

## The European Union in a Time of Crisis: Better Together?

An Annual Conference of the Prague European Summit  
6 – 8 June 2016  
Lobkowitz Palace, Prague Castle, Jiřská 3, Prague 1

### Monday, 6 June

13:30 – 14:00 Registration

#### 14:00 – 16:00 Opening Plenary Session

Words of welcome:

**Vladimír Bartovic**, Director, EUROPEUM Institute for European Policy

**Radko Hokovský**, Executive Director, European Values Think-Tank

**Petr Kratochvíl**, Director, Institute of International Relations Prague

#### Key-Note Addresses: Why Is It Better to Be Together?

**Lubomír Zaorálek**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic

**Kristalina Georgieva**, Vice-President for Budget and Human Resources, European Commission

Discussants:

**Péter Balázs**, Professor, Central European University, former EU Commissioner and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary

**Wolfgang Wessels**, Professor and Jean-Monnet-Chair at the University of Cologne

Moderator: **Max Hofmann**, European Correspondent, Brussels Bureau Chief, Deutsche Welle

16:00 – 16:30 Coffee break

#### 16:30 – 18:00 Breakout Sessions: Challenges for Europe

##### Breakout Session A: The Future of the Schengen Cooperation

*"Is Schengen dead?" may well represent one of the most important questions of 2016. The unraveling of the refugee crisis, which highlighted the unpreparedness of our external border protection system and the lack of workable emergency solutions for our internal borders, forces European leaders to consider new options about Schengen cooperation, especially as fences are erected at some member states' borders. Since Schengen underpins what are Europe's main strengths, the free circulation of goods and people, there is a clear need to find a workable future in order to preserve the fundamentals of what creates prosperity, but also of what holds Europe together. Will Europe accept reverting back to the old system once the numerous exceptions have reached their expiration? Will Europe create a system based on short-term considerations due to the ongoing refugee crisis, or take its time to build a system that offers workable contingencies? What are the economic repercussions of any new plans for border protection?*

Opening speaker: **Christian Bluth**, Project Manager, Bertelsmann Stiftung

Discussant 1: **Kea-Sophie Stieber**, Foundation's Head of the European Union desk, Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung

Discussant 2: **Vessela Tcherneva**, Senior Director for Programmes and Head of the European Council on Foreign Relations, Sofia Office

Moderator: **Beata Jaczewska**, Executive Director, International Visegrad Fund

#### Breakout Session B: **Fragmentation vs. Enhanced Cooperation**

*Multi-speed Europe, where respective Member States of the EU are integrating at a different pace has been a commonplace since the Maastricht Treaty. With debates about Brexit, Grexit and persisting ambiguity about the future of the Eurozone as well as the Schengen Area talks about fragmentation of the European Union are more intense than ever before. On the other hand proposal for further integration in specific policy fields and initiatives for an enhanced cooperation are also coming up. Some are saying that an "ever closer union" is de facto dead, yet others are still promoting the original federalist ideal. Is fragmentation a negative phenomenon per se for the future of the EU? Can we find a narrative which would allow continuation of differentiated integration, yet kept the EU together? Or has the Rubicon been already crossed concerning disintegration of the Union?*

Opening speaker: **Ana Palacio**, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain

Discussant 1: **Agata Gostyńska-Jakubowska**, Research Fellow at the Centre for European Reform

Discussant 2: **Steven Blockmans**, Senior Research Fellow and Head of EU Foreign Policy at the Centre for European Policy Studies

Moderator: **Eric Maurice**, Editor-in-Chief, Euobserver

#### Breakout Session C: **Euroscepticism vs. Trust Building**

*The European Union is in trouble: the so-called permissive consensus has long run out, and at the same time the EU elites as well as EU member states in intergovernmental formats continue to make decisions that affect the lives of its citizens without a clear possibility for the people to affect these decisions. While Euroscepticism is on rise, it is still a very fuzzy concept, encompassing different types of opposition to the EU. Euroscepticism can be roughly divided into three categories depending on whether it targets EU policies, EU politics or the EU as a polity. The first type is policy-oriented Euroscepticism, which disagrees with EU policies (such as the fiscal austerity or the TTIP). The second type of Euroscepticism can be labelled as anti-establishment Euroscepticism, as it contests mainstream politics and takes aim at the European political class. The last type of scepticism – anti-systemic Euroscepticism – rallies around phrases such as "national sovereignty" and "federalist superstate" while advocating radical solutions such as a state's exit from the EU or the dismantling of the European project as a whole. How serious a threat do different forms of Euroscepticism pose to the EU? How should we accommodate the legitimate policy-oriented opposition, and how should we cope with the anti-systemic Euroscepticism?*

Opening speaker: **Christian Lequesne**, Professor, Sciences Po, Paris, and Chief Editor of the European Review of International Studies

Discussant 1: **Thanos Dokos**, Director-General of the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy

Discussant 2: **Hans Kundnani**, a Senior Transatlantic Fellow at the German Marshall Fund of the United States

Moderator: **Vladimir Bilčík**, Research Fellow at the Slovak Foreign Policy Association

**18:00 – 20:00** **Welcome Networking Reception**

**18:00 – 20:00** Strategic Dinner (*invitation only*)

*PES Strategic Dinner is an exclusive format for a strictly off-the-record discussion by special invitation only. Around twenty participants consist of the PES Programme Board members and distinguished guests. This year we will focus on the strategies and tactics being devised in the key capitals regarding the rise of Euroscepticism in the light of the migration crisis, future of the Schengen Area and Brexit.*

## **20:00 – 21:30 Night Owl Sessions**

### **Night Owl Session A: The U.S. Presidential Elections 2016 and Their Impact on Transatlantic Relations**

*Every four years, Europe asks itself what role it will play in the upcoming U.S. presidential elections, and the answer rarely fails to disappoint: there is either too little Europe (what about us?) or too much of it (especially coming from Donald Trump). After eight years of an Obama presidency that would have largely overlooked Europe - for good reasons - had the crisis in Ukraine not unraveled, the prospect of transatlantic relations is shaken up by Donald Trump's run and his questioning of the fundamentals of our relationship. His criticism of NATO freeloading, which woke up resentment that was simmering at the surface in Congress, and avowed disdain for free trade agreements represent strategic differences that may be hard to mend. Therefore, will a Europe that is turning increasingly populist, much like the U.S., favor a Hillary Clinton victory? Would she represent a more predictable road for Europe? Or does Europe need a wake-up call about its own ability to act on economic and strategic matters? And what can Europe learn from the populist wave that has taken over the U.S. during its primary campaigns?*

**Michal Baranowski**, Director, German Marshall Fund of the United States, Warsaw

**Dalibor Roháč**, Research Fellow, American Enterprise Institute

**Jeffrey Gedmin**, Nonresident Senior Fellow, Future Europe Initiative, Atlantic Council

Moderator: **Vassilis Ntousas**, International Relations Policy Advisor at the Foundation for European Progressive Studies, Brussels

### **Night Owl Session B: The Political Contagion of Brexit**

*A referendum on whether Britain should leave or remain in the European Union is being held on Thursday, 23 June. No matter how the in-or-out vote ends up, the whole Brexit debate has made secession from the European Union a realistic option. We can already hear voices calling for a similar referendum in other Member States, old and new alike. Just few days to the ballot, this session will explore how the Brexit debate influenced discourses on EU membership in various Member States and what development we can expect in the case of the leave or remain victory. What strategies are radical Eurosceptic parties likely to adopt and what should be the answer of pro-European mainstream leaders?*

**Christophe Hillion**, Senior Researcher, Swedish Institute for European Studies and the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs

**Vivien Pertusot**, Head of Brussels for the French Institute of International Relations

**Vladimir Bilčík**, Research Fellow at the Slovak Foreign Policy Association

Moderator: **Emma Hogan**, Europe correspondent, The Economist

### **Night Owl Session C: Russia: A Stumbling Block of the EU's Future Unity?**

*The EU's relations to Russia have long been the single most visible dividing issue in EU external affairs. The Russian-Ukrainian war has changed this in most unexpected ways: First, the EU member states have been capable of uniting in regard to this issue and imposing several waves of sanctions on Russia. Second, the once rather vague perception of the threat coming from Russia has been transformed into a very concrete military, political and even normative challenge to the established European order. If the EU wants to demonstrate its continuing inner cohesion as well as its renewed external vigour, there could hardly be a better litmus test for this than the relations to Russia. Is a long-term cold peace with Russia what awaits the EU in the years to come? Has the neighbourhood become a cordon sanitaire, a neutralized zone of occasional conflict between the EU and Russia? Are there ways through which the EU could contribute to a peaceful solution of the Ukrainian crisis? What is to be expected from the post-2018 Russia with its old/new president?*

**Alexander Duleba**, Director at Slovak Foreign Policy Association

**Mart Laanemäe**, Undersecretary for Europe and Transatlantic Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Estonia

**Nicu Popescu**, Senior Analyst at the EUISS

Moderator: **Brian Whitmore**, Senior Russia Analyst at Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty

## Tuesday, 7 June

### 8:30 – 10:00 Discussion Breakfasts at the German and Spanish Embassy

#### **Bridging the gap – how to avoid (or overcome) new dividing lines between EU member states**

Venue: Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany (Vlašská 19, Prague 1)

**Wolfgang Wessels**, Professor and Jean-Monnet-Chair at the University of Cologne

**Daniel Kaiser**, Journalist, Echo Magazine

#### **Does the EU Project Have a Future?**

Venue: Spanish residence (Pevnostní 6, Prague, 6)

**Ana Palacio**, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain

**Michael Žantovský**, Director of the Vaclav Havel Library, president of the Aspen Institute Prague

Moderator: **Martin Ehl**, Chief International Editor, Hospodářské noviny (Economic daily)

10:00 – 10:30 Registration

### 10:30 – 12:30 **Business Panel: A More Competitive Europe: How to Enhance the Internal Market?**

*The internal market, however imperfect and incomplete today, is essential for enhancing the competitiveness of the European based industries, services and other activities. What are the problems the businesses in the EU are still facing in this field? What measures have to be taken by the EU and national authorities to complete the internal single market, assure a correct and competitiveness friendly regulatory framework in order that goods, services, people and capital can finally move more freely within the EU to the benefit of EU citizens and businesses. Is there a role for the V4 countries and their representatives should/could play in this field?*

**Tomáš Prouza**, State Secretary for European Affairs and Digital Agenda Coordinator, Office of the Government of the Czech Republic

**Kristian Hedberg**, Deputy Head of Cabinet of the EU Commissioner for Internal Market, Industry, Entrepreneurship and SMEs

**Taťána Le Moigne**, Country Director, Google

**Peter Stračár**, General Director for Central and Eastern Europe, General Electric

Moderator: **Ivan Hodač**, Vice-President, Aspen Institute Prague

12:30 – 14:00 Buffet Lunch

**14:00 – 15:30 PES Workshops: Why Better Together?**

**Workshop A: Identity: European Togetherness, Values and Nationalism**

*A shared political identity – a “national we” (Roger Scruton) or “a sense of moral like-mindedness” (Frank Knight) – is commonly seen as a necessary feature of a democratically governed society. Yet, as shown by the experience of multiethnic and multilingual democracies, and by the emergence of a political nationhood in the United States, such identity is fluid. Not even Europe’s political nations are immutable structures and have been shaped by myriad historical accidents, wars, and political reforms. Does Europe need a common political identity? What are the benefits from joint political decision-making, as opposed to ad hoc cooperation between sovereign nation states? Does a shared political identity exist in Europe? If so, what are its elements? A chicken & egg question: What comes first, joint political institutions (such as the EU) or a shared political identity? The Eurozone and refugee crisis seem to have fostered nationalism and xenophobic populism across Europe. How well has the existing form of European integration served us in building a shared political identity on the European continent? How have individual political leaders? What needs to change in order for the common European decision-making not lead to populist backlashes such as the ones that now threatening to undo the European project altogether?*

Moderator: **Wojciech Przybylski**, Editor-in-chief Eurozine, chairman Res Publica

Rapporteur: **Dalibor Roháč**, Research Fellow, American Enterprise Institute

**Workshop B: Security: Can Anyone Face the Current Threats Alone? And Can We Face Them Together?**

*Has the EU's response to combatting terrorism been sufficient in the wake of the Paris and Brussels bombings? Should the EU create its own Central Intelligence Agency? What is the difference between the EU's mutual assistance clause of Article 42.7 TEU and NATO's Article 5? Germany is planning towards the creation of a 'European Defence Union'. Is this feasible and, if so, what would be its contours and mandate? Would the V4 countries buy into the plans? Can the EU provide a sense of security to its citizens?*

Moderator: **Elisabeth Braw**, Correspondent, Christian Science Monitor, Nonresident Senior Fellow, Atlantic Council

Rapporteur: **Steven Blockmans**, Head of EU Foreign Policy, Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels

**Workshop C: Prosperity: How to Translate Economic Growth into Social Cohesion?**

*The freedom of movement and the right to equal treatment within the European Union - what does the British “Emergency Break” and the upcoming Mobility Package mean about it? The interpretations of rights - is the Basic Income idea an emancipatory idea that all citizens would benefit from? The translation of social justice into practice - how to argue and act for triangle of: progressive taxation system, increase of the taxes on the top 1% and fighting tax avoidance? The promise of a prosperous future for all - how does the recent migration and refugee crisis impact the European dream? How to make Youth Guarantee work on the European, national and local levels? The horizon of social standards - how can the EU fight against growing precariousness within the labour market, while pursuing strategies of change towards Digital, Care and Green Economy?*

Moderator: **Richard Cockett**, Business Editor of The Economist

Rapporteur: **Ernst Stetter**, Secretary-General of the Foundation for European Progressive Studies, Brussels

15:30 – 16:00 Coffee Break

**16:00 – 17:30 PES Oxford Debates**

**PES Oxford Debate A: Greece Should Stay in the Eurozone**

*While the potential Greek exit from the Eurozone no longer seems to be an acute possibility, we believe it is useful to revive the arguments in the related debate. The debate about a possible Grexit from the euro touched upon the economic, but also the normative and legal foundations of the economic and monetary union. In addition to the Greek case, we would like to discuss a more general set of questions. From the point of view of individual member states, under which conditions would a state's exit from the Eurozone be justifiable? From the point of view of the Eurozone as a whole, what is more threatening, a default within the Eurozone or a(n) (forced) exit from the Eurozone?*

- Speaker FOR 1: **Dimitri Sotiropoulos**, Associate Professor at University of Athens, Senior Research Fellow at ELIAMEP
- Speaker FOR 2: **Sony Kapoor**, Managing Director at Re-Define
- Speaker AGAINST 1: **Frances Coppola**, freelance journalist
- Speaker AGAINST 2: **Tim Worstall**, Fellow at the Adam Smith Institute, freelance journalist
- Moderator: **Simon Nixon**, Chief European Commentator, The Wall Street Journal

#### **PES Oxford Debate B: EU Member States Should Transfer Their Sovereignty to the European Army**

*With European security having taken a front seat in discussions due to the pressures of the refugee crisis, the terrorist attacks in Paris and Brussels, and a resurgent Russia, the idea of a European Army has resurfaced and created debates among experts and officials. This proposal, put forward by German Minister of Defense von der Leyen and supported by the President of the European Commission, has been welcomed coldly in European capitals. Historical reluctance to let go of an important component of national sovereignty is at play, while also thinking that such a proposal may constitute a way for Germany to escape taking on a greater national role in European security affairs. There are also concerns that the role of NATO, which remains primordial for countries in Central and Eastern Europe, may be diminished in the process, and the nature of security guarantees changed. However, the necessity of more efficient spending, and of a more united European approach – underpinned by strong regional grouping that already exist – constitute strong enough arguments to consider. If one of the stumbling blocks to the construction of European defense, the United Kingdom, is removed, may we witness a new dynamism to this debate?*

- Speaker FOR 1: **Anton Shekhovtsov**, Visiting Fellow at the Institute for Human Sciences, Austria
- Speaker FOR 2: **Ronja Kempin**, Senior Fellow, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, SWP (tbc)
- Speaker AGAINST 1: **Vivien Pertusot**, Head of Brussels for the French Institute of International Relations (tbc)
- Speaker AGAINST 2: **Martin Michelot**, Head of Research, EUROPEUM Institute for European Policy, Prague
- Moderator: **Henry Foy**, Central Europe Correspondent at the Financial Times

#### **PES Oxford Debate C: TTIP is Contrary to EU Interests**

*This panel will discuss whether the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership, known as the TTIP agreement between the EU and the US is in the best interest of the EU. Among the benefits of such trade deal is the abolishment of the remaining tariff barriers in the bilateral trade, more importantly, curtail of the non-tariff barriers (unnecessary procedures, certifications requirements, access to the public procurement etc.), thus contributing to the economy growth and jobs creation in the EU, finally forming the world biggest trading block capable to set and further promote common standards in the global economic system. The shortcomings of such trade and investment agreement can be the risk of food quality requirements degradation in the EU resulting from a compromise where American rather loose and European stricter regulations need to converge. Furthermore, the contentious mechanism of the private dispute settlement between investors and state (ISDS) is, according to its opponents, to limit the sovereign power of the state to enforce its regulations by allowing the investors to sue the state easily for harming their interests and eventually hamper the capacity of the state to freely manage its own economy.*

- Speaker FOR 1: **Gabriel Siles-Brügge**, Lecturer in Politics at University of Manchester

Speaker FOR 2: **Michael Efler**, Board member, Mehr Demokratie e.V. Germany (tbc)

Speaker AGAINST 1: **Nicholas Hodac**, Government and Regulatory Affairs Executive, IBM

Speaker AGAINST 2: **Marcin Korolec**, Former Minister of Environment of Poland

Moderator: **Ivan Hodač**, Vice-President, Aspen Institute Prague

**18:00 – 20:30 Reception & Annual “Vision for Europe” Award**

Venue: Czernin Palace, Loretánské náměstí 5, Prague 1

*Vision for Europe is the annually bestowed award for distinguished personalities who have, in the course of their lives, devoted substantial energies to the establishment and development of European ideals such as strengthening peaceful cooperation among European nations, developing a fair institutional arrangement of European integration, making European integration more accessible to European publics, and overcoming prejudices and misconceptions related to the integration process. The awarding ceremony is part of the annual Prague European Summit, and it is accompanied by the European Vision speech, which is delivered by the awardee.*

**18:30** Official Opening: **Lubomír Zaorálek**, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic

**Wednesday, 8 June**

10:00 – 10:30 Registration

**10:30 – 11:00 PES Chat: Crises in the Neighbourhood**

**Ana Palacio**, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain

**Štefan Füle**, Former European Commissioner for Enlargement and European Neighbourhood Policy

**11:00 – 12:30 Final Plenary Session: Better Together?**

Rapporteur A: **Dalibor Roháč**, Research Fellow, American Enterprise Institute

Rapporteur B: **Steven Blockmans**, Head of EU Foreign Policy, Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels

Rapporteur C: **Ernst Stetter**, Secretary-General of the Foundation for European Progressive Studies, Brussels

Moderator: **Richard Cockett**, Business Editor of The Economist

12:30 – 14:00 Buffet Lunch

**14:00 – 15:00 The European Union in a Time of Crisis: Better Together?**

**Bohuslav Sobotka**, Prime Minister of the Czech Republic

**Beata Szydło**, Prime Minister of Poland

**Viktor Orbán**, Prime Minister of Hungary

**Robert Fico**, Prime Minister of Slovakia

Moderator: **Matthew Kaminski**, Executive Editor of POLITICO's European edition

**Closing Remarks:** Organizers

15:00 – 16:00

Glass of Wine

WORKING DRAFT

## City Talks

Venue: European House, Jungmannova 24, Prague 1

6 June *To be added*

7 June 18:30 – 20:00: **The Future of Europe: Fragmentation?**

**Agata Gostyńska-Jakubowska**, Research Fellow at the Centre for European Reform

**Vivien Pertusot**, Head of Brussels for the French Institute of International Relations

**Christophe Hillion**, Senior Researcher, Swedish Institute for European Studies and the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs

Moderator: **Jan Kovář**, Chief Analyst of the European Values Think-tank, Research Fellow, Institute of International Relations Prague