



European
Liberal
Forum

ANNUAL REPORT



2025



The European Liberal Forum (ELF) is the think-tank and political foundation of the ALDE Party. We stand for a future-oriented Europe that offers opportunities for every citizen. Together with our 54 member organisations, we work all over Europe to bring new ideas into the political debate, to provide a platform for discussion, and to empower citizens to make their voices heard.

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Letter from the President



MEP Jan-Christoph Oetjen

President, European Liberal Forum

Dear Members and Colleagues,

In 2025 Europe entered a defining moment. Geopolitical changes, shifting alliances, and growing uncertainty are reshaping our continent. Across our liberal family, there are increasing concerns and pessimism or even worse, complacency. But we cannot afford to be in doubt or stick to the status quo. This is the time to act. Europe needs liberals who step forward and shape the future without fearing change. Our motto is own the future, and we must live this ambition.

This is the direction the European Liberal Forum has taken. Over the past year, we have focused on becoming stronger,

even more strategic, and ready for what comes next. We have taken steps to grow our network, ensuring that ELF remains a central platform for the liberal family.

We have invested in ideas and topics that shape the everyday lives of citizens across the European Union. From work on affordable housing to energy security, European competitiveness and AI's role in education and job market, ELF is helping shape the liberal approach to the major issues and transformations of our time.

Across our network, our Member Organisations continue to deliver, from flagship events to new initiatives that strengthen liberal voices across Europe. The years ahead will demand clarity, courage, and cooperation. Liberal solutions must once again lead the way in delivering prosperity, security, and freedom for all Europeans.

This is our responsibility. And it is something we can only achieve together.

Yours sincerely,

Jan-Christoph Oetjen

Message from the Executive Director



Alva Finn

Executive Director,
European Liberal Forum

Dear Members and Colleagues,

In 2025, we made a deliberate choice to prioritise impact in everything we produce. Guided by our strategic priorities, we worked to connect policy, politics, and communication more effectively, making sure our work adds up to a broader liberal vision for Europe. In practice, this meant choosing projects more carefully, working more closely with our Member Organisations, and focusing on what matters most in a difficult policy environment.

2025 showed us what we can create when we lead with ideas. We helped build liberal interest in SMRs, set out a liberal agenda for the housing crisis, and made real progress on developing a forward-looking liberal vision for Europe, defined

by a liberal vision for the future of Europe. Building our visibility, improving how we present our work, and deepening our engagement with partners, like civil society, the media, the private sector, local politicians, and audiences will be central to what comes next. These are practical priorities, but they're strategic ones too: they decide whether our ideas stay within our network or help shape Europe's direction.

Looking ahead, our job is to build on what we've created and grow it with purpose. ELF will continue to be a platform that brings people together, encourages collaboration, and supports forward-looking liberal solutions. At a time when Europe is being tested economically, technologically, and politically, our role is to keep liberalism not just relevant, but actionable. That takes focus, consistency, and a willingness to adapt how we work

To our Member Organisations, partners, and team, thank you for your trust, your ideas, and your commitment this year. I look forward to building on this foundation together, and to shaping what comes next for liberalism in Europe.

Alva Finn

ELF's Strategy and Mission

A Clear Liberal Direction for a Changing Europe

In 2025, European Liberal Forum sharpened its strategic focus around a single guiding ambition: contributing to a stronger, more confident, and future-oriented Europe. At a time marked by geopolitical instability, economic uncertainty, and democratic pressure, ELF positioned itself not only as a platform for ideas, but as an active driver of a renewed liberal narrative, one that replaces fear with opportunity, and fragmentation with coherence.



Three Strategic Vectors, One Coherent Framework

ELF's 2025 work was guided by three interconnected priorities.

A Strong, secure and competitive Europe

Addressing defence, economic resilience, and Europe's position in an evolving geopolitical landscape.



A prosperous, innovative, and future-oriented Europe

Focusing on the intersection of technology, sustainability, and policy through techno-politics and techno-sustainability.



A democratic, just, and free Europe

Centred on resilient democratic systems, human rights, and inclusive liberal social policies.

Together, these vectors provided a structured yet flexible framework. Importantly, this framework strengthened alignment with key partners and ensured that ELF's work contributes to shaping the broader liberal agenda at the European level.

From Ideas to Impact

A defining feature of ELF's strategy in 2025 was a shift towards quality, impact, and continuity. Greater emphasis was placed on careful project selection and measurable outcomes. At the same time, ELF prioritised the connection between ideas and the spreading of those ideas to new audiences. Recognising that even the strongest policy work has limited value without visibility and uptake, we increasingly focused on ensuring that outputs reach policymakers, stakeholders, and wider audiences. This dual focus, on substance and reach, has become central to ELF's mission.

ELF's impact in 2025

Through a wide range of projects, publications, and partnerships carried out in collaboration with our member organisations, we have advanced our strategic priorities and deepened our impact across Europe. Key topics for the year:

- **Techno-Politics**

For too long, Europe's conversation about technology has been a conversation about fear — about what to restrict, what to slow down. If Europe wants to remain not only a place where people are protected from technology but a place where people build it, the debate has to shift. The fourth annual Techno-Politics Forum in Brussels on 19 November 2025 brought industry stakeholders, MEPs and academics into a public conversation about what a Liberal Tech Agenda for 2025–2030 should contain. Our study, [Designing Europe's Future: AI as a Force for Good](#) makes the case for a *Brussels Innovation Effect* — arguing that, in an era of general-purpose AI, sovereignty will be defined less by regulatory reach and more by mastery of compute, data and talent, and that Europe should lead through sectoral applications rather than chase US firms on every frontier. Our publication [Reprogramming Europe's Higher Education \(Zavod14\)](#), drawing on original survey data from more than 13,000 students across fifteen Member States, grounds that ambition in the everyday reality of classrooms and lecture halls already being transformed by generative AI.



• Social Issues

Liberal democracy is not abstract. It rests on concrete conditions, on whether civil society can speak, whether young people can find a home, whether a worker can move between countries and sectors as the economy changes around them. When those conditions fail, the political consequences are immediate and visible: rising support for parties that promise security through closure, and a weakening of trust in the European Union itself. ELF's social policy work has long been built on the conviction that liberals cannot cede this ground, and 2025 was a year in which we sharpened that argument across several fronts. [The Conscience of Nations](#), argues that civil society has become the indispensable defender of liberty in Europe and calls for a properly structured EU civil dialogue at a moment when NGO advocacy is being deliberately delegitimised. [Building Freedom: Liberal Solutions to Europe's Housing Crisis](#), an ELF Study, treats housing not as a market problem to be managed but as a question of liberty itself, setting out a coherent agenda combining state-aid reform, supply-side measurements, energy efficiency as an affordability tool, and a stronger role for cities and regions.

• European Competitiveness

In 2025 the Future Europe Journal, ELF's open-access peer-reviewed publication, sat at the intersection of the two questions reshaping European politics: how to defend the continent, and how to secure the resources on which its prosperity depends. [Issue 5: Defending Europe — Geopolitics, Innovation, Democracy](#) anchored ELF's defence work, covering transatlantic security, the European Defence Industrial Strategy, capability coalitions and the link between democratic resilience and military capability. [Issue 6: Geopolitics of Resources — Securing the Essentials in a Turbulent World](#) argues that the era of cheap Russian energy, affordable Chinese goods and American-guaranteed security is over, bringing together voices from TUI, Microsoft and Airbus on Draghi's plea, energy markets, climate competitiveness and Europe's North–South divide.

These strategic shifts all come together with the Multiannual Financial Framework. The 2028–2034 budget will determine whether the EU can defend itself, compete with the US and China on industrial policy, deliver the green and digital transitions and support its own enlargement. ELF spent 2025 building a liberal toolkit for that negotiation. [Future-proofing the European Budget](#), with NEOS Lab, introduces the Future Share (*Zukunftsquote*) as a benchmark for productive EU spending. [Beyond Bureaucracy, Towards a Better Life](#) builds on it with a blueprint for cohesion reform: a single consolidated fund, ten-year programming horizons, and a new Cohesion+ pillar extending the policy's logic to Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia and the Western Balkans. [Beyond the Dragon's Grip](#), written in cooperation with the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom Europe, argues that Europe is repeating with China the strategic mistake it made with Russian gas. This is why Europe needs to set out a strategic diversification and managed decoupling plan.

- **Women in Politics**

Europe has made real progress on the number of women entering political career, but progress on entry has not been matched by progress on retention. Female politicians continue to face disproportionate online and offline violence, and the gendered dynamics of power inside political institutions still push capable women out. [The Alliance of Her](#) programme has, for several years, been the most ambitious liberal effort to bring women into European politics and to keep them there once they arrive. Our 2025 publications addressed both ends of that challenge. [Confronting the 10 Traps of Power](#), a practical survival guide by Katrien Van den broeck of the Alliance of Her Academy, draws on fifteen years inside Belgian and European politics to map the psychological and political traps that derail women in office. Alongside it, [Violence Against Women in European Politics](#) consolidates ELF's multi-year work into a single toolbox of thirty concrete instruments that political parties can implement themselves.

- **European Energy Security**

Without affordable, secure and clean electricity, there is no industrial competitiveness, no credible decarbonisation, no genuine independence from authoritarian suppliers. ELF's work on energy security in 2025 was deliberately tech-neutral and market-driven — a refusal to let the energy debate be reduced to a culture war between renewables and nuclear. [Gridlocked: Unleashing European Power](#), sets out a liberal package of grid reforms: an EU one-stop shop to halve permitting times, mandatory smart meter rollout, an EU Energy Data Space, dynamic pricing, DSO tenders for congestion-relief services, and fast-tracked cross-border interconnectors. Our paper [SMRs and Europe's Energy Future](#), made ELF's contribution to the Small Modular Reactor debate well in advance of the Commission's formal SMR Strategy adopted in March 2026, arguing for harmonised licensing, focused early support for mature designs, financing instruments adapted to construction risk, and a clear-eyed view of SMRs as a complement to renewables for industrial heat, hydrogen production and hard-to-abate sectors.





Financial Overview

Expenditure		
	2025 Budget	2025 Actual
A.1: Personnel costs	995,760.76	999,513.10
1. Salaries and equivalent	815,356.82	838,574.25
2. Contributions	0,00	0,00
3. Professional training	13,015.68	17,958.41
4. Staff missions expenses	24,520.00	20,192.38
5. Other personnel costs	142,868.26	122,788.06
A.2: Infrastructure and operating costs	214,034.87	234,117.21
1. Rent, charges and maintenance costs	98,882.07	95,766.60
2. Costs relating to installation, operation and maintenance of equipment	5,773.60	21,313.59
3. Depreciation of movable and immovable property	42,000.00	42,044.87
4. Stationery and office supplies	8,700.00	10,015.27
5. Postal and telecommunications charges	12,000.00	10,886.86
6. Printing, translation and reproduction costs	0,00	0,00
7. Other infrastructure costs	46,679.20	54,090.02
A.3: Administrative costs	145,900.00	123,356.66
1. Documentation costs (newspapers, press agencies, databases)	500.00	0,00
2. Costs of studies and research	118,500.00	79,331.70
3. Legal costs	6,700.00	22,576.59
4. Accounting and audit costs	19,000.00	21,417.00
5. Miscellaneous administrative costs	1,200.00	31.37
6. Support to third parties	0,00	0,00
A.4: Meetings and representation costs	139,500.00	150,542.80
1. Costs of meetings	109,000.00	125,236.42
2. Participation in seminars and conferences	26,000.00	23,637.77
3. Representation costs	1,500.00	1,668.61
4. Costs of invitations	3,000.00	0,00
5. Other meeting-related costs	0,00	0,00
A.5: Information and publication costs	1,099,676.28	1 022 923, 32
1. Publication costs	0,00	0,00
2. Creation and operation of Internet sites	3,960.00	2,618.26
3. Publicity costs	16,000.00	18,101.76
4. Communications equipment (gadgets)	8,400.00	133.84
5. Seminar and exhibitions	1,071,316.28	874,148.12
6. Other information-related costs	0,00	0,00
A.6. Allocation to "Provision to cover eligible costs of the first quarter of year N+1"		142,055.33
TOTAL ELIGIBLE COSTS	2,594,871.91	2,544,587.08
B.1 Ineligible costs		
1. Allocation to other provisions	0,00	0,00
2. Financial charges	1,500.00	9,174.65
3. Exchange losses	1,200.00	1,354.14
4. Doubtful claims on third parties	0,00	0,00
5. Others (to be specified)	0,00	7,125.38
6. Contributions in kind	0,00	0,00
B. TOTAL INELIGIBLE COSTS	2,700.00	17,654.17
C. TOTAL EXPENDITURE	2,597,571.91	2,562,241.25
G. EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT FUNDING USED TO COVER 95% OF ELIGIBLE COSTS IN YEAR N	2,465,128.31	2,417,357.73
H. PROFIT/ LOSS	77,928.09	0,00

Revenue		
	Budget	Actual
D.1. European Parliament Funding	2,298,000.00	2,311,005.48
1. Dissolution of Provision from N-1 to cover eligible costs of the first quarter of year N	-	235,005.48
2. European Parliament funding requested (budget) / final (actual) for year N	2,076,000.00	2,076,000.00
E.1. Member contributions	36,000.00	120,650.00
1. From member organisations	36,000.00	120,650.00
2. From individual members	0,00	0,00
E.2 Donations	149,000.00	118,750.00
Above 500€	147,000.00	117,000.00
Bellow 500€	2 000, 00	1,750.00
E.3 Other own resources	192,500.00	11,835.77
Extraordinary contributions MO	85 500, 00	0, 00
Project Share Contributions	102,000.00	0, 00
Other Own Resources (to cover ineligible costs)	5 000, 00	11,835.77
E.4. Interest from pre-financing		
E.5. Contributions in kind		
TOTAL OWN RESOURCES	377,500.00	251,235.77
F. TOTAL REVENUE	2,675,500.00	2,562,241.25



Our Team

Board of Directors



MEP Jan-Christoph Oetjen
President



MEP Lucia Yar
First Vice President



Marco Mariani
Second Vice President



Dr. Milosz Hodun
Treasurer



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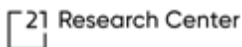
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