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EXPERT PANEL ON EFFECTIVE WAYS OF INVESTING IN HEALTH

(EXPH)

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Opinion on

European solidarity in public health emergencies

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The EXPH adopted this Opinion at the .. plenary on 2021
after the public hearing held on 16 September 2021

About the Expert Panel on effective ways of investing in Health (EXPH)

Sound and timely scientific advice is an essential requirement for the Commission to pursue modern, responsive and sustainable health systems. To this end, the Commission has set up a multidisciplinary and independent Expert Panel which provides advice on effective ways of investing in health ([Commission Decision 2012/C 198/06](#)).

The core element of the Expert Panel's mission is to provide the Commission with sound and independent advice in the form of opinions in response to questions (mandates) submitted by the Commission on matters related to health care modernisation, responsiveness, and sustainability. The advice does not bind the Commission.

The areas of competence of the Expert Panel include, and are not limited to, primary care, hospital care, pharmaceuticals, research and development, prevention and promotion, links with the social protection sector, cross-border issues, system financing, information systems and patient registers, health inequalities, etc.

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The opinions of the Expert Panel present the views of the independent scientists who are members of the Expert Panel. They do not necessarily reflect the views of the European Commission nor its services. The opinions are published by the European Union in their original language only.

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102 **ABSTRACT**

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105 *forthcoming*

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167 **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

168 The current Opinion explores the concept of solidarity from both a broad theoretical and from
169 an implementation perspective. Focusing on how the principle of solidarity is enshrined in
170 European Union (EU) law, it critically examines relevant implemented and proposed actions of
171 solidarity towards EU Member States and towards countries outside the EU borders. The focus
172 being health emergencies, to respond to key questions on improving preparedness and
173 responding and on strengthening cross-border collaboration, lessons learnt from the COVID-
174 19 pandemic are captured, including in the context of limitations to EU level actions and
175 avenues available to overcome them. Recognising the tremendous effort of EU bodies, Member
176 States, and of every citizen of the EU, to overcome the COVID-19 challenges, this Opinion
177 moves beyond the current state, highlighting key considerations to be urgently addressed for an
178 EU-wide transformation. To comprehensively effect this transformation, national and regional
179 actors and mechanisms also need to be considered and addressed, to effectively operationalise
180 solidarity. The Expert Panel on effective ways of investing in Health (EXPH) recommendations
181 have been developed to serve all abovementioned aspects, in the hope to initiate a
182 transformation on how the EU tackles public health emergencies, how it develops its EU-wide
183 public health priorities and, indeed, its global public health actions.

184
185 **BACKGROUND**

186
187 The COVID-19 pandemic has exposed many weaknesses in applying the principle of solidarity
188 that should underpin the functioning of the European Union (EU) and how decisions are made
189 regarding the relationship between the EU and its Member States in the event of major public
190 health emergencies. Technically, the principle of solidarity is in place to have Member States
191 show solidarity towards each other, for redistribution of resources towards those members of
192 society in need.⁽¹⁾ It is a founding principle of the European Union. In accordance to Article
193 (Art) 168(7) of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU), the definition of
194 health policy and the organisation and delivery of health measures are the competence of EU
195 Member States. It is the responsibility of the national governments to decide on the
196 implementation of health measures and the conditions under which this is done. Nevertheless,
197 the Solidarity clause in Art. 222 of the TFEU provides among others the option for the EU and
198 EU countries to act jointly, and to aid another EU country which is the victim of a natural or
199 man-made disaster. Furthermore, there is an explicit mention to solidarity in Art. 80 of the
200 TFEU, stipulating that the policies of the Union [in relation to border checks, asylum and

201 immigration’] and their implementation shall be governed by the principle of solidarity and fair
202 sharing of responsibility, including its financial implications, between the Member States.¹
203 While there are many positive examples during the COVID-19 pandemic, overall, the EU and
204 the Member States have not been able to act in concerted manner, so as to demonstrate European
205 transnational solidarity to a degree that would allow for the timely provision of adequate
206 support, and to the degree Europe’s citizens may well have anticipated. This has led to calls for
207 strengthened coordination at EU level, recognizing that the health of the population of any
208 Member State is contingent on that of the population of all others and vice versa. Notably, in
209 her 2020 State of the Union Address (2), the President of the Commission announced the need
210 for a European Health Union (3) as a means to protect our way of living, our economies, and
211 our societies, highlighting the importance of European solidarity as a European value, and the
212 importance of demonstrating it in action towards Member States, beyond the EU, and to states
213 and individuals alike.

214 As a first step towards a European Health Union, the European Commission (EC) presented
215 three legislative proposals in November 2020:

216 A proposal for regulation on serious cross-border threats to health, with the aim to build on the
217 existing health security framework by creating a more robust mandate for coordination by the
218 EC and agencies of the EU; it repeals Decision No 1082/2013/EU (4) on serious cross-border
219 health threats, introduced in the aftermath of the H1N1 pandemic; which provided the existing
220 health security framework that was essential for the exchange of information on the coronavirus
221 disease (COVID-19) pandemic and the coordination of national measures; and which, however,
222 fell short in terms of a common EU-level response, and to ensure solidarity between Member
223 States.

224 A proposal to reinforce the mandate of the European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control
225 (ECDC) under the aforementioned strengthened EU health security framework;(5) and
226 a proposal on a reinforced role for the European Medicines Agency (EMA) regarding crisis
227 preparedness and management for medicinal products, including vaccines, and medical
228 devices.(6) In addition, the Commission also set out an outline of a Health Emergency
229 Preparedness and Response Authority (HERA) (7). As a vanguard of HERA, the bio-defence
230 preparedness plan, i.e., the “HERA Incubator”, was launched in February 2021.(8)

¹ Indeed, vis-à-vis Art. 80 and the implementation thereof, TFEU reaffirmed the principle of solidarity, in comparison to Art. 10 EC, Art. 4(3) TEU introducing (a) the idea of ‘mutual respect’, implying institutions must not transgress upon the prerogatives of the other, and (b) the duty of cooperation applying to tasks that ‘flow from the Treaties’, thus establishing a more ‘open-ended’ notion of duty than that which arises from fulfilment of Treaty obligations under Art. 10 EC; The Implementation of Art. 80 TFEU - on the Principle of Solidarity and Fair Sharing of Responsibility, Including its Financial Implications, between the Member States in the Field of Border Checks, Asylum and Immigration. 2011. [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/etudes/join/2011/453167/IPOL-LIBE_ET\(2011\)453167_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/etudes/join/2011/453167/IPOL-LIBE_ET(2011)453167_EN.pdf)

231 These proposals seek to strengthen the EU’s health security framework and its resilience in the
232 face of cross-border health threats. It includes, for example, [Leaving this here so you can see
233 the comment, but delete after this point text highlighted in yellow and up to asterisk and replace
234 with “a provision for the declaration of an EU emergency situation triggering increased
235 coordination and allowing for the development, stockpiling and procurement of crisis-relevant
236 products.]a strengthened joint procurement agreement (JPA) *[…]; the creation of an ECDC-
237 EMA joint vaccine monitoring platform;² the development and implementation of both EU-
238 wide and national preparedness and response plans; support to Member States to strengthen
239 resilience, accessibility, and effectiveness of health systems through co-operation involving
240 exchange of best practice, training schemes, technical support; resilience dashboards, and
241 financing from EU programmes.(7) The clarity of the package’s implementation ideas, funding,
242 and mechanisms assuring governance and transparency is important.

243 In a recent statement, the Expert Panel provided feedback on the current plans of HERA.(9)
244 Member States need support in order to strengthen their resilience and strategic preparedness
245 for new challenges, such as the next pandemic. The European Health Union initiative for
246 tackling health crises together, and HERA as currently proposed, may be a part of the solution
247 leading to the creation of robust structures that support greater preparedness and increased
248 resilience of health systems in Member States and regions.

249 The European Health Union proposals also link to the proposal for creating synergies and
250 complementarities with the instruments and actions foreseen under the enhanced the Union
251 Civil Protection Mechanism (UCPM) and its enhanced legislative framework adopted in May
252 2021.(10) A global initiative, the COVID-19 Vaccines Global Access (COVAX) aims to ensure
253 fair and equitable access to vaccines, with a focus on low- and middle-income countries
254 (LMICs). COVAX co-led by the Coalition for Epidemic Preparedness Innovations (CEPI), the
255 Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunisation (GAVI) and the World Health Organisation
256 (WHO), alongside key delivery partner UNICEF, and Team Europe is one of the lead
257 contributors. In May 2021, during the European Council, the EU Member States committed to
258 donate at least 100 million doses of COVID-19 vaccines (which was updated in July 2021 to
259 200 million³) to countries in need before the end of 2021.(13) In July 2020, it also offered, via

²

There is a joint ECDC/EMA COVID-19 vaccine monitoring platform under the new mandate of the two agencies to enhance collaboration in this respect. Under this initiative there will be substantial funding to conduct further monitoring with the launch of a 2- year vaccine safety monitoring study (as of April 2021), similar to the early study, to explore potential longer-term effects of the vaccines, and compare, for example, to non-vaccinated persons or other suitable comparator groups, as well as monitor special populations e.g. children, pregnant women. The study will include readiness & rapid signal assessment with pharmacoepidemiological analyses to characterise emerging safety concerns and support signal management. https://www.ema.europa.eu/en/documents/minutes/meeting-summary-european-medicines-agency-ema-patients-consumers-pcwp-healthcare-professionals-hcpwp_en.pdf and https://ec.europa.eu/health/sites/default/files/vaccination/docs/2020_strategies_deployment_en.pdf

³ <https://newseu.ctn.com/news/2021-03-26/EU-is-world-s-biggest-vaccine-exporter-with-77m-doses-Von-der-Leven-YVx9HX6tsA/index.html>

260 the Emergency Support Instrument (ESI), funding for cross-border health operations (transfers
261 of patients, medical teams and cargo).(14) The ESI also funded other things, such as masks
262 (€10M), treatment (€70M), tests (€200M), and disinfection robots, which were donated to
263 Member States free of charge or reimbursed via grants; or training of health professionals.

264 In an article published in March 2020, the EXPH's current and former members called for
265 stronger European solidarity and an enhanced cooperation at pan-EU level to tackle both the
266 current pandemic and future health emergencies.(15) In an Opinion on cross-border cooperation
267 in 2015, the Expert Panel had considered areas that would potentially benefit from greater
268 formal cross-border cooperation and collaboration in healthcare provision, focusing on service
269 configuration in border regions.(16) They highlighted obstacles to successful cross-border
270 cooperation in health care and suggested ways of overcoming those obstacles.

271 The Expert Panel has also identified elements of cross-border cooperation in its opinion on the
272 organisation of resilient health and social care following the COVID-19 pandemic, published
273 in December 2020.(17) In this opinion, the Expert Panel concluded that the creation of adaptive
274 surge capacity, in particular, is important for preparing for and dealing with unexpected events
275 in order to ensure sufficient and equitable access to health and social care services. Building on
276 lessons learnt from the COVID-19 pandemic, as well as on existing instruments, guidelines and
277 recommendations, the Commission is seeking expert advice on what EU solidarity would entail
278 in practice in future health emergencies. Such advice ought to consider actions and initiatives
279 that have already been undertaken or proposed to improve cross-border cooperation.

280 **QUESTIONS FOR THE EXPERT PANEL**

281 The Expert Panel is requested to provide a concise and meaningful document with analysis and
282 practical recommendations on the following points:

- 283 1. How can we plan and prepare for EU solidarity in health emergencies? How can we
284 strengthen cross-border cooperation in future public health emergencies?
- 285 2. What are the limitations to EU level actions, how can we overcome these limitations
286 and what can be done to promote EU solidarity?
- 287 3. What transformation needs to take place at EU, national and regional level in order to
288 operationalise EU solidarity in public health emergencies?

289

290 **1. OPINION**

291 **1.1. EU solidarity in health emergencies: concept and values**

292 **1.1.1. The theoretical concept of solidarity**

293 The word “solidarity” is derived from the Latin words “solidum”, meaning “whole sum” and
294 “solidus” meaning “solid”. Its origin being in Roman law, the closest its meaning to its
295 etymology is that of “Collective responsibility”.⁴ As a concept, it has been elaborated by the
296 work of social scientists such as Emile Durkheim, who was among the first to define it in a
297 broader context, drawing on ideas from the physical sciences,(18) although the concept has
298 evolved substantially over time.

299 For the purposes of this Opinion, solidarity can be considered as “*a broad meaning of emotional*
300 *and motivated readiness for mutual support*”.(19) According to this view, Laitinen and Pessi
301 (2014) define solidarity as a concept in a descriptive manner or a normative one. In the
302 descriptive relational sense, solidarity denotes a connection with other people, or members of a
303 group. From a normative perspective, solidarity involves a presumption of reciprocity and, thus,
304 is different from the non-reciprocal ideas of altruism, sympathy, caring, or understanding of
305 suffering. In addition, solidarity should be distinguished from equity, which implies a focus on
306 differences and a “commitment” to “relate” to those most in need. Thus, solidarity requires “*a*
307 *shared group-membership and behaviour according to the norms of a given group*”.

308 In the wake of the refugee crisis in Europe, Agustín and Jørgensen (2018) attempted to broaden
309 the concept of solidarity by expanding the notion of the sense of community in an organic
310 process that rejects the logic of national borders.(20) Their analytical framework stresses the
311 relational dimension of solidarity by stating that collective identities and political subjectivities
312 emerge from practices promoting solidarity practices. Regarding the concept of “relations”, the
313 authors are looking for the kind of social relations, collective identities, and political
314 subjectivities, while in regard to the concept of contention, they are asking “*to whom or what*
315 *is solidarity opposed*”. Regarding its spatial dimension, the authors contend that “*solidarities*
316 *are shaped and shape spaces in which social relations are produced, and they can upscale and*
317 *connect different spaces and geographies through trans-local networks and imaginaries*”.
318 Following from this and according to those authors, solidarity “[...] entails alliance building

⁴ "Solidarity" originated in Sodalitates, which is the legal term in Roman law for the collective responsibility among family members. It stipulated that all members are held equally responsible for the payment of an indivisible debt contracted by any one individual member. (Sodalitates only became "solidarité" under the French Code Civil.) See J.E.S. Hayward, "Solidarity: The Social History of an Idea in Nineteenth Century France," *International Review of Social History* 4 (1959): 261-84; Segall, Shlomi. "In Solidarity with the Imprudent: A Defense of Luck Egalitarianism." *Social Theory and Practice*, vol. 33, no. 2, 2007, pp. 177-198. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/23559105. Accessed 1 Sept. 2021.

319 *among diverse actors; is inventive of new imaginaries; is situated in space and time and*
320 *organized in multi-scalar relations*". In other words, it emphasizes the normative dimension of
321 the definition of solidarity proposed by Laitinen and Pessi.(19)

322 Solidarity, then, is conceptualized as macro-, meso- and micro-level phenomena. As a macro-
323 level phenomenon, solidarity has been considered alongside group cohesion and integration,
324 while, at the micro-level, attention concentrates on the individual, with more focus on
325 behaviour, emotions, beliefs, and attitudes. Compassion may have a place here, and Rigoni (21)
326 considers solidarity as "[...] *the first cousin of compassion manifest[ing] itself as brotherhood,*
327 *or should I say a profound kinship of personal sensitivity, that goes beyond social, ideological*
328 *or political connotations*". As a meso-level phenomenon, it links these other two levels. The
329 notion of "social capital", developed by Robert Putnam, can be considered to operate at the
330 meso-level.(22) Putnam views social networks as delivering value for individuals, allowing
331 participants to act more effectively when they work collectively to achieve shared goals. The
332 work of Pierre Bourdieu on social structure supports this approach in reconciling the influences
333 of both external social structures and subjective experience of the individual.(23, 24)

334 Different authors propose different groupings of concepts of solidarity. Agustín and Jørgensen
335 propose three types of solidarity: autonomous solidarity, civic solidarity, and institutional
336 solidarity.(20) The authors view autonomous solidarity as implying relations and practices that
337 are produced in self-organized spaces, while civic solidarity refers to the ways in which such
338 organization is produced. Institutional solidarity connects the civil society arena with that of
339 policymaking. Scholz distinguishes between three varieties of solidarity and uses social
340 solidarity to refer to group cohesion, civic solidarity to describe the relationship between the
341 citizens and the political state with respect to organized solidarity efforts, and political
342 solidarity.(25) Political solidarity aims to realise social change by uniting individuals in their
343 response to particular situations of injustice, oppression, or tyranny. Other terms used include
344 defensive solidarity, the reaction of a group to a common threat or enemy, redistributive
345 solidarity, with an equity and 'social justice' dimension, goal-oriented solidarity, linked to an
346 explicit strategy and the means of achieving it, and global solidarity, which brings in the wider
347 ecological, planetary, and human rights viewpoint.

348 Independent of the type of solidarity, the reciprocity dimension is an important focus of
349 engagement of European citizens and collective action. Our understanding of solidarity cannot
350 be limited to the expression of support for those in need in a crisis. As Eschweiler and
351 colleagues (26) argue, solidarity is about creating a different kind of relationship between the
352 various collective entities (government, institutions, producers, sellers and buyers of goods and

353 services). The authors refer to solidarity “*embedded in institutional notions [...] such as systems*
354 *of preference and redistribution*”. They conclude that “*it is also an argument for taking a*
355 *broader look at just what are the different elements within the concept of institutionalised*
356 *participatory democracy*”, which coincides with Wilde’s identified need to widen and deepen
357 the concept of solidarity to give more attention to “*democratic participation and/or the*
358 *articulation of our ethical obligations in various ways*”.(27)

359 **1.1.2. Solidarity in the European Union**

360 The concept of solidarity has been included in a 2019 Opinion of the Expert Panel (Defining
361 value in “value-based healthcare”) and it has been perceived not only as a value per se, but also
362 as a structuring principle for practices, regulations and institutions – the development and
363 policies and institutions to increase social justice and help to create the political and economic
364 circumstances that allow societies to operationalize the concept of solidarity. However, to
365 facilitate the European understanding of solidarity within the EU context, the next section
366 explores the place where all abovementioned fundamental dimensions of solidarity are
367 assembled in existing Treaties.

368 *Solidarity in the EU Treaties*

369 The EU Treaties explicitly refer to solidarity in several provisions, including the values and
370 objectives of the Union (solidarity ‘between generations’ and ‘among Member States’) and
371 policies where the ‘principle’ or ‘spirit’ of solidarity is to be applied. This can be seen in the
372 Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU), based on the 2009 Lisbon Treaty,
373 and the Treaty on European Union (TEU), based on the 1992 Maastricht Treaty. The TFEU sets
374 out organizational and functional details of the European Union. The TEU lays out the general
375 principles underlying the purpose of the EU, the governance of its central institutions (e.g., the
376 Commission, Parliament, and Council), and rules on external, foreign and security policy.
377 Solidarity also features in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union. Chapter
378 IV of the Charter of Fundamental Rights (CFR) of the European Union includes rights at work,
379 family life, welfare provision and health.

380 Enshrined in the TFEU is a broad solidarity clause, with Art. 222 providing the EU and its
381 Member States shall act jointly to:

- 382 • to prevent the terrorist threat in the territory of an EU country, and
- 383 • to provide assistance to another EU country which is the victim of a natural or man-
384 made disaster.

386 This clause was implemented following the terrorist attacks in Madrid in March 2004.
387 In June 2014, the EU adopted Council Decision 2014/415/EU, a decision laying down the rules
388 and procedures for the operation of the solidarity clause.⁽²⁹⁾ It ensures that all the parties
389 concerned at national and at EU levels work together to respond quickly, effectively, and
390 consistently in the event of terrorist attacks or natural or other man-made disasters. Solidarity
391 is thus approached as a key European value. The clause gives substance to ‘solidarity’, which
392 is mentioned as one of the Union’s values in Art. 1.2 of the TEU and of which the scope and
393 implementation, including on the role of EU institutions, as well as to the relationship with
394 other provisions in EU law which refer to the expression of solidarity between EU Member
395 States, is expanded in TFEU Art. 222.⁽³⁰⁾

396 The EU Treaties emphasise defensive solidarity (action as reaction to events) among Member
397 States and public bodies, while there also is no easily discernible common interpretation of the
398 limits and application of solidarity in legal terms. As mentioned in section 1.1.1, EU solidarity
399 requires a shared common goal, a basis of reciprocity, to safeguard the wellbeing of all EU
400 citizens – trying to achieve the good and the better for everyone. Moreover, extended EU
401 solidarity to global solidarity, particularly in the context of global public health, is in the EU's
402 common interest for making the planet a healthier place to live in, and can contribute as a
403 guiding principle to develop a comprehensive EU Global Health Action Plan. Although there
404 is no clear statement in the Treaties about demonstrating solidarity with the rest of the world,
405 the relevance of a cohesive and well-defined approach, including in terms of EU’s global health
406 policy, became starkly clear, with contemporary relevance in relation to global vaccine supply.
407 There is an explicit mention of solidarity in the economic and monetary policy of the Union,
408 and the basis it can provide for establishing support as, notably, Art. 122 TFEU (ex Art. 100
409 TEC) states that “*the Council, on a proposal from the Commission, may decide, in a spirit of*
410 *solidarity between Member States, upon the measures appropriate to the economic situation,*
411 *in particular if severe difficulties arise in the supply of certain products, notably in the area of*
412 *energy*”. Additionally, there are concrete provisions for financial assistance for when a Member
413 State “*is in difficulties or is seriously threatened with severe difficulties caused by natural*
414 *disasters or exceptional occurrences beyond its control*”. This was for instance the case in 2015
415 when the total number sea arrivals to Greece from Turkey amounted to 856,723, with the United
416 Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) estimating that more than 210,000
417 migrants reached Greece in October 2015 alone, whereas another 155,989 crossed into Greece
418 in the first months of 2016.⁽³¹⁾ Given this situation in Greece, who was already suffering from
419 the protracted economic and financial crisis, and with geopolitical instability in the region

420 (including a failed coup d'état in Turkey), it became starkly clear that there was need for
421 imminent action towards efficient cooperation at EU-wide level. Regulation 2016/369 was
422 enacted, primarily based on the principle of solidarity, as captured and specifically Art. 122
423 TFEU, para. 1. Although the Regulation 2016/369 has its *raison d'être* in the humanitarian
424 refugee crisis, its scope is much broader, rendering it applicable to any natural or man-made
425 disaster giving rise to “severe wide-ranging humanitarian consequences” (Art. 1, para. 1).(32)
426 The question that naturally arises is whether solidarity is intrinsically and solely only linked to
427 crisis situations and, indeed, whether circumstances surrounding such crises must directly or
428 indirectly affect the whole Union or multiple Member States given economic and geopolitical
429 interdependencies. Considerable scholarly effort has been dedicated to identifying the social
430 justice principles for institutionalising mechanisms of transnational solidarity(33-36) and in
431 terms of semiotics, to framing and ascribing concrete meaning to European solidarity in public
432 discourse.(37, 38) A commonality across disciplines and analyses, is the congruent assessment
433 that institutionalised expressions of transnational solidarity in the EU have both limited
434 solidarity outreach and entrenched conditionality.(33) Supranational policies in the context of
435 an EU-wide effort to exhibit transnational solidarity, as for example the European Stability
436 Mechanism (ESM) and the failed refugee quota programme, illustrate these difficulties.
437 Interestingly, the approach progressively put forth as more relevant and actionable to solidarity
438 is that of security. This is partially understandable considering the difficulty in reaching
439 consensus in terms of actionable policies or even relevant institutional set-up to address a crisis
440 or other long-standing issues. The extent to which this represents a practical approach to forge
441 ahead with cohesive policies or whether it actually detracts from a unified Europe in terms of
442 societal cohesion and resilience ought to be carefully considered. In the EU context, policy
443 makers also need to distinguish between solidarity among Member States (i.e., transfers to those
444 governments in greatest need) and transnational solidarity (i.e., granting cross-border social
445 rights to EU citizens).(39) Transnational solidarity extends well beyond showing mutual
446 support and respect in diplomatic exchanges, and remains the most prevalent issue in terms of
447 balancing national vs. EU-wide interests.

448 As mentioned in the introductory statements, we recall that solidarity “....entails *alliance*
449 *building among diverse actors; is inventive of new imaginaries; is situated in space and time*
450 *and organized in multi-scalar relations*” (19), while it reflects “*a broad meaning of emotional*
451 *and motivated readiness for mutual support*”.(19) These definitions help clarify the notion of
452 solidarity vs. security and that of transnational solidarity.

453 Apart from the EU Treaties, several statements about solidarity have been made by EU
454 Commissioners and political leaders, including the following examples.
455 In February, 2018, Angela Merkel, in comments to lawmakers in the Bundestag referring to
456 those countries that oppose receiving asylum applicants, stated that: *“Solidarity isn’t a one-
457 way street. It’s the obligation of all member states never to lose sight of the whole --and that
458 includes respecting the values on which the European Union was built”*.⁽⁴⁰⁾

459 In EU politics, solidarity is often conveyed in such a way as to demand ‘responsibility’ from
460 Member States. In the words of Dimitris Avramopoulos, the former European Migration
461 Commissioner, solidarity acquires the meaning of a ‘rights and obligations’ exchange. Such an
462 understanding of solidarity has the potential to create certain expectations by different political
463 or social movements. Just as presumptions are implicit in the normative dimension of individual
464 solidarity, assumptions or expectations regarding political solidarity within the EU often only
465 become evident when tension arises from efforts to realize social change among different
466 communities or societies. This is especially the case when gaps between advantaged and non-
467 advantaged groups are being addressed (41), as in the refugee crisis and/or during the COVID-
468 19 pandemic. Thus, it is important for the concept of “relations” to be addressed and the
469 notions of social relations, collective identities, and political subjectivities (19) to be re-visited.

470 **1.1.3. The importance of EU solidarity in times of health emergencies**

471 European solidarity is based on specific geopolitical, psychological, and legal foundations. For
472 several decades, the unity of Europe has been seen as a strength, consolidating post-war peace,
473 and addressing shared threats. However, new challenges are emerging. Looking ahead,
474 globalization is likely to continue to generate social and political tensions within EU Member
475 States. Europe is faced with various external threats that may encourage the solidarity and
476 shared purpose needed to formulate more effective responses. These threats include climate
477 change, financial uncertainty, and, most recently, the COVID-19 pandemic.⁽⁴²⁾ As an
478 unfolding natural experiment, we have observed the importance of European solidarity to
479 protect the health of the European citizen and European unification (social coherence) on a
480 political and humanitarian level. The latest example was derived from August 2021, where
481 immense forest fires broke out in various locations in Greece, including forests close to the city
482 of Athens, on the Peloponnese, on Evia, Rhodes and Crete. Greece activated the EU Civil
483 Protection Mechanism on 3 and 5 August. This was the start of one of the largest operations in
484 the history of the Mechanism.⁵

⁵ https://ec.europa.eu/echo/field-blogs/photos/eu-solidarity-action-fighting-forest-fires-greece_en

485

486 *Solidarity in action during the COVID-19 pandemic*

487 The way that the COVID-19 pandemic has impacted on all EU Member States, to varying
488 degrees, may have facilitated solidarity within Europe.(42) It can be debated, however, to what
489 extent solidarity was manifest at the EU level, beyond that seen in particular border regions and
490 some countries. Some governments and commentators have argued that “*the European Union’s*
491 *crisis management had been inadequate, lacking solidarity*”.(43)

492 In the COVID-19 pandemic - given that health remained primarily a national competency - the
493 EU’s response has mostly been restricted to supporting and coordinating the implementation of
494 health measures adopted by individual Member States. Examples of solidarity included the
495 transfer of patients and the dispatch of medical equipment, masks, training support, plasma
496 centres, disinfection robots, common procurement on vaccines, all facilitated by the European
497 Commission’s interventions; the loosening of border controls to allow the movement of medical
498 staff, patients, and medical products; and the release of a reserve of medical equipment financed
499 mostly by the European Union with small contributions by the Member States. The ESM has
500 been activated to finance health-related spending and the European Central Bank has indicated
501 that it could purchase national debt without respecting the principle of proportionality.(44)

502 Specific details on instances (the footnote⁶ provides some examples) of pan-EU solidarity
503 throughout the coronavirus crisis (through September 30, 2021) can be found on the European
504 Council of Foreign Relations’ Solidarity Tracker.(45)

505 Another area where solidarity issues have been observed during the COVID-19 pandemic is
506 that of digital health data. Solidarity, when it comes to data, requires transparency on definitions
507 used, ways of data collection, clarity on methods of analysis and conceptual frameworks
508 used.(46) International collaborations and cross-border (pseudonymized personal) data sharing
509 among researchers are essential for advancement of health research (e.g., for studying and

⁶ Early in the pandemic, the need for medical equipment was paramount. In response, the EU established a joint reserve of emergency medical equipment to be quickly mobilized in emergencies. With the support of the EU, Germany, Romania, Denmark, Greece, Hungary, and Sweden became responsible for procurement, and the EU’s emergency response coordination centre handles requests and coordinates the distribution of equipment to the countries which need it most. At different points in the pandemic, Spain and Italy received 316.000 FFP2 and FFP3 face masks and France received 500.000 pairs of gloves from rescEU stockpiles. ESI procurements were used before rescEU was able to arrange smaller supplies.

Some individual Member States demonstrated solidarity in other ways. When the initial outbreak hit Italy, Austria donated medical masks and ventilators, Denmark provided field hospital equipment, Czechia sent protective suits, and Germany sent 5 tonnes of medical supplies. German, Polish, and Romanian medical staff jointed frontline care efforts in other Member States. When Czechia experienced a surge in cases in October 2020, it received 30 ventilators on loan from the rescEU medical reserve, and Austria sent a further 15 and the Netherlands sent 105. As a result, the needs resulting from the surge in demand were fully met. Cross-border support was evident in this same month, in which Belgian patients were admitted to intensive care beds in Germany. During the first wave, Germany cared for more than 230 critical patients from Italy, France, and the Netherlands. Austria and Luxembourg cared for patients from France and Italy.

The EU has also demonstrated solidarity beyond its borders. For instance, rescEU delivered 148.000 face masks and 35.000 protective gowns to North Macedonia. The EU has increased international support, especially for vulnerable countries. It helps to coordinate and combine support from Member States and is referred to as the “Team Europe” response. Contributions from the EU, Germany, Austria, Spain and Sweden worth over €26 million were sent to African countries in the form of 1.4 million COVID-19 test kits.

510 comparing genetic and epidemiological risk factors for the optimization of prevention or
511 treatment) and a prerequisite for studies of rare diseases or subgroups of common diseases to
512 obtain adequate statistical power. Legal obligations that protect an individual from the misuse
513 of her/his personal data should be wisely incorporated in the activities to prevent damaging
514 effects for citizens and patients. The recent report of the European scientific academies explains
515 the consequences of stalled data transfers and addresses responsible solutions.(47) The EU is
516 in a position to exert pressure on other countries to resolve statutory conflicts to enable
517 reciprocity in privacy-enhanced data sharing.(48) Such actions may be realized in the context
518 of the European Health Data Space, one of the Commission's priorities and whose aim is to
519 promote better exchange and access to different types of health data in order to support
520 healthcare delivery, health research, health policy making and regulatory activities in health.
521 The initiative also aims to provide the right tools for citizens and patients to exercise their access
522 and control rights over their own health data.

523

524 The pandemic has exposed important weaknesses in the EU's current ability to adequately
525 respond to a health crisis. It has frequently been noted that the Member States have guarded
526 their competences in the field of human health, in contrast to their willingness to concede
527 powers to the EU in the areas of animal and environmental health.

528 Important exceptions such as antimicrobial resistance (AMR) should be identified and acted
529 upon. The case of AMR is recognized by EU law as a serious cross-border threat to health,
530 requiring concerted EU action, in addition to the clear Commission competence to act in
531 veterinary issues, food safety, and research.(49)

532 Given that health has remained primarily a national competency, in the early days of the
533 pandemic, competition between EU Member States and globally to obtain equipment, test kits
534 and medicines needed to meet the COVID-19 public health emergency impeded the ability of
535 the EU to mount a joint timely and effective response, while generating tensions about the
536 perceived lack of solidarity. The result was inadequate supplies of Personal Protective
537 Equipment (PPE) and COVID-19 testing in certain countries, adversely impacting on social
538 cohesion across the EU. This situation has been exacerbated by the inability of Member States
539 to respond adequately to the widespread disinformation that was being spread about COVID-
540 19, treatments, vaccines, and responses. A report (Nov 2020) by researchers working on the
541 Health Emergency Response in Interconnected Systems (HERoS) project, (50) that focuses on
542 social dynamics of the outbreak and the related public health response, confirmed these
543 deficiencies and made a series of recommendations on how Europe could be better prepared.

544 Many of the recommendations were in line with the Opinion of the Expert Panel on
545 “Organisation of resilient health and social care following the COVID-19 pandemic”.

546 Another key issue that has come to symbolise the European response to the pandemic is related
547 to COVID-19 vaccinations. During a plenary debate on 19 January 2021 about the EU’s
548 strategy on COVID-19 vaccinations, most Members of the European Parliament expressed
549 support in principle for the EU’s common approach to vaccination policy, which ensured the
550 rapid development and access to safe vaccines. However, they underlined that “*more solidarity*
551 *when it comes to vaccinations and transparency regarding contracts with pharmaceutical*
552 *companies*” is needed..(51) At the European Council in June 2020, the EU Member States
553 mandated the Commission to organise the joint procurement of vaccines.

554

555 *Implications for solidarity during the pandemic*

556 The above-mentioned difficulties to ascertain solidarity in time of a public health crisis such as
557 the pandemic has certain implications. Solidarity is a powerful means to mitigate the shock of
558 the social crisis that has resulted from the pandemic. Solidarity can help to create a collective
559 consciousness in a crisis that can reduce health risks.(52) It may also help to overcome social
560 distance resulting from movement restrictions and exclusion of vulnerable populations.

561 Thompson and colleagues (2021) emphasize that the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic
562 correlated to our era’s four main megatrends that increase vulnerability, i.e., demographic
563 changes, power imbalances, technological innovations, and global environmental change. They
564 have exacerbated existing inequities within countries, and these can be countered only through
565 global solidarity and global leadership focusing on important determinants of health, offering
566 an opportunity for Europe to lead.(53) Indeed, solidarity is identified not just as a fundamental
567 principle, but as the key response strategy that can help both to protect citizens’ rights and to
568 control pandemics. In this context, the authors propose solidarity is enacted through universal
569 preparedness for health across geographical and generational borders and socioeconomic
570 groups. Underscoring such an effort would be a trans-sectoral prism to mitigate the structural
571 drivers of health and social inequities, including poverty and discrimination.

572 Lastly, European solidarity in times of health emergencies has another important impact on the
573 European population by enhancing the feeling of coherence and trust in the EU and reducing
574 the uncertainty that often accompanies health and social crises. The COVID-19 pandemic has
575 reminded us how interdependent we are. In addition, the pandemic revealed “*the vulnerabilities*
576 *of Member States’ infrastructures and supply chains, and the limited [health] competences of*
577 *the EU in supporting Member States’ management of public health emergencies. COVID-19*

578 *tends to act as a threat multiplier and source of instability, particularly in low-income countries*
579 *already affected by socio-economic imbalances and governance problems”*. (54) The pandemic
580 has made pre-existing inequities apparent and exacerbated existing inequities both within and
581 across borders. According to Cicchi and colleagues, European citizens seem to consider
582 solidarity as *“a reciprocal benefit rather than a moral or identity-based obligation”*, while they
583 prefer permanent arrangements for risk and burden sharing to ad hoc mutual assistance.(55)

584 **1.1.4. Cross-country cooperation and solidarity**

585 In the discussion of solidarity in practice, it is important to distinguish between cooperation and
586 solidarity. More specifically, solidarity is just one of various different motives that promote
587 cross-country cooperation. For that reason, we repeat again the definition of solidarity that has
588 been mentioned in the introductory section as a reflection of *“a broad meaning of emotional*
589 *and motivated readiness for mutual support”* (16). We therefore start by first discussing
590 different forms of cooperation, and then relate it to solidarity.

591 There are different ways for countries to cooperate or, as we have discussed, means *“embedded*
592 *in institutional notions of solidarity such as systems of preference and redistribution* (27).

593 Figure 1 illustrates two main scenarios. The first is where countries have a set of arrangements
594 that facilitate one country helping another if the need arises. These arrangements describe when
595 they apply, the services or aid provided, and possible financial transfers between countries. One
596 example is the EU Directive on patients’ rights in cross-border healthcare (Directive 2011/24/
597 EU)

598 EU citizens have the right to access healthcare in any EU country and to be (partially)
599 reimbursed by their insurer for care abroad. In this example, citizens in one country can chose
600 to receive a service in another country, and; the upfront costs get reimbursed at the national rate
601 of the country where the patient is insured. Under the EU’s Social Security Coordination
602 Regulations, healthcare abroad requires a prior authorisation from the insurance body, however
603 the citizen usually pays no costs upfront as the reimbursement is arranged directly between the
604 insurance bodies involved. A second example is the European Reference Networks, which offer
605 a means by which patients with rare and complex diseases can gain access to highly specialized
606 knowledge from across the EU.(56) The main benefits arise from pooling of expertise and the
607 pooling of patients. In these examples, the European Commission plays a key role in facilitating
608 such arrangements and in encouraging cooperation.

609 The second scenario involves countries to contribute and pool resources at a centralized level
610 to acquire goods or services, which are then redistributed across countries or have a public

611 goods nature (therefore benefitting all countries in a similar way). In this scenario, a
612 supranational authority plays a more active role in setting up arrangements for the services and
613 goods to be provided; and individual countries have delegated, at least to some extent, some
614 authority at a higher level. One example with a public good nature is the investment in better
615 centralized surveillance systems to detect possible future health threats.(17) Another example
616 of the coordination, though not captured in Figure 1, is the public procurement of COVID-19
617 vaccines. The Advance Purchase Agreements were signed at the EU level, with the Member
618 States purchasing the vaccines at the conditions specified in such agreements.(57)

619

620 Figure 1. Conceptualisation of cross-country cooperation

621



Source: the authors.

622

623 Countries may cooperate because of mutual benefit or solidarity, or both, as mutual benefit does
624 not necessarily preclude solidarity. The benefits from cooperation may be many and varied. A
625 country may help or support another country facing a health crisis by making health
626 professionals available, or by accepting patients for treatment. The helping country may benefit
627 from reciprocity should it, in turn, be affected. In this case, pursuing solidarity is aligned with
628 self-interest, if countries adopt a long-term time horizon rather than a short-term one. Having a
629 set of arrangements in place beforehand is necessary, as without these there are likely to be
630 legal or other barriers (e.g., barrier to movement of health professionals if they are not legally
631 allowed to practice across EU countries) that might prevent the implementation of solidary-
632 driven actions, despite a given country's intent to help another. In other words, the delivery
633 conditions must be in place. Possible financial transfers across countries can also be put in place
634 for the helping country to cover the costs of providing additional services. In this way, countries

635 can still help each other without necessarily facing a financial loss. However, some countries
636 can decide to help without asking for any financial compensation, therefore pursuing a form of
637 redistributive solidarity, where they are willing to give up some resources to pursue a
638 redistribution towards a country in higher need.

639 Mutual benefit and solidarity go hand in hand when countries face a common threat or pursue
640 a common goal. By pursuing a common good, they can pool resources and exchange expertise
641 and at the same time help for example smaller and less well-resourced countries in pursuing
642 outcomes that they would not otherwise be able to achieve on their own.

643 In other instances, solidarity will not necessarily reflect an expectation of mutual benefit, or at
644 least not for every country. For example, larger and well-endowed countries may be less willing
645 to delegate authority to a supranational body if they perceive they could do better on their own.
646 Yet, they could decide to cooperate with other countries if the group of countries as a whole
647 benefit from the cooperation and may be willing to sacrifice some benefits to pursue a form of
648 redistributive solidarity, with benefits of the group greatly outweighing the loss for an
649 individual country. It is in agreement with the statement of Eschweiler and colleagues (26) who
650 argue that solidarity is about creating a different kind of relationship between the various
651 collective entities (government, institutions, producers, sellers and buyers of goods and
652 services) such that, “*embedded in institutional notions of solidarity such as systems of*
653 *preference and redistribution*”, a new norm is created.

654 When acquisition or production of goods or services is centralised some tensions may arise in
655 their distribution. Many health systems are based on a notion of provision based on need, not
656 ability to pay, and this could be a criterion to distribute services across countries. Yet, some
657 countries may feel that they should receive them in a manner proportionate to their contribution.
658 A centralised approach can benefit all countries if there are economies of scale or if it
659 strengthens bargaining power. When it comes to the distribution of acquired services, different
660 approaches can be adopted. Less redistributive solutions will provide services based on the
661 original contributions made. More redistribute solutions will allocate the services based on the
662 need of the country, a form of more equitable solidarity where some countries may receive
663 services in a less proportionate way relative to their contributions. These countries may still be
664 willing to do so to pursue redistribution and an equitable allocation of resources. COVID-19
665 vaccination can be used as an illustrative example. Hypothetically, once purchased, vaccines
666 could be allocated based on need, as for example related to demographics (proportion of
667 elderly), individuals that are high-risk, number of infections/cases, etc. Given that need is
668 multifaceted, agreeing on a common definition of need could however be a challenge. The

669 purchase and allocation in principle could be carried out by the individual country or the
670 supranational authority. As mentioned above, the Advance Purchase Agreements for COVID-
671 19 vaccines were signed at the EU level, but it was the Member States that actually purchased
672 the vaccines and received, unless modified, their pro-rata allocation of doses. However,
673 donation of vaccines could not be done without prior discussion with the companies.
674 Cooperation agreements that arise out of solidarity or other motivations can be mandatory or
675 voluntary. Countries could agree that if specific circumstances or events arise, then each
676 country will have to contribute based on pre-specified minimum criteria. Alternatively, they
677 could put in place a mechanism which facilitates the use of resources that arise from voluntary
678 funding or contributions without a commitment of having to contribute or participate. One
679 example is the Union Civil Protection Mechanism (UCPM) which aims to strengthen
680 cooperation in case of disasters in relation to prevention, preparedness, and response, and it is
681 also supported by voluntary contributions in terms of capacities teams, equipment and assets
682 available for the operational response to a disaster . Some countries are more likely to agree on
683 voluntary schemes, as these require a lower degree of commitment and give more flexibility,
684 but there is a risk that not enough resources will be generated if the scheme remains voluntary.
685

686 **1.2. Citizen’s support and political willingness for EU solidarity**

687 The European principle and value of solidarity does not arise spontaneously and is rather
688 functional than emotional. It derives mostly from the economic and human interdependence
689 established between the Member States and their diplomatic commitments. These political
690 processes have enabled the introduction of many tools shaping European solidarity, some of
691 which are mentioned in the introduction of this opinion (42).

692 European solidarity can be seen as both a pre-condition and an outcome or by-product of
693 agreements between EU Member States that are considered to be globally balanced and
694 acceptable, and therefore legitimate. European solidarity can however also be approached with
695 suspicion, especially if it leads to actions that challenge the distribution of competences between
696 the European Union, national or regional levels or if transparency mechanisms are not in place.
697 Since public health is largely a national competence, it is more challenging to create European
698 solidarity in the area of public health (42). As stated in a 2019 Opinion of the Expert Panel
699 (“Defining value in “value-based healthcare”), solidarity is not only a value, but also a
700 structuring principle for practices, regulations and institutions to increase social justice and help

701 to create the political and economic circumstances that allow societies to operationalize its
702 concept. It will require both public support and political willingness to invest in solidarity.

703 **1.2.1 Public opinion on European solidarity in times of COVID-19**

704 Information on public attitudes to solidarity early in the pandemic can be found in a survey
705 commissioned by the European Parliament (April 23 – May 1, 2020)⁷. The sample was of
706 21,804 respondents in 21 member states, with Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Cyprus, Malta, and
707 Luxembourg excluded⁸.

708 Overall, 34% of respondents were satisfied (29%) or very satisfied (5%) with the solidarity
709 shown between EU member states in fighting the pandemic, with over half (57%), not satisfied,
710 including 22% who were not at all satisfied. Levels of satisfaction were highest in Ireland
711 (59%), followed by Denmark and the Netherlands (47%), with the lowest levels in Italy (16%)
712 and Spain (21%). These last two countries were the hardest hit at that time in the pandemic.

713 Younger people were more satisfied than older people with the solidarity shown during the
714 pandemic, with 44% of 16-24-year-olds expressing satisfaction, but only 27% of 55- 64-year-
715 olds (but note the limited sampling in this age group). There was little difference by level of
716 education, but satisfaction was substantially higher among those who supported their national
717 governments.

718 Respondents were asked if they had already heard, seen, or read about measures or actions
719 initiated by the EU to respond to the pandemic. Overall, 33% were aware and knew what the
720 measures or actions were. A subsample of respondents who had heard about EU measures was
721 asked how satisfied they were with them. Overall, 42% were satisfied, including 5% who were
722 very satisfied, but about half (52%) were not, including 14% who were not at all satisfied. The
723 level of satisfaction was highest in Ireland (66%), followed by the Netherlands (61%), and
724 lowest in Italy (23%) and Spain (26%).

725 There was considerable support for the statement that “the EU should have more competences
726 to deal with crises such as the coronavirus pandemic”, at 66% overall, including 23% who
727 totally agree. Only 22% disagree, including 8% who totally disagree. More people agreed with
728 the statement than disagreed with it in every country except Czechia (43% versus 44%),

⁷ https://www.europarl.europa.eu/at-your-service/files/be-heard/eurobarometer/2020/public_opinion_in_the_eu_in_time_of_coronavirus_crisis/report/en-covid19-survey-report.pdf

⁸ Respondents were between ages 16 and 64. This was restricted further to those between 16 and 54 in Bulgaria, Czechia, Croatia, Greece, Hungary, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, and Slovakia. Thus, the survey provides no information on views of children and young people or people in late middle-age or older. The survey was administered online to a panel maintained by the survey organization, with representativeness at national level sought by quotas on gender, age, and region. The EU total is weighted to the population of each country. The authors of the report on the survey caution that it was administered at a time when COVID-19 restrictions were in a state of flux, varying among countries and over time within them. This may have influenced the responses given.

729 although disagreement was also over 35% in Croatia, Austria, and Sweden. Support for a
730 greater EU role was greater among younger people, at 74% among the 16-24 age group.

731 When asked about what the EU's top priorities should be, choosing three from a list of eight,
732 the top priority (55% of all respondents) was to ensure sufficient medical supplies for all
733 member states, followed by allocation of research funds for a vaccine (38%), and direct
734 financial support to member states (33%). Support for financial support to member states was
735 the most frequently stated priority in Italy and Greece, while joint the top priority and financial
736 support had got the highest ranks in Bulgaria and Croatia.

737 Further insights come from a survey conducted in three waves, in April 2020, July 2020, and
738 February/March 2021, commissioned by Eurofound.(58) Between the first and the second
739 waves, trust in institutions remained relatively stable, and even increased in relation to the EU.
740 However, by spring 2021, trust in all institutions had fallen, with the level of trust in the EU
741 returning to what it had been in spring 2020. Trust in the EU was consistently greater than trust
742 in national governments (figure 2).

743

744 Figure 2. Trust in institutions (mean scores), EU27 (%)

745

746

747

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749

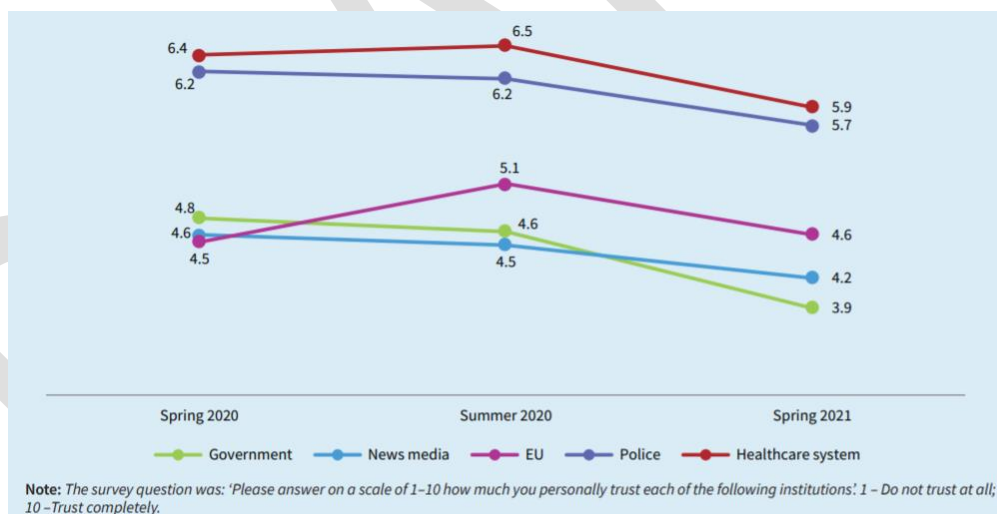
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753

754



755 Source: Eurofound (65)

756

757 Another survey, conducted by the European Council on Foreign Relations in 12 Member States
758 in April and May 2021,(59) documented a level of disappointment with the performance of the
759 EU during the pandemic. This was especially so in the larger member states, such as Germany.
760 However, there was widespread support for greater European cooperation, a view held by the
761 majority in every country except Germany and France, though even in those countries it was
762 the most held view (at 47% and 45% respectively). There was support for the EU playing an

763 enhanced role on the global stage, but also in developing economic sovereignty, for example
764 through strengthening domestic supply chains. This was accompanied by higher expectations
765 for what the EU should be able to deliver in a crisis.

766 In summary, several surveys have identified disappointment with the performance of the EU
767 during the pandemic, although trust in the European institutions is consistently higher than in
768 national institutions. There is a clear appetite for Europe to do more to promote health and
769 security, including cross-border cooperation and strengthening of self-sufficiency. The
770 performance of actions in future emergencies requires due consideration to address
771 preparedness and responses issues, as to improve actions, and in turn public opinion, including
772 by meeting expectations.

773

774 **1.2.2 Political willingness for EU solidarity**

775 The survey data reported by the European Parliament, as with previous studies of public opinion
776 in the European Union, reveal a high level of support for the principle of solidarity in Europe,
777 but rather less for the way in which it is operationalised in practice (60). For at least two
778 decades, European leaders have recognized the importance of Europe delivering for its citizens.
779 For example, in 2004, the EC President Romano Prodi welcomed the European health insurance
780 card as “another piece of Europe in your pocket” (61). The European Union’s procurement of
781 vaccines in the pandemic was an opportunity to demonstrate the value of Europe to ordinary
782 people. The principle was clear. This was a means by which all Member States would be able
783 to obtain access to scarce vaccine supplies. The alternative was for all larger Member States to
784 negotiate separately or in smaller groups, what might have led to an unequal access to the
785 market. For example, larger Member States might have had the possibility to negotiate their
786 own contracts successfully, especially given their significant power in the market. However, by
787 joining together, they ensured that no EU Member State independent of their market power
788 would be excluded. Unfortunately, as is now apparent, this process has been highly complex
789 (62). Much of the blame must lie with the vaccine manufacturers, and in particular,
790 AstraZeneca, which had consistently overpromised and underdelivered, and which had
791 undermined trust in its operations by a series of communication failures (63, 64). However,
792 even if the responsibilities lie elsewhere, “Europe” has been held responsible, to a considerable
793 extent, in the eyes of the public. This, unfortunately, risked undermining support for EU
794 solidarity. Politicians, media commentators, and the public may argue that it might have been
795 better if each Member State had followed its own processes. Obviously, this overlooks the

796 problems that would have been faced by small Member States, but it is an argument that is
797 easily accepted by a sceptic public.

798 A commitment to solidarity is further undermined when individual governments, frustrated by
799 slow supplies of vaccines, then go outside the advanced purchase process, whether to obtain
800 vaccines that are not covered by it, as with Hungarian purchases of the Russian Sputnik vaccine
801 (65), or German negotiations for additional supplies of Pfizer BioNTech (66). As this
802 experience shows, national governments and the European institutions need to go beyond the
803 rhetoric of solidarity. They must also show its practical value to the citizens of Europe, most of
804 whom support the principle but have questions about how it will work in practice.

805 Solidarity also extends beyond the EU, as illustrated by how the Union Civil Protection
806 Mechanism has facilitated a response to a request for assistance from India and Nepal when
807 many Member States offered needed medical supplies (including oxygen and remdesivir)(67)
808 or sharing of vaccines with Moldova.

809

810 **1.3 EU Mechanisms to foster solidarity and its challenges**

811 Given the “*limited [health] competences of the EU in supporting Member States’ management*
812 *of public health emergencies*” (54), existing EU mechanisms were used, and adapted in some
813 cases, to assist Member States in their national actions to combat the COVID-19 pandemic.

814

815 **1.3.1 The EU mechanisms in place**

816 Several mechanisms have been used to strengthen mutual assistance during the COVID-19
817 pandemic; the two main ones were the UCPM and the Emergency Support Instrument (ESI).
818 Several others have also been described in the background section and are briefly elaborated
819 upon in this section.

820 A framework for cooperation of national civil protection authorities in emergencies was
821 established in 2001. The cooperation consists of in-kind assistance, deployment of specially
822 equipped teams, or experts assessing and coordinating support right in the field. Via the UCPM
823 the EU complements, supports, coordinates national action, and promotes cross-border
824 cooperation on these matters. Under the UCPM, Member States and participating countries
825 regularly exchange information on disaster risks, run exercises together and pool rescue teams
826 and equipment that can be rapidly mobilised.

827 The Emergency Response Coordination Centre (ERCC) is the heart of the UCPM. In terms of
828 civil protection assistance, where the scale of an emergency overwhelmed the response

829 capabilities of a country, provisions had been made for governmental aid through a Union
830 Mechanism, to be activated upon official request of that country or the United Nations and its
831 agencies, as well as the International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent (IFRC) or
832 the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW). Upon such activation, the
833 ERCC, operating from within the Directorate General for European Civil Protection and
834 Humanitarian Aid Operations (DG ECHO), would operationally coordinate the delivery of
835 assistance to countries stricken by a disaster. Indeed, said mechanism was activated in the years
836 that followed for different disasters and crises within the EU and beyond its border⁹.

837 Within the UCPM, the European Medical Corps (EMC) enables quick medical assistance and
838 public health expertise from all EU Member States and Participating States to a health
839 emergency inside and outside the EU. The EMC gathers all medical response capacities
840 committed by Member States to the European Civil Protection Pool. Following a request for
841 European assistance, medical capacities can be drawn from this Pool and from other Member
842 States' response capacities.

843 To respond to emergencies inside and outside Europe the EMC could use Emergency Medical
844 Teams (EMT) providing direct medical care to people affected by a disaster; mobile biosafety
845 laboratories, which were developed and deployed during the 2014 Ebola crisis; and medical
846 evacuation capacities, which are key to tackle mass casualty disasters requiring the evacuation
847 of EU citizens and to retrieve humanitarian and medical workers from disaster areas. Work is
848 also ongoing to facilitate the mobilisation and deployment of medical experts with specific
849 profiles under the UCPM, such as epidemiologists with strong field expertise or burns
850 assessment specialists to help assess the appropriate level of treatment of large numbers of
851 patients.

852 As an additional safety net, during the COVID-19 pandemic, the EC created in 2019 a strategic
853 rescEU medical reserve and distribution mechanism under the umbrella of the UCPM. The
854 reserve enables the swift delivery of medical equipment such as ventilators and personal
855 protective equipment by using the stockpile, currently (in July 2021) hosted by 9 EU Member
856 States.

857 The Emergency Support Instrument (ESI) is separate from the UCPM and enables the European
858 Union to support its Member States when a crisis reaches exceptional scale and impact, with
859 wide-ranging consequences on the lives of citizens.(68) The ESI, based on solidarity as a

⁹ Including in the context of the Ebola outbreak in West Africa (2014), the floods in the Western Balkans (2014), the Eastern Ukraine conflict (2015), the voluntary evacuation of EU citizens from Yemen (2015), and the ongoing refugee crisis (2015-16). The Union Mechanism could also be activated response to marine pollution emergencies, with the European Maritime Safety Agency (EMSA) supporting coordination.

860 fundamental EU value, was established in 2016 (Regulation 2016/369 and Regulation
861 2020/521) to provide fast and targeted actions to support Member States in extraordinary
862 circumstances of man-made or natural disaster. It allows the European Union to rapidly address
863 the human and economic consequences of a crisis and fund actions that make a difference on
864 the ground through mobilising resources and deploying them across Member States based on
865 needs. In April 2020, the ESI was re-activated to help EU countries address the coronavirus
866 pandemic.⁽⁶⁹⁾ The activation procedure was completed on 14 April 2020 (Council Regulation
867 2020/521). Notably, although the contribution to this instrument is from the EU budget, the
868 decision on its activation was taken by the Council alone, without any involvement of the
869 Parliament. The establishment of such ad hoc mechanism involving EU budgetary contribution,
870 but without full observance of the prerogatives of the European Parliament as co-legislator first
871 came under strong scrutiny when it was created back in 2016, at the peak of the refugee crisis
872 (650 million EUR over a 3-year period; EP resolution of 13 April 2016 on serious cross-border
873 threats to health) (32). Interestingly, the activation of this emergency assistance was based on
874 TFEU Art. 122 and required the adoption of the Council Regulation 2016/369, revisited with
875 certain provisions amended in the context of the COVID-19 outbreak. Currently, ESI continues
876 to provide fundamental assistance in the fight against COVID-19. The Instrument aims to
877 enhance existing EU programmes and instruments, including rescEU, the Joint Procurement
878 Procedure, and Advance Purchase Agreement of vaccines to complement ongoing efforts at
879 national level.

880 In addition to UCPM and ESI, there are additional mechanisms in place to support EU
881 solidarity. The EU Solidarity Fund (EUSF) can complement the efforts to provide emergency
882 support to the affected countries. EUSF was established by Council Regulation (EC) No
883 2012/2002 to provide financial assistance to Member States following major disasters. Since
884 the summer of 2002, it has been used for 80 different catastrophic events including floods,
885 forest fires, earthquakes, storms, and drought. The EUSF can be mobilized on request of
886 affected Member State or the country negotiating for joining the EU. EUSF funding will
887 complement the efforts of the affected countries. It will cover part of their public expenditure
888 on rapidly assisting people affected by a major public health emergency caused by COVID-19,
889 including medical help, and on protecting the public against the attendant risks; this includes
890 preventing, monitoring or controlling the spread of disease, and combating severe risks to
891 public health or mitigating their impact.

892 Beyond these mechanisms, other EU Joint-Action instruments and pooled money aim to
893 support transformations on national and regional levels. Unused funding from the European

894 Structural and Investment Funds (ESIF) was mobilized for the Coronavirus Response
895 Investment Initiatives (CRIIs). On 23 December 2020, a step was taken towards the recovery
896 phase by adoption of a Regulation for the ‘Recovery Assistance for Cohesion and the Territories
897 of Europe’ (REACT-EU) under the new instrument NextGenerationEU. This temporary
898 instrument has been designed to help repair the immediate economic and social damage
899 inflicted upon the people in Europe by the COVID-19 pandemic. The aim is to boost the
900 recovery, with €806.9 billion EUR (in current prices) earmarked for this instrument to emerge
901 stronger from the pandemic, make Europe greener, more digital, and more resilient to better
902 adapt to current and future challenges. With a budget of €50.6 billion, REACT-EU provides a
903 top-up to the 2014-2020 ESIF, continues and extends the crisis response and repair measures
904 of the CRIIs, supplementing the Cohesion Policy allocations of 2021-2027, thus, constituting a
905 bridge to the long-term recovery plan.

906 In November 2020, the EC set out an outline for the establishment of a Health Emergency
907 Preparedness and Response Authority (HERA) to support medical countermeasures during a
908 health crisis. HERA’s proposal will be put forth in 2021 and it is expected to be fully operational
909 by early 2022. HERA will also be an important component of a strong European Health Union.
910 HERA will help to anticipate serious cross-border threats to health and identify effective
911 responses. This will enable the EU and its Member States to rapidly deploy the most advanced
912 medical countermeasures in the event of a health emergency. The role and functions of HERA
913 will be to coordinate and support development, procurement, and distribution of critical medical
914 countermeasures at EU level.

915 HERA is intended to complement and create synergies with the work of existing EU Agencies,
916 and in particular the ECDC and the EMA, including in the context of their extended mandates,
917 as for example leveraging ECDC capacities and expertise in areas such as epidemic
918 intelligence.⁽⁷⁾ During the recent public consultations (2021, March-May), the majority of
919 respondents confirmed they see EU added value with this initiative.⁽⁷⁰⁾

920 The bio-defence preparedness plan “HERA Incubator” was launched in February 2021, which
921 acts as a vanguard to the European Health Emergency Preparedness and Response Authority
922 (HERA).⁽⁸⁾

923

924 **1.3.2 Recent legislative developments and proposals on serious cross-border**
925 **threats**

926 The emerging public health problems in the past decades (e.g HIV/AIDS in the 1980s, new
927 variant Creutzfeldt-Jakob disease in the 1990s, severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) in
928 2003, pandemic influenza (H1N1) in 2009, the Ebola virus outbreak in 2014/2015 and the Zika
929 virus outbreak in 2016), as well as AMR, were deemed by policy makers to need a concerted
930 EU-wide detection and early EU-wide response.

931 Decision 1082/2013 on serious cross-border threats to health was the first step towards
932 establishing broad rules to support coordination and cooperation related to health in the name
933 of EU solidarity.(4) It also formalised and strengthened the role of the Health Security
934 Committee (HSC), initially established in 2001 at the requests of Ministers of Health as an
935 advisory informal body, given a mandate to reinforce the coordination and sharing of best
936 practice and information on national preparedness activities. The HSC was also established as
937 the main committee where Member States consult with each other with a view to coordinate
938 national responses to serious cross-border threats to health, including events declared a public
939 health emergency of international concern by World Health Organisation in accordance with
940 the International Health Regulations (IHR). The HSC further deliberates on communication
941 messages to healthcare professionals and the public to provide consistent and coherent
942 information adapted to Member States' needs and circumstances. The regulation also provided
943 for the establishment of a rapid alert system for notifying at EU level alerts in relation to serious
944 cross-border threats to health, an 'Early Warning and Response System' (EWRS) and provided
945 for reporting requirements on national preparedness and response levels, starting in 2014, for
946 every 3 years thereafter.

947 Proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council (COM(2020) 727 final
948 2020/0322) on serious cross-border threats to health repeals prior Decision No 1082/2013/EU,
949 which was deemed insufficient given the lessons learned regarding cross-border collaboration
950 in the COVID-19 pandemic. A cross-walk was conducted to identify additions to the decision
951 to be repealed (see box).

Box. Identified additions to the decision to be repealed

Additions in the new regulation focus on:

- Establishing EU-level oversight, monitoring, network coordination, and decision-making bodies, including:
 - o A new High-level working group and giving the Health Security Council (HSC; composed of representatives of the Member States) the legal basis to formally adopt guidance and opinions
 - o A network of substances of human origin (national blood and transplant services/authorities) coordinated by the ECDC
 - o An independent Advisory Committee to provide advice on the recognition and termination of a public health emergency at Union level
 - o An EU Health Task Force within ECDC, to mobilise and deploy to assist local response to outbreaks of communicable diseases in Member States and third countries.
 - o A network of EU reference laboratories for public health coordinated by the ECDC
 - Reference diagnostics and test protocols
 - Reference material resources
 - External quality assessments
 - Scientific advice and technical assistance
 - Collaboration and research
 - Monitoring, alter and support in outbreak response; and
 - Training
 - o A network for epidemiological surveillance with specific aims coordinated by the ECDC who informs the HSC and the Commission
 - A digital platform through which data are managed and automatically exchanged to established integrated and interoperable real-time surveillance systems
- As part of the competence of Member States, creating national preparedness and response planning that is communicated to the Commission and audited by the ECDC every 3 years, including reviews/adjustment of legislation, training initiatives, and good practices
- As part of EU-level action, detailing the Union health crisis and pandemic preparedness plan to be established by the Commission and approved by the HSC, including:
 - Resilience (“stress”) tests of Member States with in-action and after-action reviews
 - Skill-training for healthcare staff and public health staff, and knowledge exchange activities
 - Assessment of governance, capacities, and resource mobilization
 - Regular audits of these plans and their corrective actions every 2 years to ensure adequacy
 - Discussion of progress, gaps, and action plans between the Commission and the HSC
 - Recommendations report published on website of the Commission
- Report on information provided by Member States shared by Commission with European Parliament every 2 years Updating to the Early Warning and Response System (EWRS) by the ECDC with respect to processing of personal and health data and notification alerts
- Inter-linking of the EWRS with contact tracing systems at the Union level and data compliance regulations

952 The practical steps to carry out a number of these proposed changes are part of the
953 EU4HEALTH Work Programme 2021-2027. Mid-Term Evaluation of the Health Programme
954 2014-2020¹⁰ suggested that EU added-value should focus on addressing cross-border health
955 threats; improving economies of scale; and fostering the exchange and implementation of best
956 practices. It also stressed a need to make more efforts to increase participation from poorer
957 Member States and underrepresented organisations. The new EU4Health Programme 2021-

¹⁰ https://ec.europa.eu/health/sites/default/files/programme/docs/2014-2020_evaluation_study_en.pdf

958 2027 with a budget of €5.3 billion (in current prices) approved in March 2021 will contribute
959 to better preparedness for major cross border health threats through e.g. improved coordination,
960 data gathering, information exchange and surveillance of health threats. It also intends to
961 establish reserves of healthcare staff and essential crisis-relevant products to be mobilised in
962 the event of health crises across the EU. Moreover, it could support development of
963 collaborative networks which are an important precondition for mutual learning and
964 strengthening solidarity in prevention for and timely response to emergencies. Recent EU-
965 funded qualitative cross-national research on the locally based transnational solidarity
966 organisations acting in different areas concluded that solidarity manifests itself primarily as
967 cross-national cooperation between different local groups. In more practical way, the
968 researchers (<https://transsol.eu/project>) emphasized that “translation is a vital political tool,
969 digital and real-life meetings must be held together and sustained; regional specificity can act
970 as a springboard for larger scale solidarities; and specific long-term partnerships yield the most
971 fruitful results”. (83)

972 However, given the limited health competences of the EU in supporting Member States’
973 emergency responses, these additions in Proposed Regulation of the European Parliament and
974 of the Council (COM(2020) 727 final 2020/0322) on serious cross-border threats to health (4)
975 may not go far enough and/or be strong enough and detailed enough to address all of the issues
976 regarding EU solidarity in practice that have been identified as a result of the COVID-19
977 pandemic.

978 As a case study, the next section examines primary health care and cross-border surge capacity
979 as examples to illustrate potential as well as practical limitations of existing and proposed EU
980 solidary measures keeping in mind that the definition of health policy and the organisation and
981 delivery of health measures are the competence of EU Member States .

982

983 **1.3.3 Two illustrative examples of solidarity within a resilient health system:** 984 **(1) the strengthening of primary health care and (2) the deployment of** 985 **sustainable surge capacities in response to future health emergencies.**

986 In this section, we provide two illustrative examples of “lessons learnt from the pandemic” that
987 were the subject of several analyses. At the population level, we highlight the importance of
988 accessible, high quality primary health care, integrated with strong public health services. At
989 the individual level, we highlight the importance of timely deployment of sustainable surge

990 capacities, e.g., Intensive care unit (ICU)-beds in hospitals. We illustrate both components
991 based on first insights.

992

993 ***(1) Strengthening of primary health care during the COVID-19 pandemic***

994 During the COVID-19 pandemic, several challenges for a resilient healthcare system and an
995 effective and efficient primary health care have been reported. (71) Among them, the following
996 issues have been documented:

- 997 • People with pre-existing conditions risk more severe COVID-19 outcomes.
- 998 • Overburdened health systems during the first wave of the pandemic have resulted in the
999 delay, cancelation, or delivery of sub-optimal health care services for other conditions.
- 1000 • Countries have seen significant reductions in out-patient care visits during the first wave
1001 of the pandemic.
- 1002 • People with chronic conditions living in worse social economic circumstances are more
1003 likely to be affected by COVID-19 and to experience worse health outcomes.

1004 In addition to the above, adherence to the protective measures, reduction of hesitancy towards
1005 vaccination programmes and increased vaccination administration rates could be enhanced
1006 with the contribution of primary health care.
1007 Several policies to meet the above challenges have been proposed, including the following
1008 statements (71):

- 1009 • Multi-disciplinary primary health care teams and strong links with community services
1010 support communities during the pandemic.
- 1011 • Integration of primary health care with public health and social care helps to reduce the
1012 indirect health effects.
- 1013 • Home-based programmes reduce the risk of COVID-19 transmission while maintaining
1014 care continuity for other patients, especially the elderly and other vulnerable people.

1015 The OECD concludes on its report entitled “Strengthening the frontline: How primary health
1016 care helps health systems adapt during the COVID-19 pandemic” (10 February 2021) that
1017 *“Strong primary health care – organized in multi-disciplinary teams and with innovative roles
1018 for health professionals, integrated with community health services, equipped with digital
1019 technology, and working with well-designed incentives – helps deliver a successful health
1020 system response. The innovations introduced in response to the pandemic need to be maintained
1021 to make health systems more resilient and able to meet the challenges of ageing societies and*

1022 *the growing burden of chronic conditions*".(71) This statement echoes one of the conclusions
1023 of the Expert Panel report "Organisation of resilient health and social care following the
1024 COVID-19 pandemic" that '*Strong primary care and mental health systems should form the*
1025 *foundation of any emergency and/or preparedness response. All Member states should re-*
1026 *assess their investments in primary care and mental health and strengthen the integration of*
1027 *these systems with public health at population level.*'(17)

1028 On the 28 July 2021, in a Statement of WHO Director-General Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus
1029 delivered by Dr Mike Ryan, Executive Director, World Health Emergencies Programme on the
1030 Director-General's behalf, it was emphasised that: '*Pandemics start and end in communities.*
1031 *All our work to prevent future pandemics must start locally, by strengthening public health*
1032 *surveillance and systems that can detect and contain diseases at source, stronger primary*
1033 *health care systems that can save lives, and bolstering community engagement and*
1034 *participation through stronger social safety nets. That must be our first priority.*'(72)

1035 Huston and colleagues described the early response to COVID-19 by primary care services in
1036 the Netherlands, USA, United Kingdom, Australia, Canada and New Zealand. (73) The authors
1037 conclude that "*the impact of COVID-19 has varied from country to country but, overall, the*
1038 *countries that have fared the best are the ones with universal health coverage, updated*
1039 *pandemic plans that include primary care, and good government and public support for the*
1040 *public health measures. In all countries, primary care physicians have been on the front line of*
1041 *the pandemic response, and non-COVID-19 primary care services have decreased. Not only*
1042 *are there signs of increased non-COVID-19 mortality but, in countries that rely on a fee-for-*
1043 *service payment model, there have also been closures of primary care offices and a loss of*
1044 *primary care capacity. In all countries, core components of primary care have been challenged*
1045 *in the effort to fight COVID-19. For those in continued lockdown, it has been difficult to provide*
1046 *person-centred care where patients struggle with the technology, and have increasing mental*
1047 *health issues. Inter-sectorial coordination of primary care with public health, secondary care,*
1048 *and community-based services has been key in mounting an effective pandemic response.*"

1049 The authors give the following answers to the question: "Why do we need sustainable primary
1050 care for a strong health system response to pandemics?":

- 1051 • Primary care is where most health care takes place, and where most people have trusted
1052 health-related relationships.
- 1053 • The primary care providers are the 'eyes and ears' of the health system: primary care
1054 can provide important data to public health; data in electronic medical records provide

1055 real-time information on emerging symptoms, complications, patient responses to
1056 public health messaging, adaptive coping mechanisms.

- 1057 • There is a need to protect our global health with more sustainable primary care within a
1058 well-coordinated health system that has strong government and public support for its
1059 policies.

1060 Several examples of solidarity during the COVID-19 pandemic could be discussed and
1061 proposed to meet future public health emergencies, including the transfer of experiences from
1062 best practices in regards to a multidisciplinary approach towards vulnerable groups in the
1063 community, to the monitoring and management of mild cases of COVID-19 at home and the
1064 arrangement of home-based programmes to reduce the risk of transmission to the families, and
1065 to communicate effectively with the people in the community to reduce hesitancy to the
1066 vaccination programmes. A transfer of experts in primary care and public health could assist
1067 the efforts at the national level in certain settings. The box hereunder describes how primary
1068 care in the region of Flanders (Belgium) has contributed in different ways to addressing the
1069 challenges of COVID-19 pandemic.

Box: Strengthening primary health care makes health systems more resilient

The case of Flanders-region in Belgium.

1072 Belgium addressed the pandemic with a combined approach: central federal governance to define the general strategic approach and
1073 decentral organization of the interventions in the 4 regions: Flanders, Wallonia, Brussels and the German-speaking Region.
1074 The political responsibility for the health-related issues was with the Inter-Ministerial Conference of the 5 ministers of health
1075 (1 federal and 4 regional). The federal government installed a Commissioner for Corona that was supported by different task-
1076 forces (e.g. testing, contact-tracing, vaccination). The federal taskforce Vaccination Strategy defined the strategy for the Covid-
1077 19 Vaccination, starting from the scientific evidence (when available), provided by the Superior Health Council
1078 (<https://www.health.belgium.be/en/superior-health-council>). In the Taskforce Vaccination Strategy, a Working Group “Vax
1079 Organisation” prepared the implementation of the decisions taken, providing a general framework that enabled the 4 regions
1080 to adapt the interventions to the local context. In the Working Group, apart from administration, social insurers and patient
1081 organizations, representatives of the primary care were represented: family physicians, nurses, and pharmacists.

1082 An equitable vaccination-strategy: “Everybody counts, no one should be left behind” (WHO), was put into practice by starting
1083 with the most vulnerable people (elderly in nursing homes), then the health care workers, both in primary care and in hospitals,
1084 then the 65-plus. Based on scientifically underpinned criteria, people with co-morbidities in the age-group of 18-64 were
1085 GDPR-proof selected with search algorithms: centrally using data from the social insurers and de-centrally by the family
1086 physicians, based on their Global Medical Records (GMR). This resulted in over 1.5 million people with increased risk that
1087 were prioritized in the Vaccination Strategy.

1088 In the region of Flanders, it was decided in 2017 to re-orientate and restructure the primary care system substantially. A major
1089 aim was to create mechanisms that support improvement in care integration over time and help organize services for larger
1090 groups of the population. Primary Care Zones (PCZ, taking care of 100,000 inhabitants) were set up at local level to support
1091 better coordination and improve planning. A new Flemish Institute for Primary Care was established in 2020 to provide a
1092 permanent source of expertise and stimulus. (WHO 2019 (74))

1093 The governance of the PCZ was in the hands of a local “Care Council”, integrating primary health care services, social services,
1094 organizations of patients and informal care givers and representatives of the local authorities from the cities and villages
1095 involved in the PCZ. When the PCZs started their activities in 2020, the first item on the agenda was organizing the primary
1096 care response to the pandemic. A “Covid-19 cell” coordinated the actions: early diagnosis of cases by family physicians and
1097 timely referral to hospitals when needed, support of chronically ill by nurses both in the community and the heavily affected
1098 nursing homes, starting with local contact-tracing and source-finding (complementary to the actions of central call-centers),
1099 outreach to vulnerable groups by social workers and community health workers, taking care of mental illness by psychologists,
1100 support of quarantine for people living in difficult conditions (e.g. poor, homeless, undocumented people).

1101 A challenge in the first phase was the lack of PPE for the care providers and the limited availability of PCR-tests outside
1102 hospitals. Translating the federal strategy into concrete measures in relation to ‘physical distancing’, ventilation, and masks
1103 required an intensive interaction between social sector, health sector, civil society organizations and local authorities and pro-
1104
1105

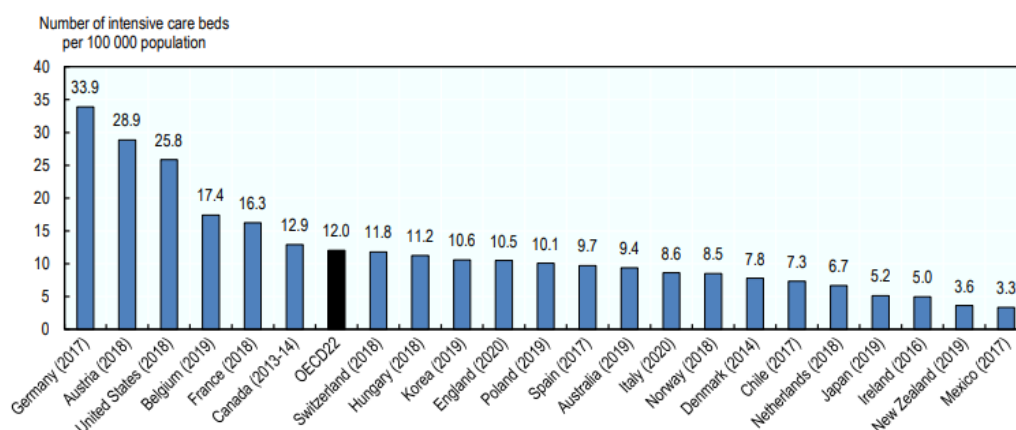
1106 active communication with the population. The structured integration of all stakeholders in the PCZ facilitated the
1107 interdisciplinary cooperation, and enabled building bridges between organizations and actors that never had worked together
1108 before. When the vaccination campaign started in 2021, the Flemish government asked the PCZs to establish 95 Vaccination-
1109 centres that organized the vaccination according to the federal priorities. People that had difficulty to reach the vaccination
1110 centres could rely on ‘vaccination at home’ by their family physician or nurse, or by a ‘mobile team’. Between 1st of January
1111 2021 and the first week of August 2021, 70% of the total Flemish population (6.6 million inhabitants) has been fully vaccinated,
1112 and for the adults (18+), this percentage is 83% (for the 65-plus it is 94%). For comparison: in Belgium the percentage of adults
1113 fully vaccinated is 76% and in EU/EEA it is 60% (ECDC-figures on 07/08/2021). When looking at regional differences in
1114 Belgium, there is a remarkable correlation between the percentage of the total population fully vaccinated, and the percentage
1115 of the population, that has subscribed to GMR with a primary care practice (family physician) in the region: in Flanders, 70%
1116 of the total population is fully vaccinated, and 76% has a GMR; in Wallonia, 66% is vaccinated and 57% has a GMR, and in
1117 Brussels, 51% is vaccinated and 49% has a GMR. Of course, this correlation does not mean causality, but the figures give
1118 ‘food-for-thought’ and may lead to some hypotheses: e.g. ‘Is there a relationship between citizens’ participation in a
1119 vaccination-campaign and trust in the health system (e.g., documented by the subscription to a GMR with a family physician
1120 and a primary care team)? Does the cooperation between local authorities and stakeholders in health and social care in PCZs
1121 improve access to vaccination-campaigns? Comparative analysis from both qualitative and quantitative perspectives may
1122 clarify to what extent the strength of primary care systems plays a role in a resilient response to the pandemic. In the meantime,
1123 this experience adds to the international evidence on the importance of integration of primary care and public health, and health
1124 care and social care orientated towards the individual and towards the population. (Allen et al, 2018 (75))

1125 1126 1127 ***(2) Deployment of sustainable surge capacities in response to future health emergencies***

1129 European preparedness to face future health emergencies (biological, chemical, radiological,
1130 nuclear, or natural disaster) is fundamental and relies on surge capacities. Surge capacity could
1131 be defined as “*a health care system's ability to rapidly expand beyond normal services to meet*
1132 *the increased demand for qualified personnel, medical care, and public health in the event of*
1133 *bioterrorism or other large-scale public health emergencies or disasters*”.(76) The concept of
1134 surge capacity is a useful addition to the study of health systems’ disaster and/or pandemic
1135 planning, mitigation, and response.(77) A major challenge during the COVID-19 outbreak was
1136 the sudden increase in ICU bed occupancy rate and the lack of trained staff. The EU-made ESI
1137 budget (2.5 million EUR) available to support training across EU countries,(78) and helped
1138 establish an intensive care medicine training programme together with the European Society of
1139 Intensive Care Medicine (ESICM), based in Brussels, for doctors in doctors and nurses working
1140 in EU and UK hospitals(79). The geographical access to intensive care beds varies significantly
1141 across European countries and low ICU accessibility was associated with a higher proportion
1142 of COVID-19 deaths.(80)

1143 This variability of critical care bed numbers per 100,000 capita in Europe is known and Rhodes
1144 and colleagues (2012) had already stated that a better understanding of these numbers should
1145 facilitate an improved planning for critical care capacity.(81)

1150 Figure 3. Capacity of intensive care beds in selected OECD countries, 2020 (or nearest year)



Note: There may be differences in the notion of intensive care affecting the comparability of the data. Data refers to adults only in Belgium, Ireland and Canada, to all ages in Germany, England and Spain. Data in France includes "lits de réanimation adulte" (except severe burns) and "lits de soins intensifs" (except neonatology) but excludes "lits de surveillance continue adulte et enfants" and "lits de réanimation enfants".

Source: German Federal Statistical Office, Austrian Ministry of Health, USA: Tsai, Jacobsen and Jha (2020), Belgian Ministry of Health, French Ministry of Health, Canadian Institute for Health Information, Hungarian National Health Insurance Fund, Korea: Phua, Faruq, Kulkarni et al. (2020), NHS England, Polish Ministry of Health, Spanish Ministry of Health, Australia: Edward Litton et al. (2020), Italy: Remuzzi and Remuzzi (2020), Norwegian Health Ministry, Danish Society of Anesthesiology and Intensive Medicine, Chilean Society of Internal Medicine (2020), Dutch Intensive Care Society, Japanese Society of Intensive Care Medicine, Irish Department of Health, New Zealand Ministry of Health, Mexican Ministry of Health.

1151
 1152 Source: OECD, 2020 (82)
 1153
 1154 Eight years later, Bauer and colleagues (2020) still report that the access to intensive care beds
 1155 varies significantly across European countries and provide both a regional analysis and a hot
 1156 spot analysis of accessibility indices (Figures 3), (80) Differences in hospital bed density can
 1157 also be confirmed and visualised, for Europe and globally, through the WHO Global Health
 1158 Observatory ([https://www.who.int/data/gho/data/indicators/indicator-details/GHO/hospital-](https://www.who.int/data/gho/data/indicators/indicator-details/GHO/hospital-beds-(per-10-000-population))
 1159 [beds-\(per-10-000-population\)](https://www.who.int/data/gho/data/indicators/indicator-details/GHO/hospital-beds-(per-10-000-population))).(83)

1160 Therefore, the pandemic highlighted the importance of having an appropriate capacity of ICU
 1161 beds and a capacity to respond by increasing it (ranging from 25% to more than 90% for the
 1162 different European countries) or allocating available capacities in European countries.(84)

1163 A Belgian study revealed some interesting findings in relation to ‘additionally created ICU-
 1164 beds’(85). In this study, of 13,612 hospitalised COVID-19 patients with admission and
 1165 discharge forms registered in the surveillance period (March 1 to August 9, 2020), 1,903
 1166 (14.0%) required ICU admission, of whom 1,747 had available outcome data. A median of 38%
 1167 of supplementary ICU beds, specifically created for the provision of intensive care in COVID-
 1168 19 ICUs, above the total available beds was created in Belgium during the COVID-19
 1169 pandemic. ICU organizational characteristics, such as ICU overflow (all cohort) and a high
 1170 proportion of additionally created ICU beds [patients on Invasive Mechanical Ventilation
 1171 (IMV)] were independently associated with in-hospital mortality, together with older age,

1172 comorbid diseases, a shorter time from the onset of symptoms to hospital admission and the
1173 severity of respiratory impairment, as indicated by the use of IMV and Extra-Corporeal
1174 Membrane Oxygenation (ECMO). This study suggests that mortality of critically ill COVID-
1175 19 patients could be influenced by organizational factors that different health care systems had
1176 to face during this first phase of the pandemic: the rapid creation of additional beds and the
1177 challenges of local overflow, sometimes exceeding trained available ICU staffing and resource
1178 capacity. The authors conclude that the COVID-19 pandemic has revealed the vulnerability of
1179 the organisation of the ICU healthcare system and that readdressing critically ill patients to
1180 other specialized ICUs (i.e. in the same country or towards closer international centres) might
1181 be more beneficial for patients than creating new ICU beds or taking care of a very high number
1182 of critically ill COVID-19 patients, that exceeds the usual ICU flow outside the pandemic.

1183 Another element of evidence during the pandemic and of great help to reducing the overload of
1184 care in large hospitals during peaks of health emergencies is the capacity to develop flexible
1185 structures capable of absorbing the excess of patients when facing health crisis.(86) Such an
1186 approach can also identify potential locations suitable for temporary facilities or establishing
1187 logistical plans for moving severely ill patients to facilities with available beds. Beside the space
1188 and beds capacities, the training of staff on intensive care medicine skills is a key piece of the
1189 puzzle and the EU is taking action by funding a training programme for doctors and nurses, the
1190 SPACE course (<https://www.esicm.org/covid-19-skills-preparation-course/>).

1191 The pandemic also highlighted the need for accessibility to data as well as data exchange and
1192 analysis to adjust capacities in a real time manner. Recent reports showed that informed
1193 simulation can be applied to a real time database on ICU to predict hospital capacity needs.
1194 This can be illustrated by a registry like the one from the ECDC and developed to monitor the
1195 ICU admission rates and current occupancy across Europe.(87) Real time data monitoring and
1196 treatment covering all hospital and ICU admission rates for public and private hospitals allows
1197 immediate access to the number of admitted patients, their clinical status and the situation of
1198 occupied and unoccupied beds, which are indicators of the level of pressure on European
1199 healthcare systems.(87) In another example, Patel and colleagues identify predictors of the need
1200 for intensive care and mechanical ventilation to help healthcare systems in planning for surge
1201 capacity.(88) Centralized data bases and artificial intelligence (AI) can also help authorities to
1202 establish logistical plans for moving severely ill patients to facilities with available beds. AI
1203 engines and modelling tools can inform preparations for capacity strain during the early days
1204 of a pandemic.(89)

1205 The evidence in this illustrative example emphasises the importance of coordinating and
 1206 standardizing surge capacity response within an EU framework. An EU framework can
 1207 stimulate European leadership to develop a flexible and adaptable management strategy to
 1208 stretch the system capacities during times of extreme need (90) and define the conditions to
 1209 activate EU surge capacity response as well as its related resources, capacities, and functional
 1210 components. Although evidence to support the potential advantages of a centralized approach
 1211 over a decentralized one is currently lacking - and both centralized and decentralized
 1212 approaches seem essential and complementary - the anecdotal evidence reviewed within this
 1213 Opinion suggests that an EU framework is valuable and in line with EU Solidarity principles.
 1214 Such an EU framework should stimulate the standardization of the key components related to
 1215 surge capacity response with a focus on the four S's of health system surge capacity (Table 1)
 1216 that can lead to surge capability: system, staff, stuff and structure and .(91)

1217
 1218 Table 1. The four S's of health system surge capacity

System	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High priority tasks: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Adjust the beds capacity and harmonize the number of ICU beds per 100.000 thousand inhabitants with a target of 15 ○ Coordinate and balance hospital support services, including community health care, primary care, pharmacy, laboratory, and radiology • Lower priority tasks: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Recommend a travel time of 15 minutes to reach the closest hospital or surge capacity settings ○ Facilitate the access to the frontline community and primary care workers for both early testing and diagnosis, and as well as for management of mild cases at home.
Staff	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High priority tasks: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Harmonize education, training, competence, and procedure ○ Engage and train all health care professionals and non-medical personnel to benefit from a flexible surge capacity • Ensure that regulation help to move professionals and/or patients across borders if the need arises <p>Encourage solidarity between care providers through multidisciplinary training and responses.</p>
Stuff	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High priority tasks: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Avoid shortage of equipment and reagents and EU will have to cooperate to define and allocate strategic stocks • Lower priority tasks:

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Ensure the supplies and testing response
Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High priority tasks: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Standardize the definition of ICU bed ○ Standardize triage procedures of exposed vs non-exposed citizens and patients. • Lower priority tasks: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Coordinate and improve community health testing services and as well as the management of mild cases at the community level. ○ Standardize notification and communication procedures

1219 *Source: Adapted from Davidson et al., 2019 (91)*

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1221 The illustrative example of surge capacity also identifies the need to visualize, anticipate,
 1222 forecast and adapt through data sharing and data mining.(92) An intelligent and interactive
 1223 notification and monitoring system could be developed to adjust and anticipate to short term
 1224 and long-term needs. A dynamic and interactive EU Framework for surge capacity and response
 1225 planning will rely on communication and data exchanges and must address related issues. Data
 1226 management and sharing with AI can play a key role to complement the monitoring and
 1227 mitigation efforts. The use of AI orchestrator and data science will add value to human
 1228 resources. Data management and big data technologies offer new tools at the European level to
 1229 provide alerts and system monitoring as well as AI based tools for deployment and route
 1230 planning decision for resources and capacities. Joint research could be initiated to prepare deep
 1231 learning-based triage algorithm and early warning to evaluate and improve their surge capacity,
 1232 capability and response.

1233 Further, the case study emphasises the importance of regulating and adopting incentives to
 1234 increase interoperability and harmonization of the digital environment surrounding surge
 1235 capacity responses based on recommendations of European standards for data exchange.(94)
 1236 Solidarity, cooperation and joint efforts for sharing big data analytics capability and big data to
 1237 support organizational capabilities are expected.(95) The EU framework also needs to address
 1238 the technical IT requirements for sharing of personal health information.

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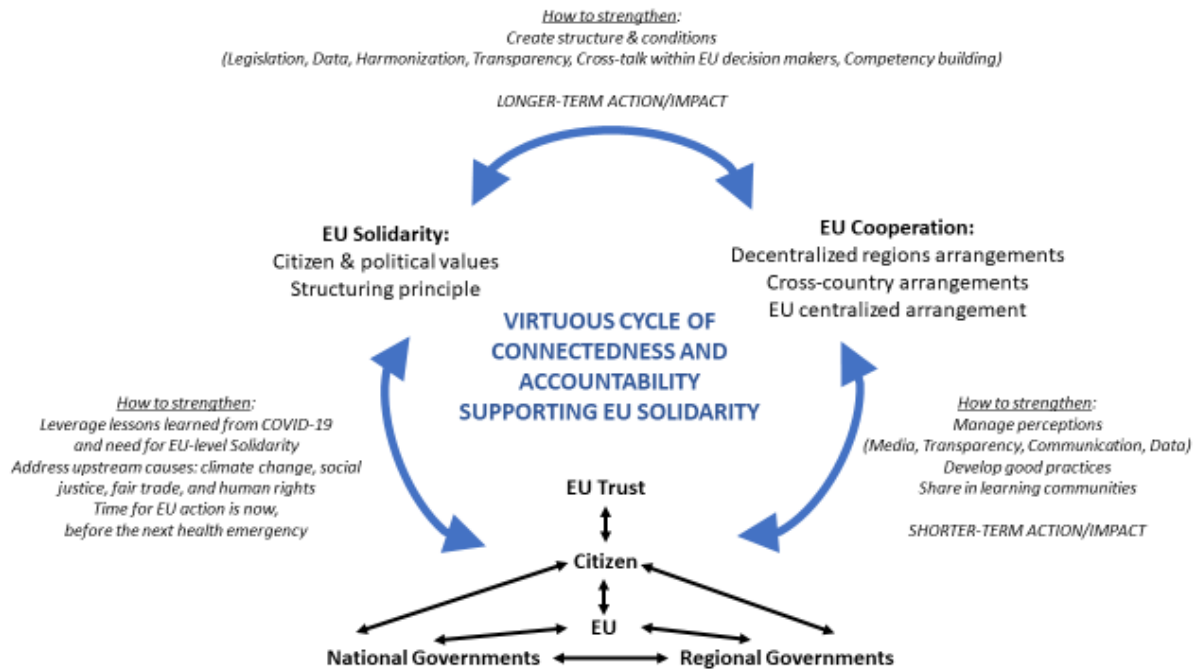
1244 **1.4 Recommendations**

1245 This Opinion discusses EU Solidarity as both a value and a structuring principle for practices,
1246 regulations, and institutions. EU Solidarity, in this Opinion, is part of a virtuous cycle of
1247 connectedness and accountability that involves two additional key components: EU
1248 Cooperation and EU Trust. EU Cooperation describes ways in which EU Solidarity can be “put
1249 into practice” via cross-country and/or regional and centralized arrangements. EU Trust refers
1250 to the trust between EU citizens, and amongst national / Member State institutions, and EU
1251 institutions. EU Solidarity can be strengthened by addressing the linkages between these
1252 concepts. Figure 4 offers a visual representation of the three key concepts as a virtuous cycle
1253 connecting EU solidarity, cooperation, and trust. The blue arrows that connect the concepts
1254 serve as opportunities to offer practical steps to strengthen the relationships among the
1255 components by promoting responsibility and accountability. Some of the impacts of these
1256 recommended actions to strengthen EU Solidarity are often only apparent in the long-term, such
1257 as those tying EU Solidarity to EU Cooperation. Therefore, short-term actionable
1258 recommendations focus on fostering the relationship between EU Cooperation and EU Trust,
1259 which will have a later impact on EU Solidarity. Specific high-level recommendations will be
1260 further detailed later in this section. In general, increased EU Cooperation and EU Trust can be
1261 fostered by increasing transparency, managing perceptions, and improving communication and
1262 data. Increased EU Trust and EU Solidarity can be fostered by referring to solidarity in a more
1263 systematic way as a structuring principle of regulations, learning from the COVID-19 pandemic
1264 and from past mistakes, and monitoring the relationship between trust and solidarity to examine
1265 barriers and facilitators. Increased EU Cooperation and EU Solidarity should be based on
1266 principles of social justice and equity fostered by creating structural and delivery conditions
1267 that include legislation, cross-talk within EU-level decision makers, data initiatives,
1268 harmonization across Member States, and competency building activities. This visual
1269 representation is a schematic. Existing evidence suggests that there is a correlation between
1270 solidarity and the health and wellbeing of citizens. (96, 97)

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1273 Figure 4. Virtuous Cycle of Responsibility and Accountability Supporting EU Solidarity,
 1274 Cooperation and Trust



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1277 The following recommendations of the Expert Panel are based on available literature,
 1278 descriptive analysis of political statements and values of the Union. Our recommendations
 1279 reflect the first-hand impressions and may be revised as further research and evidence become
 1280 available, for instance with respect to success factors and failures in response to the COVID-19
 1281 pandemic.

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1. The high level of trust of citizens in the EU provides an opportunity to broaden its competencies in the field of health and wellbeing. The EU can foster and further strengthen solidarity ensuring that vulnerable people are not left abandoned as resources shift to dealing with a pandemic nor are they forgotten in the context of the additional support they may require in the context of the pandemic. This asks for joint efforts in health emergencies to achieve common goals such as guaranteeing a minimum safety level for the citizens and for the European community as a whole. It also necessitates contextualising EU public health in the broader global health, as a crisis such as the COVID-19 pandemic necessitates global thinking to ensure a global public health threat is effectively and efficiently countered. There is an implicit need, also, for EU institutions to take measures to counter activities that seek to undermine European

- 1294 solidarity, and to take actions that make the EU’s contributions to solidarity more visible
1295 across the globe.
- 1296 2. Strong primary health care, public health and mental health support systems form the
1297 foundation of any emergency and/or preparedness response. At the level of the
1298 population, the pandemic demonstrated the importance of investing in strong
1299 interprofessional primary health care, responsible for addressing early detection, testing,
1300 contact-tracing, support for isolation and quarantine, community-based care for mental
1301 health problems and implementation of vaccination-strategy, integrating public health
1302 services at the local level. Within primary health care, solidarity points at groups such
1303 as the elderly, those living in nursing homes, the homeless, the poor, and undocumented
1304 people, who may well require special attention and specific outreach strategies. The EU
1305 could work further on the establishment of integrated people-centred primary care
1306 including availability of interdisciplinary work, information and communication
1307 capacity and technology, prevention, health promotion and management of chronic care
1308 and vulnerability and as well as health care of socially isolated groups.
- 1309 3. In order to address the global dimension of a crisis like the COVID-19 pandemic, the
1310 EU should extend its solidarity by taking a leading role in a new dialogue with LMICs,
1311 addressing populations not yet protected. This solidarity could be operationalised at the
1312 level of development aid (to strengthen health systems and improving access to vaccines
1313 e.g., through COVAX), in the multilateral dialogue in the context of the proposal for an
1314 international treaty on pandemics, first announced by the President of the European
1315 Council (Pandemic Treaty, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/coronavirus/pandemic-treaty/>), at the
1316 research level and at the level of capacity building (e.g. human resources, vaccine
1317 production), and in a concerted effort to assess the global burden of the emerging
1318 infodemic by leading in scientific and evidence-informed approaches to combat
1319 misinformation and fake news.
- 1320
- 1321 4. Increased alignment, coordination and responsiveness are needed at the EU-level to
1322 improve health systems’ ability to prepare for, and cope with, “surges” of need or
1323 demand. During the pandemic hospitals have reduced 10 to 15% inpatients surgical
1324 services, also for non-elective procedures, such as oncological ones. Coordinated
1325 responses should target the organisation of staff and supplies to create surge capacity
1326 when needed. The introduction of minimum standards could also be considered to
1327 guarantee minimum levels of access to health and social care to EU citizens, also at

- 1328 times of crisis. For example, EU countries could determine a minimum number of ICU
1329 beds/ICU healthcare teams per 100.000 inhabitants (having in mind different structure
1330 of the population across countries), that ensures all people from a given catchment area
1331 to have access to an ICU care or can be safely transported. This should include care
1332 support to chronically non-COVID-19 patients, for instance by assuring safe transfers
1333 to other countries with the aim to relieve the pressure on hospitals and intensive care in
1334 places where the contagion rate is higher. This is a required reassurance to EU citizens,
1335 with an appropriate mix of operational cross-border cooperation, and of centralised and
1336 decentralised approaches, complementing one another.
- 1337 5. The EU should take the lead in transforming and fostering transparent and accountable
1338 governance of public and private sector data (including e.g., data on socio-economic
1339 status and ethnicity) ensuring all safeguards to protect privacy are in place, as for
1340 example within the context of the European Health Data Space and per the ‘Data
1341 Governance Act’ (DGA) proposal¹¹ creating a common framework for the exchange of
1342 such data. It should also ensure commitment to public dialogue, and global cooperation.
1343 It can do so by harmonising data across health and social care sectors and making data
1344 systems more integrated and ready for secondary uses. Every EU citizen should be
1345 related to the health and social care system through an individual person record
1346 integrated in the local health system accessible and usable also across borders, in
1347 alignment with data protection principles. Moreover, the EU should initiate or enhance
1348 dialogue with other countries (also outside EU) to resolve statutory conflicts to enable
1349 reciprocity in privacy-enhanced data sharing improving data solidarity to enhance
1350 patient and citizen health and wellbeing. With the GDPR becoming the standard
1351 countries across the world seek to follow, the EU must lead the global discussion on
1352 privacy and data sharing in global public health and to counter global health threats.
1353 Researchers and academia must be allowed to cooperate, in an interdisciplinary manner,
1354 to allow cross-border data transfer when/where necessary to accelerate progress and
1355 innovation, whereas for LMICs lacking infostructure, this key aspect of generating high
1356 quality data and of maintaining data integrity ought to be safeguarded.
- 1357 6. There needs to be sufficient room for strengthening the successful actions and planning
1358 related to preparedness plans to benefit from insights gained from what happened in
1359 cross-border settings, and, moving beyond lesson learned, to nurture bottom-up good

¹¹ <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX:52020PC0767&from=FR>

1360 practices. These actions related to preparedness plans should be facilitated to be
1361 regularly practiced making them readily available in crises.

1362 7. Since trust at different levels relates to solidarity and vice versa, their interplay should
1363 be carefully monitored. This requires developing the methodology to assess the effect
1364 of implementation of solidarity mechanisms on trust at several levels; measurement to
1365 then identify those mechanisms/actions that strengthen solidarity and have the greatest
1366 impact on nurturing trust ought to be conducted. Such initiatives will also help to re-
1367 build any trust that has been affected by the COVID-19 pandemic response and,
1368 ultimately, contribute towards EU-wide societal cohesion.

1369 8. Regulations, institutions, and practices should include solidarity as a guiding principle
1370 which will strengthen the relationship between EU Solidarity and EU Trust. This will
1371 require the development of guidance on how mechanisms to place solidarity in practice;
1372 the development of methodology to evaluate the inclusion of solidarity in regulations,
1373 institutions and practices; assessing the existing regulations on if and how solidarity is
1374 included, develop a plan to strengthen the presence of solidarity principle; and assessing
1375 the current institutions and practices, how they include/address solidarity, and develop
1376 a plan to introduce/reinforce the solidarity principle.

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1379 **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

AI	Artificial Intelligence
AMR	Antimicrobial resistance
CEPI	Coalition for Epidemic Preparedness Innovations
CFR	Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union
COVID-19	Coronavirus disease of 2019
COVAX	COVID-19 Vaccines Global Access
CRIs	Coronavirus Response Investment Initiatives
DG	Directorate General
DG ECHO	Directorate General for European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations
EC	European Commission
ECDC	European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control
EEA	European Economic Area
EMA	European Medicines Agency
EMC	European Medical Corps
EMT	Emergency Medical Teams
ERCC	Emergency Response Coordination Centre
ESI	Emergency Support Mechanism
ESIF	European Structural and Investment Funds
ESM	European Stability Mechanism
ECMO	Extra-Corporeal Membrane Oxygenation
EU	European Union
EUSF	European Union Solidarity Fund
EWRS	Early Warning and Response System
GAVI	Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization
GDPR	General Data Protection Regulation

European solidarity in public health emergencies

GMR	Global Medical Records
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/ Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
HERA	Health Emergency Preparedness and Response Authority
HSC	Health Security Committee
ICU	Intensive Care Unit
IHR	International Health Regulations
IMV	Invasive Mechanical Ventilation
IT	Information technology
JPA	Joint Procurement Agreement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PCR	Polymerase Chain Reaction
PCZ	Primary care zone
PPE	Personal Protective Equipment
REACT-EU	Recovery Assistance for Cohesion and the Territories of Europe
SARS	Severe acute respiratory syndrome
TEU	Treaty on European Union
TFEU	Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union
UCPM	Union Civil Protection Mechanism
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WHO	World Health Organization

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