

Programme

AN EU FIT FOR PURPOSE?

**CE
PS** **IDEAS** LAB

25 - 26 February 2016 / The Egg, Brussels

Rue Bara/Barastraat 175



11h30 - 13h10

Registration and Networking

13h10 - 13h15



Welcome and Introduction: Edmond Alphandéry, *Chairman of the CEPS Board of Directors*

13h15 - 14h30

1st Plenary: United we stand?

Speaker: Bert Koenders, *Minister of Foreign Affairs, The Netherlands*

Labs

Digital Economy

Regulation & Innovation

Global Trade

Economy

Social Europe

Finance

Energy

Climate Change

Rights & Security

Institutions

Europe in the World

Session 1
14h30 - 15h45

Bunfight at the OK Corral: Should we regulate internet platforms?



Unleashing innovation and entrepreneurship in Europe



China: Between reform and global trade leadership?



QE one year on: A long-term policy for the ECB?



Is corruption the hidden obstacle to social Europe?



A union of capital markets?



Who will make money on electricity in the future?



COP 21: What does it mean for the EU?



What policy priorities for EU migration challenges?



The meaning of democracy in the EU: 29 shades of grey?



Global powers' perceptions of EU Foreign Policy



15h45 - 16h15



Chill-out session

Session 2
16h15 - 17h30

Growing Europe's digital unicorns



Red tape throughout the EU: Where does the burden come from?



TTIP: Where do we stand?



How to instil ownership for fiscal prudence throughout the EU?



The sharing economy: Do we need a European approach?



A common deposit insurance scheme: Why and how?



How much gas does Europe really need?



The state of the EU ETS



Beyond the Dublin system: A new common asylum scheme?



'Ever closer union': What's in a phrase?



Towards a common defence? When and how?



17h30-21h00



Cocktail & Walking Dinner

17h45-19h00

Understanding the Trans-Pacific Partnership

Speaker: Jeffrey J. Schott, *Senior Fellow, Peterson Institute for International Economics*



7h45 - 8h45

Breakfast in cooperation with Microsoft:
Access to Electronic Data in EU-USA Relations: Rule of Law and Privacy
 Discussion Leaders: Sophie In't Veld, *Member of the European Parliament*; Paul Nemitz, *Director, Fundamental rights and Union citizenship, DG for JUSTICE, European Commission*

Breakfast in cooperation with ING:
Digital Banking - Power to the people
 Discussion Leaders: Mark Cliffe, *Chief Economist, ING*; Andrea Renda, *Director, Senior Research Fellow, CEPS*

Breakfast: How governments create and destroy value by (mis)managing their balance sheet
 Discussion Leader:
 Paul B. Kazarian, *CEO, Japanica Partners*

8h30 - 9h00

Registration

9h00 - 9h15

Introduction and Video of Day 1

Labs

- Digital Economy
- Regulation & Innovation
- Global Trade
- Economy
- Social Europe
- Finance
- Energy
- Climate Change
- Rights & Security
- Institutions
- Europe in the World

Session 3
9h15 - 10h30

Reinventing the telecoms sector for the digital economy	The new single market strategy: Will it work this time round?	TPP: How should the EU respond to the new pact?	Can the EU invest its way to recovery?	Which inequality poses the greatest threat to Europe?	European banks: Finally going cross-border?	Who cares about the Energy Union?	Can carbon leakage risk be addressed without international cooperation?	Rule of Law Threats in the EU: The Challenges of a New Rule of Law Mechanism	Reforming the EU: Managing centripetal and centrifugal forces	Differentiation in the ENP: How far can we go?
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10h30 - 11h00

Chill-out session

Prime Talks
11h00 - 12h30

Europe's fragmented cybersecurity landscape	The future of EMU governance	China: Dragging down the world economy?	Re-vitalising Europe through migration	EU budget policies and resources fit for Europe
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12h30 - 13h30

2nd Plenary: The future of the European Union
 Speakers: Federica Mogherini, *High Representative for Foreign Policy (tbc)*

13h30 - 15h00

Food Lab

14h30 - 16h00

Why Europe (and not China) is the Second Superpower of the 21st Century
 Andrew Moravcsik, *Director, European Union Program, Princeton University*

Digital Economy

CEPS Anchor: Colin Blackman

Bunfight at the OK Corral: Should we regulate internet platforms?

Discussion Leaders: **Justus Haucap**, Director, Dusseldorf Institute for Competition Economics (DICE); **Benoît Thieulin**, Chairman, Conseil National du Numérique; **Jörgen Gren**, Member of Cabinet of Vice-President Ansip

Moderator: **James Waterworth**, Vice-President, CCIA Europe

A better understanding of the social and economic role of platforms, market trends and business models is seen as a key element in the Commission's Digital Single Market (DSM) strategy. But is specific regulation of online platforms necessary or could it hinder rather than enable Europe's digital single market?

Growing Europe's digital unicorns – Finance, skills and regulation

Discussion Leaders: **Agne Vezbergiene**, Director in Strategy - Monitor Deloitte, Deloitte Consulting; **Alex Depledge**, Chairwoman, Coalition for a Digital Economy; **Prabhat Agarwal**, DG CNECT, European Commission

Moderator: **John Midgley**, Senior Manager, Global Public Policy, Intuit

Europe hopes that today's startups can become tomorrow's digital unicorns – companies whose valuation has soared to one billion euros or higher – and drive the digital economy. While Europe's startup scene is increasingly vibrant, can it create the environment – finance, skills and regulation – to help companies scale to the next level?

Reinventing the telecoms sector for the digital economy

Discussion Leaders: **Martin Cave**, Inquiry Chair, Competition and Markets Authority, United Kingdom; **Peter Eberl**, Deputy Head of Unit, Regulatory Coordination and Business, DG CNECT, European Commission; **Nicholas Blades**, Director for Spectrum Policy and Regulatory Economics, Telefonica S.A.

Moderator: **Colin Blackman**, Director of the Digital Forum, CEPS

A comprehensive overhaul of Europe's telecoms rules is increasingly urgent in order to create a framework fit for the future. Given the failure to reach meaningful agreement in the Telecoms Single Market package, is a completely different approach needed to reach consensus among stakeholders?



Regulation & Innovation

In partnership with: Industrial Innovation for Competitiveness

Unleashing innovation and entrepreneurship in Europe

Discussion Leaders: ***Sofia Ranchordás**, Resident Fellow, Yale Law School and Assistant Professor, Tilburg University; **Nicholas Ashford**, Professor of Technology and Policy, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT); **Knut Blind**, Professor for Innovation and Standardization, Rotterdam School of Management, Erasmus University, Professor of Innovation Economics, Technical University of Berlin TU Berlin, Innovation and Technology Transfer, Fraunhofer FOKUS; **John Higgins**, Director General, DIGITALEUROPE; **Timo Mäkelä**, Senior advisor, Sitra*

Moderator: ***Jose Manuel Leceta**, Co-Founder and Chairman, Insight Foresight Institute*

This session explores the ambiguous, multifaceted and ever-changing relationship between regulation, regulatory governance and innovation at the global and EU level. Participants will discuss the action that policy-makers can take to create a better innovation ecosystem, including fostering entrepreneurship, reducing administrative burdens, stimulating investment, improving education and skills, creating better conditions for access to credit, protecting intellectual property and establishing a level playing field through forward-looking competition policy.

Red tape throughout the EU: Where does the burden come from?

Discussion Leaders: ***Johannes Ludewig**, Chairman, NKR; **Wim van de Donk**, King's Commissioner, the Netherlands; **Elizabeth Golberg**, Director, Smart Regulation & Work Programme, General Secretariat, European Commission; **Daniel Trnka**, Senior Policy Analyst, Regulatory Reform, OECD*

Moderator: ***Andrea Renda**, Senior Research Fellow, CEPS*

Economists agree that the quality of legal rules and institutions is positively correlated with economic performance, innovation and jobs. And there is also consensus on the fact that bad regulation and red tape can harm economic activity. In Europe, national policy-makers often complain that most unnecessary red tape comes from Brussels. Is this true? What does the evidence tell us? And will the Juncker Commission, which features a First Vice President in charge of better regulation, represent an improvement in this respect?

The new single market strategy: Will it work this time round?

Discussion Leader: ***Fabrizio Coricelli**, Professor of Economics, Paris School of Economics; **Malcolm Harbour**, Former Chairman, IMCO Committee, European Parliament*

Moderator: ***Jacques Pelkmans**, Senior Research Fellow, CEPS*

The EU has a tradition of devising new single market strategies ever since 1983. Recent in-depth studies (both on the economic potential and on the 'single market deficits') have convincingly shown that far more has to be done. With the EP and Commission strategies on the table and against the backdrop of detailed studies, this session explores three questions: Is the EU ambitious enough in exploiting its most important common and shared 'asset'? Will the three main EU institutions jointly go for 'what is feasible'? Which sectors offer the most promise: capital markets, services, digital or energy?

Global Trade

CEPS Anchor: Jacques Pelkmans

China: Between reform and global trade leadership?

Discussion Leaders: **He Dongni**, Vice President, China Institute for Reform and Development (CIRD); **Kensuke Tanaka**, Head of the Asia Desk, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD); **Marten van den Berg**, Deputy-Director General for Foreign Economic Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands

Moderator: **Jacques Pelkmans**, Senior Research Fellow, CEPS

There is a wide gap between the well-formulated intentions in the Chinese official reform programme and their practical implementation. Many countries face this problem, but China is special given its role in the global economy, particularly in the areas of trade and investment. Can China become a genuine market economy? Can domestic reform stimulate higher value-added trade and FDI? Or, rather, can additional law-based external trade and investment commitments, both bilateral and pluri-lateral, stimulate deeper domestic reforms?

TTIP: Where do we stand now?

Discussion Leaders: **Bernard Hoekman**, Professor, Globalisation Programme, European University Institute (EUI); **Pascal Lamy**, President, Notre Europe

Moderator: **Jacques Pelkmans**, Senior Research Fellow, CEPS

TTIP negotiations have been expected to 'accelerate' for some time. But political obstacles remain as the public 'debate' focuses far too much on blanket assertions and prejudices than on reality. In order to be relevant TTIP must swiftly go beyond tariff removal to deal with regulatory barriers in a few key sectors. Investor protection might need to be improved beyond the approach taken with CETA. Will politicians resist going for a 'TTIP light' or an 'early harvest' compromise.

TPP: How should the EU respond to the new pact?

Discussion Leaders: **Vangelis Vitalis**, Ambassador, Permanent Representative of New Zealand to the World Trade Organisation; **Jeffrey Schott**, Senior Fellow, Peterson Institute

Moderators: **Iana Dreyer**, Founder and Editor, Borderlex

TPP, the Trans-Pacific Partnership of 12 APEC countries that generate 40% of the world's GDP, matters for Europe. The EU might stand to lose out on trade in Asia, but TPP might also help to modernise global trade rules. Would the trans-Pacific deal help or hinder the transatlantic deal? And how will all this affect the EU's trade and investment relations with China?



Economy

In partnership with: LUISS School of European Political Economy

QE one year on: A long-term policy for the ECB?

Discussion Leaders: ***Erik Jones**, Professor of European Studies & International Political Economy, School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University; **Lorenzo Bini Smaghi**, former Member of the Governing Council, European Central Bank (ECB); **Volker Wieland**, Professor of Monetary Economics, Goethe University*

Moderator: ***Niels Thygesen**, Professor Emeritus of International Economics, University of Copenhagen*

In March 2015, the ECB became one of the last major central banks in the world to embark on a quantitative easing programme. But one year later, having bought hundreds of billions of euros in bonds, one sees little improvement. What have been the effects of QE 'euro-style' on the real economy and on financial markets? Has the ECB taken undue risks and crossed the boundary into the realm of fiscal policy? Is an exit in sight or should the bond-buying continue?

How to instil ownership for fiscal prudence throughout the EU?

Discussion Leaders: ***Anders Borg**, former Minister of Finance, Sweden; **Thomas Westphal**, Director General European Policy, Ministry of Finance, Germany; **Vivien Schmidt**, Jean Monnet Professor of European Integration, Boston University*

Moderator: ***Iain Begg**, Research Fellow, European Institute, London School of Economics*

Under the Fiscal Compact, most member states (and all euro area countries) have established national fiscal councils. These independent bodies are meant to ensure that national budgetary plans are credible and comply with fiscal rules. But their influence, capacity and degree of independence vary across countries. At the same time the Commission has chosen to become more 'political'. Is there thus a need for an independent, authoritative institution (like the CBO in the US) besides the Commission to provide analysis and opinions on (national) budgets and their compliance with the fiscal rules?

Can the EU invest its way to recovery?

Discussion Leaders: ***Focco Vijnlaar**, Director for Foreign Financial Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands; **Iliyana Tsanova**, Deputy Managing Director, EU Strategic Investment Fund*

Moderator: ***Cinzia Alcidi**, Head of the Economic Policy Unit, CEPS*

A key element of the European Commission's growth strategy – the promise to foster an additional investment of more than €300 billion (but with only €16 billion in seed money – has progressed well. Although the legislative basis of the new Fund for Strategic Investments now exists, there is no guarantee of success. One year later what has been the Fund's impact? Will it manage to direct resources where they are most needed and to mobilise private funding? Why are private savings, so abundant in Europe, not enough? Is it a problem of a lack of investment opportunities or an aversion to risk-taking on the part of the private sector?

Social Europe

CEPS Anchor: Miroslav Beblavý

Is corruption the hidden obstacle to social Europe?

Discussion Leaders: *Ivan Krastev*, Chairman, Center for Liberal Strategies, Bulgaria; *Carlo Cottarelli*, Director, Fiscal Affairs Department, International Monetary Fund (IMF); *Carl Dolan*, Director, Brussels Office, Transparency International

Moderator: *Ilaria Maselli*, Research Fellow, CEPS

Economic reforms imposed during the crisis have not been equally effective across all EU member states. This difference between countries' achievements could result from gaps in the rule of law and control of corruption in certain member states. This discrepancy can have a strong impact on the willingness of Europeans to share risks and promote solidarity across the continent. Thus, the question is whether corruption is the ultimate obstacle to a social union?

The sharing economy: Do we need a European approach?

Discussion Leaders: *Roland Keppler*, CEO, Car2go; *Selma Mahfouz*, Deputy General Commissioner, France Stratégie, Office of the Prime Minister, France; *Ursula Huws*, Professor, University of Hertfordshire

Moderator: *Karolien Lenaerts*, Researcher, CEPS

For many years, technology has been a powerful driver of change in the world of labour. In this session, we explore the labour market implications of a recent but rapidly developing phenomenon, fuelled by technological change: the sharing economy. Innovations such as Uber and Airbnb, often considered as 'disruptive', have provoked global protests. The sharing economy, however, also offers new opportunities. We therefore invite experts and practitioners in the field to offer their views on this phenomenon. Given the global outreach of the sharing economy, do we need a European approach?

Which inequality poses the greatest threat to Europe?

Discussion Leaders: *Anton Hemerijck*, Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences, Free University of Amsterdam (VUA); *Hilmar Schneider*, Director, IZA; *László Andor*, former Member of the European Commission, Senior Fellow, Mercator

Moderator: *Mehtap Akgüç*, Research Fellow, CEPS

Inequality has been increasing in Europe for more than three decades, but it is only the recent global financial and economic crisis that has forced policy-makers to move the issue higher on their agendas. Nevertheless, it appears to be very difficult to take redistributive measures because the phenomenon is not fully understood. Inequalities have, in fact, multiple facets: between and within member states, social and economic, geographical, etc. Which inequality poses the greatest threat to Europe? What policy measures need to be taken to tackle them?



Finance

CEPS Anchor: TBA

A union of capital markets?

Discussion Leaders: *Debora Revoltella*, Director, European Investment Bank (EIB); *Ernst-Ludwig von Thadden*, Professor of Economics and Finance, University of Mannheim

Moderator: *Diego Valiante*, Head of the Financial Markets Unit, CEPS

The European Commission's action plan on capital markets offers a useful framework for numerous actions, but its questionable execution plan raises doubts about its effectiveness and ability to promote a single market for capital in Europe. How can sustainable financial integration contribute to growth and employment in Europe? How important is the single market and the consolidation of the current 28 capital markets into fewer pan-European market infrastructures?

A common deposit insurance: Why and how?

Discussion Leaders: *Leven Holle*, Head, Financial Markets Department, Federal Ministry of Finance, Germany; *Patrick Pearson*, Head of unit, DG FISMA, European Commission; *José Luis Malo de Molina*, Bank of Spain Counsellor, Permanent Representation of Spain to the European Union

Moderator: *Daniel Gros*, Director, CEPS

Deposit insurance protects mostly retail customers and could thus be viewed as consumer protection, which can be left in national hands. In a systemic crisis, however, the funds available to national deposit guarantee schemes (DGSs) will not be sufficient and the sovereign will then also be under stress (as could be observed in Portugal, Ireland and Greece). One option to consider is a system in which a euro-area common fund provides re-insurance to national DGSs in case of large, systemic shocks. But the design of the scheme must take into account linkages between banks and sovereign financing, including Emergency Liquidity Assistance and banks' exposure to their own government. Can a feasible deal be struck on all these issues?

European banks: Finally going cross-border?

Discussion Leaders: *Luc Coene*, Representative to the Supervisory Board of the Single Supervisory Mechanism, European Central Bank (ECB); *Koos Timmermans*, Vice-Chairman, ING Bank (tbc); *Natacha Valla*, Deputy Director and head of the scientific programme on International Macroeconomics and Finance, Centre d'Etudes Prospectives et d'Informations Internationales (CEPII)

Moderator: *Willem Pieter De Groen*, Research Fellow, CEPS

The European banking sector is predominantly still domestic, with only a limited number of cross-border activities. But the status quo might be about to change dramatically as a result of improvements in bank performance, reduced barriers via digital solutions and progressively harmonised legislation. Are banks indeed likely to conduct more cross-border activities? What form would this internationalisation take? And what should legislators and supervisors do to contribute to a more European banking sector?

Energy

CEPS Anchor: Christian Egenhofer

Who will make money on electricity in the future?

Discussion Leaders: **Anil Srivastava**, CEO, Leclanché; **Francois Borghese**, Marketing Manager, Prosumer and Smart Grid, Schneider Electric; **Stefan Ulreich**, Political Affairs and Corporate Communications, E.ON

Moderator: **Fabio Genoese**, Research Fellow, CEPS

In 2015, we saw a growing number of corporates announcing the intention to enter the battery market and deliver low-cost storage. Most are specifically targeting residential customers. Whether all promises will be kept in the time frame envisaged, is of course subject to debate. Yet, it is clear that the combination of low-cost solar and low-cost storage would be a game changer, most likely challenging the current business model of electric utilities in Europe. Moreover, Europe's high electricity prices and a no-subsidies-for-renewables future could be additional drivers to make energy storage an economically viable investment. But who would be making money on electricity in such a scenario?

How much gas does Europe really need?

Discussion Leaders: **Jonathan Gaventa**, Director, European Energy Policy, E3G; **Coby van der Linde**, Director, Clingendael International Energy Programme (CIEP); **Wouter Koopman**, Senior Advisor Gas Strategy, Upstream Europe, Shell

Moderator: **Arno Behrens**, Head of Energy and Research Fellow, CEPS

EU demand for natural gas peaked in 2010 and has experienced a gradual decline ever since. Initially thought to reflect a drop in industrial use due to the economic crisis, this development is now attributed to structural changes in Europe's energy consumption. The increased share of renewables, energy-efficiency measures, low coal prices and energy security concerns have all taken their toll on what the IEA World Energy Outlook 2011 termed the "Golden Age of Gas". Official EU estimations still project a demand increase, despite a fall in natural gas demand in 2014 to its lowest level since 1995. Yet, the majority of EU energy discussions and infrastructural projects revolve around natural gas. With gas demand falling across all sectors, will Europe need to re-evaluate its gas strategy? Is Europe in danger of shortsightedly stranding assets through its master plan for upstream infrastructure by bringing in global LNG and piped gas from the Caspian and the Middle East? Would low demand combined with more natural gas from diverse sources lead to the promised decline in energy prices in Europe and hence improve our global economic competitiveness? How much gas does Europe really need?

Who cares about the energy union?

Discussion Leaders: **Valeria Termini**, Commissioner, Italian Regulatory Authority for Electricity Gas and Water; **Ulrich Lissek**, Communications Director, Nord Stream; **Adam Janczak**, Director, EU Department, MoFA, Poland (tbc)

Moderator: **Christian Egenhofer**, Senior Research Fellow, CEPS and Director, CEPS Energy Climate House

When the term "Energy Union" was first coined by Donald Tusk, then Prime Minister of Poland, many thought it would become just another fashionable idea, which will soon be replaced by other urgent priorities. More than a year later Tusk is the President of the European Council, the European Commission has a Vice President for the Energy Union, an Action Plan and a regular State of the Energy Union report. Nevertheless, the verdict is still out on the ability of the new Union to help in converging Member States national energy policies, achieving the Internal Energy Market and generally, more unity in the EU. For many the Nordstream 2 pipeline project is a test case. Will Nordstream 2 undermine the Energy Union for good or is a viable project, which enhances EU security of supply?

Climate Change

CEPS Anchor: TBA

COP 21: What does it mean for the EU?

Discussion Leaders: **Olivier Imbault**, *Vice President European Energy & Industry Affairs, Air Liquide*; **Teresa Ribera**, *Director, Institute for Sustainable Development and International Relations (IDDRI)*; **Jos Delbeke**, *Director-General, DG CLIMA, European Commission*

Moderator: **Andrei Marcu**, *Senior Fellow and Head of the Carbon Market Forum, CEPS*

This session will review the outcome of the COP21 in Paris and will try to answer a few questions:

- 1) Is the Paris agreement seen as a political success for a multilateral agreement and does it address the climate change issue globally?
- 2) How does the Paris agreement impact the internal EU discussions on the 2030 Framework for climate and energy policies?
- 3) Does the Paris agreement provide an option for the EU to participate in international carbon markets?
- 4) Does the Paris agreement provide reassurance on the issue of carbon leakage?

The State of the EU Emissions Trading System (ETS)

Discussion Leaders: **Simone Mori**, *Executive Vice President of Regulation, ENEL*; **Ian Duncan**, *Member of the European Parliament*; **Marie-Anne Besancon**, *Vice President European Affairs, Total*

Moderator: **Andrei Marcu**, *Senior Fellow and Head of the Carbon Market Forum, CEPS*

The EU ETS, which is still the world's largest carbon market has been operational for more than a decade. In this decade, during which time, the EU's cap and trade system has seen many reforms, especially in the rules on allocation. Most recently, the EU has addressed the issue of supply rigidity with the 'backloading' and 'market stability reserve' measures. Currently, the EU is discussing reforms for the period after 2030, in particular how to deal with the ever-decreasing volumes of free allowances available. In this session we take stock of the EU ETS by reviewing how the system is working with regard to its environmental aims, how the competitiveness of EU industry is affected, the interaction with national policies and the governance of the system.

Can carbon leakage risk be addressed effectively without international cooperation?

Discussion Leaders: **David Runnalls**, *Chair, International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development (ICTSD)*; **Jai-Chul Choi**, *Deputy Minister and Ambassador for Climate Change, Republic of Korea*; **Tomasz Chruszczow**, *Climate Envoy, Poland*

Moderator: **Andrei Marcu**, *Senior Fellow and Head of the Carbon Market Forum, CEPS*

This session will focus on competitiveness and carbon leakage. Currently, the EU and most other regions that have implemented carbon pricing through carbon markets use free allocation to mitigate the risk of carbon leakage. This 'national' approach is likely to work in the short to medium term. But can it be useful in the long run (2050) when the EU aims for GHG reductions of 80-95%? Will it be necessary to consider international cooperative agreements in the future to address this matter?

Rights and Security

In partnership with Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES)

CEPS Anchor: TBA

What policy priorities for EU migration challenges?

Discussion Leaders: ***Stefano Manservigi**, Head of Cabinet, HR/VP Mogherini; **Ian Borg**, Secretary of State for Europe, Malta; **Tineke Strik**, PACE Migration Committee Rapporteur, Council of Europe; **Peter Sutherland**, United Nations Special Representative of the Secretary-General for International Migration (tbc)*

Moderator: ***Sergio Carrera**, Senior Research Fellow and Head of the Justice and Home Affairs Programme, CEPS*

This Lab will critically examine the European Commission's migration agenda and the challenges facing its implementation by EU member states. What should be the Union's specific policy priorities with respect to the situations in the Mediterranean and border regions such as Calais?

Beyond the Dublin System: A new common European Asylum Scheme?

Discussion Leaders: ***José Carreira**, Executive Director, European Asylum Support Office (EASO); **Cathryn Costello**, Associate Professor of International Human Rights and Refugee Law, University of Oxford; **Eiko Thielemann**, Associate Professor in European Politics and Policy, London School of Economics*

Moderator: ***Andrew Byrne**, Correspondent for Hungary, Romania and West Balkans, Financial Times (tbc)*

This Lab will discuss concrete policy options for moving beyond the current EU Dublin System and their political and legal feasibility. Particular attention will be paid to alternatives to the Dublin System and financial imbalances, as well as ways to effectively reinforce first reception capacities in front-line member states.

Rule of Law Threats in the EU: The Challenges of a New Rule of Law Mechanism

Discussion Leaders: ***Dimitry Kochenov**, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University; Professor of EU Constitutional Law, Groningen; **Michael Roth**, Minister of State for Europe, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Germany; **Paul Craig**, Substitute Member of the Venice Commission, Council of Europe; **Sophie In't Veld**, Member of the European Parliament; **Péter Niedermüller**, Member of the European Parliament (tbc)*

Moderator: ***Uwe Optenhögel**, Director, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung EU Office*

Democratic rule of law and constitutional principles have come under strain in several EU member states. This Lab will discuss the European Commission's proposal for an EU Framework on Rule of Law and the Council's upcoming annual intergovernmental dialogue. Are these effective ways to address the EU's Copenhagen dilemma? Should the EU adopt a new rule of law mechanism, and if so what political and legal challenges would it face?



Institutions

In partnership with: Centro Studi sul Federalismo

The meaning of democracy in the EU: 29 shades of grey?

Discussion Leaders: **Luuk van Middelaar**, Professor of EU law and European studies, Universities of Leiden and Louvain, former speech writer to Council President Herman Van Rompuy; **György Schöpflin**, Member of the European Parliament; **Elly Schlein**, Member of the European Parliament

Moderator: **Christopher Lord**, Professor, ARENA

Across Europe, the political spectrum is radicalizing. Far right and left-wing groups are growing in numbers and the pro-anti EU cleavage is becoming deeper. This phenomenon appears in different forms: in some countries extreme right- or left-wing ideologies are represented by political parties, while in other countries radicalism is predominantly expressed via networks and militant groups. But all thrive on the rising discontent of voters with mainstream politics and try to exploit citizens' fears. Since the Schuman Declaration the European citizens have been broadly in favor of integration, and this consensus is now declining when most needed to complete the EMU. At the same time the EU is attacked for eroding national democracies. This session will address these and other controversies by gauging the state of democracy in the EU and its member states and how to strengthen them.

'Ever closer union': What's in a phrase?

Discussion Leaders: **Adam Lazowski**, Professor of Law, Westminster University; **Allie Renison**, Head of Trade and EU Policy, Institute of Directors; **Thijs van der Plas**, Deputy Director-General for European cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands

Moderator: **Nicolai Von Ondarza**, Deputy Head of Research Division, German Institute for International and Security Affairs

The concept of 'ever closer union', which features in the preamble of the Treaty on European Union, has become a bone of contention between those who want to repatriate powers to the national level, those who seek more differentiated forms of integration, and those who favour a centripetal force of EU integration. To some, opting out of the preambular phrase would safeguard them from an activist Court of Justice dictating integrationist principles and encroaching upon national sovereignty. To others, derogations from the driving principle of European integration would negate the powers of the Court to keep the EU's community of law together. How should we understand the phrase 'ever closer union' and which value should we attribute to it? How does it relate to differentiated integration? Is it justifiable, that a judicial body forms and promotes its own concept of European integration, especially if it overrides certain national conceptions and interests? In this session, we invite experts to debate about the nature of the European integration process and the role of the Court in it.

Reforming the EU: Managing centripetal and centrifugal forces

In cooperation with the Bertelsmann Foundation

Discussion Leaders: **Agata Gostyńska-Jakubowska**, Research Fellow, Centre for European Reform; **George Papandreou**, former Prime Minister of Greece; **Joaquín Almunia**, member of the CEPS Board of Directors, former Member of the European Commission

Moderator: **Aart de Geus**, President and CEO, Bertelsmann Foundation

The EU is confronted with centrifugal forces such as potential Brexit and with centripetal ones, as the goal of reaching a genuine EMU through banking, fiscal, economic and political union. This is taking place in an extremely challenging geopolitical and economic environment which pushes unitary answers. Given these contradictory movements, this session evaluates how the demands of those which call for 'less Europe' can be reconciled with those who strive for more integration. Is a multi-speed EU the answer? Can differentiated integration help the EU to balance these forces? If so: How? What options are there to incorporate compromise in the form of Treaty change?

Europe in the World

CEPS Anchor: Steven Blockmans, Head of EU Foreign Policy Unit

Global powers' perceptions of EU Foreign Policy

Discussion Leaders: *Elizabeth Sidiropoulos*, Chief Executive, South African Institute of International Affairs; *Samir Saran*, Vice-President, Observer Research Foundation; *Cui Hongjian*, China Institute of International Studies, China; *Andrew Moravcsik*, Professor of Politics and Director, European Union Program, Princeton University

Moderator: *Steven Blockmans*, Head of EU Foreign Policy Unit, CEPS

The European Union – understood here as the international organisation that encompasses but at the same time surpasses 28 member states – is not the same kind of actor as other global powers. In the 1980s, its predecessor was famously characterized by a Belgian Minister of State as ‘an economic giant, political mouse and military worm’. Despite huge developments since then to rebalance the persona of the EU on the international scene, notably in the field of the Common Foreign and Security Policy, the conventional view is that the EU cannot do and in fact recoils from geopolitics. Is this overstated? Do EU policies not fit the mould of classical geopolitics, but do they nevertheless reflect a distinctive way of thinking about strategic interests? How do some of the EU’s so-called ‘strategic partners’ perceive the EU and its Common Foreign and Security Policy? What do they expect from the EU in terms of strategic vision?

Towards a common defence? When and how?

Discussion Leaders: *Javier Solana*, former NATO Secretary General and EU High Representative for CFSP; *Jamie Shea*, Deputy Assistant Secretary General for Emerging Security Challenges, NATO; *Claude-France Arnould*, PSC Ambassador of France to the EU (tbc)

Moderator: *Giovanni Faleg*, Associate Research Fellow, CEPS

In the midst of the worst migration crisis the EU has ever faced, continued threats to peace and stability in its outer periphery and further uncoordinated cuts to defence spending in several member states: is the future of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) at stake? The EU Treaty demands and permits a great deal more in terms of common security and defence activities. A CEPS Task Force chaired by Javier Solana has claimed that what is needed is the transformation of the CSDP into a real “European Defence Union” (EDU). Is this the way forward? If so, when and how?

Differentiation in the ENP: How far can we go?

Discussion Leaders: *Natalie Sabanadze*, Ambassador of Georgia to the EU; *Gianluca Grippa*, Head of ENP Division, European External Action Services (EEAS); *Ons Ben Abdelkarim*, Secretary General, AlBawsala

Moderator: *Hrant Kostanyan*, Researcher at CEPS

One of the buzzwords of the European Neighbourhood Policy, as reviewed in 2015, is increased ‘differentiation’ in the EU’s relations with individual ENP countries. The ENP has developed and applied tools for closer political association, economic integration and more financial and technical assistance for partners aspiring towards this goal, including far-reaching agreements such as the Association Agreements and the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Areas (AAs/DCFTAs). Are the instruments proposed by the reviewed ENP the right objective for all or should even more tailor-made alternatives be developed, to reflect differing interests and ambitions of some partners? Would the EU and its partners benefit from a narrower focus and greater prioritisation? Or do we risk atomising the ENP to such an extent that a common policy no longer makes sense?



Prime Talks

Europe's fragmented cybersecurity landscape

Speakers: *Andrea Glorioso*, Counsellor, EU Delegation to the US; *John Frank*, Vice President EU Government Affairs, Microsoft

Cybersecurity is seen as a key component of the Digital Single Market strategy because the digital economy depends on trust and security. It is also high on the agenda because of growing concerns about cybercrime and national security as well as fears of increasing surveillance. Europe's cybersecurity landscape is therefore confused, not least because of a lack of clarity about the meaning of the term, and also fragmented, because of the lack of cooperation between member states and between the public and private sectors. What then should be Europe's priorities for cybersecurity and how can cybersecurity be better coordinated?

Moderator: *Colin Blackman*, Director of the CEPS Digital Forum, CEPS

The future of EMU governance

Speakers: *Sylvie Goulard*, Member of the European Parliament; *Marek Belka*, President, National Bank of Poland; *Olli Rehn*, Minister of Economic Affairs, Finland

Is there more to the governance of the euro area than simply the enforcement of fiscal rules? At the present time, even these, which were formally reinforced in response to pressures from the crisis, seem to be widely ignored. While there seems to be little appetite for coordination in general, the Greek case has shown that for countries in need, the current EMU governance system might not be compatible with fundamental democratic principles and notions of sovereignty. Does the euro area need a 'finance minister' capable of formulating a common policy? And how could this function be created and operate in practice? Is there a political opening for further steps now that the acute phase of the crisis has ended and risk premia have disappeared? What concrete steps can be realistically imagined?

Moderator: *Cinzia Alcidi*, Head of Economic Policy Unit, and LUISS Research Fellow, CEPS

China: Dragging down the world economy?

Speakers: *George Magnus*, former Chief Economist, UBS; *Linda Yueh*, Director, China Growth Centre, Oxford University

For more than a decade China has been the main growth engine of the world economy. But recent market turbulences combined with unbalanced fundamentals and political risks make some think that now China might have become a risk factor. What are the implications of a slowing China for the world, and in particular the European economy? Will Europe lose more from lower exports to China than it gains from lower commodity prices? What could the Chinese authorities do to achieve a gradual transition to a path of slower, but more balanced growth? How should European policy makers react to a slowdown in China and the Emerging Market Economies world?

Moderator: *Daniel Gros*, Director, CEPS

Prime Talks

Migration: Transforming a challenge into an opportunity

Speakers:

Helle Thorning-Schmidt, former Prime Minister of Denmark; **László Andor**, former Member of the European Commission, Senior Fellow, Mercator

Moderator: Mikkel Barslund, Research Fellow, CEPS

The refugee crisis is testing the EU and its member states at several levels. Among member states, the main issue is their relative capacity and willingness to cope with the new arrivals, while at the EU level the degree of burden-sharing and the role of the EU institutions in enforcing this are the key issues. Notwithstanding the moral and legal imperative to help refugees arriving in the EU, does the current influx present an opportunity to rejuvenate the EU's population and support economic growth? Or will it be viewed as a burden and become the object of political haggling in Brussels for years to come?

EU budget policies and resources fit for Europe

Speakers:

Mario Monti, former Prime Minister of Italy and Chair of the High-Level Group on Own Resources; **Kristalina Georgieva**, Vice-President, European Commission

Moderator: Jorge Núñez Ferrer, Associate Research Fellow, Economy and Finance Energy and Climate Change

In 2003, the landmark Sapir report presented a very clear and direct verdict against the suitability of the EU budget, calling it "a historical relic. Expenditures, revenues and procedures are all inconsistent with the present and future state of EU integration." Today, after a considerable number of reforms, the EU budget seems to continue to fall short of expectations. The resources and expenditures are being scrutinised to present proposals for the future in the mid-term review. Among the questions to address in this Lab are: Which resource mechanisms and policies could realistically make the budget fit for Europe? And how can we secure an agreement to achieve those reforms?



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