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EPFMA BULLETIN



European Parliament Former Members Association

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60 YEARS OF THE TREATIES OF ROME 1957-2017



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Awards ceremony of the winning logo for the 60th anniversary of the Treaties of Rome.

Cover: The official logo dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the Treaties of Rome is composed by the number 60 melded with an open oval form recalling an embrace, symbol of the community. The circle also depicts the chamber of the European Parliament that is the symbol of the representation of EU citizens. The Department for European Policies and the Italian Ministry of the Education chose this logo by competition. The logo was selected amongst a hundred of projects coming from schools of all types and levels. The author is Norma Caldieri, a Toscan student at the G. Giovagnoli Arts High School of San Sepolcro (province of Arezzo).

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CALL FOR CONTRIBUTIONS:

The Editorial Board would like to thank all those members who took the time to contribute to this issue of the FMA Bulletin. We would like to draw your attention to the fact that the decision to include an article lies with the FMA Editorial Board and, in principle, contributions from members who are not up-to-date with the payment of the membership fee will not be included. Due to the long time lag between the call for contribution and the publication, some articles may be outdated. The FMA Bulletin is published by the European Parliament Former Members Association (FMA) with the assistance of the European Parliament. However, the views expressed in articles represent the views of contributing FMA members or guest writers and do not necessarily represent the views of either the European Parliament nor the FMA. Similarly, any advertisement does not imply an official endorsement by the FMA or Parliament.

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Message from the PRESIDENT

2017 marks the sixty-year anniversary of the signing of the Treaties of Rome by the six founding countries, Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany), Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands. The Treaties introduced the European Economic Community and the European Atomic Energy Commission, which is considered the seedling that later on became an enlarging European Union. This issue is devoted to the integration of the European Union and the pathway leading to the point we are today. Sixty years later and an additional twenty-two member states, the European Union is a unique economic and political alliance pinpointing the reconciliation of Europe after decades of division. On the eve of the 60th Anniversary of the signature of the Treaties, the advice of Pierre Uri, ghostwriter of the whole draft Treaty of Rome with the checking of Hans von der Groeben, is always relevant: 'Every time I can push forward a project, I do it. I am convinced that Europe is the only design worthy of our world and our time'. In order to trace the developments

In order to trace the developments from the late 1950s to present day



Rome Treaty. ©European Union

and current challenges, we consulted key players on the European political scene.

In this edition, an entire section is devoted to FMA activities including the visit of our delegation to Slovakia on 7-8 November, the country that held the Presidency of the Council of the EU during the second half of 2016; two reports are included in the issue by Jean-Paul Benoit and Michael McGowan. Our annual FMA events held on 30 November and 1 December were completed with great success, our FMA Annual Dinner where Mr. Elmar Brok, the then Chairman of the European Parliament Committee on Foreign Affairs, was the guest speaker. Our FMA Annual Seminar counted with the presence of Prof. Danuta Hübner, Chair of the Committee on Constitutional Affairs, Mr. Paul Taylor, Contributing Editor at POLITICO and Professor Franklin Dehousse Former Judge of the European General Court (2003-2016), and Professor of International Economic Law at the University of Liège, and the presence of numerous students from different universities all around Belgium. Reports on our annual events are available in this edition. Concerning our future events, the next FMA visit will take place on 3 and 4 April in Malta, the country which has taken over the Presidency for the first half of 2017. The programme includes high level meetings with Maltese authorities and organisations.

Our General Assembly will take place on 31 May preceded by the EPRS Information Seminar, Dinner Debate and Annual Memorial Service on 30 May. We will commemorate current and former MEPs who passed away in 2016-2017. The Former President of the European Parliament and of the FMA, José María Gil Robles Gil Delgado, will deliver the final oration. It will be a well filled afternoon followed by a dinner debate, during which there will be ample possibilities to discuss on the EU current agenda with our keynote speaker H.E. Reinhard Silberberg, Head of the Permanent Representation of the Federal Republic of Germany to the EU.

Finally, we successfully continue our 'EP to Campus programme', which allows Universities to benefit from the expertise and experience of former Members of the European Parliament who will share their insights into how the EU institutions really work and what are the factors shaping EU decision-making. Last year we had a full programme with our Former Members visiting Universities from all over Europe for which we have received full reports. Let me thank all those who contributed to this issue with their insights and opinions.

I look forward to meeting as many of you as possible at the Malta visit or at our annual meeting in May.

Kind regards,

Juch

Enrique BARÓN CRESPO FMA President

EP NEWS

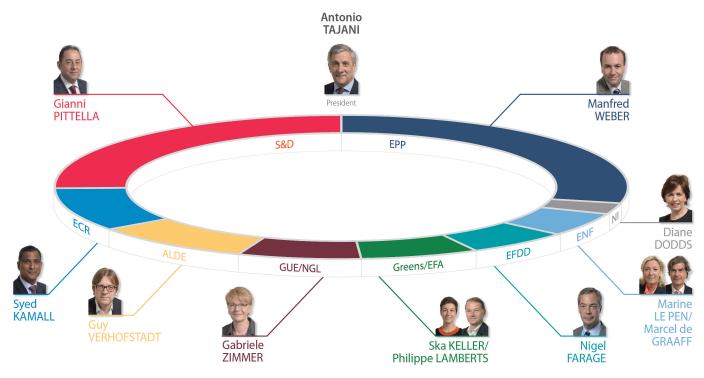


THE PRESIDENT OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

On 17th January, Antonio Tajani (EPP, IT) won Parliament's presidential election with 351 votes out of 633 valid votes cast in the fourth ballot. During his first speech, he said: 'I will be the President of all and I will respect all members of Parliament and all groups '.

The other candidates were Gianni Pittella (S&D, IT), Helga Stevens (ECR, BE), Jean Lambert (Greens/EFA, UK), Eleonora Forenza (GUE/NGL, IT), Laurentiu Rebega (ENF, RO).

EP CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS



The graph indicates the voting weights of each group as of 1 February 2017.



EP CONFERENCE OF COMMITTEE CHAIRS

Chair Cecilia WIKSTRÖM PETI 36			
Standing committees David McALLISTER AFET 7	3 Linda McAVAN DEVE 28	Bernd LANGE Jean ARTHUIS BUDG 41	GRÄSSLE CONT 20
Roberto GUALTIERI ECON 61	Thomas HÄNDEL EMPL 55	Adina-Ioana VĂLEAN ENM 69 BUZEK ITRE 67	Vicky FORD IMCO 40
Karima DELLI TRAN 49	Iskra MIHAYLOVA REGI 43	Czesław Adam SIEKIERSKI AGRI 46	Petra KAMMEREVERT CULT 31
Pavel SVOBODA JJRI 25	Claude MORAES LIFE 60	Danuta Maria HÜBNER AFCO 25 Vilija BLINKEVIČIŪTĖ FEIMI 37	
Sub-Committees (AFET)		Committees of Inquiry (as of 1.2.2017)	
Pier Antonio PANZERI DROI 30	Anna Elżbieta FOTYGA SEDE 30	Kathleen VAN BREMPT EMIS 45 Werner LANGEN PANA 65	

EP AT WORK

KEY FACTS

Parliament sets out its vision for the future of Europe (February Session -P8_TA-PROV(2017)0049)

If the EU is to boost its capacity to act, restore citizens' trust and make the euro zone economy more resilient to outside shocks, it needs to make full use of the Lisbon Treaty. But to go further, it needs to reform itself more fundamentally. This was the key message of three resolutions approved by Parliament.

CETA: MEPs back EU-Canada trade agreement (February session- P8_TA-PROV(2017)0030)

The EP approved the EU-Canada Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA), which aims to boost goods and services trade and investment flows.

Robots and AI: MEPs call for EU-wide liability (February session - P8_TA-PROV(2017)0051)) According to MEPs EU-wide rules are needed for the fast-evolving field of robotics, e.g. to enforce ethical standards or establish liability for accidents involving driverless cars.

Preventing terrorism (February Session - P8_TA-PROV(2017)0047)

The EP approved new EU-wide rules to counter the growing threats from 'foreign fighters' travelling to conflict zones for terrorist purposes and 'lone wolves' planning solo attacks. The EP also approved new rules to step up external border checks.

MEPs back plans to cut carbon emission allowances and fund low-carbon innovation (February Session - P8_TA-PROV(2017)0035)

The EP backed plans to boost greenhouse-gas emission curbs through the EU carbon market (EU ETS) and supported the EC proposal to reduce the number of 'carbon credits' by 2.2% each year, and want to double the capacity of the 2019 market stability reserve (MSR) to absorb the excess of allowances on the market.

Other main dossiers discussed in the plenary sessions were:

December 2016

• A wide-ranging overhaul of the European Parliament's Rules of Procedure was approved by the EP. The changes clarify today's rules to **improve transparency and efficiency.** (13.12.16)

The European Parliament gave its consent for Ecuador to join the EU trade agreement with Colombia and Peru. The deal retains Ecuador's preferential access to the EU market. (14.12.16)
Public contracts to supply domestic passenger rail services in EU countries will normally have to be put out to tender under new rules backed by Parliament. These rules also aim to boost investment and the development of new **commercial services.** (14.12.16) • The fees and funding that EU ports get from shipping lines and governments should become clearer thanks to new rules backed by MEPs. (14.12.16)

• Visa requirements for non-EU nationals will be reintroduced faster when EU countries face irregular migration surges or security risks, under new rules passed by Parliament. (15.12.16)

January 2017

• European Social Rights: workers' protection needs to be extended to new jobs, said MEPs approving their recommendations for the forthcoming EC proposal on the **'European Pillar of Social Rights'.** (19.01.17)

February 2016

• MEPs call for automatic crossborder recognition of adoptions and propose a **European Certificate of Adoption** to speed up the process. (02.02.2017)

• Georgian citizens will be able to enter the EU without a visa for short stays, under a new law passed by Parliament. (02.02.2017)

For more information on the past plenary sessions, please visit the EP website:

http://www.europarl.europa.eu/ news/en/news-room/plenary

SPECIAL EDITION



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EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT: EVOLUTION OF POWERS

19 March 1958

Constituent session of the European Parliamentary Assembly (11am, Strasbourg): the Assembly has the right to be consulted by the Council.

Constitutional-type powers and ratification powers

Since the Single European Act (SEA), all treaties marking the accession of a new Member State and all association treaties have been subject to Parliament's assent. The SEA also established this procedure for international agreements with important budgetary implications for the Community. The Maastricht Treaty (1992) introduced it for agreements establishing a specific institutional framework or entailing modifications to an act adopted under the codecision procedure. Parliament must also give its assent to acts relating to the electoral procedure (since the Maastricht Treaty). Since the Amsterdam Treaty (1997), its assent has been required if the Council wants to declare that a clear danger exists of a Member State committing a serious breach of the EU's fundamental principles, before addressing recommendations to or imposing penalties on that Member State. Conversely, any revision of the Statute for Members of the European Parliament has to receive the consent of the Council.

Since the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty (2007), Parliament has been able to take the initiative for treaty revision and has the final say over whether or not to convene a convention with a view to preparing a future treaty amendment.

Participation in the legislative process

Parliament takes part in the adoption of the Union's legislation to varying degrees, according to the individual legal basis. It has progressed <u>from a purely</u> advisory role to codecision on an equal footing with the Council.

A. Ordinary legislative procedure

From the entry into force of the Treaty of Nice (2001) the codecision procedure applied to **46 legal bases** in

the EC Treaty. This put Parliament, in principle, on an equal footing with the Council. If the two institutions agreed, the act was adopted at first or second reading; if they did not agree, it could only be adopted after a successful conciliation.

With the Lisbon Treaty (2007), the codecision procedure was renamed the ordinary legislative procedure. Following that treaty, **more than 40 new policies** became subject to this procedure for the first time, for example in the areas of freedom, security and justice, external trade, environmental policy and the CAP.

B. Consultation

The consultation procedure continues to apply in some areas such as taxation, competition, EU own ressources, harmonisation of legislation not related to the internal market and some aspects of social policy.

C. Assent

Following the Maastricht Treaty (1992), the assent procedure applied to few legislative areas. Under the Lisbon Treaty (2007), some new provisions fall under this procedure, now known as the 'consent procedure'.

D. Right of initiative

The Maastricht Treaty (1992) gives Parliament the right of legislative initiative, but it is limited to asking the Commission to put forward a proposal.

Budgetary powers

The Lisbon Treaty (2007) eliminated the distinction between compulsory and non-compulsory expenditure and put Parliament on an equal footing with the Council in the annual budgetary procedure. Parliament remains one of the two arms of the budgetary authority.

Parliament has to provide its consent to the multiannual financial framework.

Scrutiny over the executive

A. Investiture of the Commission

Parliament began informally approving the investiture

of the Commission in 1981 by examining and approving its programme. However, it was only when the Maastricht Treaty came into force in 1992 that its approval was required before the Member States could appoint the President and Members of the Commission as a collegiate body. The Amsterdam Treaty (1997) has taken matters further by requiring Parliament's specific approval for the appointment of the Commission President, prior to that of the other Commissioners. Parliament also introduced hearings of Commissioners-designate in 1994. According to the Lisbon Treaty (2007), the candidate for Commission President has to be proposed by taking into account the results of the European elections.

B. Motion of censure

There has been provision for a motion of censure against the Commission ever since the Treaty of Rome (1957). Such a motion requires a two-thirds majority of the votes cast, representing a majority of Parliament's component members. If it is passed, the Commission must resign as a body.

C. Parliamentary questions

These take the form of written and oral questions with or without debate and questions for Question Time. The Commission and Council are required to reply.

D. Committees of inquiry

Parliament has the power to set up a temporary committee of inquiry to investigate alleged contraventions or maladministration in the implementation of Union law.

E. Scrutiny over the common foreign and security policy

Parliament is entitled to be kept informed in this area and may address questions or recommendations to the Council. Implementation of the interinstitutional agreement on budgetary discipline and sound financial management (2006/C 139/01) has also improved CFSP consultation procedures as far as financial aspects are concerned. The creation of the new High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy enhances Parliament's influence, as the High Representative is also a Vice-President of the Commission.

Appeals to the Court of Justice

Parliament has the right to institute proceedings before the Court of Justice in cases of violation of the Treaty by another institution.

In an action for failure to act, Parliament may institute proceedings against an institution before the Court for violation of the Treaty. With the Treaty of Amsterdam (1997), Parliament acquired the power to bring an action to annul an act of another institution, but only for the purpose of protecting its own prerogatives. Since the Treaty of Nice (2001), Parliament has no longer had to demonstrate a specific interest, and is therefore now able to institute proceedings in the same way as the Council, the Commission and the Member States.

Finally, Parliament is able to seek a prior opinion from the Court of Justice on the compatibility of an international agreement with the Treaty.

Petitions

When EU citizens exercise their right of petition they address their petitions to the President of the European Parliament.

European citizens' initiative

Parliament organises a hearing with the proponents of successfully registered ECIs under the auspices of the Committee on Petitions.

Appointing the Ombudsman

The Treaty of Lisbon (2007) provides that Parliament elects the European Ombudsman.

60 YEARS OF THE TREATIES OF ROME

On 25 March 1957, the representatives of the six founder-Member States of our Union signed two treaties: the first established the European Economic Community, which aimed to create a vast area of common economic policy, and the second constituted the Economic Community of Atomic Energy. It was a bold step forward towards integration to overcome the crisis (when have we in the EU not been in crisis?) caused by the failure of attempts to set up the European Defence Community and European Political Community.

'Over the past ten years, very significant steps have been taken towards a genuine internal area of freedom, justice and security, but they are not enough'

Twenty years ago, at the Summit of Heads of State and Government of Campidoglio, we as Parliament, and I as its president, commemorated



José María Gil Robles ©European Union

the signing of these Treaties. In my speech on that day I stated: 'Despite the various crises and many setbacks we have faced, the progress made over these 40 years is truly impressive ...

But we would be deceiving ourselves if we all we did in this anniversary celebration was stress the positives of recent years and ignored the difficulties of the present and the question marks of the immediate future ... not all in our Union ... is peace and prosperity.' We need to be aware that a European Union that does not serve to solve the problems of its people cannot expect to count on their support.'

Today, 20 years later, I could once again repeat myself: Europeans continue to call on the EU to provide peace and prosperity. Over the past ten years, very significant steps have been taken towards a genuine internal area of freedom, justice and security, but they are not enough: we need to perfect Schengen, not scrap it, we need to step up political and judicial cooperation and we need to establish and implement a common asylum and immigration policy and a common system to protect and defend our external borders. Safeguarding peace in the Union also means maintaining and increasing our soft power, reinforcing the cooperation and development systems that play such a prominent role in our foreign policy, and underpinning them with enhanced defence cooperation with a view to building a genuine common defence and security policy. The Europe that we have all helped

to build is more prosperous, fairer

and more caring than that of 60 years ago, but much still needs to so that all of our fellow citizens may share in its bounty. Further consolidation of the budgetary, banking and financial measures taken is necessary to overcome the crisis, but this alone is not enough. We need to complete the Single Market that we started in 1957 (while maintaining flexible partnerships with countries such as Norway, Switzerland and the UK), revive the economy with initiatives such as the Juncker Plan, launch projects which are essential for our future (communications, transport and energy networks, digitisation, R&D, etc.), establish the financial transactions tax and make progress towards tax transparency and cohesion. But, above all, we need to move towards social and territorial cohesion at European level. We will achieve this if we as decision-makers – and citizens – in the European Union can show the same courage and ambitious vision as those who signed the Treaties of Rome. I am convinced we can, and that the Former Members Association will continue to fight for it.

José María Gil Robles Gil Delgado

Former President of the European Parliament and FMA Former President. EPP-ED, Spain (1989-2004) josemaria@gilrobles.es

INSTITUTION OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

In this crucial juncture in the process of European integration, the outcome of which appears extremely dubious - indeed almost unpredictable at the present time – a great deal will depend on the decisive debates in the European Parliament, which is the most authentic and the paramount level of the supranational construction envisaged by the pioneers of a united Europe. Still today, the European Parliament is where the most authentic European language is spoken, where prospects are developed and decisions are made, which are less tinged by national interests than in the Council and, unfortunately, now even in the Commission. The European Parliament has recently been capable of incisively addressing the Union's problems, stressing out distinctions, differences and possibilities of agreement among European political forces, beginning with the largest ones.

The question we should really be asking ourselves is therefore, whether this supranational institution par excellence can today and in the



Giorgio Napolitano ©European Union

coming months succeed in giving its opinions and proposals a decisive weight, by drawing strength from a broader 'parliamentary dimension' that has gradually emerged during the integration process. This idea is very significant. Andrea Manzella provided considerable proof and adequate motivation to back up this notion: a special conference on European security and defence policy held in Brussels in November 2001 focused precisely on the 'parliamentary dimension'. And it was on the basis of this notion. which clearly informs an inclusive vision of the national Parliaments together with the European Parliament, that it was possible to speak about a desirable trend towards a 'parliamentarisation' of the Union.

'The question we should really be asking ourselves is therefore, whether this supranational institution par excellence can today and in the coming months succeed in giving its opinions and proposals a decisive weight'

There can be no doubt that this prospect must be taken up again when we consider the unknowns in the ongoing European Union crisis and the battle which some — perhaps over-dramatically and hastily — have called a battle 'for the survival' of the European vision and the European construction, but which nevertheless bears the seeds of self-destruction within it. Let us not forget that the emphasis on a sound parliamentary dimension and even the parliamentarisation of the Union were intended to be a means of responding to a concern that had become stale, summary and vague: a concern about the so-called democratic deficit in the institutional and community structure, and hence about gradual integration at all.

'The old criticism levelled at the European Parliament for being a mere 'producer of reports' cannot justify a failure to revisit that fifteen-year-old report and the debate which followed, to emphasize the still today relevant topics.'

The role of Parliaments (in the plural) was considered thoroughly in the report tabled by the EP's Constitutional Affairs Committee and adopted by the European Parliament on 7 February 2002. I am not saying this as the nostalgic mover of that proposal, although I do not deny that I justifiably long for my years in that institution and its modus operandi, also following my personal recent experience as a Member of the Italian Parliament. My goal here is to move from that moment, from that effort to plan and debate, in order to make now the most of all which is still relevant and topical in that initiative and the document adopted then. In my opinion, the old criticism levelled at the European Parliament



Extraordinary meeting of COSAC in Brussels in 2003 ©European Union

for being a mere 'producer of reports' cannot justify a failure to revisit that fifteen-year-old report and the debate which followed, to emphasize the still today relevant topics.

'We earnestly hope that the voters in several important EU Member States' elections will put a halt to the dangerous wave of populism we are currently witnessing'

The real error was to hastily shelve the many conclusions that the report had gradually developed, without following them up and implementing them consistently. In the 1999-2004 Parliament, however, I realized that COSAC - as the sole modest opportunity for the exchange of ideas and involvement of MEPs and national MPs committed to a common cause - was somewhat superseded or bound to end. We had to go further, and partly we did. The efforts we then made to prevent a blurring of boundaries between the authority of national parliaments

and the European Parliament remain equally valid today. And the same applies to the unacceptable tendency to consider the national parliaments alone as being vested with the democratic legitimacy based on the popular vote.

I will stop here. In short, can the European Parliament act as a driver and engine to uphold the existing commitments for the renewal and progress of European integration, or at least the goals proposed in the 'Five Presidents' documents? Can it

act as a driver and engine, despite this being an election year and also given the many constraints that might advise putting things off and adopting a wait-and-see attitude? We earnestly hope that the voters in several important EU Member States' elections will put a halt to the dangerous wave of populism we are currently witnessing. Can concrete responses to the outstanding issues which I have just mentioned be left on the back-burner for one more year, if not longer? Out best hope is that the European Parliament will boldly and resolutely impose a change of direction.

Giorgio Napolitano

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EP Building in Strasbourg ©European Union

FOR THE REBIRTH OF A EUROPEAN IDEAL

Europe has lost its sense of itself, and perhaps this is the most serious aspect of its crisis. Faced with the tragedies the world is experiencing - and Europe within it - from war to terror, from the wave of immigrants to social crises, to say this might appear to be a philosopher's prejudice, but on closer inspection this is not the case. Europe has always had an ideal, and even the most tragic phases of its history, and its very divisions, were marked by an effort to understand itself and by an often dramatic battle of ideas. Equally, it is worth remembering this now of all times, it was from an ideal that the integration process was born after the Second World War: Europe lay in ruins, but it still had the strength to think of itself in terms of the development of an ever-broader unity.

'Europe first has to start believing once again in its own idea'

The course of its civilisation, which has been at the centre of the world,

is difficult to summarise, but it can perhaps be said that its history has always been tautly stretched between an idea of freedom and an ideal of power; it has always tried to consider itself in relation to the world, even when fulfilling itself beyond its borders meant violence and power struggles. And yes, of course, this violence was perpetrated even within its own borders, in a struggle between different views of the world and of the destiny of history. Finally, and especially since 1957, came mutual recognition amongst all countries and the powerful cry of 'never again must there be war between the peoples of Europe'; that cry, which put an end to centuries of struggle, encompassed also the idea that a Europe that was capable of creating, in the world, a rule of law, a specific system of relations between nations. was coming into being, a Europe which could provide, one might say, a successful reconciliation model. Indeed, several macro-regional unions in the world have, over the decades, followed Europe's example.



'Europe has suddenly shut itself off within its own borders.'

All this is true, we have to tell ourselves, but Europe is currently experiencing unprecedented difficulties. It is as if, faced with a world in crisis and the sudden emergence of a disorder that was unforeseen by the advocates of globalisation, Europe has suddenly shut itself off within its own borders.

'Should we defend the border that conceals and asserts an identity, or should we see in that desperate humanity an issue that cannot be avoided and that could even become a resource?'

And, since these external borders are shaky, each country taking part in the joint project has begun to think, above all, introspectively – with varying emphasis, but certainly no longer with a sense of mutual support. But an ideal, in history, is not an airy-fairy concept which stands alone, separate from real history; if that does occur, the ideal decays, little by little, and history itself – that of a continent in this case - can move in a completely different direction. Take the crucial issue of immigration. How should we behave as the phenomenon expands? Should we defend the border that conceals and asserts an identity, or should we see in that desperate humanity an issue that cannot be avoided and that could even become a resource? And what does 'integration' mean when



European Parliament in Greece on May 18, 2016 ©European Union

it involves another culture, another way of being in the world, in society? What should predominate, that culture's idea of freedom or our way of experiencing freedom? Answers are possible, and maybe even easy, if we consider the issue from a general perspective, but become harsh when we have to organise the often naked, forlorn bodies that ask us for asylum. And what about security? What has happened to that open space has happened to that open space that was supposed to replace rigid borders and that opened up Europe to Europeans? Do we realise that, unless we respond to this issue, it is precisely the 'Area of Freedom, Security and Justice' that will be called into guestion, as is already happening? And how can we have a 'social Europe' model when we have rigid austerity policies? What about the constitutionalism of rights? And Europe's external presence? Europe as such is struggling to answer these major questions, and many others which are building up. It has impulses of generosity and openness and others of closure, sometimes grim. The problem is that its model does not have the answers.

no longer knows what it is, what it should be, what it wants to be. The grand ideal which shaped it remains in the background but is having difficulty in substantively addressing the major contradictions that are arising and establishing themselves in Europe, consisting of mutual indifference if not hostility.

'What does 'integration' mean when it involves another culture, another way of being in the world, in society?' In other words, one has the feeling that the original ideal is no longer sufficient. Yes, it's true, peace has been achieved among the peoples of Europe, and, needless to say, so much more has been done. But the sense of satisfaction which, guite rightly, has stemmed from this state of affairs, has, in a way, neutralised the strength of that vibrant political energy, leaving us to imagine a world in which European political decision-making was no longer necessary, a world held together by other powers increasingly wrapped up in pure technical calculations of compatibility or the abstract euphoria of unachievable rights. Europe first has to start believing once again in its own ideal and we pro-Europeans need to have unwavering confidence that this will happen.

Biagio de Giovanni Italy GUE (1989-1993) PES (1993-1999)



THE EU AND THE FORMER COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

The former communist countries have for over a decade been part of the democratic Europe. It would be a certain misnomer to still perceive them as members of a special, somehow separate class of 'former communist countries'. I venture to say that we should adjust the lenses through which we perceive them and look at their development in a different conceptual framework. What is actually interesting is that the decision opting for those countries accession to the EU was as good as we could get example of unconventional and forward-thinking on the part of the Union. The EU was bold enough to catch on the democratization wave in the East and Central Europe in the wake of the ending of the Cold War and turn it into a great success.

As a then-leader of the negotiation team of the Polish government I can attest to the fact that the accession was not an easy process for both sides. We had to work fast, run against the clock on many issues, but also against many residual phobias, anxieties on the part of our societies.



Danuta Hübner during the FMA Annual Seminar on 1 December 2016 ©European Union

And also against often unfounded apprehensions on the part of our interlocutors from the 'old Europe' (the remarkable case of marketing of the fear of the 'Polish plumber' was something that stands out even now).

'New members enormously contributed to the well-being of the whole continent, bringing their pro-European enthusiasm along the open markets, as the 'dowry' presented at the entrance to the EU. From this perspective, the enlargement was one of the milestones in the history of the European Union.'

But, despite of all the opposition, fears as well as real obstacles, we did it. And it is no denying, after more than a decade, that new members enormously contributed to the well-being of the whole continent, bringing their pro-European enthusiasm along the open markets, as the 'dowry' presented at the entrance to the EU. From this perspective, the enlargement was one of the milestones in the history of the European Union. Now, the European Union, as so many times in the past, is at the

many times in the past, is at the crossroads again. The consequences of the crisis brought some loss of the nerve when it comes to assessing the future of the European project. There is, in some places, an unfortunate tendency to blame the bold visions – as the one on enlarging the Union – as responsible for the current uncertain state of affairs.

And this is the most unfortunate, in my eyes. It is true that the region is undergoing a certain change in its political and cultural makeup in the form of rise of populism and nationalist impulses, driven by unscrupulous politicians. But, let's make it guite clear: those impulses are not exclusively a domain of the East and Central European countries. Populist politics is an equal opportunity offender: whether it is in Warsaw, or in Paris. We have to firmly stand against it. But this stand taken by courageous people in the region could be easily crushed, if, for some reason, our legitimacy as bona fide members of the Union were to be auestioned.

We should spare no efforts to ensure that the voices from East and Central Europe will be listened with attention and understanding once they are constructive. Instead of hiding in the shell of nationalism or regional self-sufficiency, we should express robustness in demonstrating responsibility for Europe. We need to remain a vital part of the EU's future and of creating bold new visions for generations of Europeans to come.

Danuta Hübner MEP

Chair of the Committee on Constitutional Affairs EPP-ED, Poland danuta.huebner@europarl. europa.eu

THE FIRST WOMEN IN THE EP: THE PIONEERS!

There have always been female Members of Parliament working for the European institutions. As early as 1952, a Dutch woman from the Christian-democratic political group was among the 78 Members of the Common Assembly of the ECSC. She served until 1956. Born in 1912, Marga Klompé is still the only woman to have held a seat in the Common Assembly of the ECSC.

It was not until 1958, after the Treaty of Rome came into force, that the national parliaments appointed female representatives to the Parliamentary Assembly of the EEC. In 2014, at the end of my last term in Parliament, I was the only remaining MEP who had also sat in the non-elected Parliament. I arrived in October 1965 as a newly elected national MP. Of the handful of women who served from 1958 to 1965, I have had the longest career as a European parliamentarian, spanning 34 years, having been appointed between 1965 and 1974 and directly elected between 1989 and 2014. From 1974 to 1989, I worked as a national MP.

Maternity protection

Maternity protection was the subject of a draft recommendation sent by the EEC Commission to Parliament on 18 January 1966.

The Social Committee appointed Astrid Lulling as rapporteur during its meeting of 25 January 1966. It considered the draft recommendation at its meetings of 15 March and 4 April. On 18 May 1966, the report and motion for a resolution were adopted unopposed, with one abstention. The plenary vote took place on 19 July 1966. The report number is 69. Although Members served both their national parliament and the European Parliament during that period, work was carried out more quickly and often more thoroughly than it is now, 50 years later, as this extract from the resolution goes to show:

'The European Parliament believes that this plan to ensure that maternity protection rules are developed at the same speed in each Member State is just the first step towards more progressive regulations, which should be focused on new solutions that improve the status of women in the workplace by removing any barriers preventing women from accessing employment, exercising their rights to equal treatment in terms of working conditions and career opportunities, and integrating fully into society.' 50 years on, little appears to have changed!

Astrid Lulling

In 1965, I was the youngest of all the Members, men and women. The majority of the men, who were either national MPs or Senators, had been born in the 19th century, before the



Astrid Lulling during a session in Strasbourg in October 1989. ©European Union

First World War. Even the nine female Members who served from 1952 to 1965 had all been born before 1914. None of them held a seat after 1970. Women were therefore a rarity. Even the Treaty of Rome only mentions women once, in Article 119 on the 'principle that men and women should receive equal pay for equal work'. Each Member State had to check that the principle was put into practice during the first stage and ensure that it continued to be applied thereafter. The article was poorly enforced prior to 1975, when the first European directive on wage equality came into effect. That was followed by other directives on social security, access to jobs, promotion, training etc.

Those directives are still in force, although some have been amended. Together they act as an extremely useful weapon against discrimination, if you know how and are able to use it. Given how things have been since the 2004 enlargement and the stance taken by too many of the 28 Member States, which has led to the failure of every attempt to update those directives made since 2009, we need to value that weapon and put it to good use.

Since Parliament set up a standing committee for gender equality in 1984, less attention has been paid to its opinions than before. In fact, reports containing amendments to the Commission's proposals produced by the committee, whose members are almost exclusively female, are still passed by a majority, but are largely ignored by the Council, and even by the Commission, because they are deemed unfeasible. For example, no follow-up action was carried out on Parliament's reports on maternity protection and quotas. Parliament's unrealistic and confusing positions, based on poorly conceived reports drafted by the majority within the FEMM committee, are the main reason that no progress has been made on EU gender equality legislation during the last few parliamentary terms. Unfortunately, the Parliament is also experiencing a wave of unthinking populism. A more reasoned and pragmatic approach might not revolutionise EU legislation and our everyday lives, but it would lead to progress. What a pity!

Astrid Lulling

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A critical report on wage equality!

On 21 October 1970,

following the consideration of the document drawn up by the Commission on how the principle of wage equality between male and female workers had been enforced up until 31 December 1968, the social affairs and public health committee requested permission to draft a report on the subject for Parliament. Authorisation was granted in a letter from the President of the European Parliament dated 12 November 1970. On 26 November, Astrid Lulling was appointed rapporteur. The draft report was discussed on 16 February and 4 March 1971, and was adopted unopposed, with one abstention, on the latter date. On 10 May 1971, the report and motion for a resolution were adopted in plenary. Political parties in Denmark and Norway took advantage of the highly critical report to encourage the electorate to vote against joining the EEC. Astrid Lulling had to travel to Copenhagen and Oslo, at the invitation of the social-democratic parties and trade unions, to explain the positive aspects of European integration and clarify that the aim of her criticism was to demand the more effective enforcement of the principle of wage equality between men and women. Denmark joined the ECC in 1973. Norway is still not a member of the EU.

ITALIAN REFERENDUM AND THE EU

Rome 2017 is an opportunity for collective reflection, now that 60 vears have elapsed since Europeans began to unite. But one question is haunting the continent: after Brexit, will we have an Italexit? The question has become an anxious one since the Italian referendum that led to the fall of the Renzi government. But it is a misplaced question. The threat of disintegration, unfortunately, applies to all FU countries. The insane wars in Africa and the Middle East have led to uncontrolled immigration. Italy is the country that is the most exposed – and that hitherto has stood alone – in the face of this humanitarian helplessness (which comes on top of a long-standing financial and banking emergency). But that referendum did not directly concern these issues and would not have solved even one of these problems. It was, on the contrary, rightly accused of being a waste of political time, as opposed to the real reforms that needed to be implemented (justice, taxation, public investment, red tape). It was not, therefore, a referendum against the Union.



©European Union

If anything, it was the opposite. On the very eve of the referendum, an authoritative opinion poll revealed that only 13% of Italians saw the Union as a hindrance in terms of improving their economic difficulties. More than twice as many Italians (28%), on the other hand, saw it as a help. Most people feel that the EU is a necessity and 71% would see grave dangers in leaving the euro. This opinion poll was not proven wrong by the results of the referendum. This is because while the 'Yes' camp (40%) is most certainly wholly pro-European, an analysis of electoral flows shows that in the 'No' camp (60%), at least 20% of voters are pro-European. These are the voters who voted 'no' for political reasons, or because of their civic disagreement with a text that was lacking in clarity and, therefore, not very 'constitutional'. The 'pro-Europe' positions that emerged in the opinion poll and the actual votes in the referendum therefore essentially coincide. However, over and beyond the political contingencies which are serious for all Europeans, in Italy there is a historical and constitutional bedrock to which public opinion is still firmly anchored. It is based on evocative geographical coincidences – the 'European spirit' as reconstructed in the Messina Declaration (1955), the Treaties of Rome (1957) and the Single European Act (Milan, 1986), influenced by the 'Draft Constitution', adopted by the European Parliament in 1984 at the instigation of Altiero Spinelli. And that's not all: there is something else in our historical memory. In June 1989, the Italian electorate

was called to a consultative referendum, which was very constitutionally imaginative. The issue put to the vote regarded the establishment of 'a fully-fledged Union, with a government that was accountable to the European Parliament, with a mandate to draw up a draft European Constitution'. That referendum was ultimately of doubtful legal effectiveness, though it was politically valid. 33 million people turned out to vote, 29 million of whom voted 'yes' to the idea of a European constitution. Of course, that was a long time ago and nobody is under any illusions. Euro-hostility is on the attack everywhere. However, Europeanism remains stronger where it has been seen, over the years, as a component of the constitutional heritage of the state – which has a 'responsibility for integration'. That responsibility in Italy is enshrined in Article 11 of the 1948 Constitution, which has been interpreted from the start by the founding fathers as an opening up to a European supranational system. That, too, is why the Italian referendum in December 2016 was, on no account, an anti-European vote.

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EU INITIATIVE FOR DEMOCRACY & HUMAN RIGHTS

Before I was elected to the European Parliament in 1984, my boss - a former head of UK military intelligence – had predicted that year as the tipping point in the NATO/ Warsaw Pact power struggle. He was right. As Mikhail Gorbachev's reformist agenda developed, the EU's democracy fund which I set up encouraged it by spending some €4 BN promoting democracy and human rights in the ex-Soviet Bloc and beyond.

I focussed my early years as an MEP in encouraging dissidents in the darkened cities of the Soviet Bloc. They all wanted to 'come back to Europe', to normality.

After the Berlin Wall fell in November 1989 my proposal for a European democracy fund, modelled on the cross-party US National Endowment for Democracy, was accepted as an official EU body.

From the 1990 EC budget process onwards my European Democracy Initiative focused on comprehensively transforming the ex-Soviet Bloc. Unlike all other EC aid programmes, it could act without the consent of host governments.

We opened offices in Moscow, Prague and Warsaw. At its height in 1997, some 1200 civil society



Edward McMillan-Scott meets Mustafa Barghouti with John Kerry, former US Secretary of State

projects were being funded – more than George Bush Senior's 'thousand points of light'.

MEPs across the parliament engaged with the countries wishing to join the EC to encourage reform, and their political groups linked with political parties in transition countries. Our simple objectives – free and fair elections, human rights, free media, the rule of law and a social market economy – were adapted in 1993 by EC leaders as the 'Copenhagen Criteria' for admission of the former communist countries to membership.

Today's European Instrument for Democracy & Human Rights (EIDHR) – enriched by the experience of politicians from the ex-Soviet Bloc looks beyond the accession countries to the EU's 'Neighbourhood' and to the 'difficult' countries like Cuba or China.

From grants for prison or labour reform, or setting up self-help societies, EIDHR grants – usually co-financed – have helped many thousands. Human rights defenders working in China, among other countries, got literally hundreds of people off death row.

The EIDHR also part-finances the International Criminal Court and about 25 per cent of its budget goes to the EU's 100-plus electoral observation missions.

Its aims today are the EU's own values: 'protecting human dignity including the eradication of torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment; supporting the protection and promotion of children's and women's rights; fighting discrimination in all its forms, such as impunity; promoting



Edward McMillan-Scott co-chairs a Brussels conference on democratic reforms with former US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright

and protecting freedom of religion or belief, economic, social and cultural rights and respect for international humanitarian law.'

The 2012 Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to the EU because 'The Norwegian Nobel Committee wishes to focus on what it sees as the EU's most important result: the successful struggle for peace and reconciliation and for democracy and human rights.'

The European Parliament has always been at the forefront of the democracy and human rights agenda, through the EIDHR, the Sub-Committee on Human Rights, the annual Sakharov Prize, the European Parliament's Office of Parliamentary Democracy and its debates and Urgency Resolutions on human rights topics. I'm proud of what I have helped others to do.

Edward McMillan-Scott

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TURKISH DELIGHT

The present stage in recent Turkish history began in 2002, when Erdogan's party AKP won the elections. His Islamists were social conservatives, but as far as the economy was concerned they were liberals, succeeding in turning the economy around and creating growth. A crucial moment was the appointment of Ahmet Davutoglu, Erdogan's foreign adviser, a professor and author of Strategic depth: Turkey's international position. Smoothing out problems and creating closer ties with countries which once were part of the Ottoman Empire. Through his exemplary behaviour Erdogan could become the leader of the Islamic world. After all he was pro-Europe and pro-NATO. Turkey in other words as everybody's friend, without enemies and having maximum positive influence outside its borders.

'Europe must not count on finding a willing democratic ear in Erdogan. The refugee deal does not imply in any way that there is a willingness in the short term to start negotiations about Turkey's EU membership.'

Friends and foes were amazed. For half a century Turkey had lived with its back turned towards the Middle East, and now started to build new trading relations and reduce visa restrictions. It accepted the UN peace proposal for Cyprus. Restored relations with Iraq and Syria. Started

accession negotiations with the EU. Made up with Armenia. Together with sworn enemy Greece it launched a joint bid for the European soccer tournament. It adopted an exemplary peacemaker's role: arch enemies like Fatah and Hamas, Israel and Svria, Pakistan and Afghanistan sat down round the table in Ankara. When the Arab Spring began, Turkey believed it would benefit. because in the countries concerned parties came to power that were closely related to the AKP. In Egypt the Muslim Brothers were in power and likewise a more or less similar party in Tunisia. And then in all these key areas in the Middle East the next that happened was Turkey losing its position. In Syria things got completely out of hand. Erdogan broke with Assad and ioined the rebels, causing a break with Russia. At the same time he lost all sympathy from Assad's opponents. Turkey had actively involved itself in various Political Islam protest movements and as a result had aroused suspicion in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States, which experienced the Arab Spring as a serious threat to themselves and their Arab allies. Russia started a boycott not only because of the jet fighter incident but also because Russia had proof that ISIS was exporting oil with the help of Turkey. The US believed the Russians accusations and also that Turkey and ISIS were acting in collusion. King Abdullah of Jordan declared that Erdogan, with whom he had maintained excellent relations for many years, was pursuing radical Islamic solutions, was buying ISIS oil and helping terrorists cross the border into Europe.

He confused the Americans after criticizing Obama on Syria and uttering his anti-American tirades against America's complicity in the failed uprising of July. It is interesting to note here that Donald Trump during his campaign has suggested that he would never allow American soldiers to fight for NATO ally Turkey! After the 'Gülen Coup' Erdogan felt hurt, forsaken and betraved by the West. The military purges indicate that he wants to make the army less NATO minded and less pro-American. There has always been a strong anti-American sentiment in the army among the secular soldiers. Through a remarkable coincidence the arch enemies, Erdogan and the secular army, have now found a common enemy in the Gülen supporters. Meanwhile an iron guiet reigns. Europe must not count on finding a willing democratic ear in Erdogan. The refugee deal does not imply in any way that there is a willingness in the short term to start negotiations about Turkey's EU membership. A Turkey sliding into autocratic rule still has EU candidate status though. High time the EU should make itself heard more strongly.

ACCESSION OF PORTUGAL TO THE EU

The thirtieth anniversary of Portuguese (and Spanish) accession to the European Communities (now the European Union) fell just before the sixtieth anniversary of the signing of the Treaties of Rome. It is only right on this occasion to weigh up what the European Union means and should mean for Portugal and what contribution has been made by Portugal to its ongoing development. Like the inception of the European Communities in the 1950s, Portugal's accession was determined largely by political considerations. In the first case, the concern was to avert any risk of helping to spark yet another world war in Europe and, in the case of Portugal, to prevent any return to the right-wing dictatorship that had prevailed for almost four decades or the advent of a left-wing dictatorship that appeared imminent in 1975. However, the achievement of better economic and social conditions for

the Portuguese people was also an objective. If results have been less auspicious in recent years, this must not allow us to forget past progress in a variety of areas, bringing Portugal significantly closer to EU averages in terms of per capita GNP or qualification levels, for example. Mention should also be made of EU assistance for infrastructural improvements in Portugal, which have been of enormous benefit in different sectors.

Not only were we able to take greater advantage of the market opportunities provided by the EU, the world's largest economic area, we were, in particular, also able to take part in formulating the laws regulating it and be represented on bodies responsible for ruling on non-compliance, bearing in mind that we would inevitably be largely subject to these laws and decisions that affect the European and Portuguese economy. Having been given such a favourable opportunity, Portuguese representatives have played a part in all EU institutions, up to presidential level in certain cases, José Manuel Barroso having completed two terms as Commission President (a record

only matched by Jacques Delors) with responsibility for numerous initiatives and decisions, as well as the Europe 2020 strategy, which will determine the direction to be taken by the Union in response to present and future challenges. Other examples are Vitor Caldeira, until recently President of Court of Auditors, or going further back into the past, Luis Vilaça, the first President of the Court of First Instance.

It would be impossible to mention all the other major contributions by Portuguese representatives in all institutions, including Parliament, chairing committees or drawing up reports defining or at least setting out in further detail the courses of action judged advisable. With Portuguese speakers spread over four continents, Portugal is anxious to for Europe as a whole to remain open to the outside world in its own interests. Bearing in mind that the euro area continues to have

the largest current account surplus in the world (USD 376.3 billion in 2016), placing Europe in a favourable position to respond to developments on the international stage, we all stand to gain from this.



Plenary session of the European Parliament during the accession of Portugal and Spain to the European Union in January 1986 © European Union

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FMA ACTIVITIES



European Parliament Former Members Association Association des anciens députés au Parlement européen

FMA activities FMA VISIT TO SLOVAKIA

THE FMA IN SLOVAKIA

For a number of years now I have regularly taken part in our Association's study trips to various countries. It has been an enlightening experience.

The list of countries I have visited is already a long one, and my next trip, to Cuba, will top it off.

The choice of destination is very fitting, particularly at a time when Donald Trump is preparing to implement an improvised, threatening and unpredictable foreign policy.

A group of regulars has formed for these trips, former parliamentarians who continue to advocate and believe in Europe, many of whom still hold positions of political, academic, legal and intellectual responsibility in their respective countries. They apply their experience to real situations in today's Europe.

The host countries welcome these EU activists with interest as they freely offer explanations, ask questions and make suggestions. Fruitful debate creates a thread which links the past, the present and the issues of the future.

With Slovakia holding the Presidency of the EU, and a few weeks after the Bratislava summit, our brief mission enabled us to attempt a diagnosis. The EU has lacked leadership and vision for a number of years now. I felt this once again while I was listening to the Slovak leaders who, although they are conducting their presidency conscientiously, apparently feel compelled to play everything strictly by the book. It is pragmatism that guides Slovakia's foreign policy. Because it is largely dependent on Russia for economic assistance and energy supplies, Slovakia takes



FMA participants in the Slovakia visit with Miroslav Lajcák, Minister of Foreign and European Affairs of the Slovak Republic

an extremely cautious approach, particularly in applying sanctions and commenting on the situation in Ukraine.

As a result of its problems with minorities, in particular the Roma and Hungarians, Slovakia is refusing to accept any binding mechanisms for receiving refugees. It filed an action for annulment before the Court of Justice. Slovakia is gripped by the same fears and anxiety about committing to a Europe of power and solidarity. This was how I saw it, and the discussions between the members of the FMA delegation and leading politicians, journalists and civil society representatives enabled us to brush these issues aside and open up a debate which could help us to find a common way ahead.

What remains after such a brief study mission of this nature?

At the very least, we have learnt that it is imperative to listen, and that exchanging ideas with no taboos is more necessary than ever in a Europe that is uncertain about its future or what it really wants to be, for itself or for the rest of the world. This is my personal opinion on the matter; I am not speaking on behalf of all the colleagues in our group. The Association needs to pursue this approach based on auditing and intellectual exchange throughout Europe and the rest of the world, an approach characterised by competence, experience and modesty. And who is to say that it cannot sometimes be effective? In my view this is how we can contribute to the Europe which is everybody's future.

Jean-Paul Benoit PES, France (1989-1994)

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BRATISLAVA

We visited Bratislava the capital city of Slovakia towards the end of the country's EU presidency during the second half of last year when it was clear that the country is determined to show its commitment to the European project.

Slovakia which joined the EU on1st May 2004 has benefited from its EU membership in terms of the growth of its economy and is particularly proud of its car industry and its record of producing the largest number of cars per person in Europe. I arrived in Slovakia via Austria and within minutes of touching down at Vienna's international airport I was on my way to the centre Bratislava by bus on a journey of less than an hour for the bargain price of 5 Euros including a delicious lemon tea on route.

Slovakia has a population of a little over 5 million and Bratislava which has been the capital of Slovakia since 1993 is relatively small for an EU capital city. Bratislava is an attractive city with an old town of narrow cobbled streets.

The history of the country includes being occupied by both Nazi and Soviet invaders and the Jewish population of Bratislava was almost totally wiped out and transported to their deaths in the concentration camps during the Nazi period. There are today only about 650 Jewish people left in the city following the mass slaughter of the Jewish population.

In 1969 the Prague Spring and the name of Alexander Dubcek was heralded across the world but their reforming efforts were crushed by the invasion of the Soviet Union and countries of the Warsaw Pact.



Dubcek, who was a Slovak, was awarded the Sakharov Prize by the European Parliament for his efforts for human rights. He died in a road accident in 1992.

At a meeting with the Minister for Foreign and European Affairs, Mr. Miroslav Lajcak, he was highly critical of the UK referendum vote to leave the EU and said: 'We are a small country but we are very European'. He also stressed that he believed 'the EU should be a global player' and was critical of the EU's approach to Russia. He said it is important to step up diplomatic relations and acknowledge that Russia is a world player.

He defended his country's refusal to receive refugees and said his country was not prepared to be dictated to by the European Commission and will not take a quota of migrants. I found this surprising from a minister of such experience in diplomacy and international affairs, but he was not alone in his refusal to cooperate in the EU on the issue of sharing responsibility of hosting migrants.

In fact the Chair of the European Affairs Committee, Mr. Lubos Blah, who is on the European Affairs Committee and a member of parliament for the left wing SMER-SD party took the same line. He was even critical of Germany for receiving large numbers of migrants and in particular of Mrs Merkel for her welcoming approach to migrants. As an eastern country of the EU there is no doubt that Slovakia can have an important influence in the eastern region besides helping to promote improved diplomatic relations with Russia.

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FMA activities

CO-OPERATION WITH THE EUI

A FRUITFUL CO-OPERATION

One year after the beginning of the FMA co-operation with the European University Institute (EUI), based in Italy, the result is very positive and we continue to move forward. At the end of January, the FMA President Enrique Barón Crespo and I visited the EUI in Florence. We met with the President of the European University Institute, Prof. Renaud Dehousse and the EUI Secretary-General, Ambassador Vincenzo Grassi. There was great willingness to continue cooperating with our Association and strong appreciation for our availability to contribute to the EUI programmes bearing in mind that our members can offer a high level of expertise in a variety of fields. The EUI recognises the importance of keeping the historical memory, which is the basis of current policy choices, which can be explained well by those who have experienced the development and growth of the EU through their own political and social engagement.

We will attempt to work out, together with the Director of the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, Brigid Laffan, which activities would be appropriate to pursue in

their main research areas. We will also discuss further the opportunity to organize workshops, or other actions, considering that this year we celebrate 60 years of the Treaties of Rome, 25 years since the Maastricht Treaty was signed and 30 years of Erasmus programme. In a further interesting meeting, the Director of the Historical Archives of the EU (HAEU). Dieter Schlenker, confirmed that he was keen to continue working with us on educational programmes for students. This year the programme is focusing on drafting a new Treaty for an education to a European Citizenship, a subject that so far has been well received by the students who are indeed very creative in exploring visions for a better future education as Europeans. For 2017, the Archives have developed a new project to mark the 60th anniversary of the Treaties of Rome and the Association's members have been invited to participate in this valuable programme.

The visit to the Institute was combined with our participation in the interesting workshop organised by the Robert Schuman Centre For



Enrique Barón Crespo during his intervention at the EUI workshop entitled 'How National Referendums are Challenging the EU' ©EUI



Monica Baldi with Ambassador Vincenzo Grassi, Secretary General of the EUI

Advanced Studies on 'How National Referendums are challenging the EU'. President Barón Crespo besides doing a historical overview feature of those who have personally experienced certain events, he stressed the importance to carefully consider the 'political pollution'. The round table explored what we know and what we need to know about the way in which the recent round of national referendums from Greece and Switzerland to the UK are beginning to challenge the institutions and policies of the European Union. The debate revealed the importance of carefully evaluating the constitutions of the Member States especially considering some articles of the Lisbon Treaty on the referendum and on the participative democracy. In the June Bulletin, we will continue to inform you on the relationships with the EUI and would like to thank all those members who contributed and will contribute, through their expertise and extensive knowledge, to make this cooperation a success.

Monica Baldi

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FMA activities

EP TO CAMPUS PROGRAMME

THE DAY OF BREXIT IN ESSEC BUSINESS SCHOOL

Within the frame of Campus Programme 2016, I had the opportunity to co-create and lead a Conference about European Union, which took place in ESSEC International Business School in Cergy-Pontoise, from June 23rd to June 24th. ESSEC is an international and multicultural institution with more than 45000 graduates worldwide. The Summer module included participants from all around the world, including ESSEC students and partner Business schools and Universities.

We began our conference on the day of Brexit referendum and it made it very challenging discussing European Union priorities. The common thread for the two day workshops was expectation of Brexit results and most of them were hoping that UK will stay in European Union. The results came on the second day of our conference.

Most of the participants were wondering about the European contents which are not so well known among the participants. I was presenting the European priorities and legislation concerning economical crises, migration, terrorism, budget and European funding. Participants were organised in nine working groups, and they researched and discussed questions as follows: How can European politics boost jobs, growth and investment? How can a digital and single market makes daily lives easier? How can European politics help small and medium enterprises? How can sustainable development preserve our resources? How can European politics support and legislate the sharing economy like Uber, Kick Starter, Airbnb....? After their presentations they voted about the most creative content and the best presentation. About 40 participants, about 30 years old on average, voted for winning content and that was Sharing Economy. The second day we began with Brexit results which were almost scaring for most of the participants. In the light of the 'leave' result, we were discussing about possible



Zofia Mazej Kukovic during her meeting with the ESSEC students

consequences like: How should EU policy deal with consequences of Brexit results? How should EU policy deal with enlargement? How should EU policy deal with the migrants and asylum system? How should EU policy deal with Schengen and border protection? How should EU policy deal with TTIP agreement with the United States? There were many questions concerning the stronger role of the European Institutions. They also wondered how could a state like UK entered the EU in the time of 'fat cows" and go out in time of crisis. Students worried about the common policy against terrorism. They worried about the future status of economic migrants from the EU which have jobs in the UK.

After group presentations and voting the second day, the wining group was the presentation about BREXIT. It was very clear that young educated people would like living with less borders, not with additional ones. There were two very challenging days with heated discussions. We concluded that European institutions could communicate on simpler and more commonly understandable ways. This Conference on Europe was an excellent opportunity to explain European Union is role among international participants. After in the Brexit, we hope that the European Union we have no more questions like: 'Should I stay or should I go?'

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JEAN-MONNET-SEMINAR IN CLERMONT-FERRAND

Blaise-Pascal-University in Clermont-Ferrand organized from 19-21 October 2017 a high-level Seminar to discuss the outcomes of the 'Adapt-Econ II' research-project (funded by EU-FP8) with experts from various European universities (from Iceland to Romania) and Jean-Monnet-Students working as young researchers in the project, preparing their PhD. Besides the very impressive research-findings the participants were interested to discuss the role of the European Parliament in decision-making on sustainable development and degrowth – especially decarbonisation and resourcemanagement – and by this reason my colleague Eva Quistorp and I were invited to give an insight related to our specific experience: Already in the 1980's debates on sustainability started in the European Parliament, the concept of 'sustainable development' was included for the first time into the Maastricht-Treaty 1991 and became one of the prior goals of the Union in 1999 with the Amsterdam-Treaty. Since 2001 the EU-Commission has been presenting strategies to reach this goal - not to forget that the European Environmental Bureau (EEB) was founded in 1974 - so one may





conclude the record of the European Union in sustainable development strategies is not so bad– at least compared with strategies on national levels.

In nine thematic sessions and two debates with politicians the experts and young researchers discussed issues as macroeconomics, inclusive wealth indices, climate change, propositions for decarbonisation and environmental efficiency of industrial ecology. They presented their 'world 6' dynamic model on metal resources, showing scenarios on the finite nature of metals (especially copper and iron). In a public debate Former MEPs and French politicians pointed out the difference between the good purposes of European sustainable development initiatives, circle economy and decarbonisation and the still very limited practice. What the young researchers wanted to know especially from the Former MEPs was 'how can we develop paths to communicate our findings with the European Parliament – and how could a Forum for such an exchange be initiated?' Unfortunately, we as

former MEPs couldn't give an answer to this demand. But wouldn't this be an idea to follow – for example as Forum or a 'Structured Dialogue' (well experienced by the EU-Commission in various fields of activities) between the parliamentary Committee for Research and young European researchers?

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Thanks to Candriam for supporting our EP to Campus programme.

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

It was a very good experience to participate in the university event in Clermond Ferrand, which was very well prepared by Professor Diemer, who is an expert in sustainable studies and has built a cooperation with Professor Vala Ragnarsdottir from Island, who is an expert in resource studies.

The city is a nice provincial place, which integrates old and modern architecture in a human way, with good public transport near to an interesting historical volcano area and an impressive historical center with places friendly for pedestrians and families, a world wide known jazz and short film festival, as well as Michelin industry. The event was supported by the young green vicemayor of the city. With wonderful meals we became part of the city life with many students in social work and from French speaking Africa. The lunch talk gave us some hard questions from students from all around Europe, from Turkey and Libanon.

The knowledge about the EU, the succes of the EP in the field

of environmental politics, was not the same. Female students from Kirgistan and Ukraine impressed me by their interest to learn for sustainable politics for their countries in the field of energy and water. The debate with French politicians was lively and included critics to the EU neoliberal and global trade politics and the lack of a common social policy. For me as a co-founder of the German Greens it was impressive to see that the environmental debate in France has really improved in the follow-up of the Rio-Conference for cities, agriculture and cooperation with African countries. We found a common language in the debate about indicators about energy and ressource efficiency and alternatives for a neo- colonial extract policy with oil and Coltan and other important minerals for the digitalisation with the global IT companies. How migrants can be better integrated in environmental consciousness and sustainable politics was an interesting lecture from a student from Australia. A Swedish lecturer described the tragic situation of

Syrian refugees on Greek islands and the reasons of great hospitality of the Greek islanders. I learned how the Erasmus programmes support forms of cooperation of young scientists, who hopefully get an active part in European democracy buildung. But many students are only interested in their project and not many get involved in debates how to overcome the crisis. The EU and the EP play an important part in the global debate on sustainable development goals for 2030 decided by the UN, which should be better known by many students.

The 17 sustainable development goals of the UN have some links with the equality for women and girls, women as leaders for change. This was not enough included in the debate. Furthermore I was asking for a better control of the financial global oligarchies, which are part of the financial and debt crisis. This has to be more in the center of the debate for sustainable development. The demands of the European Parliament related to Luxleaks and financial havens, taxing google and other multinationals should be better known at universities, too. The conference was a good learning process and I will try to keep friendship to the interesting Erasmus plus study project of Prof Diemer in Clermond Ferrand. I am thankful to the FMA to facilitate such meetings.

Eva Quistorp Greens/EFA, Germany (1989-1994) eva@berlin-declaration.org

©iStock

THE YOUTHFUL TOWN OF CLUJ NAPOCA

Certainly, if you want to see a vibrant town, the rule is - go to a university town. And Cluj Napoca, the second biggest town in Romania, is no exception with its many NGOs, art galleries, festivals, start ups and the demand for personnel in the IT sector. There is even a bit of anxiety that the recruitment, the much higher salaries than the average and the impact on the real estate market might be a bubble, so rapid has been the developments. About 300 000 persons are residents in the town and it is host to roughly 80 000 students in all the universities. Also taking into account the increasing costs for accommodation a proportion of students commute to the universities from a long distance.

The Babes-Bolyai university itself has 42 000 students in 21 faculties, 118 masters and BA programmes. Out of the students, 1000 are foreign students, and the university maintains a wide range of MoUs with universities in other countries, in total 1500 MoUs. In university rankings B-B has scored very well,

often best in the country, and fields like mathematics, social science and psychology are areas were performance is especially strong. Also public private partnerships are important and the co-operation between Porsche and the University was mentioned as a source of pride. During past centuries the town has been part of many empires and also been the capital of Transylvania. But it has also had a high influence of Germans/Saxons and a vibrant Jewish community, which was severely hit by the Holocaust. There is also a Roma population but the real size of it is difficult to tell. Hungarians account for roughly 15 % and one deputy Mayor belongs to a Hungarian party -the Mayor being now Emil Boc, a PNL politician and Prime minister from 2008-2012.

At times the relations between the linguistic groups have been tense also in the University and the way the university is administered has popped up intense discussions. There are Hungarian lines of studies in 16 departments and some German lines

<image><image>

as well; however there are difficulties in recruiting personnel to the latter. I was not really able to get an insight into the current state of play. The programme and the lectures I was giving were organised in the Faculty of History and Philosophy, by the Department of Political Science and International Relations. The university also has other entities were EU law is studied, as there are separate European studies conducted. I gave lectures about the EU's current crisis and around questions of migration, drawing on my experience as a Minister of Migration and European affairs. I think it should be noted that several EU presidencies and programmes for the Justice and Home Affairs like the Stockholm programme tried to have a broad perspective on migration supporting the Global Approach - where both promoting legal forms of migration, circular migration and combatting illegal migration formed a package. Also efforts were made to have migration partnership, but as such partnerships were not developed with big countries of origin. In 2015 Babes-Bolvai was the vouth capital of Europe and the hopes were high that it could be one of the cultural capitals in 2021 - but lost after a very close vote. Still I hope that the new ideas developed for that project will prosper in the town in one way or another.

Astrid Thors ALDE, Finland (1996-2004) astrid@astridthors.fi

DE MONTFORT UNIVERSITY VISIT

Leicester is a market town of about 300,000 people located in the South Midlands of England. A one hour fast train journey from London but much nearer to Birmingham. It is the resting place of the recovered remains of King Richard III. It has two centre-city located universities. De Montfort, named after Simon de Montfort Earl of Leicester, is a public research and teaching University. It might be noted that Leicester voted Yes to Remain in the EU referendum.

This issue continually arose during our visit and especially in Question and Answer sessions. Our delegation of former members was: José María Gil-Roberts Gil-Delgado, (EPP Spain) former President of Parliament, and of the FMA; Barbara Weiler, former SD Member for Germany; and Gay Mitchell former Minister for Europe and MEP for Ireland. As well as attending a variety of University classes where Questions and Answer sessions were usually the norm, we also met 44 local children, aged 14 – 16, with their teachers and had lively and



José María Gil - Robles, Barbara Weiler and Gay Mitchell during their visit at De Montfort University

interesting exchanges with them. The visit was organised by Professor of International Relations and Head of the Department of Politics and Public Policy, Alasdair Blair. The issue of referenda as an instrument of public policy was raised and the pros and cons discussed. Other questions raised included:

• Travel, work and settlement arrangements within the EU after Brexit.

• Is Brexit the beginning of the disintegration of the European Union or is it bringing other members closer together?

Would it make sense now to create

a formal 'two-tier' European Union?

• Other than Brexit, what do you see as being the biggest challenges now for the EU and its Institutions and agencies?

• How can the EU improve economic growth, living standards and employment so as to retain popular support and avoid other EU nations following the Brexit route?

• Could immigration and customs controls function successfully in the island of Ireland without a 'border' - and would other FU nations, such as Spain, accept an independent Scotland as an EU member? Post-graduate diplomacy and world order students, and politics students were interested in: Competition Policy, Communicating Europe, implications of Brexit for stability in Europe, how the High Representative for Foreign Affairs and European External Action Service works, how national and EU ambassadors cooperate abroad and how embassies to the EU network. The different forms of diplomacy – national, intranational were raised. While Business

post-grad students raised Foreign Trade and relocation of business. Some of these questions arose in exchanges with students, but some of the most interesting and lively exchanges took place on Wednesday evening when students and staff were joined by invited members of the public.

The attitude of most was one of sorrow for the Brexit decision and hope that a solution could be found as quickly as possible, and certainly before the two-year negotiating period allowed when Article 50 is triggered this March.

The three person delegation was broadly in agreement in our responses, though with different emphasis on some of the issues. Overall we came away with the view that those we met are not, in the main, happy with the Brexit referendum outcome and, at the very least, want continued strong relations with the EU and an end to uncertainty. The future involvement in the Erasmus programme for the Britain and its students was also raised.

In discussions we had with academics over lunch and dinner similar concerns were discussed. This was a very useful visit, both an opportunity to inform people of how the EU, warts and all, actually works, and to hear their very reasonable questions and concerns.

Gay Mitchell

EPP, Ireland (2004-2014) gay.mitchell@eircom.net

VISIT TO GÖTTINGEN UNIVERSITY

When the Euroculture Centre at the University of Göttingen in Germany invited me to give seminars on the post-EU referendum situation I was asked for a title. I suggested 'Can the EU survive Brexit?' Not simply an example of English 'tongue-in-cheek' humour, but a warning that Brexit is not only an existential question for the UK, but also one for the EU. The fact that the largest continuous democracy in Europe should choose to leave should provoke some radical self-examination in the EU itself. The stark fact is that 52% of participants in the UK Referendum did not feel that the EU can be reformed and that Britain's future should be outside the EU. Very few – if indeed any – advocates of 'remain' campaigned endorsing the EU as it is. Many like myself campaigned to stay in and to reform the EU. It is the failure of the EU itself to

reform, which has contributed significantly to this crisis. Certainly the mood among the Masters Students in the three seminars I participated in was puzzlement and sadness about the UK leaving. There was none of the exasperation and vindictiveness that some continental public figures express.

On the morning of my second day the news came through that Donald Trump had won the Presidential race in the USA. The news was met by the same sadness and puzzlement as the Brexit decision.

The complacency of the ruling elites has blinded them to the rising tide of resentment amongst the so-called 'left-behind' who trust appeals to nationalism more than appeals to international solidarity.

Clearly, the ground is shifting under the feet of the political elites who had haughtily assumed they were acting in the best interests of the people in the name of 'Europe'. But the 'Europe' the EU was designed for, no longer exists.

Continental Western Europe emerged from the cataclysm of the Second World War with a simplistic slogan of 'national bad, European good' and far too long this sense that expressions of national sentiments are inevitably anti-international, even dangerous, has prevailed. It



Michael Hindley with some students at the Göttingen University

has certainly left the field open for the extreme right to present itself as representatives of 'the people'. For Germany particularly this is a challenging time. Germany has successfully achieved rehabilitation through Europe, aka EU. It has foregone over national interest for the 'greater good'. Brexit will clearly mean that France will bind itself ever more closely to Germany. Much of the initial impetus for creation of western European cooperation leading to the Treaty of Rome came from the French political elite deciding to pursue French interests through Europe. A very brave decision at the time, but no longer an idea shared by large numbers of French voters. And a growing Franco-German axis is bound to cause a rising resentment in the East, particularly the Visegrads, who already feel somewhat undervalued. 'Europe' is widely seen as the problem for nation states, not the solution to national problems – a point the 'More Europe' advocates from Brussels fail to grasp. The young students at Gottingen have the intelligence, perception and energy to cope – but they are more realistic and more truly international and beyond the clichés of Europe first – at least 'Europe a la Berlaymont'.

Michael Hindley PES, United Kingdom (1984-1999) info@michaelhindley.co.uk

VISIT TO ESTONIA

On behalf of the FMA I lectured at the Tallinn University of Technology on 7th and 8th of December 2016. This was a welcome opportunity to reacquaint myself with Estonia. I was first there as part of a special EP delegation to the Baltic States in 1991 immediately after independence.

That was a strange time. Barricades were still around the Parliaments, Russian troops still roamed the streets trying to sell off bits of their equipment and the rouble remained the currency. Infrastructure was basic, particularly in telecommunications. Crucially both Sweden and Finland provided mobile phones as part of their initial aid mainly to Latvia and Estonia which greatly aided their transition.

Estonia has embraced new technology with enthusiasm. It has the world's fastest broadband and free wifi is widely available. The Government and Parliament are digital by default. In contrast to 1991, I felt that I was in a very modern and dynamic country. Public transport in Tallinn is free to all residents with new trams acquired from Spain in a deal which enabled the Spanish to offset some of their carbon emissions. Cheap pre-school education is widespread and there is a good health system. Government support seems to go to young families to ensure a healthy birthrate, but pensioners suffer from low incomes. There are still some issues with Russian minorities, especially the older population who have not been able or not been willing to integrate, or who lack the skills the modern economy demands.

My prime purpose was to lecture on Brexit on the 7th. The following day I led two seminars, one on the EU in general and the other on Security policy. I had assumed that I would be addressing mainly Estonian students, but I was wrong. The audience was multinational, although dominated by Finns. Apparently, it is a lot cheaper to study at an Estonian university than many other places. Courses are taught in English, so attracting students from all over the world.

My lecture on Brexit was at 8.15 in the morning! Despite this, I had an audience of over 100. Brexit was not an easy subject for me, given that it represents the shattering of my lifetime dreams and hopes. I highlighted opinion polling on values, which showed that the more people held what we might call "traditional" values, such as believing in strong discipline in schools, anti multiculturalism, anti feminism, anti gay rights, the more likely they were to vote for Brexit. This is also a phenomenon witnessed in the Trump election in the USA. This backlash against the modern world is probably the greatest challenge facing us all.

I outlined many possible scenarios for the UK's future, all of which are complicated and none of which, in my view will make the UK better off. I remain to be convinced that the British government really knows what it is doing or knows what it wants. Elsewhere, I was struck by how focussed students were on the balance between ensuring democratic legitimacy and accountability in the EU on the one hand, and the need for effective EU action to confront the challenges it faces on the other. The future of the EU lies in getting that balance right.



Gary Titley PES, United Kingdom (1989-2009) g.titley@ntlworld.com

FMA activities FMA ANNUAL SEMINAR

TODAY'S CHALLENGES TO DEMOCRACY EU

It seems as if the European Union is facing one crisis after the other. Whether it is the financial crisis, the migrant crisis followed by an almost exploding sense of nationalism and radicalism across Europe, the upcoming Brexit or a burning neighbourhood in the east - the EU is facing internal and external challenges that almost seem to be insuperable. The EU is often used as a scapegoat to justify shortcomings at home, leaving out the positive effects it has on our society. The EU is facing challenges that are bigger and more severe than ever before and we can all agree, that it will not be easy to overcome those challenges. Equally we can agree that we have to face and to overcome them - else our society and place in the world order is called into question.

'EU crisis' - this term is being picked up by populists, interpreted and trimmed to their tastes, decorated with wrong information and false promises. People in the EU seem to have forgotten about the other side of the coin - the positives the EU has on their lives. Now citizens all over the EU are calling for new structures, less EU and more nationalism. Best example is the outcome of the



Elmar Brok Guest Speaker at the FMA Annual Dinner on 30 November 2016 ©European Union

British referendum on the Brexit. where populist politicians and media provided wrongful information and citizens followed blindly. The consequences of this shall be seen in the future. Populism endangers not only Europe, but also democracy and the rule of law of the member states. Looking back at our European history it becomes very clear, that Europe is better off working together. We don't really have an alternative. The EU has guaranteed peace, democracy and prosperity for its citizens for almost 70 years. By taking a closer look at populist's ideas, giving up on a unified Europe or at least weaken it, we can see that this is not the answer but the end of our society, values and wealth as we know it, as it will weaken each and every member state in Europe. The playground of our globalised world has changed, it is a challenging geopolitical environment and we need to play along. A better EU is the only way our societies can face those challenges. They are too great to be faced by the member states alone. The way forward should always be more EU and more integration, not less. 'Individually, we are one drop. Together, we are one ocean.' said Ryunosuke Satoro (1892-1927) and it is true for the EU and its member states. Only if we cooperate can we be strong!

More integration would go a long way particularly in our security strategy. At the very moment the EU is floating in the international field without a clearly outlined defence strategy. This is not a smart status quo looking at the threads our society is facing - migration, consequences of globalisation, terror, internal and external security are the problems. The citizens do not feel safe anymore. Only the EU, only as a community, these challenges can be answered. Otherwise our society with all its values will collapse. The Bratislava Roadmap outlines the necessary issues to be tackled, lies down objectives that will help overcome it, namely a stronger EU cooperation on internal and external security. This would be a good step forward to make sure that Europe will hold on to its strong position on the international playing field. Europe needs better tools for solving those problems. This has been blocked by political leaders who did not want to see their member states weakened, overlooking the fact that a stronger EU always provides for stronger member states, too. Looking at the challenges we are currently facing, this short sighted thinking must come to an end. Europe needs transparency. Governments should not hide the responsibilities. Therefore the Council of Ministers should decide legislation in public where governments have to explain their vote for their citizens. If the EU, with engaged and informed citizens who believe in the EU fails, each and every member state of the EU will feel the consequences as the EU weakens. We need to defend our European values and interests together. 'Unity in variety' is not just an empty saying but our future!

Elmar Brok MEP

EPP, Germany elmar.brok@europarl.europa.eu

FMA ANNUAL SEMINAR: STUDENTS FROM ULG

What can be done to safeguard and promote democracy on the basis of the founding principles of the Union?

Diagnosis: democracy is at risk

In her opening speech at the annual conference in Brussels on 1 December 2016, Danuta Hübner, Chair of the Committee on Constitutional Affairs, painted a decidedly alarming picture of the state of our democracy. She picked out the following five factors to support her argument: the renewed emphasis on national leadership, the Brexit vote, the challenges associated with upholding the rule of law, distrust of the ECHR and distrust of migrants. According to Ms Hübner, the main causes of the crisis are a feeling among EU citizens that the Union lacks legitimacy and a loss of trust in their leaders.

Proposed remedies

We agree with Ms Hübner's diagnosis. We do not quite see eye to eye, however, on the remedies required. We are not sure that a response based on institutional reform would work quickly enough. The way we see it, focus needs to be shifted back to the concerns of individuals, in effort to restore their confidence in the European project in the immediate term. This approach requires real, visible action in favour of ordinary people which is based more closely on a transparent and coherent social policy and which, as far as possible, eschews measures which serve to pit them against one another. Circulating information about Union programmes as widely as possible would help to boost the EU's image among as many people



Participants at the FMA Annual Seminar entitled 'What can be done to safeguard and promote democracy on the basis of the founding principles of the Union' ©European Union

as possible and improve public understanding of what the EU does, which is essential to enhance its legitimacy. In that connection, we are delighted to have been involved in the discussion on democracy in the EU. It raised many questions and provided answers to a good few of them.

The European Union must act now

Rather than discussing the state of democracy in the abstract, we talked about factors that are rocking the EU to its very foundations today. A substantial part of the population feels marginalised, and they are highly critical of the way some political leaders' policies on employment, economy and even ethics work - or rather don't work. Although these grievances are sometimes understandable, we are convinced that the solution is to be found within and with the Union. We hope that, in the future, the individual will once again be at the heart of policy-making. This would help to restore citizens' confidence

in their policy-makers, which would in turn lend the European project the new legitimacy on which its success ultimately hinges. To this end, we need to find, to paraphrase both Danuta Hübner and Franklin Dehousse, 'good leaders'. These could be politicians who are aware of what is at stake and have the will, means and time to inspire ordinary people and change course, or rather stick to the one that Jean Monnet advocated from the start: 'We are not uniting states; we are uniting people'.

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Mathilde Vandormael

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HOW WE CAN SAVE EUROPE



Four major crises (relating to democratic legitimacy, the economy, migration and internal security) are profoundly undermining the trust of European peoples in the Union, as well as trust among Member States and between the latter and the EU institutions.

Fear has made us diffident towards one other and has turned Europe into an argumentative set of joint owners in an apartment block in which the voice of he who cries the loudest prevails, while the Union's action appears to be paralysed by an inextricable tangle of rules, procedures and bureaucracies. What can be done to safeguard the development of European democracy? It is often said that we have to look back in time and recover our fundamental principles.

A pessimist might say that we have taken for granted the fact that we have common roots just because we have all lived together on the same continent, but that most of our history is not actually a history of sharing: for 1500 years since the fall of Rome, each people has built its own identity, language and customs and, furthermore, we waged war against each other, dragging the world into the abyss of the 20th century.

And yet that horror reawakened

the consciences of our fathers, who shouted 'never again!': never again should there be fratricidal wars, trenches, barbed wire and iron curtains. This happened 80 years ago, which is not such a long time - all we have to do is close our eyes and think of the battlefields on which millions of young men died, of the laws which deprived humans of their freedom and the prisons in which the founding fathers of Europe were locked up. Let us remember that, because it is there that our roots are buried. It is there that the European Union was born.

Today we have to deal with the contemptuous voices of those who are turning their backs on Europe, exploiting people's anger and leading them to cast votes of closure and rejection. Faced with the frustration of European peoples and the inadequacy of their leaders, however, we are not hearing the voice of the institution that, more than any other, can reawaken our collective conscience, reopen the locked doors of our hearts and repair the broken thread of the process of European construction. That institution is the European Parliament, expression of the people's sovereignty and hub of the Union's democratic process. Wherever we look there is so much to do: listen to the voices of dissent. recover the spontaneity and clarity of our political message, counter the extreme technicality of procedural rules, restore dialogue with young people and get them to re-identify with a Europe that has betrayed them.

Europe belongs to all of us, it cannot do without anyone. Let us not think that the founding fathers were not aware of the difficulty of the work which lay ahead, but with patience and labour they managed to lay the foundations of the greatest challenge of all time: to unite us in diversity. These two words have become our motto.

It is not in the name of geographical proximity, nor even in that of economic interest, that we must form a federation, because - as we have seen - when the economy gives way, the land on which the Union is built collapses too. What must unite is, rather, is that common and profound desire that is an integral part of human nature – to break down boundaries, remove ideological barriers and cultural obstacles to human aspirations for freedom: personal freedom, freedom of movement, freedom of expression, freedom of commercial enterprise, and so on. We must, ultimately, recognise that we are brothers and sisters while still being aware of our essential diversity.

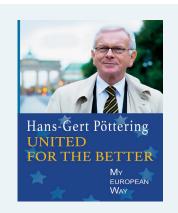
Luigi Bruno

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BOOK REVIEW

"United for the Better: My European Way " by Hans-Gert Pöttering, published by John Harper Publishing, €29,00.



Is it a contemporary witness to European history that you are seeking? What is more, would you like it to be someone who in our era – which is increasingly becoming a time of uncertainty and crisis – tells the true story of his life clearly, honestly and comprehensibly, and who communicates unequivocally how he himself has experienced and participated in the recent history of the European Union (EU)? Then you should read Hans-Gert Pöttering's autobiography. It is guite something. It reflects the life of a modern politician in our Europe, the European Union, a life which is unparalleled. After all, for 35 years Hans-Gert Pöttering's constituents in the Lower Saxony region of Germany elected him as their political representative in the European Parliament. Hans-Gert Pöttering, who was born in 1945, was always conscious of his responsibilities – including towards his family –, accepted challenges unwaveringly and tackled them with obstinate determination.

With passion, a good deal of doggedness and a firm belief that a strong European Union which was devoted to the principles of subsidiarity and solidarity was the recipe for a peaceful future on our continent, Hans-Gert Pöttering has always sought to promote dialogue between cultures and religions. The collapse of Communism and the reunification of Germany altered European politics radically; a new door was thrown open, through which Hans-Gert Pöttering passed courageously and with determination. We can learn remarkable details of many European treaties which became necessary in order to advance the cause of the EU step by step, and about many places of great importance. Many people have come into contact with Hans-Gert Pöttering, many are mentioned, from both his closer and wider acquaintance, another aspect which helps to make reading the book a special experience. All of it



Hans-Gert Pöttering and Enrique Barón Crespo at the EPRS event in 2015

is modern history, from the end of the Second World War (the year in which he was born) to the present day. We can read all about it in his autobiography, the first edition of which was published in 2014, while the second, revised and supplemented edition has recently been published – in October 2016. This detailed and personal work is not only accessible to readers of German, however, because it has now also been published in English, Polish, Bulgarian and Hungarian, while a French translation is currently being prepared. Incidentally, in Brussels the 'House of European History' is scheduled to open on May 2017 – a project which Hans-Gert Pöttering proposed and launched on 13 February 2007 in his inaugural address as President of the European Parliament in Strasbourg. In that unique setting, European history will be vividly presented. The autobiography and the 'House of European History' will complement each other wonderfully.

Brigitte Langenhagen EPP-DE, Germany (1990-2004) brigitte-langenhagen-cux @t-online.de

C LATEST NEWS

ACTIVITIES

3-4 avril 2017

VISIT TO MALTA

The programme includes high level meetings with the Maltese authorities and a visit to the EU Asylum Office

30 May 2017

VISIT TO THE EUROPEAN HOUSE OF HISTORY The visit will take place from 2.00 pm to 3.00 pm

30 May 2017

EPRS INFORMATION SEMINAR

The topic will be communicated at a later stage. From 3.30 pm to 5.00 pm, European Parliament Library

30 May 2017

FMA ANNUAL MEMORIAL SERVICE

Current and former MEPs will commemorate their colleagues who passed away. From 5.45pm to 6.15 pm

30 May 2017

FMA COCKTAIL AND DINNER DEBATE From 6.30 pm in the Members' Restaurant, European Parliament, Brussels

31 May 2017

FMA GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND ANNUAL LUNCH

The meeting will start at 10.15 am and the ballot of votes will open at 9.45 am and close at 12.30 pm, Room PHS 7C050, followed by lunch at 1.00 pm in the Members' Restaurant

NEW MEMBERS



George Lyon was a Member of the European Parliament from 2009 to 2014. Throughout his time in Parliament, he served as a member of the Committee on Agriculture and Rural Development and Committee on Budgets. From 2012 to 2014 he was the Vice-Chair of the Committee on Budgets. He was also member of the Delegation for relations with Australia and New Zealand from 2009 to 2014.

George LYON (United Kingdom, 2004-2014, ALDE)



Ernest Maragall was a Member of the European Parliament from 2014 to 2016. Throughout his time in the Parliament, he served as a member of the Committee on Industry, Research and Energy and Committee on Budgets. In the same two years he was also member of the Delegation to the EU-Turkey Joint Parliamentary Committee and a member of the Committee on Culture.

Ernest MARAGALL (Spain, 2014-2016, Greens/EFA)

PAYMENT OF THE FMA ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP FEE

We remind you that according to the FMA Statutes, you must have paid your 2017 membership fee in order to avoid the suspension of you membership and to be able to vote at the General Assembly. Therefore, you are kindly invited to pay your 2017 membership fee of €100 **by May 30**. Please note that the next General Assembly will be held on **May 31, 2017**.

You can now choose between three different payment methods:

- Bank transfer to the following bank account:

KBC Bank European Parliament Branch - Rue Wiertz, B-1047 Brussels

IBAN number: BE06424611071122 - BIC: KREDBEBB

- System of online payment on the FMA website: www.formermembers.eu, under the 'Members area' section. To access this section, you will need to enter your username and password. If you have forgotten them, you can find them through the 'Lost your login information'. The Secretariat can also provide you with this information.

- By deducting of your pension paid by the European Parliament if you are already receiving it. Kind regards,

FMA Secretariat FormerMembers@europarl.europa.eu

CONGRATULATIONS

Launched in 2011, the European Diversity Awards (EDA) have become the continent's most prestigious and widely respected diversity event.

Recognising individuals and organisations who have made an outstanding contribution to equality, diversity and inclusion across Europe, the EDA brings together under one roof the leading movers and shakers in business, media and politics.

After being included in the 2015 Global Diversity List, supported by The Economist, former MEP **Mariela Baeva**, Bulgaria, has received a certificate of being shortlisted in the category Campaigner of the Year. The nomination refers to the Syrian refugee children and education in emergencies. It was submitted by Lord Richard Balfe of Dulwich from the House of Lords, UK.

NEW TRAINEE

The FMA has a new trainee, who will work for the FMA until May 2017. Mr Gil Andre Martins dos Reis is of Portuguese nationality and he is completing his master degree in Public Administration and Management at the University of Aveiro. Members can address him in Portuguese and English.

IN MEMORIAM

It is with deep regret that we report the decease of some MEPs and former MEPs.

If you are aware of a former member who passed away, the Editorial Board would be grateful to be informed through the FMA Secretariat in Brussels.

The Editorial Board is prepared to publish obituaries written by members.



ABITBOL, France, 1999-2001, EDD



Denmark,

1999-2009,UEN



Henry CHABERT, France. 1989-1994,EPP





1979-2004, PES





1994-2014, NI, UEN, EPP



France, 1979-2007, GUE/NGL



Josep <u>VERDE</u> ALDEA Spain, 1986-1999, <u>SOC</u>

IN MEMORIAM - ENRICO VINCI

Enrico Vinci, servant of Europe Secretary-General of the European Parliament between 1987 and 1997

Enrico Vinci was a convinced European, a model public servant and an honourable Sicilian through and through. His commitment to the European cause began when, as a young assistant to Gaetano di Martino, he attended the Messina Conference from which the Treaty of Rome emerged at a time of depression and crisis. He spent his entire career as a European Parliament official, and as Secretary-General he designed Parliament's adaptation in the crucial period from the Fall of the Wall to the transition to the European Union with the Maastricht Treaty. We lived through these sweeping changes side-by-side from the start of the process in July 1989, when I was elected as EP President and the first Austro-Hungarian hole

appeared in the Iron Curtain, until its conclusion with the Maastricht Council in December 1991. In Enrico Vinci, I found a loyal, effective and courageous colleague who did not hesitate to support and enrich the key moves that enabled the EP to play a part in this historic change with its own voice and its own initiative. The joint appearance by Mitterrand and Kohl two weeks after the fall of the Wall, the temporary committee on German unification, the creation of the Preparatory Interinstitutional Conference that enabled us to put a shortlist on the table at the Intergovernmental Conference (European citizenship, legislative co-decision, participation in the investiture of the Commission President, and European political parties). As well as the holding in Rome of the first Conference between the European Parliament

and the national parliaments, whose joint conclusions were decisive factors in the Treaty's gestation. Alongside high politics, where his work and advice were greatly valued, he steered Parliament's practical adjustment to the new reality. One essential chapter was the delicate property policy operation thanks to which Parliament is now able to hold plenary sittings in the current complex of buildings in Brussels, as well as an expanded site in Strasbourg. With 751 Members from 28 countries, Europe's Parliament is able to function smoothly thanks to an operation that was designed with vision. transparency and budgetary rigour. May he rest in peace.

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IN MEMORIAM - ROLF LINKOHR

Farewell to a man with countless achievements

In the new year we received sad news: Rolf Linkohr, who was among the first intake of MEPs to the directly elected European Parliament in 1979, passed away on 5 January 2017 at the age of 75. A talented scientist from Stuttgart in South Germany, he was held in affection and esteem that transcended national and party boundaries. He will also be remembered both in and outside the Social Democrat Group (nowadays the S&D Group) not only as a massively knowledgeable expert but also as a kind colleague. Thank you, Rolf, for that too.

He studied in Stuttgart, Munich and Aberdeen on a grant from the European Molecular Biology Organisation, and wrote his PhD thesis on the kinetics of ion exchangers. His first jobs were in areas related to his studies; once elected as an MEP, he turned his attention to the international dimensions of his field, focusing on Latin America. After working on the relevant European Parliament committees, as Chair of the Institute for European-Latin American Relations (IRELA), and in other capacities, he also founded STOA

(the Scientific and Technological Options Assessment) which he chaired for many years. For his countless achievements he was made an Officer of the Legion of Honour and awarded the Grand Cross of the Order of Merit of Chile. After leaving office he continued to work, including as a special adviser to the Energy Commissioner.

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IN MEMORIAM - MARIO SOARES

Mário Soares: The incorrigible optimist

Although I was always full of admiration for Mário Soares as a political figure, I did not meet him in person until 1985, at the University of the Azores in Ponta Delgada, when he was launching his campaign in the run-up to the presidential elections and opinion polls gave him no more than 8% of the vote. By the time he left the island a couple of days later I had no doubt that he was going to win. I did not meet him again until the 1999 European election campaign. I finally had an opportunity to get to know him well in the five years during which we were colleagues in the European Parliament. I have never known anyone with such irresistible charisma and such

a contagious sense of humour and enthusiasm.

Above all, I remember a person of unparalleled intellect. Thanks to his encyclopaedic cultural background, he was able to talk knowledgeably about everything or almost everything to do with the humanities, literature, society and politics. I do not think that I have met anyone else in the European political world with the intellectual stature of Mário Soares, and this is perhaps the least known aspect of his personality. I remember in particular the conversation we had about Teófilo Braga and Antero de Ouental, two illustrious Azoreans who were radically different in culture and politics but who both had a

profound influence on the Left of that time.

Mário Soares was a man of unequalled political charisma, courage, sincerity and culture. For Mário Soares, Europe and democracy were two sides of the same coin; the country's progress, a firm attachment to freedom and the sense that everything is within our grasp were deeply rooted in his political vision. He played a significant part in shaping European integration, as a figure with the stature, vision and optimism that today's Europe badly needs to rediscover.

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