



UNIVERSITÀ DI SIENA 1240



THE PONTIGNANO – VISION CONFERENCE ON THE FUTURE OF EUROPE – THE EU’S MAN ON THE MOON MOMENT

DRAFT AGENDA (26th – 28TH MAY 2022) - ORGANIZED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF SIENA AND VISION

We are living in a dramatic time. Years of existential threats and radical transformations. It is also a time when it becomes imperative to adapt institutions conceived for a more stable context to a century which increasingly seems defined by ever more frequent and intense crises.

The first two Vision conferences on the future of Europe¹ took place in October 2020 and June 2021, while the continent was struggling with the COVID-19 pandemic. The third conference is being organized while hundreds of thousands of families are besieged in Kiev, Odessa and other Ukrainian cities and while the continent deals with its largest refugee flow since 1945. For the first time since the early sixties a nuclear strike cannot be classified as a negligible possibility. And this is happening while the globalization machine was already in trouble thanks to the great pandemic freeze² and to the divisions between the West and China.

The third conference that Vision is organizing with the **University of Siena**, the participation of the **European Liberal Forum**, the **Foundation for European Progressive Studies** and the **Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies**, is meant to be a scale up of the previous events and the consolidation of a project designed to create a permanent hub of ideas to reform the EU and to support the design and implementation of EU policies.

¹ The conferences were co-organized by Vision (the Think Tank) and TAOBUK (The Taormina Book Festival) in Messina (and Taormina). Messina was chosen as the birthplace - in 1950 at a conference of the ministers for foreign affairs of the six founding countries (Italy, France, Germany, Luxembourg, Belgium, Netherlands) - of the very idea of the European Economic Community as predecessor of the European Union.

²Conclusions, pictures, press release and participants' names are available at <https://www.thinktank.vision/en/magazine/the-future-of-europe/taormina-messina-conference-the-manifesto> as far as the first conference in October 2020 and <https://www.thinktank.vision/en/magazine/the-future-of-europe/second-taormina-messina-conference> as far as the second in June 2021.



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THE CONTEXT AND THE OBJECTIVES

During the last two years, Europe has changed at a never-before-seen pace:

The European Central Bank pumped into the markets more than 1,5 Trillion euros in the 15 months from March 2020 to November 2021: this pushed the cost of borrowing to such a low point that even States whose rating is near the bottom of the “investment grades” could finance extraordinary financial rescue packages at close to zero costs.

Political priorities were drastically twisted towards an ambitious “Green Deal” and bold targets to reduce by 2030 EU CO2 emissions of 55% vis-à-vis pre-industrial level which implies a profound challenge to banks, industries, cities, farmers. The decision to issue common debt to finance the 750 billion euro “Next Generation EU” was seen by some as the “Hamiltonian moment” which will affect the nature of the Union and eventually modify the stability and growth pact that constrains national fiscal policies.

In the last months history started running even faster and more dramatically: the response to the invasion of Ukraine has witnessed a never-seen-before unity of EU countries in a response made of economic sanctions which are being hardly felt in Russia and of which Europeans are ready to pay the price, and of an unprecedented deployment of weapons and other support to the country which suffered the aggression.

A lot is being achieved and yet the EU needs more and must absolutely avoid complacency with progress which may still be seen as too little and too slow when compared with the reality of a completely different new century. True, Europe seems to have been resilient enough to overcome the “dark hours” that appeared to threaten its very survival (the European debt crisis from 2009 to 2014, Brexit in 2016, the rise of populism, early divisions over the pandemic). And yet the entire institutional fabric of the Union still needs an urgent and radical updating to a context where crises are becoming much more frequent and violent.

In technology, Europe has fallen far behind in the battle for global digital leadership and innovation: if we consider the 143 companies whose market value is above 100 billion euro, one third were established in the last 50 years and none is European. In energy, the EU saw itself as a leader in climate adaptation but has now seen its entire energy model thrown up in the air by the schism with its main supplier, Russia. Moreover, at the same time as the Ukraine war is seen as a global battle between Democracy and Autocracy, inside the Member States there continues to be a severe challenge to the Rule of Law and in some cases the legitimacy of Democracy.

We thus need to answer to the challenge posed by the war at the borders of the Union to give substance to the old aspiration of a European foreign and security policy; to find a great



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leap forward in energy and climate innovation so as to end our dependence on imported fossil fuels; to transform in a very radical way the shape of our welfare system and define the terms of a new “health union” which is technically a pre-condition to the survival of an area of free circulation of people; to propose a new model to approach the Internet; to renew the European “lifestyle” finding a new balance between competitiveness and social protection. And yet, it is very difficult to do so with institutions that still depend on unanimity and without a proper European space for public debate.

History teaches us that after the global wars of the twentieth century, new “world orders” have been crafted. We believe that the time has similarly come for a fresh start. Sixty-five years ago, six governments were preparing the Rome Treaty. In June 2022, the think-tank Vision and the University of Siena will convene a three-days’ problem-solving event in the Certosa of Pontignano where forty intellectuals, policy makers, journalists, historians, and visionaries will gather to generate and discuss bold ideas which will be a follow up of the official *Conference on the Future of Europe* (COFE), as well as the *State of the Union* to be held in Florence by the European University Institute on 5th and 6th of May. It will provide a forum which is going to be more informal than the official COFE and a contribution to “crafting the future” (as for the Vision logo).

One of the distinctive features of the conference is in the approach we will use. We are convinced that overly complex questions like the “future of Europe” pose an intellectual challenge: we will try to find and develop viable solutions by assembling different skills, academic and professional backgrounds to share problem-solving and find a common language.

THE CONFERENCE AS A PROBLEM-SOLVING FORUM: THE METHOD AND THE KEY PEOPLE

This third conference will again feed institutions with fresh ideas on how to renew the European Union. The priorities of the two conferences in 2020 and 2021 were: to draft efficient EU policies on global digital platforms; promoting mechanisms so that a European identity/Demos and a European democracy can become a reality; to better coordinate healthcare systems at the European level; to elaborate on the idea of “clusters of integration” to overcome the paralysis of unanimity; to assess the NGEU to understand how to make it a fiscal lever for a stronger EU.

The Messina/ Taormina conference’s conclusions will be – together with the Vision concept paper and the work through which the Working Groups will be prepared – the starting point of the third conference that Vision is now organizing with University of Siena at the Certosa di Pontignano. The goal is also to confirm Siena/ Florence at the forefront of the European discourse and to make the Siena conference an annual gradually bigger event.



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Following the model of the previous events, the outputs of the conference will be a general manifesto proposing a new method for integration and an action plan for each of the problems/priorities analyzed by each of the four-working groups.

The outputs will be shown in a presentation intended for European and national institutions and the media for engage public opinion (especially that of young generations).

Organizers of the conference are University of Siena (whose rector is Professor Francesco Frati³) and Vision, The Think Tank (whose Director is Francesco Grillo⁴).

Chairs of the conference are expected to be Sandro GOZI (European MEP for Renew Europe, former Italy's Secretary of State for European Affairs); Marta Dassù (ASPENIA ITALY Director, former Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs), John Hooper (Correspondent for The Economist for Italy and the Vatican) and Annalisa Piras (Director of the "The Wake Europe Project" and of "The Great European Disaster Movie").

Our international media partner is envisaged to be The Economist (UK). Alongside, we will main Italian newspapers and main Italian TV broadcasters.

The Conference will be opened by local hosts (the Major of Siena and the President of the Tuscany Region). The program will continue with two plenary sessions which will frame the debate. Then, four working groups will be introduced by each working group's presenter before the participants divide into the four groups. Each will be moderated by one Chair who will develop the conclusions of the WG together with the introducer and one rapporteur. The rapporteur will then present the outcomes of the working groups to the plenary on day 2. The other five public plenary sessions will take place the days 2 and 3. The debates of all plenaries and working groups will feed into the general Conference manifesto.

³ The team at UNISI also includes Deputy Rector Luca Verzichelli and Professor Simone Borghesi. The conference was made possible by the supervision of Giuliana Pasquini and Roberta Corsi.

⁴ The team at Vision also includes researchers Anais Eva Agnessi, Federica Fusco, Clara Donati and Antonella Camerino. Vision work was greatly supported also by Antonio Negro and Claudia De Sessa.



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DRAFT AGENDA (*Not yet confirmed –confirmed - Confirmed in VCR)

THURSDAY MORNING 26th MAY

8:30 – 9:30 Welcome breakfast

9:30 – 9:45 Opening remarks – **Luigi De Mossi** (Mayor of Siena); Eugenio Giani* (Governor of the Tuscany Region).

9:45 – 10:15 Introduction to Conference programme.

Francesco Frati (Magnifico Rettore Università degli Studi di Siena); **Francesco Grillo** (Director at Vision and Affiliate at Sant' Anna School of Advanced Studies); **Annalisa Piras** (Director of the “The Wake Europe Project” and of “The Great European Disaster Movie”); Marta Dassù (ASPENIA ITALY Director, former Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs).

10:15 – 11:30 – EUROPE AT A CROSS-ROAD OF ITS HISTORY – THE PANDEMIC, THE WAR AND THE FUTURE OF EUROPE: HOW DID WE GET HERE; WHAT WENT WRONG AND WHAT IS WORTHWHILE TO DEFEND OF THE GREAT EU POST SECOND WORLD WAR DREAM

Discussants: **Romano Prodi** (Former Prime Minister of Italy and Former President of the European Commission); Marta Dassù (ASPENIA ITALY Director, former Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs); Giuliano Amato* (President of Italy's Constitutional Court and Former Italy's Prime Minister); **Anna Nalyvayko** (Project Officer at Martens Centre, Expert of Ukraine and Belarus); **Daniel Kaddick** (Executive Director European Liberal Forum).

Chair: **Victor Mallet** (Paris Bureau Chief, Financial Times)

11.30 Coffee break

11:45 – 13:00 HOW TO ADAPT THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE OLD WORLD ORDER TO THE 21ST CENTURY: THE IDEAS TO REFORM THE EU VIS-À-VIS EVER MORE FREQUENT CRISES AND RADICAL CHANGES (A DISCUSSION OF THE CONCEPT PAPER PREPARED BY VISION AND CONFERENCE PARTNERS)

Discussants: **Kalypso Nicolaidis** (Professor at the St Antony's College, University of Oxford and Professor at the School of Transnational Government - EUI); **Sandro Gozi** (European



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MEP for Renew Europe, former Italy's Secretary of State for European Affairs); **Maria Joao Rodrigues** (President of the Foundation for European Progressive Studies and former Portugal's Minister of Employment); Vittorio Colao* (Italy's Minister for Technological Innovation and Digital Transition); Mariya Gabriel* (Commissioner for Innovation, Education and Youth).

Chair: **Roberto Tallei** (Deputy Head of the International News, Sky TG 24)

13:00 – 14:30 Lunch

THURSDAY AFTERNOON 26th MAY

14:30 – 15:00 Introduction to the 4 WGS from each introducer

15:00 – 16:30 WORKING GROUP SESSIONS

Group 1. FINDING A ROLE FOR EUROPE WITHIN THE “BATTLE FOR GLOBAL DIGITAL LEADERSHIP” – THE METAVERSE AND THE INCUBATOR STATE - MERITS AND LIMITS OF THE EU ATTEMPT TO REGULATE GLOBAL DIGITAL PLATFORMS (IN COLLABORATION WITH THE EUROPEAN LIBERAL FORUM)

Introduction: **Francesco Cappelletti** (ELF)

Participants: **Ginevra Bruzzone** (Senior Fellow LUISS School of European Political Economy and Competition policy); Roberto Viola* (Director General, DG CONNECT); **Ernest J. Wilson III** (Former Dean Annenberg School of Communication); **Francesco Bonfiglio** (Chief Executive Officer at GAIAX); **Justin Nogarede** (FEPS); Barbara Carfagna* (RAI); **Gerard Pogorel** (Prof. Emeritus, Institut Polytechnique de Paris); **Erik Bohlin** (Professor, Chalmers University); **Angelo Mazzetti** (Meta, Head of Public Policy); Vittorio Colao* (Italy's Minister for Technological Innovation and Digital Transition); **Francesco Lapenta** (Founding Director of the John Cabot University Institute of Future and Innovation Studies); **Paola Papanicolaou** (Group Head of Transformation Intesa Sanpaolo).

Chair: **Victor Mallet** (Paris Bureau Chief, Financial Times).

Rapporteur: **Eleonora Faina** (Director General Italy's Association for ICT companies and LSE alumna).

Group 2. THE DRAMATIC COME BACK OF AN OLD ASPIRATION: A COMMON FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY FOR THE POST-UKRAINE 21ST CENTURY (IN COLLABORATION WITH THE WILFRIED MARTENS CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN STUDIES)



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Introduction: **Steve Everts** (Senior Advisor on strategy and communications at the European External Action Service)

Participants: **Michael Benhamou** (founder of ARON Praxis and Political Adviser on EU Defense); **Loredana Teodorescu** (Head of EU and International Affairs, Istituto Luigi Sturzo); **Niklas Nováky** (Senior Research Officer at the Wilfried Martens for EU's foreign, security, and defence policy); **Jan Kickert** (Austria's Ambassador to Italy).

Co-Chairs: **Bill Emmott** (Chairman of the Trustees of the International Institute of Strategic Studies and former editor of The Economist); **Anna Nalyvayko** (Project Officer at Martens Centre, Expert of Ukraine and Belarus).

Rapporteur: Marta Dassù (ASPENIA ITALY Director, former Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs); **Peter Hefe** (Policy Director, Martens Centre).

Group 3. EU AS THE PLACE TO EXPERIMENT THE INNOVATIONS THAT CAN SAVE LIBERAL DEMOCRACY FROM TECHNOLOGICAL OBSOLESCENCE: WHICH ACTIONS CAN MAKE EU DEMOCRATIC ENOUGH TO SUSTAIN A FURTHER INTEGRATION?

Introduction: **Francesco Grillo** (Director at Vision and Affiliate at Sant 'Anna School of Advanced Studies)

Participants: **Sandro Gozi** (European MEP for Renew Europe, former Italy's Secretary of State for European Affairs); Jelena Dzankic (Co-Director of the Global Citizenship Observatory, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies - EUI); **Kris Deschouwer** (Political Scientist, VUB); **Jamie MacKay** (Contributor Editor at Opendemocracy); **Kalypso Nicolaidis** (Professor at the St Antony's College, University of Oxford and Professor at the School of Transnational Government - EUI); **Matteo Bottero** (University of Copenhagen); **John Hooper** (Correspondent for The Economist for Italy and the Vatican).

Chair : Katherine Wilson* (Writer and commentator)

Rapporteur: **Antonios Nestoras** (Head of Policy and Research at the European Liberal Forum)

Group 4. FINDING THE RIGHT PATH TOWARDS NEUTRALITY: A NEW GREEN DEAL IN THE AGE OF ENERGY AND SECURITY INSTABILITY – THE ROLE OF COMPANIES, GOVERNMENTS AND FAMILIES (COORDINATED BY UNIVERSITY OF SIENA)

Introduction: Jos Delbeke (EUI, School of Transnational Governance, former DG Climate EU Commission)

Participants: **Michael Zimonyi** (Policy & External Affairs Director, IFRS Foundation); Xiliang Zhang (Executive Dean, Institute of Energy, Environment and Economy, Tsinghua University); **Alice Hubbard** (Green European Foundation); Phoebe Koundouri (President EAERE, co-Chair of United Nations Sustainable Development Network (UN SDSN) - Europe); **Enrico Giovannini** (Italian Minister of Mobility and Sustainable Infrastructures); **Carlo Papa** (Managing Director of Enel Foundation), John D. Sterman (Director, MIT)



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System Dynamics Group) **Leonardo Simonelli Santi** (President Emeritus della Italy-UK Chamber of Commerce and Industry; **Domenico Meliti** (Managing Director, Tecnomec UK representing British Italian Parliamentary Association).

Chair: **Angela Giuffrida** (The Guardian).

Rapporteur: **Simone Borghesi** (UNISI)

18.30 VISIT AT THE TOWN HALL AND THE WORLD-WIDE FAMOUS FRESCOES KNOWN AS THE ALLEGORY OF THE GOOD AND BAD GOVERNMENT WITH REFRESHMENT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF SIENA.

FRIDAY MORNING 27th MAY

8:30 – 9:00 Breakfast

9:00 – 9:30 Introduction to the second day: **Francesco Grillo** (Director at Vision and Affiliate at Sant 'Anna School of Advanced Studies) and **Sandro Gozi** (European MEP for Renew Europe, former Italy's Secretary of State for European Affairs).

9:30 – 10:30 WG Report from WG Rapporteurs

10:45 – 11:45 EUROPEAN MEDIA BETWEEN FACEBOOK AND THE NEED OF EUROPEAN PUBLIC OPINION: A EUROPEAN TV STREAMING PLATFORM AS INFRASTRUCTURE FOR PLURALISM AND DEMOCRACY

Introduction: **Paul Nemitz** (Principal Advisor on Justice Policy European Commission)

Participants: **Ernest J. Wilson III** (Former Dean USC Annenberg School of Communication); **Matthias Pfeffer** (Former head of Focus TV in Germany, author of "Menschliches Denken und Künstliche Intelligenz" and Author of the Delphi Concept for a European TV Streaming Platform);

Chair: **Annalisa Piras** (Director of the "The Wake Europe Project" and of "The Great European Disaster Movie").

11.45 Coffee Break

12:00 – 13:00 DAY 2 - RETHINKING AFRICA: HOW TO MAKE THE AFRICAN CONTINENT AN ESSENTIAL PARTNER FOR EUROPE?

Introduction: **Koert Debeuf** (Director of the Tahrir Institute for Middle East Policy Europe and Editor in Chief, EU Observer).

Keynote speech: **Leslie Maasdorp** (Vice President of the New Development Bank).

Participants: **Luca Verzichelli** (Deputy Head at UNISI); **Kelly Falconer** (Founder, Asia Africa Literary Agency); **Eli Hadzhieva** (Dialogue for Europe).



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Chair: **Laura Silvia Battaglia Al-Jalal** (Award-winner war reporter and author of Lettere da Guantanamo).

13:00 – 14:30 Lunch

FRIDAY AFTERNOON 27th MAY

15:30 – 16:30 ERASMUS FOR ALL AND EUROPEAN CIVIL SERVICE: A VISION PROPOSAL WITH TWO DIFFERENT OPTIONS (MAKING THEM FREE/ ECONOMIC SUSTAINABLE FOR ALL; MAKING THEM COMPULSORY AND DISTRIBUTED ALONG LIFE CYCLES

Introduction of Vision proposal: **Azzurra Rinaldi** (Head of the School of Gender Economics, La Sapienza).

Participants: **Luca Jahier** (Former President of the European Economic and Social Committee); **Maria Cristina Messa*** (Italy's Minister of Universities and Research); **Raffaella Nanetti** (Professor Emerita, College of Urban Planning and Public Affairs, University of Illinois at Chicago); **Francesco Frati** (Magnifico Rettore Università degli Studi di Siena); **Roberto Castaldi** (Associate Professors Università Ecampus and General Editor Euractiv Italia); **Stefania Baroncelli** (Professor of European Law at the University of Bolzano); **Saskia Loer Hansen*** (Acting Vice Chancellor of Aston University and Chair of our Europe Network).

Chair: **Roberto Tallei** (Deputy Head of the International News, Sky TG 24).

16:45 – 17:45 USA AND CHINA: IS THERE A RIGHT DISTANCE?

Introduction: **Daniel Kaddik** (Executive Director European Liberal Forum).

Participants: **Michele Geraci** (Professor of Political Economy at the Nottingham University di Ningbo, Adjunct Prof of Finance, NYU Shanghai); **Kerry Brown** (Professor of Chinese Studies and Director of the Lau China Institute at King's College, London); **Robert Leonardi** (Former Director of the Economic and Social Cohesion at the London School of Economics); **Tong Shijun** (Professor of Philosophy of East China Normal University, Chancellor of NYU Shanghai).

Chair: **Jan Piotrowski** (Business Editor, The Economist).

Dinner at CERTOSA OF PONTIGNANO

19.00 – 19.45 Key-note speech



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Jonathan Taplin (Award winner movie producer and author of best seller “move fast and break things”) “Move fast and break things: how can we save the European style of life in the age of the great disruptions” – Introduced by **Ernest J. Wilson III** (Former Dean Annenberg School of Communication)

Screening of The Great European Disaster Movie (**Annalisa Piras and Bill Emmott**)

SATURDAY MORNING 28TH MAY

8:30 – 9:00 Breakfast

9:00 – 9:30 FIRST IDEAS FOR A EUROPEAN MANIFESTO

Francesco Grillo (Director at Vision and Affiliate at Sant’ Anna School of Advanced Studies) and **Annalisa Piras** (Director of the “The Wake Europe Project” and of “The Great European Disaster Movie”).

Coffee Break

10:00 – 11:30 THE NEXT GENERATION OF EU PUBLIC FINANCES: THE IDEAS FOR CREATING A PERMANENT FISCAL CAPACITY AND UPDATING THE STABILITY AND GROWTH PACT (IN COLLABORATION WITH FEPS)

Introduction: **David Rinaldi** (Director of Studies and Policy at FEPS)

Keynote address: **Marco Buti*** (Head of Cabinet, EU Commissioner for Economy).

Roundtable with: **Georgios Papakonstantinou** (EUI, Transnational School of Government and former Minister of Finance of Greece); **Gregorio De Felice** (Head of Research and Chief Economist, Intesa San Paolo); **Veronica De Romanis** (LUISS); **Irene Tinagli*** (MEP, Chair of the ECON Committee); **Adrienne Brotons*** (Fondation Jean-Jaures, former advisor on economic and digital policy to the President of the Republic of France), **Frances Fitzgerald*** (MEP, ECOFIN Committee); **Francesca Bettio** (Professor of Economics University of Siena and Board Member of Monte Paschi Siena).

Chair: **John Hooper** (Correspondent for The Economist for Italy and the Vatican).

11:00 – 12:00 FIRST IDEAS FOR THE FOURTH VISION SIENA CONFERENCE

Francesco Frati (Magnifico Rettore Università degli Studi di Siena); **Sandro GOZI** (European MEP for Renew Europe, former Italy’s Secretary of State for European Affairs); **Eleonora Faina** (Director General Italy’s Association for ICT companies and LSE alumna).

12:15–14:30 Lunch and end of conference.