



FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN PROGRESSIVE STUDIES FONDATION EUROPÉENNE D'ÉTUDES PROGRESSISTES

# ANNUAL ACTIVITY REPORT 2013



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## **ARCHITECTURE OF FEPS ACTIVITY PLAN 2013**

## 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
Renaissance for Europe. A Common Progressive Vision	Gender Equality	Financial and Monetary Policy	European Policies and Other Continents
Progressive European Party systems	Legal Inspiration and Integration	Economic Governance and the EURO	Democracy and Prosperity in the Neighbourhood
New Social Europe	Understanding Diversity	Economic Theory	Solidarity: The Reason to Fight Climate Change

## FOREWORD FROM THE PRESIDENT

Progressives are being hit hard by the consequences of the economic, social, political, democratic and ecological crises in Europe.

2013 has been the reflection period in the run-up to the elections. It has been the year when FEPS is gathering together its projects, especially those which have been running for a few years now, in order to showcase the results of our work ahead of the campaign debates. It is also a period for anticipation of what is to come next.

The democracy, credibility and legitimacy of the European institutions are being challenged. There is a growing tension that the institutions are too bureaucratic and unable to answer to citizens. This gap between the institutions and its citizens seems to be widening, and this is not only from popular rhetoric from the right but there is also growing anti-European feeling on the left.

The Union has failed to protect citizens from growing inequalities, unemployment and poverty, it has failed in its principle of solidarity, the notion on which the Union was constructed.

Anticipating and predicting reactions and consequences to austerity measures in something FEPS has been working on for the last five years. Even back in 2009 we had data proving that austerity measures were not the answer and employment-led growth is the better alternative. Over the last five years we have seen a deteriorating social situation across Europe. Many feel that Europe is to blame.

The voice of the youth is a key base across our work, it is the generation that is not being heard. Despite rising education levels this is not transferring into jobs and prosperity, as a result we are witnessing growing disinterest, and mistrust of the political systems is prevalent.

However the question is not about more or less Europe. Instead it is about another Europe.

Progressives should be brave in championing radical responses in order to diffuse these negative sentiments. There is a democratic deficit, there is a crisis of European democracy and its institutions and integration. FEPS accepted these challenges and chose to address it by going deep in its scientific and political analysis.

Undoubtedly this is a year where we have concentrated on economic issues because the effects of the crisis are still affecting many people's lives. This is why the **Call to Europe** initiative in 2013 focused on economic and social policies. Under the header of **'Beyond Austerity'**, the annual signature event of FEPS, led to more fresh ideas and provided a real platform for discussion.

It demonstrated that there truly are alternatives to neoliberal economic policies.

The Renaissance for Europe, A Common Progressive Vision has been an initiative framed around significant national elections in France, Italy and Germany to bring together our movement and reflect together on these challenges for Europe. It provided a unique platform to come together and discuss before the European elections.

Not forgetting Europe's place in a globalised world, international activities of FEPS remain remarkably good. There have been visits, seminars and exchanges to **Tehran, Cairo and China** for example. FEPS enjoys the recognition of its work also by a wide network outside of Europe's borders.

The FEPS **Next Left** research programme continues to flourish and this year the book entitled **New Social Deal** offers suggestions how politics can regain legitimacy and primacy over the economy in order to serve the people. In addition the work on **europarties** is almost unique in its nature. I am pleased that FEPS is leading in this necessary and encouraging debate.

Communication and conveying our messages is something we have realised we had to work on, this is why FEPS organised the **Campaigning for the future**, the future of **campaigning** seminar in Washington.

It gave the delegation of campaign and policy advisers from the European progressives to discuss with 20 special advisers from Obama's campaign. Also in Washington we carried out our annual conference on economic global governance with the **Initiative for Policy Dialogue with Joe Stiglitz** and our joint expert team of international economists, this year the heading was **Macroeconomic Cooperation and the International Monetary System.** 

**together** with our progressive partners in Brussels, with the PES, the S&D group and, the PES in the Committee of the regions Young European Socialists and PES women. Also from across Europe with our member political foundations, think tanks and parties. The current political climate has proved difficult to convey progressive messages.

Fundamentally this year's focus has been about working

This pre-election year has really illustrated the significance of having **European political foundations** in order to be a platform for debate and a tool for bridging the divide between institutions and citizens. The results of FEPS work, particularly from the Next Left and Sustainable economy activities have helped directly serve our progressive partners is elaborating on their campaign agendas. Seeing our long-term research work contribute to the PES fundamental programme and the manifesto process, alongside witnessing the process for selection of the top-candidate has been a provided great satisfaction.

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 been committed to a Progressive project and for more but an alternative Europe.

This document provides a short summary of our work programme, it does not demonstrate the full magnitude of our reflections, nor the true expertise of our ever-growing network.

The strength of FEPS certainly lies in having effective participation of its members. We are pleased with the continuing joint cooperation with member foundations and think tanks and we would like to enhance partnerships on joint activities even more. Working together for a Progressive Europe continues to be our objective.

A more Progressive Europe is fundamental in addressing the upcoming challenges of European democracy.

Massimo D'ALEMA President of FFPS

Morma / Aleur



## INTRODUCTION

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

Enclosed is the report of activities 2013 of FEPS. The work programme can be presented in four main themes for activities. The overall title and main objective of the existence of FEPS is "Working Together for a Progressive Europe". The themes are used as a way of showcasing our work but they are not separate elements, rather they all interlace very much with an omnipresent focus on *progressive* Europe.

These four main themes of work continue to be based on our core values:

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

The activities are detailed according to this working plan throughout this activity report. More information on our ongoing projects can be found on our website www.feps-europe.eu.

In 2013 FEPS has continued its close cooperation with its member national political foundations and think tanks. This exchange and strong relationship really helps build on our work and to bridge the gap. A **multi-way connection** has been established and FEPS aims to foster this. Many discussions are taking place in different parts of our network on similar themes and there are many European progressive values that run through these which we as a progressive movement will harness wherever possible. FEPS often acts as a **platform for debate** and serves **mutual understanding** and development of ideas at a **transnational** 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. Similarly the work of FEPS helps contribute to the reflections within these bodies and more widespread of the progressive movement.

For instance the work of FEPS has contributed greatly to the PES fundamental programme and its manifesto process. Mainly from the extensive research work of the Next Left, in particular on values, party structures and transnational elements of the debate.

An illustration of FEPS being more recognised as a serious stakeholder is the signing of the contract this year with the **China Center for Contemporary World Studies (CWS).** We look forward to beginning this exchange of ideas and thoughts with our Chinese partners and enhancing our **international activities** even further. FEPS believes that to understand processes in Europe we have to understand the needs of other global players.

The main long-term visible event this year has been the continuation of the Renaissance initiative. **Renaissance for Europe a common progressive vision** has been the backbone of political debates running up to the campaigns in three of the larger and first EU member states. The seminars have really gathered top thinkers from our movement to put forward ideas for institutional change and working towards a more equal society.

One of the main themes FEPS has been working on is the **democratic malaise** and trying to understand **upcoming extremist** and **popular movements**. There are concerning challenges to democracy presently across our continent, at both national and European level. If we don't harness these energies they could become a real threat to European society. In some places, fundamental rights are already being taken away from European citizens. We aim to combat against this through the work on developing our policies and core values.

**Queries magazine** has also been revamped this year and includes many commentators from all over the world, it has a new reader-friendly format with photo reports and statistics alongside scientific articles and interviews with politicians. It will be available to buy in newsagents across Europe. This is the only progressive, European magazine being produced.

President of FEPS, Massimo D'ALEMA, former Prime Minister of Italy, is very engaged in FEPS work and his guidance and reflections provide creative insights onto how we look at our policies and assess our movements. The third conference of Call to Europe, an initiative of the President, this year entitled Beyond Austerity and the Renaissance for Europe, a Common Progressive Vision, has truly brought about a new dimension to the European Progressive debates.

The threat of current challenges to democracy makes us strive harder to develop our ideas and engage a wide audience.





## **NEXT LEFT**

The Next Left Research Programme, established after the European elections in 2009 has been working for over five years. It has been the core of FEPS work in the search of modern answers for the progressive movement. It began after the defeat of Social Democracy in 2009 and began discussion the fundaments of progressive movements such as the core values. It also built upon reflections in fundamental policy areas such as the labour market and the welfare state. Complementary to this, work on political organisation within the movement and how to modernise itself in order to accommodate citizens' frustrations and engage with them in order to mobilise formed a large part of the discussions. This strand of research incorporates different elements and within it has attracted world-renowned academic professors, politicians, political analysts and activists alike with whom it has become an established reference point. It constitutes as the backbone for material of the progressive movement in Europe when reflecting on its next policy direction and has served the reflection processes of the PES and S&D group and the sister parties.

So far, the programme has easily directly reached around 10,000 people, it has been present regularly across all European capitals and major cities on a regular basis and has provided countless publications, desk studies and other research articles.

The Next Left research programme is chaired by **Dr. Alfred Gusenbauer** (former Chancellor of Austria).

## NOTABLE EVENT IN THIS PILLAR IN 2013:

Renaissance for Europe.
A Common Progressive Vision - Conference

With Fondation Jean Jaurès, ItalianiEuropei and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung





**Renaissance for Europe** initiative was born out of intellectual and political desire to open a new chapter of a conversation about the future of the Union. With national elections in the three founding states of the EU – France, Italy and Germany, all within a small timeframe – seemed a window of opportunity to reach beyond a discourse on crisis and decline. The ambition of the FEPS initiative "Renaissance for Europe" has been to reengage progressive leaders and citizens in a political discussion about the state of the Union and the desired directions of integration.

Each conference had a slightly different format, but with all of them, they brought together leading progressive thinkers to discuss their vision for a Renaissance for Europe. Each conference had smaller closed seminars with experts, alongside a larger public debate with the leader of the parties from those countries. For each meeting, background papers were prepared by the Foundations and the participant experts which helped prepare the discussions and stimulate the debate. The results of the discussions were always summarised and clear recommendations presented to the leaders to take on board for their public keynote speech at the large, open part of the event.

## Renaissance for Europe. A Common Progressive Vision

8th February | Turin, Italy

Under the auspice of **Piero Fassino**, Mayor of Turin and **Pier Luigi Bersani**, Secretary of the Partito Democratico, this conference highlighted the importance of the elections for Italy and the rest of Europe. The debates were spent reflecting on **Restoring legitimacy: Empowering Europeans**, **Reshaping the fundamentals: Developing Democracy and Reviving ambition: Providing Hope.** The conference brought in many of the top of Europe's progressive leaders, **François Hollande** gave a vido message and made the link from the Paris Renaissance event in 2012 with this one. **Gerhard Schröder**, fromer Chancellor of Germany spoke on the role of Germany in a progressive European Union and made the link to the following conference within this initiative in Germany.

## Renaissance for Europe. A Common Progressive Vision

22nd May | Leipzig, Germany

This event centred around the **150**th anniversary of the Socialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD) which assembled the progressive movement from across Europe and beyond. Many prominent political figures came, the party looked at its rich past and towards its future. The Renaissance programme held an expert seminar alongside the celebrations of this historic achievement. The topics of the day were, Feasibility of a Social Europe pledge in the crisis-driven European Union and Equality and efficiency through economic development.

# RENEWAL OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

Social Democracy is at a critical transition period. In these times, rather than keeping to traditions, it ought to instead aim to retrieve traditional ambition in order to be the movement for change, for an alternative. This is particularly key when currently faced with a rising populist, anti-democratic mood.

Renewing Social Democracy has developed into a prominent European-wide debate which encompasses similar reflection processes from different parts of the world. The purpose has been not to dwell on the past but rather to look towards the future and build on restoring its credentials in fulfilment, providing prosperity and bringing a new quality to democracy. This year's work partly focuses notably on the search for a 'New Social Deal', which stems from the debates on the balance of power between capital and labour at a time especially when we are witnessing persisting inequalities and rising distributional conflicts. These debates take place in the aftermath of the economic crisis when building a progressive social discourse is particularly challenging but crucial for our times.

#### Next State I Annual conference 2013 with the Fabian Society

12th January | London, UK

Featuring **Ed Miliband**, leader of the Labour party with a keynote speech on his idea of 'One Nation'. The rest of the day followed with a full programme of workshops and plenary sessions with key political players and around 1000 participants. FEPS spoke at the breakout session on Brussels in Britain: Our European State, with **Chris Bryant MP, Joe Twyman,** You Gov, **Emma Reynolds**, Shadow Minister for Europe and Cllr for Lambeth **Sally Prentice**. The day is well-known for its lively atmosphere and for kick-starting the debates of the New Year after the winter break.







## **NEXT LEFT ROUND TABLES**

Organised in different cities across Europe with our different partners, these debates reach out to academics, politicians and experts and helps link the pan-European debate with the national debates on the renewal of social democracy.

## Democratic Legitimacy and Political Leadership in the European Union towards 2014 elections I Roundtable with ItalianiEuropei and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung

18<sup>th</sup> January | Rome, Italy

The discussions focused on how the crisis of sovereign is putting the historical accomplishments of the last few decades at serious risk. Democracy as a concept was considered in the context of democratic legitimacy in the EU becoming increasingly important and how we can tackle this challenge. The discussions led to the publishing of the book on the same topic (see the end of this chapter for more details).

## Democratic economy: a true Utopia with a future? I Seminar with the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland 4th & 5th July I Zurich. Switzerland

Seminar with political activists, commentators, academics, trade unions and other experts on the topic of a mutual economy and cooperatives. Discussions looked at alternative, sustainable answers to the economic crisis. Reflections centred around the feasibility of a democratic economy as the answer for a better future for all.

### Message for Europe: Building 2014 I Fringe meeting with the Fabian Society

### 23rd September I Labour party conference, Brighton, UK.

The discussion focused on the consideration of the context in which the 2014 European Parliamentary Elections will take place and how progressives can build a convincing narrative. The level of the discussions was very distinguished centred around high-profile selected attendees with a mix from the worlds of politics, academia and business. Speakers were: **Emma Reynolds** MP (Shadow Minister for Europe), **Marije Laffeber** (Deputy Secretary General, PES), **Urban Ahlin** (Social Democratic MP, Swedish Parliament), **Ania Skrzypek** (Senior Research Fellow, FEPS) and chaired by **Hopi Sen**.

## After the German elections, what future for EU social Democracy? I Fringe meeting with Policy Network 24th September I Labour party conference, Brighton, UK.

Just two days after the federal election in Germany, this debate offered insight into the state of European social democracy and the future of the EU at a critical moment for the SPD. The conversation analysed the results and anticipated what will follow, and addressed what sister parties can learn from these results, especially when looking towards the upcoming European elections.

#### Next Left: Constructing Welfare Society I Roundtable with the Freedom and Solidarity Foundation

8th & 9th December | Riga, Latvia

The days debates gathered experts from around Europe with those in Latvia from our joint networks.

Sessions were devoted to; aiming towards a New Social Deal, Progressives in search of a credible welfare agenda and finding the balance between predistribution and redistribution: social democracy restoring confidence in educational systems. The Nordic model came up a lot in the discussions, this is something which Progressives in Latvia would like to take further in their policies.

## **NEXT LEFT FOCUS GROUP**

This group is composed of a committed academics and political commentators who have been working together steadily on addressing the ideological questions the progressive movement is facing. The group gathers for a few intense days of discussion with a working dinner. Throughout the sessions, the members present papers they are working on for the group and give each other feedback and this of course serves as a platform for debate on the issues covered.

#### Politicising Social Europe I Next Left focus Group with the Renner Institut

20th & 21st February | Vienna, Austria

Members exchanged views on political circumstances in the pre-run up towards the European elections and also on the openings that enhancement of the debate on the scenarios for the EU may create.

During the working dinner in the frame of the meeting, the PES Fundamental Programme was presented to the group and an exchange of suggestions unfolded. FEPS was heavily involved in contributing to this process and the Next Left research programme has provided key concepts and opinions which helped strengthen the Fundamental Programme. As always the meetings also reviewed and discussed the papers which served towards the book.



## Next Left Focus group, Transatlantic Dialogue of Dialogues. "Framing a new narrative"

 $9^{th} - 11^{th} Mav$ 

with Renner Institut and Rafael Campalans, IGLP and HLS (Harvard University), Barçelona, Pompeu Fabra University, with Global Progressive Forum and the S&D group in the European Parliament, Brussels. The discussions from this event led to the publication for the Next Left book 'Framing a New Progressive. (See the end of this chapter for more information about the book.)

## For a New Social Consensus in Europe: A Promise of Jobs, Welfare and Empowerment I Next Left

Focus Group with the Renner Institut

29th & 30th November | Vienna, Austria

Discussion and review of the papers from the work of the focus group this year on various topics at the heart of the agenda for a renewal of social democracy.

## **SYMPOSIUMS**

Next Left roundtable and focus group meeting together gathers the regular members of the research group alongside new participants from the hosting partner foundation's network and city or region.

#### Next Left and the Social Movements: for a New Social Contract I Symposium with Respublica

26th -28th May I Lisbon, Portugal

This meeting saw a full day of plenary sessions and workshops, gathering over 150 participants. The speeches brought together different aspects of the social contract and discussed the democratic malaise and disillusionment that traditional political movements need to address in order to appeal to citizens again and gain their trust. A progressive direction for the



European Union could help bring about sustainable economic recovery and help build better living and working conditions for all. Concrete recommendations were given on how to accomplish active citizenship in a modern political society. Speakers included amongst many others, **António José Segure**, the Secretary-General of the Partido Socialista, **António Nóvoa**, the rector of the University of Lisbon and **Dr A. Gusenbauer**, Chair of Next Left research programme. The event also gave the opportunity to present the latest Next Left Book volume 6 'For a New Social Deal'

Next Left: Towards Welfare Societies I symposium with Renner Institut, Amicus Europae and Daszyński Center 29th September – 1st October I Warsaw, Poland

Tackling the vision for Social Europe and a way forward for welfare societies, these meetings covered notably labour market regulations and social security provisions. Additionally analysis was brought in from past lessons and concepts such as flexicurity and the Lisbon strategy. Values such as equality and solidarity were assessed to verify their applicability to represent a progressive communautariun way of thinking. A European debate was complemented by the Polish colleagues relevant intellectual content. The meeting was held under the auspices of **Aleksander Kwaśniewski** (former President of Poland), Dr. **Alfred Gusenbauer** (Chair of the FEPS Next Left Research Programme and former Chancellor of Austria).

## **NEXT LEFT BOOK SERIES**

The book series produces regular volumes and stems from the different research layers of the programme. In 2013, 3 volumes were published.



#### Next Left Book Volume 6

**"For a New Social Deal"** Published in May, with the Renner Institut aims to establish a new compromise between financial capitalism and the aspirations of societies. It expresses the discussion about linking society, politics and economy closer together, where politics needs to regain legitimacy and primacy over the economy in order to serve the people. It examines the principle of 'equality of autonomy of individuals' from the angle of people empowerment which highlights progressive values of solidarity and social justice.

The articles are presented around the different chapters of shaping a new social contract, ensuring fair distribution of income, wealth and power and building progressive alliances. Edited by E. Stetter, K. Duffek and A. Skrzypek.



## Next Left volume 7

"In the name of Political Union – Europarties on the Rise" published in December, with the Renner Institut (Photo cover page 1.1.7). The collection of articles discuss and analyse the prominence of europarties and results in demonstrating that there is a demand for further development of europarties. The Progressive movement has the potential to be the protagonist in this process and this book offers useful tools which could be used to democratise and politicise the EU and develop a europartisan system at the same

time. The chapters feature articles on the role of europarties in shaping the Union, progressive strategies for overcoming the crisis and innovative ideas in designing the eurocampaigns. The articles presented result from the year long work of the Next Left working group on eurodemocracy and europarties. This area of research remains hardly established, consequently the investigations in this publication are profoundly important in academic and political circles. FEPS is proud to be known that it is leading in this discipline. Edited by E. Stetter, K. Duffek and A. Skrzypek.



#### Next Left Book volume 8

**Framing a New Progressive Narrative'** Stemming from the debates held within the Next Left Research programme, this volume introduces multiple constructive proposals on how to create an alternative to the current hegemonic neo-liberal order. It provides answers to address challenges such as defining modern Progressivism, stimulating growth, creating jobs, providing welfare and delivering within a realistic union. The 13 articles map the route for social democracy to take in order to transform and successfully shape

the course of this century. The book is supported by the Renner Institut and Global Law Policy of Harvard Law School (IGL&P), the authors of the collection of articles are well-known scholars from Europe and the USA. Edited by E. Stetter, K. Duffek and A. Skrzypek.



**Progressive Politics after the crash. Governing from the Left** - book with Policy Network and I.B. Taurus, Published in September

Edited by O. Cramme, P. Diamond and M. McTernan.

A deceptively simple question, what is to be done since the collapse of the financial markets? This book makes the case for a new, post-crisis settlement harnessing the dynamic traditions of social liberalism and social democracy as the foundation for progressive reforms geared towards alleviating the crisis aftershocks.

The contributors include the best current commentators and was highlighted in the press, New Statesman.



Democratic legitimacy and political leadership in the European Union, towards the 2014 European elections, book with ItalianiEuropei, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and Renner Institut.

Edited by H. Giusto, published in March. Photo cover page1.1H

This book addressed the need for the European Union to be more politicised and building a Europe-wide public sphere. Moving from the national debates and confrontations, policies must be developed in a European, transnational left-right perspective, rather than being restricted in our debates by borders or national identities. Key to addressing this is strengthening of the European political parties. Contributions

from R. Matarazzo on the EU democracy and the challenge of politicization. T. Poguntke, Electing the President of the European Commission, L. Bardi on parties, party system and party government in the European Union and A. Skrzypek on unleashing competitive spirit, the role of europarties in politicizing Europe.

# RENAISSANCE FOR EUROPE. A COMMON PROGRESSIVE VISION

The initiative was established to help create a common discourse for the progressive family on European policies. In light in particular of prominent elections in founding members of the European Union, this is a response to counter anti-European and anti-progressive political discourses. This project seeks to rethink our political, economic, social and ecological dynamic in Europe. This year activities took place in Italy and Germany in light of the elections there. The project continued from the elections which brought François Hollande to power in France and the high-level working group also continued to work together. The common vision pursues participation and partisanship as essential in building a renewed credibility for political systems. Renaissance for Europe initiative is carried out with the Fondation Jean-Jaurès, the ItalianiEuropei and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.



Renaissance for Europe, A Common Progressive Vision: 10 provoking thoughts I Publication to recapitulate discussions from the series of three conference taken place over 2012 -2013 in the frame of this initiative, from Paris, Turin and Leipzig. Written by A. Skrzypek, FEPS, published in October 2013, with the support of the Fondation Jean Jaurès, ItalianiEuropei and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.



#### Europe. Our Common Future. Celebrating 20 years of the PES I Book

Published on the 14<sup>th</sup> February. FEPS book launched on the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Party of European Socialists, presented at the PES reception by Massimo D'Alema, President of FEPS to Sergei Stanishev, President of PES, alongside Zita Gurmai, President of PES women and Wim Kok, former Prime Minister of the Netherlands.

It shows the history of the Socialist movement in Europe, starting at the first meeting of the Socialist International Working Group back in 1951 to the establishment of the European party. The book narrates the past contexts and links it to the future shaping of the Party as an anchor within the movement and shows how the parties united in the spirit of one shared ideology. Written by Dr A. Skrzypek, FEPS



## Forum des progressistes européens I Convention with the Fondation Jean Jaurès and the Parti Socialiste Français

## 15th June | Paris, France

One year before the European elections, this meeting gathered Progressive leaders from nine European countries to work on putting together its vision for alternative solutions to the Conservative-led EU and seek how to reengage voters and political conversation. The debates focused on growth and jobs and

a new European model. Keynote speeches from Jacques Delors, Martin Schulz, Jean-Marc Ayrault and Hannes Swoboda amongst others.





# PROGRESSIVE EUROPEAN PARTY SYSTEMS

'Politicising Europe, Europeanising Social Democracy is the overall theme of this year's focus. This project theme develops on contemporary questions the progressive movement faces such as how to restore a sense of politics and how to modernise the party systems in order to enhance a deliberative democracy which serves the people. In an EU context it stems from the notion of developing a political Union and looks into what opportunities the Lisbon treaty holds concerning transnational europarties. The reflections build on the ideological debate regarding the renewal of social democracy and how it can link and strengthen restoring political powers whilst in parallel accommodate contemporary patterns of civic participation.

## NEXT LEFT WORKING GROUP ON EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY AND EUROPARTIES

The theme for 2013 was Politicising Europe, Europeanising Social Democracy, a research project throughout the year with the Renner Institut. This working group assembles academics based in different parts of Europe researching in the field of comparative politics in terms of partisan and euro-party systems. More concretely, honourable scholars whose unique scope of work focuses on the areas of evolution of the europartisan system and history of social democracy in the context of transforming national party political systems were invited to form the working group. The concept is to have regular discussions and provide feedback to each other's work and views in light of articles published by each member. The results of this work was published in the Next Left book volume 7. "In the name of Political Union – Europarties on the Rise" (see Next Left book series for more details)

The network met three times in 2013: 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> March, Vienna Austria 20<sup>th</sup> & 21<sup>st</sup> October, Vienna Austria 15<sup>th</sup> & 16<sup>th</sup> December, Vienna Austria





# EUROPEAN SOCIETY

Encompassing gender, diversity and democracy, this strand of work is principally dedicated to 'bridging the gap' between the European institutions and its' citizens, one of the main reasons that FEPS was created. Having these principles in mind we address our core themes in this area which looks at our understanding of different layers of our society in its divergent cultural and political characteristics. The integration process of the European project is a large part of this as are the discussions on democratic malaise. Currently under a period of democratic deficit it is important to understand the prerequisites for a more democratic Europe in order to aspire to continued cooperation but with an accent on the social aspects that the European project can and should provide for society.

## NOTABLE ACTIVITY IN THIS PILLAR:

## Call to Europe III: Beyond Austerity I Conference

16th & 17th September | Brussels EU quarter

With the S&D group, TASC - Ireland, Policy Network - UK, Jean Jaurès Foundation - France, ItalianiEuropei - Italy, Kalevi Sorsa Foundation - Finland, ECLM - Denmark and Samak - Nordic Council.

Two full days of debates and interaction provided adequate space for 'bridging the gap' between the citizens and the European institutions, the main reason for which this conference was established. This year we debated an alternative social and economic approach for Europe and the importance of building European solidarity as a whole. This was the third annual event and has become the signature event of FEPS in Brussels. With the unique set-up for the debates that FEPS has put in place, the debates are lively, balanced and enriching. With around 55 experts invited to speak in various different sessions, under the topics of the quest for wage-led growth in Europe, innovation and growth in Europe, building European solidarity: value-based policies for equitable growth and employment, and more breakout sessions to add to this.

The conference brought together leading progressive economists, social scientists, civil society organisations, as well as high-level European politicians to discuss an alternative socio-economic approach for Europe.

The format organises the speakers and the audience in a fresh, non-confirmative style of conference with the speaker's tables around the edge of the room and the audience in the middle. The experts are separated into different tables per category; one for academics, another for MEPs, MPs and other policy makers and a third one for experts from civil society organisations, trade unions or NGOs. This arrangement encourages bold, informal and interactive debates.







Further contributions from the experts enhanced the debate by a series of 18 papers were published in the frame of the conference, written by the speakers who also participated in the discussions:

- The tragedy of the 'fiscal compact', Malcom Sawyer
- Europe needs a convincing recovery stategy, László Andor, Pervanche Berès, Joan Burton, Yves Leterme, Henri Malosse
- What happens to growth when there is a global race to the bottom in wages?, Özlem Onaran
- A wage-led growth strategy for Europe. An alternative top the crisis of debt-led and export-led growth models,
   Engelbert Stockhammer
- Economic and institutional changes implemented at European and at national level to create a wage-led growth strategy, Ude Bullmann
- Wage-led growth for Europe? Consequences of wage competition between European countries. Béla Galgóczi
- The state of growth in Europe, Mariana Mazzucato
- The European Progressive 'Renaissance': Innovation and Growth in Europe, Marica Frangakis
- From austerity to growth one lost year, the danger of losing another, Stephany Griffith-Jones and Matthias Kollatz-Ahnen
- The role of Crafts and SME's in Europe's economy and society, Gunilla Almgren
- What policies are need to stimulate innovation and technological development of SMEs in Europe? John Evans
- Innovation and Growth: Core of 'Europe 2020' strategy, Werner Wobbe
- Reconstructing the Eurozone: The role of EU Social Policy, Paul Teague
- Back to basics' Reflections on the future of social democracy, Josef Weidenholzer
- Who is going to clean the toilets in an equal, prosperous Europe? Nat O'Connor
- Austerity does not create jobs and therefore is against European Common Values! Ernst Stetter
- Economic crisis and gender equality in Europe, Marcella Corsi
- Towards a dual-earner/triple-carer model of the family for renewed solidaritities, Jerome De Henau



The evening reception in the frame of the Call to Europe conference presented the first issue of **Queries**, FEPS newly revamped magazine, (see magazines section for more information) with a speech from **Martin Schulz**, **President of the European Parliament**. He set offered his reflections on how to build European solidarity to the crowd who gathered at our September 'rentrée' event after the summer break.

## **BRIDGING THE GAP**

The raison d'être of FEPS' creation, this strand looks at a two-way dialogue between the institutions and citizens. We are currently witnessing a huge moment of disapproval in the way in which the European institutions function and who they represent. It requires dialogue, exchange, trainings and sharing of information in order for both to be able to understand the needs and to forge common solutions to the problems we face together. Call to Europe is the largest opportunity for debates and exchanges in this pillar therefore inclusive and interactive debates endeavour to provide a fresh impetus into current debates. The Young Academics Network aims to enhance our research work from the perspective of a younger generation, this includes people from outside of our movement and helps frame the debates we are developing on in a contemporary manner.

## FEPS YOUNG ACADEMICS NETWORK

The Network having being established in 209 has welcomed over 50 scholars (pre and post PhD). They actively contribute to FEPS work by providing content on different working topics. In its 3<sup>rd</sup> cycle this year, around 35 young academics have the opportunity to meet from all over Europe and discuss and write research papers together. The first meeting is an initial discussion and the abstracts are presented, then throughout the year the network splits into smaller working groups and provide feedback to each other when writing their papers to be published at the end of the cycle. The network provides fresh thinking which contributes greatly to FEPS work and the people benefit from being part of a network to help progress their scientific work. The Young Academics are also heavily involved with various activities within FEPS agenda, notably Call to Europe and the Renaissance for Europe initiatives, often providing general input to the debates, moderation and scientific reports, their academic work from a fresh perspective serves to inform the debates valuably. The meetings usually take place in Vienna, Austria and is carried out with the Renner Institut.

 $8^{th}-10^{th}$  March, Budapest, Hungary (merged with the PES activists forum, see below)  $31^{st}$  October –  $3^{rd}$  November, Vienna, Austria  $16^{th}-19^{th}$  July, Vienna, Austria





### Series of papers from the Young Academics Network

- Challenges and Opportunities in Migrant integration. Laura Caroli and Piotr Plewa
- Progressive Economic Governance: How Eurobonds relate to European integration, Carlo D'Ippoliti, Álvaro Imbernón Saíz and Benjamin Wilhel
- **European Youth Guarantee: A reality check,** Janna Besamusca, Iulian Stanescu, Jussi Vauhkonen
- Fixing the broken promise of higher education in Europe, Lorenza Antonucci, Rémi Bazillier, Pim Paulusma and Michael Weatherbur

## Staying in: winning the debate to keep Britain in the EU I Launch of the publication, with IPPR, UK

18th February launched the publication released in December with IPPR

The launching of our publication **Staying in - A reform plan for Britain and Europe** marked the announcement of David Cameron, UK Conservative Prime Minister who promised to hold an in-out referendum on UK in the EU. An evening discussion was held to launch the recent report which examines British public opinion on Europe and illustrates many reasons why Britain is clearly better off "staying in". Speaking were **Will Straw**, IPPR, **Giles Merrit**, Friends of Europe, **Jo Leinen MEP. Ernst Stetter**. FEPS.

#### PES activists Forum

8<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> March | Budapest, Hungary

FEPS and Renner Institut and hosted by Hungarian Socialist party MSZP,

FEPS ran two workshops in the frame of the EPS activists forum, one on a youth guarantee and one on alternative messages to the far right. The Forum merged the PES activists and the FEPs Young academics Network together which enriched the content of the debates significantly.

## Mass Youth employment – the economic challenges of southern Europe I FEPS plenary conference at 11th Winter University of the Young European Socialists

 $7^{th} - 11^{th}$  April I European Parliament, Brussels

The participants of the YES Winter University engaged in a lengthy and in-depth question and answer session with the panellists about the issues ranging from the economic responses to the crisis to the implementation and purpose of the European Youth Guarantee. The participants considered the conference both useful and thought provoking. Speaking were **Sylvana Rapti MEP, Giovanni Cozzi, FEPS** and **Thomas Maes,** YES.

#### Introduction tour to Brussels EU institutions I With the Renner Institut

5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> June I Brussels, in the frame of the Renner European political academy.

The programme welcomes students and young workers from different sectors from across Austria to engage in a programme about European integration. A packed schedule with 17 meetings in two days with representatives from all the EU institutions alongside European and progressive organisations such as the Permanent representation to Austria, the Party of European Socialists, MEPs. The discussions ranged from climate change to social protection, from institutional structures to tax evasion and the economic crisis. The academy gained first-hand experience of the issues and challenges for each representative they visited and how the EU works on its day-to day business. They also gained in-depth knowledge of what the EU does for Austria.

#### Call to Europe III: Beyond Austerity I Conference

16th & 17th September | Brussels EU quarter

With the S&D group, TASC - Ireland, Policy Network - UK, Jean Jaurès Foundation - France, ItalianiEuropei - Italy, Kalevi Sorsa Foundation - Finland, ECLM - Denmark and Samak - Nordic Council.

(See notable activity in this pillar for more information)

#### Ponti Per Europa I Training with the Fondazione Socialismo

Northern in Turin, Governance of the European Union, 27th – 29th September

Southern in Gallipoli, Northern Mediterranean and Southern Mediterranean, 1st - 3rd November

The 4<sup>th</sup> annual bridging the gap autumn school training is a project of education and dissemination of skills on European issues, aimed at bridging the gap between the European Union and its citizens. Held in university venues, the school offers lectures for people engaged locally in the work of the Foundation and our movement. The interesting thing about this is that there is often a significant difference in the topics and concerns of the different places, diverging greatly between northern and southern Italy. Speakers are a mixture of University academics, politicians, ambassadors and policy advisers.

## Power to the People – The future of European democracy I conference with the Kalevi Sorsa Foundation 8th Annual Research and Policy Days, 11th November I Helsinki, Finland

In face of the upcoming European elections and the rise of Eurosceptic and even authoritarian political movements in Europe, main issues around the topic were the much-debated democratic deficit in policy-making of the EU and transfer of political power to non-democratic organs via international agreements and institutions. Former Finnish president Tarja Halonen gave a keynote speech, reminding us of the importance of democracy for minority groups and dangers which authoritarian political movements form to political plurality. The event sought to gather academics and policy makers to a common debate about the state of democracy and it's future prospects in European context. Around 165 people participated. These research days have been organised jointly by FEPS with Kalevi Sorsa Foundation for the last 6 years. Each year has a different theme.

## **GENDER EQUALITY**

Gender equality is one of our main core principles as a progressive movement. It is clear that the economic crisis is exacerbating this issue. Often thought to be an accepted, general understanding, it is in fact in harsh reality not being reached at all. Indeed the opposite could be said in many cases. This is why FEPS dedicates a special pillar of its work to this topic, in trying to improve understanding within our societies and to work towards a more respectful and equal work-life balance between genders. Our work looks at the history of feminist movements and their situation and application in today's society. Leading up to the European elections next year, we assess in particular the visibility of a gender agenda in electoral campaigns and representation in civil institutions.



#### Woman Up! I Publication With the Fondation Jean Jaurès

Political, business and academic perspectives on women's representation. A Transatlantic gender dialogue. This publication is the fruit of the recent series of seminars on the same topic which has been going on for over four years now. The diverse expertise highlights the most pressing challenges and puts forward concrete proposals to reach gender equality. The articles are clustered into topics about changing narratives, battles for equality in politics and tools for improving gender equality in the corporate world.

Published in April, edited by J. Tánczos, FEPS, it was launched at the seminar on a gender sensible European Parliament in Paris.

## A gender sensible European Parliament in 2014? I Seminar with the Fondation Jean Jaurès

6th April | Paris. France

Continuing the work of progressive feminism these roundtable sessions discussed the place of gender roles within electoral campaigns and measures to establish a more gender-balanced European Parliament. Contributions from MEPs, policy advisers, researchers, NGOs and campaign experts looked at specific measures which help shape electoral campaigns in a positive way for gender awareness and promote more women's representation successfully. The perception of women's roles was mentioned and ideas brought forward how the campaign can serve to build true, valuable policies to be introduced into a progressive agenda.

### Un Parlement européen paritaire en 2014? I Publication with the Fondation Jean Jaurès

This paper assesses the historical implications of the European Union and its Parliament whilst looking toward the next European elections, to be held in a year's time. It looks at the increasing presence of women within the political institutions and the important role this is playing on a social and jurisdictional viewpoint. Important yet, often understated political success have been achieve at European level, however the economic crisis seems to be threatening this delicate balance. The study follows the calls that have been made for an equal representation at the European Parliament to ensure objectives of the values of European Union is upheld across all the Members States especially in times of crisis. Published in April and presented at the seminar on gender issues in Paris, written by G. Toutain.

## Woman Up! Enhancing women's rights and gender equality on the Middle East and North Africa I Workshop with SOLIDAR

25th September | Brussels, Belgium

Speakers were gathered from Peru, Libya , Egypt, Syria and Brussels to discuss measures of how to enhance women's aspirations. There were representatives from politics, trade Unions, civil society, educational research centres. Discussion focused on education, awareness raising, problems of implementation of this and increasing privatisation of social services. Responses were emotional coming from the fore of the conflict and the impact it has on these and many other women's lives. In addition, a call for papers was announced just before the meeting and



the discussion explored main issues to be covered in the book, such as main challenges women face in the region, the role of women in society and their socio-economic position, looking at realistic improvements.

## Woman up! For the European elections I Roundtable with the Fondation Jean Jaurès and PES women executive committee

28th November | Brussels, Belgium

The discussion looked at the positive impact of addressing gender issues in political debates and the influence of having women as political representatives to serve as role models and integrate further understanding an implementation of gender awareness in policies. The use of new technologies to mobilise women to react in political spheres was discussed alongside a historical overview about the fight to achieve voting rights for women. It was established that increasing visibility of gender sensitive programmes can enhance progressive policies more generally.





## LEGAL INSPIRATION AND INTEGRATION

This year the focus of this pillar has been on integration. Enlargement and the challenges of integration in a European perspective, institutionally and culturally have served a large proportion of the debates. The role of old geopolitics still has a strong influence in the make-up of society and there is still clear divisions between the different regions of Europe, the economic crisis has brought this even more to the forefront of debates. The legal and social aspects of enlargement and integration are addressed here.

## The social dimension of EU enlargement I Research programme with SOLIDAR

Research and activities take place throughout the year. It aims to strengthen the social aspects of EU enlargement by identifying key benchmarks and evaluating the development on the basis of these benchmarks. The research programme includes workshops and field visits bringing together local practitioners with researchers and officials. The outcomes will be summarised in a publication due to be launched in 2014. The project examines 4 main strands of topics;

- Decent work and combatting youth unemployment
- Decreasing informal economy and fighting tax evasion
- Inclusive labour market and fighting discrimination
- Gendered effects of the transition on the labour market

## Social dimension of EU enlargement I Research programme discussion, with SOLIDAR

7th March | Brussels

The timing of this meeting was set due to the recently adopted European Parliament report on EU enlargement which has largely omitted the social dimension of this process, this project is unique in its field. Several interconnected challenges present themselves, with a particular emphasis on law and democracy. Issues concerned decent jobs and youth unemployment but also tax evasion and inaccuracy of social and economic indicators from the South Eastern Europe region. The meeting explored the monitoring possibilities with academics and NGO representatives from the region in order to try and give a new approach for more progressive policies in this region.



#### Social dimension of EU enlargement: Active inclusion I with field visits, with SOLIDAR

21st - 24th May | Belgrade, Serbia

This particular mission, focused a lot of attention on the recently adopted new law on accreditation and licensing of services in social welfare, this was a good example of fruitful cooperation between different actors, as the government was in continuous contact with social welfare providers whilst establishing the new law. The field visits were carried out with aim to meet local partners and discuss developments of the research programme, identify possible case studies for the publication and promote the research programme and enlarge the network of active partners. This visit had a full programme of visits with officials and local social partners. It opened up exchanges with 50 representatives from 30-40 NGOs and think tanks from the South-East Europe region and reached a further 800 people besides.

## Strengthening active inclusion in South-East Europe: main barriers and best practice I Workshop with SOLIDAR

8th July | Zagreb Croatia

With the accession of Croatia into the EU this year, this workshop brought together new alliances to develop a new vision for the European project. 2013 is also the European year of citizens, so this frame gave way to substantial debates on citizen's participation, something which is perceived divergently in the western Balkans to other parts of Europe. Active inclusion was highlighted as one of the priorities in order to achieve equal social inclusion and fully enjoy economic, social, civic and political rights. The importance of education was underlined.

## Social dimension of EU enlargement I Research programme meeting with SOLIDAR

5th November I Sarejevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Meeting local partners to discuss and update the overall research programme, an evaluation of the articles received for the publication was carried out and it was discussed how to strategically plan a regional network meeting, planned for December on Belgrade.

## Promoting active inclusion and social cohesion in the Western Balkans I with SOLIDAR

9th-10th December



## Copenhagen revisited and Enhancing democracy pre-and post accession: Challenges and its affects on EU enlargement I Research programmes with the European Forum For Democracy and Solidarity

Copenhagen revisited was the research programme covering the enlargement process of the South East Europe region and was carried out in 2011-2012. A publication highlighting some of the main discussions was produced and published at the end of this phase, launched in 2013, it was presented in the Netherlands and in Croatia. It was then continued in a subsequent phase from 2013 under the title Enhancing democracy pre-and post accession: Challenges and its affects on EU enlargement.

This phase will analyse the obstacles of EU enlargement in a different framework, putting the current democratic crisis at the core of its research focus, both within the EU and in the Southeast European Region and Turkey.

The research programme consists of several elements, including: research, assessment visits, workshops and a publication to summarise the outcomes of the programme. Activities were carried out throughout the year.



## EU Enlargement Anno 2012 a Progressive Engagement I Publication with S&D group and the European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity

The book frames the project of Copenhagen revisited and promotes numerous articles depicting the challenges surrounding the politics, economics and future of EU enlargement. It offers a progressive view on the process, and stems from the Copenhagen summit in 1993, which without Europe opening o-its doors to Central, Eastern and Southern Europe, Europe would be worse off. The articles examine the state of play in 2012, looking at lessons we have learnt and offer improved guidance for remaining candidate countries. The publication considers without doubt the

conditions which have become stricter and public opinion diverging this issue for aspiring members of the EU. Written in 2012, published in winter 2012-2013 the book is edited by H. Swoboda, E. Stetter and J.M. Wiersma. (cover page photo 2.3A)

Launch events were held in 2013:

Ever closer Balkan I Book presentation 21st February I the Hague, the Netherlands

## Shaping Europe, Welcome Croatia! I Book presentation

14-16th June, Zagreb, Croatia

## Enhancing democracy pre and post EU accession I With the European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity

## Launching meeting

21st March | Brussels, Belgium

Establishing a group of experts to become part of a network for this project, with the aim of those people writing articles for a publication, this was the launch meeting of the project. It discussed a programme plan for the project and explored possible research themes.

### Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina I Assessment visit and workshops

24th-26th April

Democratic transition, enhancing internal party organisation to improve quality of democracy for citizen's and the impact of external factors such as economic and financial crisis have on representative democracy were the themes of the workshops. They took place with academics, representatives from civil society organisations and diplomatic authorities from the region.

#### EU should stand strong for its standards

Report on the assessment visit to Bosnia and Herzegovina

The objective of the assessment visit and report was to analyse the changing roles amongst international actors in the country's transition process. Suggestions are offered for more effective international action. The report reflects in particular on the political dynamics and the transforming role of international directors. Published in September, written by J Tánczos and D. Tadić.

#### Assessment visit to Greece

13th 16th October

Looking predominantly at the social effects of austerity measures in Greece the visit met with civil society organisations, businesses and employment associations, journalists, academics and politicians. The reason being for this visit is due to the visible social effects of the crisis on this state and looking at Greece's situation with the rest of Europe. Previously a strong actor in the EU enlargement process in south East Europe, it has now been devastatingly affected by financial, political and social effects of the crisis. The assessment is to look at what solutions can be made available and what lessons can be learnt when looking at further enlargement in this European neighbourhood.

## 30 Greece's unlucky number I Report of the assessment visit

This article aims to give a current overview of the economic, political and social situation in Greece and advocates for implementation of a progressive alternative to austerity policies at national and European level. Policy Brief published in December, written by J.M. Wiersma, D. Tadiċ and J Tánczos.

#### Challenges and its effects on EU enlargement I Workshop

8th-10th November | Vienna, Austria

Threats of increasing populism and populist nationalism in various forms were recurring elements of the debate on the challenges for enlargement. The workshop discussed causes for these issues and in addition presented the articles submitted by the expert group and feedback was offered for revision before being published. Also with the Karl Renner Institute

#### The future of the Treaty of the Elysée and Franco-German relations, 50 years since it was signed I

Conference with the Parti Socialiste Français and the Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands

16th January | Brussels, FEPS office

50 years to this day exactly the treaty was signed to bring France and Germany closer together and ultimately was the anchoring in unifying Europe. Historical and economic analysis was given and representatives from the French and German socialist and social-democratic parties spoke on the need for continuing to enhance these types of approaches even in a multi-polar world. This treaty being much more than a geopolitical strategy it nurtured and engaged civil society, politics, culture and youth education, it is for these reasons it should even de developed further today.

#### Civil observers for monitoring fair elections in Bulgaria I Research activities with the Institute for Social Integration

The monitoring illustrated that there is a crisis of public confidence in the electoral process and a dissatisfaction of a great number of Bulgarians to public institutions and political parties. It followed a similar project which was carried out during the previous election year which despite changing the electoral code of conduct in 2011 to guarantee fairness and democracy in the electoral process, there were still many cases of abuse. The main objective was to increase civil participation in voting and observing the elections. This was done in three parts; by analysing the electoral law, media monitoring and civil monitoring and was carried out by training civil observers to monitor different areas; the legal framework, the election campaign, the voting day itself and the announcement of the results. The main objective was to encourage civil society to publicly denounce any abuse. Regular problems include, buying votes, physical retribution, raids, destruction of property and abuse of office. Also the situation of the ownership of the main media portals in Bulgaria was analysed extensively. The project report outlines that these problems seem deeply entrenched and unfortunately the situation has not seen any improvement at all. The monitoring took place in 27 areas of the country and noted ignorance of the electoral legislation from the election administration itself. The results outlined in a detailed report aim to help improve this situation for civil society in Bulgaria.



#### **UNDERSTANDING DIVERSITY**

With growing discontent for the European project and a new populism spreading across Europe and beyond raises serious concerns to the threat of social democracy. These approaches are divergent in their origins and discourse and do not only apply to the 'periphery' of our society. What is happening in Hungary is a clear demonstration of this. Evidently, there is a growing democratic malaise which progressives do not seem to be tackling effectively. This pillar addresses some of the key issues regarding this dangerous and unpredictable outlook.

#### Welcome to Orbanistan I Paper

Following the fourth amendment to the Hungarian fundamental law, this paper looks at the problematic issues and effects on Hungarian society the recent legislative modifications have brought about. The latest one, is considered to be a breach of the rule of law and of several fundamental values of the European Union, moreover it seeks to preserve the influence of the governing right-wing Fidesz party. The changes in fundamental law presents a serious challenge in the way civil society, the European Union and national member states with deal with this. Published in March, written by J. Tánczos, FEPS.

#### Why not triple? Three pledges towards a progressive migration policy I Policy brief

The tragedy of 350 deaths has provoked this paper looking at our migration policies. It looks at how we can shift the discourse to enhance measures and give more visibility and oversight of the profile of migrants arriving onto EU territory. Progressives should not be silent on this issue, instead they should be setting the agenda. Published in December, written by J. Tánczos.



#### The Changing Faces of Populism: Systemic Challengers in Europe and the U.S. I Book

With ItalianiEuropei and Centre for the reform of the State. Published in November, edited by H. Giusto, D. Kitching, S. Rizzo. This book offers a selection of case studies to reflect the diversity and wide spectrum of populist movements that presently exist in Europe and North America. It provides a snapshot of groups ranging from new street movements and quasi-parliamentary organisations to those that have been somewhat systematised. It demonstrates an effort to further understand these movements – and the conditions that allow for their growth – through rigorous, multidisciplinary

research and empirical analysis. The result of the discussions of a joint conference held by the three foundations.

#### The rise of Euroscepticism and possible responses prior to the European Parliament elections I Study

In recent years, negative attitudes towards the European Union have been on the rise in the majority of European societies. The criticism faced by EU institutions, among them the European Commission and the European Parliament, and the general apathy surrounding European Parliament elections threaten to decrease the legitimacy and prestige of the entire Union. This study aims to map trends within euroscepticism, identify eurosceptic demographics, and make recommendations for reaching eurosceptic or apathetic European citizens. It follows up from the conference "Democracy, Freedom and Liberty in Central and Eastern Europe", which took place on 16 November 2012 in Budapest, Hungary with the support of the Táncsics Mihály Foundation, József Attila Foundation and Policy Solutions. Published in April, written by T. Broso and Z. Vasali.

# SUSTAINABLE ECONOMY

There still exists no overall consensus amongst economists in which way Europe should overcome the deep economic and financial crisis of 2008. Should this be austerity only policies? Or is there clear alternative to be applied which focuses first and foremost on employment? This means employment-led growth in order to continue mainstream macroeconomic, neo-liberal policies. FEPS has to a large extent, provided intellectual debate on developing such a new paradigm and in particularly takes into consideration macroeconomic consequences of such a new paradigm in the international financial system and its global governance.

To a large extent, economic modelling on the basis neo-liberal paradigm has so far not produced clear predictions of growth and employment scenarios. In this way FEPs aims to do the utmost to develop together with renowned-macro-economic research centres, alternative modelling which has proven to be more precise in their findings. For example, since 2008, working together with ECLM, who already predicted with a first paper for FEPS in 2009 that Europe would face more than 20 million unemployed people, if austerity policies were to be applied and continued as this has been done.

In addition, emphasis should be given to research on pure economic theory as a fundamental to respond to society and the challenges ahead.

#### NOTABLE ACTIVITY IN THIS PILLAR:

#### Macroeconomic Cooperation and the International Monetary System I Conference

with Initiative for Policy Dialogue, Center for American Progress and the Ford Foundation

8-9th October | Washington, USA

The theme of this year's annual event was held at the same time as the meeting of the international financial institutions, five years after the crisis when the world economy is still struggling to return to sustainable growth. As always, the event brought together world-leading economists to push forward and develop debates on three fundamental issues:

- macroeconomic cooperation in a world of independent monetary and fiscal policies
- alternative global reserve currency and exchange rate arrangements
- European macroeconomic governance

The objective of the conference was to discuss the role and challenges of macro-economic cooperation in a world of independent monetary and fiscal policies. It was held over two days with high-level roundtable debates and public panel debates. Speakers included **Joseph Stiglitz**, **Jason Furman**, **Adam Posen**, **Jose Antonio Ocampo**, **Stephany Griffith-Jones**, **John Williamson**, **Olivier Blanchard**, **Homi Kharas** and many more. Reflections focused around renewed interest since the latest crisis on the need and the importance to reform the global financial and monetary architecture. International policy coordination, debt crisis management, participation in global economic governance, and the choice of means of payments in cross-border transactions are increasingly seen as crucial issues to create a global economic environment where global stability and growth take centre stage.





One of the crucial issues that emerged at the conference is how to create the conditions for an economic environment where sustainable macroeconomic coordination takes centre stage so that ad hoc harmful policies can be avoided. Related to this issue, conference participants also highlighted the importance to discuss how to create incentives for international cooperation and how to create an international financial and monetary system working in a desirable and sustainable way in the future. This event marks an ever-more fruitful relationship with the IPD and FEPS who have been working together on economic theory and global governance now for several years.

#### MACROECONOMIC POLICY

#### Heimdal model I Research

With the Economic Council of the labour Movement (ECLM), in Copenhagen, regular model reports published throughout the year.

HEIMDAL (**H**istorically **E**stimated **I**nternational **M**odel of the **Da**nish **L**abour movement) is an international model developed by The Economic Council of the Labour Movement (ECLM) in Copenhagen, Denmark. The HEIMDAL model focuses on the world economy from a European perspective, describes the European economies both on a country level as well on an aggregated EU level. Besides the European countries the two large countries the United States and Japan are modeled. The model is now co-owned by FEPS and is developed and maintained throughout the year. It is used to illustrate the impact of policy changes in the European economy. Data originates from the OECD outlook database which is published every six months along with the economic forecasts

#### Macroeconomic reports with ECLM I Research throughout the year

Report on progressive economic policies for Europe (ECLM-FEPS-CDPR) I Research throughout the year

#### Alternative Macroeconomic policies for Europe I Research and series of policy briefs

The objective of the research is to assess the impact of progressive macroeconomic policies in Europe.

The project captures the characteristics and the short and long-term implications of a variety of policy scenarios across different European regional blocs and countries. In particular, with the use of macro-models, the project will compare and contrast the current 'austerity' policies with progressive scenarios where job creation and fiscal expansion are at the core. The project uses two macroeconomic models; State of the World Economy (SOWE) model and the HEIMDAL model. With the support of ECLM.

#### Employment focused recovery for Europe: An alternative to austerity - study

The Cambridge-Alphametrics model (CAM) is used in this study to compare and contrast two alternative economic scenarios for Europe. One based on austerity measures and the other with an 'employment-focused' approach. The conclusion strongly demonstrates that an employment-focused recovery strategy and is indeed a realistic, feasible alternative to austerity. Published in February, written by G. Cozzi, FEPS and J. Michell, University of the West of England

#### How can the EU federal government spearhead an employment-led recovery? I Economic policy brief 1

This Policy Brief explores a policy scenario of boosting the powers of the EU Federal Government as a means to spearhead an employment-led economic recovery in Europe. The outcomes generated by this scenario are contrasted with those produced by a scenario of continuing the present trend of austerity measures. Published in August, written by T. McKinley, G. Cozzi, Jo Michell, and H. Bigden.

#### A gendered investment plan I Economic policy brief 2

With the ECLM

This brief presents a gendered investment plan that help to address demographic changes in Europe and its impact on the labour force. Fewer children are being born, more people are retiring which results in less people in the labour force. Job creation, female participation and childcare systems are reflected upon to draw Europe in the right direction. Published in February, written by S. Hansen and L. Andersen, both from ECLM.

#### The Way out of the crisis: an alternative to austerity I Economic policy brief 3

With the ECLM

Addressing the severe consequences of the crisis with high unemployment across Europe, especially youth unemployment, this paper offers alternatives to austerity policies and ways out of the crisis by focusing on growth and employment. Notably also by balancing fiscal consolidation, raising funds for private investments and the ECB acting as last resort to relieve troubled economies from financial markets. Published in September, written by L. Andersen and E. Bjørsted, both from ECLM.



#### | FINANCIAL AND MONETARY POLICY

#### Finance and inequality I Research

#### 1st November | University of Leeds, UK - interdisciplinary workshop

With the Fondation Jean Jaurès, University if Leeds Business School and the macroeconomic Policy Insitute (IMK)

The European Union is in its deepest crisis since its inception. This is on the one hand a financial crisis, and on the other

hand a real sector crisis with stagnating economies, rising inequalities and increasing divergence between the countries of the European Union. This research aims to generate a detailed multi-layered, and multi-locational analysis of the European financial system, formulating concrete policy recommendations for its reorganisation and restructuring. The project brings together scholars from different disciplines (economic and geography) and geographies (both within and beyond Europe) to complement, extend and deepen existing analyses of the European financial sector. The project is over 2013-2014 and includes a series of roundtable discussions and policy related writing.

#### Key reflections of the research includes;

- What is the quantitative and qualitative access to finance of different economic actors in Europe? How does this access relate to different geographic areas and socio-economic characteristics?
- What are the connections between financial crises, global financial competition, and too-big-to-save megabanks?
- How viable are smaller, locally based financial intermediaries as sustainable vehicle for carrying out economically-productive loans and for making financial transaction services widely available?
- Can cross-border capital flows unbalance core-periphery relations?
- How have the inequality dynamics shaped the changing structure of the European financial system?
- What concrete policy measures both in terms of regulation and alternative financial system design make finance work for all segments of society?

#### Beyond Financial Regulation, European industrial policies in the wake of the global financial crisis $\boldsymbol{I}$

Conference with the Rafael Campalans Foundation and the International institute of social studies (ISS)

22<sup>nd</sup> & 23<sup>rd</sup> November I Barçelona, Spain

Two-day conference looking at progressive, evidence-based theories on how sustainable economic recovery can be achieved. Sessions covered industrial policy and the role of the state, looking at different aspects of innovation finance and economic growth. Speakers were a mixture of regional politicians, representatives from think tanks and academia, journalists and trade unionists. In addition a workshop took place which discussed abstracts submitted for a future publication on this topic, different authors wrote either full chapters of full articles, from many of the speakers who participated in the conference.

#### In the Shadow of Basel: How competitive politics bred the crisis I Study

This paper seeks to answer the puzzle why regulatory loopholes, which allowed banks to engage in off-balance sheet activities without core capital charges, were allowed to persist? It lays emphasis on the global nature of the securitization business in conjunction with national regulation and the competitive inequity concerns arising there-from. The Basel accord, ultimately channelled the growth of the bank-based "shadow-banking sector". Published in January, written by M. Thiemann, ESSEC business school. France



#### Beyond financial regulation, European Industrial policies in the Wake of the Global financial crisis

with the International Institute for Social Studies, the Netherlands (ISS).

The research project brings researchers from across Europe to address the questions of the role of the finance and the financial sector in the restructuring of European industries 1970-2010. In addition, the extent reform of the financial sector will stabilise banking systems and support industrial policies that would create a sounder economic environment in which banks could operate. A publication will be produced on tis at the end of 2014.



# | ECONOMIC GOVERNANCE AND THE EURO

#### The Great Rebalancing: how to fix the broken economy I Book, with the Fabian Society

In this book senior economists and policy experts set out significant and specific new proposals for what rebalancing the British and European economy actually means in practice. It seeks to put flesh on the bone of calls for a more 'responsible capitalism', spelling out in more detail what the left's next economy could look like. Published in January, edited by A. Harrop.



#### Failed austerity in Europe - the way out I Conference

Launch event of the **Progressive Economy** initiative with the S&D group

7th March | Brussels, Belgium

A full day of conference panels alongside smaller fringe workshops, with renowned economists, political leaders, trade unionists, media and other academics. Speakers included **Pierre Moscovici, Nicolas Schmit, Pier Carlo Padoan, Gustav horn, James K. Galbraith, Bernadette Ségol**. The aim of this initiative is to launch a long-term debate searching for alternative and progressive economic strategies for Europe. In preparation to the conference we helped assist in producing an independent annual growth survey (iAGS) it is written by a group of leading economists and is an alternative to the Annual Growth Survey, (AGS) published by the European Commission. The publication formed a good base to begin the debates of the progressive economy initiative.

#### The Parliaments of the EU and the Governance of the EMU I Seminar with Notre Europe

25th March | Brussels, FEPS office

Discussion on the roles of national parliaments in the Eurozone governance and the question of 'political union'. The conversations looked at the democratic dimension of the Economic and Monetary Union and offered concrete recommendations for the institutions to take





#### Which way forward towards the political and economic integration of the Eurozone? I

Conference with the Fondation Jean Jaurès

25th May | Paris, France

The discussions were framed around two sessions, the first on economic and social solidarity in the Eurozone and the second on political and economic integration. The day brought together politicians, party leaders, political analysts, economists and trade unions from different parts of Europe to propose concrete measures for more economic, social and political integration in the EU. Speakers included Martin Schulz, Pierre Moscovici, Gilles Finchelstein, Paul Magnette, Philip Arestis and Massimo D'Alema amongst others.

#### Reconstructing the European Economy I Annual conference with TASC

14th June | Dublin, Croke Park, Ireland

Taking place in the context of stagnant growth and rising unemployment after six years of the recession, the debates focused around what macroeconomic and industrial policies are needed at EU and national level to create jobs and achieve higher growth in Europe; And also what economic policies and institutional reforms are need to fix the flaws in the European Monetary Union (EMU)? The conference put forward 10 concrete measures for more and better economic, social and political integration in the EU. In particular, policies which focus on achieving higher growth and employment. A keynote speech was given by Pat Rabitte, Irish Minister for Communication, Energy and natural resources, many other high-level economists participated at the full day's debates.

#### Macroeconomic Cooperation and the International Monetary System I Conference

with Initiative for Policy Dialogue, Center for American Progress and the Ford Foundation 8-9<sup>th</sup> October, Washington, USA *See notable activity in this pillar* 

#### What role for the State in European economy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century? I Conference with Gauche réformiste européenne. Solvay Brussels School. Université Libre de Bruxelles and Eves on Europe

12th December | Brussels, Université Libre de Bruxelles campus

The debate gave a strong message that the state should play a larger role in our economies and privatisation of many services in the last thirty years in Europe have failed to provide more security and it is ultimately the state which intervenes as last resort. **Jean-Pascal Labille** put forward his discours that we should restore the three main elements of the public authorities, allocation of resources for economic development, regulation and redistribution of wealth. **Pascal Lamy** and **Bruno Liebhaberg** also offered animated exchanges on this issue to the student audience.



#### Winning for Real: The Eurozone and the need for a paradigm shift. 10 fundamental challenges I Pamphlet photo 3.3B

Ten clear recommendations and policy proposals are given to combat ten fundamental challenges that Europe is facing in its economic and social policies. The paper presents a critical review of the causes and origins of the crises, economic, financial, ecological, institutional and political. It has led to a change of discourse and policy makers are now looking into more policies that combine social cohesion, employment and fairness for instance. This pamphlet sets the agenda on how progressive policies could help shift towards using different economic strategies. Published in April, written by G. Cozzi, FEPS.

#### The difficult role of Parliaments in the reformed Governance of the EU Economic and Monetary Union I Study.

Organised in the frame of the 'European semester' this paper offers an assessment of the new reformed governance which was meant to be a pre-condition of putting an official financial solidarity mechanism in place. It illustrates that the reformed governance reduces national parliaments legitimating and controlling role over EMU-related policy-making at national level, whereas the European Parliament did not have ta comparable roe at European Union level in the first place. Published in August, written by C. Deubner.



#### **Eurovisions I Series of papers**

European politics need to be debated to be better understood and to become more relevant for European citizens. The purpose of these papers is to critically assess the European Council meetings as this is where the EU political direction is shaped, a special insight on the context and background is illustrated. They provide consistent sequence of analysis and responses to some key European problems asking for more progressive policy-making. The author uses her experience of preparing meetings of the European Council for twelve years to optimum value for the readers. Published throughout the year, written by Maria João Rodrigues, special adviser in the European Union Institutions.

- Spring or autumn European council? European Council of 14-15 March
- Youth Unemployment, the tip of the iceberg European Council of 27-28 June
- Waiting for Godot European Council of 24-25 October
- Pooling resources and decisions to overcome decline? European Council of 19-20 December

#### Progressive Policy-Making for the European Union I Book

The European Union needs more progressive policy-making to overcome its current crisis and to develop its potential as a progressive project. This book is a collection of the series of papers which the author has been writing regularly for the last few years, analysing the European Council meetings. The chapters are separated into the financial crisis, towards a new growth model, the Eurozone crisis and the economic monetary union and Europe in the world. Published in October, written by Maria João Rodrigues



#### Meeting with Christian Karajewski, Head of Economic Policy for the SPD

17th July | Brussels, FEPS office

In the context of the upcoming federal elections in Germany and still not in recovery from the economic crisis this debate was an informal gathering of interested stakeholders to discuss what is at stake for Germany, for the SPD and the Progressive movement and the effect it will have on the European elections and ultimately economic polices in Europe.



#### **| ECONOMIC THEORY**

#### Measuring Wellbeing in Ireland I Conference with TASC and Carnegie UK Trust

24th January | Dublin, Ireland

The Central Statistics office in Ireland will be undertaking the country's first measurement of subjective wellbeing later in the year as part of their household survey. This one day was held to offer policy recommendations in preparation of these national measures. The conference looked at measuring wellbeing from several different angles, from policy practice, from civil society and looking at current tools and measures used. Some special focus was put on youth, environmental and community sectors, with speakers representing each of these areas. A number of presentations were made from the speakers and there was good interactive debates with the audience and key stakeholders.

#### NEXT LEFT ECONOMIC CIRCLE

The roundtables of the Next Left Economic Circle bring together progressive economists from different European institutions, from civil society organisations and the business sector who wish to evaluate the economic theoretical corpus behind economic policy proposals. It consists of regular public meetings which always take place in the European Parliament in Brussels. For each roundtable, a renowned economist is invited as a guest speaker. It is co-chaired by **Liem Hoang-Ngoc** (MEP, S&D Group at the European Parliament, Professor of Economics at Paris I University) and **Stephany Griffith-Jones** (FEPS consultant and Professor of Economics, Columbia University). Held with the Global Progressive Forum (GPF) and the S&D group in the European Parliament.

Tackling tax fraud and tax evasion: closing the loopholes for fiscal justice I 7th Circle

26th February

Speakers Richard Murphy (tax research UK) and Mojca Kleva MEP

#### Can the new EMU function without a federal budget? I 8th Circle

7th March

Speaker James K. Galbraith (University of Texas at Austin University, USA)

#### Make the financial transaction tax work! I 9th Circle

19th March

Speakers Avinash Persaud (Chairman of Intelligence Capital Ltd) and Stephany Griffith Jones (IPD Columbia University, USA)

#### Alternative macroeconomic and financial policies for Europe I 10th Circle

15<sup>th</sup> May

Speakers Lord. Prof. **John Eatwell** (Queens' College Cambridge, UK) and Prof. **Jonathan Portes** (Director of the National Institute of Economic and Social Research, UK)

#### Current economic and social challenges for the Middle East I 11th Circle

25th September

Speaking Hassan Hakimian, (Director, London Middle East Institute, UK)

#### Nordic Model 2030 I Three year research project with SAMAK Nordic Council

The NordMod 2030 is a joint Nordic research project studying the impact that national and international development trends may have on the Nordic social models. It provides studies of risk factors and challenges in several key policy areas. The ambition is to provide a basis for future policy developments and for designing strategies for reinforcing and renewing the Nordic models towards 2030. The project is structured into three main modules:

Base line studies analyse and identify external and internal changes in the model's scope of action and the forces behind them. Country studies for each of the five Nordic countries covers developments from 1990 to the present and mapping the political conflict lines in employment and welfare policies. Thematic reports cover areas such as industrial relation, employment, welfare, social inclusion and integration, innovation and industrial policy, democracy and participation and climate challenges.

Already published in 2013:

The cornerstones of the Nordic Model I Sub-report 1, written by Jon Erik Dølvik

Demographic changes and the Nordic Welfare States I Sub-report 2, written by Tone Fløtten, Åsmund Hermansen, anne Hege Strand and Kristian Rose Tronstad

Little engines that could: Can the Nordic economies maintain their renewed success? I Sub-report 3, written by Richard B. Freeman.

Nordic Tax policy towards 2030 | Sub-report 4, written by Johan Christensen

Conversion Period Land report of Norway 1990 - 2012 I Sub-report 5, written by Jon M. Hippe and Øyvind Berge

Historical making, present and future challenges for the Nordic welfare state model in Finland I

Sub-report 6, written by Olli Kangas and Antti Saloniemi



# GLOBAL SOLIDARITIES

Internationalism being a core value of progressives, much of the emphasis of FEPS work has an international spirit which is based on mutual respect for learning and understanding. In an ever-more internationally-linked global society, further cooperation is valuable to seek common ground for finding solutions. Solidarity as a core value of Progressives can be a basis when we pursue an active global role for Europe in addressing international relations, global governance and combatting climate change on an international level.

#### NOTABLE ACTIVITY IN THIS PILLAR:

Campaigning for the future, the future of campaigning I seminar with the Center for American Progress Action Fund and the PES

4th-5th March | Washington, USA

Bringing together leading campaigners and organisers from the United States and Europe to share lessons from the 2012 electoral cycle and discuss how they can be applied to domestic and transnational campaigns in Europe. Topics looked at values and demographics and different online and field campaigning tools. During the seminars around **20 special advisers from the Obama campaign** gave keynote speeches with Q&A sessions from the participants. These were a range of strategic communications advisers from Obama's team in the white house, news commentators, directors from prominent think tanks and digital media organisations. Participants from Europe were campaign managers and executive directors from the member parties and sister organisations and associated media outlets.



#### GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

The impact of global leaders on Europe is significant. This year's focus before the elections looks at what can be learned from different styles of campaigning. This is especially significant now, with the role of the European elections becoming more personal and more political. Brussels as a 'political hub' requires outward-looking vision in its global governance strategies. Economic and social policies are strongly inter-linked. Fair and effective global governance is key in when looking towards the future of the EU after the European elections.

#### Washington, campaigning for the future, the future of campaigning, FEPS, CAP, PES

4th-5th March

See notable activity in this pillar for more details.

#### 'Teaching an Old World New Tricks'

Discussion paper following the seminar on campaigning for the future, the future of campaigning.

The paper discusses what Europe can learn from the successful campaign of Democrat Barack Obama in the United States, particularly in terms of mobilising, conveying messages and narratives and data analysis. As Progressives the feeling of **empowerment** has been a fundamental value in its history and this process of connectivity between citizens and institutions is something we Europeans should be strongly building on. Published in April 2013, written by D. Kitching, FEPS

#### Brussels Forum I Annual conference in Brussels with the German Marshall Fund of the United States

15th-17th March | Brussels

FEPS along with the other main European Foundations contributed to the annual conference of the German Marshall Fund. This large event attracts a high number of stakeholders form Brussels and all over the world. There were many workshops, plenaries sessions and working dinners with discussions ranging from global governance, Europe's place in a multi-polar world, economic and social issues and international relations. Baroness Catherine Ashton, EU High representative for foreign affairs and security policy participated, with other international politicians and policy-makers.

FEPS had a stand there for the whole conference where its publications were displayed and participated in particular at one of the working dinners, bringing experts from our network into the setting.

## EUROPEAN POLICIES AND OTHER CONTINENTS

The international reach of FEPS work has helped its research and understanding of Europe and its policies and processes. It's also beneficial to understand what is happening in key regions of the globe and to have dialogue with other progressives in various policy areas.

Arnold Wehmhoerner: Southern Africa correspondent I Regular papers

#### Zuma re-elected to lead south Africa for a second term

This article by Arnold Wehmhoerner examines the moral decline of the ANC during the process from a liberation movement to a party in power. It looks at the political permutations during the Mbeki era and since then, as the party leadership which failed to provide positive role models for the public and party, which did not properly educate the new emerging elite or exert the necessary administrative controls, and which left corrupt and inefficient ANC cadres unpunished. With the re-election of Zuma this trend will not be reversed but, instead, will be exacerbated. Published in January, written by A. Wehmhoerner.





#### South Africa and the BRICS

Following the fifth BRICS summit held on 25-26<sup>th</sup> March in Durban, this paper, analyses the current state of play in the BRICS grouping and the development of this entity since the acronym was coined 12 years ago. It looks at the debates within South Africa, and Africa more widely, over the relationship between the continent and the other members of the BRICS grouping. Published in April, written by A. Wehmhoerner.

#### Africa at a crossroads

Following the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of African bloc, on the 23<sup>rd</sup> May in Addis Ababa where leaders gathered to mark the progress the continent has made, this paper looks in particular at growth and commodity prices on the continent. There is some concern of failure and missed opportunities in terms of development. The author addresses the challenge of the elites and corruption which seems to run through the foundations of Africa, despite huge differences between different countries. Investment in education and infrastructure are key recommendations to provide sustainable development, however more effective control mechanisms and international consensus is needed to achieve this. Published in May, written by A. Wehmhoerner.

#### Zimbabwe as a test case for SADC

President Mugabe set the election date for the July 31st 2013, against the wishes of the opposition parties and SADC. The country remains under the full control of Mugabe and his party ZANU-PF, because the necessary reforms in the security sector and media have not been carried out. The paper evaluates that under current circumstances the upcoming elections will be not free and fair and they will not solve the Zimbabwean crisis. Published in July, written by A. Wehmhoerner.

#### Impunity for the Powerful: the African Union and the International Criminal Court

The decision by the African Union Extraordinary Assembly that "no charges shall be commenced or continued before any International Court or Tribunal against any serving AU Head of State or Government" raised serious questions about the relationship between the AU and International Criminal Court. This paper looks at the implications of this issue which do not come from external factors, rather it is as an internal problem of Africa as a continent. Published in July, written by A. Wehmhoerner.



#### Klaus Voll: Southern Asia correspondent I Regular papers

#### INDIA IN TRANSITION SERIES OF PAPERS

#### Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) – A new Political Party in India

This paper offers an introduction and overview of the party with interviews and portraits from the main political figures. Published 22<sup>nd</sup> January, written by K. Voll and K. Nanda

#### Rahul Gandhi – in a central position to lead the congress in the 2014 general elections

The paper provides an analysis of the reactions to the appoint of Rahul Gandhi as the Vice-President of the Indian

National Congress, and offers a portrait of his personality. Published in January, written by K. Voll and K. Nanda.

# South Asia: Winter Review South Asia: Winter Review South Asia: Winter Review Analysis of India's Internal conflicts, and analysis of India's in South Asia, and India's relations of India's India's

#### Rajnath Singh - The New BJP President

This paper analyses the leadership of the Bharatiya Janata Party, India's second largest political party with a profile of Rajnath Singh and the possibilities at the upcoming elections. Published in January, written by K. Voll and K. Nanda

#### Massive Protests against Rapes in India

Following the brutal gang rape which received huge media attention in India and the increase in sexual assaults, the protests called upon political leaders to take severe action. The protests which began peacefully turned violent. This paper depicts the recent events and unfolding legislation and judicial action, which is seen to be very weak by the majority of the population in India. The author looks into possible solutions against violence to women within Indian Society. Published end January, written by K. Voll.

#### Vladimir Putin's one-day in Delhi

This paper outlines the run-up to the visit on December 24<sup>th</sup> 2012 and its implications. With Russia seeking closer ties with China and Pakistan and India stretching out to the USA, Indo-Russian ties are being closely looked at. The bilateral summit had a lot at stake and aimed at strengthening the 'particularly-strategic' relationship between Russia and India. Published in February, written by K. Nanda.

#### Recent developments in the Maldives and India

The young and fragile democracy in the Maldives is under pressure as it heads towards the September 2013 elections. Tensions with India, the growing role of China and Islamist tendencies are affecting this tiny island state in the Indian Ocean. This paper analyses the recent BRICS-Summit in Durban is from an Indian perspective. Published in April, written by K. Voll and K. Nandi.

#### Summer briefing on India

With considerable upheaval on both domestic and foreign policy, this briefing analyses what is currently at stake for India. Part I of the paper, addresses current power struggles in the different regions of India and part II deals with Indo-Chinese and Indo-Japanese relations and free-trade agreements. Published in July, written by K. Voll and K. Nandi

#### India's Pakistan and Afghanistan

PoliciesThis paper looks at the prospects for building peace and trust between India and Pakistan. It also charts the utilisation of "soft power" influence in Afghanistan as a preferable alternative to direct military cooperation with Kabul. In the absence of a clearly defined Indian policy on Pakistan and Afghanistan, there is still a pointed recognition of the need to maintain peace and stability in the region, even where there have been provocations. Ultimately, relations with both Pakistan and Afghanistan are deeply embedded in domestic political conflicts too. Published in October, written by K. Voll.

#### South Asia: Winter Review

Analysis of India's internal politics, the political landscape in South Asia, and India's relations with China and Russia. Main topics are: Internal analysis of the power struggles in a changing India; interview with Alka Lamba of Congress on major challenges for India; fault-lines in South Asia; and India's relations with China and Russia. Published in November, written by K. Voll and Dr. J. Lobo and K Moitra.

#### South Asia: December Dossier

This briefing analyses the important state elections in India, Nepal's second Constituent Assembly and reflects on India's foreign, security and domestic issues. Published in December, written by K. Voll and Dr. J. Lobo, S. Saran and Dr C. R. Mohan.

#### China-Europe Political Parties Forum

24<sup>th</sup> – 26<sup>th</sup> April | Suzhou, China

FEPS took part in a conference exchange in China with political parties form across Europe. The debates focused on promoting China-Europe relations and featured prominent international guests. A series of fringe meetings were held also with some Chinese Ministers and authorities to encourage further learning on common challenges.

#### China Center for Contemporary World Studies (CWS) I Conference and agreement to continue working together

30<sup>th</sup> October, 1<sup>st</sup> November | Beijing, China

FEPS President, Massimo D'Alema attended a two-day **Forum on World Socialism** where he delivered two keynote speeches. The first on the problems and characteristics of the contemporary world and the second on the European political situation and the role of Progressives.

Alongside this a **memo of understanding** for future projects together with FEPS was agreed and signed. It promises to promote exchanges and ad hoc visits, to hold bilateral symposiums and offer an exchange of publications.

## DEMOCRACY AND PROSPERITY IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

Continuing relations in the European neighbourhood FEPS is constantly endeavouring to improve its relations with political movements and actors in the region south of the Mediterranean. Regular dialogue and frequent exchanges of ideas and experiences are paramount when following the democratic processes and search for economic and social wellbeing within Europe and on its doorstep.



A Common vision for a progressive
Arabic world: Listening to the Progressive
Mediterranean intiative I Forum with the Party of
European Socialists, Global Progressive Forum, S&D group,
Arab Social Democratic Forum

19th-20th January | Cairo, Egypt

This event marked the creation of the Arab Social Democratic Forum. It is a historical moment, which aims to unify progressive forces in the region. It aims to be a partnership of support that can help strengthen coordination with international partners to help strive for the creation of a unified left in the region with stable and long-lasting parties which are open and inclusive with

ambitious governmental programmes. A declaration was adopted and several keynote speeches were delivered to political leaders fro both sides of the Mediterranean. The event featured in the Egyptian press and leaders also published articles in the framework of this initiative.

#### Another Spring: The Middle East: between history of revolt and future geopolitics I Study

Following on from the Arab Spring this paper strives to reveal and explain some of the missing dynamics of these movements and to analyse the political and geopolitical conditions in the Middle East which then draws conclusions and a prognosis of some possible future events to expect in the region. Published in April, written by Fadi El-Husseini

## SOLIDARITY: THE REASON TO FIGHT CLIMATE CHANGE

Solidarity is a core progressive value when contemplating further understanding, cooperation and more importantly, concrete action against climate change. This year's focus is on energy policy, as it makes up a large chunk of our greenhouse gas emissions and fuel costs are also a cause of poverty for many across Europe. The European Union serves as an ideal base for more cooperation and solidarity between states in this field. National states, private companies and international actors alike expect Europe to play a leading role internationally in addressing energy and climate change. This is needed in particular for providing long-term policy vision in this area and to guarantee a better socio-economic context for energy policy within the scope of tackling climate change.

#### A Progressive agenda for European energy policy I Two-year research project with IPPR

2013 - 2014 throughout the year

With high energy prices as a factor for aggravating poverty during this economic crisis, the research carried out with Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR) UK, covers key questions on European energy policies and the ambitions for a progressive policy agenda. Looking at the challenges of completing the single energy market and the importance of having ambitious climate and energy targets at European level, the project reflects upon European integration concerning energy policy and the different elements of this such as strengthening capacity mechanisms, restoring the emissions trading scheme to being effective and the need for more shared infrastructure. A case study on interconnection is carried out and looks at how to provide political certainty to promote investments and to enhance more cooperation at European level in order to secure supplies and ensure it is affordable.

#### Running on empty – why the UK needs Europe for affordable Energy I Publication

The initial briefing from the two-year research project on a progressive energy agenda for Europe with IPPR presents the research carried out so far in terms of certainty of policy, referring to the 2030 energy package and priorities for closer European cooperation and interconnection. A case study is provided of the UK and its need to search for possibilities with neighbouring countries to secure its energy supply and increase competitiveness. Published in summer as a mid-term report of the project so far, written by C. McNeil, IPPR.

#### **FEPS ENERGY FOCUS GROUP**

Set up in 2013, regular meetings take place with a stable group of Brussels energy stakeholders providing a space for discussion between energy companies, trade unions, policy advisers, academics and NGOs. The unique thing about this group is that it provides a platform for these stakeholders to discuss together, whereas it wouldn't usually happen. The discussions are open and informal. FEPS gains insight into the different priorities of the group members and they provide further knowledge and expertise for each other. The group also gives feedback on the long-term energy project. The meetings are always held at FEPS office in Brussels as a lunchtime meeting and aims to open up the debate as much as possible.

30th April, Energy focus group meeting

11th September Energy focus group meeting

#### Solidarity: Towards 2030 ambitions in energy policy I Publication

A collection of 13 articles from members of the energy focus group, ranging from energy efficiency to cross-border interconnection facilities and considering solidarity as a cohesive policy for energy. The collection aims to show similarities and where converging opinions can be worked on. Published in December, edited by C. Billingham, FEPS.







#### Energy: How can we achieve a secure, carbon-friendly and affordable energy system in Latvia and the EU? I Round-table with Freedom and Solidarity Foundation

17th May | Riga, Latvia

The round-table discussed the geopolitical interests of Latvia and Europe, the need for a just transition and holistic approach to energy, the opportunities and limits of renewable energy in Northern Europe and the need for a progressive energy agenda in Europe. In particular the economic and geopolitical benefits of renewable energy resources in Northern Europe were discussed.

#### ENERGY REVOLUTION?! - What Lessons from German and Danish Energy Policy? I Conference with Kaleyi Sorsa Foundation

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29<sup>th</sup> May | Helsinki, Finland

The main message form the debate is that the energy transition is now happening in Germany, which is a positive initiative, but there are many challenges and questions as to how this will actually happen. The presentations addressed the relationship between consumers versus industry and how these affect national political debates, also the matter of short-term versus long-term policies and the affect this has on energy policy, in particular when concerning cost and interest benefits. Speakers included **Dr. Petri Hakkarainen**, **Senior Fellow**, **Potsdam Institute for Advanced Sustainability Studies**, **Susanne Krawack**, **Chief Consultant**, **Concito** and **Dr. Inge Lippert**, **Confederation of German Trade Unions** (DGB).

#### Sustainable energy policy for the consumers, the solution is european I Conference with the Tancsics

#### **Foundation**

#### 10th & 11th December | Budapest, Hungary

Two days of intense debates with the people from the network of the foundation and many people representing the energy sector in Hungary conversing in technical yet open reflection debates. The topics for discussion were energy prices and consumers, jobs and growth, transition to a low-carbon economy and innovation and investment in new technologies and the state's role. The main message to come out of the conference is that for the consumer, energy policy is more than just about price of energy utilities. Climate and energy goals brought in from European level, with the agreement of the member states are affecting longer-term goals and this needs to be taken into account sooner by the national government in Hungary. Speakers from Friends of the supergrid, Greenwich University, UK and the Austrian power grid joined energy experts former Ministers from Hungary.





# FEPS MAGAZINE Queiles

THE FUROPEAN PROGRESSIVE MAGAZINE

#### Queries Magazine (merger in 2013 of FEPS Fresh Thinking and Queries into 1 magazine)

www.queries-feps.eu

The first and only European Progressive Magazine. The new format is more reader-friendly with quick references to the content of the articles. Each issue has lots of statistics, photo reports, book and music reviews alongside various different focus points. It promotes up and coming political stars from across the EU to bring awareness to their work and provides insight into how the EU is seen from outside, comments given by a well-known international politicians.



#### 2014 EU elections: Citizenship in action I Issue 1

Published one year ahead of the European elections, the focus of this issue looks at what is at stake and anticipating on which issues will strike a chord in the run up to the vote and how we can engage citizenship. Essay from **Colin Crouch**. Ones to Watch **Paul Magnette** and **Jutta Urpilainen**.



#### European Industrial strategy, responsible, equitable, sustainable? I Issue 2

The inside focus of this issue looks at the future of industrialisation in Europe and how we can provide progressive responses to continue producing. My Europe article by **Michelle Bachelet**. Essay on the Entrepreneurial State by **Mariana Mazzucato**. Comment from **Anthony Giddens**. Ones to Watch **Joseph Muscat** and **Emma Reynolds**.



#### Facing Democratic Malaise, A Challenge for a Political union I Issue 3 (Winter 2013-2014)

The focus of this issue looks at the challenges that traditional parties are currently facing at the moment and the way this is threatening European politics. Addressing citizen's capacities in facing technocracy and how to encourage urther democratic participation. Contributions from **Stefano Rodotà**, **Emily O'Reilly, Michel Wieviorka**. My Europe article by **Ben Jaafar**. Ones to Watch **Najat Vallaud-Belkacem** and **Stefan Löfven**.

#### **PARTICIPATION**

FEPS also tries to regularly attend various conferences of interest in Brussels. Often FEPS will be invited to attend activities of its member organisations and affiliated partners, some of which are listed in the participation section.

#### PES Balkan conference I 22<sup>nd</sup> – 23<sup>rd</sup> April

**Relaunch** conferences by the S&D group, **Brussels I** presentation by Ania Skyzypek on Social Europe, 25<sup>th</sup> June

Mannheim I participation of Ernst Stetter, 6<sup>th</sup> September Warsaw I Presentation by Ania Skrzypek on the future of the Eurozone and Poland's accession, 28<sup>th</sup> November

#### **ENoP** conference

Defying the crisis: Impulses for active European citizenship, Rome Italy, 8th July

#### Young European PES Delegation to China

18th – 31st July, Beijing, Shandong and Yunnan province

#### Irish Parliament - Oireachtas

Presentation of paper before the Committee on European Union Affairs, 'Democratic Legitimacy and Accountability in the European Union' by David Kitching, Dublin, Ireland, 16<sup>th</sup> July

#### 23rd economic forum of Krynica Zdrój

Speech delivered by Massimo D'Alema entitled `Russia-NATO: A harsh cooperation' in Warsaw 4th September

#### Global New Deal

conference with the Progressive Alliance, Stockholm, Sweden,  $23^{rd} - 24^{th}$  October

#### Results of the Federal elections in Germany – perspectives for the future

Friedrich Ebert Stiftung – Presentation of Next Left research programme by Ania Skrzypek, Würzburg, Germany, 25th October

#### **FTUI** conference

Presentation of FEPS Next Left book 'New Social deal' by Ania Skrzypek in Madrid. Spain. 20th – 24th November

#### Tehran, Iran

Conference on Europe's engagement for security and peace in the Mediterranean and in the Middle East  $16^{th}-19^{th}$  December. Invited by the IPIS, Institute for Political and International Studies of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran. President of FEPS delivered a speech at the conference and during the trip met with key Iranian political figures such as Iran's Expediency Council Chairman Ayatollah Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani. A delegation from FEPS and ItalianiEuropei took part in the mission, Massimo D'Alema, Ernst Stetter and Hedi Giusto.



#### COMMUNICATION

FEPS **Website** is the main portal to our network. It is constantly been updated and improved. Alongside the activities, we aim to give more visibility to the people from our extended network who are contributing so fantastically to our work.

**Social media** is a tool being used more and more. FEPS is adapting to this. The **app for publications** was made available in 2013, so people can read our online documents on their handheld device. **Facebook** is being used more to announce our events and recently launched publications. More visibility is being given and is often 'liked' and 'shared'. **Twitter** is also becoming more widely used. The FEPS team is also relating their activities to the facebook and twitter accounts more and more. It is an excellent tool for sharing our publications and commenting on policy debates online.

The bi-monthly **newsletter** became up and running in 2013. It has been a very useful tool in highlighting our work and reminding people of the publications and events we have. It is a good way to reach out to ever more people.

Fresh Thinking Blog of the Secretary General of FEPS, regular articles throughout the year, often picked as Editor's choice at Furactiv



- 1. How to tackle youth unemployment
- 2. The time to challenge austerity
- 3. EU-US: Free Trade alone is not enough!
- 4. After the cap of the bankers' bonuses the next step is to combat tax evasion and fraud
- 5. Europe's future is no a 'German-Merkel' Europe!
- 6. Austerity is against European common values!
- 7. Where will jobs come from?
- 8. Back to the sixties: the EU is cultivating an old fashioned intergovernmental union!
- 9. Solidarity in fighting climate change has vanished
- 10. Will the misfortune of a German Europe remain?
- 11. TTIP could work if the pieces were in place but are they?



#### **Online magazine**

#### www.queries-feps.eu

Queries magazine is available online and has a website specially featured for the magazine too. Here you can find more detailed information about the contributors, articles by theme and a presentation video.

#### Press coverage

Regular breakfast meetings with journalists take place with FEPS President, Massimo D'Alema. FEPS is seeing its press coverage increasing considerably. Usually in the frame of a conference or the launching of a new publication the national media picks up on our work.

# INSTITUTIONAL MATTERS

# ACTIVITY REPORT 2013

#### **INSTITUTIONAL EVENTS IN 2013:**

18th March, FEPS Scientific Council meeting

#### **FEPS Bureau meetings**

- 15<sup>th</sup> April
- 25<sup>th</sup> June
- 26<sup>th</sup> November

25th June, FEPS General Assembly

26th June Meeting with member foundations and think tanks to coordinate programmes





#### MEMBERS

#### **FULL MEMBERS**

Austria - Karl Renner Institut I ■ Belgium - Gauche réformiste européenne / Stichting Gerrit Kreveld / Institut Emile Vandervelde I ■ Bulgaria - Institute for Social Integration I ■ Czech Republic - Masarykova Demokraticka Akademie I ■ Estonia - Johannes Mikhelson Centre I ■ EU - Solidar I ➡ Finland - Kalevi Sorsa Säätiö I ■ France - Europartenaires / Fondation Jean-Jaurès I ■ Germany - Friedrich Ebert Stiftung I ➡ Greece - Institute for Strategic and Development Studies ISTAME / RE-Public I ➡ Hungary - Tancsics Mihaly Alapitvany I ■ Italy - Associazione Bruno Trentin / Centro Riforma Stato / Fondazione ItalianiEuropei / Fondazione Istituto Gramsci / Fondazione Socialismo I ➡ Latvia - Freedom and Solidarity Foundation I ➡ Lithuania - Demos I ➡ Luxembourg - Fondation Robert Krieps I ➡ Malta - Fondazzjoni Ideat I ➡ Netherlands - Max Van Der Stoel Stichting / Wiardi Beckman Stichting I Nordic - SAMAK I ➡ Poland - Foundation for Fundamental Rights I ➡ Portugal - ResPublica I ➡ Romania - Ovidiu Sincai Institutul I ➡ Slovenia - Kalander Foundation I ➡ Spain - Fundación Ideas / Fundació Rafael Campalans / Fundación Pablo Iglesias I ➡ Sweden - Arbetarrörelsens Tankesmedja / Olof Palme International Centre I ➡ United Kingdom - Policy Network / Fabian Society / IPPR – Institute for Public Policy Research

#### **OBSERVER MEMBERS**

Croatia - Novo Drustvo I ■ Denmark - Arbejderbevaegelsens Erhvervsrad (ECLM) I ■ Ireland - TASC I The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia - Progress Institute I Netherlands - European Forum I Serbia - Center for Democracy Foundation I Slovenia - CEE Network for Gender Issues I Spain - Fundació Gabriel Alomar (Balearics) I Turkey - SODEV Sosyal Demokrasi Vakfi / Progressive Thought Institute I Australia - Chifley Institute.Australia I



#### 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 Gaston Simon, Financial Advisor I Marie-Astrid Mukankusi, Administrative Assistant I
Giovanni Cozzi, Economic Adviser I Ischi Graus, Events Organiser I





EXPENDITURE  Pudget			
Eligible expenditure A.1: Personnel costs	Budget 1,080,000.00	Actual	
A.I.: Fersumer Gusts	1,060,000.00	1,071,187.74	
1. Salaries	1,025,000.00	1,009,027.36	
2. Contributions	36,000.00	45,088.97	
3. Professional training	10,000.00	3,469.26	
4. Staff mission expenses	3,000,00	0,100.20	
5. Other personnel costs	6.000.00	13,602.15	
A.2: Infrastructure and operating costs	263.000.00	283.354.46	
1. Rent, charges and maintenance costs	164,000.00	188,110.80	
2. Costs relating to the installation, operation and maintenance of equipment	31,000.00	25,561.06	
3. Depreciation of movable and immovable property	20,000.00	32,435.86	
4. Stationery and office supplies	11,000.00	9,433.31	
5. Postal and telecommunications charges	22,000.00	24,639.89	
6. Printing, translation and reproduction costs	3.000.00	2 1,000100	
7. Other infrastructure costs	12.000.00	3.173.54	
A.3: Administrative expenditure	821.000,00	539,900.80	
1. Documentation costs (newspapers, press agencies, databases)	10,000.00	5,244.07	
2. Costs of studies and research	780,000.00	516,780.63	
3. Legal costs	5.000.00	6.819.67	
4. Accounting and audit costs	9,000.00	8,512.35	
5. Support to affiliated organisations and subsidies to third parties	12,000.00	2,544.08	
6. Miscellaneous administrative costs	5.000.00	2,344.00	
A.4: Meetings and representation costs	946.000.00	993,974.54	
1. Costs of meetings of the Foundation	920.000.00	945.998.85	
2. Participation in seminars and conferences	20,000.00	45,910.63	
3. Representation costs	2,000.00	2,035.06	
4. Cost of invitations	2,000.00	2,033.00	
5. Other meeting-related costs	2,000.00	30.00	
A.5: Information and publication costs	377,250.00	233,162.29	
1. Publication costs	308.000.00	175.746.28	
2. Creation and operation of Internet sites	17.000.00	35,622.60	
3. Publicity costs	39.000.00	18.426.59	
4. Communications equipment	5.000.00	3,366.82	
5. Seminars and exhibitions	5,000.00	0,000.02	
6. Election campaigns1	5,555.55		
7. Other information-related costs	3,250.00		
A.G. Expenditure relating to contributions in kind	282,750.00	128,197.11	
A.7: Allocation to "Provision to cover eligible expenditure to be	202,700.00	120,107.11	
incurred in the first quarter of N+1"1			
A. TOTAL ELIGIBLE EXPENDITURE	3,770,000.00	3,249,776.94	
	5,775,000.30	0,210,770.04	
B.1: Non-eligible expenditure	0,00	19,230.24	
Allocations to other provisions		•	
2. Financial charges		5,200.46	
3. Exchange losses		•	
4. Doubtful claims on third parties		6,215.78	
5. Others : Allocation of Earning to Loss end 2010		7,814.00	
B. TOTAL NON-ELIGIBLE EXPENDITURE	0,00	19,230.24	
C. TOTAL EXPENDITURE	3,770,000.00	3,269,007.18	

REVENUE		
D.1 Dissolution of "Provision to cover eligible costs to be incurred		
in the first quarter of N"1		
D.2 European Parliament grant	3,204,500.00	2,762,310.72
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		
D.5 Other own resources (to cover eligible expenditure) (to be listed)	282,750.00	354,639.11
Support from members of FEPS towards activities	282,750.00	354,639.11
D.6 Contributions in kind	282,750.00	128,197.11
Support from members of FEPS towards activities	282,750.00	128,197.11
D. REVENUE (to cover eligible expenditure)	3,770,000.00	3,245,146.94
E.1 Additional other own resources (to cover non-eligible expenditure)	0,00	8,271.32
(to be listed)		
Other revenue		457.32
Re-invoicing of costs		7,814.00
E. REVENUE (to cover non-eligible expenditure)	0,00	8,271.32
F. TOTAL REVENUE	3,770,000.00	3,253,418.26
G. Profit/loss (F-C)	0,00	-15,588.92
H.1 Allocation of own resources to the specific reserve account <sup>1</sup>		
H. Profit/loss for verifying compliance with the no-profit rule (G-H.1) <sup>1</sup>	0,00	-15,588.92

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#### 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

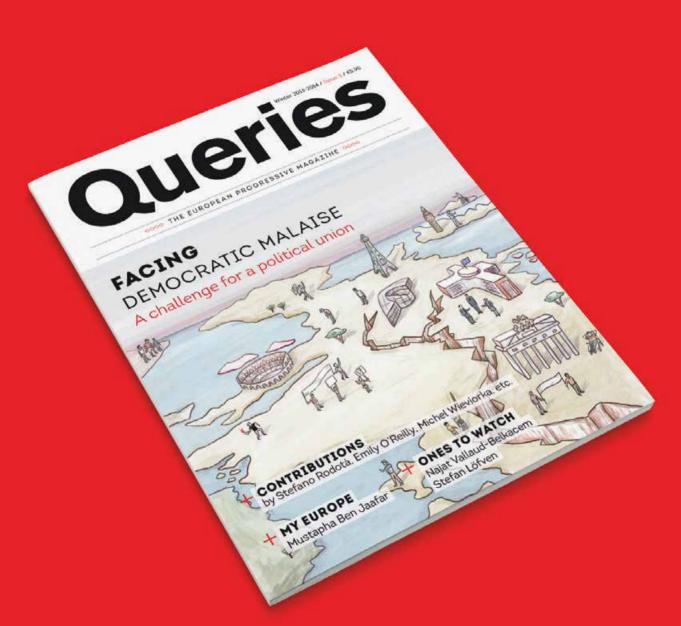
FEPS is co-funded by the European Parliament on an annual basis since September 2008, which means that 85% of its total yearly budget comes from an annual grant from the European Parliament. 15% of the budget must come from own

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€.







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