



FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN PROGRESSIVE STUDIES FONDATION EUROPÉENNE D'ÉTUDES PROGRESSISTES

ANNUAL ACTIVITY REPORT 2012





Institutional matters



ARCHITECTURE OF FEPS ACTIVITY PLAN 2012

WORKING TOGETHER FOR A PROGRESSIVE EUROPE

NEXT LEFT	EUROPEAN SOCIETY	SUSTAINABLE ECONOMY	GLOBAL SOLIDARITIES
Renewal of Social Democracy	Bridging the Gap	Economic Recovery	Global Governance and Security
New Social Europe	Gender Equality	Financial and Monetary Policy	European Policies and Other Continents
Progressive European Party systems	Legal Inspiration and Integration	Economic Governance	Democracy and Prosperity in the Neighbourhood
Renaissance of a Progressive Europe	Understanding Diversity	Economic Theory	Solidarity: The Reason to Fight Climate Change

FOREWORD FROM THE PRESIDENT

Europe has been hit by an economic and social crisis, which has exposed the weaknesses of Europe's political system. The European Union is currently the region of the world with the lowest growth rate; it is characterised by a marked increase of unemployment, has a serious problem of ageing population, there is a growing trend towards the deterioration of the standards of living and the increase of social inequalities, which are beginning to threaten social cohesion and even the stability of democratic systems.

Inequalities within our societies are growing, not narrowing, inequalities between different regions and different European countries are bringing into question the European social model. Within the EU member states, inequalities are undermining the principle of social inclusion and that of sustainability, which characterised our societies and were guaranteed by the welfare state and the so-called "social democratic compromise". While inequalities between member states, between countries that have benefitted from the common currency, on the one side, and indebted countries, struggling countries, on the other side, call into question the cohesion between the EU member states and increase the clashes between opposing interests. They encourage centrifugal tendencies which risk leading to a gradual paralysis of the European institutions, or even to a sort of "crumbling crisis," a dramatic crisis, with a historical meaning we should not underestimate.

The FEPS **Next Left** research programme is addressing some of these issues and aims to offer progressives ways in which a new social contract can be established. Developing a **progressive social discourse** and examining our shared values and how these same values are still relevant today in the renewal process which the social democrats are carrying out at the moment.



This **renewal of the values** is intrinsically linked to the renewal process of our political institutions that many people are calling out for in Europe today. The effects of apathy and dislike to the current system can be seen on the left and right of the spectrum, with the main commonality being a refusal towards political parties and politics. We have seen this with the rise of new extremist parties.

However is it really a refusal towards the institutions or is it a lack of trust and credibility of these institutions to deal with the ongoing crisis? The crisis is fast, while the European decision-making process is terribly slow. FEPS has since its creation being struggling to convey the message that we need an overhaul of our financial system. The results of our theoretical economic research has argued that austerity is not the answer. We need to go beyond austerity. This year our economic strand of work concentrated very much on this question and FEPS continues the good cooperation with Nobel laureate Joseph Stiglitz and other well-renowned economists. The alternative is clear: investment. Investment should be coordinated, whether its research and development or implementing new policies. European member states could be much more efficient at overcoming the crisis if investment were more prominent and more coordinated. For this we need more Europe. I do believe, Progressives should launch a wide and courageous debate on the prospects for a true federal Europe. We need shared solutions. Here within FEPS is the ideal platform for this debate because the discussion can be more openminded, more innovative and unprejudiced.

We began an initiative of this kind in 2012 with the Renaissance for Europe: a Common Progressive Vision which this year held an expert seminar on economic and social topics related to Europe in Paris. The result was a common vision paper which then served the European approach for François Hollande's successful Presidential campaign. Later this process clearly influenced the formulation of policy on growth in Europe and especially regarding the reforms of the European Investment Bank. The Renaissance for Europe: a Common Progressive Vision continued in 2013 in Italy and Germany.

Deep changes are taking place in the Arab world. The democratic potentials of this great revolution, are very encouraging. However there is a large risk that Islamist and anti-western positions may eventually prevail. Which is the reason why FEPS has this year continued the project on the Mediterranean and constructive dialogue has been established with Arab progressives. Still, no real attempt has been made to develop a new and consistent European strategy towards the Mediterranean which is highly necessary. So far, we must acknowledge the considerable passivity that characterises the EU's attitude towards the choices of the Israeli nationalist and religious Right. There are choices that are blocking any prospect for peace in the Middle East. The current challenge, I believe, is the problem of the relationship between human rights, European values and foreign policy. In order to address this we need to develop a truly European common foreign policy. Yet there is a lack of a shared willingness by the EU member states, especially the main ones. Which is why the establishment of the External Action Service has, thus far, been able to produce only modest results.

Over this year FEPS has also ensured research work on the enlargement process and relations with the South Eastern Europe and with Turkey. The results of this can be seen in the **Copenhagen revisited project.**

The activity report exhibits the various activities and different strands of work which FEPS is carrying out. Showcasing this in one document makes us aware that the long-term projects are really taking shape and deepening discussions within the movement and outside. The four main strands present the running strands of intellectual reflection, nevertheless the policies are undoubtedly linked. The activities and debates are fortified most of all by the support of the member national foundations and think tanks similarly with our affiliated partners.

This document provides a short summary of our work programme, it does not demonstrate the full magnitude of our reflections. Many of our projects have become so successful now because they have been developed over a long time and are constantly being built upon from a good base

I would like to express my gratitude to the whole of the **FEPS team** for their outstanding hard work and commitment. In particular **Ernst Stetter, Secretary General,** who has proven to bring the results of the Foundation's work into the mainstream debate which has assured in many ways the long-term reflection for the progressive family.

In this current political climate our work is even more relevant in trying to conveying progressive messages. We do need to better communicate these to our wider audiences for the next year in particular and further.

I would like to encourage that the PES, S&D Group in the European Parliament, the PES Group in the Committee of the regions together with the member national political Foundations and think tanks, continue to work together to bring about a more progressive Europe.

Looking toward the European elections in 2014 we are facing the need to overcome new populisms in Europe and ensure equality.

Stabilising our economies and creating youth employment are key for investing in our future within the globalised world.

Mormo / A-leuer Massimo D'ALEMA



President of FEPS

INTRODUCTION

The Foundation for European Progressive Studies is the progressive, European, political Foundation.

Enclosed is the report of activities 2012 of FEPS. The work programme can be presented in four main pillars or themes for activities. The overall title and main objective of the existence of FEPS is "Working Together for a Progressive Europe". The pillars are used as a way of showcasing our work but the themes are very much interlaced with an omnipresent focus on *progressive* Europe.

These four main themes of work are:

- Next Left
- European Society
- Sustainable Economy
- New Global Solidarities

The activities are detailed according to this working plan throughout this activity report. For more information on the publications and further information from our ongoing projects it is recommended to consult the website www.feps-europe.eu.

In 2012 FEPS has continued its close cooperation with its member national political foundations and think tanks. This joint exchange of ideas and debate has really brought together **European political discussions**, often enhancing the national debate but also **fostering the two-way connection**. Acting as a **platform and a gatherer**, mutual understanding and development of ideas has been conveyed on a European level.

Indeed FEPS always participates and is involved in its member activities of its Brussels partners as much as possible also, PES, its member parties and their network meetings, conferences and meetings in the European Parliament with the S&D group or the Committee of the Regions with the PES group.

Having the headquarters at the heart of the European quarter in Brussels has also meant that FEPS is able to regularly welcome many delegations. Just by presenting our work and having brief exchanges is sometimes all that is necessary to enhance debates from all corners of the world and really build upon the network and values of the progressive family.

Close international partnerships in **the USA**, **Africa**, **India**, **Latin America and also the Mediterranean and North African neighbourhood**. Cooperation has been built upon in order to reflect the **current global political landscape**. In addition, close relations and activities with European institutions and international affiliated organisations have been continued.

President of FEPS, Massimo D'ALEMA, former Prime Minister of Italy, has provided guidance by setting up new initiatives which have proven to be very successful. The second conference of **Call to Europe** on the theme of Europe and the World and the **Renaissance for Europe, a Common Progressive Vision,** have truly brought about a new dimension to the European Progressive arenas. The President has participated at many of FEPS activities and is heavily involved in many aspects of the Foundation. This interest and commitment has offered the opportunity to really be present at several layers of the debates and to ensure the outcome of our reflections is promoted.



NEXT LEFT

The Next Left programme provides the core theory for the renewal process within the progressive movement. FEPS together with its partners has been leading this key debate for several years now and the project is gathering wide audiences not just in Europe but in other parts of the world. This strand of work also incorporates the reflections on Social Europe which is undoubtedly a concept that transcends all of FEPS activities. This year the Renaissance for Europe: A common Progressive Vision was established in this pillar and the project brought together FEPS research from the last few years over numerous strands. The revitalisation of European party systems is a debate that is becoming very relevant for progressives in the next period and was highlighted throughout 2012.

NOTABLE EVENT IN THIS PILLAR IN 2012:

Renaissance for Europe. A Common Progressive Vision

With Fondation Jean Jaurès, ItalianiEuropei, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung 16th & 17th March 2012 | Paris

In the perspective of the upcoming elections in France, Italy and Germany the political

landscape of the left in Europe was expected to change dramatically. The first event of this series was held over two-days in Paris. The first day was devoted to a round table seminar with renowned experts and representatives from the Scientific Councils of the organising foundations, progressive party leaders, notable political personalities and representatives from trade unions and other interested parties. Many of the participants submitted articles in preparation for the discussions and these were collected and exhibited in a publication.

The themes discussed were a "Europe of growth and stability" and "democratic Europe".

The second day was a public meeting which united high-level European political leaders, Luigi Bersani, Sigmar Gabriel, Elio Di Rupo, Martin Schulz, Sergei Stanishev and Massimo D'Alema, around François Hollande, candidate of the Parti Socialiste, for the French presidential election of May 2012 who then won the elections bringing the Socialists back into power in France. The significance of this event was to ensure a success for the left in Europe, in the larger and founding member states of the EU to help create a new political, economic, social and ecological dynamic in the European Union. This initiative was largely inspired from the speech of Helmut Schmidt to the German SPD Annual conference in December 2011 in Berlin. The following meetings within this project will take place in 2013 in Italy and Germany.





RENEWAL OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

Renewing social democracy is now a European wide debate. Developing a progressive social discourse and reasserting the values within the progressive family and its political parties is something that FEPS has developed deeply. The FEPS Next Left research programme has developed so much that it is becoming a reference point for politicians, academics and experts in the field of the renewal of social democracy in Europe and beyond. It devotes itself to analyses of the crisis of the left and possible future strategies for Progressives. Several layers and elements make up the project with research, debates and publications. Thanks to the valued support of the national foundations, in particular the partner of this project; the Renner Institut, it was possible to ensure complementarities and cohesion between the debates on the European level and those taking place in the EU member states. Additionally, accelerated research and well-received publications opened a new passage for the programme, which connects it with the world of academia — both in Europe and in the US. The Next Left research programme is chaired by Dr. Alfred Gusenbauer (former Chancellor of Austria).

Engaging in a Europe of progress and prosperity - Social Democracy setting off towards 2014

Next Left article for the Oxford Renewal Journal

November 2012 I written by Ania Skrzypek, FEPS Senior Research Fellow

Looking towards the 2014 European elections, Progressives can be optimistic about the recent election wins is the Slovak Republic, France and the Netherlands. This notably as the success is due to the relevance of core social-democratic values. Although the author calls still us still to be cautious and sets out three dimensions of how progressives can bring the debate which is centred around a new social deal. Namely modernising European progressive values, conceptualising the Next European social deal and accelerating expectations for European democracy.



THE NEXT LEFT FOCUS GROUP

'Politicising Social Europe' was agreed by the group to be the focus of this year's study. Meeting three times a year each for two days, the focus group of experts prepare abstracts at the beginning of the year, these are used as a basis for discussions and following on from that the participants then choose what their research will focus on. For each meeting the members must prepare an article, which they then present, and is discussed by the other members of the group. Feedback is also given which the author then goes back to revise the text and the cycle of texts and discussions is completed at the end of the year when the articles are gathered and published in the Next Left book. The group has been established now for four years and meeting regularly which has greatly enhanced the flow and quality of the reflections.

FEPS Next left Focus Group Meeting

25th – 26th January I Vienna, Austria, with the support of the Renner Institut

The meeting was held under the theme "Developing a progressive social discourse" and was the first coordination meeting to set the research agenda and focus for the year.

FEPS Next left Focus Group Meeting

14th - 15th May I Vienna, Austria, with the support of the Renner Institut

The participants prepared articles and exchanged views on further issues such as, the core sense of politics and the mission of political parties, the challenge of politicising politics, collectivist logic in addressing fragmented, evolving society, building a new narrative, constructing a social contract, explaining the contemporary economic order, the European partisan model and lessons from the American Experience.

Amongst the presentation from the focus group, this meeting also held an exchange between the focus group and the PES Progressive Societies initiative in order for the FEPS research to feed directly into the PES project.

FEPS Next Left Focus Group

 $15^{\text{th}}-16^{\text{th}}$ October $\mbox{\scriptsize I}$ Brussels, Belgium,

with the support of the Renner Institut

The third round of this year's cycle, the discussions were anchored around the themes prepared by the research group members on 'Equality being the core of economic policies, the Next social contract and the European social dialogue'.



FEPS Next Left Round Table

"Next Left: Progressive values as an electoral argument – Can an ideological appeal mobilize civic support in Baltic States?"

30th March | Riga, Latvia, with the support of the Freedom and Solidarity Foundation

Presentations from Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania discussed the history of political parties in the Baltics who are still quite young. It was agreed that the left needs to build its place in the party system in this region, continued development in the region will facilitate this.

FEPS Next Left "Dialogue of dialogues" "Next Left: Building the new communities"

$11^{\text{th}}-14^{\text{th}}$ April \blacksquare Boston, USA, Harvard Law School – IGLP, organised with the Renner Institut

The programme was put together as a continuation of earlier exchanges that took place at Brown University in 2010 and 2011. The European delegation was composed of some members of the Next Left research network. The discussions were built on the "Next Progressive Deal", "recognising the Next Left in Global Policies and Movements", "recognising the Next World of Labour" and "Next Left Values in parties' and electoral politics".

Building New Communities - Next Left book vol. 5

1st July I notes from Transatlantic Dialogue of dialogues

The leading threads of the inspiring debate on the future of progressivism from three continents. An outcome of the high-level workshop held in April 2012 at Harvard Law School with FEPS, Renner Institute and Institute for Global Law and Policy of HLS (IGLP). For all those seeking a progressive alternative worldwide this is an important reading.











Progressive values in the 21st century I Presentation of Next Left book

21st March | Berlin, Germany, organised with the FES

The meeting, proposed by FES, gathered 30 academics and party officials around the presentation of the FEPS article written by A. Skrzypek on "Progressive values for the 21st century". The article is a continuation of the research completed in 2011 within the Next Left Focus Group. It is available both in English and German.

Next Left: Building a new progressive majority I Next Left roundtable

20th April I Barcelona, Spain, Organised together with Rafael Campalans Foundation

"Organising, mobilising and legitimising - contemporary challenges for representative democracy" and

"What do the new generations expect from social democracy? There is demand, but is there supply?" were the themes of discussion. More than 80 people took part in the event in total, including representatives form the partner foundations and the Catalonian Socialist Party. The local press picked up on the debate and wrote about the outcomes positively.

After the Third Way I Seminar in the framework of Amsterdam Process and Next Left

24th – 25th April | Berlin, Germany, Organised together with Policy Network and Das Progressive Zentrum.

The event was held under the theme "After the Third Way" and was composed of two parts. The first one was a public lecture in Hertie School of Governance, which featured: A. Gusenbauer, P. Mandelson, P. Nuder and P. Steinbruck. The second one was the expert seminar, that took place on the following day.

What's left? I Next Left roundtable

12th May | Edinburgh, Scotland, UK, organised with the Fabian Society

This seminar aimed to outline the vision and policy agenda needed to renew and reinvigorate Scottish centre-left politics. Highlighting that the left needs to shape the field for it to be based on values and not independence. This debate is also relevant for other regions in a where nationalist and independent sentiment is growing. Over 120 people attended the event and served to relaunch the Fabian Society in Scotland.

Harvard Law School (HLS) Summer School I Participation of Next Left

30th May - 4th June | Boston, US, IGLP HLS

The FEPS delegation took part in the annual training that gathers high-level academics from around the world. Dr Alfred Gusenbauer, chair of the Next Left focus group gave a keynote lecture on the "future of progressive politics"

Labour's Next Majority I Next Left roundtable

30th June | London, UK, with the Fabian Society

Pamphlet, "The Shape of Things to Come" followed the conference, see publications

The annual summer conference which gathered over 200 people saw two keynote speeches from Ed Miliband and Harriet Harman. Further breakout sessions allowed participants to be involved in discussions on political apathy and campaigning strategies amongst other subjects of interest.



Lost or anew? American progressive Liberalism and European Social Democracy I conference in the framework of Amsterdam Process and Next Left 2nd – 3rd July I Oxford. UK, with Policy Network

Cooperation between the Next Left and Amsterdam Process projects.

The conference was devoted to the future of transatlantic progressivism and raised much interest among researchers on both sides of the Atlantic. It took place in the Nuffield College and was

organised with the support of IGLP HLS. It gathered 60 outstanding academics, senior politicians and strategic thinkers from both sides of the Atlantic, who during those two exciting days deliberated on issues such as: historical legacy of liberalism social democracy and the perspective for their future; democracy and trust in politics; challenge of market capitalism – between politics, economy and finance; the politics of redistributions – wealth, power and life chances; rhetoric and reality – the crisis as a paradigm shift. Among the speakers there were: Douglas Alexander, Tony Atkinson, Sheri Berman, Jared Bernstein, Craig Calhoun, Olaf Cramme, Colin Crouch, Paul De Grauwe, Catherine de Vries, Patrick Diamond, Jeffrey Frieden, Andrew Gamble, Alfred Gusenbauer, Jackob Hacker, Peter A. Hall; Anton Hemerijk, Jane Jenson, Lane Kenworthy, Roger Liddle, Will Marshal, David Milliband, Pippa Norris, Claus Offe, Bruno Palier, Rachel Reeves, Leopold Specht, Ania Skrzypek, Ernst Stetter, Frans Timmermans, Shirley Williams. The debate was very rich in terms of content (a full summary is available to read on FEPS website). The inputs were published in a book to come out in 2013 and it was agreed that due to the enthusiastic reception, this would be the first of a cycle of further events together.

Lost or anew? American progressive Liberalism and European Social Democracy I public event to follow discussions in Oxford the day before

4th July | London School of Economics, UK with Policy Network

The panel was composed of: Pippa Norris, Peter Hall and Jeffry Friedman, three of the foremost academics and political thinkers from Harvard University. Roger Liddle introduced the debate and Ernst Stetter chaired. This public event was organised in order to disseminate the echoes of the debates in Oxford towards a broader public. It offered a compelling comparison of how new doctrines, new concepts and new interpretations might shape the next stages of centre-left political thought and whether they afford the possibility of a paradigm shift beyond neoliberalism.

Rebuilding the European Left I Next Left fringe meeting

2nd October | Labour Party Conference, Manchester, UK, with the Fabian Society

Speaking were Urban Ahlin, Axelle LeMaire, John Denham, Ania Skrzypek and Marcus Roberts. The main focus was on the question whether left-wing parties can truly win in the times of austerity with their social agenda, having the financial and economic limitations in mind.

The state of the Left: Labour lessons from across Europe I Next Left fringe meeting

2nd October I Labour Party Conference, Manchester, UK, with Policy Network

Douglas Alexander, Peter Kellner, Patrick Diamond, Ania Skrzypek, Olaf Cramme, Achim Post and Stella Creasy MP had a lively discussion on what the UK Labour party can learn from the progressive family across Europe, how to assess where the energy is coming from and where can Labour lead the way in formulating and occupying a distinctive political space.

Growth, Employment and Welfare – European policies and national solutions I Next Left roundtable

17th October | Sofia, Bulgaria, with the Institute for Social Integration

Keynote speeches from Sergei Stanishev and Alfred Gusenbauer opened the conference and three panel debates were held afterwards on the "New Socio-economic paradigm", "the Comprehensive Challenge of achieving Growing Employment and Increasing Welfare" and "European Policies and National solutions".

Over 150 people attended.

"Transatlantic dialogue of dialogues" I preparatory meeting

25th-30th October, USA, with the Renner Institut

A coordination meeting to evaluate the cooperation so far and to plan for another conference due to be held in May 2013.

FEPS presentation of Next Left research programme at PES conference of secretaries general meeting Friday 22nd November I London UK, in cooperation with the UK Labour Party.

Presentation of the latest publications and recent analyses of the ongoing projects within the Next Left research programme to the representatives of the PES member parties.

The shape of things to come I Pamphlet

20th June I with the Fabian Society

A new shape is forming in Labour's new thinking in the UK under the political leadership of Ed Miliband. The rest of the continent is awaiting and the political debates are stemming across from the progressive family in Europe. Articles addressing how the public mood is capturing the political debate are featured. Edited by John Denham.

Winning for real - Gagner pour durer I pamphlet in English and French

25th October, Presented at PS France congress Toulouse, written by Ania Skrzypek, FEPS. A small concise article outlining ten fundamental challenges that the left faces in shaping the next part of the 21st Century in Europe. It provides intriguing questions on the future of both Europe and social democracy, calling for us not to assume that the true capacity to bring about change will come from being elected 'by default'.





INEW SOCIAL EUROPE

Social Europe can be understood as a broad term referring to an alternative, progressive vision for Europe. The core debate for a new social Europe is brought across FEPS work on welfare state, progressive economics, labour and progressive values. It is something which transcends all our working programmes. It is fully incorporated as such integrally into the principle theory of FEPS research and activities. Consequently as such, it would be very difficult to solely illustrate some certain elements in this section

FEPS Next Left Symposium I of working group and focus group

 $8^{th} - 9^{th}$ November I Berlin, Germany, in cooperation with the SPD and with the support of Renner Institut

On the invitation of SPD by A. Nahles to Berlin to present the Next Left research project FEPS decided to have a merger meeting of the focus group and working group. The result was positive and effective and really facilitated the exchange of views with party representatives and academics in Berlin and other invited guests from around Europe to feed into the debate there.

PROGRESSIVE EUROPEAN PARTY SYSTEMS

The future of democracy in Europe is very much in the forefront of debates presently. Participation and partisanship are essential to building a renewed credibility for political systems. The possibility of transnational parties will change the politicisation process with a hope to transform policies and bring further common debate and learning. Different platforms for debate and methodology of campaigning for various policies were investigated in this field of research.



FEPS Next Left Working Group on eurodemocracy and europarties

13th - 14th May I Vienna, Austria, organised with the Renner Insitut

This is a new working group that was established to use the context of the 20 years after Maastricht to debate the timely themes such as: future of democracy in Europe and vision for the European partisanship and parties' structures. Among academics gathered in the group are (all with minimum PhD in the respective field): S. Lightfoot, I. Hertner, M. Holmes, R. Ladrech. G. Mosschonos, S. Materazzo, S. Van Hecke, J. Schoenlau, D. Bailey, A. Krouwel, E. Kulahci, J. Sloan, A. Skrzypek. Abstracts from the members were presented and discussed at the meeting. Although several topics were thoroughly considered one could say that largely the discussions focused around European democracy, social democracy, transnational parties and the politicization of socio-economic policies today.

European themed workshops at UK Labour Party annual national policy forum for the National Executive Committee

16th & 17th June 2012 | Birmingham, UK, with Labour party

The discussions of the seminars will inform the drafting of the Labour Party's manifesto for the European Parliamentary elections. Four workshops on; 'jobs, growth and financial stability in Europe', 'how can the centre-left win again', 'Britain Europe and the world' and 'social Europe, sharing social values and a responsible labour market'.

European Observatory on Social Democracy I meeting

27th September I **Brussels, Belgium, with Policy Network, IDEAS, ItalianiEuropei, Fondation Jean Jaurès, Renner Institut.** A first meting was held to assess how to bring about a European public platform for debate on the internet. Looking at how to build an inclusive sphere taking into account different technological and political implications and contexts across the continent. This project hopes to gain momentum over the course of this year and the next few years to come.

New methodology of Euro campaigning I

article for the University of Vroclaw

December 2012 I written by Ania Skrzypek, Senior Research Fellow at FEPS following the Political Scientists of Poland Congress Written in Polish, no translation in English available.



RENAISSANCE FOR EUROPE

Renaissance for Europe: A Common Progressive Vision is the initiative began at the start of 2012. The idea initially was to help create a common discourse for the progressive family on European policies, in particular for France, Italy and Germany. The objective of this initiative is to ensure a success for the left in Europe and to create a new political, economic, social and ecological dynamic in the European Union. These three countries each having Presidential elections in 2012 and 2013, all founding members of the European Union each still with a very influential role in European politics too and in addition, each with socialist or social democratic parties in opposition who have a good chance of succeeding to power at the elections. FEPS together with the Fondation Jean-Jaurès, the ItalianiEuropei and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung sewed together the components of this vision. A working group of high-level experts was established.



Germany in and with and for Europe I Book of speech

January 2012 | Book collating speech of Helmut Schmidt in several languages

Former Federal Chancellor of Germany gave a speech to the SPD conference in Berlin in December 2011. This book gathers an awe-inspring vision, displaying outstanding experience and knowledge. The former Chancellor really grasped the intricacies of Europe and Germany's relationship in it and convinced the progressive audience of these messages along with those of a wider audience. He managed to assess the historical implications of what impact future policies could have on integration. This is very much a modern take on what Germany and Europe should be achieving. The speech served as an introductory document and foundation for the rest of the project which followed.

Renaissance for Europe. A Common Progressive Vision

With Fondation Jean Jaurès, ItalianiEuropei, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung $16^{\rm th}~\&~17^{\rm th}$ March 2012 l assemblée nationale et cirque d'hiver, Paris, France See notable event at the beginning of this pillar



EUROPEAN SOCIETY

Encompassing gender, diversity and democracy, this pillar looks at several aspects of how progressives, would like the society in which we live to be shaped. Looking notably at equality, freedom, democracy, legal aspects and how to encourage diversity. The notion of social inclusion and participation are large focuses of this field. Alongside this the activities under 'bridging the gap' aim to maintain a two-way dialogue between the European institutions and civil society. One of the main reasons for FEPS existence this part of activities encompasses trainings, research and debates, aiming to gather as many different actors from distinctive backgrounds as much as much as possible.

NOTABLE ACTIVITY IN THIS PILLAR:

Call to Europe! - Europe in the World

26th – 27th June 2012 | Brussels, Bibliothèque Solvay

Timely to analyse the effect of the European External Action Service (EEAS) on the EU's foreign policy since it has been put in place; the conference sought to look at how the EU can play a positive role in the world today be devoting two days of discussion with over 60 speakers from all over the world to international relations and the EU's foreign and security policy.

The conference was divided into three main sections; the first looked at the area of EU external cooperation in the areas of peace and security with the specific case study of Africa. The second session looked at the big philosophical debates which have divided progressives over the years and challenged whether EU soft power is enough. The final session assessed more practically the implementation of these ideas at policy level, with particular reference to South Eastern Europe and North Africa. These main conference sessions were followed by a debate of prominent former foreign ministers who discussed the issues raised during the course of the conference. The format of the conference was the same as 2011, where speakers were divided into designated representative groups such as elected politicians, academics and researchers from think tanks and universities, NGO's and civil society or speakers from an institutional background. This helped demonstrate during the discussions whether different backgrounds foster different experiences and perspectives. Rapporteurs from our Scientific Council and Young Academics Network were assigned to each session to give a round up of the debate. The conference brought together intellectuals, politicians and people from civil society to face the difficult issues at play. As such, the conference addressed many of the difficult issues both on Europe's doorstep and further afield.











In the framework of the Call to Europe conference a project entitled "Strengthening the Africa-EU partnership on peace and security: how to engage African subregional organisations and civil society" with Istituto Affari Internazionale was initiated (see more in our global solidarities pillar for more details) and an issue of Fresh Thinking magazine was dedicated to this topic (see magazines) each to complement the event.

Call to Europe was held in cooperation with the S&D group in the European Parliament, Istituto Affari Internazionale, European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity, Fundación IDEAS, Fondation Jean Jaurès, ItalianiEuropei and the Economic Council of the Labour Movement.



BRIDGING THE GAP

Encompassing the raison d'être of the European progressive Foundation, activities in this pillar span over initiatives such as the Call to Europe annual conference held in Brussels which aims to give different actors the chance to exchange views on topics of importance. Also the Young Academics Network existing now for several years develops progressive research, from a highly skilled group of young, professional academics. This is the area where FEPS as a platform interlinks between Brussels and its member foundations. Often training is an element within these activities.

FEPS Young Academics Network

The network is now composed of 30 pre- and post-doctoral researchers. The themes of the working groups are:

- Energetic Security implications in an era of changes
- Education, Labour and skills
- Economic Governance in the EU
- Migration and Reassessment of integration models
- Youth unemployment
- Social Europe and public support

This year the network opened up to 12 new members who joined the network in November and will continue to participate. However it has been agreed that the format of the network will change in 2013. Until now the cycles have been for one and a half years but from 2013 onwards the cycles will be for one year. At the moment the members meet very intensively three times a year, heavy preparation of the papers are done in advance ready to present and discuss at the meetings. This network provides a further motivation for young researchers, to build on their investigations and acts as a training tool for those that wish to really push progressive thinking further. Without doubt the reflections of this group greatly serve the work of FEPS and its members into bringing fresh concepts to the forefront of the agenda.

FEPS Young Academics Network

 $1^{st} - 4^{th}$ March I Vienna, Austria, with the support of the Renner Institut

This meeting was devoted to advancing the research of the 2nd cycle of FEPS Young Academics.

FEPS Young Academics Network

 $6^{th}-8^{th}\ July\ I\ Vienna,\ Austria,\ with\ the\ support\ of\ the\ Renner\ Institut$

This meeting was devoted to finalising the 2nd cycle papers and hence much of work was completed within the respective working groups. An innovative element of the programme was an exchange with the Indian Young Academics, who contributed previously to the FEPS Queries 6 "Asia: What's Next? An Indian Perspective" and who had been invited thanks to outstanding assistance of the FEPS Special Consultant on Asia, K. Voll.

FEPS Young Academics Network

1st -5th November, Vienna, with the support of the Renner Institut

This meeting was the last of the 2nd cycle, hence served the purpose of finalizing the research on one hand, and designing the subsequent round that is to take place in 2013.

Call to Europe! I Europe in the World Annual conference

26th – 27th June 2012 I Brussels, Bibliothèque Solvay See notable activity at the beginning of this pillar

Ponti per Europa Summer School

September I north, central and southern Italy with Fondazione Socialismo

A project of education and dissemination of skills on Progressive European issues with academics, students and young politically motivated representatives. A series of seminars were held over a month in Milan, Rome and Naples.

European regional forum meeting I The future of Scotland in Europe: a left vision of our future

14th November 2012 | Edinburgh, UK, with the Labour party

A discussion led by David Martin, Catherine Stihler and Juan Fernando López Aguilar MEPs and Johann Lamont MSP Leader of the Scottish Labour party with delegates and members of the public.

European regional forum meeting I Jobs summit

16th November I Chatham, Kent, UK, with the Labour party

An exhibition of businesses, providing young people the opportunity to meet with employers from across the region as well as international organisations. Three workshops, focusing on developing key skills, ran alongside the exhibition and a speech from Peter Skinner MEP on Youth unemployment across Europe.

IL SOCIALISMO NEL MONDO GLOBALE -120 anniversary of the Italian PS

29th-30th November, Rome, Italy, with Fondazione Socialismo

A two-day conference looking back at the history and achievements of the socialist movement in Italy. High-level speakers and participants gathered together to celebrate and discuss the significance and future perspectives of freedom, equality, labour and capital, welfare state and social democracy.

Rethinking Europe: changing perceptions of EU affairs I research project

June - November | with the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR), UK

A wide-reaching research project gathered results of public opinion polls and two workshops were carried out. It resulted in the publication of a report released in November 2012 entitled "Staying In: A reform plan for Britain and Europe", which argues the pro-European case for the UK staying in the EU. The launch of the report will be held around a debate in Brussels in February 2013 – "Staying in: Keeping Britain in the EU".

GENDER EQUALITY

An important strand of FEPS work, evidently we still face a large challenge in achieving gender equality. FEPS work on this area looks at European and Transatlantic attitudes and processes. It gives a lot of focus also to the participation of women in professional and political life. It looks also at different socio-economic effects such as the current crisis and how this has affected the process of reaching better representation of women in society.

Egalité entre les femmes et les hommes - Ne pas y renoncer, malgré la crise I seminar and presentation of paper

24th March 2012 | with the Fondation Jean Jaurès

This year's "Femmes d'Europe, entre elles" seminar focused on the various long term effects of the crisis under the title "Crisis and gender equality: Mission impossible?". The event gathered thirty participants from various EU Member States with different fields of expertise concerning the question of gender equality. Presentations from different regions offered opinions and insight on a wide range of serious gendered effects of the crisis and alternatives to address them.

Egalité entre les femmes et les hommes - Ne pas y renoncer, malgré la crise I paper

June 2012 I by Ghislaine Toutain, with the Fondation Jean Jaurès

This study details the information gathered during the discussions as well as lists the proposals that were made in the final session of the seminar. It was examined how the crisis is affecting the ongoing struggle of equality that women face. Suggestions on how to combat this, starting with balancing political representation for instance, fighting precarious working standards and how to bring a culture of professionalism to women's work at home.



Woman up! Women's representation in politics and business I Fourth Transatlantic gender seminar

18th-19th October 2012 | Brussels, Belgium, with the Fondation Jean Jaurès

WOMAN UP!

With the fourth Transatlantic gender seminar, FEPS aims to go beyond the approach of the use of quotas which is currently seizing European media debates. It's objective is to gather academics, business representatives and politicians from both sides of the Atlantic and create a platform for presenting their best and worst practices linked to the different stages of political or carrier empowerment. A publication will be released in spring 2013 with the title of this activity gathering articles brought about from the seminar which focuses on a Transatlantic gender dialogue, political, business and academic perspectives on women's representation.

30

Women's empowerment in Central and Eastern Europe" I seminar

17th November, Budapest, with the CEE Network for Gender Issues The objective of this seminar was to highlight FEPS work on gender equality with a particular focus in this seminar also on enhancing democracy in the South East European region, which was the theme of the seminar the previous day (see understanding diversity pillar). The main messages of this seminar is that reinforced democracy in this region would benefit other member states in Europe and would in turn facilitate the process of social consolidation and equality for women and men.





LEGAL INSPIRATION AND INTEGRATION

The FEPS Jurists network constitutes the fundamental part of this pillar. This year there has also been a focus on regional integration within the European Union and looking at criteria for protecting the fundamental principles of the European Union.

FEPS Jurists Network meeting – "Protecting the fundamentals"

7th June 2012 | Brussels, Belgium

The meeting was centred around a presentation from the author of the FEPS paper by C. Pinelli entitled "Protecting the fundamentals" which examines article 7 of the Treaty of the European Union and its various mechanisms. A long discussion was held to assess what else could be envisioned under current EU law as it is currently perceived to be insufficient. The discussions served as input for the paper which was then published in September 2012.

Protecting the fundamentals I Publication

September 2012 | Cesare Pinelli, FEPS Jurists Network

Article 7 of the TEU and beyond is the focus of the study, from the Copenhagen criteria it looks at the specifics of this article and assesses in what scope other mechanisms could evolve to act when a breach of the Union's principles of 'liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and the rule of law' occurs.

Strategic Issues for the EU10 Countries - Main Positions and Implications for EU Policy Making

15th November I Budapest, Institute of World Economics of Hungary book launch with the Institute of World Economics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Illustrating and analysing the behaviour of the ten Central and Eastern European member states (EU10) in the formulation of some of the most topical policies under discussion in the European Union. Country case studies in the book examine the individual political and economic situations, drawing this together with how those countries react to policy making on areas such as agriculture, energy, financial frameworks and cohesion policies. Interventions were given from representatives of these countries at the book launch. Edited by Krisztina Vida.

The impact of the CEE countries on EU policy-making I Mid-term assessment of the book

30th March 2012 | Bratislava, Slovakia, with the Institute of World Economics of Hungary

Mid-term assessment of the same book. A small seminar was held amongst the authors of the articles to discuss their papers and give each other feedback and ensure coherence before revising their contribution for the final version published in November 2012.

UNDERSTANDING DIVERSITY

Migrations, multi-ethnic societies and the right to freedom and democracy are incorporated in this strand of work. A very broad area of research, it looks at the process of enlargement but also looks at the challenges we face in European Society today and how we can find progressive solutions to current issues.

Copenhagen revisited project is the name given to the research project that FEPS is carrying with the European Forum for Democracy in Solidarity (EFDS) under the quest of looking at the enlargement process in a multi-layered context. It considers the change in attitudes towards enlargement, the institutional and political aspects alongside differences in regional, bilateral and internal challenges of (potential) candidate countries. Of course taking into account specific sensitive cases. The project aims to be solution oriented and aims to look at a renewed progressive engagement towards enlargement, based on the values of freedom, solidarity and equality. This, from several angles, actually led to the core question of what kind of society we want to live in. Various components constitute the full project with research, assessment visits, publications, international conferences and workshops, described below:

EU enlargement: A never ending hurdle? I seminar

 11^{th} February 2012 I Skopje, Macedonia, with European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity, Progress Foundation in Macedonia and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

The seminar discussed political obstacles in aspirant countries and the challenges for EU member states and institutions. Three case studies were presented at the seminar; Macedonia, Kosovo and Turkey. The discussions served as input towards the book published in 2013.

Fact finding mission to Turkey I Copenhagen revisited project

25th -29th March 2012 | Istanbul and Ankara

The aim of the fact-finding mission was to establish a discussion on the official standpoint on the EU accession. By identifying and analysing challenges for the enlargement process, research was conducted and dialogues were held about how the perception of EU has changed in Turkey. Specific meetings for areas of concern were held on topics such as constitutional reforms, minority rights, freedom of expression, women's rights. These were held with government officials, politicians, civil activists and media-representatives. Yet these official positions were cross-checked by also meeting civil society.

EU has disappeared from the front pages in Turkey I Report

April 2012 | by Jan Marinus Wiersma, Judit Tánczos, Danijel Tadic

This report was written as a follow-up to the fact-finding mission in Turkey. It assesses the main challenges currently of Turkey's accession process, changing priorities for Turkey and the relations with EU foreign policy and current reforms in Turkey which are changing the political scenery.

EU Enlargement: Beyond promises I Study and dialogue meetings

18th -22nd June 2012 | Brussels, Belgium, with the European Forum for Democracy and solidarity

A week-long visit of 12 participants from the South East European region in Brussels to hold meetings with representatives from the European institutions, MEPs, NGOs. During the last two days, the group participated and gave interventions at FEPS Call to Europe Conference. Their experience and knowledge brought a very fresh angle into this part of the enlargement project, especially for the Brussels public.



EU enlargement Anno 2012 I Book

October 2012 I Outcome of the Copenhagen revisited research programme, financed by S&D group in the European Parliament with research contribution from FEPS.

Examining where we are currently in 2012 concerning what we have learned from past EU enlargements and how do these affect the perspectives of the remaining (potential) candidate countries. In particular the book focuses on the role of public opinion and how this plays on progressive values during the considerations of enlargement. Edited by Hannes Swoboda, Ernst Stetter and Jan Marinus Wiersma.

EU enlargement Anno 2012 book launch I Copenhagen revisited project

14th November 2012 | press launch and book presentation Brussels

Book presentations scheduled for the Hague, Bucharest and Zagreb in 2013 with the European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity and the S&D Group.

Several book launches held around Europe to promote the book and hold discussions on the work. Many of the authors and contributors participated at the first one and will indeed continue to spread the outcome of their work in 2013.



International Migration, human development and integrating societies I first part of a two-part study with Migration policy Group

July 2012 | author Jan Niessen, Director of the Migration Policy Group

This paper follows migrants on their journey and suggests policy responses corresponding to each step of this journey. The complexity of the changes individuals and societies are undergoing means that there are no easy answers. The paper deals first with the reasons why people migrate, what they aim to achieve and the immigration conditions to which they are subject, before turning to what they do to adapt and become active citizens of receiving societies. It provides background information and facts on global migratory movements and socio-economic change in Europe. Finally, it describes the accompanying integration challenges and opportunities and makes suggestions for policy responses.

Strategies for cross-ethnic cooperation in multi-ethnic society

24th February | Riga, Latvia, Brivibas Foundation

A debate on the perspective of multi-ethnic political forces establishing in Latvia, following the referendum on Russian as second state language has radicalised and divided the Latvian society in terms of nationalist aspirations and sentiments. The centre-left would like to unite different social groups together regardless of ethnic background. This debate had particular relevance in the region but echoes similar debates around Europe. Several hundred people followed the discussion on-line on Latvian news portal tynet.lv and public policy portal politika.lv.

Is equality the price to pay for European stability? I Workshop at ECOSY Winter University

7th March 2012 | Brussels, Belgium, with ECOSY

Discussion organised for the participants of the ECOSY Winter University which serves as a training tool for their members. Speaking were Kaisa Penny from Ecosy, Conny Reuter from Solidar, Judit Tánczos from FEPS with moderation from Ernst Stetter of FEPS. Taking into account the current crisis, the debate initiated a discussion on how women's moves are influencing the debate on equality and what effect does this have on European stability. As the topic of this event was very timely with the publishing of FEPS latest edition of Queries magazine on a similar topic, "The next women's move" the event also served as a launch for this issue of the magazine.

Migrant and low wage workers and the search for Decent work I seminar and publication

25th April 2012 | European Parliament, Brussels, organised with SOLIDAR

The seminar brought together NGO representatives, experts and MEPs to gauge opinion about how to promote decent work and quality jobs through effective industrial relations, social dialogue and the provision of better information and training of workers. Fact findings from the field on sectors and employees that are particularly suffering from indecent working conditions were discussed and commented by policy-makers and relevant EU stakeholders in the field of industrial relations.

Publications with Solidar as an outcome of the project:

- 1 Reframing industrial relations, young people, migrants and low-wage workers
- **2** Protecting low-wage workers: *Briefing on the situation in the Netherlands*



Young people, migrants and low wage workers: Reframing industrial relations I seminar and publication

30th May 2013 | International Trade Union House, Brussels, organised with SOLIDAR

Six case studies on reframing industrial relations, produced in six EU member states were presented at the seminar. The debates covered how to mobilise and empower young people and the challenges of overcoming precariousness and non-standard employment.

Publications with Solidar as an outcome of the project:

- 1 Being young and precarious in Denmark: Briefing on the situation in Denmark
- 2 Young workers and the quest for decent work: Briefing on the situation in Estonia
- 3 Youth unemployment and the decent work deficit: Briefing on the situation in Lithuania
- 4 Making industrial relations work the working poor: Briefing on the situation in Italy
- **5** Combating discrimination against migrant workers: *Briefing on the situation in Italy*
- 6 Recruitment agencies and their impact on working conditions: Briefing on the situation in Romania

Challenge for Democracy in the EU and Latvia in the future - How much democracy do we need?

20th July 2012 | Riga, Latvia with the Freedom and Solidarity Foundation

A closed seminar with invited experts in the morning followed with a public debate in the afternoon between representatives from Latvian Parliamentary parties. The forum looked at participatory tools in democracy. Talk developed on subjects concerning some in Latvia such as changes in the current referendum law, initiating and funding arrangements for referendums, the opportunity to vote via internet and gains and losses from youth participation in elections from age 16 years. The event was live-streamed and social media debates followed.

Challenges for progressives in the SEE region, focus on gender

 6^{th} - 7^{th} September 2012 I Korčula, Croatia, with the CEE Network on Gender Issues

The Korčula School's key objective is to serve as a platform for a regular substantive political exchange of good practice, lessons and solutions on gender equality issues among women and men leaders. Ailing to encourage members of left wing political parties in the Western Balkans. There were 30 participants altogether, men and women.





Democracy, Freedom and Liberty in Central and Eastern Europe I report and seminar

6th October 2012 I Published report written by Attila Agh, Professor, Corvinus University of Budapest

The author argues that there is a triple crisis in the new member states, that of a decline in democracy, good

governance and competitiveness. A more cohesive Europe is called for.

Democracy, Freedom and Liberty in Central and Eastern Europe I Seminar and public conference

15th - 16th November 2012 I Budapest organised with the Tancsics Mihaly and József Attila Foundations and Policy Solutions Invited academics, party and think tank representatives interconnected and discussed on how to strengthen Europe through fighting anti-democratic trends, enhancing pluralism against increasing extremism and how revitalising European integration could help overcome the current anti-European mood. Attila Mesterházy MSZP gave a keynote speech along with European political leaders. They presented their visions of the role of the region in enhancing European democracy whilst András Inotai, researcher, presented new socio-economic paradigm. A public conference and expert round-tables were held with the aim to steer the progressive discussion on the political challenges in the CEE region.

Research and Policy Days conference on religion and politics

13th November I with the Kalevi Sorsa Foundation, Helsinki, Finland

The annual event this year focused on the interaction of religion and politics. the Arab Spring and its aftermath were explored, the comeback of religion in secular Europe and the keys to coexistence, how religion affects the US presidential elections and foreign policy, and finally, the place of religion in Finnish politics.

SUSTAINABLE ECONOMY

Rebuilding progressive political economy to foster a new model of development is the key objective of this pillar. Work in this area is long-term and some is looking t more short term approaches to provide best solutions to different approaches. Theoretical bases of left wing economic policy critically evaluates the current financial system.

NOTABLE ACTIVITY IN THIS PILLAR:

Beyond Austerity: Alternative policies for Employment and Growth I conference

2nd and 3rd May 2012 | Rome, with the Initiative for Policy Dialogue and Italianieuropei

Almost 30 politicians and renowned economists including Joseph Stiglitz, Mario Monti, Giuliano Amato, Pier Carlo Padoan, Ricardo Lagos, Stephany Griffith Jones gathered for two days to explore a vision of alternative progressive policies for generating recovery from the crisis and long term growth. The kinds of policies Europe is currently pursuing based on austerity will ultimately lead to low growth and risk a recession that could perpetuate the financial crisis. The conference discussed alternative macroeconomic policies, the mobilisation of resources for investment, as well as financial and banking regulation. A cross-section of academics and policymakers invited as speakers lent itself to a rich and valuable discussion on this very timely topic. The themes discussed covered, 'A new vision for EU economic policy', 'New Progressive solutions for long-term growth - best ways for overcoming the crisis', 'Generating resources for investment', 'Financial and banking regulation'. A public televised debate was held live in the evening of the first day in the old centre of Rome between Mario Monti Prime Minister of Italy and Joseph Stiglitz, Co-President IPD and Nobel Prize winner in economics, chaired by Massimo D'Alema. The debate attracted over 500 spectators to witness the two go head-to-head, Stiglitz challenging Monti's divisive economic policies.





| ECONOMIC RECOVERY

Alternatives to the crisis unfortunately are not being voiced loud enough. They do exist and FEPS has been working committedly with its partners to try and bring sustainable solutions to the crisis in order to ensure economic recovery. The political crisis has demonstrated that progressive and conservative values diverge largely. We need to go beyond austerity, investment is key to reshaping our economies.

Beyond Austerity: Alternative policies for Employment and Growth I conference

2nd & 3rd May 2012 I Rome, with the Initiative for Policy Dialogue and Italianieuropei See notable activity at the beginning of this pillar

Generating Resources for Investment I Background document for the conference

May 2012 | by S. Griffith-Jones, Columbia University and FEPS consultant

A key part of the discussion in Europe is how to urgently restore growth in a climate where financial markets are unwilling to finance sovereign debt of many countries at reasonable cost. A central issue is how best to design macroeconomic policies for this purpose. Complementary to this is how to mobilise resources to kick-start investment. There is a great need for creative thinking, to achieve the latter. This can be done both by using existing and new instruments argues the author. Article also available in French.

Investment and confidence can help Europe out of the crisis I Paper

May 2012 by Signe Hansen, Senior Economist at European Council of the Labour Movement, (ECLM), Denmark The study entitled 'Gloomier outlook for Europe: Outlook and scenarios for the European economy' concludes that investment ratios are low and private savings surpluses are high in Europe. This indicated that there is a great potential in creating confidence in the European economy and in this way increase consumption and investment.

Austerity is not the Solution! - Contributions to European Economic Policy Analysis I Book

This book provides contributions from around 20 leading academics and various political leaders engaged in the debate on the framework of the future of economic policy in Europe. They all share the view that austerity measures, only magnified under the fiscal compact, cannot be the right answer to alleviate the crisis that we have now been experiencing for several years.

Social Democracy, Debt and European Lender of Last Resort I article

September 2012 by F. Menager-Aranyi Secretary General of Eurocité think tank

The current European crisis underlines that the issues related to the status of the European Central Bank. This article aims at defining what concrete and realistic measures could be taken to reform the EU's financial architecture to endow it with a structure that would limit and prevent the consequences of recent crises. To do so, it first studies historical and theoretical evolutions that affect the notion of lender of last resort and then, underlines its key evolutions and epistemic turnarounds.

Lunch fringe meeting at Labour Party annual conference – The Eurocrisis, an agenda for trade, jobs and growth

1st October 2012 | Manchester, UK with Labour Party

For business, trade and growth it would be unquestionable for the UK to leave the EU. All the panellists all demonstrated how important being member of the EU is to the UK. Speakers: Larry Elliott - Guardian Economics Editor, Phillip Souta - Director of Business for New Europe, Arlene McCarthy MEP, David Martin MEP and Ernst Stetter.



FINANCIAL MONETARY POLICY

Policy views are still based on neo-liberal views, because of a lack of a clear assessment of the deep roots of the crisis. Tackling public spending is not the only way out of the crisis. Shares of wages, investment rates, deficit and surplus countries and private financing should be relevant mechanisms when assessing economic recovery. A sound employment policy is vital and in order to achieve this we need a sound monetary and industrial policy.

Shifting Europe from Austerity to Growth: A proposed investment programme for 2012-2015 I Paper June 2012 I Written by S. Griffith-Jones, Columbia University (New York) and FEPS consultant, Matthias Kollatz-Ahnen, former Senior Vice-President of the European Investment Bank & Lars Andersen, Director of the European Council of the Labour Movement (ECLM), Denmark

The paper presents concrete proposals (with appropriate figures and estimates) to significantly increase lending by the European Investment Bank as well as other measures (notably the use of structural funds and project bonds), so as to meaningfully advance the European Union growth agenda. Indeed, modelling work included in the paper shows that highly needed jobs, especially for the youth, could be created in the European Union with the proposed measures. Translated into French, German, Spanish and Greek languages.





Presentation of the paper Shifting Europe from Austerity to Growth A proposed investment programme for 2012-2015

18th June 2012 | Brussels, organised with ECLM - European Council of the Labour Movement (ECLM) Denmark

The three authors of the paper presented their findings in front of a selected audience of European policy makers.

Industrial policy in Europe I Study

June 2012 | with Eurocité think tank

Written by Julien Mendoza & Stéphane Rouhier

This study explains what an industrial policy is, shows how its doctrines are not always very comprehensible for the non-economists and proposes some guidelines for further reflexion. It is an explanation of how the European industrial policy has progressed and been implemented at the level of the European institutions.

EU Economic Forecast I publication

26th September 2012 I with European Council for Labour Movement, Institut für Makroökonomie und Konjunkturforschung (ECLM), Observatoire français des conjunctures économiques (OFCE) and S&D Group in the European Parliament

Because of the crisis it has been difficult to forecast the GDP growth compared to forecasts made in more "normal periods". Several forecasts have been made both as baseline scenario and negative scenario. Similar forecasts to this have been produced and published since 2008 on the economic situation in the European Union.



| ECONOMIC GOVERNANCE

Nobody has been able to show that the economy, through the intermediation of the markets, could reach a state of rest satisfying individual desires. On the other hand it has been proven that this axe of research had to be dropped because of its internal inconsistency. Consequently the rhetoric on the necessity to liberalise markets has therefore to be interpreted as political ideology.

Moving forward with mutuals and co-operatives: Social innovation and public service reform I seminar 28th March 2012 I London, with Solidar, Policy Network and Gauche Réformiste Européenne

The second in a seminar series began in 2011. This one aimed to present the findings of the previous seminar and focused on the analytical content of mutual organisations and which ones are the most effective, considering their feasibility and appeal. Practitioners and representatives from private businesses alongside academics, NGOS, political and think tank representatives from across Europe took part.

The Economic Governance in the European Union: Is there an alternative to austerity to leave the crisis?

25th May 2012 | Barcelona, with Rafael Campalans Fundació

A very intriguing seminar which sought to assess what went wrong to exacerbate the crisis and to search for alternative economic polices and solutions. Thanks to the speakers it examined a very global perspective on a crisis that is dramatically hitting Spanish people at the moment.











From the Current Spanish Economic Situation to a European Banking Union I article

October 2012 | Author Ana Otero, FEPS Junior Economic Adviser

This article charts the evolution of Spain's economic situations to a nascent European Banking Union. It spurs from the recent spate of restructuring of the banking sector amid the ongoing saga of the Euro crisis and bailout. The paper calls for an effective growth agenda to be developed for Spain and the EU and suggests measures of how this could be possibly brought about under the formation of a banking union.

Full Employment Seminar

3rd December 2012 | Helsinki, Finland, organised with the Kalevi Sorsa Foundation

Professors James K Galbraith and L. Randall Wray and renowned Finnish economist gave keynote speeches. The event concluded that governments are not dependent on global bond markets and real full employment is still a viable policy objective.

Eurovisions - Reports on meetings of the Council of the European Union

Six reports throughout the year at each Council summit. By Maria João Rodrigues, Special adviser in the European Union institutions

1 Eurovisions - The difficult birth of a new treaty I Paper

Assessing the European Council of 30 January 2012

2 Eurovisions - Growth versus Fiscal Consolidation I Paper

Assessing the European Council of 1-2 March 2012

3 Eurovisions - Is the political tide turning in Europe - The 'Hollande effect' I Paper

Assesment of the informal European Council of 23rd May 2012

4 Eurovisions - Turning the tide. But still not enough? I Paper

Assesment of the informal European Council of 28-29 June 2012

5 Eurovisions – Exploring a new Economic and Monetary Union I Paper

Assessment of the European Council of 18-19 October 2012

6 Eurovisions – An unbalanced Road Map for the Economic and Monetary Union I Paper

Assessment of the European Council of 13-14 December 2012

| ECONOMIC THEORY

Research on economic theory for progressives is fundamental at this present time. FEPS is deeply developing its work using mainly classical, Keynesian and institutional economics. Primarily interested in the possible theoretical foundations of a social-democratic emploment and growth policy. Various publications assess different economic models. Taking into account the considerations of economists, the aim of the Next Left Economic Circle aims to bring various concepts of economic theory to policy makers in Brussels.

3rd Next Left Economic Circle

The Euro crisis and the need for an alternative economic policy package for the Euro area

Guest speaker: Engelbert Stockhammer I Economist at Kingston University. London

9th February 2012 | Brussels

The speaker established the origins of the crisis to the neoliberal economic policy regime in the EU. A European welfare state based on coordinated collective bargaining that aims at higher wage growth in trade surplus countries, speed bumps for financial flows and a European social security system would be economically viable and prevent many of the imbalances that have led to the present crisis.

4th Next Left Economic Circle

The fiscal compact: An heterodox analysis.

Guest speaker: Malcolm Sawyer | Professor of Economics

at Leeds University Business School.

11th April 2012 | Brussels, with GPF

The speaker reflected with the audience on the new fiscal compact put forward by European leaders.

It seems to us very orthodox in theory and may result in negative outcomes, reinforcing the current macroeconomic, financial and sovereign crisis. However, some views and policies, based on alternative heterodox economic thinking, allowing to expect a higher and more balanced and sustainable economic growth, can be envisaged.









5th Next Left Economic Circle

Austerity in Europe: a critical post-keynesian approach and the Canadian experience.

Guest speaker Marc Lavoie I Professor in the Department of Economics at the University of Ottawa, Canada

20th June 2012 | Brussels, with GPF

Marc Lavoie argued the critical reflections on fiscal consolidation as part of stock-flow consistent models, with a retrospective of Canadian cases. He explained the finance function in a closed economy, the imbalances in the euro area and the Canadian case of budgetary consolidation from 1995

6th Next Left Economic Circle

Guest speaker: Henri Sterdyniak I Co-President of the 'appalled economists' *(économiste atterrés) and* Head of the "Economics of Globalisation" department at the OFCE (Observatoire français des conjonctures économiques)

4th December 2012 | Brussels, with GPF

This was a thorough demonstration of other perspectives to the current situation. Despite obvious failures, alternative theoretical foundations are not reconsidered in European economic policy choices. Alternative reading of the EC Annual Growth survey is available.









Rethinking Social Risk in the Nordics I Book

January 2012 | Edited by Ville Pekka Sorsa, University of Helsinki

This part of the 'Nordic Economies after the Crisis' project, started by FEPS in 2010 with the support of the Finnish Kalevi Sorsa Foundation, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Joint Committee of the Nordic Social Democratic Labour Movement (SAMAK), Economic Council of the Labour Movement in Denmark and Swedish Arbetarrörelsens Tankesmedia.

This volume sheds light over the Nordic approaches to social risk and provides new theoretical approaches to the politics of social risk more generally. It also provides new insights to and critiques of the contemporary Nordic politics of social risk. It is essential reading for all international political actors and scholars interested in the Nordic public policies and politics of social risks.

Rethinking Social Risk in the Nordics":

Is the Nordic Model a solution to get out of the crisis? I Book presentation

1st February 2012 | Brussels, with Kalevi Sorsa Foundation and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung

A lively gathering of renowned interested economists and policy makers from Brussels to hear about the latest publication on the Nordic welfare regimes. A timely debate of course characterised by looking at effective management of social risk and how this can lead to high levels of economic competitiveness, social cohesion and well-being.

Inequality and the Crisis I TASC autumn conference

19th & 20th October 2012 | Dublin, Ireland, with TASC

The conference looked at how inequality is fuelling the crisis and 'austerity' is fuelling inequality. A full two-days with many renowned speakers from Ireland and the rest of Europe. Discussions covered taxation, public services and breakout sessions looked at innovation growth and jobs for a sustainable recovery.



Progressive Economy - Independent Annual Growth Survey (iAGS)

November 2012 I FEPS with the S&D group and the European Council for Labour Movement (ECLM), Institut für Makroökonomie und Konjunkturforschung (IMK), Observatoire français des conjunctures économiques (OFCE)

Each year, these economic institutes aim to publish an 'Independent Annual Growth Survey' with an alternative set of analyses and recommendations to the European Commission's own Annual Growth Survey, which now defines the EU's and the member states' economic policy agendas. The Commission is underestimating the impact of austerity measures across Europe and propose to delay and spread the fiscal consolidation in respect of current EU fiscal rules, illustrates this report. The initiative is part of a wider platform created to launch a new and open space for public and informed debate on economic models and policies.

Series of discussion papers in English and Spanish

July – December 2012 I with the support of IDEAS Foundation, Spain

- The EU Financial instruments for research and development in the next EU multiannual financial framework | by
 Mario Köllig
- Los afectos del ajuste fiscal en las economias periféricas de la zona euro | by Josefa Calero y Reyes Maroto
- Development and social cohesion in Latin America | by Anna Ayuso
- In search of shared prosperity in Latin America: challenges and opportunities in an uncertain global world | by José
 María Fanelli
- The Rise of Latin American Regionalism: The same old thing? | by Susanne Gratius
- La Initiativa Ciudadana europea: profundizando en la democracia | by Aitor Martínez Kiménez
- Lecciones de la historia para la renovación socialdemócrata | by Aitor Martínez y Aitor Silván
- Formacíon professional y desempleo juvenile, entre la estrategia de Lisboa y Europa 2020 | by Loredana Stan
- La geografía de las industrias culturales y creativas en Europa I by Reyes Maroto y Casilda Cabrerizo



GLOBAL SOLIDARITIES

Internationalism being a core value of progressives, FEPS works in this field to develop foreign policy, relations with our neighbours and the role of Europe in a multi-level changing world. The emphasis is on mutual respect and on the potential to learn a great deal from the perspectives of others.

NOTABLE ACTIVITY IN THIS PILLAR:

A Progressive Agenda for a new Arab world: Listening to the Progressive Mediterranean

28-31 March | Tunis with Ettarkatol, GPF, PES, S&D Group

Held just after the overthrowing of the Tunisian, Egyptian and Libyan regimes, the long-term ongoing initiative of the 'Progressive Mediterranean' held a two-day conference with the aim to support our partners in the region and also with an objective to help inform the European institutions about the latest developments in this region. Mustapha Ben Jaafar, President of the Constituent Assembly opened the conference, along with Hannes Swoboda, S&D group and Sergei Stanishev, PES. Civil and human rights organisations and other representatives from civil society discussed together with politicians and academics from several countries in the North African region and Europe, in light of the historic revolutions and the ongoing demonstrations. Working groups over the two days focused their discussions on topics such as the challenges of a democratic transition, the role of the media, police and justice. Strengthening progressive political parties and movements within political and constitutional priorities, tackling unemployment and ensuring social and economic inclusion for all and looking at relationships with other countries in the region and how a new relationship with Europe could be fostered

A Declaration of Tunis and a 'Statement of Solidarity' with the Middle East and North African region were presented at the event. Supporting the conference and the project outlines they call for an inclusive economic and social development, regional integration and enhanced Euro-Arab relations.

Organised with the GPF, PES and S&D group.

This project incorporates several elements, along with working conferences such as these in Northern Africa and in Brussels, also regular constitutional seminars are held in Brussels and the 'Mobilising for Social Justice' project with Solidar were held throughout the course of the year. Each element complements the other in the crucial task of encouraging political dialogue and fostering the development of political pluralism.





GLOBAL GOVERNANCE AND SECURITY

Reinventing international relations and the role of the EU and the world are key tenets of the approach in this area. FEPS understands that domestic policy is inherently intertwined with foreign policy in the highly globalised 21st century. Thus, the manner in which the European Union deals with the rest of the world will touch areas such as the environment, energy, civil liberties, trade economics and finance.

Strengthening the Africa-EU partnership on peace and security: how to engage African sub-regional organisations and civil society I with Istituto Affari Internazionali

Throughout the year

This research project, culminated in the book with the same title and comprised two events: the first was the round table at Call to Europe in June (see Bridging the Gap pillar), which included a preliminary launch of the research in advance of the book. The second was an event dealing with the case study of Mozambique, which took place in Rome in October. The book was the result of a study which analysed the involvement of African regional organisations – regional Economic Communities (RECs) and Regional Mechanisms (RMIs) – and civil society actors, especially non-governmental organisations. It addressed current engagement in cooperation and the potential of civil society's contribution to Africa-EU relations in the field of peace and security, by looking at their interaction with institutions on the continent and their added value in sectors such as early warning, crisis management, mediation and training. Finally it offers some policy recommendations for the future implementation of the Joint Strategy, in particularly on the issues of dialogue, capacity-building and funding. Edited by Nicololetta Pirozzi.

Promoting peace and security in Africa. Lessons learned from Mozambique I seminar

17th October 2012 | Rome, with Istituto Affari Internazionali

On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the peace accord in Mozambique, the objective was to examine the lessons learned from the Mozambican case in terms of international cooperation and to put forward some ideas for management of current crises on the African context. The conference gathered together a large group of high-level participants from Europe and Africa, including representatives from national, regional and international institutions, experts from the research community and other civil society actors. Speakers included Giulio Terzi di Sant'Agata, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Italy, Oldemiro Baloi, Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of Mozambique, and Marco Impagliazzo, President of the Community of Sant'Egidio.



Divided They Stand: An Overview of Syria's Political Factions I Book

May 2012 I in cooperation with the Olof Palme International Center, written by Aron Lund,

a Swedish writer and journalist specialising in Middle Eastern affairs

This book presents one of the most comprehensive descriptions of the Syrian opposition available to date. It grapples with the problems caused by internal disagreements and severe structural weaknesses and the opposition's inability to provide an effective alternative to the Assad regime.

The uprising which erupted in Syria in March 2011 has become the most protracted and destabilising of all the revolutions now sweeping the Arab world. With the government weakened but the regime largely intact, the opposition has little hope of defeating Assad on its own. He, in

turn, seems equally unable to extinguish the protests. As the conflict grinds on, the anti-regime movement has increasingly turned to armed struggle, while sectarian sentiment is inflamed by conflict and violence as the country enters the early stages of a civil war.

EUROPEAN POLICIES AND OTHER CONTINENTS

STUDIES:

ASIA/INDIA

Decisive Elections in India: Instability Ahead? | 2 elections, 2 studies

- Pranab Mukherjee 13th President of the Republic of India written by Klaus Voll, FEPS Correspondent in Asia and Kamakshi Nanda, historian and political analyst
- Vice-Presidential Elections Hamid Ansari re-elected written by Klaus Voll, FEPS Correspondent in AsiaJuly 2012,

These two papers chart out the course of two elections, the Presidential elections of the Congress Party and the Vice-Presidential Elections in August. The authors examine the rousing profiles of the main candidates, and provide a concise explanation of the role and functions of the offices of President and Vice-President of the Republic of India.

India | Great Power on Shaky Feet? | study

9th July 2012 | Klaus Voll, FEPS Correspondent in Asia

The requirements for being a 'great power' and whether India meets these criteria are looked at in this paper. Assessing resources, economic factors, the political landscape, geopolitical positioning and military and soft power, he finds that domestic affairs will ultimately affect the position of India at a global level.

New Economic Measures and their Political Fallout in India I study

16th October 2012 I Klaus Voll, FEPS Correspondent in Asia and Kamakshi Nanda, political analyst and historian This article charts the political developments surrounding the policy change following the government's decision to allow foreign direct investments in multi-brand retail, aviation, energy and public broadcasting. Many thought that it would be the fall of the government but they seemed to have come through it. The study looks to the near future for further interesting developments for the world's largest democracy.

The Emerging US-China-India Triangle: Relevance for the EU I study

4th December 2012 I C. Uday Bhaskar, Director of the National Maritime Institute and formerly a Commodore with the Indian Navy

This article looks at the political, economic and military ramifications of the emerging triangle in 21st century geopolitics.

SOUTHERN AFRICA:

Zanufication of South Africa's ANC?

11th May 2012 | Arnold Wehmhoerner, FEPS Correspondent for Southern Africa

As people express concerns about the ANC, questioning whether it may be following a similar fate of Zimbabwe with the ZANU PF the author looks at the ANC party structures and assesses the democracy within the organisation and the threat of corruption versus the ideals of the liberation struggle.

The Marikana Massacre: Watershed in the History of Post-Apartheid South Africa? I study

18th September 2012, written by Arnold Wehmhoerner, FEPS Correspondent for Southern Africa

This article analyses the political landscape in light of the recent industrial strife in the mining sector. It looks at intra-union and intra-ANC politics and asks whether the political order to which South Africa has become accustomed is now in peril. It felt necessary to write on this issue especially after the autopsies of the 36 miners who were killed during the strike at the Marikana platinum mine when police opened fire revealed they had been shot in the back.



MFFTINGS.

Le liberalisme au service de l'Afrique ou l'Afrique au service du liberalisme? I Meetings

16th -22nd February 2012 | Dakar, Senegal, with the Global Progressive Forum (GPF) and Imagine Africa

In anticipation of the presidential elections in Senegal on 26 February 2012, a delegation including researchers and

elected officials from FEPS and the GPF spent a week meeting and discussing with different representatives in Dakar to promote relations between the EU and Senegal and to support its democracy. Conferences and roundtables were held in the presence of think tanks, associations and political organisations on several different topics where shared values were formulated and ideas merged.

Regional integration in a globalised world - Latin American Progress I conference

1st -5th March, Madrid, Spain, with Ideas

The meeting's objective was to open a process of discussion and debate among the progressive political and social actors in Latin America, as well as to generate proposals for a common agenda for the future. The conference aimed to provide progressive leaders with a space to share new ideas and policies in the challenging moment that we face, a time that demands internationally agreed policies.









DEMOCRACY AND PROSPERITY IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

A Progressive Agenda for a new Arab world: Listening to the Progressive Mediterranean

28-31 March | Tunis with Ettarkatol, GPF, PES, S&D Group

See notable activity at the beginning of this pillar

Seminar on constitutional reform - Arab Spring

7th June | Brussels, with Ettarkatol, GPF, PES, S&D Group

Continuing the dialogue established in Tunis in March, this conference was held in Brussels where the participants were able to discuss fully with political representatives in the European institutions on issues such as fundamental rights, political regimes and separation of powers and the civil and religious bearings in a constitution. The objective was to allow members of the constitutional or parliamentary assemblies to work together on the constitutional and judicial reforms and exchange their ideas and experiences on key subjects. Mouldi Riahi, President of Ettakatol in Tunisia and Nabeel Shaat, senior Palestinian official attended with leading Progressive European leaders and MEPs. From the southern Mediterranean region participants came from Tunisia, Egypt, Jordan, Algeria, Morocco and Palestine.

MENA - Mobilising for Social Justice in North Africa

26-27 June | Brussels, organised with SOLIDAR

A two-day series of working groups and conferences gathering representatives from Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Morocco, Palestine and European and international NGOs and associations. The key findings of the discussion – confirmed by the representatives of the region - reiterated the need to coherently address the lack of decent work, unemployment and poverty as key causes of the observed surge of migration from North Africa. The EU response to these flows, largely based on border security and selective migration management procedures as well as failing to commit to international human and labour rights standards, was viewed as inadequate.

SOLIDARITY: THE REASON TO FIGHT CLIMATE CHANGE

Solidarity being the social principle for the need to protect ourselves and future generations against climate change. This topic aims to hold small debates with experts over a range of different topics related to climate change. The focus is always taken from a social justice angle on how to respond to this challenge fairly and protecting the most vulnerable groups in society. Green economy is something which progressives are striving to work towards, however growth measurements need to be improved in order to improve in this area.

Something rotten in the CAP? The future of Europe's agricultural policy I Sustainable Europe lunch debate 29th February 2012 I Brussels, With the PES group in the Committee of the Regions

René Souchon, President of the Auvergne Regional Council (France) and Nella Mikkola, from the Committee of Professional Agricultural Organisations (COPA) discussed the future of the CAP, one of Europe's most disputed policies. Moderated by Mark Rogerson.

Climate Justice: meeting the fairness test. How to build public support for tackling climate change

26th March 2012 I with the Fabian Society, hosted by Amnesty International UK

The main panel discussions of the day focused on how to build public support for tackling climate change in the UK and Europe and how to respond to the challenge fairly while building public support for action. Presentations looked at what changes public behaviour and assessed vulnerability and fair responses. Keynote speech from Rt Hon Caroline Flint MP Shadow Secretary of State for Energy and Climate Change in the UK.

Green Economy conference

14th September I in Riga, Latvia, with the Freedom and Solidarity Foundation

We need to change how we measure growth and we need public momentum to support government policies in the environmental sector. These were the main messages from this conference which brought together politicians from across the spectrum, researchers, NGO's representatives, farming and other trade union representatives from various sectors.

Urban development: Mitigate, educate, participate! I Sustainable Europe lunch debate

21st November I with the PES group in the Committee of the Regions.

Speaking: Town Mayors and regional representatives from Germany, Denmark and Sweden. They presented different schemes that their regions are running in terms of housing, reducing CO_2 emissions, the very high use of renewable energy, transforming old industrial areas into new regeneration projects and much more.

FEPS MAGAZINES

The Next Women's Move I Queries Scientific Magazine I issue n° 7

This issue of "Queries" shows deliberations on the threats and opportunities for the feminist cause nowadays. Bringing together European and American perspectives, it presents the aims that need to be achieved by progressives worldwide if they are to champion equality in the 21st century and safeguard herewith their raison d'être. The title is to refer to the social situation that women are 'on the move'. The articles echo discussions from the gender equality research project.



The Mission of cosmopolitan social democracy I Queries Scientific Magazine I issue n° 8 July, in cooperation with Policy Network and Wiardi Beckman Stichting

The volume emerges from the 'Amsterdam Process' high-level seminar that was held in Brussels on 5th October 2011. It promotes 13 articles by progressive scholars from both sides of the Atlantic. The introductory remarks by Alfred GUSENBAUER and Pascal LAMY additionally anchor them strongly in the contemporary political debate at the global level, before our respective authors look at how these theoretical deliberations play out in relation to specific issues such as: new social movements, climate change, migration and European integration.



Democracy: The Next Turn I Queries Scientific Magazine I issue n° 9

November 2013

This Queries volume looks at European elections 2014 and the current mood in Brussels, the institutional architecture of the EU, how disenchanted citizens will vote and how the role of the EU is seen in national and international arenas. The questions have an ambition to provide stronger rooting to the progressive families' hopes towards 2014. The angle taken is one that builds on the research of European democracy, bringing the debate to a new level. Such terms as: governance, legitimacy and deliberative process shall gain adequately modern understanding, and hence the title of the issue. It is composed of 4 Chapters and made of 12 articles, which were written by European, American and Asian authors – and all make a pledge for the progressives to break the fatalistic political determinism and use 2014 in order to offer a feasible, distinctive political alternative.





The growing pains of Europe's youth I Fresh Thinking Magazine I n° 1/2012

Early spring

Focusing on the issues that young people face today and the change in social dimensions that huge youth unemployment is bringing in Europe today. Looking at the current everyday situation of bleakness, which is endangering a whole generation across Europe and the hate that this is fuelling. The change in political attitudes is clear and this issue considers how we can convey new prospects that can deliver for this generation.



Is EU foreign policy destined to fail? I Fresh Thinking Magazine I issue n° 2/2012

20th June

Published ahead of the Call to Europe conference which focused on 'Europe in the World' this issue presented the questions being asked about Europe's soft power and how the new European External Action Service (EEAS) is faring. How does the Union use it's potential in the international arena and what the obstacles could be.



The wake up call for democracy in Europe? I Fresh Thinking Magazine I issue n° 3/2012

End October 2012

This issue questions the need for what kind of democracy we are looking for in Europe today. Articles look at the rise of new movements, the role technology plays on political discourse and how progressives can restore faith in the EU's joint democratic process.



Trapped by austerity I Fresh Thinking I issue n° 4/2012

Mid December 2012

Europe on the brink of ruin had to be the theme of our issue. We considered that – four years after the beginning of this crisis – it is time to assess the first and concrete impacts of the crisis for the people and the economic system.



PARTICIPATION

Along with its statutory meetings, FEPS participates in various meetings of the PES networks and in particular in 2012 its Fundamental programme.

FEPS also tries to attend various conference of interest in Brussels regularly.

Quite often FEPS will also be invited to attend activities of its member organisations and affiliated partners.

FEPS participation at S&D Group Extraordinary Meeting – Democracy and the far right challenge I Participation

27th June 2012 | Bucharest, Romania

PES Young leaders delegation to China I Participation

 $16^{th} - 26^{th}$ July 2012 | Three different Chinese provinces

Study Trip to Mozambique with S&D Group leader I Participation

26th -29th August | Maputo

SI – Socialist International meeting in South Africa | Participation

29th August – 2nd September | Cape Town

PES Congress I Participation

28th - 29th September 2012 | Brussels

Forum du progrès social I Participation

 $11^{\text{th}}-12^{\text{th}}$ December 2012 I Paris, organised by the Fondation Jean Jaurès and Instituto Lula





COMMUNICATION

FEPS **new website** was launched at the end of 2011 and work continued at the beginning of 2012 to get it fully up and running with all the content and running items planned. The website is constantly being updated for the activities and often the layout is reviewed to better suit the work of the foundation. This is the exhibition hall of all our work and FEPS aims to display the work in the best and easiest fashion which is not always easy with such a large number of projects.

Social media is really developing fast, new apps, networks and programmes. FEPS aims to keep a breadth of the latest developments in this technological field and incorporate it as much as possible into our activities. This greatly helps to open out to new audiences and give further visibility to our work. The **Facebook & Twitter** pages (www.facebook. com/pages/FEPS/178074824775?v=wall & https://twitter. com/#!/FEPS_Europe) created still allow more interactive opportunities and are reference points for the foundation in the ever- growing social network. In 2012 it was reflected how this could be improved, however something which is very time consuming and needs constant attention.

Another initiative this year for the communication focus to open up to different audiences and ensure the fruits of our work reach the audiences we are aiming at and working for. Therefore the plan for a **bi-monthly newsletter** was developed ready to start in producing in 2013.

The **personal online blog** for the Secretary General of FEPS Ernst Stetter releases articles on a regular basis. It is called **'Fresh Thinking'** and is regularly picked as "Editor's choice" by EurActiv, the online European media outlet and the platform which hosts the blog.

Queries online scientific magazine in the format of a fluidbook released 3 issues in 2012. It was decided to supplement the online version with some printed versions sent to targeted networks, mainly because the target audience for this magazine benefits a lot from a printed journal.

Fresh Thinking quarterly printed magazine uses a lot of new tools and innovative features to particularly in the design layout to appeal to a range of audiences. This is FEPS 'out of the box' initiative which aims to open up debates to wider reaching and less traditional progressive readers.

Press coverage was good in 2012. The result of the Renaissance for Europe: a Common Progressive Vision event in Paris with the Presidential François Hollande offered wide coverage in many newspapers. Further journalist breakfast continue in the presence of Massimo D'Alema, President of FEPS and there is a lot of press interest in many of our other projects.



INSTITUTIONAL MATTERS

In the frame of its institutional obligations as they are set in its statutes, FEPS has held in 2012 a certain number of meetings of its decision-making bodies and held a number of coordination meetings, in particular with its privileged partners and members, namely the national political foundations.

INSTITUTIONAL EVENTS IN 2012:

24th November | Brussels | Coordination meetings between FEPS and its member national foundations and think tanks

23rd January & 20th June & 26th November | Brussels | Meetings of the Bureau of FEPS

3rd May & 5th December | Brussels | Meeting of the Scientific Council

20th June | Brussels | Annual General Assembly

In 2012, FEPS welcomed 2 new political foundations and think-tanks with full membership status, 1 observer member became full member and 2 new members with observer status. This now gives currently **48 member political foundations** and think tanks, of which 7 observer members, to which must be added the **39 PES-member political parties**, the Party of European Socialists, the S&D Group in the European Parliament, the PES Group in the Committee of the Regions, PES Women and YES. FEPS therefore counts total **87 members** organisations (of which 79 effective members and 8 consultative members).

The **Scientific Council**, meets twice a year. With around 35 members it was agreed by the General Assembly in 2012 to enhance the structure by opening up and enlargening to new members. This has been done over the year.

Many members of the Scientific Council participated again at the Call to Europe conference and of course many of FEPS other activities. The Council is the advisory board of the Foundation. The intellectual knowledge and expertise of the members of the Scientific Council serve to give direction and formulation to FEPS research and activities.





MEMBERS

FULL MEMBERS

Karl Renner Institut (Austria) I ■ Gauche réformiste européenne / Stichting Gerrit Kreveld / Institut Emile Vandervelde (Belgium) I ■ Institute for Social Integration (Bulgaria) I ■ Masarykova Dilnacka Akademie (Czech Republic) I ■ Johannes Mihkelsoni Keskus (Estonia) I ■ Solidar / European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity / Joint Committee of the Nordic Social Democratic Labour Movement SAMAK / CEE network for gender studies (Europe) I ➡ Kalevi Sorsa Säätiö (Finland) I ■ Fondation Jean Jaurès / Europartenaires (France) I ➡ Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (Germany) I ➡ Institute for Strategic and Development Studies ISTAME / Re-Public (Greece) I ➡ Jószef Attila Foundation (Hungary) / Tancsics Mihaly I ■ Fondazione Italianieuropei / Fondazione Instituto Gramsci / Fondazione Socialismo / Associazione Bruno Trentin / Centro Riforma Stato (Italy) I ➡ Brīvības un solidaritātes fonds, (Latvia) I ➡ Demos (Lithuania) I ➡ Robert Krieps Foundation (Luxembourg) I ➡ Fondazzjoni IDEAT (Malta) I ➡ Wiardi Beckmann Stichting / Alfred Mozer Stichting / Evert Vermeer Stichting (Netherlands) I ➡ Foundation for Fundamental Rights (Poland) I ➡ Fondação Res Publica (Portugal) I ➡ Ovidiu Sincai Institute Foundation (Romania) I ➡ Fundación Ideas / Fundación Pablo Iglesias (Spain) / Fundació Rafael Campalans I ➡ The Olof Palme International Center / Arbetarrörelsens Tankesmedja (Sweden) I ➡ Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR) / The Policy Network / The Fabian Society (United Kingdom)

If Ill member parties of the Party of European Socialists, the Party of European Socialists, the Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament, the PES Group in the Committee of the Regions, PES Women and Young European Socialists (YES) are also members of FEPS.

OBSERVER MEMBERS

- Chifley Institute, Australia
 Novo Drustvo (Croatia)
 Arbejderbevaegelsens Erhvervsrad / ECLM (Denmark)
 TASC (Ireland)
 Kalander Foundation (Slovenia)
 Sosyal Demokrasi Vakfi (SODEV), Turkey
 - 66

BUREAU



PRESIDENT

Massimo D'ALEMA (Italy)

VICE PRESIDENTS

Jesus CALDERA SANCHEZ-CAPITÁN (Spain) | Karl DUFFEK (Austria) | Zita GURMAI (Hungary) | Henri NALLET (France) | Sergei STANISHEV (Bulgaria)

SECRETARY GENERAL

Ernst STETTER (Germany)

EX-OFFICIO MEMBERS

Anna COLOMBO, as Secretary General of the PES group in the European Parliament (Italy) I Zita GURMAI, as President of PES Women (Hungary) I Karl-Heinz lambertz, as President of the PES group in the Committee of the Regions (Germany) I Kaisa PENNY as President of Young European Socialists (YES) (Finland) I Achim Post, as Secretary General of PES (France) I Sergei STANISHEV as President of PES (Bulgaria) I Hannes SWOBODA as President of PES group in the European Parliament (Austria)

REPRESENTING THE NATIONAL POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS AND THINK TANKS

Jesus CALDERA SANCHEZ-CAPITÁN - Ideas (Spain) | Katya KOLEVA Institute for Social Integration (Bulgaria) | Andrew HARROP- The Fabian Society (United Kingdom) | Henri NALLET - Fondation Jean Jaurès (France) | Andrea PERUZY - Italiani Europei (Italy) | Inger SEGELSTRÖM (Sweden) - Joint Committee of the Nordic Social Democratic Labour Mouvement (SAMAK) including, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Netherlands, Denmark and Iceland

TEAM

Alain Bloëdt, Communication Advisor I Judit Tánczos, Policy Advisor I David Kitching, Policy Advisor I Charlotte
Billingham, Executive Adviser I Ernst Stetter, Secretary General I Massimo D'Alema of FEPS, President I Ania Skrzypek,
Senior Research Fellow I Marie-Astrid Mukankusi, Administrative Assistant I Gaston Simon, Financial Advisor I
Giovanni Cozzi, Economic Adviser I Ischi Graus, Events Organiser I





EXPENDITURE	D. J. J.	A - 11
Eligible expenditure	Budget	Actual
A.1: Personnel costs	976.350,00	924.864,79
1. Salaries	927.000,00	861.675,12
2. Contributions	30.900,00	44.107,89
3. Professional training	10.300.00	7.001.06
4. Staff mission expenses	3.000,00	0,00
5. Other personnel costs	5.150,00	12.080,72
A.2: Infrastructure and operating costs	236.800.00	254.585.84
1. Rent, charges and maintenance costs	146.800,00	173.650.69
2. Costs relating to the installation, operation and maintenance of equipment	28.000.00	17.068.71
3. Depreciation of movable and immovable property	18.000,00	27.497,88
4. Stationery and office supplies	10.000,00	10.307.11
5. Postal and telecommunications charges	20.000,00	23.175,74
6. Printing, translation and reproduction costs	3.000.00	0,00
7. Other infrastructure costs	11.000.00	2.885.71
A.3: Administrative expenditure	821.000,00	2.885,71 507.119,29
1. Documentation costs (newspapers, press agencies, databases)	5.000.00	1.446.00
2. Costs of studies and research	788.000,00	502.910,24
2. Costs of studies and research 3. Legal costs	5.000,00	0,00
5. Legal costs 4. Accounting and audit costs		
	8.000,00	263,05
5. Support to affiliated organisations and subsidies to third parties	10.000,00	2.500,00
6. Miscellaneous administrative costs	5.000,00	0,00
A.4: Meetings and representation costs	810.000,00	1.162.727,25
Costs of meetings of the Foundation	788.000,00	1.118.375,89
Participation in seminars and conferences	15.000,00	40.068,79
3. Representation costs	2.000,00	4.282,57
4. Cost of invitations	2.000,00	0,00
5. Other meeting-related costs	3.000,00	0,00
A.5: Information and publication costs	290.143,00	345.951,85
1. Publication costs	227.000,00	322.684,90
Creation and operation of Internet sites	15.000,00	5.699,50
3. Publicity costs	35.000,00	8.091,33
4. Communications equipment	5.000,00	9.476,12
5. Seminars and exhibitions	5.000,00	0,00
6. Election campaigns1		0,00
7. Other information-related costs	3.143,00	0,00
A.G. Expenditure relating to contributions in kind	254.132,00	92.427,93
A.7: Allocation to "Provision to cover eligible expenditure to be		
incurred in the first quarter of N+1"1		
A. TOTAL ELIGIBLE EXPENDITURE	3.388.425,00	3.287.676,95
B.1: Non-eligible expenditure	0,00	23.857,16
Allocations to other provisions		
2. Financial charges		9.379,97
3. Exchange losses		
4. Doubtful claims on third parties		3.487,81
5. Others : Allocation of Earning to Loss end 2010		10.989,38
B. TOTAL NON-ELIGIBLE EXPENDITURE	0,00	23.857,16
C. TOTAL EXPENDITURE	3.388.425,00	3.311.534,11

REVENUE		
Eligible expenditure	Budget	Actual
D.1 Dissolution of "Provision to cover eligible costs to be incurred in the first quarter	-	-
of N"1		
D.2 European Parliament grant	2.880.161,00	2.794.525,41
D.3 Membership fees	0,00	0,00
3.1 from member parties		
3.2. from individual members		
D.4 Donations	0,00	0,00
4.1 above 500 EUR		
4.2 below 500 EUR	07440000	400 000 00
D.5 Other own resources (to cover eligible expenditure) (to be listed)	254.132,00	406.802,26
Support from members of FEPS towards activities	254.132,00	406.802,26
D.6 Contributions in kind	254.132,00	92.427,93
Support from members of FEPS towards activities	254.132,00	92.427,93
D. REVENUE (to cover eligible expenditure)	3.388.425,00	3.293.755,60
E.1 Additional other own resources (to cover non-eligible expenditure)	0,00	17.778,51
(to be listed)		
Interests on bank accounts		778,51
Call to Europe Conference - Contributions		17.000,00
E. REVENUE (to cover non-eligible expenditure)	0,00	17.778,51
F. TOTAL REVENUE	3.388.425,00	3.311.534,11
G. Profit/loss (F-C)	0,00	0,00
H.1 Allocation of own resources to the specific reserve account ¹		
H. Profit/loss for verifying compliance with the no-profit rule (G-H.1) ¹	0,00	0,00

LEGAL FRAMEWORK

FEPS is registered as an international not-for-profit organisation under the Belgian law ("association internationale sans but lucratif", aisbl).

It was created by a modification of the European Council and Parliament Regulation (EC) No 2004/2003 related to the statutes and the financing of the European political parties. This modification (EC) 1524/2007 includes specific elements about political foundations at the European level affiliated to their respective European political parties. FEPS is hence close to the Party of European Socialists (PES) and the Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament, but remains an independent organisation. As a political foundation at the European level, FEPS is forbidden to take part in any electoral campaign and cannot allocate any means to this end.

FINANCIAL FRAMEWORK

FEPS is co-funded by the European Parliament on an annual basis since September 2008, which means that 85% of its total yearly budget comes from an annual grant from the European Parliament. 15% of the budget must come from own resources, mainly brought in by the members and partners of FEPS supporting the activities implemented with their support. At present, FEPS does not receive any kind of membership fee from its members.

Provisional budget 2013:

For the year 2013, FEPS was allocated a total provisional budget grant of approximately 3.340.000€, of which the European Parliament grant represents 2.839.000€.













Foundation for European Progressive Studies Rue Montoyer 40 | 1000 Brussels, Belgium Phone +32 2 234 69 00 | Fax +32 2 280 03 83 info@feps-europe.eu | www.feps-europe.eu