



Europe's Choice: Is 2024 Europe's moment of reinvention?

The results of the European elections, and the subsequent French parliamentary election, are sending shockwaves across the continent. It comes on top of a series of geopolitical turbulences which have upended conventional wisdom across capitals on defence/security, trade, green tech, and enlargement. In this context, how can Europe retool to become a hard power in a world of deterrence and derisking? How can we best defend Ukraine, and stabilize the Middle East? How can we strategically manage interdependence, reduce risks, and forge new relationships with middle powers like those in Asia, Africa, and Latin America? Can we make 2024 the year of Europe's reinvention? Will Europe's fate be decided by Putin, Xi Jinping, or Trump, or can Europeans take their destiny into their own hands in 2024?

Coming together the week where France and the UK go to the polls, and between the EU's top jobs being decided and NATO's Washington summit, this year's ECFR Annual Council Meeting will seek to set Europe's new strategic course in 2024 and beyond.

PROGRAMME

DAY 1 - 4th July 2024

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|---------------|--|
| 13.00 – 13.45 | REGISTRATION AND NETWORKING LUNCH
Please join ECFR's programme fair to explore and engage in their work.
Auditorium |
| 13.45 – 13.50 | WELCOME AND OPENING REMARKS
<i>On the record, recorded and livestreamed</i>
León de la Torre, Managing Director, Casa de América
Lykke Friis, Co-chair, ECFR
Auditorium |
| 13.50 – 14.05 | KEYNOTE SPEECH
<i>On the record, recorded and livestreamed</i>
Pedro Sánchez, President of the Government, Spain
Auditorium |

14.05 – 14.20

ECFR INSIGHT*On the record, recorded and livestreamed**Deterring Putin and planning for Trump: What do Europeans want from security and defence?***Mark Leonard**, Director, ECFR

Auditorium

14.25 – 14.45

IN CONVERSATION*On the record, recorded and livestreamed**A sidebar on Europe's geopolitical strategy***Josep Borrell**, High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy / Vice President, the European Commission**António Costa**, Former Prime Minister, Portugal

Moderated by: **Arancha González Laya**, Dean of the Paris School of International Affairs, Sciences Po; Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, European Union, and Cooperation, Spain; Member of the Board of Trustees, ECFR

Auditorium

14.45 – 15.45

PANEL*On the record, recorded**Is 2024 Europe's hard power moment?*

Caught between Vladimir Putin's Russia, Xi Jinping's China, and, potentially, Donald Trump's America, Europeans urgently need to show solidarity; yet precisely because they do not feel secure, Europe appears to be fracturing. Most immediately they need a long-term plan for Ukraine. In this regard, how can we move towards a community of fate, bolstering Europe's hard power while supporting Ukraine?

Nathalie Loiseau, Member of the European Parliament**Diego Martínez Belío**, State Secretary for Foreign and Global Affairs, Spain**Stefano Sannino**, Secretary-General of the EU External Action Service (EEAS)

Jonatan Vsevirov, Secretary General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Estonia

Moderated by: **Vessela Tcherneva**, Deputy Director, ECFR Auditorium

15.45 – 16.30

NETWORKING BREAK

16.30 – 17.30

POLICY SALONS

All sessions under Chatham House Rule

Friends with benefits: An anatomy of EU strategic climate partnerships

Against a backdrop of rising green competition and weaponised energy dependencies, it is crucial the EU develops diversified climate partnerships to sustain its decarbonisation efforts – and those of others. How can it overcome the trust deficit of “Global South” countries to establish mutually beneficial green cooperation? How can it manage growing US-China green strategic rivalry and prevent climate action from becoming a victim of geopolitical competition?

With impulses from:

Arancha González Laya, Dean of the Paris School of International Affairs, Sciences Po; Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, European Union, and Cooperation, Spain; Member of the Board of Trustees, ECFR

Laurence Tubiana, Chief Executive Officer, European Climate Foundation

Hosted by: **Susi Dennison**, Senior Director for Strategy and Transformation, Senior Policy Fellow, ECFR

Miguel Cervantes

Small yards and high fences? Competing in the global tech race

With states increasingly leveraging technology as a key vector of their geopolitical, economic, and military power, EU tech policy assumes critical importance. To meet the fast-evolving challenges posed by technology geopolitics, it will need to adapt to enable innovation to harness critical technologies, deploy tools to safeguard its economic security, and work with friends and allies to enhance its global projection.

With impulses from:

Giorgia Abeltino, Senior Director of Government Affairs and Public Policy at Google South Europe; Senior Director of External Relations at Google Arts & Culture

Anu Bradford, Henry L. Moses Professor of Law and International Organization, Columbia Law School

Hosted by: **José Ignacio Torreblanca**, Head of Madrid Office, Senior Policy Fellow, ECFR

Roa Bastos

Stronger together – How can enlargement foster collective security for the EU and candidate countries?

At the outset of the new EU institutions, and as the Russian invasion of Ukraine continues to raise challenges for the security of the entire continent, Europeans need to think how they can shape the EU enlargement policy in a way that fosters stability in the Eastern neighbourhood and the Western Balkans and strengthens the security of the EU as a whole. How can the enlargement process address these challenges and make the candidate countries and a future enlarged EU safer?

With impulses from:

Fernando Mariano Sampedro Marcos, State Secretary for the European Union, Spain

Katarína Matheriová, Ambassador of the EU to Ukraine

Nicu Popescu, former Deputy Prime Minister, Moldova

Hosted by: **Marie Dumoulin**, Director, Wider Europe Programme, ECFR

Inca Garcilaso

17.45 - 18.45

PANEL

On the record, recorded

Wars and shadow wars: What are Europe's options in the Middle East?

Since Hamas's horrific attacks on 7 October and Israel's devastating response in Gaza, the Middle East has been thrown into deep turmoil. Amid a devastating humanitarian crisis in Gaza, Iran, its allies and Israel are engaged in a low-level regional war, which risks an explosive direct confrontation. The need for a ceasefire and a sustainable political track is acute but remains fundamentally stuck. To the backdrop of wider global challenges and hard questions about the rules-based order, how can European states and the new EU leadership team work with regional partners to address urgent needs on the ground and forge a pathway towards peace and security in Gaza, Israel and the wider region?

José Manuel Albares, Minister of Foreign Affairs, European Union and Cooperation, Spain

Prince Faisal bin Farhan Al Saud, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Saudi Arabia

Sigrid Kaag, Senior Humanitarian and Reconstruction Coordinator for Gaza, UN

Moderated by: **Julien Barnes-Dacey**, Director, Middle East and North Africa programme, ECFR
Auditorium

19.00 – 20.00

TAPAS ON THE TERRACE

On the record

The idea of China

Mark Leonard, Director, ECFR

Wang Jisi, President of the Institute of International and Strategic Studies, Peking University

Hosted by: **Janka Oertel**, Director, Asia programme, ECFR
The Terrace

20.15 – 23.30

AN EVENING AT THE PRADO

After-hours, private tour followed by networking dinner

Dinner impulses by:

Javier Solana, Chairman of the Royal Board of Trustees, Prado Museum; President, EsadeGeo

Timothy Garton Ash, Professor of European Studies, University of Oxford

Moderated by: **Sylvie Kauffmann**, Editorial Director, Le Monde
Museo Nacional del Prado, C. de Ruiz de Alarcón, 23, Retiro, 28014 Madrid

DAY 2 – 5 July 2024

09.00 – 09.30

IN CONVERSATION

Chatham House Rule

President Biden's philosophy in his potential second term

Rana Mitter, Professor of the History and Politics of Modern China, Oxford University

Alex Soros, Chair, Open Society Foundations

Terrace

9.30 – 9.45

Transfer time

09.45-10.45

PANEL

*On the record, recorded**Whose order is it anyway? Unpacking a middle powers-led world*

The arguments for why the Western led global order isn't working are well-rehearsed. How can we design a new global order that works for the Global South instead? With the rising influence of middle powers, Europeans must learn new strategies to become partners in building the world of tomorrow.

Wang Jisi, President of the Institute of International and Strategic Studies, Peking University

Hina Rabbani Khar, former Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Pakistan

Sérgio Rodrigues, Head of the Policy Planning, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Brazil

Adebayo Olukoshi, Visiting Fellow, ECFR

Moderated by: **Jana Puglierin**, Senior Policy Fellow and Head, ECFR Berlin
Auditorium

10.45 – 11.00

Transfer time

11.00 – 12.00

POLICY SALONS

*All sessions under Chatham House Rule**Between a war and a trade war: how will the war in Ukraine and US-China tensions affect Europe's de-risking agenda?*

Europe's de-risking plans have seldom been clear and recent developments risk complicating the bloc's de-risking agenda (even) further. Russia's war in Ukraine, China's support to Moscow and the United States' willingness to tighten trade and technology restrictions vis à vis China all have the potential to shake Europe's

de-risking plans. Is Europe's de-risking agenda still fit for purpose and implementable? How should it evolve under the next EU Commission mandate?

With impulses from:

Cecilia Malmström, Senior Advisor, Covington & Burling LLP, Nonresident Senior Fellow, Peterson Institute

Elina Ribakova, Peterson Institute, Brügel, Kyiv School of Economics

Hosted by: **Agathe Demarais**, Senior Policy Fellow, ECFR

Miguel Cervantes

Can Europe become a hard power by 2030?

Europe must urgently strengthen its defence strategy, capabilities and technological edge. How can it diminish its reliance on the US, and how must Europe's industrial capacity, military toolbox, and security institutions change to make up for it?

With impulses from:

Jean Marie Guéhenno, Director, Kent Program on Conflict Resolution, Columbia SIPA

Julian King, former EU Commissioner for the Security Union

Hosted by: **Camille Grand**, Distinguished Policy Fellow, ECFR

Roa Bastos

Wildcard session (This session will be voted on by our Council members at the start of Day 1).

12.00 – 12.30

Coffee Break

Auditorium

12.30 - 12.45

ECFR INSIGHT

On the record, recorded

Six scenarios in a second Trump presidency

Célia Belin, Senior Policy Fellow and Head, ECFR Paris
Auditorium

12.45 – 13.45

PANEL

On the record, recorded

Principles to live by: How Europe can prepare for the Trumpian make-over

As the possibility of a Trump 2.0 presidency looms on the horizon, Europe must brace itself for another potential shift in U.S. foreign policy. Against this backdrop, what are the strategies and principles that Europe can adopt to navigate the complexities of a renewed Trumpian approach? How can Europeans ensure they sustain support for Ukraine in the absence of US aid, bolster European security in the context of diminishing US commitments, protect the rules-based order in the face of rising US-China rivalry?

Alexandre Adam, Member of the Council of State, France
Ivan Krastev, Chairman, Centre for Liberal Strategies
Balázs Orbán, Political Director, Office of the Prime Minister of Hungary

Moderated by: **Jeremy Shapiro**, Research Director & Director US Programme, ECFR
Auditorium

13.50 – 14.10

CLOSING

On the record, recorded

Teresa Ribera, Third Vice-President & Minister for Ecological Transition and Demographic Challenge, Spain
Carl Bildt, Co-chair, ECFR
Auditorium

14.15 – 15.00

LUNCH