Political Economy and Social Europe and Well-Being programmes, respectively. Their experience and expertise will help us define the EPC’s strategic direction. Finally, I thank President Herman Van Rompuy for his wise counsel, our Chairman David O’Sullivan, the members of the Governing Board, and the Strategic Council for their support; and all the members, funders, foundations and partners, without whom our work would not be possible.

In 2022, the EPC will celebrate its 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary. We wish to take this opportunity to look back at our numerous achievements and thank our partners for their continued faith in our work, particularly our strategic partner, the King Baudouin Foundation (KBF). With such a passionate team and unwavering support, I am proud of the EPC’s results and confident about our prospects for the years to come.



# The EPC in numbers

  
**234**  
events

  
**98**  
publications

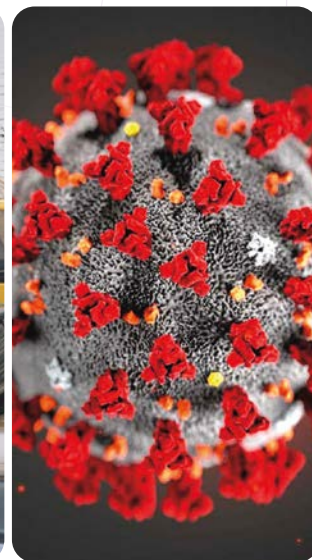
  
**78,022**  
publication views

  
**49**  
projects

  
**38**  
analysts

  
**29**  
Senior Advisers


  
**13**  
Academic Fellows



## EPC online


  
**602,833**  
page views

  
**38,667**  
followers  
↗ +4,800

  
**14,242**  
followers  
↗ +751

  
**40,866**  
followers  
↗ +12,533

## EPC in the news

  
**5.37k**  
media mentions

with regular mentions in EU-focused outlets such as *POLITICO*, *EurActiv*, *EUObserver*, *euronews* and top-tier international media like *The Financial Times*, *The Economist*, *The Guardian*, *Deutsche Welle*, *The Associated Press*, *Reuters* and many more.

## Top 3 publications



**Dealing with the Neighbours: The case for an affiliate membership of the European Union and a new Security Council**  
by Andrew Duff  
21/12/2021



**The Conference on the Future of Europe: Mind the gaps!**  
by Janis A. Emmanouilidis and Corina Stratulat  
12/03/2021



**The von der Leyen Commission: On trial again**  
by Georg E. Riekes  
29/04/2021

## Flagship events





## Message from the Chair of the Governing Board

David O'Sullivan

2021 was a challenging year for Europe. As the Union continued to deal with the fallout from the COVID-19 pandemic, rising geopolitical tensions and the threat of an economic crisis demanded great collaboration and the breaking of many policy taboos. In this time of profound change, it is an honour to chair the EPC Governing Board.

I remain impressed by the quality and timeliness of the EPC's work, and I praise the commitment of its team, ably led by Chief Executive Fabian Zuleeg. The EPC's publications and events consistently shape Brussels' discussions, inspiring policymakers and informing the decisions that will define our future.

Frank debates and evidence-based research are more important than ever in this time of uncertainty. Having orchestrated a successful distribution of vaccines, the Union is building towards a 'new normal'. The Recovery and Resilience Facility brings new hope that we can utilise this moment to create a greener and more digital Union. Still, the pandemic's full economic and social effects have yet to reveal themselves.

At the same time, the waning of democracy in some member states, paired with the Russian

invasion of Ukraine, forces the Union to reflect upon its values and take decisions in the geopolitical arena. With the economic sanctions against Russia, member countries are forced to redefine their energy markets and find solutions to the cost-of-living crisis. The consequences of these decisions still hang in the balance and reflecting upon these issues will be a priority for the EPC's future work.

As we prepare to celebrate the EPC's 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 2022, I am proud of how far we have come. Despite the hard times and the difficulties posed by the pandemic, we have continued to uphold our duty to share ideas and think collectively about European integration. The latest additions to the management and analyst teams have given us the chance to expand and deepen our expertise.

I wish to thank the team, the Strategic Council, and my fellow board members for their support. A special thanks to former members Franziska Brantner, Philippe De Buck, and Francoise Le Bail for their role in helping to steer the EPC's mission. Inspired by everyone's commitment, I will do my best to develop the EPC further and help solidify its position as one of the most respected think tanks in the Brussels community and beyond.

# IMPACT

**Explaining the EU to a broad audience  
and delivering relevant analysis and concrete  
recommendations to EU policymakers.**



## Introducing: The age of permacrisis

The COVID-19 pandemic and its fallout still dominated policy agendas throughout 2021, although the arrival of vaccines brought a glimmer of hope.

That back-and-forth between hope and dread characterised the rest of the year. Member states presented their post-pandemic stimulus plans to receive EU recovery funds, but the built-in conditionality failed to reverse or even halt democratic backsliding in Poland and Hungary; the EU launched Fit-for-55, the flagship policy initiative of the European Green Deal, while heat waves and freak floods in Belgium and Germany emphasised the still gaping chasm between ambition and reality; and the optimism and relief after the election of Joe Biden quickly gave way to shock when on 6 January a group of hard-line Trump supporters descended on the Capital in attempt to overturn the vote.

Meanwhile, EU foreign policy came under increasing pressure, from disputes with big pharma to obtain enough COVID-19 vaccines to countersanctions from China and Russia's military build-up at the Ukrainian border.

EPC analysts, still mostly working from home and in online formats, not only

provided timely and high-quality analysis of these events but also considered what lessons could be learned.

Together with **Her Majesty the Queen of the Belgians**, European Commissioner **Jutta Urpilainen**, and UN Director **Guillaume Lafortune**, we emphasised how crucial it is to use the UN Sustainable Development Goals as guidelines for the post-covid recovery to build prosperous, sustainable, and resilient societies. With **Maroš Šefčovič**, European Commission Vice-President for Interinstitutional Relations and Foresight, we talked about the EU Better Regulation Agenda, and how the increased policy activity in response to the pandemic presented a unique opportunity to modernise legislation and minimise the legislative burden for EU citizens and businesses. We explained how EU strategic autonomy could be strengthened after the experience of the 'vaccine wars' and argued that COVID-19 had proven the importance of well-performing public services and centralising health and well-being in all EU policies.

In an attempt to zoom out from the day-to-day whirlwind of events and see the 'bigger picture', Fabian Zuleeg, Janis A. Emmanouilidis and Ricardo

Borges de Castro introduced the concept of 'permacrisis'. In one of our most-read papers, they argued that, rather than being the exception, a state of permanent crisis will be the environment in which Europe will have to continue to operate for the foreseeable future. This will necessitate a change in EU decision-making, as well as new and recalibrated instruments and mechanisms to ensure more effective responses to future chapters of the permacrisis.

Our annual conference also attempted to identify and asked the question: in the face

of seemingly insurmountable challenges and a changing and unstable geopolitical landscape, can Europe hold its own, or is it destined to bring up the rear in the global race for power and influence?

Two input papers – "Europe in transition in a world in transition" and "Forging a new democratic frontier" provided food for discussion with high-level speakers like **Clément Beaune**, French Minister of State for European affairs; **Danuta Hübner**, Former European Commissioner, Member of the European Parliament (EPP); **Daniela**

**Schwarzer**, Executive Director for Europe and Eurasia, Open Society Foundations; **Borut Pahor**, President of the Republic of Slovenia; and **Herman Van Rompuy**, President Emeritus of the European Council and EPC President.

↘

EU flags waving next to the Europa Building in Brussels, Spring 2021.

© John Thys / AFP



*“Europeans will have to prepare for and adapt to a radically and regularly changing environment. The world we live in will continue to be characterised by high levels of uncertainty, fragility and unpredictability.”*

FABIAN ZULEEG,  
JANIS A. EMMANOULIDIS,  
RICARDO BORGES DE CASTRO

## A fair and sustainable European society

### THE GREEN DEAL: HIGH EXPECTATIONS

At the end of 2019, the European Commission launched the much-anticipated European Green Deal, aiming to make the EU climate-neutral by 2050. Two years on, the question was not *what* the Union should be doing about climate change but rather *how* it could be done. Analysts of the Sustainable Prosperity for Europe team quickly turned their attention to the ways in which Europe can transform its energy, mobility, and food systems and revolutionise its production and consumption patterns to achieve the climate goals it has set out for itself.

Five fundamental strands of action emerged: (1) leaders who take ownership and communicate clearly and honestly; (2) aligning member states' climate policies; (3) convincing businesses, big and small, to participate in the transition; (4) convincing people to support green policies by making sure that the social impact of the transition is addressed; and (5) leading by example on the global stage.

EPC experts also looked into the different legislative offshoots of the Green Deal. Key initiatives such as the Renovation Wave and the Fit-for-55 package, both

dealing with energy efficiency, electrification, and the integration of renewables, were studied and assessed in detail.

Another major workstream focused on maximising the synergies between the green and digital transitions. Several projects, public events, and publications investigated how EU policies can help create an enabling environment that encourages the use of digital solutions for a more circular economy and a carbon-neutral future.

Hundreds of thousands of people gather all over the world to demonstrate against climate change on the occasion of the opening of the Glasgow COP26.

© Josep Lago / AFP



With wildfires, droughts, floods, and other extreme weather events abound, European countries will have to prepare their societies for a warmer and more volatile climate. At a public event organised with the support of the European Investment Bank, **Clara de la Torre**, Deputy Director-General for Climate Action at the European Commission, presented the Commission's Strategy on Climate Adaptation, which was first announced in February. The discussion focused on the challenges and prospects for creating a climate-resilient Europe that can bring more comprehensive benefits to the environment, society, and economy.

After having been postponed due to the pandemic, the UN Climate Change Conference COP26 finally took place in Glasgow. Both before and after COP26, the EPC brought together experts and policymakers involved in the negotiations to share their insights. Speakers included **Jacob Werksman**, Principal Adviser for International Aspects of EU Climate Policy, DG Climate Action; **John Murton**, the UK government's COP26 Envoy; **Nick Bridge**, UK Special Representative for Climate Change; **Sabine Frank**, Executive Director of Carbon Market Watch; and **Wendel Trio**, Director of Climate Action Network.



The Coalition for Health, Ethics and Society (CHES) aims to promote a multi-stakeholder dialogue between health and non-health practitioners. CHES events and publications address the ethical aspects of health and issues regarding access to healthcare, its affordability and patient choice. CHES is a joint initiative between the EPC and Johnson & Johnson.

### A HEALTHY UNION

The EPC is also increasingly looking at the interplay between people's health, clean air and water, food systems and climate change. We assisted the European Commission and the European Environment Agency with the launch of their new European Climate and Health Observatory, one of the first concrete deliverables of the European Commission's Climate Adaptation Strategy. Key players like **Mauro Petriccione**, former Director-General, DG CLIMA; **Pierre Delsaux**, Deputy Director-General, DG SANTE; **Hans Bruyninckx**, Executive Director, European Environment Agency; and **Alice Chapman-Hatchett**, President, European Public Health Alliance came to present the Observatory and how it can provide value.

Through our Coalition for Health, Ethics & Society (CHES) programme, the EPC already had a firm background in health-related policy research. Long before the pandemic hit, we had made a continuous effort to stress the importance of health, arguing that the EU and its member states need to recognise the centrality of people's health and well-being and consider it in all policymaking.

As the pandemic continued to be the top concern for EU leaders, the first steps to revamp and strengthen the health agenda and establish an 'EU Health Union' were being taken. In full support of this course of action, EPC analysts cautioned that there needed to be a serious reflection on the EU's added value. To 'build back better' and make



*“A reflection on the feasibility and desirability of transferring some health competencies to the EU level can no longer be ignored.”*

SIMONA GUAGLIARDO

the most out of EU action in health, Europe must lay the foundations for more resilient national health systems while centring the recovery from the pandemic on people's well-being and not solely on economic growth.

#### A FAIR DEAL

The pandemic has laid painfully bare – and worsened – existing inequalities in Europe. The call for a more ‘social’ and ‘protective’ Europe has only grown stronger.

Since 2016, the EPC's Social Europe and Well-Being (SEWB) programme has addressed the growing disconnect between citizens and politics through the lens of EU social policies. EPC analysts working in the programme have investigated whether EU-wide social

policies are worth pursuing and how they could be implemented successfully.

In 2021, ahead of the Porto Social summit – organised by the Portuguese Council Presidency to push for the commitments made under the European Pillar of Social Rights – the entire SEWB team explored the tension between the dream of a social Europe and the actual work of building it in the EPC Podcast episode, “A strong social Europe: Long overdue or a bridge too far?” They also covered healthcare, the potential role of the EU Recovery and Resilience Facility in spurring reforms, and the disproportionate effects COVID-19 has had on women in the workplace.

The EPC also focused on improving the working conditions of platform workers. At a Sixty-Minute Briefing organised in collaboration with the Egmont Institute, Director General, DG Employment, Social Affairs, and Inclusion **Joost Korte** shed light on the new EU initiative to address bogus self-employment in the platform economy.

Furthermore, the EPC teamed up with the King Baudouin Foundation (KBF), Schneider Electric, the European Federation of National Organisations Working with the Homeless (FEANTSA) and the Cariplo Foundation to create a new Task Force on European investment in affordable and decent housing

solutions.

Together with the European Confederation of Independent Trade Unions (CESI), the EPC undertook a study on European public services in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic. The results were presented and discussed at a special high-level conference, with speakers from public administration, governments, and EU institutions, including **Klaus Heeger**, Secretary

General of CESI; **Barbara Kauffmann**, Director for Employment and Social Governance, DG Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion; **Valeria Ronzitti**, Secretary-General, SGI Europe; and **Heather Roy**, Board Member, Social Services Europe.

Finally, the EPC collaborated on the Fair Energy Transition for All (FETA) project, which explores the concerns, fears, hopes and expectations of

economically and socially disadvantaged people regarding the transition to a carbon-neutral energy system. The overall project is spearheaded by KBF, and, together with ifok and Climate Outreach, the EPC will lead the European track. The results will be communicated in 2022.



**FAIR  
ENERGY  
TRANSITION**  
*for all*

◀  
A protester wears a sticker saying “Climate Justice Now” during a demonstration in Poland.

© Wojtek Radwanski / AFP



## Rethinking EU economic governance

Europe's political economy has always been a key area of interest for the EPC. In the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic and resulting economic crisis, and as part of the debate on how to create the right conditions for a sustainable recovery, EPC analysts from the Europe's Political Economy and Social Europe and Well-Being programmes launched the Task Force "Rethinking EU Economic Governance" in the spring of 2021. Bringing together experts, academics, and current and former decision-makers, its main goal was to start a debate about improving the EU's economic policymaking and to encourage more out-of-the-box thinking on the subject, like how to move beyond the paradigm of eternal, unsustainable growth based solely on GDP.

The discussions held under the Task Force resulted in three papers, each focusing on a particular policy area. The first one assessed the Stability and Growth Pact (SGP) in light of higher debt and deficit levels across Europe related to COVID-19 response measures, and the need for public investments to accomplish EU long-term objectives, such as building a digital and green economy. The second tackled the European Semester, arguing that it will need to incorporate the implementation and monitoring of the National Recovery and Resilience Plans.



An employee cycles past rows of cold-rolled steel on coils in a factory in Germany.

© Ina Fassbender / AFP

The third and final paper highlighted the importance of high-quality public and social services to fight inequality, promote social inclusion and support better health outcomes. Social investment should, therefore, be properly accounted for in the EU's economic frameworks.

### INDUSTRIAL POLICY

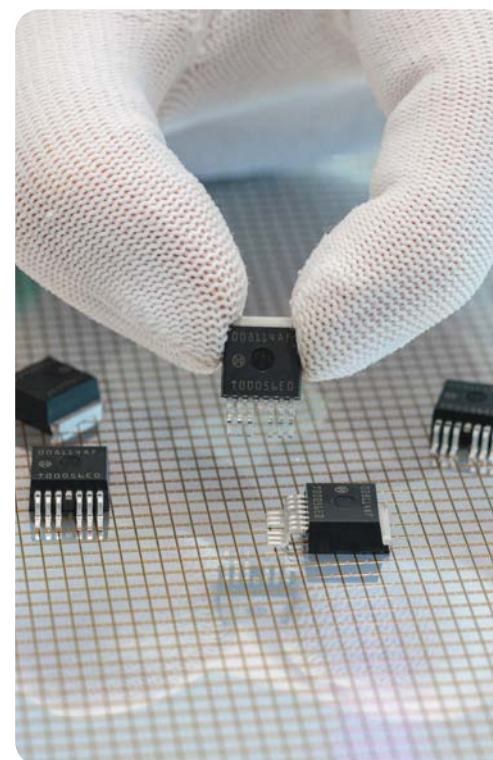
We also continued our analysis of EU industrial and regional policy. Notably, EPC analysts previewed the update of the

EU's 2020 Industrial Strategy. In a widely-read piece called "Updating the European industrial strategy for the post-pandemic world", they broke down European industry's weaknesses, areas with growth potential, and the effects of COVID-19.

Another major work strand was industrial innovation and the digitalisation of European businesses. EPC analysts highlighted that, although the EU has made some gains when it comes to boosting industrial innovation, recently, a disjointed framework has begun to emerge with two separate 'tiers' of support:

Semiconductor chips are placed over a 300-millimeter wafer produced by German company Bosch.

© Jens Schlueter / AFP



one geared towards key industry initiatives, such as Industrial Alliances and Important Projects of Common European Interest; the other towards place-based industrial innovation, driven primarily by EU regions, such as Cluster Collaborations and Smart Specialisation Partnerships. To maximise the impact of these collaborative efforts and to generate a connected, Europe-wide industrial ecosystem, we need an industrial innovation pipeline for the whole of the EU.

### TRADE

The EPC organised timely events on the subject of trade, with high-level persons who could report directly from the negotiating table. In February, the European Commission presented its new trade strategy: An 'Open, Sustainable and Assertive Trade Policy'. Building on the concept of open strategic autonomy, it aims to contribute to Europe's economic recovery through support for the green and digital transformations, as well as a renewed focus on strengthening multilateralism and reforming global trade rules to ensure that they are fair and sustainable. In particular, the strategy seeks to strengthen the EU's focus on implementation and enforcement of EU trade agreements and to ensure a level playing field for EU businesses.

Together with the Egmont Institute, we invited key policymakers **Sabine Weyand**, Director-General for Trade, European Commission, and **Marie-Pierre Vedrenne**, MEP & Vice-Chair of the Committee on International Trade to discuss the new strategy in depth.

And together with the Korea International Trade Association, we organised a Korea-EU Trade Policy Forum with South Korean Minister of Trade, Industry and Energy **Yeo Han-koo**. The event explored how the EU and South Korea can strengthen their strategic partnership to deal with common challenges like climate change, digital transformation, and post-COVID-19 economic recovery.

## The end of an era: Merkel leaves the stage

After 16 years at the helm of German politics and, in many ways, of the European Union, Angela Merkel left the German Chancellor's Office in 2021. Still relatively popular at home and respected abroad for her statesmanship, Merkel's European legacy was mixed. She had seen the EU through multiple rolling crises – the eurozone crisis, the 'migration crisis', Brexit, Trump, and the pandemic – but was also criticised for her leniency towards Russia and illiberal forces inside Europe.

In 2021, the German federal election yielded a new chancellor. EPC analysts looked into what the end of the Merkel era would mean for the EU, and whether her departure would reset the country's political agenda or cause a major shift in Germany's European policy.

Through their efforts, they also attempted to put European issues on the German domestic agenda during the election campaign.

As with other major national elections in the EU, the EPC organised an Elections Monitor. This time, EPC experts were joined by **Cerstin Gammel**, Deputy Editor-in-Chief of the Berlin office at *Süddeutsche Zeitung*.

The EPC also set up a project entitled "After Merkel: A power vacuum in Europe or a fresh

start?", which started ahead of the elections and ran all the way through the negotiations for the new German government. It featured a series of Commentaries on the expectations of different national governments for Germany's future EU policy. Contributions came from authors in the Nordics, Poland, Italy, the Netherlands, the Baltics, and France. The project sought to encourage and contribute to the broader debate on Germany's role in the Union, both in Brussels and beyond.

## Project Presidency continues

Since 2020, the EPC has run a project dedicated to assessing each rotating Council Presidency. Every six months, we partner with a think tank based in the country holding the presidency to create a bridge between political stakeholders in Brussels and national capitals.

After the inaugural Project Presidency that focused on the German Council Presidency, we followed up in 2021 with events on the Portuguese and Slovenian presidencies. Together with the Portuguese think tank *Nossa Europa*,

we welcomed **Ana Paula Zacarias**, Portugal's Secretary of State for European Affairs, to a discussion focusing on the ongoing impact of the COVID-19 pandemic and Europe's economic recovery.

We also looked ahead at the French Presidency in the first half of 2022, for which we teamed up with Paris-based think tank *Institut Montaigne*. A series of roundtables with high-level officials from the EU institutions and national governments focused on tech policy and the Fit-for-55 package.

PROJECT  PRESIDENCY

PROJECT  PRESIDENCY



In this picture, German Chancellor Olaf Scholz poses alongside his predecessor Angela Merkel during the handover ceremony at the Chancellery in Berlin on 8 December 2021.

© John MacDougall / AFP



## Conference on the Future of Europe



After a year-long delay due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the Conference on the Future of Europe finally took off in May 2021. Considering the scope and unprecedented nature of the project, the EPC dedicated a considerable amount of analytical (wo)manpower to prepare, study and assess the process.

As soon as the Conference was announced by European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen, EPC analysts played an active role in promoting the Conference, while also giving recommendations to make the endeavour a success. They closely monitored the negotiations between the European Parliament, Commission and Council

on the set-up, agenda, and guiding principles and, following their Joint Declaration, compared the institutions' positions. Ahead of the start of the Conference, they warned that the process lacked clarity and a well-defined purpose. EU leaders had to fill in a few gaps in the Declaration, especially regarding the outcome and impact of the Conference.

Building on that analysis and our decade-long experience in studying citizen participation exercises in Europe, the EPC, together with partners from all across Europe, set up two major projects.

The first was the Moving Europe Together (MEET) project, an ambitious attempt

to link citizens' debates happening at the local and national levels to the ones being held at the EU level.

Organised by a network of civil society organisations across eight member states and coordinated by the EPC, MEET ran alongside and interacted with the Conference on the Future of Europe, connecting people, ideas, and policies across borders. Because all the network partners had a common objective and used similar methods the European Politics and Institutions (EPI) team was able to make a comparative analysis and provide potential lessons for future innovations in democracy. The results were published in the first half of 2022.

## CONFERENCE ON THE FUTURE OF EUROPE OBSERVATORY

The second project was the Conference Observatory, a joint initiative of Bertelsmann Stiftung, the European Policy Centre, Stiftung Mercator and the King Baudouin Foundation. The Observatory aimed to monitor the Conference's proceedings, provide policy input and recommendations on the strategic priorities that citizens discussed, and assess the potential institutional and legal consequences of their debates. Through the Observatory, the consortium also advised the Conference leadership and developed proposals for the EU's future participatory and democratic make-up.

At the first edition of the project's signature event series, Conference

Conversations, guest speaker and one of the Conference's presidents, MEP **Guy Verhofstadt** argued that, despite all the difficulties and delays, the Conference on the Future of Europe was necessary to put pressure on the EU and prepare it for the future. The debate also featured **Mehreen Khan**, the then EU correspondent for the *Financial Times*, **Dominik Hierlemann**, Senior Expert at Bertelsmann Stiftung, and **Janis A. Emmanouilidis**, Director of Studies at the EPC.

As part of the Observatory, EPC analysts attended the first series of European Citizens' Panels that were held in the course of 2021. They wrote about their experiences in the paper "Una casa para todos": Observations from the first European Citizens' Panel of the Conference on the Future of Europe.' Besides a comprehensive description of the process and the overall atmosphere in Strasbourg, the report assesses the organisers' chosen methods and

procedures. It also highlights a few kinks that could be ironed out in the course of the Conference. Despite some of the shortcomings mentioned in the report, the authors saw signs of hope and optimism, and witnessed the potential of such activities to actively engage participants, broaden their perspectives and knowledge, and leave a long-lasting impression.

The Conference concluded in the spring of 2022 with a ceremony in the European Parliament. Since then, EU leaders have "taken note" of the outcome, but any real impact has failed to materialise. The big question then – one which the EPC plans to follow up on – is what will happen with the ideas and proposals that emerged from these panels.

A picture of the inaugural event of the Conference on the Future of Europe, taken on 9 May 2021.

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## A New Pact on Migration

### A FRESH START FOR EU MIGRATION POLICY?

In 2020, the European Commission laid out an ambitious proposal to revamp Europe's migration policies. With the New Pact on Migration and Asylum, the Commission aimed to force a breakthrough in the discussion between the member states and deliver real progress on EU migration reform.

Negotiations in the Council and the European Parliament were well underway when Vice-President of the European Commission, **Margaritis Schinas**, joined EPC President and President Emeritus of the European Council **Herman Van Rompuy** at the EPC's seminal, high-level President's Table series to discuss the Commission's plans for the New Pact going forward. In this roundtable, they also discussed the new Strategy on the Future of Schengen, which the Commission presented in the spring.

Together with the Egmont Institute and Jacques Delors Institute, we organised a debate on the New Pact negotiations with **Ylva Johansson**, European Commissioner for Home Affairs; **Eduardo Cabrita**, Portuguese Minister of Internal Administration; and **Elena Yoncheva**, MEP. There, the focus was on whether the EU was ready

to engage meaningfully with third countries on the shared governance of mobility and migration.

The New Pact was also the focus of the ongoing Mercator Dialogue on Migration and Asylum (MEDAM) project, which zoomed in cooperation with third countries in its assessment report "The EU and Turkey: Toward sustainable cooperation in migration management and refugee protection".

The most novel, and controversial, idea of the New Pact – allowing member states to help others that are facing migratory pressures by sponsoring returns – received extra attention in a widely read piece co-written by **Florian Trauner**, Director of the

European Commission's Vice President for Promoting our European Way of Life **Margaritis Schinas** and European Commissioner for Home Affairs **Ylva Johansson** speak at a press conference on the new EU strategy on voluntary return and reintegration of migrants, in Brussels on 7 April 2021.

© Stephanie Lecocq / Pool / AFP

Research Centre for Migration, Diversity and Justice at the VUB.

Another research focus was EU resettlement policies, as part of a joint project between the EPC and the Konrad Afenauer Stiftung. EPC experts put forward a number of recommendations to expand Europe's resettlement operations and support the innovative drive behind community sponsorship.



A launch event for the project and publication was held, with speakers **Malin Björk**, MEP (GUE/NGL); **Lena Düpont**, MEP (EPP); and **David Manicom**, Special Advisor on Resettlement and Complementary Pathways, UN Refugee Agency.

### PREBUNKING FALSE NARRATIVES ABOUT MIGRATION

EPC analysts from the European Migration and Diversity (EMD) and the European Politics and Institutions (EPI) programmes teamed up again to study disinformation on migration. Following up on their flagship publication a year prior, they delved even deeper into the

topic, leading to another high-profile study "From debunking to prebunking: How to get ahead of disinformation on migration in the EU".

Based on their extensive qualitative research, they concluded that attempts to 'debunk' falsehoods – fact-checking individual claims after publication – are often too little, too late.

That is why, in contrast to debunking, their paper argues that disinformation should be pre-empted by taking strategic action before it begins to circulate. The guiding principle of this approach is that of prebunking.

Prebunking relies on, in the short to medium term, identifying false stories as early as possible or even anticipating future narratives; and in the long term, giving citizens the necessary skills to distinguish facts from lies and filter out manipulative content.

The project, realised with the support of the European Parliament, and the result of a collaboration between the Foundation for European Progressive Studies, the Friedrich- Ebert-Stiftung, and the EPC, will continue in 2022.

*"Communicators and institutions who seek to promote a balanced view of migration and prevent security-oriented agendas from dominating the policy debate must acquire a first-mover advantage. Their strategies should focus on prebunking: inoculating citizens against future disinformation while undermining the appeal of a given narrative."*

**PAUL BUTCHER** and **ALBERTO-HORST NEIDHARDT**





## An EU crash course in geopolitics

Europe's changing role in the world and its quest for more strategic autonomy were central themes in our researchers' work.

### TALKING GEOPOLITICS

To reflect the growing importance of EU foreign policy, the Europe in the World programme launched a new event format called "EPC Talks Geopolitics". It features foreign policy heavyweights who shed their light on current and long-term issues and explore Europe's geopolitical outlook and its role in international affairs. Speakers include politicians, academics, and policymakers from all over the world. We welcomed Dr **Fiona Hill**, Senior Fellow at the Brookings

Institute and former Deputy Assistant to the President of the United States; **Radmila Šekerinska**, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence of the Republic of North Macedonia; **Alexander Stubb**, Director of the School of Transnational Governance and former Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Finland; **A. K. Abdul Momen**, Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of Bangladesh; **German Galushchenko**, Minister of Energy of Ukraine; **Nobuo Kishi**, Minister of Defence of Japan; **Cecilia Malmström**, non-resident Senior Fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics and former European Commissioner for Trade and Home Affairs; and many more.

### NEW OPPORTUNITIES...

With the election of Joe Biden as US president, hope returned for a renewal of the **transatlantic partnership**. In June, an EU-US Summit set a joint agenda for cooperation on trade, technology, economic development, and climate issues in the post-pandemic era. It even announced the creation of a EU-US Trade and Technology Council. EPC analysts followed these developments closely and, in timely publications and high-level events, analysed the opportunities and potential challenges in these ambitious plans. Speakers included, among others, **Bernd Lange**, MEP and Chair of the Committee on International Trade; **Rupert Schlegelmilch**, Deputy Director-General

President of the EU Commission Ursula von der Leyen, US President Joe Biden, and European Council President Charles Michel walk past European and American flags as they arrive at the EU-US Summit in June 2021.

© Brendan Smialowski / AFP



at DG Trade; and **Jennifer Hillman**, Senior Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations and Professor at Georgetown University.

The initial optimism was tempered somewhat due to a series of diplomatic spats, most notably the debacle in Afghanistan following the sudden withdrawal of US troops and the signing of the trilateral pact between Australia, the UK and the US (AUKUS). In partnership with the United States Mission to the EU, the EPC organised several events throughout the year on various aspects of EU-US relations, including on more fraught issues, such as migration and developing a common approach towards China and East Asia.

### ... AND CHALLENGES

The EU's increasingly complicated relations with China and Russia were the subject of in-depth analysis by EPC analysts.

As the EU and China are close economic partners, their relationship still carries great potential. But their diverging views on democracy, human rights, and how the

international order should be governed make the way forward unclear. To scope out the possibilities for collaboration and main challenges, the EPC together with its think tank partners, the Egmont Royal Institute of International Affairs, the Center for China & Globalization, and the China Institute of International Studies, initiated the EU-China Think Tank Exchanges. In the next three years, we will bring together experts, analysts and policymakers from Europe and China to discuss issues like post-COVID-19 cooperation, climate action and environment, the global economy, digitalisation, human rights and peace and security in international affairs.

Russia's actions became increasingly volatile and threatening throughout 2021. Its military build-up along the Ukrainian border prompted our team to take a closer look at Vladimir Putin's overall

*"There should be no Russian doorman deciding who enters the NATO club."*

AMANDA PAUL

goals and strategy, the impact of the conflict in the Donbas, the country's relations with other important geopolitical players in the region, such as Turkey, as well as security in the broader Black Sea region. Numerous experts gave timely and valuable inputs, including **Alina Frolova**, Deputy Chairman at the Centre for Defence Strategies and Former Deputy Minister of Defence in Ukraine; **Sergey Utkin**, Head of the Foreign and Security Policy Department at the the Russian Academy of Sciences; **James G. Foggo III**, Admiral (Ret) US Navy & Distinguished Fellow, Transatlantic Defense and Security Program at the Center for European Policy Analysis; **Asli Aydintaşbaş**, Senior Policy Fellow at the European Council on Foreign Relations; and **Maxim Suchkov**, Senior Fellow and Associate Professor at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations.

EPC analysts repeatedly warned that there should be no illusion about Russian policy changing anytime soon. They advocated the EU and NATO carving out a more coherent response towards the Kremlin and a more robust defence posture for their Eastern flank.



Russian President Vladimir Putin holds a videoconference with Chinese President Xi Jinping in December 2021.  
© Mikhail Metzel / AFP





Slovenia's Prime Minister Janez Jansa welcomes European Commissioner for Neighbourhood and Enlargement Oliver Varhelyi at the EU-Western Balkans Summit in Brdo pri Kranju, Slovenia, on 6 October 2021.

© Jure Makovec / AFP

## Our neighbourhood

EPC analysts continued to track developments in the EU's neighbourhood.

### EASTERN NEIGHBOURHOOD

We put a spotlight on the Eastern neighbourhood, which had become the theatre for geopolitical confrontation between the EU and Russia. Ahead of the Eastern Partnership summit in December, the EPC formulated concrete recommendations for the EU to lift its political ambitions for the region to the next level. We also brought together a panel of experts to discuss the state of play

and future priorities of the partnership, the newly created Associated Trio (Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine), Russia's actions in the region, and measures for furthering the countries' European political and economic integration. Speakers included **James Nixey**, Head of the Russia and Eurasia Programme at Chatham House; and **Nona Mikhelidze**, Senior Fellow at the Istituto Affari Internazionali.

We also paid special attention to Georgia, which went through severe political turmoil in the spring of 2021. In a widely read piece – which has become even

more relevant following the Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022 – we argued strongly in favour of NATO following through on its 2008 promise and reaffirming Georgia's eventual membership.

### TURKEY

After relations between the EU and Turkey hit a low point in 2020, the EU introduced a Positive Agenda to establish a new *modus vivendi*. One year on, EPC analysts assessed whether the two sides could move away from years of distrust and muddling through and use the Agenda to arrive at a more stable and collaborative point in the relationship. Experts and policymakers, such as **Thomas Frellesen**, Head of the Turkey Division at the European External Action Service and **Senem Aydin Düzgit**, Professor of International Relations at Sabancı University gave their insights on the current state of EU-Turkey relations, prospects for the implementation of the Positive Agenda, and key obstacles to overcome.

### WESTERN BALKANS

The EPC has had an active and substantial role in the policy debate on the enlargement to the Western Balkans for the past decade. 2021 was no exception. The year's highlights were the EU-Western Balkans summit in October, under the Slovenian Council Presidency, and the Commission's 2021 enlargement package.

A month later, **Maciej Popowski**, Director-General

for Neighbourhood and Enlargement Negotiations at the European Commission, joined an EPC debate to explain the report in detail. The event discussed what was at stake if the EU failed to deliver on its promise to Albania and North Macedonia and how the Union could provide more help to the Balkan countries to meet and sustain democratic standards. Notable experts **Florian Bieber**, Professor of Southeast European History and Politics at the University of Graz and BiEPAG coordinator, and **Natasha Wunsch**, Senior Researcher at ETH Zurich, provided context.

Additionally, the EPC again managed to engage with several high-level decision- and policymakers in Brussels and the region, such as **Bojan Marichic**, Minister of Justice of North Macedonia and **Alberto Cammarata**, Deputy Head of Unit for Albania and Bosnia and Herzegovina at the European Commission.

### UNITED KINGDOM

The EPC continued to be the reference point for think tank analysis on EU-UK relations in Brussels, producing a steady flow of events and publications on the subject.

At the end of 2020, the EU and UK were finally able to come to an agreement on their relationship post-Brexit. The EU-UK Trade and Cooperation Agreement (TCA) might have pulled both sides back from the brink of a no-deal cliff edge, but it remained a shaky foundation for the next stage of EU-UK relations. In a collection of widely read and cited papers, EPC experts called on both parties to invest in the relationship and rebuild trust to prevent any conflict from escalating into a tit-for-tat and risk the collapse of negotiations and the return to a no-deal-like state. Climate action and the Western Balkans were highlighted as potential avenues for closer cooperation.

European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen (left) and UK Prime Minister Boris Johnson (right) sign the EU-UK Trade and Cooperation Agreement.

© Johanna Geron / Leon Neal / AFP





**Hywel Ceri Jones**, previous Chairman of the EPC Governing Board and one of the founders of the Erasmus Programme, the largest international education programme in the world, regretted the UK government's plan to leave the scheme in the wake of Brexit. In a series of Commentaries, he argued that forfeiting participation in the Erasmus programme is an odd way for the UK government to demonstrate its desire to build a 'Global Britain' – and a severe blow to the country's young people.

Brexit also led to deeper reflection about the future

direction of European integration. In particular, former MEP and EPC Academic Fellow **Andrew Duff** argued that the secession of a member state is a game-changer. Brexit leaves the EU weaker, smaller and poorer – but it can and should also spur constitutional reform.

The implications of Brexit for existing differentiation within the EU, and between the EU and third and (potential) candidate countries were also examined through the lens of the ongoing EU IDEA project. In a Brexit Observatory event, high-level policymakers and analysts

like **David McAllister**, MEP and Chair of the Committee on Foreign Affairs; **Brigid Laffan**, Emeritus Professor at the European University Institute; and **Rem Korteweg**, Senior Research Fellow at the Clingendael Institute, took stock of the consequences of Britain's departure from the EU for the future of European integration and the lessons learned.

Finally, the EPC also continued with its EU–UK Track 2 project, which aims to keep an informal line of communication open between different stakeholders on both sides of the Channel.

#### The Observatory on Brexit

is a workstream within the Horizon 2020-funded EU IDEA project (Integration and Differentiation for Effectiveness and Accountability). The Observatory monitors the Brexit process and outputs, focusing on the potential economic, political, institutional and social implications, and assesses the challenges and opportunities for differentiated integration and cooperation.



EU IDEA's key goal is to address whether, how much and what form of differentiation is not only compatible with, but is also conducive to a more effective, cohesive and democratic EU. The basic claim of the project is that differentiation is not only necessary to address current challenges more effectively, by making the Union more resilient and responsive to citizens. Differentiation is also desirable as long as such flexibility is compatible with the core principles of the EU's constitutionalism and identity, sustainable in terms of governance, and acceptable to EU citizens, Member States and affected third partners.

EPC was part of a 15-member-consortium, coordinated by the Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI). The project came to an end in April 2022.



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A woman waves a European flag with the sticker "Free Media" during a demonstration against Poland's new restrictive rule on the freedom of media and TVN network, in December 2021.

© Wojtek Radwanski / AFP

The EPC quickly brought together legal and rule of law experts to examine the political and legal implications of the ruling: **Piotr Buras**, Head of Warsaw Office, European Council on Foreign Relations; **Jakub Jaraczewski**, Research Coordinator, Democracy Reporting International; and Terry Reintke MEP.

## Values

One of the core missions of the EPC is to promote and support the rule of law in the EU, and think of ways to make the Union and EU policymaking more transparent, democratic and inclusive. In 2021, we continued to devote attention to addressing rule-of-law concerns and democratic backsliding in Europe.

Following the publication of "Safeguarding European values: The case for a European Agency for Citizenship Education", as part of the 'Values Unite' initiative in late 2020, **Victor Negrescu**, MEP & Vice-Chair of the CULT Committee joined a debate to discuss the proposal for a European Agency for Citizenship education, laid out in the paper. According to 'Values Unite', the best way to counter democratic backsliding

in the Union and safeguard European values is to equip EU citizens with the knowledge and skills they need to exercise their political rights.

The EPC was also one of the hosting institutions for the Charlemagne Prize Fellowship, which supports innovative and creative research ideas in the field of future challenges for Europe. During her one-year fellowship, Connecting Europe's **Sophie Pornschlegel** studied the link between democracy and solidarity in the EU during and in the wake of the COVID-19 crisis.

In October, Poland's Constitutional Tribunal concluded that the Polish national constitution had primacy over EU law, calling into question the legal cornerstone of the EU.

Based on the conviction that a healthy democracy cannot function without sound, ethical and independent academic and policy research, the EPC has been an active part of the consortium of the PRO-RES project (PROmoting integrity in the use of REsearch results). In 2021, the project came to a close with a final conference, where a panel of high-level researchers presented their proposal for a set of ground rules for non-medical research and offered practical solutions for researchers and funders alike to comply with the highest standards of research ethics and integrity. The panel included Professor **Nicole Grobert**, Chair of the Group of Chief Scientific Advisors to the European Commission and **David Mair**, Head of Unit Knowledge for Policy, Joint Research Centre, European Commission.





# CONNECTING europe

CONNECTINGEUROPE  
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## Connecting Europe

Since 2017, Connecting Europe's objectives have been to connect civil society actors with EU decision-makers and foster transnationalism in European policy debates. The project provides EU policy expertise to a range of civil society actors and brings their voices to Brussels, diversifying EU policy debates to include innovative perspectives. The project is supported by Stiftung Mercator.

In 2021, Connecting Europe continued to consolidate and expand its network of 25+ organisations, which include research institutes, NGOs, think tanks, network projects and fellowship programmes. The activities covered topics relevant to Brussels and the partner organisations, such as rule of law and democracy, climate change, digital transformation, and the future of EU foreign policy.

The COVID-19 pandemic was another topic of concern for the Connecting Europe network. Several activities focused on the impact of the pandemic on EU policy and

the work of the civil society. The Connecting Europe team focused closely on the issue of EU solidarity in crisis moments and wrote the issue paper "Solidarity in the EU: More hype than substance?"

Connecting Europe also organised a broad range of events, from workshops, roundtables to policy dialogues. These included a high-level policy dialogue on Portugal's Council Presidency with **Augusto Santos Silva**, Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs; an expert roundtable on the EU's capacity to act in tech organised with the German Council on Foreign Relations; and a roundtable on Poland's rule-of-law crisis, with the European Council on Foreign Relations and Democracy Reporting International.

Additionally, Connecting Europe hosted several partners' events at the EPC's premises, such as the Think Tank Lab's study trip as part of the School for Thinktankers project, or the European Youth Parliament's study trip to

explore citizen engagement and youth policy.

Together with the European Politics and Institutions programme, Connecting Europe coordinated a publication series on the role of Germany after the Merkel era with contributions from several think tankers across Europe, analysing the countries' perspectives of Germany's EU policy. The team also contributed to several other EPC publications, often connecting partner organisations with EPC programmes. Within the framework of Connecting Europe, for instance, a Policy Brief was written in cooperation with the "When Mayors Make Migration Policy" project to discuss the future of city diplomacy.

Finally, Connecting Europe extended its project length until the end of 2024. The EPC and Stiftung Mercator will continue to build upon this unique network, allowing civil society organisations to engage with the Brussels policy community.



## Looking ahead: 25 years of EPC

In 2022, the EPC is celebrating its 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary. It is the perfect opportunity to take stock of our achievements over the last 25 years, how far we have come and, at the same time, look ahead to the future.

For the past 25 years, we have advised European, as well as national decision-makers, and delivered high-quality, independent analysis and actionable, evidence-based recommendations. We have helped journalists, civil society, businesses, and the broader public to make sense of the complex world of EU policymaking. We have brought together people from different backgrounds, industries, and research fields to view problems from every possible angle and transcend the silo approach.

Throughout our efforts to make European integration work, we have stayed true to our core values of supporting an open, free, cooperative,

pluralist, diverse and inclusive Europe. As the world changes around us, it remains our firm belief that collaboration between European countries is the best way to guarantee continued peace, prosperity, and freedom. It is also the only way Europe can hold its own in an increasingly volatile environment and address the most pressing challenges of our lifetime, from climate change to rapid technological progress, from COVID-19 to the crisis of democracy, from global instability to rising inequality.

We will mark our anniversary with different activities throughout the year, culminating in a flagship event in the autumn. Together with our members, partners, and friends, we look forward to celebrating the EPC's milestones over the past 25 years.

But it is not all about looking back – as we capture

and commemorate our past, it is equally, if not more, important to turn our gaze to the future. We are striving to grow and develop as an organisation, facilitating more cooperation between think tanks across Europe; committing to more sustainable practices; embracing the latest technologies; remaining uncompromised in our quest for independence and transparency; and creating space for a more diverse set of voices to be part of the debate.

There is a renewed sense of urgency about the importance of fact-based knowledge and the need for fresh ideas. That is what drives us on as a think tank, as a team, and as a leading, forward-looking organisation. The task ahead might be challenging, but if the past few years have taught us anything, it is that whatever comes our way, we will be ready.

# TEAM

**We aspire to provide a safe, healthy and rewarding working environment for our team, and exceptional research and analysis for our members and the broader public.**



Management and Associate Directors



**FABIAN ZULEEG**  
*Chief Executive & Chief Economist*



**JANIS EMMANOULIDIS**  
*Deputy Chief Executive  
& Director of Studies*



**EMMA WOODFORD**  
*Chief Operating Officer*



**MARAL BEDROSSIAN**  
*Chief Financial Officer*



**RICARDO BORGES DE CASTRO**  
*Associate Director &  
Head of Europe in the World programme*



**ELIZABETH KUIPER**  
*Associate Director & Head of  
Social Europe and Well-Being  
programme*



**GEORG RIEKELES**  
*Associate Director & Head of Europe's  
Political Economy programme*

Analysts



**MARIE DE SOMER**  
*Head of European Migration  
and Diversity programme  
& Senior Policy Analyst*



**ANNIKA HEDBERG**  
*Head of Sustainable Prosperity  
for European programme  
& Senior Policy Analyst*



**CORINA STRATULAT**  
*Head of European Politics  
and Institutions programme  
& Senior Policy Analyst*



**SOPHIE PORNSCHLEGEL**  
*Connecting Europe Project Leader  
& Senior Policy Analyst*



**AMANDA PAUL**  
*Senior Policy Analyst*



**SIMON DEYKEREL**  
*Policy Analyst*



**MELANIE FESSLER**  
*Policy Analyst*



**SILVIA CARTA**  
*Policy Analyst*



**MIHAI SEBASTIAN CHIHAI**  
*Policy Analyst*



**IVANO DI CARLO**  
*Policy Analyst*



**JOHANNES GREUBEL**  
*Policy Analyst*



**TOMMASO GROSSI**  
*Policy Analyst*



**ALBERTO-HORST NEIDHARDT**  
*Policy Analyst*



**LAURA RAYNER**  
*Policy Analyst*



**STEFAN ŠIPKA**  
*Policy Analyst*



**MARTA MUCZNIK**  
*Policy Analyst*



**HELENA HAHN**  
*Policy Analyst*



**ANDREA GARCÍA RODRÍGUEZ**  
*Lead Digital Policy Analyst*



TEAM AT 1 SEPTEMBER 2022



**DANIELLE BRADY**  
*Junior Policy Analyst*



**PERLE PETIT**  
*Junior Policy Analyst*



**FRANCESCO DE ANGELIS**  
*Junior Policy Analyst*



**FILIFE ATAÍDE LAMPE**  
*Junior Project Manager*



**GUILLAUME VAN DER LOO**  
*EPC-Egmont Research Fellow*



**SVITLANA TARAN**  
*KBF-EPC Research Fellow*



**CLARA SOPHIE CRAMER**  
*Project Assistant*



**EVIN JONGEN-FAY**  
*Programme Assistant*



**ANASTASIA KARATZAS**  
*Programme Assistant*



**MARIALENA PANTAZI**  
*Research Assistant*



**RITA MENDONÇA BARBOSA AMORIM LOBO**  
*Programme Assistant*



**MAXIME SIERRO**  
*Programme Assistant*

TEAM AT 1 SEPTEMBER 2022

Events and Administration



**IVANIVA VALEVA**  
*Project Management Executive*



**NATHALIE HENRY**  
*Events Executive*



**CLARA REDONDO**  
*Events Coordinator*



**CRAIG ELLIS**  
*Front Desk Assistant*

Membership



**KERSTIN BORN-SIRKEL**  
*Senior Associate, Partnerships, External and Member Relations*

Communications



**REBECCA CASTERMANS**  
*Head of Communications*



**EMI VERGELS**  
*Executive Editor*



**VICTORIA KAROLEVA**  
*Digital Communications Officer*



**BARBARA VANOTTI**  
*Press & Communications Assistant*

*The EPC is also grateful for the contributions of the following former team members:*

**ELIZABETH BISLAND**  
*Director of Events and Administration*

**ANDREAS AKTOUDIANAKIS**  
*Policy Analyst*

**PAUL BUTCHER**  
*Policy Analyst*

**EVA DE FRANCESCO**  
*Policy Analyst*

**SIMONA GUAGLIARDO**  
*Policy Analyst*

**FREDERICO MOLLET**  
*Policy Analyst*

**MIHAI PALIMARICIUC**  
*Policy Analyst*

**MARTA PILATI**  
*Policy Analyst*

**THIJS VANDENBUSSCHE**  
*Policy Analyst*

**EMILY FITZPATRICK**  
*Junior Policy Analyst*

**IONELA CIOLAN**  
*Visiting Research Fellow*

**LUCASTA BATH**  
*Programme Assistant*

**SARAH BROWN**  
*Communications Assistant*

**THEODORA FAMPRIKEZI**  
*Programme Assistant*

**RÉKA KOLESZARN**  
*Programme Assistant*

**IANA MAISURADZE**  
*Programme Assistant*

**GAETANA MANGANIELLO**  
*Projects and Administrative Assistant*

**SVENJA NIEDERFRANKE**  
*Programme Assistant*

**IRINA POPESCU**  
*Programme Assistant*

**JESSICA RUNHARE**  
*Front Desk Assistant*

**REBECCA TILLERY**  
*Project Assistant*

## Senior Advisers



**GIOVANNI GREVI**  
Senior Associate Fellow



**DECLAN KELLEHER**  
Senior Adviser on EU-China  
and EU-UK relations



**PETER S. RASHISH**  
Senior Adviser on Transatlantic  
Economic Relations



**MALCOLM HARBOUR**  
Senior Adviser on the Single Market



**FABIO COLASANTI**  
Senior Adviser on the Digital Agenda



**MARK RHINARD**  
Senior Adviser on Societal  
Security Issues



**ERIKA MEZGER**  
Senior Adviser on Social Dialogue,  
Employment Relations and Welfare



**JAMIE SHEA**  
Senior Adviser on Security  
and Defence Policy



**ALISON HUNTER**  
Senior Adviser on Regional Policy,  
Innovation and Industrial Growth



**YVES PASCOUUAU**  
Senior Adviser on Migration  
and Mobility Policies



**JEAN-LOUIS DE BROUWER**  
Senior Adviser on Migration



**FRASER CAMERON**  
Senior Adviser on International  
Programmes



**LIEVE FRANZEN**  
Senior Adviser on Health,  
Social and Migration Policies



**JOOST P. VAN IERSEL**  
Senior Adviser on Future Sustainability  
and Industrial Growth



**RICHARD DOHERTY**  
Senior Adviser on Foreign Policy  
and Trade



**ROXANA CRISTESCU**  
Senior Adviser on Foreign Affairs  
and Conflict Resolution



**DAVID O'SULLIVAN**  
Senior Adviser on External Relations  
and Multilateral Issues



**ROSA BALFOUR**  
Senior Adviser on Europe in the World



**JOHN WYLES**  
Senior Adviser on EU Politics  
and Institutions



**POUL SKYTTE CHRISTOFFERSEN**  
Senior Adviser on EU Politics  
and Institutions



**GRAHAM AVERY**  
Senior Adviser on EU Enlargement Policy



**HANS MARTENS**  
Senior Adviser on Energy, Public Service  
Reform and CHES



**LASZLO ANDOR**  
Senior Adviser on Employment  
and the EMU



**PAUL TIMMERS**  
Senior Adviser on Digital Transformation  
and Cybersecurity



**JACKI DAVIS**  
Senior Adviser on Communications  
Strategy



**SHADA ISLAM**  
Senior Adviser on Asia,  
Africa and International Trade



**MARCO GIULI**  
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Academic Fellows



**SOPHIA GASTON**  
*Academic Visiting Research Fellow*



**CHARLIE JEFFREY**  
*Academic Fellow*



**ANDREW SCOTT**  
*Academic Fellow*



**ANDREW DUFF**  
*Academic Fellow*



**DIMITAR BECHEV**  
*Academic Fellow*



**BRUCE STOKES**  
*Academic Fellow*



**CHRISTOPHE HILLION**  
*Academic Fellow*



**BEN HAMMERSLEY**  
*Academic Fellow*



**RICHARD G. WHITMAN**  
*Academic Fellow*



**JOYLON HOWORTH**  
*Academic Fellow*



**GEORGE PAGOULATOS**  
*Academic Fellow*



**GABRIEL CREAN**  
*Academic Fellow*



**ERIC HARRISON**  
*Academic Fellow*

# GOVERNANCE

The EPC is committed to transparency, independence  
and drawing from a multitude of perspectives  
and nationalities in its governance model.

Governing Board

The Governing Board is responsible for the management of the EPC. Its main function is to provide strategic direction to the EPC and monitor and evaluate its operations and the implementation of its strategic plan. However, powers relating to the day-to-day management of the EPC are delegated to the Chief Executive, who acts as the EPC’s Legal Representative.

The Governing Board meets three to four times a year. Members are appointed by the General Assembly. The current Chair of the Board is David O’Sullivan.

Board members also sit on the General Assembly, which meets once a year to formally approve the annual accounts and adopt the budget for the year ahead, in line with Belgian law.



**DAVID O’SULLIVAN**  
Former EU Ambassador  
to the United States



**RACHEL BARLOW**  
Associate Director, Public Affairs Europe,  
Oxford HR



**JIM CLOOS**  
Former Director-General,  
General and institutional policy,  
Council of the European Union



**SUSAN DANGER**  
CEO, American Chamber  
of Commerce to the EU



**BRIGID LAFFAN**  
Director, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced  
Studies, European University Institute



**STEFAN SCHÄFERS**  
Head of European Affairs,  
King Baudouin Foundation



**ALEXANDER STUBB**  
Director, School of Transnational  
Governance, European  
University Institute



**NATHALIE TOCCI**  
Director of the Istituto Affari  
Internazionali, Special Advisor to HRVP  
Borrell & Honorary Professor  
at the University of Tübingen



SECRETARY TO THE BOARD  
**FABIAN ZULEEG**  
Chief Executive,  
European Policy Centre

Strategic Council

The Strategic Council brings together thought leaders and experts from diverse background and nationalities. They bring fresh insights and forward-looking perspectives on the major challenges facing

the European Union. Once a year, they meet with our analysts to reflect on the strategic priorities of the Union and their implications for the work and strategic direction of the EPC.

MEMBERS

**Herman Van Rompuy**  
President Emeritus of the European  
Council

**Joaquin Almunia**  
Former European Commission  
Vice-President for Competition

**Lionel Barber**  
Former editor of the Financial Times

**Hendrik Bourgeois**  
Head of Government Affairs  
for Europe and Russia, Apple

**Elizabeth Collett**  
Special Adviser to the Director-General,  
International Organization for Migration

**Marta Dassù**  
Senior Director of European Affairs  
at the Aspen Institute and editor-in-chief  
of *Aspenia*

**Catherine Day**  
Former Secretary General  
of the European Commission

**Monica Frasson**  
President of the European Alliance to  
Save Energy; President of the European  
Centre for Electoral Support

**Anthony L. Gardner**  
Former United States Ambassador  
to the European Union

**Heather Grabbe**  
Director, Open Society European Policy  
Institute

**Arancha González Laya**  
Chair of the European Commission Wise  
Persons Group on Challenges Facing the  
Customs

**Shada Islam**  
EPC Senior Adviser on Asia, Africa  
and international trade

**Hywel Ceri Jones**  
Former Chairman of the EPC; Member  
of the Welsh Government’s European  
Advisory Group

**Jean-Claude Juncker**  
Former President of the European  
Commission

**Lord Kerr of Kinlochard**  
Member of the House of Lords

**Gerald Knaus**  
President of the Executive Board  
at the European Stability Institute

**Brigid Laffan**  
Director, Robert Schuman Centre for  
Advanced Studies, European University  
Institute

**Jo Leinen**  
Former Member of the European  
Parliament

**Erika Mann**  
Senior Fellow, Atlantic Council

**Anand Menon**  
Professor of European Politics and  
Foreign Affairs, King’s College London

**Antonio Missiroli**  
Former Assistant Secretary General for  
Emerging Security Challenges, NATO HQ

**Federica Mogherini**  
Former High Representative of the Union  
for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy

**Almut Möller**  
Former Head of European Council  
on Foreign Relations, Berlin office  
& Senior Policy Fellow

**John Palmer**  
Former Political Director, European  
Policy Centre

**Kristina Persson**  
Founder of Global Challenge, former  
Swedish Minister and former Member  
of the European Parliament

**Jean-Claude Piris**  
Former Director General, Legal Service  
of the Council of the European Union

**Janez Potočnik**  
Former European Commissioner  
for Environment

**Jana Puglierin**  
Head of European Council on Foreign  
Relations, Berlin office & Senior Policy Fellow

**Conny Reuter**  
Global Coordinator, Progressive Alliance

**Verena Ringler**  
Founder and Director, European Commons

**Maria João Rodrigues**  
Former Member of the European  
Parliament and Professor of Economics  
at the University of Lisbon

**Dennis Sammut**  
Director, LINKS

**André Sapir**  
Professor of Economics, ECARES, ULB

**Wolfgang Schüssel**  
Former Federal Chancellor of Austria

**Daniela Schwarzer**  
Executive Director for Europe and  
Eurasia, Open Society Foundation

**Peter Semneby**  
Former EU Special Representative  
for the South Caucasus

**Constanze Stelzenmüller**  
Senior Fellow, Center on the United  
States and Europe, Brookings

**Rita Süßmuth**  
Former President of the German  
Bundestag

**Pawel Swieboda**  
CEO of EBRAINS, Human Brain Project

**Nathalie Tocci**  
Director of the Istituto Affari  
Internazionali, Special Advisor to HRVP  
Borrell and Honorary Professor at the  
University of Tübingen

**Loukas Tsoukalis**  
Professor at the Paris School of  
International Affairs, Sciences Po;  
President of the Hellenic Foundation for  
European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP)

**Baron Frans van Daele**  
Former Head of Cabinet to the King  
of Belgium and former Ambassador  
of Belgium to the EU

**Jean-Charles van den Branden**  
Partner at Bain & Company

**Jordi Vaquer**  
Regional Director for Europe,  
Open Society Foundation

**Zeger Vercooteren**  
Vice President, Government Affairs &  
Policy EMEA, Europe, Johnson & Johnson



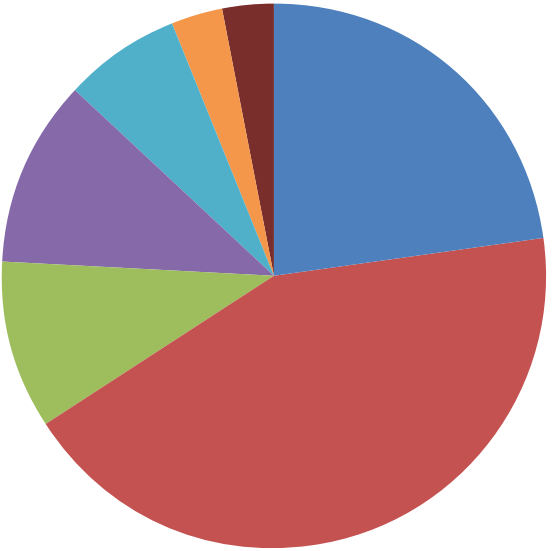
# Financing

The EPC’s total income in 2021 was €3,520,316. The EPC ended the financial year 2021 with a surplus of €397,290, bringing the equity capital to €1,083,531.

Approximately 33,3% of the EPC’s funding in 2021 came from grants from the following sources:

- The King Baudouin Foundation, the EPC’s strategic partner, awarded the EPC a grant of €350,000.
- The Stiftung Mercator awarded the EPC a grant of €380,000 for the Connecting Europe project.
- The Europe for Citizens programme: the EPC received an operating grant of €250,00 for 2021 under the “Europe for Citizens” programme, alongside other similar think tanks and civil society organisations.

The EPC received €100,000 in 2021 from the Adessium Foundation to support two programmes.



23%  
MEMBERSHIP

7%  
EU OPERATING GRANT

43%  
PROGRAMME  
SUPPORT

3%  
ADESSIUM

10%  
STRATEGIC  
PARTNER KBF

3%  
OTHER  
GRANTS

11%  
MERCATOR

## BALANCE SHEET

As of 31 December	2021	2020
<b>Fixed Assets</b>		
Intangible Fixed Assets	41 614	78 679
<b>Tangible Fixed Assets</b>		
Net furniture & equipment	12 148	21 585
Financial Fixed assets	848	848
<b>Total Fixed Assets</b>	<b>54 610</b>	<b>101 112</b>
<b>Current Assets</b>		
Debtors	339 077	192 566
Banks	1 103 503	1 163 197
Accruals	319 137	173 543
<b>Total Current Assets</b>	<b>1 761 717</b>	<b>1 529 306</b>
<b>Current Liabilities</b>		
Creditor Loans & accruals	171 430	196 402
Deferred income	561 367	747 775
<b>Total Current Liabilities</b>	<b>732 797</b>	<b>944 177</b>
<b>Net Current Liabilities</b>	<b>-1 028 920</b>	<b>-585 129</b>
<b>Long-term Liabilities</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Net Assets (liabilities)</b>	<b>1 083 530</b>	<b>686 241</b>
<b>Net Assets (liabilities)</b>		
Accumulated surplus/(deficit)	703 105	455 815
Reserve for social liabilities	380 000	230 000

## INCOME & EXPENDITURE STATEMENTS

As of 31 December	2021	2020
<b>Income</b>		
Members' subscriptions	813 946	711 302
Grants and donations	1 171 782	1 220 765
Programmes & other	1 534 588	1 425 309
<b>Total income</b>	<b>3 520 316</b>	<b>3 357 376</b>
<b>Expenditure</b>		
Office expenses	-529 267	-552 895
HR expenses	-2 593 090	-2 295 729
<b>Total expenditure</b>	<b>-3 122 357</b>	<b>-2 848 624</b>
Income taxes	-668	
<b>Surplus / (deficit) for the year</b>	<b>397 291</b>	<b>508 752</b>
<b>Surplus/(deficit) brought forward</b>	<b>455 815</b>	<b>147 063</b>
<b>Reserve for social liabilities</b>	<b>150 000</b>	<b>200 000</b>
<b>Net surplus/(deficit) carried forward</b>	<b>703 105</b>	<b>455 815</b>

Acknowledgements



The King Baudouin Foundation is a Belgian public benefit foundation that seeks to change society for the better by investing in inspiring projects and individuals. One of its aims is to foster cohesion and build bridges within Europe. With that objective in mind, it established a strategic partnership with the EPC in 2002.

The partnership contributes to the European integration process by setting the stage for informed debates about EU policies with a wide range of stakeholders.

The Foundation’s sustained support allows the EPC to have a long-term perspective whilst maintaining its independence.



The Europe for Citizens programme, funded by the EU budget, awarded the EPC an annual operating grant for several years (2017-21), alongside other similar think tanks and civil society organisations.

As a think tank engaged in European public policy research, the EPC contributed to the aims of the programme through its activities aimed at promoting citizens’ understanding of the EU policymaking process and their

involvement in the European public policy debate, as well as through its work on the future of Europe.

In that context, the EPC focused on the causes and challenges of growing Euroscepticism and hostility of citizens towards the EU, as well as the impact on EU solidarity due to divisions in and among member states, not least as a result of the refugee crisis.

MEMBERSHIP

Our membership is drawn from a broad spectrum of organisations, representing the main stakeholders concerned with EU affairs at the local, regional national and international level.



PLATINUM (5)

Apple  
BT  
Equinor  
Google  
Johnson & Johnson

CORPORATE (49)

Acquis EU Law & Policy  
Amazon Europe Core SARL  
Amgen  
APCO Worldwide  
Aurubis AG  
Bain & Company  
BASF SE  
Boeing International Corporation  
Burson Cohn & Wolfe  
Cambre Associates  
Chevron Corporation  
DELL  
DLA Piper  
Dow  
Eamonn Bates Europe  
EDF – European Affairs  
EPPA  
EUK Consulting  
EUTOP Brussels SPRL  
ExxonMobil  
Facebook  
FIPRA  
FleishmanHillard  
FTI Consulting  
GlaxoSmithKline  
GPlus  
Hyundai Motor Company  
Iberdrola SA  
IFOK GmbH  
Jeronimo Martins  
Kreab  
Merck Sharp & Dohme

Miltton Brussels  
Mitsubishi Corporation  
International (Europe) PLC  
Mitsubishi Electric Europe BV  
Mitsui & Co. Benelux SA/NV  
Naftogaz of Ukraine  
Oracle Corporation  
Phoenix Executive  
Prosus  
Roche  
ROPAC – ROPA Consultancies  
GmbH  
Réseau de Transport d'Électricité  
Siemens AG  
Siemens Energy  
Suez  
Sumitomo Benelux  
Teneo  
UPS

PROFESSIONAL & BUSINESS  
ASSOCIATIONS (80)

Accountancy Europe  
AGORIA  
American Chamber of Commerce  
to the EU  
American Chamber of Commerce  
in Belgium  
Association of Chartered Certified  
Accountants  
Association of German Chambers  
of Commerce and Industry eV  
Association of Swedish Engineering  
Industries  
Bio-based Industries Consortium  
Brussels European Employee  
Relations Group  
Brussels Office of the Swedish  
Trade Unions  
BusinessEurope  
CECIMO  
Cefic  
CEN-CENELEC

CESI  
China Chamber of Commerce to  
the EU  
CONCAWE  
Confederation of British Industry  
Confederation of Danish Industry  
Confederation of European Paper  
Industries  
Confederation of Finnish  
Industries  
Confederation of Netherlands  
Industry and Employers  
Confederation of Norwegian  
Enterprise  
Confederation of Swedish  
Enterprise  
Cosmetics Europe – The Personal  
Care Association  
Danish Agricultural Council  
DIGITALEUROPE  
Économiesuisse  
EU–ASEAN Business Council  
Eurima  
EUROCHAMBRES  
EUROGAS  
EUROMETAUX  
EUROMIL  
EuropaBio  
European Aluminium  
European Association of Long-Term  
Investors  
European Automobile  
Manufacturers Association  
European Bioplastics  
European Copper Institute  
European Federation of  
Pharmaceutical Industries and  
Associations  
European Foundation for  
Management Development  
European Gaming and Betting  
Association  
European Major Exhibition Centres  
Association  
European Organisation for  
Packaging and the Environment

European Round Table of  
Industrialists  
European Telecommunications  
Network Operators' Association  
European Trade Union  
Confederation  
European Society of Intensive  
Care Medicine  
European Union of Private  
Hospitals  
Federation of the German  
Waste, Water and Raw Materials  
Management Industry  
Fertilizers Europe  
Finnish Energy  
Foreign Economic Relations Board  
FuelsEurope  
German Savings Banks and Giro  
Association  
German Steel Federation  
Ibec  
Industrial Minerals Association  
(IMA-Europe)  
Innovation Norway  
International Federation of  
Reproduction Rights Organisations  
Japan Center for International  
Finance  
Japan External Trade Organization  
(JETRO Brussels)  
Korea International Trade  
Association  
MedTech Europe  
Norwegian Shipowners' Association  
Orgalim  
Pack2Go Europe  
Polish Electricity Association  
Technology Industries of Finland  
The Brewers of Europe  
The Danish Association of Lawyers  
and Economists in Belgium  
The International Association  
of Oil & Gas Producers  
Tobacco Europe  
Turkish Industry & Business  
Association

Ukrainian Industry Association  
“Federation of Employers of the Oil  
and Gas Industry”  
UNESDA – Soft Drinks Europe  
WEEE Forum  
World Employment Confederation-  
Europe  
Zentralverband Elektrotechnik- und  
Elektronikindustrie

DIPLOMATIC (61)

Australian Embassy to Belgium and  
Luxembourg, and Mission to the  
EU and NATO  
Brazilian Mission to the EU  
Embassy of Armenia to Belgium,  
and Mission to the EU  
Embassy of Georgia to Belgium  
Embassy of Kuwait to Belgium  
Embassy of the Kingdom of  
Saudi Arabia to Belgium  
Embassy of the Kingdom of the  
Netherlands to Belgium  
Embassy of the People's Republic  
of Bangladesh to Belgium and  
Luxembourg, and Mission to  
the EU  
Embassy of the Philippines to  
Belgium, and Mission to the EU  
Embassy of the Principality of  
Andorra to Belgium  
Embassy of the Republic of  
Azerbaijan to Belgium  
Embassy of the Republic of Cyprus  
to Belgium  
Embassy of the Republic of Korea  
to Belgium, and Mission to the EU  
Embassy of the Republic of Kosovo  
to Belgium  
Embassy of the Republic of  
Singapore to Belgium, The  
Netherlands & Luxembourg, and  
Mission to the EU  
Embassy of the United States of  
America

Embassy of Ukraine to Belgium  
Embassy of Uruguay to Belgium  
and the European Communities  
General Delegation of Quebec  
Hong Kong Economic and Trade  
Office  
Israeli Embassy to Belgium and  
Luxembourg  
Macao Economic and Trade Office  
Mission of Andorra to the EU  
Mission of Bosnia and Herzegovina  
to the EU  
Mission of Canada to the EU  
Mission of Georgia to the EU  
Mission of Israel to the EU and NATO  
Mission of Japan to the EU  
Mission of Montenegro to the EU  
Mission of Norway to the EU  
Mission of Switzerland to the EU  
Mission of the Faroes to the EU  
Mission of the Kingdom of Morocco  
to the European Communities  
Mission of the People's Republic of  
China to the European Communities  
Mission of the Republic of  
Azerbaijan to the EU  
Mission of the Republic of Moldova  
to the EU  
Mission of the Republic of North  
Macedonia to the EU  
Mission of the Republic of Serbia  
to the EU  
Mission of Ukraine to the EU  
New Zealand Embassy to Belgium,  
and Mission to the European Union  
Permanent Delegation of Turkey to  
the EU  
Permanent Representation of  
Austria to the EU  
Permanent Representation of  
Croatia to the EU  
Permanent Representation  
of Denmark to the EU

Permanent Representation of Estonia to the EU  
Permanent Representation of Finland to the EU  
Permanent Representation of France to the EU  
Permanent Representation of Greece to the EU  
Permanent Representation of Hungary to the EU  
Permanent Representation of Ireland to the EU  
Permanent Representation of Lithuania to the EU  
Permanent Representation of Sweden to the EU  
Permanent Representation of Germany to the EU  
Permanent Representation of the Netherlands to the EU  
Permanent Representation of the Republic of Cyprus to the EU  
Royal Norwegian Embassy to Belgium  
Royal Thai Embassy to Belgium and Luxembourg, and Mission to the EU  
Taipei Representative Office in the EU and Belgium  
UK Mission to the EU  
U.S. Mission to the EU

**FOUNDATIONS (23)**

Alliance for Childhood European Network Group  
Bertelsmann Stiftung  
British Council EU Office  
Crisis Management Initiative  
EGMONT – The Royal Institute for International Relations  
European Climate Foundation  
European Cultural Foundation  
European Foundation Centre  
European Foundation for Democracy

Fondazione Cariplo  
Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung  
Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom  
Fundación Fórum Ambiental (Lab Ecoinnova)  
German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP)  
Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung  
King Baudouin Foundation  
Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung  
Open Society European Policy Institute  
Stichting Quantum Delta NL  
Sitra – Finnish Innovation Fund  
Software AG – Stiftung  
Stiftung Mercator  
Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies

**GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS (6)**

Bundesagentur für Arbeit  
CEAD Francisco Suárez  
Kommerskollegium – National Board of Trade  
Korean Institute for Advancement and Technology (KIAT Europe)  
Representative Office of the Austrian National Bank  
Environment Agency of Austria

**INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS (12)**

Council of Europe  
EFTA Secretariat  
EFTA Surveillance Authority  
European Bank for Reconstruction and Development  
European Investment Bank  
International Centre for Migration Policy Development

International Organization for Migration  
NATO Parliamentary Assembly  
Regional Cooperation Council  
UN Deveopment Programme  
The UN Refugee Agency  
World Bank EU Office

**NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS (51)**

Amnesty International  
Asylos  
Belgian Cystic Fibrosis Association  
Brand Owners Association (ESIMET)  
Carbon Market Watch  
Caritas Catholica Vlaanderen  
Caritas Europa  
Center of Corporate Relations Research  
Central Europe Energy Partners  
Centre for Studies on Federalism  
Circle Economy  
Clean Europe Network  
Confrontations Europe  
Danish Refugee Council  
Equality and Human Rights Commission  
EUROCITIES  
Europa Union Frankfurt  
European Academy of Sciences and Arts  
European Association for the Co-ordination of Consumer Representation in Standardisation  
European Association of Service Providers for Persons with Disabilities  
European Confederation of Junior Enterprises  
European Council on Refugees and Exiles

European Federation of National Organisations Working with the Homeless  
European Public Health Association  
European Stability Initiative  
Fair Wear Foundation  
FOSTER EUROPE  
Genio Trust  
Goethe-Institut Brüssel  
Housing Europe  
House of Democracy  
International Catholic Migration Commission Europe  
International Centre for Policy Studies  
International Partnership for Human Rights  
International Rescue Committee  
Internet Society  
Network of European Foundations for Innovative Cooperation  
NRC Europe  
ONE Campaign  
Oxfam International EU Advocacy Office  
Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants  
Red Cross EU Office  
RUSI Europe  
Social Progress Imperative  
Society Against Violent Extremism Belgium  
SOS Children's Villages International  
The German Marshall Fund of the United States  
The Sustainable Digital Infrastructure Alliance eV  
Ukrainian Think Tanks Liaison Office in Brussels  
Ukrainian World Congress  
VoteWatch Europe

**REGIONAL BODIES AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES (34)**

Balearic Islands Government  
Central Denmark EU Office  
Central Sweden European Office  
City of Vienna – Liaison Office  
Conference of Peripheral Maritime Regions of Europe  
Delegation of the Basque Country to the EU  
Delegation of the Government of Catalonia to the EU  
Hanse-Office  
HM Government of Gibraltar – Representation to the EU  
Liaison Agency Flanders-Europe  
Lombardy Region Government – EU Office  
North Sweden European Office  
Office of the Northern Ireland Executive  
Oslo Region European Office  
Province of Limburg  
Region Östergötland  
Region Skåne European Office  
Representation of Bremen to the EU  
Representation Office of Carinthia  
Representation of Lower Saxony to the EU  
Representation of the Free State of Bavaria to the EU  
Representation of the State of Baden-Württemberg to the EU  
Representation of the State of Bremen to the EU  
Representation of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia to the EU  
Scotland Europa  
Scottish Government EU Office  
Stavanger Region European Office  
Steiermark-Büro  
Stockholm Region EU Office

Tampere Region EU Office  
Turkish Cypriot Representation in Brussels  
Welsh Government  
West Finland European Office  
West Norway Office

**RELIGIOUS ORGANISATIONS (6)**

Commission of the Bishops' Conferences of the European Union  
Conference of European Churches  
European Evangelical Alliance  
EU Office of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints  
Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland  
Protestant Church in Germany – Brussels Office

**ACADEMIC (3)**

Coventry University  
National University Odesa Law Academy  
University of Coimbra Institute of Legal Research

**OTHERS (2)**

International Committee of the Red Cross  
KfW

**INDIVIDUAL (8)**



# ANNEXES

## Events in 2021

per programme, chronological

### CONNECTING EUROPE

LAUNCH DISCUSSION PAPER  
**Strengthening European values by investing in EU citizens: A European Agency for Citizenship Education**

POLICY DIALOGUE  
**European cohesion through the pandemic: The state of play one year into COVID-19**

POLICY DIALOGUE  
**Carbon Border Adjustment design: Opportunities for international cooperation**

STUDY TRIP (3 DAYS)  
**Think Tank School**

POLICY DIALOGUE  
**Poland's challenge to EU law: How should the EU respond?**

YOUNG OPINIONS ON THE FUTURE OF EUROPE  
**Shaping Europe's future: The role of youth in the Conference on the Future of Europe**

ROUNDTABLE  
**Strengthening the EU's capacity to act in tech**

### EUROPE IN THE WORLD

POLICY DIALOGUE  
**Re-engaging Iran: Towards a transatlantic approach?**

POLICY BRIEFING  
**Priorities for Azerbaijan in the aftermath of the Karabakh war**

SIXTY-MINUTE BRIEFING  
**EU—US relations: Prospects for the transatlantic partnership**

ROUNDTABLE  
**EU—South Asia: Regionalism, engagement and the next steps**

POLICY DIALOGUE  
**EU—South Asia: Regionalism, engagement and the next steps**

POLICY DIALOGUE  
**Ten years on: Why Tunisia's uprising failed to deliver on its promises & the uncertain way forward**

POLICY DIALOGUE  
**Decoding the Russia—Turkey relationship**

POLICY DIALOGUE  
**Seven years after Maidan: Assessing the struggle between reformers and vested interests in Ukraine**

WORKSHOP  
**Expert Workshop on disguised compliance**

POLICY DIALOGUE  
**“Extreme competition” or cautious cooperation: The case for a responsible transatlantic strategy for China and East Asia**

POLICY BRIEFING  
**Ukraine's domestic and foreign policy priorities**

EPC TALKS GEOPOLITICS  
**EPC Talks Geopolitics with Mohammad Javad Zarif**

POLICY DIALOGUE  
**The emerging EU—Japan security and economic nexus in the Indo-Pacific**

POLICY DIALOGUE  
**Crimea: 7 years after Russian annexation**

SIXTY-MINUTE BRIEFING  
**EU—China relations after the Two Sessions and under the 14<sup>th</sup> Five-Year Plan**

POLICY DIALOGUE  
**Georgia's political crisis & the effectiveness of the EU's response: What next?**

POLICY DIALOGUE  
**Long COVID-19 pandemic: The Portuguese Presidency and Europe's economic recovery**

POLICY DIALOGUE  
**US policy towards the Middle East: Is there a role for the EU?**

EPC TALKS GEOPOLITICS  
**EPC Talks Geopolitics with Alexander Stubb**

POLICY DIALOGUE  
**Destination Indo-Pacific: What role for the EU?**

EPC TALKS GEOPOLITICS  
**EPC Talks Geopolitics with Bogdan Aurescu**

POLICY DIALOGUE  
**Transatlantic and Russian responses to the crisis in Belarus: What next?**

EXPERT ROUNDTABLE

EU—China relations: Think or tank

POLICY DIALOGUE

Russia’s military escalation around Ukraine: What impact on wider Black Sea security?

EPC TALKS GEOPOLITICS

EPC Talks Geopolitics with Margaret MacMillan

POLICY DIALOGUE WITH CONNECTING EUROPE

Foresight for resilience: Building the EU’s capacity to act

POLICY DIALOGUE

Ukraine’s reintegration strategy for its eastern regions

POLICY DIALOGUE

NATO—Georgia partnership: Engagement without marriage 13 years on

POLICY DIALOGUE

Spain 2050: Mainstreaming foresight at national and European level

EPC TALKS GEOPOLITICS

EPC Talks Geopolitics with Radmila Šekerinska

POLICY DIALOGUE

EU policy towards Belarus: Lessons learned and the way forward

POLICY DIALOGUE

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*Alberto-Horst Neidhardt, Olivia Sundberg Diez, Matthias Lücke, Martin Ruhs and Saime Özçürümez (28 May)*

**“Una casa para todos”: Observations from the first European Citizens’ Panel of the Conference on the Future of Europe**  
*Corina Stratulat and Johannes Greubel (24 September)*

**EU regions with legislative powers: Exploring the appetite, capacity and direction for EU policy influencing and delivery**  
*Alison Hunter (10 December)*



## NOTES

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