

FMA activities

FMA STUDY VISIT TO USA

THE EU-US PARTNERSHIP WILL OUTLAST PRESIDENT TRUMP

The political atmosphere in the United States has changed considerably since last year's presidential election.

Since World War II the United States has played a systemic role in the multilateral institutions set up during that period. In the early fifties it was a major advocate of the then European Coal and Steel Community, as a forerunner of the EC, which later became the European Union. Over the years the US and the EU have closely collaborated and created the basis of global co-operation between and with countries of different size and culture. As a whole the world has benefitted greatly from the growth of multilateralism. It has promoted a climate of more open governance, transparency and accountability in the management of public affairs. Multilateral institutions have also contributed to tackling jointly world-wide issues, such as climate change, immigration flows or terrorism.

A week before our visit to Washington DC President Trump offered a radically different vision of a world order dominated by a return to the concept of sovereignty of individual states and the exclusive

pursuit of national interests. A modern catch as catch can. His 'America First' vision constitutes a total departure from decades of bipartisan foreign policy consensus in the United States.

Throughout our visit the defining issue was nationalism vs. internationalism. Our discussions at the State Department demonstrated its declining role: practically no senior political officials have yet been confirmed by the Senate, the sixth and seventh floor are nearly empty, and its budget has been reduced by more than 10% (against an earlier reduction foreseen for 30%!). At the same time we were comforted by hearing from its permanent staff that the administration has come to understand that a strong commitment to US-EU relations is an essential component of defending US interests, even though many trade issues are still outstanding. We received similar messages in other meetings.

At the same time our visit was a stark and troubling confirmation of the polarized situation in the country. In discussions about a potential nuclear conflict with North Korea and the possible refusal by President

Trump to recertify Iran's compliance with the 2015 nuclear deal, we were impressed by the differences between the near unanimous views of his advisors and the natural instinct of President Trump for radical action. For most of us this new political climate in a longstanding ally of Europe is very worrying indeed. The recent extraordinary statements by the much respected Senator Corker, chairman of the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee, on the instability of the President and the resulting possible threats of a new armed conflict are not new, but should add considerable concern in European circles. President Trump's earlier welcome of Brexit, the United Kingdom's departure from the European Union, is in retrospect a minor ripple compared to the gravity of the current situation.

The lessons for the European Union are clear. As Chancellor Merkel has confirmed on many occasions that the EU and its member states stand alone in facing the numerous challenges within our countries and in the world around us. If ever, the famous words by Winston Churchill apply to the current position of Europe: 'if we do not hang together we will hang separately'. President Trump's actions contribute greatly to a more united Europe.

The conclusion of our visit is clear: the United States remains an essential partner for the European Union. There is no doubt that our relations will outlast President Trump!



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DIVISIONS IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

When President Trump took office on 20 January 2017, the US economy was actually doing pretty well; since the credit and financial crisis, the unemployment rate had dropped to 5% and the GDP growth rate had climbed back to 2.4% (compared to 1.9% in the EU).

But the lengthy and aggressive election campaign exposed both old and new economic, political, ethnic, religious and regional divisions.

For those of us who see the USA - a vast community of different ethnic groups and States united under one legal system and language - as a role model for the European Union, the deep disagreements which emerged during the Obamacare Debate (TV) on the future of the common healthcare system are shocking. The Republicans, in thrall to the Calvinist concept of individual responsibility, reject the idea of solidarity which underpins the welfare state.

They are against all forms of redistribution of wealth; the better-off, who have worked hard to get where they are, should not have to support those in need, the unemployed.

The pension system and tax reform proposals reflect this philosophy as well.

With political tensions this high,



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you would think that the election campaign was still in full swing. Our discussion partners, including Ambassador David O'Sullivan - who some of us know from his time in Brussels - confirmed that American society is becoming increasingly polarised, as did former Congressman Brian Baird, with whom I discussed the topic at length. We also spoke to some important figures at Georgetown University and Johns Hopkins University. Remember, there are no state-funded party foundations in the USA; it is therefore left to independent institutes with no party affiliations to provide a running commentary on political affairs.

The lecture at Johns Hopkins University on energy costs, which have plummeted thanks to fracking (as the extreme levels of air conditioning in every building reminded us), ended in a frustrated account of the lack of interest in climate change and its effects shown by US politicians.

Concerns about the significant effects of emissions are being taken seriously in California, but nowhere else.

But here as well there is a rift in society between the eco-conscious and those who want - at the expense of future generations - to exploit as many free resources (air, water, land, etc.) as possible and to whom the concept of precautions to deal with later repercussions means nothing.

There is no suggestion of setting up a body, similar to the one here in Germany, whose task it is to highlight the impact of environmental damage on public health, in an effort to

influence politicians. And California's more stringent emissions standards have no chance of being adopted by any other states.

People turn a deaf ear to scientists who try to explain the relationship between climate change and hurricanes and tsunamis.

As might be expected, EU, and particularly Germany, migration policy was often cited in the heated debates on Trump's immigration restrictions.

As Germans, people asked us about the recent election result, and it was impossible to ignore the element of gloating at the way the influx of refugees had turned people against Merkel's coalition.

The future of immigration to the USA was also discussed, in particular for non-whites and Muslims; the fear of taking in even more people who are 'different' is all too evident.

The election results in November showed strong support for the Republicans in the eastern USA and for the Democrats in the west and south of the country, with the exception of California and Florida. The President, who is constantly rallying his fans, and the gun lobby against critics of the right to carry a gun, is merely polarising opinion even more and deepening the rifts in society.

It is as if the centrifugal forces - pulling towards the centre - are losing strength and the centripetal forces are tearing the 'United' States apart.

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IRAN-NORTH KOREA

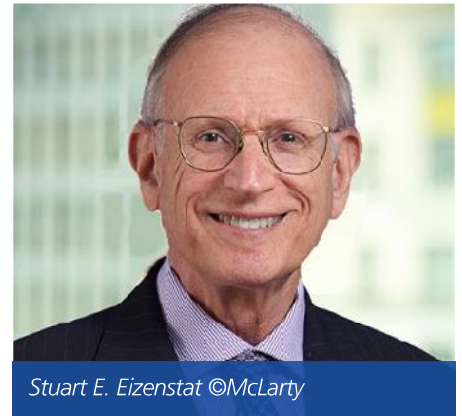
The Trump Administration faces twin, interrelated challenges from North Korea's existing nuclear weapons program and Iran's potential one. President Trump's recent decision to 'decertify' the 2015 Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) between Iran and the permanent members of the UN Security Council, plus Germany (P-5+1), can complicate resolution of both challenges. Indeed, he asserted that there are 'many people who believe that Iran is dealing with North Korea', for which there is no concrete evidence.

In his October 13, 2017 announcement, repeating his campaign statements, he called the JCPOA 'one of the worst and most one-sided transactions the United States has ever entered into'. This is despite the fact the JCPOA reduced the number of centrifuges enriching uranium by two-thirds; totally dismantled its heavy water facility at Arak producing plutonium; forced Iran to relinquish

98% of its nuclear fuel stockpile; limited the amount of nuclear fuel it can produce until 2031; and provided the most intrusive inspection regime by International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) ever used -which has repeatedly found that Iran has complied with the terms of the JCPOA-.

For sure, the JCPOA has limitations. The restrictions have a sunset clause and will expire in 2025/2030; access to military facilities is not permitted; and it does not cover Iran's missile program, let alone its support for terrorism and other destabilizing actions in the region. But the nuclear agreement was never intended to cover all Iranian behavior, and other US sanctions cover these. Once the time limits expire, Iran remains under an obligation in the Non-Proliferation Treaty not to develop a nuclear weapons.

Taking the advice of his national security team, the President did not immediately walk away from the agreement at a time there is



Stuart E. Eizenstat ©McLarty

already a confrontation with North Korea. Nor did he assert the JCPOA was contrary to America's national interest, which would have limited his room for flexibility, but took the narrower ground under the 2015 Iran Nuclear Agreement Review Act that he could not certify that the suspension of sanctions under the JCPOA was 'appropriate and proportionate' to measures Iran has taken 'to terminate its illicit nuclear program'. He then tossed the issue to the Congress, which can impose nuclear-related sanctions under expedited procedures for up to 60 days. However, the President will not ask Congress to impose those sanctions, but will ask Congress to place additional sanctions outside the JCPOA to target Iran's ballistic missile program and its support for terrorism, and will work with our allies 'to counter Iran's destabilizing activity' in the region. At the same time, he announced he would work with Congress and our allies to address the flaws in the agreement, like the sunset clauses. He will ask Congress to write into law certain thresholds for Iranian behavior, which if violated, would lead automatically to renewed sanctions against Iran. -continued ballistic missile launches



Rex Tillerson, US Secretary of State, on the left, Federica Mogherini, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy / Vice-President of the Commission; 2nd on the right, and Mohammad Javad Zarif, Iranian Foreign Minister, on the right, during a EU3/ E3+3 and Iran Ministerial Meeting on JCPOA. ©European Union, 2017



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by Iran; a refusal to extend the duration of the constraints on its nuclear fuel production; or a conclusion by US intelligence agencies that Iran could produce a nuclear weapon in less than a year. While far short of terminating the agreement immediately, the President has nevertheless put the U.S. in a box. Neither Iran nor any of the other P5+1 countries will agree to reopen the hard-fought, long-negotiated JCPOA. While Secretary of State Tillerson has stated that Iran's other threatening activities could be negotiated in a separate agreement outside the JCPOA, Iran would have little incentive to do so, without receiving substantially greater sanctions relief from the U.S., which the Administration will certainly not provide. By January 12, 2018, the President must decide whether to grant the regular six-month waiver of nuclear sanctions under the JCPOA, which was the basis for Iran to agree to major limits on its nuclear program. If this happens, the JCPOA is dead, and Iran would then be freed of its constraints on its nuclear program. But he can hardly do so, absent the kinds of actions by Iran it unfortunately will not take. President

Trump stated that absent such an agreement the JCPOA 'will be terminated.' Then, it would be the U.S., not Iran, who will have terminated a multilateral treaty, and the U.S. will be isolated. If he re-imposes secondary sanctions against European companies and those from other countries doing business with Iran, he will ignite a trade war that will undercut the cooperation he needs to address the deficiencies in the JCPOA; Iran only came to the negotiating table for the JCPOA because of united, strong sanctions action by the U.S. and EU. The President tried to justify his decertification by stating that North Korea was an example that 'the longer we ignore a threat, the worse that threat becomes.' But there is a very different lesson North Korea will take from this initial action by the President to walk away from the agreement: why negotiate an agreement with the U.S. to forswear its nuclear program, when the U.S. can unilaterally terminate its obligations? If we could achieve a nuclear agreement with North Korea that was anything like the tough one

we have with Iran under the JCPOA, it would be a minor miracle. At this point, they should immediately appoint a high-level envoy to work with the EU and attempt to negotiate a supplement agreement on the deficiencies under the JCPOA, and Iran's other activities, but should not tank the JCPOA in the process.

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Federica Mogherini, speaks following a EU3/E3+3 and Iran Ministerial Meeting on JCPOA meeting at the United Nations. ©European Union, 2017

TRUMP AND THE MIDDLE EAST

President Trump's speech to the UN in September shows life will be different - but how different?. This dilemma is particularly reflected in US policy towards the Middle East. There is one certainty. There will be no progress on the 'road map' on the solution of Israel's boundaries. This was underlined by the vigorous applause given to President Trump at the UN by Mr Netanyahu. Trump is not the only cause of the stalling on the road map but he will put less pressure on Israel than in the past. However other areas of Middle East policy remain less clear. In April the US Navy destroyers in the Mediterranean fired 59 Tomahawk cruise missiles at the Shayrat airfield in the Western Homs Province of Syrian in retaliation for the Assad government's use of chemical weapons in an attack in Khan Sheikhoun. This might have indicated to EU and others that Trump was going to be tough on the Assad regime. However there is confusion particularly surrounding Trump's handling of Putin's role in Syria. Will there be a more direct involvement by the USA in countries like Syria and Libya and even a new cooperative US /Russian initiative in Syria?

The area of most concern is the President's approach to Iran. Iran has supplied up to 100,000 missiles to Hezbollah aimed at Israel. Iran supports terrorist groups. Iran intervened in Syria in support of Assad, and is in the process of constructing a military facility in Syria. Concern by the USA on this deserves support. Consequently a tough approach to Iran would not be a surprise.

The President does not do this. He approaches this issue by attacking the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JPOCOA) with Iran on nuclear weapons which he has described as 'one if the worst and most one-sided transactions the United States has ever entered'. Since 2012 Iran's stockpile of enriched uranium has reduced from 8000kg to 300kg. The heavy water reactor at Arak, making plutonium, has been totally dismantled. Iran's facilities are inspected by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) 24 hours a day. On 8 occasions the IAEA has certified Iranian compliance with its terms. There is no evidence of a change since the last certification. In other words any action by the



FMA President Enrique Barón Crespo with the President of the U.S. Association of Former Members of Congress, Cliff Stearns, during the welcome reception at K&L Gates premises

US would be punishing Iran for its good rather than its bad behaviour. The United Kingdom, France and Germany have made it quite clear that they would not support the USA and would not pull out of the agreement. There is no indication that US departure from the JPOCOA would have any impact on the real issues that are of concern in Syria. The USA has a proud record for good in the world. The USA could be immensely beneficial in the Middle East for example over the dispute in the Gulf States over Qatar or in encouraging Turkey to be a full democracy. However at present the Trump administration has yet to show that it will live up to the US record.

The American constitutional system of checks in balances could come into play with Congress forcing the President in a rational direction. Also much depends on the extent which the President listens to the sensible members of his administration (the 'adults'). Hopefully the USA will get on track.

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Enrique Barón Crespo addressing a question during the Panel on The Trump Administration's Foreign Policy at the FMC annual events ©FMC

HOW CAN WE COMBAT TERRORISM?

Our meeting with General Gray at the Potomac Institute was particularly interesting in that it gave us an insight into the findings of studies carried out in the USA and worldwide.

What struck me in particular was the way those findings highlighted the root causes of terrorism, information which can help us to devise better ways of fighting this global scourge. Terrorism is nothing new and it affects all five continents.

The most obvious current example is Daesh, which is stepping up its attacks every month across the Middle East, Europe, Africa and America.

The main factors that enable terrorism to develop and thrive include:

- The material and social poverty endured by so many of our fellow citizens. Millions of these people live on the edges of our society: they have no skills, they do not belong and they have no personal or professional prospects.
- The vulnerable mental state of many individuals, who see terrorism as an outlet for their abnormal urges.

- Attempts by states to destabilise one another. Although they are not powerless, our democracies have weaknesses that can be exploited by terrorists:

- Cooperation between all intelligence services urgently needs to be made more effective, both at domestic level and between EU Member States and further afield. In New York, closer cooperation between local law-enforcement services led to a rapid fall in crime rates. In France, President Macron recently set up a task force to coordinate the work of the country's multiple intelligence services. At European level, information exchange must be improved using all the modern techniques available.

- At operational level, networking between all police and military forces is essential.
- In neighbourhoods seen as problematical, the EU, its Member States and local and regional authorities must develop schemes to combat poverty and integrate everyone, particularly by means of language and general education.

- Social media and networks are

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Jean-Marie Beaupuy with Prof. Yonah Alexander, Director of the Potomac Institute for Policy studies

indisputably aiding terrorists. The role they play must be addressed.

- Collective action is needed in many other areas, such as cutting off sources of funding for terrorists and engaging in 'targeted' diplomacy. The European Union was built to defend peace and foster its citizens' well-being. It urgently needs to make rapid progress in the fight against terrorism, and it is high time, therefore, that the Member States and their political leaders established proper intelligence and law-enforcement networks.



A moment of the introductory speech of Alfred Gray, Lieutenant General, at the Potomac Institute for Policy studies

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ENERGY AND CLIMATE CHANGE

Prospects for Climate Action in the United States proved a valuable and interesting discussion during the FMA visit to Washington in October 2017. The USA has never been the most enthusiastic supporter of policies to tackle climate change. True, President Clinton did sign the Kyoto Protocol but it was never put to a vote in the Senate. President George W Bush, having defeated Vice President Gore a leading campaigner for climate change policies, withdrew from the protocol despite much criticism. President Obama, in contrast, was a strong supporter of the Paris Agreement and because it was not a treaty, was able to ratify it by executive order without a Senate vote. President Trump has attracted much criticism in signalling his intention to withdraw from that Agreement. He has also indicated support for what remains of the US coal industry having had the backing of the mining community in his election campaign. Despite this wavering support for climate change policies, there

has been a 25% reduction in US emissions since 2005, mostly in the last five years and mainly in the switch from coal to gas. Renewable energy sources and improvements in the efficiency of energy use have also played a part.

It has been reported that since 2009 renewable energy costs have fallen by 66% in the case of wind and by 85% in the case of solar. These cost reductions, as well as some tax incentives are encouraging activity at State and local level. Little mention was made of the role of nuclear energy though it provides some 10% of electricity but its future contribution is somewhat uncertain. While it is easy to report on the past, it is hugely difficult to assess the future. Electric power is now unquestionably seen as the main source of energy. The production and the transmission methods will depend on science and technology developments and the extent to which these can be economically used. Government decisions to apply taxes or subsidies will have

influence either nationally or locally. Supply and or distribution decisions may be influenced by local geographical factors.

Transport infrastructure is a key driver of economic growth and the current Chinese rail project now heading west towards Europe will not be the last such project. During the visit to Washington Alstom and Siemens announced ambitious plans to create an advanced rail network throughout Germany and France. Similar projects are certain to arise elsewhere.

Nuclear power in the USA did not feature much in the discussion but a recent staff paper to the Secretary for Energy listed a number of factors that favour an increase rather than a decrease in its contribution. These were: the reduction in greenhouse gases, resilience in the grid (baseload issues), national security with diversity of fuels, jobs and the contribution to the tax base.

I recall from my early days as a member of the European Parliament's energy committee that there was a greater support for nuclear power than now and also a struggle to convince the Commission to increase research and development funding for renewable energies. Today, many millions of people in the world do not have a secure electricity supply (including one third of the population of India) and the world's population continues to grow.



Climate Change and American flag. Influence of USA on global climate. ©iStock

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HURRICANES AND THE PARIS CLIMATE AGREEMENT

During our visit to Washington, the humanitarian emergency in Puerto Rico, caused by the passage of Hurricane Maria, continued. Huge damage had been caused, leading to death and destruction, with blocked roads, collapsed bridges and a population with no water, food or electricity.

Recently, hurricanes Harvey, Irma and Maria, which formed over the Atlantic Ocean, have hit the coasts of the United States, while Hurricane Ophelia caused casualties, catastrophic devastation and violent fires in Portugal, Spain, Ireland and the United Kingdom.

Today, thanks to satellite observation and sophisticated technical instruments, we are able to have a better knowledge of the structure and development of hurricanes and to determine, with greater accuracy, the relationship between these events and 'climate change', though experts have conflicting views.

Some say it is difficult to establish whether hurricanes in recent years have been stronger than those in previous years, while others say that, since the 1970s, rising temperatures have led to an increase in the frequency and intensity of tropical cyclones. However, the UN World Meteorological Organization has

stated: 'Climate change does very likely increase the associated rainfall and the strength of hurricanes and cyclones which have always been there. The relationship between climate change and the frequency of hurricanes is not clear.'

Undoubtedly, the increase in sea levels due to global warming makes flooding more likely in coastal areas along hurricane paths. Coordinated development policy and environmental strategies need to be implemented, by facilitating exchanges of experience and information, reducing pollution and greenhouse gas emissions and promoting the proper use of energy resources and new lifestyles, while bearing in mind the island states which could disappear below the sea, as highlighted in 1999 in the Persad-Bissessar report on 'Climate change and small island states in the context of the ACP-EU cooperation framework'.

In 2016, the Paris Agreement, signed by 195 countries, entered into force. It is the first-ever universal, legally binding deal which sets out a global action plan with a view to avoiding dangerous climate change by limiting global warming to well below 2°C. Governments have agreed on action plans based on

mitigation (to reduce emissions), transparency, global reviews, adaptation and support, with a special focus on the loss and damage associated with the adverse effects of climate change, involving all stakeholders at the sub-national level.

In June 2017 President Trump declared that the US would be withdrawing from the Paris Agreement, on the grounds that it was causing huge damage to the economy, with losses of jobs and competitiveness; he also put a stop to further funding for the Environmental Protection Agency. In the debate at the John Hopkins, lawyer Benjamin Longstreth explained that since 2005, significant progress in reducing emissions had been made at the federal level, owing to investments in renewable energy and energy efficiency and, given that President Obama's 'Clean Power Plan' had not been ambitious enough, Congress had had to adopt a range of renewable tax incentives. Individual US states nevertheless manage, independently, to promote ambitious measures locally. Atlanta, for instance, aims to attain a renewable energy level of 100%. In spite of President Trump's decision, there is great bipartisan support for clean energy and renewables. Since the 1970s, much has been done worldwide, but we must continue making a strong global commitment in order to avoid painful consequences.

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FMA Delegation with Ambassador David O'Sullivan, at the EU Delegation to the United States

IMPRESSIONS OF AMERICA

When the stars - and schedules - are in alignment, symbolic coincidences can arise. Before going to Washington, I attended the Deauville American Film Festival. Philippe Augier, the prestigious resort's dynamic mayor, put it this way: 'Since it was founded in 1860, Deauville has established close relations with the American people. Normandy is eternally grateful to the Americans and we will never forget the role they played in our history.' For 43 years, the American Film Festival has been a major cultural and political event which brings together film industry professionals from the United States, France and Europe. 'With each edition, the festival has continued to evolve and explore all aspects of American cinema. It is a real forum for artistic and business exchanges, and offers an insight into US culture and the evolution of US society', he went on. Cinema is an effective form of 'soft diplomacy'. Before even setting foot in Washington, I already felt 'American'. Films had taught me everything I needed to know about US society - its values, its violence, its hopes and its fears. In Washington, thinking of Lafayette,

Pierre Charles L'Enfant (who served General George Washington and then worked as the architect of the Federal City) and the American liberators of Europe, I was overwhelmed by a feeling of pride in our shared history. France's election of the youngest president in the history of the Fifth Republic, who defied expectations and traditional divisions and speaks frankly on the world stage, is something Americans can relate to. Paradoxically, with its unexpected outcome, the French election mirrored Donald Trump's rise to power. From an American standpoint, Emmanuel Macron's speeches in Greece and at the UN revealed the dynamic role which France, and by extension Europe, want to play in international affairs. Against the background of the diplomatic chaos generated by the Trump Administration and the lack of consistency and cool-headedness in the President's political thinking, which he all too often communicates by means of a series of tweets, Europe has no choice but to take the lead. The EU continues to move forward in the face of what are often unforeseen challenges; Brexit, Catalonia and the 'America first'

stance adopted by the United States are pushing Europe to become an active world power, a guarantor of universal values, democracy and peace. The consensus among the people we spoke to is that there are deep divisions in American society. Some spoke with resignation and concern, some with real anger and others - the hard-core Trump supporters among the white middle-class - with satisfaction. Trump cultivates this lack of consensus, taking a stand against free trade and immigration and backing the right to bear arms. The Republicans revere the Second Amendment of the Constitution as an almost 'sacred' text. Europe has not been immune to divisions and populism. While traditional political parties have lost ground, nationalist voters have become radicalised. We discussed these topics openly with our American partners. There are many issues of international concern - North Korea, Iran, Syria, the Paris Agreement - and they cannot be handled by means of improvisation and guesswork. Sabotaging existing agreements is simply reckless. Our counterparts trust in American democracy to channel this dangerous upsurge in populism. The onus is on Europe to present a more united, active front, to defend treaties and agreements. Just one man's impressions of Trump's America ...

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Family picture of the FMA Delegation with Antoine Ripoll, Director of the EP Liaison Office with US Congress

AMERICAN INSTITUTES FOR SUPPORT TO DEMOCRACY

During the Study Visit to Washington from the FMA delegation under President Barón Crespo we had an interesting lunch with two institutes. The two institutes were the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the International Republican Institute (IRI). The Delegation spoke together with them both in one room. This is now rather rare in Washington. The relations between Republicans and Democrats are tense and bipartism is exceptional. Both organizations work in many countries. Matters of foreign affairs are even in Washington controversial. We were received by the president of the National Democratic Institute Kenneth Wollack, as well as by Stephen Nix, the director of the Eurasia Division and Jan Surotchak, the director of the European Division of the International Republican Institute. Both institutes were founded around 30 years ago in the ninety eighties. The big impetus was the collapse of the Soviet Empire. The founders of the institutes based themselves on the model of the German foundations like the Konrad



A moment of the meeting with NDI and IRI

Adenauer foundation. The difference is that the German foundations have many activities in Germany itself. The two institutes are focussing on the outside world exclusively. Both institutes receive substantial support from taxpayer. Further income is generated by gifts. In Europe the two institutes work in the eastern and western Balkan and in Hungary, Slovakia and Poland and Ukraine as well as the Caucasus region and Turkey. The Mission from the NDI is a non-profit, non-partisan, nongovernmental organisation, which supports democratic

institutions and practices. The NDI works to strengthen political and civic organizations, promote citizens participation. The IRI has an objective: to foster the infrastructure of democracy; the system of free press, unions, political parties, universities, which allows to people to choose their own way to develop their own culture to reconcile their own differences through peaceful means. These are the official mandates. The lunch was too short to find out which activities the Institutes instigate. It would be very important to find out more about the results of the activities. Those activities cover most of the eastern part of the EU. I would be very interested in experiences from our FMA members with either of the two institutes. A conclusion can be that America has not forgotten our old continent. Congress is still willing to spend a lot of money for aid to European countries.

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A moment of the meeting with NDI and IRI