

CABINET Mme REDING						
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Frau  
Viviane Reding  
Vizepräsidentin der Europäischen  
Kommission  
Europäische Kommission  
Rue de la Loi 200  
1049 Brussels  
BELGIEN

BertelsmannStiftung

Dr. Gunter Thielen  
Chairman of the Executive Board

Gütersloh, im Juli 2012

Sehr geehrte Frau Kommissarin, liebe Viviane,

am 5. August endet mit dem 70. Geburtstag satzungsgemäß meine Zeit als Vorstandsvorsitzender der Bertelsmann Stiftung. Deshalb übergebe ich mein Amt nach fünf spannenden und vielseitigen Jahren im August an meinen Vorstandskollegen Aart De Geus. Ich bin sicher, er wird die Bertelsmann Stiftung mit großem Engagement und einem guten Gespür für die zukünftigen, auch internationalen Herausforderungen zu neuen Taten und zu neuen Erfolgen führen. Dazu wünsche ich ihm das Allerbeste.

Gern möchte ich die Gelegenheit nutzen, Ihnen für Ihre wohlwollende Unterstützung zu danken. 32 Jahre meines Berufslebens habe ich bei Bertelsmann verbracht: im Konzern und in der Stiftung. In dieser Zeit durfte ich viele tolle Persönlichkeiten und kluge, hoch kompetente Fachleute kennen lernen. Ein Netzwerk aus vielen Weggefährten wird mir für immer aus dieser Zeit erhalten bleiben.

Die Bertelsmann Stiftung arbeitet an einer wichtigen Aufgabe für die Gesellschaft, für die Fortschreibung der Demokratie und für mehr Teilhabe der Bürger an den Geschicken des Landes. Sie engagiert sich mit zahlreichen Projekten und Programmen für das Gemeinwohl, national und international. Ihr Gründer Reinhard Mohn hat vor 35 Jahren eine wegweisende Entscheidung getroffen, als er beschloss, wesentliche Teile des Firmenvermögens einem gemeinnützigen Zweck zu widmen.

Diese Idee gemeinnütziger Beiträge für die Gesellschaft ist aktueller denn je. Deshalb freue ich mich sehr auf meine neue Aufgabe als Vorsitzender der Walter Blüchert Stiftung hier in Gütersloh, die in Not geratene Menschen unterstützen wird.

Ich danke Ihnen herzlich für die engagierte Unterstützung und Begleitung unserer Arbeit in der Bertelsmann Stiftung während der vergangenen Jahre und würde mich sehr freuen, wenn wir auch künftig auf Sie zählen können.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen

*Dein Aart De Geus*

BertelsmannStiftung · Carl-Bertelsmann-Str. 256 · P.O. Box 103 · 33311 Gütersloh · Germany  
Phone: +49 5241 81-0 · Fax: +49 5241 81-81999 · E-Mail: [info@bertelsmann-stiftung.org](mailto:info@bertelsmann-stiftung.org) · [www.bertelsmann-stiftung.org](http://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.org)

The Bertelsmann Stiftung, based in Gütersloh, Germany, is an independent, private operating foundation in accordance with Section 1 of North Rhine-Westphalia's Foundation Law. The district government of Detmold serves as its supervisory authority.

Founder: Reinhard Mohn

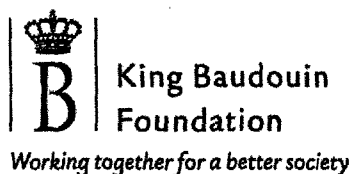
Chairman of the Board of Trustees: Prof. Dr. Werner J. Bauer

Executive Board: Dr. Gunter Thielen (Chairman) · Liz Mohn (Vice-Chair) · Aart De Geus · Dr. Jörg Dräger · Dr. Brigitte Mohn



Ref. Ares(2013)5659 - 04/01/2013

BertelsmannStiftung



**Our Conference on the future development of the European Union**  
Brussels, Palais d'Egmont, November 28, 2012

Berlin, Brussels and Warsaw, 17 December 2012

Dear Mrs. Reding, *Dear Viviane,*

We would like to warmly thank you for participating and actively contributing to our "Conference on the future development of the European Union" we organized on November 28<sup>th</sup> at the Palais d'Egmont in Brussels.

We have perceived our exchange of views including on the "Future of Europe Group" paper presented by eleven foreign ministers in September as extraordinarily fruitful and inspiring. We hope that our dialogue has also been useful for you.

The debate about the reform of the Economic and Monetary Union which the Euro area members and the EU in general have to tackle within the next few years will be our main priority. In addition, we must also address the wider question of the EU's capacity to act in the globalized world.

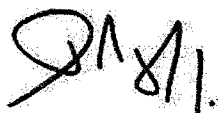
Our discussion with key stakeholders and opinion leaders in European policies and politics has confirmed the necessity to intensify efforts to involve civil society in the debate on the kind of future we want for Europe.

Therefore, we consider our November conference as a kick-off for a much wider debate on Europe's future which has to take place within the EU member states.

Please find enclosed a selected snapshot from our event.

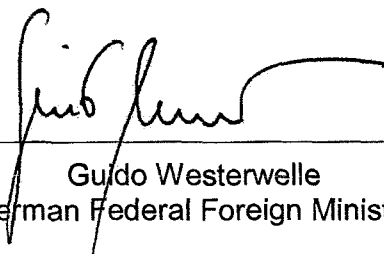
We are looking very much forward to continuing and deepening our exchange.

Sincerely yours,



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Didier Reynders  
Belgian Deputy Prime Minister and  
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade  
and European Affairs



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Guido Westerwelle  
German Federal Foreign Minister



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Aart De Geus  
Chairman & CEO, Bertelsmann Stiftung



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Étienne Davignon  
President, Egmont Institute



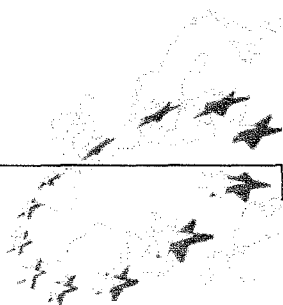
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Paweł Świeboda  
President, demosEUROPA



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Luc Tayart de Borms  
Managing Director, King Baudouin  
Foundation

**SommerAkademie Europa**

Frau  
Viviane Reding  
Vizepräsidentin der Europäischen Kommission  
verantwortlich für Justiz, Grundrechte  
und Bürgerrechte  
20, Rue de la Loi  
1049 Brüssel  
Belgien

**Aart De Geus**  
Vorsitzender des Vorstandes

Gütersloh, 7. Januar 2013

Sehr geehrte Frau Reding,

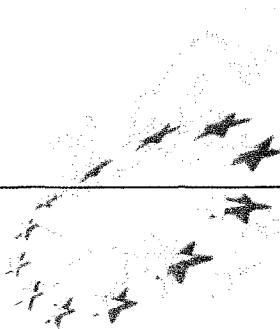
vom 17. bis 21. Juni 2013 wird auf Schloss Steinhöfel (Brandenburg) zum nunmehr 15. Mal die Sommerakademie Europa stattfinden.

Die Sommerakademie versteht sich als europapolitisches Dialogforum für junge Führungskräfte in Politik, Wirtschaft und Medien. Ziel dieser gemeinsamen Initiative von Bertelsmann Stiftung und Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung ist es, Strategien und Optionen zur Lösung zentraler europapolitischer Problemstellungen zu erarbeiten.

Mit dieser Initiative haben wir in den zurückliegenden Jahren weit über 400 Nachwuchsführungskräfte in den strategischen Dialog über die Gestaltung Europas eingebunden. Eine intensive Netzwerkarbeit gibt den Teilnehmern die Möglichkeit, in einen bleibenden Austausch über die Kernfragen europäischer Politik zu treten.

Herr Dr. Bernd Klein, Mitglied des Vorstandes der Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung, und ich bitten Sie um Nominierung einer geeigneten Nachwuchsführungskraft aus Ihrem Arbeitsumfeld für die Teilnahme an der diesjährigen Sommerakademie. Geeignete Teilnehmer haben in ihrer täglichen Arbeit bereits intensive Berührung mit der Vielfalt europäischer Themen, verfügen über Führungserfahrung und stehen vor dem beruflichen Aufstieg.

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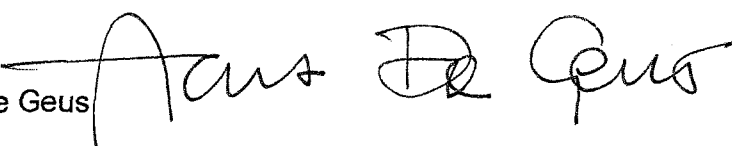


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In der Anlage übersenden wir Ihnen das vorläufige Programm sowie weiterführende Informationen für die Bewerberin/den Bewerber. Wir freuen uns über Ihre Benennung bis zum **15. Februar 2013**. Sollten Sie Fragen haben, wenden Sie sich bitte jederzeit an uns.

Es wäre schön, wenn wir dank Ihrer Unterstützung auch 2013 einem Kreis herausragender Nachwuchsführungskräfte die Möglichkeit zur Teilnahme bieten könnten. Für Ihre Bemühungen danken wir Ihnen im Voraus.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen und guten Wünschen für das Neue Jahr

Aart De Geus 

Anlagen



**SommerAkademie Europa**

## **Vorläufiges Programm**

# **SommerAkademie Europa 2013**

Stand: 7. Januar 2013

**Schloss Steinhöfel  
17.-21. Juni 2013**

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**Schloss Steinhöfel  
Schlossweg 4  
15518 Steinhöfel**

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Konferenzsprachen: Deutsch und Englisch, keine Simultanübersetzung

## Montag, 17. Juni 2013

bis	
12:15 Uhr	<i>Anreise der Teilnehmer</i>
12:30 Uhr	<b>Begrüßung und Einführung</b>  Dr. Bernd Klein <i>Mitglied des Vorstands, Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung, Essen</i>  Joachim Fritz-Vannahme <i>Director, Programm Europas Zukunft, Bertelsmann Stiftung, Gütersloh</i>  Gabriele Schöler <i>Senior Project Manager, Programm Europas Zukunft, Bertelsmann Stiftung, Gütersloh</i>
13:15 Uhr	<i>Mittagsimbiss</i>
14:00 Uhr	<b>Open Space / Walking Gallery</b>  Kennenlernen der Teilnehmer
16:00 Uhr	<i>Kaffeepause</i>
16:30 Uhr	<b>I. Europa in der Binnensicht</b>  <b>Strategien für Europas Zukunft</b>  Speakers' corner mit anschließenden Workshops  Torsten Arnswald <i>Leiter des Referats Wirtschaft, Finanzen, Arbeit und soziale Sicherung, Bundespräsidialamt, Berlin</i>  Almut Möller <i>Programmleiterin, Alfred von Oppenheim-Zentrum für Europäische Zukunftsfragen, Berlin</i>  Gisela Stuart, MP <i>Mitglied des Unterhauses; ehemaliges Mitglied des Präsidiums des Konvents zur Zukunft der Europäischen Union; London</i>  Dr. Petr Drulák <i>Direktor, Institute of International Relations, Prag</i>
18:30 Uhr	Ende der Sitzung
19:00 Uhr	<i>Abendessen</i>
20:00 Uhr	<b>Solidarität in der Europäischen Union</b>  Michael Sommer <i>Bundesvorsitzender, Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, Berlin</i>  Jürgen Thumann <i>Präsident, BusinessEurope, Brüssel</i>

## **Dienstag, 18. Juni 2013**

09:00 Uhr	<b>Morgenkonferenz</b>
	<b>II. Europas Wirtschaft</b>
09:30 Uhr	<b>Planspiel</b>
	Simon Raiser, Annegret Schneider, Björn Warkalla <i>planpolitik, Berlin</i>
13:00 Uhr	<i>Mittagessen</i>
14:00 Uhr	<b>Diskussion zum Planspiel</b>
15:30 Uhr	<i>Kaffeepause</i>
16:00 Uhr	<b>Europa – Innovationsmaschine oder lahme Ente?</b>
	Roland Doll <i>Vice President European Affairs, Deutsche Telekom AG, Bonn</i>
	Dr. Peter Dröll <i>Head of Unit, Policy Development for Industrial Innovation, GD Unternehmen und Industrie, Europäische Kommission, Brüssel</i>
	Prof. Mariana Mazzucato <i>Professor in Economics/ RM Phillips Chair in Science and Technology Policy, University of Sussex</i>
18:00 Uhr	Ende der Sitzung
18:30 Uhr	<i>Führung durch den Schlosspark (optional; ca. 1 Stunde)</i>
19:30 Uhr	<i>Abendessen</i>



## Mittwoch, 19. Juni 2013

08:00 Uhr	Fahrt nach Frankfurt (Oder) / Słubice
	<b>III. Europas Identitäten – Identität Europas?</b>
09:00 Uhr Collegium Polonicum	<b>Integration im Grenzgebiet</b>  Frank-Paul Weber <i>Ressortleiter Ausland, La Tribune, Paris</i>  Sandra Jonikane <i>Head of Foreign Relations, Rezekne City Council, Rezekne</i>  Cornelius Ochmann <i>Senior Project Manager, Programm Europas Zukunft, Bertelsmann Stiftung, Gütersloh</i>
11:00 Uhr	<b>How to deal with the East?</b>  Aleksander Kwaśniewski <i>Präsident, Stiftung Amicus Europae; ehem. Präsident der Republik Polen, Warschau</i>
12:30 Uhr	<i>Mittagsimbiss</i>
13:30 Uhr	<b>Grenzgänge – Identität in Grenzregionen</b>  in Kooperation mit dem Institut für angewandte Geschichte der Europa-Universität Viadrina, Frankfurt (Oder)
17:30 Uhr	<i>Kaffeepause</i>
18:00 Uhr	<b>moderiertes Plenum</b>
19:00 Uhr	Ende der Sitzung
19:30 Uhr	<i>Oderfahrt mit anschließendem Abendessen</i>

## **Donnerstag, 20. Juni 2013**

09:30 Uhr	<b>Morgenkonferenz</b>
	<b>IV. Europas ordnende Hand</b>
10:00 Uhr	<b>Politik, Wirtschaft, Soziales</b>
	<i>Speed Geek mit Experten der Bertelsmann Stiftung</i>
	Christian-Peter Hanelt <i>Senior Expert, Programm Europas Zukunft</i>
	Christal Morehouse <i>Senior Project Manager, Programm Europas Zukunft</i>
	Henning vom Stein <i>Senior Project Manager, Programm Europas Zukunft</i>
	Stefani Weiss <i>Director, Programm Europas Zukunft, Büro Brüssel</i>
11:00 Uhr	<i>Kaffeepause</i>
11:30 Uhr	<b>Workshop Session</b>
12:30 Uhr	<i>Mittagessen</i>
14:00 Uhr	<b>Europa – Konflikt und Hoffnung</b>
	György Dalos <i>Publizist und Schriftsteller, Berlin</i>
	Aris Fioretos <i>Schriftsteller und Übersetzer, z. Zt. Berlin</i>
	Pascale Hugues <i>Journalistin und Schriftstellerin, Berlin</i>
	Jurko Prochasko <i>Autor und Übersetzer, z. Zt. Berlin</i>
16:00 Uhr	<i>Kaffeepause</i>
16:30 Uhr	<b>Reflexionsrunde</b>
17:30 Uhr	<b>Blitzlicht</b>
18:00 Uhr	Ende der Sitzung
19:30 Uhr	<i>Abendessen/Grillabend</i>

## Freitag, 21. Juni 2013

09:30 Uhr	<b>Morgenkonferenz</b>
	<b>V. Europe in the eyes of the (faraway) beholder</b>
10:00 Uhr in englischer Sprache	<p>Dr. Elena Lazarou <i>Assistant Professor and Researcher, Centro de Relações Internacionais da Fundação Getulio Vargas, Rio de Janeiro</i></p> <p>Dr. Hao Gui <i>Chef vom Dienst, Asien Programme, Multimediadirektion Regionen, Deutsche Welle, Bonn</i></p> <p>Leila Nachawati <i>Assistant Professor of Communication, Carlos III University; spanisch-syrische Kommunikationsstrategin und Menschenrechtsaktivistin, Madrid</i></p> <p>Prof. Dr. Andrei Zagorski <i>Professor für internationale Beziehungen und Außenpolitik Russlands, Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO), Moskau</i></p>
12:00 Uhr	<i>Kaffeepause</i>
12:30 Uhr	<b>Bilanz im Plenum</b>
13:15 Uhr	<b>Sommerakademie Europa 2012: Fazit und Ausblick</b>
13:30 Uhr	<b>Ende der Sommerakademie</b>

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**EUROPÄISCHE KOMMISSION**  
Kabinett von Vizepräsidentin Viviane Reding,  
Kommissarin für Justiz, Grundrechte und Bürgerschaft  
**Der Kabinettchef**

Ref. Ares(2013)93537 - 25/01/2013

Brüssel, den 22. Januar 2013  
MS Ares(2013)28997

Sehr geehrter Herr De Geus,

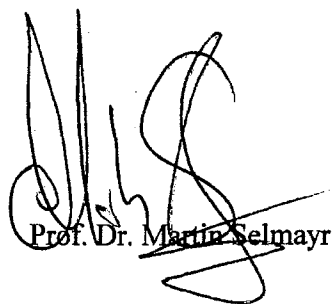
im Namen von Frau Vizepräsidentin Viviane Reding bedanke ich mich für Ihr Schreiben vom 7. Januar, in welchem Sie Frau Reding einladen, an der diesjährigen Sommerakademie Europa, die vom 17. bis 21. Juni in Brandenburg stattfinden wird, teilzunehmen.

Zu meinem Bedauern muss ich Ihnen mitteilen, dass der Terminkalender von Frau Reding es leider nicht erlaubt, Ihrer freundlichen Einladung Folge zu leisten.

Ich hoffe, Sie haben hierfür Verständnis. Frau Reding wünscht Ihnen eine erfolgreiche Veranstaltung.

Ich schließe mich diesen Wünschen an und verbleibe

Mit freundlichen Grüßen



Prof. Dr. Martin Selmayr

Herrn Aart De Geus  
Vorsitzender des Vorstandes  
SommerAkademie Europa  
Carl-Bertelsmann-Straße 256  
D – 33311 Gütersloh

Postanschrift : Europäische Kommission – Büro : BERL 12/294 - B-1049 Brüssel – Belgien  
Adresse : rue de la Loi / Wetstraat 200 , 1040 Bruxelles / Brussel  
Tel. : +32-2-298.12.30 - Fax: +32-2-299.92.01 - E-Mail: [Martin.Selmayr@ec.europa.eu](mailto:Martin.Selmayr@ec.europa.eu)

**From:** (CAB-REDING) on behalf of REDING Viviane (CAB-REDING)  
**Sent:** 11 February 2013 10:29  
**To:** CAB REDING ARCHIVES BIS  
**Subject:** FW: "Conference on the future development of the European Union", Brussels, November 28, 2012 – Conference Report  
**Attachments:** Konferenzbericht\_Conference on the Future of Europe\_281112.pdf

**From:** On Behalf  
**Of:**  
**Sent:** Monday, February 11, 2013 10:09 AM  
**Subject:** "Conference on the future development of the European Union", Brussels, November 28, 2012 – Conference Report

Dear Madam or Sir,  
 Dear Colleagues and Friends,

As part of its working agenda for the period 2013-2016 the Brussels Office of the Bertelsmann Stiftung joins forces with other European foundations and think tanks to spur the public debate about the need for a fundamental reform of the EU's political and economic system.

We have kick-started our activities in this field on 28 November 2012 by conducting the "Conference on the Future of the European Union" in collaboration with demosEuropa, the Egmont institute, the King Baudouin Foundation and the Belgian and German foreign ministries.

The aim of the conference was to bring together high-level European policymakers and civil society representatives to discuss how ambitious and comprehensive current efforts to reform the Union ought to be against the backdrop of the crisis. Speakers included European Council President Herman Van Rompuy, seven EU Foreign Ministers, Members of the European Parliament, national parliamentarians and civil society representatives.

Please find attached our short conference report. We hope you will enjoy reading and that you will get actively involved in our debate about what kind of EU we need to tackle the manifold challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Cordially,

Thomas Fischer

**Thomas Fischer**  
 Executive Director  
 Brussels Office

**Bertelsmann Stiftung**  
 Résidence Palace | Rue de la Loi 155 | 1040 Brussels | Belgium

Phone:

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The Bertelsmann Stiftung, based in Gütersloh, Germany, is an independent, private operating foundation in accordance with Section 1 of North Rhine-Westphalia's Foundation Law. The district government of Detmold serves as its supervisory authority.

Founder: Reinhard Mohn

Chairman of the Board of Trustees: Prof. Dr. Werner J. Bauer

Executive Board: Aart De Geus (Chair), Liz Mohn (Vice Chair), Dr. Jörg Dräger, Dr. Brigitte Mohn

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Auswärtiges Amt

BertelsmannStiftung



Royal Institute  
for International Relations



King Baudouin  
Foundation

*Working together for a better society*



KINGDOM OF BELGIUM

Deputy Prime Minister  
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade  
and European Affairs

# Conference on the future development of the European Union

Brussels, Palais d'Egmont, 28th of November, 2012

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**Responsible:**

Thomas Fischer, Bertelsmann Stiftung

Stefani Weiss, Bertelsmann Stiftung

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# Agenda

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03:00 - 03:15 pm

## **Welcome & Opening Remarks**

Philippe de Schoutheete de Tervarent

*Ambassador, Senior Associate Fellow, Egmont Institute*

Guido Westerwelle

*German Federal Foreign Minister*

Didier Reynders

*Belgian Deputy Prime Minister and*

*Minister of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade and European Affairs*

03:15 - 04:30 pm

## **Roundtable Debate**

*"How can we make the European Union act more efficiently internally as well as externally and strengthen its democratic legitimacy?"*

04:30 – 05:00 pm

## **Exchange of Ideas with Civil Society**

05:00 – 05:45 pm

## **Debate with Herman Van Rompuy**

*President of the European Council*

05:45 – 06:00 pm

## **Wrap-Up**

Wolfgang Schüssel

*Supervisory Board Member, Bertelsmann Stiftung;*

*former Austrian Chancellor*

Conference Chair: Jacki Davis

06:00 – 06:45 pm

## **Cocktail Reception**

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## Summary

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During the conference, and as a follow up of the Report on the Future of Europe, high-level participants discussed the way ahead. Speakers included European Council President Herman Van Rompuy, seven EU Foreign Ministers (including, among the hosts, the German foreign minister Guido Westerwelle and the Belgian foreign minister Didier Reynders), Members of European Parliament, national parliamentarians and high-level representatives of Civil Society.



The European Union must draw the lessons from the crisis of the monetary union and from the consequences of the Lisbon Treaty limitations. In particular, leaders must make sure that the planned EU reforms are taken forward swiftly and based on broad consent. This is what many participants argued for at a high-level

conference that was organized by the Bertelsmann Stiftung, demosEuropa, the Egmont Institute, the King Baudouin Foundation, the German Foreign Office and the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The starting point of the debate at the Egmont Palace was the Report of the Future of Europe Group, which was developed by eleven European Foreign Ministers. This document advocates a wide-ranging political debate about the future of the European project. Strengthening the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) has the "absolute priority," says the paper. However, this is not enough. The effectiveness of the EU as a whole needs to be strengthened. This includes taking decisive steps to strengthen the EU's capacity to act on the world stage. As the Report puts it: *„[a]t the end of a longer process, we need a streamlined and efficient system for the separation of powers in Europe which has full legitimacy“*.

# 1. Round Table debate: „We need a more federal approach“



*„The long-term perspective is key, next to the short-term crisis solution“*, argued German foreign minister **Guido Westerwelle**. He stressed the importance of a long-term vision for Europe, which must tackle two major challenges: the resolution of the eurozone sovereign debt crisis as the immediate priority, and the defense of European values in a multipolar, globalized world. Westerwelle advocated a pro-active, pro-European approach to build a *„new European house“*. *„Europe is our life-insurance“*, he claimed.



His approach was endorsed by Belgian foreign minister **Didier Reynders**, who argued for a *„more federal approach“*. In his view, federalist structures should not only be introduced in the EMU, but also in the European defense sector or in foreign policy. In his view a new convention or Treaty change is needed to enhance the European project.

Former Austrian Federal Chancellor Wolfgang Schüssel expressed his support for the Report of the Future of Europe Group. He stressed the importance of growth and jobs for the legitimacy of EU reform. In order to restore growth, Schüssel recommended to lift barriers in the internal market, develop free trade across the world and facilitate investment in the EU. He also spoke out in favor of a bold EU budget with genuine own resources.

In the round table debate, MEP Hannes Swoboda (Socialist and Democrats) warned that unemployment was at the rise in the EU. He was skeptical vis-à-vis Treaty changes: *„Unemployed do not need Treaty changes, they want jobs“*, he stressed. He urged a more social Europe with rules on minimum expenditure for social policies.

**Massimo D'Alema**, former Prime minister of Italy, took a similar stance, emphasizing the risk of a break-up of the eurozone. *„We do not need an abstract discussion of Treaty change, but an effective mechanism for solidarity“*, he claimed. A number of other participants also argued that the reform process should not be started by Treaty change, but by concrete steps in favor of jobs and growth.



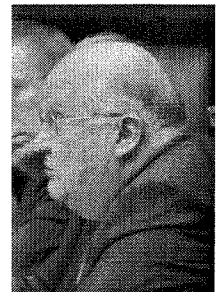
Foreign minister Urmas Paet from Estonia stressed that fiscal consolidation could not be avoided. He believed that *„we are on the right track, but we must learn how to communicate better“*. In his view, the EU must use the tools it has to tackle the crisis. The single market could provide more growth if properly developed, he said, for example in the energy sector.

EU commissioner **Viviane Reding** welcomed the Report of the Future of Europe Group as an „*important contribution*“. She also informed about new proposals of the European Commission on EMU reform. In this respect, Commissioner Reding argued for a mutualization of debt in the Eurozone. „*In the medium run, we will need something like Euro Bills or a Redemption Fund*“, she said. A number of participants, e.g. Foreign Minister Westerwelle, disagreed with that view saying this would give wrong incentives.



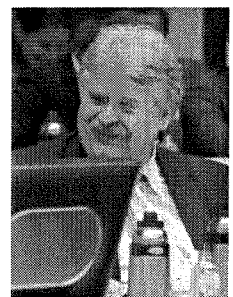
The Chair of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate of Poland, **Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz**, raised another point: „*Europe must become more flexible, everybody cannot move in the same speed*“, he said. MEP **Jean-Luc Dehaene** (European People's Party) argued in the same direction. He argued that to implement this, the EU should make use of the enhanced cooperation clause more often to progress: „*This is no threat, but a realistic chance*“. But he spoke

against a general model of the EU at different speeds. Some other speakers like the MEP Reinhard Bütikofer (The Greens) went into the same direction.



Regarding democratic legitimacy, a number of speakers stressed that the European Parliament is the parliament of the EU but also of the Eurozone. A euro-committee in the European Parliament would thus have to be designed very carefully. Portuguese Foreign minister **Paulo Portas** said that the European Parliament „*does not need more powers but more voters.*“

Short-term steps can help to improve the EU's image across Europe. **MEP Elmar Brok** (EPP) insisted on the importance of „*faces*“ for Europe. With regard to European elections in 2014, the political parties should name top candidates for the presidency of the EU commission. This would make the elections more democratic and the choice more transparent, although the choice would „*not be perfect*“ yet in 2014, Brok concluded. As another short-term step, several participants in the debate pleaded for more cooperation on consular services in Member States' embassies. This would be a very concrete result of European integration, with a direct impact on European citizens.





## 2. Exchange of Ideas with Civil society

While recognizing the efforts that have been undertaken so far, some civil society representatives were questioning the social effectiveness and sufficiency of the current reforms. According to Janis Emmanouilidis from Brussels think tank EPC, there is also a risk to see the pressure for reform diminish. *"The danger of an explosion of the euro is less now,"* he said, *"but there is a downside to this: we are now in danger of a loss of political will to act"*. He stated that citizens have to be more involved and that more transparency is needed in the decision-making process. Emmanouilidis argued in favor of a convention to bring in more actors and to keep the reform momentum alive.



**Bernadette Ségol** from the European Trade Union Confederation warned of an abstract debate on the EU institutions. In the view of many citizens, Brussels is responsible for wage cuts and benefit cuts. According to Ségol, the EU lacks a social dimension. *"If we turn one worker against another, if we put everybody in competition, we will not make a better Union, we will kill the Union"*, she warned.

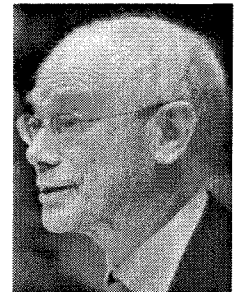


**Conny Reuter**, Secretary-General of SOLIDAR, took a similar stance, arguing for a *"social Europe"* and for a monitoring of social consequences of EU policies.

Amnesty International and Transparency International raised new issues. They both argued in favor of more political and financial transparency in EU affairs. This would be important for the upcoming European elections in 2014 too, said the representative from Transparency International. In relation to this, she would like to know *"how the election campaign for a directly elected EU president would be financed"*.

### 3. Debate with European Council President Herman Van Rompuy: „The first real solidarity test“

*“We are slowly leaving the existential crisis mode and moving into warmer waters.”* It is by these words that **Van Rompuy** started his speech mentioning the November Eurogroup decision on Greece as an example of progress. Yet, much work still needs to be done, the European Council President warned. He stressed three points in particular:



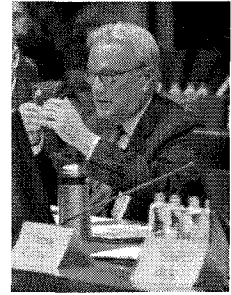
1. The EU must stick to its aim of becoming the most competitive region of the world whilst conserving social cohesion. To achieve this goal, the program countries will have to go through difficult times with austerity policies and deflationary effects. They will reap the fruits of these reforms at a later stage. The countries should sign reform contracts aimed at increasing growth and jobs.
2. To prevent external shocks, the program countries must be protected in a „bulletproof way“. This can be achieved with the help of a special eurozone budget.
3. We need a long-term plan to reinforce EMU developing the different “building blocks”. The new EMU must be completed by more democratic procedures. As a basic principle, the democratic control must be exercised at the level where decisions are taken. This means that the national parliaments have to be involved as well as the European Parliament

*„The crisis is the first real solidarity test for the EU“,* Van Rompuy stressed. To stand this test, more integration is needed. *„We do not need a Political Union for its own sake, we should do what is needed“,* he said.

Van Rompuy warned of the creation of a new, directly elected EU President. *“You give this man or this woman a huge legitimacy. But if you keep the same competence for the top job, you organize the disappointment in advance“,* he argued. It would be *„even more absurd“* to elect the Council President, he said. *„Because then you create a figure which is a real rival of the President of the European Commission, also directly elected. He has to create compromises among the leaders. And you give him a legitimacy even higher than of the participants in the Council. So how can he find at the end of the day compromise or consensus?“,* Van Rompuy wondered.



The debate following Van Rompuy's remarks focused on solidarity. **MEP Bütikofer** claimed that most people in Europe did not recognize yet that they are in the same boat, and that solidarity was at work. **MEP Swoboda** said that, in his view, the support for Greece was not a symbol of solidarity.



## 4. Wrap-up: „Unity is key“

*„Unity is key if we want to resolve the crisis. This means that we need the support of the civil society and to involve the social partners in solving the crisis if we want to succeed“,* was the conclusion of **Schüssel**, representing the Bertelsmann Stiftung, after three hours of discussion. In his view, the following key points emerged during the conference:

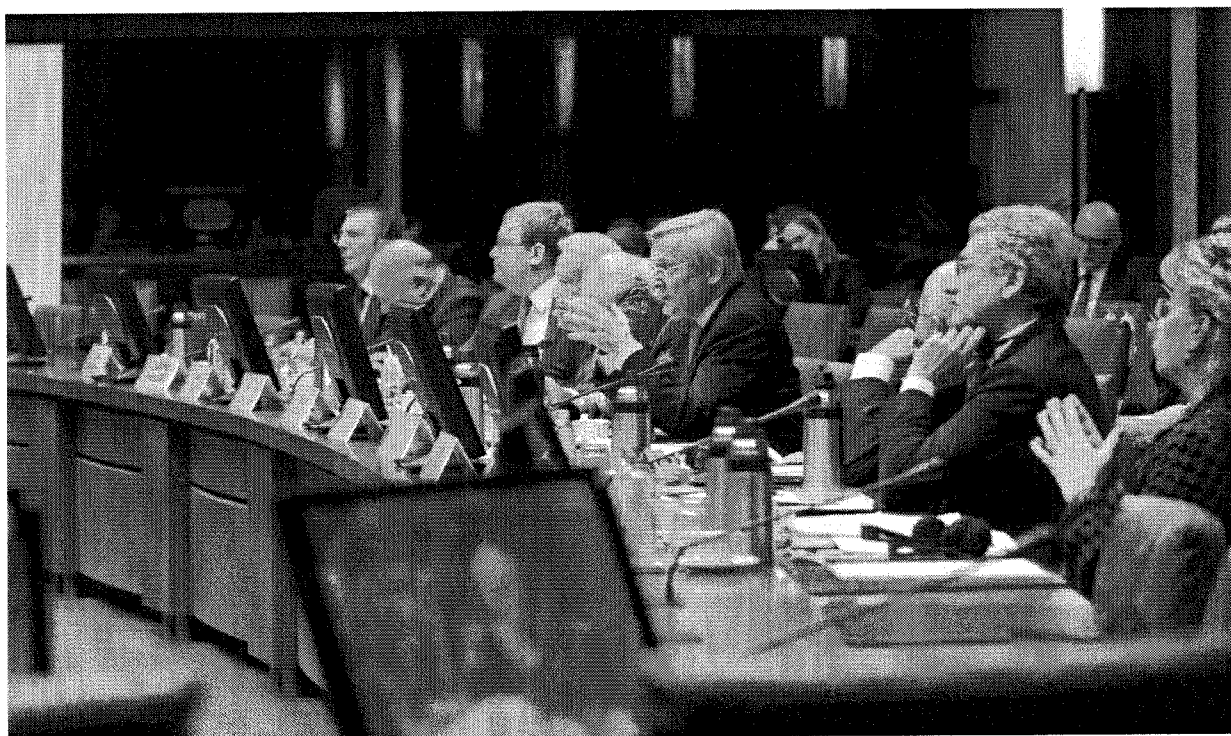


- The EU should aim for Treaty change only in the medium term. It is realistic to first make full use of the existing Lisbon Treaty and to work on Treaty change after the European elections in 2014. The EU needs to deliver on its promises. Growth and jobs are crucial if the confidence of the citizens is to be restored.
- The European social model should be defended, which implies a well-established dialogue with the social partners even if each country has its own system. Youth unemployment must be tackled urgently.
- The European Parliament should play a substantial role in the resolution of the crisis and the future of the EMU. The European Parliament is to do so in close collaboration with the national parliaments.
- The EU needs flexibility. A multi-speed Europe to deepen integration, open to all Member States, is not be a threat, but a welcome opportunity.



# Impressions





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## Participant List

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<b>Asselborn, Jean</b>	<i>Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, Luxembourg</i>
<b>Beger, Nicolas Jonathan</b>	<i>Director, Amnesty international, Brussels</i>
<b>Blusz, Krzysztof</b>	<i>Vice-President, demosEUROPA – Centre for European Strategy, Warsaw</i>
<b>Brady, Hugo</b>	<i>Senior Research Fellow, Centre for European Reform, London</i>
<b>Brok, Elmar</b>	<i>Member of the European Parliament; Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Brussels</i>
<b>Bütikofer, Reinhard</b>	<i>Member of the European Parliament; Co-Chair of the European Greens, Brussels</i>
<b>Cimoszewicz, Włodzimierz</b>	<i>Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Senate of Poland; former Polish Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, Warsaw</i>
<b>Daems, Rik</b>	<i>Member of Senate of the Kingdom of Belgium, Brussels</i>
<b>D'Alema, Massimo</b>	<i>Chairman of Italian Interparliamentary Committee on Security Services; President of Fondazione Italianeuropei, Italian Chamber of Deputies; former Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Italian Republic, Rome</i>
<b>Davis, Jacki</b>	<i>Moderator of the Conference</i>
<b>de Schoutheete de Tervarent, Philippe</b>	<i>Ambassador; Senior Associate Fellow, Egmont Institute, Brussels</i>
<b>Dehaene, Jean-Luc</b>	<i>Member of the European Parliament; former Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Belgium; Former Vice-Chairman of King Baudouin Foundation, Brussels</i>
<b>Emmanouilidis, Janis A.</b>	<i>Senior Policy Analyst and Head of Programme, European Policy Centre, Brussels</i>
<b>Fischer, Thomas</b>	<i>Executive Director, Brussels Office, Bertelsmann Stiftung</i>
<b>Grabbe, Heather</b>	<i>Director, Open Society Institute Brussels</i>
<b>Gros, Daniel</b>	<i>Director, Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels</i>

<b>Gualtieri, Roberto</b>	<i>Member of the European Parliament; Vice-Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs; Vice-Chairman of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs, Brussels</i>
<b>Klau, Thomas</b>	<i>Head of the Paris Office and Senior Policy Fellow, European Council on Foreign Relations, Paris</i>
<b>Kosinska, Monika</b>	<i>Secretary General, European Public Health Alliance, Brussels</i>
<b>Kuhn, Michael</b>	<i>Temporary acting Secretary General, Commission of the Bishops' Conferences of the European Community, Brussels</i>
<b>Leigh, Michael</b>	<i>Senior Adviser, German Marshall Fund of the United States, Brussels</i>
<b>Martonyi, János</b>	<i>Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary, Budapest</i>
<b>Maurer, Andreas</b>	<i>Head, Brussels Office, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik/German Institute for International and Security Affairs</i>
<b>Mittermaier, Jana</b>	<i>Director, EU Office, Transparency International, Brussels</i>
<b>Paet, Urmas</b>	<i>Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Estonia, Tallinn</i>
<b>Pinto, Diogo</b>	<i>Secretary General, European Movement International, Brussels</i>
<b>Portas, Paulo</b>	<i>Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Portuguese Republic, Lisbon</i>
<b>Rauws, Gerrit</b>	<i>Director, King Baudouin Foundation, Brussels</i>
<b>Reding, Viviane</b>	<i>Vice-President; European Commissioner for Justice, Fundamental Rights and Citizenship, Brussels</i>
<b>Reuter, Conny</b>	<i>Secretary General, SOLIDAR; President, Social Platform, Brussels</i>
<b>Reynders, Didier</b>	<i>Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade and European Affairs of the Kingdom of Belgium, Brussels</i>
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<b>Schäfers, Stefan</b>	<i>European Programme Adviser, King Baudouin Foundation, Brussels</i>

<b>Schüssel, Wolfgang</b>	<i>Member of the Supervisory Board, Bertelsmann Stiftung; former Federal Chancellor of Austria, Vienna</i>
<b>Ségol, Bernadette</b>	<i>Secretary General, European Trade Union Confederation, Brussels</i>
<b>Stetter, Ernst</b>	<i>Secretary General, Foundation for European Progressive Studies, Brussels</i>
<b>Swoboda, Johannes</b>	<i>Member of European Parliament; President of the Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialist &amp; Democrats in the European Parliament, Brussels</i>
<b>Tayart de Borms, Luc</b>	<i>Managing Director, King Baudouin Foundation, Brussels</i>
<b>Trenteseau, Marc</b>	<i>Ambassador; Director General, Egmont Institute, Brussels</i>
<b>Van Parijs, Philippe</b>	<i>Professor &amp; Director, Hoover Chair of Economics and Social Ethics, Université catholique de Louvain (UCL), Visiting Professor at Harvard</i>
<b>Van Rompuy, Herman</b>	<i>President of the European Council, Brussels</i>
<b>Vandenhende, Stefan</b>	<i>President, European Youth Parliament-Europolis Belgium, Ghent</i>
<b>Venables, Tony</b>	<i>Director, European Civil Society Action Service, Brussels</i>
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<b>Weiss, Stefani</b>	<i>Programme Director Europe's Future, Brussels Office, Bertelsmann Stiftung</i>
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LIZ MOHN

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<i>brochure</i> 26-07-2013						
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European Commission  
Justice, Fundamental Rights and Citizenship  
Mrs Viviane Reding  
Rue de la Loi, 200  
1049 Brussels  
BELGIEN

Gütersloh, 22. Juli 2013

**Einladung zum Festakt des Reinhard Mohn Preises 2013**

Liebe Viviane,

in diesem Jahr wird die Bertelsmann Stiftung den ehemaligen UN-Generalsekretär und Friedensnobelpreisträger Kofi Annan mit dem Reinhard Mohn Preis auszeichnen. Mit der Preisvergabe würdigt die Stiftung das erfolgreiche Engagement von Kofi Annan auf dem Gebiet der Krisenbewältigung und nachhaltigen Entwicklung.

Im Namen des Vorstandes und des Kuratoriums der Bertelsmann Stiftung lade ich Dich heute recht herzlich ein zu dem

**Festakt des Reinhard Mohn Preises 2013**  
**„Erfolgreiche Strategien für eine nachhaltige Zukunft“**  
**am 7. November 2013**  
**in Gütersloh**

Mit Kofi Annan wird eine Person geehrt, der es zu verdanken ist, dass sich Entscheidungsträger in Politik, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft zu generationengerechten Fortschrittsmodellen bekennen und sich sowohl global wie auch lokal in nachhaltigen Initiativen engagieren. Als UN-Generalsekretär hat er Strukturen geschaffen, um die Millenniumentwicklungsziele wie auch den Global Compact der UN umzusetzen.

Es würde mich sehr freuen, Dich in Gütersloh persönlich begrüßen zu dürfen.

Mit einem herzlichen Gruß

Deine

*Liz*

Liz

Bitte senden Sie den Antwortbogen bis zum **6. September 2013**  
per **Post** oder **Fax** an  
Please send us the reply form until **September 6, 2013**  
via **post** or by **fax**:



Anmeldung zum Reinhard Mohn Preis 2013

Reinhard Mohn Prize 2013 Registration

Adressänderungen bitte hier angeben:  
Please indicate address changes:

European Commission  
Justice, Fundamental Rights and Citizenship  
Mrs Viviane Reding  
Rue de la Loi, 200  
1049 Brussels  
BELGIEN

**Wichtige Hinweise:** Die Einladung gilt nur für Sie persönlich und ist nicht übertragbar.  
Aufgrund der begrenzten Kapazitäten werden die Anmeldungen nach Eingang berücksichtigt.  
**Please note:** This invitation is only valid for use by you and is not transferable.  
Due to the limited number of places, we consider registrations in the order of their arrival.

☐ Ich nehme am Festakt im Theater Gütersloh am 7. November 2013 teil  
I will attend the Award Ceremony on November 7, 2013 at the Gütersloh Theater

☐ Ich nehme am anschließenden Empfang teil  
I will attend the reception following the Award Ceremony

Ich werde voraussichtlich anreisen per | I will travel by

☐ PKW ohne Fahrer | car

☐ PKW mit Fahrer | car including a chauffeur

☐ Bahn | train

☐ Ich kann leider nicht teilnehmen  
Unfortunately I will not be able to attend

Ihre vorstehend angegebenen Daten werden von der Bertelsmann Stiftung für die Weiterverarbeitung unter Wahrung der datenschutzrechtlichen Bestimmungen gespeichert.  
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I do not wish to receive further information from Bertelsmann Stiftung by post, telephone, fax or e-mail regarding the work of the foundation or invitations to future events, and hereby demand that all data pertaining to my person be deleted after the event.





**Viviane REDING**

Vizepräsidentin der Europäischen Kommission  
Justiz, Grundrechte und Bürgerschaft

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*Brüssel, den 25. September 2013*  
*Ares (2013) 2763703*

*Sehr geehrte Frau Mohn, liebe Liz,*

*ich habe mich sehr über Dein Schreiben vom 22. Juli und die freundliche Einladung zum Festakt des Reinhard Mohn Preises 2013 gefreut, mit dem am 7. November der frühere UN-Generalsekretär und Friedensnobelpreisträger Kofi Annan ausgezeichnet wird.*

*Bitte glaube mir, es wäre mir eine außerordentlich große Ehre und Freude gewesen, dem Festakt beiwohnen zu können. Institutionelle Gründe und ein voller Terminkalender im Monat November lassen eine Teilnahme jedoch leider nicht zu.*

*In der Hoffnung auf Dein Verständnis und ein baldiges Wiedersehen*

*Mit herzlichen Grüßen*

*Deine*

*Frau Liz Mohn*  
*Carl-Bertelsmann-Straße 270*  
*D-33311 Gütersloh*

## | BertelsmannStiftung

Mrs Viviane Reding  
Vice-President of the  
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BELGIUM

High-Level-Dialogues: Trilogue Salzburg  
Dr. Jörg Habich  
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[www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de](http://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de)

2 August 2013

### Trilogue Salzburg

Dear Mrs Vice-President,  
dear Commissioner Reding,

We are very delighted that you have accepted our invitation to participate in the Trilogue Salzburg, which will take place from 29 to 30 August 2013 and will address the topic of "Competing for talent: The global struggle for the world's most valuable resource".

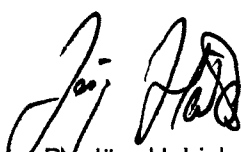
Before we meet in a few weeks, we are pleased to provide you in advance with the background paper that includes four articles regarding what talents are we looking for and how do countries, institutions and companies find necessary talents in the future:

- 1 The Picture on Global Talent – How to better compete, and grow for talent
- 2 The Looming Global Talent Crisis – How to counteract workforce imbalances
- 3 Attracting and Selecting from the Global Talent Pool – Policy changes
- 4 Creating and Sustaining Talent Hubs – Four accelerators that will advance talent development

Detailed information regarding your travel and hotel arrangements according to your preferences will be sent to you as soon as possible via email. With this correspondence you will also receive a provisional version of the conference folder including the agenda and the list of participants.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if there are further questions. I am looking forward to meeting you at the Trilogue Salzburg.

Yours sincerely,



Dr. Jörg Habich

| BertelsmannStiftung · Carl-Bertelsmann-Str. 256 · Postfach 103 · 33311 Gütersloh  
Telefon: · E-Mail: [info@bertelsmann-stiftung.de](mailto:info@bertelsmann-stiftung.de) · [www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de](http://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de)

Die Bertelsmann Stiftung ist eine selbstständige Stiftung des privaten Rechtes im Sinne von Abschnitt 1 des Stiftungsgesetzes für das Land Nordrhein-Westfalen mit Sitz in Gütersloh. Zuständige Aufsichtsbehörde ist die Bezirksregierung Detmold.

Stifter: Reinhard Mohn  
Vorsitzender des Kuratoriums: Prof. Dr. Werner J. Bauer  
Vorstand: Aart De Geus (Vors.) · Liz Mohn (stv. Vors.) · Dr. Jörg Dräger · Dr. Brigitte Mohn

LIZ MOHN

Frau Viviane Reding  
Vize-Präsidentin der  
Europäischen Kommission  
200, rue de la Loi  
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Gütersloh, 5. September 2013

*liebe Viviane,*

mit großer Freude und Zufriedenheit blicke ich auf den aus meiner Sicht überaus erfolgreichen Verlauf des diesjährigen Salzburger Trilogs zurück, der mich persönlich sehr bereichert hat. Die Diskussionen zum Thema „Wettstreit um Talente“ aber auch die Gespräche am Rande des Trilogs waren von herausragender Qualität und haben mir viele Denkanregungen gegeben.

Ich möchte mich in diesem Zusammenhang noch einmal ganz herzlich für Deine Teilnahme und das sehr gelungene Eingangsstatement zur ersten Session bedanken. Mit Deinen Ausführungen hast Du nicht nur die Debatte entscheidend bereichert, sondern auch ganz wesentlich zum Erfolg des Salzburger Trilogs beigetragen.

Besonders freut es mich, dass wir mit den Empfehlungen des Salzburger Trilogs einen Denkanstoß an die Europäische Kommission und die Staats- und Regierungschefs senden, sich dieses für Europa so entscheidenden Themas dringend intensiver anzunehmen. Die Vermittlung von Bildung und Wissen über die Grenzen hinweg ist und bleibt unsere einzige Möglichkeit, unsere Welt sozialer, gerechter und friedlicher zu gestalten.

In der Hoffnung auf ein baldiges Wiedersehen sende ich Dir die besten Grüße aus Gütersloh.

Deine

*Liz*

Liz

Liz Mohn

Carl-Bertelsmann-Straße 270  
33311 Gütersloh  
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LIZ MOHN

European Commission  
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19. Dezember 2013

Liebe Viviane,

die positiven Wachstums- und Arbeitsmarktperspektiven sowie die bisherige Krisenbewältigung führen dazu, dass unser Land international hohes Ansehen genießt. Die Erfolge sind Ausdruck Ihrer Kompetenz und Sensibilität bei der Schaffung politischer Rahmenbedingungen. Gehen sie aber nicht auch einher mit der Qualität der Führung in unseren Unternehmen?

Seit 2006 richtet die Bertelsmann Stiftung Executive Trainings für „Next Leaders“ - Führungskräfte der 2. und 3. Ebene deutschsprachiger Großunternehmen - aus. Die einzigartige Lernarchitektur beinhaltet die Reflexion des eigenen Führungsverhaltens, das Verständnis von unterschiedlichen Unternehmenskulturen und die Erarbeitung persönlicher Handlungskonzepte durch jeden Teilnehmer.

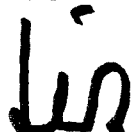
Im zweijährigen Rhythmus treffen sich die Alumni in Berlin, um die gemeinsame Arbeit in ihrem aktiven, lebendigen Netzwerk fortzusetzen.

Am **3./4. Juli 2014** richte ich als Schirmherrin der Executive Trainings ein weiteres Alumni-Meeting mit über 200 Führungskräften mit dem Thema **„Mit Macht - verantwortungsvoll führen“** aus. Veranstaltungsort ist Bertelsmann, Unter den Linden 1, Berlin. Es würde mich freuen und es wäre sicherlich ein Höhepunkt, wenn Du für eine Rede zur Verfügung stehen könntest.

Hinsichtlich der konkreten Terminierung sind wir flexibel und würden uns bei der Gestaltung der Agenda (Beginn: 3. Juli, 14:00 Uhr, Ende: 4. Juli, 14:00 Uhr) nach Deiner Verfügbarkeit richten. Für weiterführende Informationen stehen Deinem Büro mein Persönlicher Referent,  
oder Frau . zur Verfügung.

Über eine Zusage würde ich mich sehr freuen und verbleibe mit den besten Grüßen

Deine



Liz

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CABINET Mrs REDING							
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European Commission Justice, Fundamental Rights and Citizenship Mrs Viviane Reding Rue de la Loi 200 1049 Brussels BELGIEN							
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↓  
Book

## BertelsmannStiftung

Program Shaping Sustainable Economies  
Andreas Esche  
Telephone  
Fax  
www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de

Gütersloh, November 29, 2013

### Winning Strategies for a Sustainable Future

Dear Mrs Reding,

Former U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan was awarded on November 7 the 2013 Reinhard Mohn Prize "Winning Strategies for a Sustainable Future". With this award, the Bertelsmann Stiftung honors a global champion of sustainable development strategies.

In addition to global sustainability initiatives, it is the strategies pursued by individual states to bring about change at home that will prove essential. Since the first Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, many states around the globe have begun rethinking the terms of economic and social progress. The environmental crises of recent years, in addition to the global economic and financial crises, demand a more fundamental shift in thinking that calls for more sustainable and intergenerationally just policies. But just how might this be achieved?

Addressing these concerns, the Bertelsmann Stiftung conducted a global study to foster discussion and mutual learning. The goal here was to identify best practices that could contribute to debates in Germany and internationally over how to design effective sustainability policies.

Enclosed you will find the results of our study. This publication outlines our research and selection process, and presents five case studies demonstrating best practices in Asia, Latin America, Europe, Africa and Australia. The examples of Bhutan, Costa Rica, Finland, Ghana and Tasmania show that sustainability is achievable. By way of example, they also provide new insight for sustainability debates here in Germany.

We look forward to continuing the discussion with you.

Our best regards,



Andreas Esche  
Director



Armando García Schmidt  
Senior Project Manager



**Reinhard  
Mohn**  
Prize 2013

*Bertelsmann Stiftung (ed.)*

## **Winning Strategies for a Sustainable Future**

| **Verlag BertelsmannStiftung**

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**From:** (CAB-REDING)  
**Sent:** 04 March 2014 15:17  
**To:** CAB REDING ARCHIVES BIS  
**Subject:** FW: Einladung an Vizepräsidentin Reding zum Salzburger Trilog, 14./15. August 2014  
**Attachments:** Reding, Viviane - Invitation Trilogue Salzburg.pdf

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**From:**  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 04, 2014 1:38 PM  
**To:** SELMAYR Martin (CAB-REDING)  
**Cc:** (CAB-REDING);

**Subject:** Einladung an Vizepräsidentin Reding zum Salzburger Trilog, 14./15. August 2014

Lieber Herr Selmayr,

wie schon im letzten Jahr laden Frau Liz Mohn und unser Kuratoriumsmitglied Wolfgang Schüssel Vizepräsidentin Reding ganz herzlich zu unserem diesjährigen **Salzburger Trilog** ein, der am **14./15. August** zum dreizehnten Mal am Rande der Salzburger Festspiele stattfinden wird. Dieses Jahr werden wir in einem kleinen Kreis herausragender Persönlichkeiten das **Thema „A habitat for entrepreneurship: Creating a Culture of Innovation“** diskutieren (*siehe Einladungsschreiben in der Anlage*).

Der Trilog setzt sich aus zwei Sitzungen zusammen, die von dem ehemaligen österreichischen Bundeskanzler Herrn Schüssel moderiert werden. Unter den maximal 25-30 Teilnehmern aus Politik, Wirtschaft und Kultur, die wir dazu bitten, befinden sich unter anderem Kommissionspräsident Barroso, Pascal Lamy, OECD-Generalsekretär Angel Gurría, Richard Branson, der Vorsitzende der Virgin Group Ltd., Sheryl Sandberg, COO von Facebook und der BASF-Vorsitzende Kurt Bock. Anders als auf Konferenzen sonst üblich sieht das Programm keine Redner vor, sondern ist dialogisch angelegt. Alle Teilnehmer beteiligen sich gleichermaßen an der Diskussion. Nähere Einzelheiten können Sie dem beiliegenden Programm entnehmen.

Wir würden uns wirklich sehr freuen, wenn Vizepräsidentin Reding wieder dabei sein und unseren Austausch durch ihre Beiträge aus europäischer Perspektive bereichern könnte.

Für Rückfragen stehen Ihnen mein zuständiger Kollege (Email:  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Tel.: oder ich gerne zur  
 Verfügung.

Mit den besten Grüßen  
 Ihr

Thomas Fischer

**Thomas Fischer**  
 Executive Director

Brussels Office

**Bertelsmann Stiftung**

Résidence Palace | Rue de la Loi 155 | 1040 Brussels | Belgium

Phone: | Fax: | Mobile:

E-Mail: | [www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de](http://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de) | [www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/bruessel](http://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/bruessel)

The Bertelsmann Stiftung, based in Gütersloh, Germany, is an independent, private operating foundation in accordance with Section 1 of North Rhine-Westphalia's Foundation Law. The district government of Detmold serves as its supervisory authority.

Founder: Reinhard Mohn

Chairman of the Board of Trustees: Prof. Dr. Werner J. Bauer

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If you do not want to receive any further e-mails from the Bertelsmann Stiftung please inform us at the following e-mail address:



| BertelsmannStiftung

Mrs Viviane Reding  
Vice President of the European Commission  
Commissioner for Justice, Fundamental Rights  
and Citizenship  
Berlaymont Building  
Rue de la Loi 200  
1049 Brussels  
BELGIUM

Dear Commissioner Reding,

*Liebe Viviane,*

The Bertelsmann Stiftung cordially welcomes outstanding personalities from politics, business and culture to the **Trilogue Salzburg** for a high-level exchange of ideas. The 13<sup>th</sup> annual Trilogue Salzburg will take place from **14 to 15 August 2014**.

It is our great pleasure to invite you to participate in this event and we would very much look forward to hearing your contributions to the discussion. The Trilogue Salzburg will be conducted in two sessions on 15 August 2014, which will be moderated by the former Austrian chancellor Dr. Wolfgang Schüssel. The event will be crowned by a performance of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's opera "Don Giovanni" at the Salzburg Festival.

This year we invite the participants of the Trilogue to discuss the following topic:

**A habitat for entrepreneurship:  
Creating a culture of innovation**

Enhancing competitiveness and fostering innovation-driven entrepreneurship will be at the core of the discussion. Cutting-edge business ideas and innovations which lead to new small and medium-sized companies, or that diversify multinational companies constitute the core of robust economies and long-term economic growth. Therefore, it is fundamental to foster a culture of entrepreneurial innovation capable of transforming economic disruptions into inclusive growth. Some key questions we would like to tackle are: How can a widespread innovation crisis be prevented? How can a revolution in creative and inclusive growth at the dawn of a digital age be fostered? And how can creativity be identified and supported? As the speed of job creation and destruction accelerates, how can entrepreneurship be embedded in environments that encourage innovation and inclusive growth?

We would be delighted to welcome you in Salzburg this summer. Due to the limited number of participants and exclusive nature of the Salzburg Trilogue, we would very much appreciate it if you could indicate shortly as to whether you intend to participate in this event.

Best regards,

*Deine  
Liz*

Liz Mohn

*Wolfgang Schüssel*

Wolfgang Schüssel

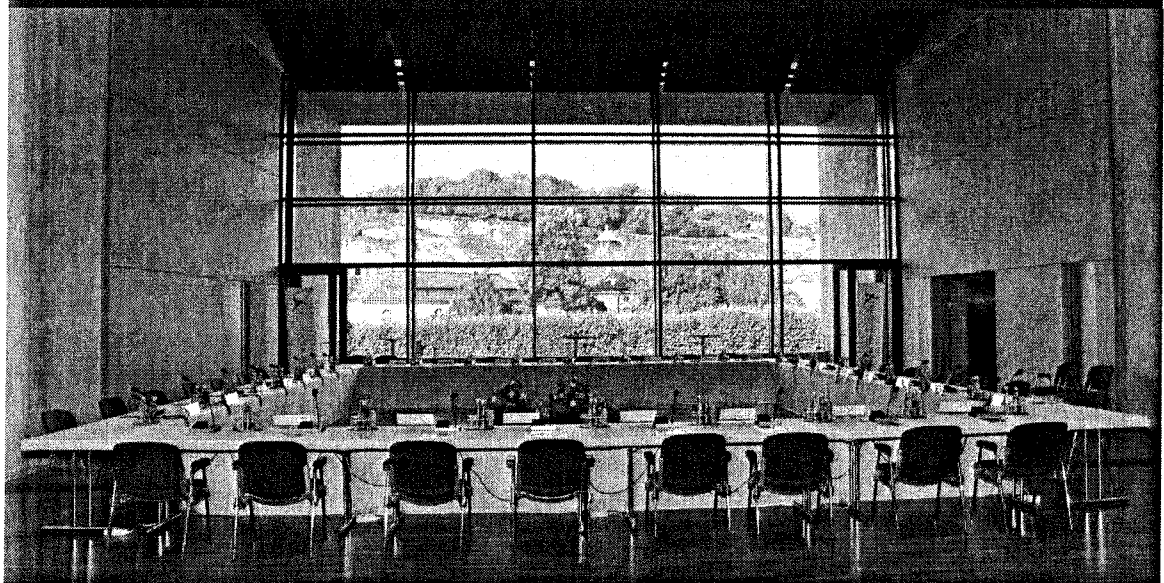
| BertelsmannStiftung · Carl-Bertelsmann-Str. 256 · Postfach 103 · 33311 Gütersloh  
Telefon: 05241 81-0 · Telefax: 05241 81-81999 · E-Mail: info@bertelsmann-stiftung.de · www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de

Die Bertelsmann Stiftung ist eine selbstständige Stiftung des privaten Rechtes im Sinne von Abschnitt 1 des Stiftungsgesetzes für das Land Nordrhein-Westfalen mit Sitz in Gütersloh. Zuständige Aufsichtsbehörde ist die Bezirksregierung Detmold.

Stifter: Reinhard Mohn  
Vorsitzender des Kuratoriums: Prof. Dr. Werner J. Bauer  
Vorstand: Aart De Geus (Vors.) · Liz Mohn (stv. Vors.) · Dr. Jörg Dräger · Dr. Brigitte Mohn

A habitat for entrepreneurship:  
Creating a culture of innovation

Trilogue Salzburg  
August 14 - 15, 2014



## Introduction

The 13<sup>th</sup> Trilogue Salzburg 2014, hosted by the Bertelsmann Stiftung, will address how to create an environment in which entrepreneurship can flourish. Modern, dynamic economies rely on innovative businesses to ensure economic stability and growth as well as social progress and welfare. Both the environment in which entrepreneurs operate, and the philosophy they follow to guide their work have a tremendous impact on the quality and volume of innovation that reaches the marketplace.

While policymakers are responsible for establishing a legal framework and the necessary infrastructure for innovation to take root, individuals and companies develop new ideas and grow these into popular goods and services. The entrepreneur's ability to convert new ideas into successful innovation is also highly influenced by psychological factors and the environment in which they operate. The process of creative destruction, through which innovation is invented, determines long-term economic growth.

Therefore, it is of utmost importance to understand how to foster innovation-driven entrepreneurship. Against this backdrop, the Trilogue Salzburg 2014 convenes political and corporate decision makers, artists and think tank representatives to tackle the following questions:

- What have been learnt from the most innovative ideas of the past decade and how do we expect marketplaces to change in the future?
- How do entrepreneurs and organizations create and pinpoint brilliant ideas and cultivate these?
- What are the milestones on the path to innovation?
- How can entrepreneurs take innovative ideas to the marketplace?
- What are the main barriers to innovation for entrepreneurs?
- How can individuals, companies and societies stimulate inventive thinking to create new businesses?
- How can cities, regions and states develop conditions for entrepreneurial spirit?
- Which regulations prevent entrepreneurship?
- How can leaders best manage social and economic change that is brought about by accelerated job creation and destruction?

In a series of original background papers commissioned for this conference, the key questions above will be tackled from various perspectives. Additionally an overarching conference paper will distill the main issues and findings from the background papers to foster a vibrant discussion at the Trilogue Salzburg.

## Draft Conference Program

### Thursday, August 14, 2014

	Arrival and Check in at Sheraton Salzburg Hotel
7:30 p.m.	Transfer
8:00 p.m.	<b>Opening Dinner</b> hosted by Liz Mohn
Thereafter	Transfer back to Sheraton Salzburg Hotel

### Friday, August 15, 2014

9:45 a.m. Lobby Sheraton Hotel	Bus Transfer or Walk to Mozarteum
10:00 a.m. Mozarteum – Solitär Hall	<b>First Session</b> <b>Art and Culture of Entrepreneurship: What type of spirit are we looking for?</b>
12.30 p.m.	Lunch at Hotel Sacher
2:00 p.m. – 5:00 p.m. Mozarteum – Solitär Hall	<b>Second Session</b> <b>A New Paradigm of Innovation: Which environment and conditions do we have to develop?</b>
Thereafter	Bus Transfer or Walk to Sheraton Salzburg Hotel
6:45 p.m.	Bus Transfer from Sheraton Hotel to Haus für Mozart
7:00 p.m.	Pre-opera Reception
8:00 p.m. Haus für Mozart	<b>Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart • Don Giovanni</b> Dramma giocoso in two acts. Conductor: Christoph Eschenbach
Thereafter	Bus Transfer back to the Sheraton Salzburg Hotel

### Saturday, August 16, 2014

Check out at Sheraton Salzburg Hotel  
Departure of participants

## General Information

<b>Venue:</b>	Mozarteum Salzburg, Solitär Hall Mirabellplatz 1 A-5020 Salzburg
<b>Hotel:</b>	Sheraton Salzburg Hotel Auerspergstraße 4 A-5020 Salzburg +43 662 88999-0 <a href="http://www.sheratonsalzburg.at">www.sheratonsalzburg.at</a> Accommodation costs will be born by the hosts.
<b>Conference Language:</b>	English
<b>Chair of conference sessions:</b>	Dr. Wolfgang Schüssel
<b>Journalists and Observers:</b>	The conference is open to accredited journalists and selected observers.
<b>Embargo Policy:</b>	Journalists and Trilogue participants are required to abide by the embargo policies and the confidentiality clause governing the Trilogue.
<b>Chatham House Rule:</b>	To enable the free flow of ideas and lively debate the anonymity of speakers and participants must be maintained. In other words, a person's view may not be associated with an individual or association without prior and explicit consent of the person in question.
<b>Travel:</b>	The organizers are asking all participants to arrange travel to and from Salzburg on their own. Limited funds are available to reimburse travel costs when necessary.
<b>Transfers in Salzburg:</b>	The organizers will arrange all transfers in Salzburg, including airport transfers.
<b>Dress Code:</b>	Business casual for the sessions and cocktail attire for the dinner and opera.

## Trilogue Salzburg

Surrounded by the stimulating atmosphere of the Salzburg Festival, the Trilogue Salzburg convenes leading thinkers, decision-makers and renowned personalities from the arts, civil society, business and politics to engage in crosscutting, inter-cultural and future-oriented debate at a roundtable. The Trilogue Salzburg was originally initiated by Dr. Wolfgang Schüssel, member of the Bertelsmann Stiftung Supervisory Board and former Austrian Chancellor. The Trilogue 2014 focuses on the question how to foster entrepreneurship and innovation.

### Contact

Dr. Jörg Habich  
Senior Project Manager  
Bertelsmann Stiftung  
Carl-Bertelsmann-Str. 256 | D-33311 Gütersloh  
Phone: [REDACTED]  
E-mail: [REDACTED]



Registration Form  
A habitat for entrepreneurship:  
Creating a culture of innovation  
**Trilogue Salzburg**  
August 14 – 15, 2014

**!!** Please complete this form and return by **March 10, 2014**.

**► Participant contact information**

Title: ☐ Ms ☐ Mrs ☐ Mr ☐ Other: \_\_\_\_\_

First name: .....

Last name: .....

Street address: .....

City and postal code: .....

Country: .....

Phone: .....

Mobile: .....

E-mail: .....

**► Partner**

I will be accompanied by my spouse/partner ☐ Yes ☐ No

First Name/Last Name: .....

He/she will participate in the partner program ☐ Yes ☐ No

He/she will attend the opening dinner on August 14, 2014 ☐ Yes ☐ No

He/she will attend the opera concert on August 15, 2014 ☐ Yes ☐ No

**!!** Please understand that the organizers **cannot** cover any travel or accommodation expenses for your spouse/partner or enable attendance at the Trilogue sessions. However, your partner is invited to accompany you at the opening dinner, the opera and the pre-opera reception.

**!!** Please return this form and direct questions to:

Carl-Bertelsmann-Str. 256  
33311 Gütersloh  
Phone: \_\_\_\_\_, Fax: \_\_\_\_\_  
E-mail: \_\_\_\_\_

## ► Participation in Conference

**!!** Space is limited. Registrations will be accepted in the order in which they are received. Please note, that only completed registration forms can be accepted as a registration. We will confirm your participation after receiving your registration.

### Thursday, August 14, 2014

Opening Dinner	8:00 p.m.	<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no
----------------	-----------	------------------------------	-----------------------------

### Friday, August 15, 2014

Conference	10:00 a.m. – 12:30 p.m.	<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no
Lunch	12:30 p.m.	<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no
Conference	2:00 p.m. – 5:00 p.m.	<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no
Opera	7:00 p.m.	<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no

**!!** Please let us know if you have any special dietary requests (vegetarian, vegan, other dietary restrictions) or allergies:

## ► Conference Folder: CV and Photo

**!!** Please let us know how you would like to be referred to in our **list of participants**:

Academic title: .....

Function (e.g. director) .....

Institution: .....

In addition, we would like to include a short biographical statement in the conference folder. For this reason we kindly ask you to provide us with a short, written CV in English (up to 20 lines) and a photograph by E-mail to: [jennifer.loehner@bertelsmann-stiftung.de](mailto:jennifer.loehner@bertelsmann-stiftung.de).



## ► Hotel accommodations

**!!** The Bertelsmann Stiftung will cover the costs of your accommodation for up to two nights, breakfast and all meals offered during the conference program. Please be so kind as to pay for your personal extras such as surcharge per double bed room, phone, fax, minibar, bar, parking fee, etc., at the reception desk before departure. Please understand that your credit card will be required when you check in at the reception desk.

Please reserve a single room.

☐ yes ☐ no

Please reserve a double room.

☐ yes ☐ no

Check-In: .....

Check-Out: .....

Please reserve a single room for my driver / bodyguard. ☐ yes ☐ no

Name of driver / bodyguard: .....

## ► Travel information

**!!** The Bertelsmann Stiftung is asking all participants to arrange travel to and from Salzburg on their own. However, upon request we are happy to assist you with the travel arrangements. Transfers from the airport/train station Salzburg will be arranged individually for you. Please provide us with the following information.

Arrival on: \_\_\_\_\_ August, 2014 by

☐ car at the Sheraton Hotel

☐ train at Salzburg train station at \_\_\_\_\_ h

☐ plane at Salzburg airport at \_\_\_\_\_ h

Flight No.: \_\_\_\_\_ from \_\_\_\_\_ airport.

Departure on: \_\_\_\_\_ August, 2014 by

☐ car from the Sheraton Hotel

☐ train from Salzburg train station at \_\_\_\_\_ h

☐ plane from Salzburg airport at \_\_\_\_\_ h

Flight No.: \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_ airport.

► **Data Protection**

The information you have provided above will be retained by Bertelsmann Stiftung for further processing in accordance with data protection regulations.

- ☐ I do not wish to receive further information from Bertelsmann Stiftung by post, telephone, fax or e-mail regarding the work of the foundation or invitations to future events, and hereby request that all information pertaining to my person be deleted after the event.

Any medical information I have provided above will be used by Bertelsmann Stiftung for the event.

- ☐ I hereby agree that Bertelsmann Stiftung may retain and use any medical information I have provided for the above event and any other events that I may participate in.

I hereby acknowledge that I can, at any time, request information regarding data Bertelsmann Stiftung has retained about me, and I can withdraw permission to retain and/or use this data for the purposes listed above. Please contact [crm@bertelsmann-stiftung.de](mailto:crm@bertelsmann-stiftung.de) if you have any questions regarding personal information we have retained or if you wish to withdraw your permission for us to retain and use this information.

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**From:** (CAB-REDING) on behalf of REDING Viviane (CAB-REDING)  
**Sent:** 11 July 2012 14:54  
**To:** CAB REDING ARCHIVES BIS  
**Subject:** FW: Europe in Dialogue: The Asian-European Agenda  
**Attachments:** asiabriefing\_June2012\_1.pdf

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From:  
 Sent: Wednesday, July 11, 2012 2:45 PM  
 To: REDING Viviane (CAB-REDING)  
 Subject: Europe in Dialogue: The Asian-European Agenda

Dear Friends of the Bertelsmann Stiftung's work on Europe,

We are pleased to present the most recent issue of our publication series "Europe in Dialogue."

Economic relations between Asia and Europe have developed substantially in the past decade and are sure to gain further traction in years to come. However, it is often argued that the Eurasian relationship represents the weakest link among the world's major power centers; there is a sense that the political partnership has not reached its full potential.

For this edition of "Europe in Dialogue," the Bertelsmann Stiftung invited reputable political thinkers from both Asia and Europe to address the challenges and opportunities within Asian-European relations. This edition also marks the launch of a new program at the Bertelsmann Stiftung dedicated to fostering a deeper understanding of Asia and facilitating better-informed European policies vis-à-vis Asia. You can download "The Asian-European Agenda – Ideas for Crisis Prevention and Effective Cooperation". <<http://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/AsiaEurope>>

We would like to take this occasion to introduce you to the first edition of our new policy brief series "Asia Briefings." Highlighting a recent European Parliament resolution calling for the creation of an institution to monitor foreign investment in the EU, our "Asia Briefing" series explores the sometimes complicated trade and investment relations between the EU and China. "Don't go Protectionist!" is the programmatic title of this inaugural "Asia Briefing" (attached).

If you are interested in further reading on Chinese foreign investment, please refer to our most recent study "Cash in Hand. Chinese Foreign Direct Investment in the U.S. and Germany".  
 <<http://www.bfna.org/category/publication-type/shaping-a-globalized-world>>

As always, we look forward to both positive feedback and critical comments.

Kind regards,

Armando Garcia Schmidt  
 Project Manager  
 Program Sustainable Policy Strategies

Bertelsmann Stiftung

Carl-Bertelsmann-Straße 256 | 33311 Gütersloh | Germany

Phone: | Fax: , Mobile:

E-Mail:

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<<http://www.blackseacom.eu/>>

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Founder: Reinhard Mohn

Chairman of the Board of Trustees: Prof. Dr. Werner J. Bauer

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Helmut Hauschild

Senior Expert

Germany and Asia

Bertelsmann Stiftung

Carl-Bertelsmann-Straße 256 | 33311 Gütersloh | Germany

E-Mail:

[www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de](http://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de) <<http://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/>>

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## Don't Go Protectionist! Trade and Investment Relations between the EU and China

Cora F. Jungbluth, Helmut Hauschild\*

The European Parliament has proposed the creation of a body to monitor foreign – in particular Chinese – investment in the EU. The initiative, driven by fears of unfair competition and a hidden political agenda behind Chinese investments, should be rejected. There are better ways to promote openness and transparency in Sino-European economic relations.

Rising investment flows by Chinese companies within the European Union have fueled debate over whether these ventures might have ties to the Chinese government – and thus a partially strategic aim – raising the question of whether tighter control of Chinese investment activities might be necessary. The European stance on these issues is unequivocal: China is accused of creating unfair competition by providing preferential policies to its domestic firms. These are therefore able to undercut Western incumbents by engaging in so-called dumping, or pricing goods unrealistically low, in violation of WTO rules. Moreover, Western companies in China have to face serious infringements of their copyrights and are discriminated against in public procurement processes, while Chinese companies in the European Union can compete on equal footing with European incumbents. Thus in May 2012, the European Parliament (EP) adopted a resolution proposing the creation of a body tasked with monitoring foreign investment, with particular emphasis on investment from China.

This, then, is the European perspective. Much less has been written providing the Chinese point of view. In China, it is widely held that Western nations tend to apply

different standards to the international trade and investment regime largely created by themselves. Moreover, Chinese policymakers see Western leaders as failing to sufficiently acknowledge the differences in the development stage of their trading partners and focusing too heavily on political issues, thereby sometimes neglecting important economic factors. With these conflicting accounts each gaining currency in their respective regions, it appears time to take a step back and try to see both sides of the EU-China trade and investment picture.

China has surged powerfully back to the world stage since instigating its policy of reform and opening (gaige kaifang) in the late 1970s, certainly from an economic perspective, but recently politically as well. Trade and investment relations between the EU and China have intensified to an unprecedented degree over the last three decades. To outside observers, China's vast geographical size, huge population and annual growth rates averaging near 9 percent give it the appearance of a giant. It is thus unsurprising that the country's rise has nurtured fear and insecurity within the EU. Indeed, it is a widespread perception among European politicians and media commentators that the "dragon's insatiable hunger" endangers Western dominance and

\* Helmut Hauschild, Senior Expert, Bertelsmann Stiftung and Cora F. Jungbluth, Project Manager, Bertelsmann Stiftung

the global supply of energy and resources. China's so-called state capitalism subjects companies from Western market economies to unfair competition, not only in China itself, but also on international markets. The Chinese model seems gradually to be evolving into an alternative development path that eschews Western values such as democracy and human rights – societal features long believed to be foundational elements in a superior road to growth and happiness. To some Western observers, a “war of systems” seems likely.

However, it must be noted that as of today, the evolution of trade and investment between the two regions shows a strong bias toward creating a win-win situation. Growth rates for Sino-EU trade and investment flows, especially since China's WTO access in 2001, have been impressive. This intensifying economic relationship has contributed substantially to the enhancement of welfare gains in both China and the EU. To maintain the win-win situation in

Sino-European economic exchanges, both sides must adhere to a general and mutually accepted system of rules as provided by the WTO for trade relations. This paper thus offers some suggestions on how to increase transparency and openness in investment as well.

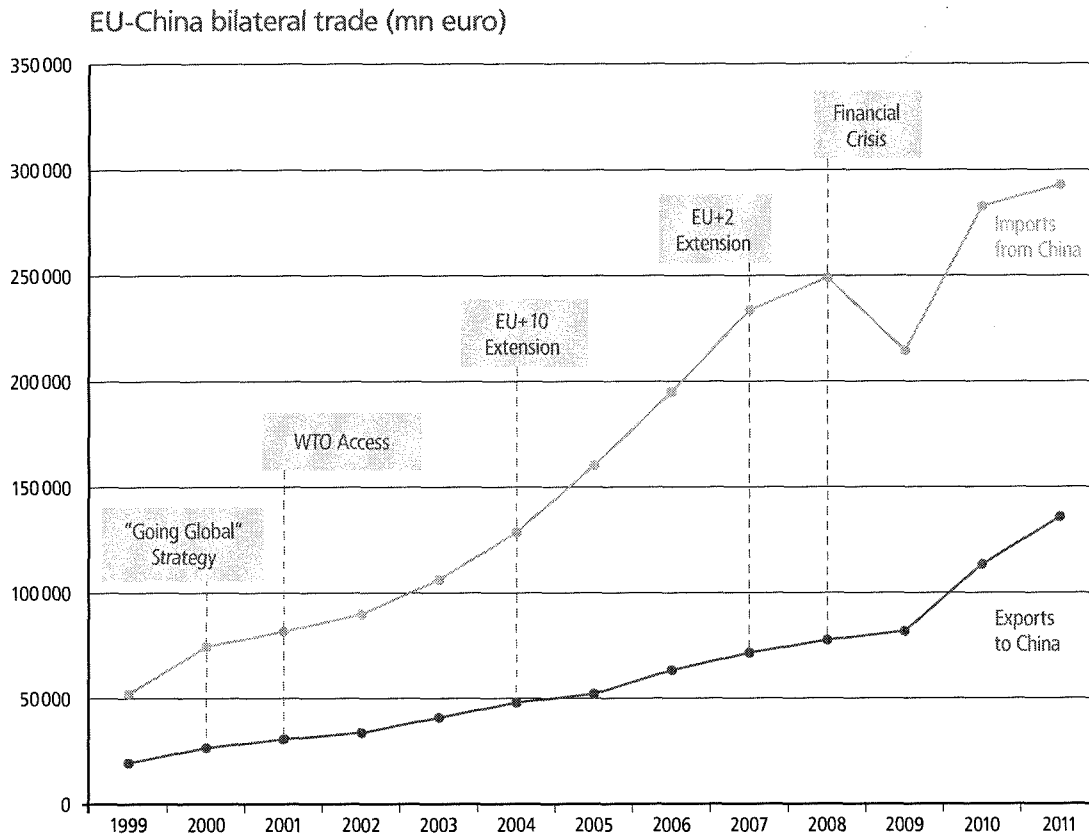
## I. EU-China trade and investment – a brief overview

Following its Eastern extension, the European Union replaced the United States as China's biggest trading partner in 2004. For its part, China is currently the European Union's second-largest trading partner. Exports from China have been rising far more quickly than imports to China, a fact which has triggered huge deficits (€156 billion in 2011) and laid the foundation for continuous trade disputes.

### Relations between the EU and China (1975-2012)

Important milestones	
1975	Establishment of official diplomatic relations
1985	EC-China Trade and Cooperation Agreement
1989	Imposition of sanctions on China in response to the violent intervention on Tian'anmen Square (arms embargo ongoing)
1992	Deng Xiaoping's "Journey to the South" pushes mutual economic relations
1995	Establishment of EU-China human rights dialogue EU publishes first Communication on China-Europe relations
1996	First Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM)
1998	First EU-China Summit
2000	EU and China reach agreement on WTO access
2001	China enters the WTO after 15 years of negotiations
2003	China's first strategic paper on EU policy Launch of EU-China comprehensive strategic partnership
2004	EU replaces U.S. as China's largest trading partner
2005	Trade dispute regarding Chinese textile and clothing exports ("bra war") EU-China partnership for climate change
2007	Begin of negotiations on a EU-China partnership and cooperation agreement
2008	Establishment of EU-China strategic economic dialogue
2012	EU-China year of intercultural dialogue

Source: Own research.



Source: Eurostat.

The financial crisis strongly impacted bilateral trade, serving to ease the previous imbalances slightly: Whereas imports from China sharply dropped in 2009, exports to China experienced unprecedented growth. EU export-oriented nations such as Germany have benefited from this development, and were able to stabilize their crisis-ridden economies more quickly than other member states.

Whereas bilateral trade shows a pronounced bias toward exports from China, the reverse is true of FDI outflows from China. Chinese FDI to the European Union amounted to only 1.7 percent (€0.9 billion) of total inflows in 2010, whereas European FDI to China accounted for as much as 20 percent (€7.1 billion) of total outflows. Reciprocal FDI flows are thus strongly biased toward FDI from the EU to China.

Historically speaking, China's low levels of outward foreign direct investment (OFDI) were due to a dearth of foreign exchange and the fear of an unrestrained outflow of

capital. From the 1980s onward, the Chinese government successfully sought to attract foreign capital (yinjinlai), while at the same time restricting outflows (zouchuqu). According to the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), China's inward foreign direct investment (IFDI) volume (\$105.7 billion) ranked third worldwide after the European Union (\$304.7 billion) and the United States (\$228.2 billion) in 2010. Since a large proportion of the IFDI attracted by China to date has been export-oriented, Western multinational enterprises (MNEs) effectively contributed to creating the current trade deficit. Indeed, according to China's Ministry of Commerce (MOFCOM), about 52 percent of China's 2011 exports originated from foreign-funded or foreign-owned firms.

OFDI from China did not play an important role in China's reform policy until after the introduction of the so-called Going Global Strategy (GGS, zouchuqu zhanlüe) in 2000. Since that time, China has engaged in a



Source: Eurostat.

catching-up process with respect to OFDI. From the government's perspective, this will ultimately increase China's international competitiveness, reduce export dependency and strengthen domestic demand.

## II. Tensions and benefits – both sides of the story

China's huge trade surplus with the EU-27 constitutes one of the core issues in EU-China relations. From the European perspective, this deficit has not been the result of fair and free trade, but is due to distorted competition induced by strong state involvement within the Chinese export sector. The Chinese government has traditionally favored an export-oriented development model and has set policy incentives accordingly: Chinese companies are granted cheap credits, subsidies and tax relief, which enables them

to sell products at artificially low prices on international markets. Western critics assert that this amounts to "dumping."

In the investment arena, continuous tensions have been associated with discrimination against European companies in China as well as the widespread prevalence of counterfeiting. Special regulations governing foreign investment, for example, may induce involuntary technology transfer. Investors are often required to disclose their blueprints and other sensitive information. In many cases, Chinese incumbents have been able to access this information and use it to establish their own competitive advantage. EU firms also face discrimination within the public procurement market, which is extremely difficult for foreign firms to access. Counterfeiting remains a general and persistent worry, making many companies hesitant to deploy their latest technology in China. Addressing these issues, Marielle de Sarnez, a member of the European Parliament and author of the resolution cited



above, said: "We have to protect EU businesses from problems such as trade barriers, counterfeiting and monetary dumping." Chinese OFDI to the European Union, even at its current low volumes, has recently created new tensions, as European countries feel there is a lack of transparency regarding the ownership and motives of Chinese companies.

From the Chinese point of view, Western partners seem to have double standards when it comes to trade and investment, with much depending on whether the investor's underlying political system is a democracy or not. In anti-dumping cases, economic factors such as market clearing prices and cyclical price declines appear to be overlooked. Moreover, some trading partners of the European Union and the United States appear to be more equal than others, even though WTO rules – by and large a Western construct – generally prohibit discrimination. Of course, China has not yet been recognized as a market economy by the European Union and the United States, and thus may be treated differently even under the WTO regime. China has always regarded this situation as a major flaw in mutual relations, and the Chinese government holds that the country today fulfils the necessary requirements for equal treatment. Similarly, the level of state involvement in the Chinese economy is regarded as having been exaggerated by foreign observers. By investing in the European Union, Chinese companies are increasingly seeking access today to state-of-the-art technology, strategic resources and new markets. In doing so, they face a variety of difficulties such as non-tariff trade barriers, overly biased media reporting and actual prejudice against their products and firms. For China, it is hard to understand how the European Union can constantly encourage – and even demand – Chinese investment in

support of Europe's economy during the euro crisis, while China is at the same time suspected of perpetrating political infiltration by means of government-backed corporations.

Clearly, tensions between the European Union and China are manifold and will not be easily resolved in the near future. It is therefore essential to bear in mind the benefits both sides have received as a result of bilateral trade and investment flows.

European countries have been able to enhance their overall economic structure. They have outsourced labor-intensive portions of industries showing profit declines (e.g., apparel and textile production) to China, and have themselves moved toward high-end production and services. The global division of labor has become more sophisticated, allowing for the provision of increasingly inexpensive consumer goods. China's huge pool of inexpensive workers served as an important prerequisite for this development, while European firms seized the opportunity to optimize their cost structures and global supply chain.

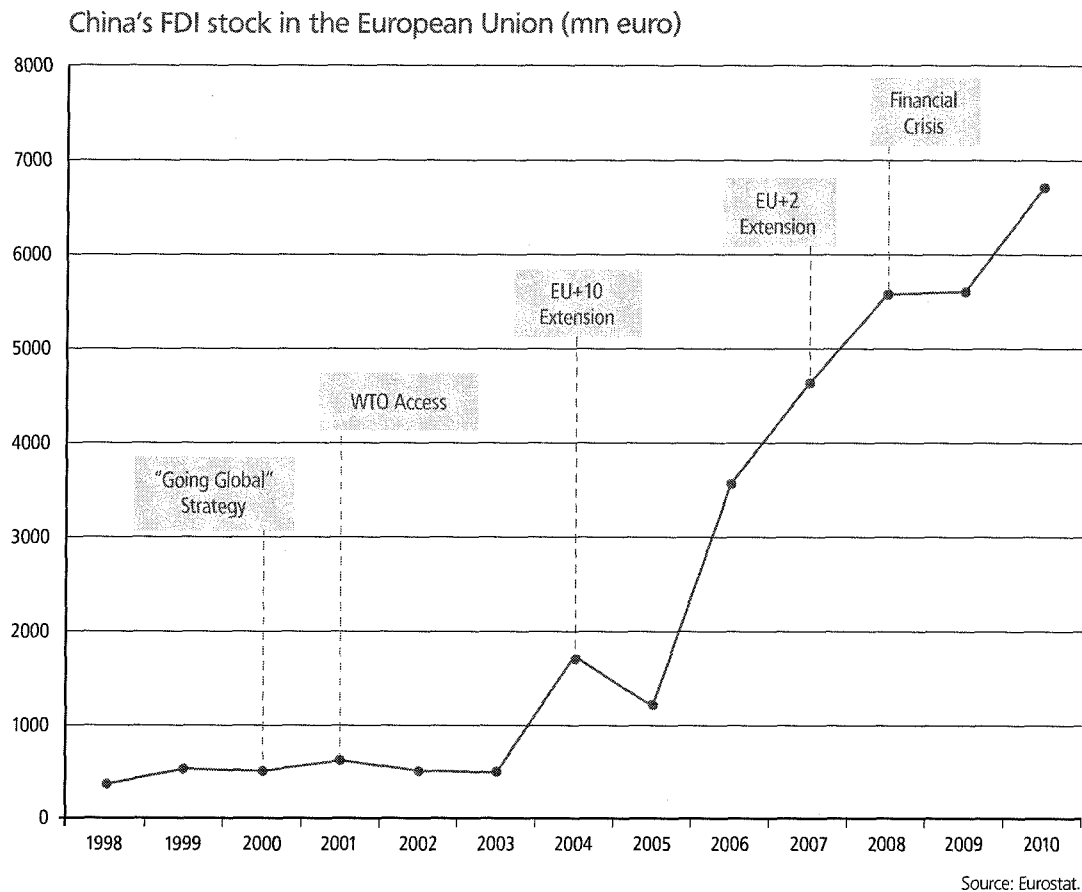
Chinese investment in the European Union has meanwhile contributed to creating or safeguarding jobs and to enhancing productivity growth. European firms acquired by Chinese incumbents gain support for expansion within the Chinese market, which remains a very difficult task especially for small and medium-sized enterprises. Moreover, Chinese companies tend to be interested in long-term investment and strategic commitment to a location rather than short-term financial investment; this ought to make them welcome in European countries. This said, China's investment in the EU remains marginal, and its overall effect should not be overestimated.

For China, bilateral trade and investment with the European Union has been beneficial

### Top trading partners of China and the EU in 2011

EU's top three trading partners			China's top three trading partners		
1.	US	445 bn. €	1.	EU	567 bn. \$
2.	China (without Hong Kong)	429 bn. €	2.	US	447 bn. \$
3.	Russia	308 bn. €	3.	ASEAN	363 bn. \$

Source: Eurostat; China Customs (total amount of imports and exports).



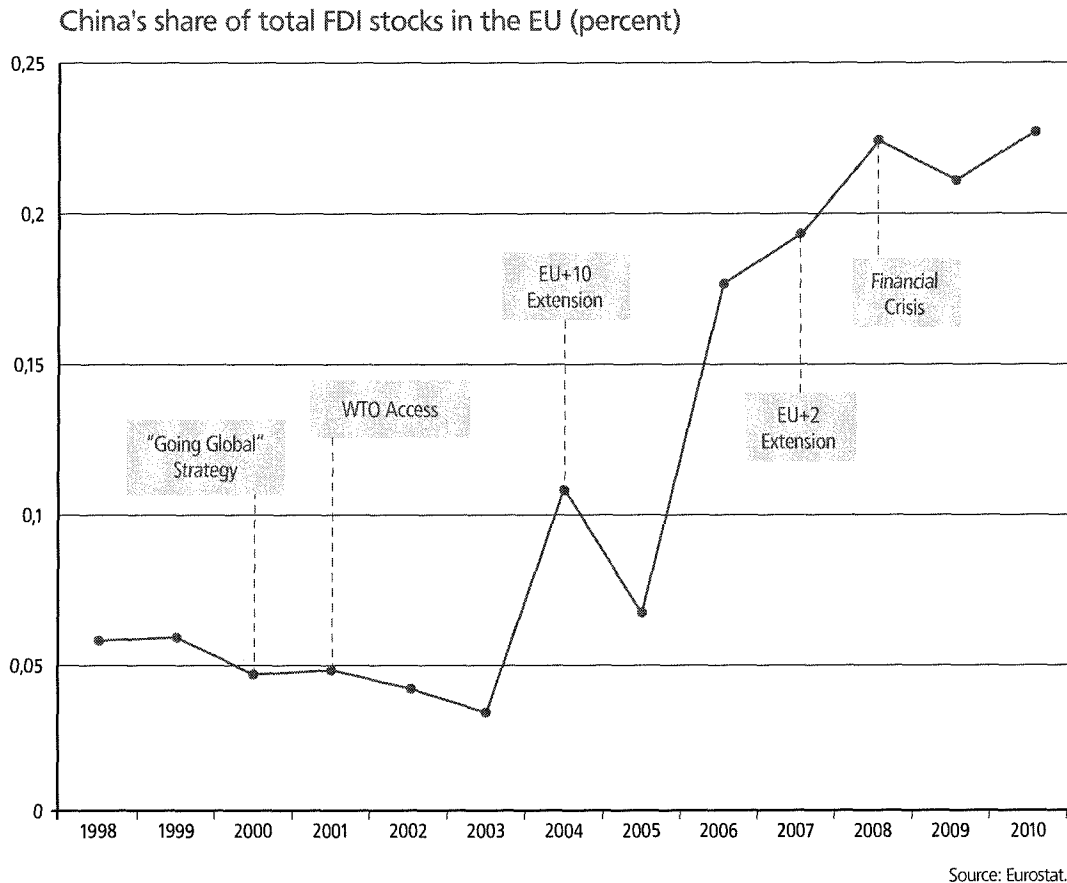
in several ways. Its national economic structure has undergone a remarkable transformation in the last three decades, during which time China's population has seen an unprecedented rise in living standards. Foreign trade and investment have been significant contributors to this development. They have accelerated the pace of industrialization, especially in regard to consumer goods, and contributed to the development of the service sector. China's export-oriented model has ensured a steady influx of previously scarce foreign currency. Today, China holds the world's largest foreign reserves (\$3.2 trillion as of December 2011). The continuous flow of IFDI has created millions of jobs for educated urban workers, as well as for the surplus rural laborers who have poured into the cities since the mid-1980s.

Cooperation with foreign partners has given Chinese firms the opportunity to acquire modern international management skills and learn to operate under market conditions.

Western technology has moreover helped China narrow the "technological gap."

### III. Europe and China, increase openness and transparency!

In general, China's leadership has embraced the concept of free trade and investment, and has gradually liberalized China's economy without losing sight of the country's current stage of development. On March 18, just two months before the EP resolution cited above, China's National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC) published its "Suggestions on the 2012 Working Focus for Deepening the Reform of the Economic Structure." This document, which outlines important steps toward the implementation of the 12th Five Year Plan (2011 - 2015), explicitly advocates the "promotion



of a balanced development in [foreign] trade (cujin maoyi pingheng fazhan).” This shows that China recognizes and is willing to tackle trade-related issues, but that this will take time. The EU should actively encourage China to broaden its open door policy, but should also accept a pace of adaptation that is both set by China itself and is suitable to the country’s specific situation.

In this context, the EP proposal to introduce tighter controls on foreign investment, with particular emphasis on investment from China, sends the wrong signal. The resolution states that “an EU monitoring body, similar to the review board in the U.S., would provide a coordinated, advance evaluation of foreign strategic investment.” The Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States (CFIUS) is one of the most important regulatory bodies in regard to foreign investment in that country. Traditionally, CFIUS does not investigate FDI randomly, but rather scrutinizes cross-border mergers and acquisitions (M&A)

only in strategic industries, in which foreign ownership might threaten national security. Beginning in 2007, however, CFIUS has been required to pay closer attention to foreign governmental involvement in FDI. Several takeovers proposed by Chinese companies, including of private firms in the United States, have since that time failed due to CFIUS intervention. These experiences have led many in China to believe that Chinese investors are being treated unfairly, and that Chinese M&A transactions are among those most likely to receive the greatest scrutiny.

Due to their country of origin, Chinese firms are generally suspected of holding a secondary political agenda, even though several recent studies on Chinese OFDI, including one performed by the Bertelsmann Stiftung, have found that economic incentives are stronger than any political motivations.

The European Union thus ought to think twice before resorting to measures similar to CFIUS, as these would only confirm China’s

impression that some EU trading partners are being treated differently than others. In addition, the EU – a global model of economic liberalization and integration – would in this case set a bad example, which instead of securing reciprocity in trade and investment would risk triggering a vicious circle of reciprocal protectionism.

In turn, China must take EU concerns seriously, and do more than simply try to tough things out. It is time for China to take a step toward her strategic partner and show that the partnership is more than simply rhetorical, at least in regard to trade and investment. In some strategic industries, foreign firms are still obliged to establish a joint venture with a Chinese partner in order to participate in the Chinese market. Frequent intellectual property violations constitute an additional risk for foreign investors in China. As both have been pressing issues for years, China should move far more decisively toward abolishing forced joint ventures and protecting intellectual property rights.

Public procurement is another of the EU's major concerns. At the core of the EU criticism lies the unequal treatment afforded to European and domestic firms within China's public procurement system, which is marked by a

lack of transparency and competition. Though China entered negotiations for accession to the WTO Government Procurement Act (GPA) in 2007, progress thus far has been slow and unsatisfactory from the perspective of the GPA parties.

Instead of passively waiting for China to become a part of the GPA regime, an eventuality that holds uncertain actual promise, the EU could take a proactive step and seek to deepen cooperation in the realm of public procurement. For instance, a common platform could be created, perhaps in the form of an online gateway translated into Chinese and the major EU languages, which brings together potential contract providers and suppliers from both regions. Transparency and competition could thus be enhanced in the long run. Discrimination against foreign firms might be tackled through the establishment of a common committee for the evaluation of suppliers' bids. The platform could initially be launched as a small pilot project, restricted to specific industries or projects, and – if successful – be gradually extended in the future. China's successful recipe for reform – "crossing the river while feeling the stepping stones" (mozhe shitou guohe) – could help to get this process started.

#### Vi.S.d.P.

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**EUROPEAN COMMISSION**

Cabinet of Vice-President Viviane Reding,  
Commissioner for Justice, Fundamental Rights and Citizenship

Head of Cabinet

Brussels, 16 July 2012  
MS/RS/dn Ares(2012)849944

Dear Mr Garcia Schmidt,

Thank you for your e-mail of 11 July 2012 addressed to Vice-President Reding regarding the most recent issue of your publication series "Europe in Dialogue" and to your new policy brief series "Asia Briefings".

We have read the publications with great interest and we wish you all the best with the further development of your new projects.

Yours sincerely,

Martin SELMAYR

Mr Armando Garcia Schmidt  
Project Manager  
Program Sustainable Policy Strategies  
Bertelsmann Stiftung  
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**From:** CAB-REDING) on behalf of REDING Viviane (CAB-REDING)  
**Sent:** 06 August 2012 17:42  
**To:** CAB REDING ARCHIVES BIS  
**Subject:** FW: Spotlight Europe: Confronting the crisis  
**Attachments:** BS\_Spotlight05\_EN\_web\_V1.pdf

**Follow Up Flag:** Follow up  
**Flag Status:** Flagged

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**From:**  
**Sent:** Monday, August 06, 2012 12:22 PM  
**To:** REDING Viviane (CAB-REDING)  
**Subject:** Spotlight Europe: Confronting the crisis

Dear Mrs Reding,

The euro crisis has not gone away on holiday. In fact, it continues to generate a never-ending string of horrific headlines. Where is it all going to end? In the newest spotlight edition Stefani Weiss and Isabell Hoffmann describe the proposed remedies that are currently being discussed, and what blue and red eurobonds, euro bills, FIRE and the debt redemption fund can actually achieve.

I wish you an interesting reading

Cordially,

Isabell Hoffmann

Project Manager

Program Europe's Future

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## spotlight europe

# 2012/05 — August 2012

## Confronting the Crisis

Stefani Weiss &amp; Isabell Hoffmann

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The euro crisis has not gone away on holiday. In fact, it continues to generate a never-ending string of horrific headlines. Where is it all going to end? In this article we describe the proposed remedies that are currently being discussed, and what blue and red eurobonds, euro bills, FIRE and the debt redemption fund can actually achieve.

spotlight europe # 2012/05

Dark clouds are once again piling up over Greece. Its reform process is moving ahead at a very sluggish pace, and there has been another bout of speculation about an imminent "Grexit." Furthermore, the situation in Spain has taken a turn for the worse. At the end of June Spain was granted loans amounting to €100 billion in order to enable it to prop up its ailing banks, but this has not been enough to defuse the situation. It is becoming increasingly clear that, in spite of its austerity and reform programmes, Italy will not be able to weather the crisis on its own. A safety net amounting to €700 billion is not going to be enough for the EU's third-largest economy. And in any case, it has not as yet come into force. The fact of the matter is that the eurozone is waiting for a ruling by

Germany's Federal Constitutional Court, which has until the middle of September to decide whether or not the ESM is in compliance with the Basic Law.

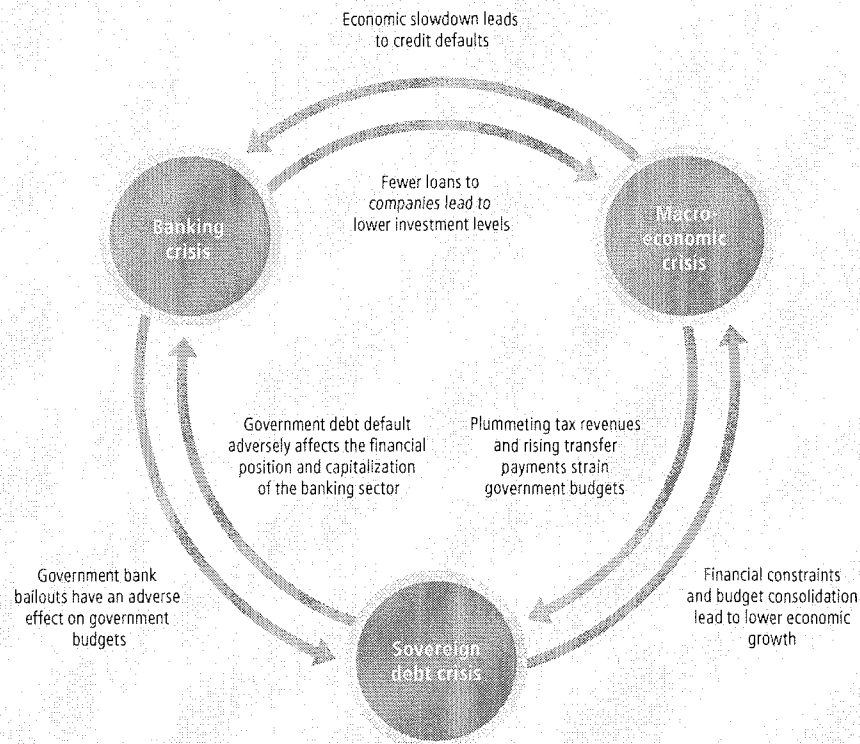
The financial markets have reacted in a nervous and at times panic-stricken manner. Investors are withdrawing increasingly large amounts of capital from the crisis-ridden countries. Stock prices are plummeting. And recently the euro hit a new 2-year low against the dollar.

One might be forgiven for thinking that so far the politicians and their attempts at crisis management have simply accelerated the downward spiral. At any rate, the trust of the financial markets has not yet been regained, at least not in the long term. After umpteen euro crisis summits the heads of state and government have not come up with a way of breaking



## A Vicious Circle

The banking, sovereign debt and macroeconomic crises create a vicious circle



Source: German Council of Economic Experts

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out of the vicious circle of sovereign debt crisis, banking crisis and economic crisis. And one is inclined to agree with the economists who from the very beginning were in favour of the "big bazooka" or "Big Bertha". They believe that the European Central Bank (ECB) should be allowed to follow the example of the US Federal Reserve (FED) and have the right to keep printing money for as long as it wants. As a result doubts about the solvency of eurozone states and their banks would be nipped in the bud.

Similar ideas were behind demands to communitarize sovereign debt in the eurozone and to issue joint government bonds (or eurobonds) for refinancing purposes. Joint and several liability for credit defaults is intended to be a firewall which will prevent financial market speculation against individual eurozone states and to bring down interest rates to an acceptable level.

## II

### Not all bonds are the same

So far the German government in particular has flatly rejected the communitarization of debt. In the public debate on the subject "eurobonds" and terms such as "debt union" or "transfer union" have become political battle cries, and they have created a veritable minefield. All this obscures the fact that a number of very different models have now been developed, and they are not concerned to organize joint and several liability for all and sundry, but to remove the pressure exerted by the financial markets on the countries suffering from a debt burden. These countries obviously need both the will and the time to introduce budget consolidation and structural reforms.

The most important types of eurobond are described below. In essence they differ in two ways, that is:

1. The extent to which national bonds are going to be replaced by European bonds; and
2. The guarantees which will be given for these bonds, i.e. whether the member states will assume joint and several liability for the new joint sovereign debt, or only partial liability, as in the case of the ESM.

They also differ with regard to the speed with which they can be deployed to combat the crisis. Joint and several liability has hitherto come up against the no bail-out clause enshrined in the European treaties (Art. 125 TFEU). In order to enable EU countries to assume such liability, the EU would have to amend the Treaty of Lisbon with the help of the ordinary revision procedure. This would also apply to any attempt to enlarge the mandate of the ECB. With the best will in the world such a procedure, which includes a Convention, an intergovernmental conference and the ensuing ratification process in all 27 member states, would take at least five years.

## One for all, all for one

**Stability bonds:** The idea of creating a common market for bonds in Europe on the model of the US and the Treasury Bonds was already being talked about long before the outbreak of the euro crisis. The advantages of a large bond market of this kind, so the thinking goes, are the economies of scale that can be achieved, and the lower refinancing costs. Furthermore, the size of the market can also afford better protection against external shocks and the herd behaviour of many investors, which in the final analysis has done so much to exacerbate the current crisis. And advocates of a common bond market believe that it will increase the likelihood that the euro will become a genuine global reserve currency, and that this in turn will be beneficial in all sorts of ways.

With such eurobonds all the debts of the economically weak and economically strong euro-

zone countries would be put into one basket, and liability for the debt would be assumed jointly and for an indefinite period. Pooling credit risks, so the thinking goes, will be of benefit to the weaker member states because they will have to pay lower interest rates. On the other hand, stronger states will have to pay higher interest rates and shoulder greater risks. However, data issued by the European Commission, which were presented in November 2011 in its "Green Paper on the feasibility of introducing stability notes," have put a damper on overly optimistic expectations. It suggests that the yield gain of between 10 and 20 basis points from a higher issuance volume is fairly limited. The Commission believes there are situations in which it cannot be ruled out that interest rates in what are now low-yield states such as Germany, the Netherlands and Finland will rise "in the absence of any improvement in the credit risk of the current high-yield issuers."

In legal terms the communitarization of sovereign debt in the eurozone is dependent on the advent of a political union in which the responsibility for fiscal and economic policy has been conferred on the EU and is thus no longer in the hands of the member states. This is the only way in which budgetary discipline and reforms can be implemented and enforced. Even if we assume that the political will exists, such a step cannot be taken without making far-reaching amendments to the treaty. They would also make it necessary to place the democratic legitimacy of the EU on a completely new footing. This model is of little or no use in the current crisis.

## Paying above 60 percent

**Blue & Red Bonds.** Jacques Delpla and Jakob von Weizsäcker of the Brussels think tank Bruegel were among the first to unveil a scheme for the introduction of eurobonds after the outbreak of the euro crisis. In view of the inherent systemic risks they came to the conclusion as early as the beginning of 2010 that the liability disclaimer for the debts of other eurozone countries was no longer tenable. In fact they predicted that the Greek liquidity crisis would affect the banking sector and mushroom into

a European banking crisis with unpredictable consequences for the European economy.

However, they were of the opinion that the sovereign debt of the eurozone should not be completely communitarized, and that only debts amounting to 60% of GDP should be included. That is the margin which was stipulated in the Treaty of Maastricht as a state's total debt ceiling. These government bonds, or blue bonds, as they are called, will have priority status. Since they relate to the first (and what one might call "healthy") 60% of a state's sovereign debt, the authors expect that blue bonds will have an AAA rating and low interest rates.

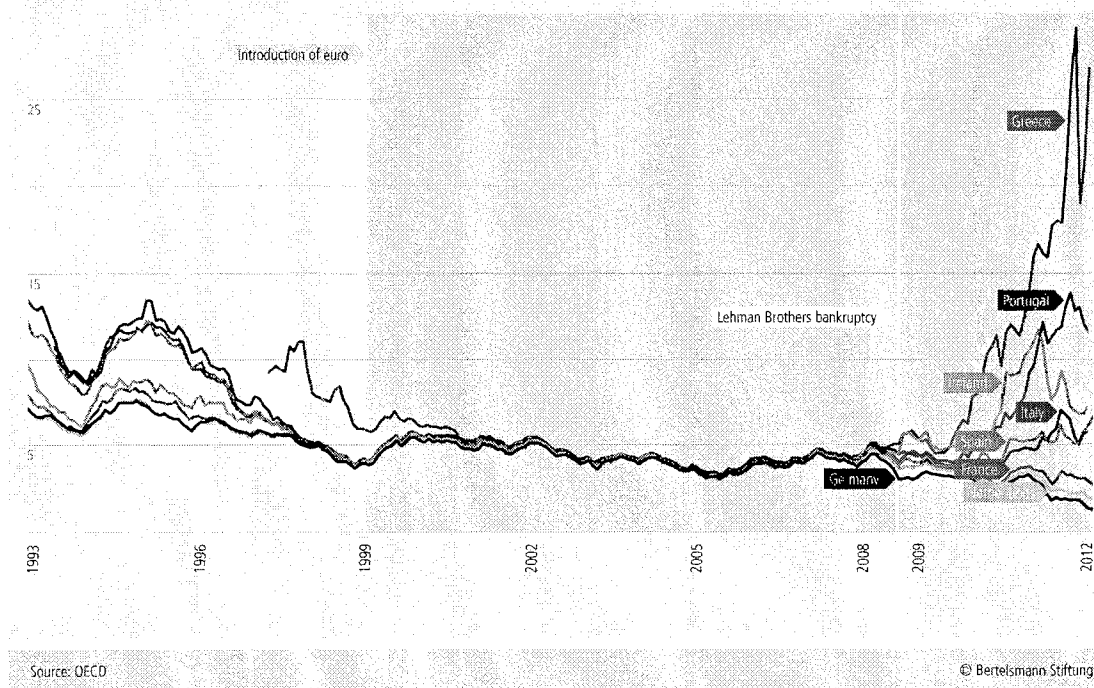
Any debt over and above this limit will continue to be national debt for which other member states will not assume liability. In order to ensure that the banking sector is not affected if the state becomes insolvent, and that in future a sovereign debt crisis and a banking crisis cannot reinforce each other and make matters even worse, the national bonds (or red bonds) are to be kept out of the banking system.

The allocation of blue bonds will be dealt with on an annual basis by an independent stability council. The national parliaments will then vote on whether or not to accept its proposals. If a country does not give its assent to the proposals, it will not receive any blue bonds in the year in question, nor will it assume liability for the new bond issues. Thus the blue bond issues stand and fall with the willingness of the more stable countries to shoulder the burden of more risk and liability. The authors have no more than a rather rough idea of how low or how high the yield risk will turn out to be for blue and red bonds. But a country such as Italy, which has a total debt amounting to more than 130% of GDP, would benefit only if the lower yields of the blue bonds compensated for the higher yields of the red bonds.

On account of the volume of the debt involved, which amounts to up to 60% of the sovereign debt of the eurozone, these eurobonds could not be introduced without amending the Treaty of Lisbon.

## European government bond yields come under pressure

Interest rates on government bonds in percentage points, January 1993 to June 2012



## Paying below 60 percent

Debt redemption fund: This proposal applies only to countries which have not as yet availed themselves of any kind of financial assistance, and is based on three pillars: a debt repayment fund designed to facilitate the temporary and limited communitarization of debts; the fiscal pact; and an insolvency procedure for states. Sovereign debt which exceeds the 60% limit stipulated in the Treaty of Maastricht will be shifted to the debt repayment fund. The aim is to repay it over a period of about 25 years. Every country will remain responsible for the debt it has outsourced, and will repay it on its own. Collective liability will only come into play if a country becomes insolvent. Debt will not be outsourced in one fell swoop, but over a number of years. In this transitional period, the so-called roll-in phase, the fund will gradually be able to meet the refinancing requirements.

After this phase has come to an end, the debt that has not been outsourced should be on the level of the 60% limit stipulated in the Treaty of Maastricht. States will be refinanced by purchasing one-year to two-year bonds on the primary markets. The preconditions for access to the repayment fund are the ratification of the fiscal pact, which requires the member states to incorporate a debt brake in their constitutions, and adherence to strict conditionality (on the lines of the conditions attached to the EFSE/ESM). Among the proposed disciplinary measures is the suggestion that a country should lose part of its access to lower interest rates if it is not in compliance with the requirements. Furthermore, every country will impose new taxes and use the revenues exclusively for debt reduction purposes. And on top of this the debt redemption fund will be collateralized by 20% of the states' assets, e.g. their foreign currency and gold reserves.

The authors are confident that they can insert the debt repayment pact into the existing legal framework, and cite Article 136 paragraph 3 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU), which states that voluntary assistance measures to safeguard the stability of the euro are permissible if they are "indispensable" and "made subject to strict conditionality."

## Ten percent for more liquidity

Euro bills are joint bonds with a one-year maturity which have senior debt repayment status. They are based on joint and several liability. That is why euro bills are especially safe bonds. At the same time this would create an extremely liquid segment of the bond market that banks, which are being compelled to increase their capital reserves as a result of the Basle III rules, will find especially attractive. Furthermore, it would prevent capital flight from the bonds of the weaker eurozone states into bonds of the stronger eurozone countries.

These short-term bonds would be issued by an independent institution which the authors, Christian Hellwig and Thomas Philippon, call "Joint Debt Management Office." This debt agency would have the sole right to issue euro bills, and would determine quotas on the basis of what the member states required. National governments would be forbidden to refinance themselves on the side by issuing short-term national bonds.

Euro bills will be available only to states which have invested less than 10% of their GDP in such short-term bonds. A further precondition for participation in euro bill auctions is that the states must be in compliance with the requirements of the Stability Pact plus, the six-pack and the European semester, the mechanisms and agreements with which the member states have entered into a commitment to adhere to budgetary discipline and structural reforms.

According to their inventors, euro bills can be introduced without amending the Treaty of Lisbon. The reason for this is the fact that the liabilities which will have to be borne by the stronger states are manageable, and will exist only for a limited period of time.

Thus euro bills are a way of buying time in which to launch financial reforms and to regain the confidence of the markets. However, if things have already reached crisis proportions, and there is a stark choice between joint destruction or joint salvation, then euro bills may not be of much use.

## Redistributing crisis profits

FIRE: Friedrich Heinemann of the Centre of European Economic Research (ZEW) recently presented a rival scheme entitled fiscal interest rate equalization (FIRE). This is designed to defuse the crisis of confidence on the bond markets and the associated refinancing burdens, especially in the case of Spain and Italy, by means of a compromise with regard to interest rates. The fact is that more and more investors are reacting to the crisis by withdrawing capital from countries beset with financial problems and investing it in states which still have a high creditworthiness rating.

The latter, including Germany and the Netherlands, hardly have to pay any interest at all or are actually paid for borrowing money. So the idea is that these low-yield countries should put some of their savings into a special fund. And this fund would help states which the markets have punished by demanding higher interest rates. However, the scheme is not trying to achieve total equalization, since this would deprive the market of its disciplinary pricing power.

Thus equalization will only apply to interest rates above 5%. The ZEW has estimated that in 2012 the fund would need about €6 billion for Italy and Spain. And only states where interest rates are lower than 2.5% would contribute to the fund. Thus Germany with its 90% share would in so many words have to finance most of the interest rate equalization scheme. This is a significant amount of money, but far less than the costs which would have to be met if both countries had to seek protection under the EFSF/ESM. It is a fact that the guaranteed lending capacity of the EFSF/ESM is barely sufficient for Spain, and is certainly not large enough for Italy. There is a clear need for additional funding. To date Germany has made a commitment to contribute slightly less than €170 billion. And this does not include the guarantees for Greece.

This kind of interest rate equalization would to all intents and purposes resemble the repeated ECB purchases on the secondary market throughout the crisis of government

bonds issued by states which have come under pressure. For the foreseeable future and in the absence of an appropriate new governance architecture, which will probably materialize and make it possible to introduce eurobonds only after the Treaty of Lisbon has been amended, this equalization mechanism will be able to provide assistance within a short space of time. It homes in on one of the main problems of the current crisis, and in the stricken countries will reduce the cost of debt refinancing. As in the case of euro bills, the beneficial effect of this interest equalization mechanism would become less apparent whenever the crisis took a turn for the worse, or drove up the costs for Germany to a level where it would once again become necessary to think about the introduction of eurobonds or a new mandate for the ECB.

### III

## Stability has its price

A great deal of thought needs to be given to the whole question of whether or not and indeed of how eurobonds and their two smaller sisters, euro bills and FIRE, can break out of the vicious circle. Everything that has happened in the crisis hitherto points to the fact that at the end of the day the solution will be a new role for the ECB as a "lender of last resort" on the lines of the FED.

At any rate, after all that we now know, it will be impossible to take the sting out of the euro crisis and prevent the contagion from spreading to other states if the powers that be continue to reject joint and several liability out of hand. Rescue measures of a more comprehensive kind than those which currently exist in the shape of EFSF/ESM seem unavoidable.

It would be a good idea, and not only from a German point of view, to turn the eurozone into an economic and stability union before proceeding to assume liability for the debts of other member states, especially after the negative experience of the Stability and Growth Pact. However, it may now be too late to put governance before liability.

The stronger eurozone countries would be well advised to think more deeply than they have done in the past about whether or not it is in their interests to prevent the eurozone from falling apart. Hitherto Germany has benefited from the euro. Thus it has every reason to subscribe to what the German Council of Economic Experts had to say in their annual report for 2011/12: "Anyone wishing to reap the benefits of open goods markets must be prepared to face up to the instabilities and shocks of globally networked money and capital markets and make provisions in the one or other way to protect the domestic exporting economy from manifest

damage. Historical experience shows that as a rule this does not come without a price."

The EU can quite obviously exist without the euro. Two member states, the United Kingdom and Denmark, have stated that they do not intend to adopt it. However, it would no longer be the EU which, in the Preamble to the Treaty of Lisbon, proclaimed that it was in "the process of creating an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe." Nor would it be the EU in which the ongoing evolution of a genuine political union is creating the European opportunities of the future in a globalized world. ■

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