

# EPFMA BULLETIN



European Parliament Former Members Association

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## The Future of the European Union



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The European Parliament celebrated the 70th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights during the week of 19-23 November 2018.

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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 Due to the long time lag between the call for contribution and the publication, some articles may be outdated.

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# Message from the PRESIDENT

Dear Member,

As 2018 draws to a close, the EU finds itself confronted with two major challenges that will have an enormous impact on the future political course and on European societies in general: the Brexit negotiations and the May 2019 European Elections. We should face these challenges with hope and with a thirst for action.

The time is now ripe to answer the questions of what the future of Europe looks like and what role the European Union should play. We can be proud of what we have achieved so far with courage and determination. This is the time to recall and reaffirm the shared values on which the European Union is based. These values are the underlying foundation and the reason for over 60 years of stability and peace in those countries of Europe which are part of the European integration process. We are bound together by the respect for human dignity and human rights, freedom, democracy, rule of law and peace. We are all equal and the principles of solidarity and subsidiarity should guide us. We need to restore dialogue with European citizens, regain their trust and support, and make sure that we take their hopes, fears and doubts seriously.

In order to make our Union stronger we need to complete the EU Digital Single Market, but also step up our fight

against cybercrime and breaches of privacy and personal data to better protect citizens, businesses and public institutions. The common security and defence policy also needs to be strengthened, as does the cooperation of the Member States in the field of migration and the support we provide to our neighbours in their endeavours to establish democracy, the rule of law and economic stability. As an open society, we must resist the tendencies of isolation.

To help provide answers to my initial questions, this special edition of the FMA Bulletin on the Future of the European Union focuses on a broad spectrum of topics ranging from social challenges and economic issues to Europe's security policy. I would like to thank all the authors who contributed to this edition, which is a valuable addition to the present discussion on the future of the European Union.

Our Association is committed to continuing to involve our knowledgeable members in the current debate, as we did through the conference on '40 years of European Parliament Direct Elections', which was organised in cooperation with the European University Institute and the European Parliamentary Research Service (EPRS) on 22-23 November in Florence, and our dinner debate and seminar, which took place on 28-29 November 2018 in Brussels. We had discussions on how to bring

back enthusiasm for the European idea and support for the EU institutions, and it became evident that we can play a key role in the coming months. I am hoping that many of you will raise your voices during the campaign to spread reliable information on the work of the European Parliament and the EU as a whole, thus encouraging the people to vote. Finally, I would like to express my sincere appreciation for the contribution of our members to our democracy support activities and to our EP Campus programme. Democracy building, education and promoting dialogue with citizens must continue to be at the core of our actions as former European parliamentarians and I would like to thank everyone who has worked with us on these matters.

I wish you and your family and friends a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year 2019.

Hans-Gert Pöttering  
FMA President

# EP AT WORK

## KEY FACTS

### **MEPs called on EU countries to initiate the procedure laid down in Article 7(1) the EU Treaty (September Session - P8\_TA-PROV(2018)0340)**

In order to determine whether Hungary is at risk of breaching the EU's founding values.

### **Parliament adopts its position on digital copyright rules (September Session - P8\_TA-PROV(2018)0337)**

Parliament adopted its revised text, adding safeguards to protect small firms and freedom of expression.

### **MEPs vote in favour updated rules to clarify the role of Eurojust and improve its effectiveness (October Session - P8\_TA-PROV(2018)0379)**

The changes in the Agency's functioning and structure, including a new governance model, will make Eurojust more efficient in tackling cross-border crime.

### **MEPs back EU ban on throwaway plastics by 2021 (October Session - P8\_TA-PROV(2018)0411)**

Single-use plastic items such as plates, cutlery, straws, balloon sticks or cotton buds, will be banned in the EU under plans adopted.

### **Strengthening security through an EU-wide information system (October Session - P8\_TA-PROV(2018)0413)**

The improved Schengen Information System will contribute to the EU's fight against terrorism, cross-border crime and irregular migration.

### **MEPs vote in favour for a comprehensive, permanent and objective mechanism to protect democracy, the rule of law and fundamental rights (November Session - P8\_TA-PROV(2018)0456)**

MEPs want respect of EU values to be assessed every year in all member states.

*Other main dossiers discussed in the plenary sessions were:*

#### **September 2018**

- Parliament approves €34m in EU aid to Greece, Poland, Lithuania and Bulgaria after natural disasters in 2017. (11.09.18)
- Young people are now able to volunteer or work in EU-wide solidarity schemes, after a final vote on the **European Solidarity Corps**. (11.09.18)
- MEPs approved new measures to combat terrorist financing, by preventing money laundering and tightening cash flow checks. (12.09.18)
- MEPs advocate further measures to curb use of antibiotics. (13.09.18)

#### **October 2018**

- MEPs give green light for **VAT overhaul** to simplify system and cut fraud. (03.10.18)

- MEPs adopted new rules to speed up the freezing and confiscation of criminal assets across the EU. (04.10.18)
- Parliament approves new rules aimed at removing obstacles to the **free movement of non-personal data** within the EU for companies and public authorities. (04.10.18)
- Following the killing of journalist Jamal Khashoggi, the European Parliament called on EU countries to unite and impose an EU-wide arms **embargo on Saudi Arabia**. (25.10.18)
- Parliament demands **ban on neo-fascist and neo-Nazi groups** in the EU. (25.10.18)
- MEPs call for a full audit on **Facebook** and new measures against election meddling. (25.10.18)

#### **November 2018**

- MEPs adopt **multiannual plan for fisheries** on how, where and when small pelagic fish, such as anchovy and sardine, can be caught in the Adriatic Sea (13.11.18)
- Parliament calls for common rules to ensure that the **rights of all national minorities** are redressed and respected across the EU. (13.11.18)
- MEPs have approved the telecoms package that caps intra-EU calls, **makes super-fast 5G networks possible by 2020** and creates alert system for emergencies. (14.11.18)
- Long-term **EU budget**: MEPs push for more funding for youth, research, growth & jobs and tackling climate change. (14.11.18)

*For more information, please visit : <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/>*



# SPECIAL EDITION

## THE FUTURE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION



# SPECIAL EDITION

## THE ESSENTIAL EUROPE

I was born in Spain in 1940, after a war that had lasted almost three years and ended with the Republic being brought down by a military coup, the perpetrators of which had been backed by Mussolini's Italy and Hitler's Germany. It was the Spain of Franco, known as 'El Caudillo'; a country of repression and mass summary executions. The civil war had become 'the Crusade' and the philosophy behind it was based on recognising the countless virtues and advantages of extreme-right totalitarian systems, and pointing out the appalling ineptitude of democracies, especially those in Europe. The defeat of Nazi Fascism merely confirmed the utter superiority of Franco's regime: it suited 'our situation' down to the ground. 'God and His Church were an integral part of the project and of the way in which that project was implemented'. It was at this stage of the Franco regime that my education began. And right from the very beginning, I could tell that I was going to be incredibly lucky. That might sound paradoxical, or even downright

sarcastic: how could a boy feel lucky when his father was in prison and his mother was released from prison barely two days before she gave birth? Believe me, these were terrible times: my mother had been imprisoned without trial just because she was a member of the General Union of Workers (UGT) – a socialist trade union; and my father, who was a high-ranking official in Madrid's public water-supply company, had been jailed for his role as a leader of the Water, Gas and Electricity Workers' division of the UGT. But let's get back to the point: how could this boy feel so lucky living in such circumstances? The answer is quite simple: after the Liberation of Paris, the French Government, which was led by de Gaulle and based on democratic values, gave that boy, along with hundreds of other children from persecuted families, the opportunity to attend French lycées in Madrid and Barcelona. So while so many of our peers went to schools where they prayed more than they learned, and sang patriotic, fascist hymns, we received the same education

as boys and girls of our age all over France did in the years after 1945. We were taught by modern teachers who were committed to the values of the French Republic, values that had been consolidated during the Resistance.

**“This would all be very helpful to us later on, when we needed to tell our fellow Spaniards how important, how absolutely essential Europe was: we had to be in Europe; we had to be Europe.”**

The boy I'm telling you about would go on to protest against the repressive regime that governed his country, and against the nonsensical notion that democracy worked in other places and for other people, but not for us, because we were obviously incapable of solving our own problems or of governing our own society. Apparently we needed a leader to show us the way, and to lead by force, if need be.

This boy then had to make the traumatic move from a liberal French lycée to a university that bore all the hallmarks of totalitarianism, with bans on the one hand and obligations on the other, all in the name of National Catholicism. It was hardly surprising, then, in the situation I've been describing – the situation my country was still in at the end of the 1950s – that the only thing someone like me could do was to demand that life for people in Spain should be the same as it was for people in other



Miguel Angel Martinez Martinez at the 27th Session of the Joint Parliamentary Assembly ACP-UE ©European Parliament



European countries. So we started off by demanding 'to live like other Europeans', and soon afterwards 'to live as we deserve to live'. So that is how it all started, and with a great deal of effort we managed to open things up, so that less than two decades later, Spain joined the Council of Europe. Ten years after that, we would join the European Communities, which, with Spain as a Member State, would later become the European Union.

For many of the countries that have joined it, the European project has been an important and rewarding one; those countries, however, did not need the project. We did. For us, it was a way of achieving freedom and dignity and restoring democratic order. It was about the hope of fundamental social justice. It has been a compelling process for all of us, but I hope you will understand and won't think me immodest when I say that I firmly believe that it has been a more compelling process for the Spanish people than it has for others.

Having told you about my personal journey, I can assure you that the fact I was able to play an active role in this European process has been as moving and unforgettable for me as it has been surreal. For me, taking on that active role first meant being part of the anti-Fascist resistance at university; being arrested, tortured, tried, sentenced and imprisoned for a long period – though not nearly as long as the 14 years in exile, where we carried on dreaming, continued with our struggle, enjoying the hospitality and solidarity of French people, of Austrians and Belgians – Europeans all. There we were, learning and making our voices heard in organisations like the European Youth Centre and the



*Signature ceremony for the accession of Spain and Portugal to the EC. ©European Parliament*

European Youth Foundation, and in other European youth organisations granted advisory status by the Council of Europe.

This would all be very helpful to us later on, when we needed to tell our fellow Spaniards how important, how absolutely essential Europe was: we had to be in Europe; we had to be Europe. Back in 1977, in the first democratic elections after 40 years of totalitarianism, we were elected to the Congress of Deputies in Spain, and had the happy task of drafting and approving the Constitution under which my country's destiny has been played out since 1978. It was just as amazing to play a part in the unanimous vote ratifying Spain's accession to the European Communities – something that had not happened in any other country – followed by the ratification of the Treaty of Rome.

For us, the idea of Europe and how important it is in our daily lives is still alive, just as it has been over the last few decades. This project has always been a very important, attractive one for us, underpinning as it does our values, our well-being and our social progress. Having chaired the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, where I had the opportunity to welcome a dozen new member countries, I was then immensely fortunate once again: this time to be elected to the European Parliament. Over a 15-year period, I

witnessed and played a part in the accession to the European Union of most of the states that we had previously welcomed into the Council of Europe. Europe today seems to me to be just as attractive and necessary as ever before. As Willy Brandt so very eloquently pointed out: 'Peace is not everything, but everything is nothing without peace.' Working with Hans-Gert Pöttering in spearheading the House of European History project has given me a decisive opportunity to put my attitudes and experience as a peace activist into practice once again. I have been able to meet people who may not share my thoughts and opinions, but who are dedicated to the same values as I am – that is to say making a success of European integration.

There is one thought, however, that regularly crosses my mind, and even torments me at times: I wish there were a rigorous and effective sanctions mechanism to oblige all EU Member States to operate coherently, in line with the decisions we take and the values that make us who we are, thereby guaranteeing that no other government can betray the identity of our European project.

**Miguel Angel Martinez Martinez**

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## THE FUTURE...

The question is not whether the EU has a future but what future it has. Given the current Eurosceptic climate, even that is a relief. I usually refuse to make predictions because we have been taken by surprise so many times in the past ten years. Who foresaw the euro area crisis or the refugee crisis? For that matter – where technology and the economy are concerned – who foresaw the incredibly rapid spread of smartphones and tablets? The very most we can do is say what we hope that the future has in store for the European Union. So we need to strike a balance between our expectations and our aspirations. I do not expect any exits either from the Union or from the euro area. On the contrary, I think that there will be future enlargements. Europe's economic, social and political attractiveness is underestimated. In the long term, I would be more concerned about the stability of Russia, and even of China, than of the Union. Sooner or later, the Western Balkan countries absolutely

must join the Union. We shall see how Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova develop internally. Their position in the European family depends on that.

The euro area will become more robust, because the global economy will continue to weather storms that will make it an unavoidable necessity to strengthen Economic and Monetary Union. Only then will taboos relating to solidarity and sovereignty vanish. The euro area remains a unique adventure because it is a union of 19 or more sovereign states. There are no precedents for it in the history of the world, but the Union itself is similarly an exception. History is the mentor in life, but sometimes life also teaches lessons to history. Nothing is inevitable.

**“We need ‘more Europe’: otherwise, we shall become irrelevant.”**

The Union will increasingly close its external borders to illegal migration and increasingly open up to people entering our territory legally. Indeed, we shall need immigrants in a Union whose population will be 10% smaller within 40 years. Enabling all those people to live together as harmoniously as possible on the basis of shared public values is one of the greatest challenges for the future. It will determine what our national societies and Europe itself will be like. I do not think we shall need a new Treaty for the next 20 years. It would only engender greater division. The Lisbon Treaty gives us everything we need to work with. If necessary, political agreements can be reached concerning, for example, more use of qualified majorities

instead of unanimity.

The challenge also lies elsewhere.

How can we be economically stronger in a hypercompetitive world economy? Power in the world will come from the barrel of an economic gun. Because we are lagging behind in new technologies, our Union could become dependent. Only European economic champions will enable us to play our part in order to defend and promote our interests and ideals. We need ‘more Europe’: otherwise, we shall become irrelevant.

Defence is becoming a new field of intense cooperation. A European army is a distant dream, but we must take all the preparatory steps to achieve it. There is a long way to go, but awareness is growing day by day. The other challenge is, if possible, even more serious: how are we to prevent our planet from becoming uninhabitable as a result of climate change? This too requires Member States to cooperate.

Although the future is unpredictable, the Union knows what it needs to do. There must be neither a democratic deficit or a leadership deficit.

**Herman Van Rompuy**

President Emeritus European Council

Minister of State

President of the European Policy Centre





# THE STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONING OF THE EU

## 1. - The *raison d'être* of the European Union

The European Union's goal is to maintain peace between the nations of Europe - the sole guarantor of prosperity. The EU was the response of a group of visionary Europeans to the explosion of hatred that was the Second World War. That war did not happen by chance; rather it was the culmination of an historical process whereby the hatred, suspicion and resentment that had built up over centuries came to a head in the 1930s.

At the height of the war, in Algiers, Jean Monnet warned General de Gaulle that peace could not be achieved without Franco-German reconciliation. He might have added that it would never be achieved on our continent without reconciliation between all the nations of Europe. The EU's *raison d'être* is to build that peace through 'concrete achievements which first create a *de facto* solidarity', as the Schuman Declaration of 9 May 1950 states. That is why Helmut Kohl was able to say that "solidarity is the essence of the European Union"; centuries of hatred and resentment have given way to solidarity. We would do

well not forget that at a time when hostility and mistrust are being sold to us as a means of safeguarding national identity. The EU has never tried to combat patriotism in the Member States, seeking instead to make it part of a common endeavour, rather than the source of pointless, bloody conflict.

**"The EU's *raison d'être* is to build that peace through 'concrete achievements which first create a *de facto* solidarity', as the Schuman Declaration of 9 May 1950 states."**

As a grouping of nations founded on solidarity, the EU needs a structure, as does any human endeavour if it is to endure.

In Europe, and in our time, that structure can only be a democratic one. As far back as in 1950, the key institutions of the EU were established for this very reason. They have continued to develop since then, and are still developing today. I am not going to address them all in detail, but rather focus my attention on the European Parliament.

## 2.- The role of the European Parliament

Article 10 of the Treaty of Lisbon states the following:

"1. The functioning of the Union shall be founded on representative democracy.

2. Citizens are directly represented at Union level in the European Parliament."

As long ago as in the mid-18th century, the rationalists advocated replacing arbitrary rule by an

individual, in other words absolutism, with the rule of law, to be observed by everyone; privilege thus gave way to equality before the law. But this also meant introducing representative democracy.

In this way, and in the face of some resistance, parliaments gained more and more political influence. The European Parliament is no exception: its role has expanded with each treaty, and today Article 14 of the Treaty of Lisbon states the following:

"1. The European Parliament shall, jointly with the Council, exercise legislative and budgetary functions. It shall exercise functions of political control and consultation as laid down in the Treaties. It shall elect the President of the Commission."

In order to perform all its functions effectively, in the course of its near 70 years of existence Parliament has continued to develop and refine its working methods, turning itself into a sophisticated forum for dialogue and supranational and consensual decision-making.

In Parliament, members with diverging ideological positions debate, vote and, above all, negotiate; In long hours of negotiations, they identify a common European interest that MEPs, the Council and the Commission can pursue.

Parliament will thus never be the backdrop for slick media campaigns; instead it will continue in the role it has performed for so long with admirable determination, that of being the soul of Europe.

**José María Gil-Robles**

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EPP-ED, Spain (1989-2004)  
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## EUROPE GOES TO THE POLLS

Europe is still going strong! People in the far west of the Eurasian continent, between the North Sea, the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean, will go to the polls in 2019. The political establishment is beginning to stir, swayed by personal ambitions. This self-serving impulse is the exact opposite of what Europe needs, namely a dispassionate vision of the way ahead. And that is what one of Europe's oldest founding political parties - your party - can help to provide.

The world is changing, and Europe is changing with it. In the 19th century, Europe dominated the world. In 20 years' time, the three most highly populated countries in the world will be in south-east Asia, namely China, India and Indonesia, and it will be a digital world.

In the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, a group of six European countries sought to form an alliance to prevent future deadly conflicts. They achieved more than they could ever have hoped for, creating a large market and then a common currency. The collapse of the Soviet Empire meant

that countries that had previously been occupied could now exercise their new rights as independent countries, and as a result the number of EU Member States increased significantly. Unfortunately, the EU was not properly prepared for this enlargement, as its working methods were - and still are - based on the simplistic notion of all states being equal. All the Member States have exactly the same rights, regardless of their size, while the European administration is constantly acquiring ever broader powers and non-democratic institutions are fighting for a chance to govern Europe.

In these troubled times, what is there to say?

Two things:

1. The EU Member States must comply with the Treaties to the letter and apply the principle of subsidiarity. The number of Commissioners and the size of the administration should be more or less halved, and representatives of Member States should be appointed democratically. The Treaty of Maastricht shows exactly how this could be done.
2. The group of founding states, ex-

panded to include all the countries in the eurozone, must press ahead with the task of creating an economic alliance which does not encroach on other national powers. This economic alliance is vital if the participating states are to discuss organisational arrangements and safeguards commensurate with modern-day challenges. Building on the single currency, the next step should be to develop a single tax system for all the countries in the alliance. This project is also just plain common sense. It could be done in five to ten years, starting with VAT and indirect taxes. This tax harmonisation will be warmly welcomed by all the citizens of the eurozone.

The group will gradually be opened up to all the states wishing to participate, as long as the citizens of the countries in question confirm their commitment through referendums passed by a qualified majority. This approach has been proposed by the Re-Imagine Europa group, which has set up a working party to determine what an ideal system for Europe would look like. It would mean that instead of muddling through, we could follow a carefully thought-out plan.

\*  
\*   \*

This is a far cry from rivalries between states and petty personal ambitions.

Things are looking brighter for Europe!

**Valéry Giscard d'Estaing**  
Former President of the French Republic (1974 - 1981)  
President Re-Imagine Europa



Re-Imagine Europa ©European Parliament



## TIME OF ADOPTING A NEW EU BUDGET MATTERS

There is a number of paradoxes linked to the EU budget. One of these is that governments speak about expenditures but first act on revenues. They limit the contributions much before discussing expenditures. That might look as a responsible approach to the public finance. By design, the EU budget should not generate debt. The paradox is that the very same governments, quickly deciding on the revenues of the EU budget, tend to create excessive expectations when it comes to the expenditures side. They try to be responsive to public concerns adapting the policies and undertaking political commitments on behalf of the EU. But often these commitments are not adequately backed with public funds. The reason is that the EU budget is not sufficiently flexible and at the same time governments do not like to pay more.

As EU citizens and taxpayers, we have several options concerning the EU budget. The easiest is not to make changes at all but that would bring down the public confidence and the credibility of the EU institutions. Another option is to make the EU budget much more flexible in order

to channel the funds to back the hot political priorities. This approach has its limitations – the decreased budgetary commitments would negatively impact long established economic policies. A third option is that member states stand ready to increase the transfers to the EU budget in order to adequately meet the arising political challenges. The downside of this is that the number of budgetary political debates in the member states will increase, making it even more difficult to stand with arguments related to solidarity and European added value to the harsh and plain populist rhetoric. None of the above options is likely to work. Is there a working solution?

**“The EU budget is not sufficiently flexible and at the same time governments do not like to pay more.”**

We can see a credible answer to the budgetary dilemma in the elaborate proposal of the Commission for the post 2020 multiannual EU budget. It is based on the sound logic that the budget is an instrument to implement policies and not a purpose per se. We can see three basic

pillars of the modernization. The first one is to decrease reasonably the commitments for the two big budgetary “elephants” – agricultural subsidies and cohesion, pushing for further efficiency improvements. At the same time – increasing the share of funding for policies that would boost the EU’s competitive capacity and improve the quality of life of the citizens – i.e. the funds for research and the digital economy. Second – to increase the share of the genuine own resources of the budget, taking on board a number of proposals, given by the High Level Group, chaired by Mario Monti. Third – a slight increase of the national contributions is foreseen, that could be also a “de facto” reduction in case the own resources share is increased. This is a working formula, taking account also of the budgetary consequences of Brexit. As expected, the Parliament’s reaction is more ambitious and the Council is cautious. But it is extremely important that both arms stand up to the expectations and support Guenter Oettinger’s fight for a timely adoption of the next MFF. Otherwise the whole work has to restart after the elections, under a tremendous time constraint and no better options to discuss in sight. Now it is either strengthening the EU’s capacity to provide strong solutions or falling back into the silo of national politics that always brought conflicts on our continent.



## THE COMING CHALLENGES OF GLOBALIZATION

The story of the last seventy years was largely one of construction - of the building of a liberal rules-based global order, the maintenance of peace, the deepening of human rights, the liberation of millions from poverty and the progressive connection of once separated peoples and nations. The core engine of this development, and in many ways its symbol, was the increasing liberalization and expansion of trade. But somewhere along the way these instruments of liberalism, freer trade and market liberation, became ends in and of themselves. In the process we lost our way. As a result, today, the world stands on the brink of a new era of deconstruction in which the inevitable momentum of progress built by previous generations is no longer certain. This slide must be stopped, for the good of the world and for the good of Europe.

The world that grew up around the European Project increasingly came to look like it: rules-based, value-laden, and driven by economic integration. This is no accident. Both the European Union and the liberal world order are rooted in the same idea – that peace is strengthened through cooperation and shared prosperity. It was a model succinctly laid out in the 1941 Atlantic Charter, a “better future for the world” could

be achieved through economic prosperity, collaboration between nations and by the assurance “that all men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want”.

**“The world that grew up around the European Project increasingly came to look like it: rules-based, value-laden, and driven by economic integration. This is no accident. Both the European Union and the liberal world order are rooted in the same idea – that peace is strengthened through cooperation and shared prosperity.”**

It is this ethic that drove the European Construction. It is evident from the very opening words of the Schuman Declaration: “World peace cannot be safeguarded without the making of creative efforts proportionate to the dangers which threaten it.” It was not an endeavor for Franco-German peace, or European peace, but world peace. And in this Europe was in many ways a pathfinder, demonstrating regionally the power of integration and the pacifying effect of prosperity. After the Cold War, the rest of the world followed Europe’s lead. Trade was loosened; value chains were created; and predictability through rules and law was infused into the international system. But

as increasing numbers of people attained freedom from fear and want and as great power peace became assured, the impetus of this system was forgotten. Prosperity and the unending demand for more became the end. And in this process the soul of the system was lost.

The problem with a system built around the idea of prosperity is that support is fickle. Once markets turn and the promise of greater wealth is questioned, buy-in vanishes. And that is precisely what happened following the 2008 financial crisis. We find ourselves today in a new era. In which the rules and ethic that drove interconnection face retrenchment. Where multilateralism is replaced by bilateralism. A time in which structured institutionalism is eclipsed by ad hoc short-term deals. In other words, for the first time since World War II, the world is looking less and less like the EU.

In the face of this shift, the EU has a stark choice. It can either embrace the raw transactionalism of the Trump era and act like a great power in the 19th Century sense, using its economic weight to attain short-term advantages through discrete deals. Or Europe can step-up and be a systemic power, finding a path that reinforces and reinvigorates the norms of a multilateral rules-based trading system. The decision should be clear. It is much better to have a world that looks like the European Project of today than the Concert of Europe of yesterday.

**Ana Palacio**

EPP-ED, Spain (1994-2002)

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## THE EU'S SECURITY AND DEFENCE COOPERATION

The EU faces enormous foreign policy and security challenges. Large parts of the Middle East and North Africa are involved in ethno-religious conflict and proxy wars, while terrorist groups are proliferating in the region. Meanwhile an aggressive Russia is violating the sovereignty of its neighbours, boldly challenging Europe's security arrangements. At the same time, the transatlantic relationship has been weakened by Trump's protectionist "America First" policy. The fact is that, in 2018, the EU is surrounded by an arc of instability.

**"The current conflicts over security clearly show the need to increasingly move towards a common defence policy. European cooperation makes real sense; no state can solve the problems we face today on its own."**

The EU and its Member States need to respond to this situation as a matter of urgency. The current conflicts over security clearly show the need to increasingly move towards a common defence policy. European cooperation makes real sense; no state can solve the problems we face today on its own. For years, surveys have shown high approval rates for enhanced European cooperation. According to a recent Eurobarometer survey, 75% of people in Europe support a CFSP. However, Member States must finally abandon their national blinkers

and display sufficient political will and mutual trust.

Specific plans have been available for a very long time. Most recently, in June 2016, the EU's High Representative Federica Mogherini presented her Global Strategy for the EU's foreign policy; in the Foreign Affairs Committee of the European Parliament, I presented a draft report indicating what was required of an EU foreign policy from this point of view. The basis should therefore be the pillars known as the "three Ds": "diplomacy, development, defence". Only a combination of these instruments will bring success. But how can we build up our defence capabilities when defence budgets are limited? In my view, the only realistic way forward lies in strengthening our Common Security and Defence Policy. Enhanced cooperation at European level can generate enormous synergies, for example by combining and sharing military capabilities and units and developing them. According to the Commission, cooperation between Member States could yield annual savings of between EUR 25 billion and EUR 100 billion. In the light of the multiannual financial framework, I nonetheless remain optimistic: whereas the budget for the period 2014-2020 was EUR 2.3 billion, the new financial framework provides for an increase to EUR 3 billion. At the same time, the European Defence Fund has been set up with a budget of EUR 13 billion.

The Lisbon Treaty already provides the legal framework for enhanced cooperation in the field of defence. Particularly significant here is Permanent Structured Cooperation,

which was adopted by the Council in December 2017. The participating Member States initially agreed on 17 projects, covering training, capacity development and operational preparedness for defence, which were adopted by the Council in March this year.

Frontex needs to be strengthened and transformed into a European system of border guards which, if necessary, would receive military support, for example from the European Naval Force (Euromarfor) and a reinforced European Corps (Eurocorps). The EU also needs a common policy on asylum and immigration, as has amply been demonstrated by the current refugee crisis. In order to fight terrorism and organised crime, Member States must finally comply with their Treaty obligations to exchange more data through Europol and Eurojust. Last but not least, EU-NATO cooperation should be promoted at all levels. The EU is the strongest economic power in the world, the biggest donor of humanitarian aid and development aid, and a pioneer in tackling global challenges such as climate change and human rights. We need to build on this success story if Europe is to maintain and improve its place in the world.

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## FUTURE OF THE CAP

### Creating a sustainable future for Europe and the world.

The CAP has been in place since 1962. It sets conditions that enable farmers to fulfil multiple functions in society, in particular, providing affordable food while preserving nature and biodiversity. Agriculture accounts for almost half of EU territory, and more than half of EU citizens live in rural areas. It is therefore natural for the EU to take responsibility for rural development. The agricultural and food sectors together account for almost 44 million jobs. Unfortunately, farmers' incomes are up to 40% lower than those of non-agricultural workers. The agriculture sector is facing myriad risks that are hard to regulate for. The CAP therefore helps EU farmers enjoy a decent standard of living. The EU will support its farmers to the tune of EUR 59 billion annually by 2020. The European Agricultural Fund provides direct income support of EUR 42 billion and market measures of EUR 3 billion. The European Rural Development Fund provides EUR 14 billion. The CAP has evolved from its original focus on quantity towards food security and the quality-based new requirements of these changing times. The objectives, strategy and tools of the CAP have moved with the times over the seven-year programming periods. New legislative proposals are being prepared for the period 2021 to 2027. For the first time, each country is developing a national strategy to meet the objectives of the CAP. The CAP rules on state subsidies grant numerous advantages to

economically strong countries. For the upcoming period, nine objectives have been set out: Ensure fair income, increase competitiveness, rebalance power in the food chain, climate change action, environmental care, preserve landscapes and biodiversity, support general renewal, vibrant rural areas and protect food and health quality.

**“The EU is known as one of the world’s leading manufacturers and a net exporter of agro-food products.”**

The EU Agriculture Council has expressed its support for proposals for EU-level objectives and instruments. Concerns have been voiced by several states regarding budget cuts. Ministers from former socialist states have expressed their opposition to delays in bringing direct payments to the same level, and are calling for limits on contributions from state budgets in the form of state aid. Countries with a higher concentration of agricultural land are calling for competences in direct payments to be retained at national level. They point to these discriminatory elements as undermining the essence of the CAP. The formulation of a long-term vision, forecast and strategy for the CAP is influenced by the global, European and state levels. At global level, a policy correction can be expected. The USA's efforts, as part of its “America First” policy, to supplement the rules of globalisation with national structures are not unique. The future of Europe should be linked to the creation of a level playing field for all EU Member

States, according to the document “Europe’s Future”. At the state level the determining idea is sustainability, which means a healthy environment, full employment, adequate living standards and a dignified life. The EU is known as one of the world’s leading manufacturers and a net exporter of agro-food products. It can and should play a key role in ensuring food security in the world as a whole. The EU is also the world’s largest importer of agricultural products from the least developed countries (EUR 3.5 billion in 2017, which is more than the USA, Russia, China, Japan and Canada combined). The EU’s approach is often considered as a model within the UN framework. The EU and its Member States remain the largest donors of development aid, providing up to EUR 75.5 billion per year. An important factor is the favourable conditions for access to the EU market for the least developed countries. The external investment plan is part of the EU’s efforts to boost investment in Africa. Migration is now and will remain one of the highest priorities of the EU’s relations with our key partners. The EU is focused on ensuring the food sovereignty of the countries of the developing world based on sustainable intensification. This is a decisive way of moving from unorganised migration towards a dignified life and addressing the challenges of feeding the developing world.

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## EMPLOYMENT AND SOCIAL SOLIDARITY IN EUROPE

### Guarantors of the future of Europe.

More than 200 million workers have helped to make the European Union, a single market involving 28 states (for now), a global trading power. The story of how the EU came about is still hugely impressive: originally conceived as a peace project, the EU gradually became more and more of a real community under the influence of closer political and economic cooperation. We now cherish the EU as an economically and socially attractive region, where goods move freely and people can work wherever they want.

Significant strategic decisions, such as the creation of a common economic area and the introduction of freedom of movement for workers, have brought the EU Member States much closer together over the last few decades. The EU is a symbol of how constant discussion of and cooperation on economic, social and political matters can transcend significant differences between countries. The glue that holds it all together has two ingredients: trust and solidarity. They are the source of the EU's economic prowess and social strength, as is demonstrated

by the many "Pulse of Europe" events taking place in multiple cities across Europe. The people who come out in their thousands are evidence that Europe is worth defending and improving.

**"It is our duty to create solid foundations for the European job market and to guarantee them opportunities for the future."**

European unity makes it possible for citizens to study, train, and work anywhere in the EU. Freedom of movement for workers has helped the countries of the EU forge closer ties. Talking to each other and learning and working together is the best antidote to national resentment. The EU is very diverse, with its 28 Member States (for now), and it is an economic power. But not everything in the garden is rosy. For example, youth unemployment is more than 30% in some places and is a serious problem for society as a whole, especially in the southern Member States. As such, it also weakens the EU as a community based on solidarity. Young people are more enthusiastic about the EU than other demographics. We must not betray their trust. It is our duty to create solid foundations for the European job market and to guarantee them opportunities for the future. It is in all of our interests for EU citizens to have good training opportunities and career prospects, so that they themselves can make an active contribution to the development of the European Union.

In this context, the European

Social Fund (ESF) is an important EU policy instrument, as well as a symbol of European solidarity. Member States have been providing support to EU citizens through this fund for more than 60 years. The main goal of the fund is to improve training opportunities and career prospects and to eliminate structural disadvantages. The current 2014–2020 funding period will see the EU provide some EUR 80 billion in assistance through the ESF. The priorities include encouraging mobility, social inclusion and lifelong learning, and combating poverty. In a similar vein, EURES (the European job mobility network) facilitates the free movement of workers in the EU and offers opportunities to participate in exchange programmes. 'Cross-border worker' has gained a completely new and positive meaning, and crossing borders to work has become an everyday reality for many people. Significant progress in the coordination of social systems and their portability has been a factor in enabling people to work abroad. That is a sign of social solidarity, too. That is why it is important not just to see the EU as a peace or trade project whose significance lies in the past. Solidarity is an important safeguard of peace and stability. All EU citizens should benefit from the economic strength of the EU countries. A stable job market and a fair social welfare system are guarantors of this. Europe is and will remain a project for the future.

**Emilia Müller**

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## OUR EUROPEAN CHALLENGE: A CLEAN ENERGY UNION

As European citizens we are well aware of the benefits of an ever closer European Union, making us stronger as we tackle global challenges. The benefits associated with increased cooperation among Member States should also have a positive impact where energy and the climate are concerned. With that in mind, one of Europe's most important projects will be in the spotlight over the coming months: 'Energy Union and Climate'. The EU is seeking to step up our energy security via the five central strands of the Energy Union Strategy. We shouldn't forget that over half (54%) of the energy consumed in the EU is imported. Another aim of the Energy Union is to establish an integrated internal market in energy, making it possible for energy to flow freely throughout the EU. To do this we need to invest in infrastructure (interconnections) and get rid of regulatory barriers. And since energy and climate policy are very closely linked, another of the Energy Union's goals is to decarbonise the economy. The basis for all of this has to be

energy efficiency, with advances in clean energy technology being made through research and development. We have a clear strategy and clear priorities, and we now need tools in order to bring about this transformation. A number of tools are included in the 'Clean Energy for All Europeans' package, which covers measures designed to update the regulation that will enable us to press ahead with the energy transition into the next decade. These include proposals on a new design for the electricity market, and other proposals to overhaul the directives on energy efficiency and renewables, with the aim of making it possible to integrate renewable energy, boost energy efficiency and give consumers not only more choice, but also a more active role.

**"We shouldn't forget that over half (54%) of the energy consumed in the EU is imported."**

The Regulation on the Governance of the Energy Union is a cornerstone of these new measures. It is a new

European instrument to coordinate action to make sure that energy and climate targets are met. The regulation will provide a sound basis upon which each country can put into practice their plans to cooperate in order to meet the Energy Union's objectives.

Negotiations on this package of measures are currently in the final stages, and the package will be vital not only with a view to modernising Europe's energy system, but also in order to move towards a more efficient, competitive and decarbonised economy.

With this in mind, the European Union has made a commitment to cut baseline energy consumption by 32.5% by 2030, with 32% of gross final energy consumption coming from renewable sources. These targets – which are to be revised upwards in 2023 – will help us cut carbon emissions by more than the 40% target we have already committed to for 2030. This is a major step towards complying with the Paris Agreement.

As Europeans we are laying the foundations for our energy future, which has to be based on a decarbonised economy, enabling us to use clean, affordable, secure energy and ensuring that everyone is taken into account during the transition, especially those who are most vulnerable. And it is up to us to make sure this happens.

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## AN EFFECTIVE EUROPE MOVES FORWARD ON TWO LEGS

European diversity is a reality: differences in culture, in the size of countries and their natural resources, budgetary capacities, political situations, etc.

**“If we want to make effective progress we need to stop wanting to do everything as a bloc of 27. On the contrary, let’s not hesitate to make progress by bringing together countries ready and able to cooperate on a specific subject.”**

But how can we overcome the difficulties associated with these differences so as to be able to act effectively?

We must draw on the basic rules followed by successful organisations. Every orchestra, football team, company, or group of researchers worth its salt succeeds when each member shares the team’s overall

objectives, is fully committed and is as talented as the other members. Our European Union will be able to overcome a great many difficulties when all Member States feel fully involved and are – after some adjustments – able to cooperate under the same rules.

Conversely, on many points, agreements will only be possible if certain members either do not want to be, or cannot get, involved.

For instance:

- Being a member of the eurozone entails following strict rules, and some countries are excluded on a de facto basis.
  - In military matters, for geostrategic, democratic, historical reasons or a lack of human resources and/or weapons, some states cannot participate in a Europe of Defence advocated by other countries.
- However, in order both to respond to the needs and demands of our fellow citizens – who want concrete answers to their problems – and to deal with particular situations, we

must move forward without delay. This is already happening, both with enhanced cooperation, and with other forms of cooperation.

For instance: Schengen, the euro, the European Economic Area (EEA), not to mention specific cooperation the fields of aeronautics and space exploration.

So, if we want to make effective progress we need to stop wanting to do everything as a bloc of 27.

On the contrary, let’s not hesitate to make progress by bringing together countries ready and able to cooperate on a specific subject. Europe can and must walk on two legs:

- The ‘27’ on the one hand,
- and various different groups on the other.

It is not a question of building a multi-speed Europe, but of moving forward with those who are willing, and who give themselves the means, to do so. They can then be joined in their initiatives by other countries that wish to take part.

This does not require any institutional reform or additional budget, and would give us a new direction, fresh impetus and hope, on the back of unions of shared projects with proven effectiveness



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## THE FUTURE OF EUROPE

Europe is at a crossroads. For Europeans, there is much at stake: they have a choice between a strong Europe which plays an important role in a rapidly changing world, or a Europe which reverts to the outmoded nationalism of the 19th century and finds itself marginalised at global level.

**“The answer is not less Europe but more Europe, not less Union but more Union in all areas where joint action makes us stronger.”**

Political developments are not making it easy for them. We are currently going through a “polycrisis” characterised by unresolved conflicts, violence and even wars in the eastern part of our continent. The European economy remains fragile and is being further undermined by the budget problems besetting Member States, the resurgence of protectionism, the hostility of the US Administration towards the EU and free trade and, not least, by the United Kingdom’s imminent withdrawal from the European Union. Environmental crises and climate change are continuing unchecked. The policies implemented by the EU Member States in response to the migration and refugee problem betray a lack of solidarity between European countries and the inability to come up with joint solutions and put them into practice. Some nationalist governments are displaying a complete disregard for democracy and shared European values, in particular the independence of the courts, freedom

of the press and association and women’s rights.

The timid nature of the political response to these challenges at national and European level is stirring up dissatisfaction among growing sections of the population and boosting populist parties and nationalist movements.

The answer is not less Europe but more Europe, not less Union but more Union in all areas where joint action makes us stronger, combined with a greater emphasis on subsidiarity. The principle of ‘unity in diversity’ - meaning that the countries of Europe retain their identity and traditions and work together for their mutual benefit - must be upheld. The Union must be given a stronger leadership structure, in particular through the election of the President of the Commission by the European Parliament on the basis of the outcome of the European elections.

We also need a more pan-European outlook in many areas. The EU is an important part of Europe and an important instrument of European integration, but it is not the whole of Europe. For that reason, the Union and the Council of Europe should work more closely together in an effort to involve all European nations in our unique project for European peace. This process should include consideration of a security architecture for Europe which embraces all European States and effective policing of Europe’s external borders.

“Brexit” must not create new borders, in particular between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, and the door for the United

Kingdom’s return to the Union should be kept open.

In today’s world, Europe needs greater self-belief to help it address new challenges, such as the emergence of powers such as China or the new type of isolationism being practised in the USA.

On the basis of my report, the Association of former Members of Parliament of the member states of the Council of Europe or the European Union, to which the Association of Former Members of the European Parliament belongs, has adopted a declaration on the future of Europe. That declaration emphasises that the notion of the shared heritage of European peoples, which has been shaped by history and is founded on humanist, cultural and democratic ideals, must be revived in order to bolster the efforts to offer people a better life in Europe and consolidate Europe’s position in the new concert of global and emerging powers. Europe faces new demographic, environmental, economic and security challenges, and it draws its legitimacy from its commitment to democracy, human rights and the rule of law.

Mutual understanding, cooperation and solidarity in the service of the common interest and the well-being of all Europeans will win out over disagreements, tensions and conflicts.

The future of Europe must mean no more war, no more dictatorship, it must mean Europeans living together in peace and democracy!

**Walter Schwimmer**  
Secretary General of the Council  
of Europe (1999 - 2004)



## FP-AP COLLOQUY ON THE FUTURE OF EUROPE

For two years, the European Association of Former Members of Parliament of the Member States of the Council of Europe (FP-AP) fought for its paper on 'the Future of Europe'. In our capacity as FMA Board members, we voted in favour of the final declaration at the FP-AP meeting on 12 October 2018 in Strasbourg.

In 2017, we were not alone in discussing the future of Europe and new forms or an improved version of the European Union. In a white paper, the President of the European Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker, addressed five issues on the topic 'Europe can do more', while the European Parliament adopted a Resolution on improving the functioning of the European Union building on the potential of the Lisbon Treaty.

Dr Walter Schwimmer, the former Secretary General of the Council of Europe, drafted the FP-AP declaration. During the negotiation process, the FMA insisted on a clear distinction between the terms 'European Union' and 'Europe', and successfully thwarted the idea of merging the positions of President of the Commission and President of the Council. Instead, the assembly agreed that in order to strengthen the leadership of the Union, the President of the Commission should be elected by the European Parliament on the outcome of the European elections.

We also underlined the fact that Europe is a continent that has been the scene of military, monetary and economic civil wars. The European Union is a public and political entity with its own legal personality, which

is the answer to the suffering of Europeans. By contrast, Russia, Ukraine, Iceland and Norway – soon to be joined by the United Kingdom – are not part of the European Union, and yet are all located in Europe. Furthermore, it was essential for the FMA to stress the critical need for a European Union that is innovative, modern, courageous and assertive, and that retains a deep focus on education. We also underscored our willingness to reinforce the collaboration of the FP-AP.

**“The European Union is a public and political entity with its own legal personality, which is the answer to the suffering of Europeans.”**

The European Union must be proud of its achievements. In the future, we must continue to strive for concrete results, whilst always keeping in mind the well-being of our citizens. Besides peace, the European Union has already delivered tangible results on the Euro, scientific research, aviation, rockets, industry, Galileo (an independent, European GPS that does not rely on the US), the abolition of roaming charges, agriculture, Erasmus, trade and energy, to name but a few. However, we must also acknowledge our shortcomings, such as the failure to control people at our external borders, not including the cost of the convergence of the lowest incomes in the cost price of goods and services that people demand, or our inability to simplify overly complex European procedures, particularly when it comes to the allocation of

European funding.

The trinity of good governance, good leadership and good leaders is essential. We must act in a respectful manner and at last turn decisions into action. This is fundamental if we are to win back people's trust in the EU institutions and build a future together, for everybody's benefit. It was Jean-Pierre Raffarin, the former Prime Minister of France and President of the foundation of Leaders for Peace, who said that 'The deconstruction of the European Union would lead to war'. The European Union won the Nobel Peace Prize in 2012 and stands for peace and democracy: two cherished and priceless values, even if they have a cost.

We, Europeans, faced with Europhobic political groups leading us to new adversity, must stand up for the future of Europe, of the European Union, of our citizens and their children, for prosperity in solidarity and fraternity; no more war, no more dictatorship.

We will continue to stand up for democracy and peace, and stand against nationalism and terrorism.

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# FMA ACTIVITIES



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





# DEMOCRACY SUPPORT

## INTERNATIONAL DAY OF DEMOCRACY

To mark the International Day of Democracy on 18 September, a high-level conference was held at the European Parliament; it opened with a message from Federica Mogherini. The conference was an expression of firm commitment to the Europe of human rights dreamt of by the Founding Fathers, but it also sounded the alarm about the cracks that are starting to form in the fabric of that Europe.

The first session focused on the instruments Parliament has created to support democracy in the world, and their successes. Attention was also drawn, however, to the rise of populism and nationalism within the EU and the emergence around the world of a brutal form of 'illiberalism' which rides roughshod over international agreements. Is that what the future has in store for us? Europe is struggling to apply sanctions in response to the persistent human rights violations being committed in some of its own Member States. Two countries are facing the threat of sanctions (Article 7 TEU) – Hungary and Poland – but the likelihood of obtaining the unanimous consent of the Council, which would be needed for this to happen, seems vanishingly small. This inability to uphold its values, even at home, is weakening Europe's position in international dialogue: there will be no democratic Europe if democracy in its Member States is not defended by their citizens. This is the crux of the problem, and the second session was devoted to just that. I spoke on the topic of approximative democracy. In his book *After the Nation State*, Habermas stressed the danger

that Europe would not be seen as democratically legitimate in spite of its formally democratic institutions, simply because citizens would feel powerless to exercise scrutiny over those institutions. In a democracy, however, power comes from the people. This is an argument frequently appropriated by the Hungarian Prime Minister: the people against international law; the people against Europe. So where is this European "people"? I defended the idea that, far from being absent from the European debate, the "people" have always been a part of it – and that they have even sometimes had a decisive influence on political decision-making. Who among us has forgotten Sacconi and his struggle for the REACH Directive? For six years, that struggle mobilised environmental NGOs and networks of patients with respiratory illnesses and their doctors, and ultimately – in a victory akin to that of David over Goliath – led to more stringent regulation of the chemicals industry. Who does not remember the proposed software patenting directive, which free software developers fought against with the help of Michel Rocard? Young people fighting for free access to knowledge secured the withdrawal of the proposal. Who has forgotten the Lunacek report on LGBTQ rights? The German MEP, who was pilloried in a hate campaign mounted by fundamentalist religious lobbies, was supported to the very end by the whole European LGBTQ community. Yes, there are European citizens, and they are making their voices heard. They make a huge difference. They are not replacing

political parties, but they are offering them fresh political leeway. The problem is that once their cause has been won, they disappear off the radar. The people who defend women's rights are not the people who defend Afghan hounds. And if there are victims in these struggles, their stories go largely unreported. No trace, no social history, no connection between these revolts against the establishment, and yet remembering them is vital to the future of Europe. Populists who boast of being the only voice of the people are met with an upswell of voices raised in opposition, but the EU is not adding its voice to the chorus. Because, paradoxically, those who become the spokespersons for European democracy are not the forgotten citizens, but the winners of our Sakharov Prize, those prestigious advocates of the European ideal, three of the most recent of whom – Malala (2014) and Denis Mukwege and Nadia Murad (2018) – have been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. They are admirable sources of inspiration. But let us make space, in this pantheon of champions of democracy, for the unsung heroes who have defended Europe's fundamental values whenever they have been in jeopardy. We will need them.

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# EP TO CAMPUS PROGRAMME

## MODELLING DEVELOPMENT

### Some ideas<sup>1</sup>

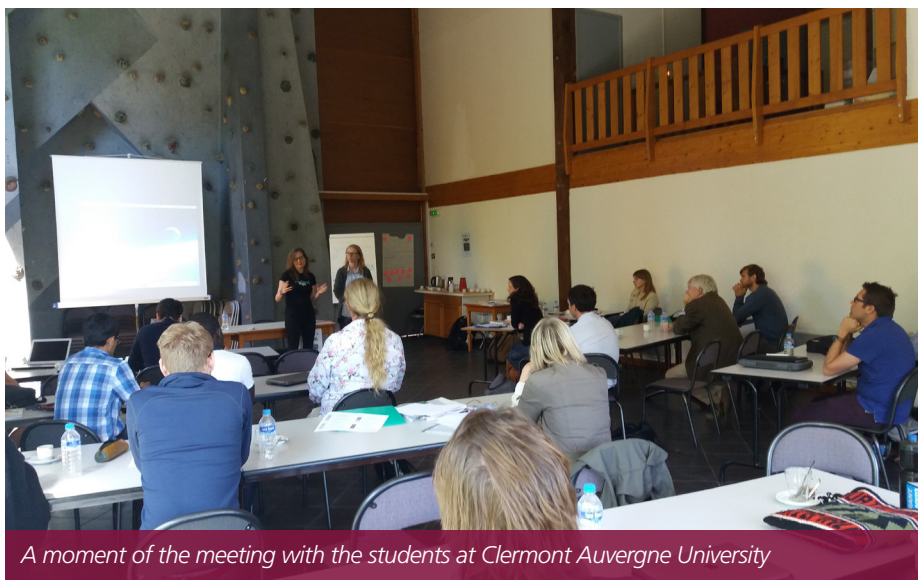
Following the Rio summit as well as several subsequent international initiatives, we are now engaged in the 'Sustainable Development Goals 2030' (SDG) exercise comprising 17 goals, 169 targets and 232 indicators (as 2017, but still growing).

We consider this as a more coherent inspiration for development modelling than the 'climate change' monomania, which is so often restricted to atmospheric emissions, energy and money metrics. Consequently, we proposed a set of changes we think could enhance considerably the efficiency of the exercise.

The first change is to finally integrate the positive value of both natural and constructed environment conservation (and therefore the negative value of its destruction implied in development expenditure). This implies switching from a 'sustainable' to an 'integrated' developmental vision. Money metrics can be used here so as to evaluate material realisations (such as infrastructures) not directly measured by the market.

The second is to "dejargonise" model-making processes. The decay of the language used in international institutions has worsened and reflects

1. These ideas have been developed in a [paper](#) presented at a side event to the Paris COPS-21 in December 2015; in a Brussels [conference](#) in the beginning of 2018 and in a [communication](#) to the Goa RSAI World Congress May-June this year. They were presented in a round table within the Summer School on 'Integrated Assessment Models', promoted by CNRS/Université de Clermont Auvergne.



*A moment of the meeting with the students at Clermont Auvergne University*

the progressive alienation from reality of the actors involved. Pleonastic, inconsistent and metaphysical constructions have been one manifestation. The promotion of a set of simplistic publicity messages to the general public does not help the main objective of connecting the model to reality. An assessment and evaluation framework of the designed SDG, controlled by actors fully independent from those directly linked to the main international institutions which produced the plan in the first place, is central. The third is to integrate essential human values such as freedom and the capacity to influence public policy, which are at least as precious as material progress itself. This will clash with the existing state majority within the UN, among whom the popularity of freedom and democracy is decreasing. Democratic nations might have to work here on their own.

Modelling professionals must ensure that their efforts are not transformed into a window-dressing

mechanism aimed at hiding relevant facts. Modelling must be fully transparent on its assumptions, clear in its functioning and frank about its uncertainties. Development actors shall avoid being slaves of communication strategies based on quick 'emotional shots' which so often and so severely skew reality while producing no good outcomes in the long-run.

Whereas the mobilisation of civil society on all its forms is essential to achieve results, the adequate use of public financial means for the agreed targets is the most crucial element. The priority must be to promote fundamental and applied research as well as development, dissemination and application of new solutions, instead of consuming resources ineffectually on bureaucratic workouts which are difficult to define and assess.

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## SCHOOL OF DEVELOPMENT

The summer School of Clermont University (France) took place at a mountain resort above the city. As all participants and orators stayed there, this offered a unique opportunity for conversation and in-depth discussions.

Researchers from several European universities and research institutes (e.g. IIASA) presented models exploring technical opportunities and socio-economic consequences of measures mitigating Climate Change. The scenarios were modelled in a fashion to enable policy makers to decide how the targets agreed upon at the Paris Climate Change Conference in 2015 – an average increase in temperature of not more than 1,5 to 2 degrees centigrade – could be achieved.

The more technical models looking into energy consumption and energy-mix, respectively phasing out of carbon energy sources were complemented by presentation exploring transdisciplinary solutions. One lecture was dedicated to “Participatory Modelling”, developing methods to include stakeholders and civil society. As it becomes more and more evident that Climate Change Mitigation and Adaptation will induce change in lifestyle for many European citizens, information



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about the necessary measures and participation in developing policies becomes more important for successful implementation. The presentations of the scientists were complemented by speakers from the French Ministry of Environment and the European Commission DG Climate. All speakers underlined the importance of making policy decision based on as much scientific information as possible.

In France phasing out of carbon energy sources is less difficult as in many other European countries, given the fact that most of the electricity generated is by nuclear plants. Reducing nuclear energy and substituting by renewable energy sources will never the less pose a challenge.

Mr. Fabien Ramos from DG Climate presented the plans of the European Commission, which had been strengthened and made more stringent by the European Parliament. He underlined the important role the EP is playing in Climate change mitigation and adaptation policies. The Round Table with former MEPs provided another opportunity to talk about the role of the EP in the Climate Change debate and I could inform participants of the involvement of the EP in negotiations from the very start of UN Conferences of the Parties to the Climate Change Convention.

Mr. Paulo Casaca from Portugal stressed the importance of the nexus between the SDGs and Climate Change mitigation policy measures. We also talked about the importance of public participation and democracy in sustainable development policies and the importance of the Aarhus Convention. This UNECE Convention on Access to Information, Public Participation in Decision Making and Access to Justice in Environmental Matters is an excellent instrument for involving civil society. The creation of this convention was very much supported by European Parliamentarians in the 1990ies and became part of the EU Legislation by Directive 2003/4 and Regulation 1367/2006. The participants found the discussion with the former MEPs interesting and asked questions regarding the legislative process and parliamentary procedures. They also stated that more and better contacts between parliamentarians and electorate would help understanding the –sometimes long and complicated– negotiations between the institutions and strengthen not only support for the European Parliament, but also participation in European Elections.

**Ilona Graenitz**  
PES, Austria (1995-1999)  
ilona.graenitz@chello.at



©Clermont Auvergne University

## LOOKING AT WORLD PEACE FROM LATIN-AMERICA

The “EP to Campus Program” has facilitated my participation in an international seminar on “Foreign Policy, Security and Strategy: Relations between South America and Europe” at the Law School of the Federal University of Minas Gerais in Belo Horizonte, the capital city of the State of Minas Gerais, Brazil, on the 18th and 19th October 2018. In the context of the visit to Brazil I was also invited to deliver a lecture on the European Union Law on Refugees at the “Dom Helder School of Law”, a private university center in Belo Horizonte, and to meet with students and faculty of the Master’s degree in international law at the Law School of the Federal University in order to discuss the relations between the European Union and Latin America.

Three years ago, in 2015, I had already taken part in a similar joint program of the “EP to Campus Program” with the Federal University of Minas Gerais and the University of Itaúna, a private institution in the neighborhood of Belo Horizonte. At the time of my first visit, the opposition parties had begun to

take measures intended to impeach the president of the Republic, Dilma Rousseff, a member of the “PT”, the left-leaning labor party led by former president Luis Ignacio “Lula” da Silva. Shortly before my second visit to Belo Horizonte, the Brazilian courts of justice had prevented Lula from running again for the presidency of the country. Michel Temer, the successor of Rousseff in the presidency of the Republic, and one of the plotters who brought her down, was indicted for corruption charges while I was in Brazil in the month of October. My recent visit to Belo Horizonte took place in the interval between the first and second rounds of the presidential, congressional, regional and municipal elections. The second round should have taken place on the 29th of October after this article has been sent for printing. Thus, readers cannot expect to find fresh news on the electoral process when this article will be published. Opinion polls forecast a success for the extreme right wing candidate for the presidency, Jair Bolsonaro, a retired army captain. Opinion

polls also indicate that Lula’s PT will continue to be the largest political group in Congress and will keep a good number of city halls and State governorships. The electoral campaign was at its climax, while a small group of European and Latin American professors were discussing peace and security in the sedate atmosphere of the academic world. Latin America enjoys a privileged position in the international scene as an area of peace and common security. The relative instability of several domestic political systems in Latin American and the dominant position of the US in the American continent as a whole, does not prevent the Latin Americans from playing their cards judiciously in the international arena. One reason for this relatively peaceful international situation may lie in the fact that the Latin America governments are not exposed to the same levels of pressure on peace and security issues to which the European States are now being exposed due to the aggressive tone of Russian foreign policy, the ever present threat of Islamic terroris and the intensification of the migratory movements on its external borders. I pointed out this anomaly in my report in the panel on “The European Common and Security Policy and World Geopolitics”. Other participants in this panel were professors from Portugal (Isabel Cabrita), Uruguay (Diego Escuder), and Brazil (Flavianne Bolzan de Moraes). Due to limitations of space, I cannot include in this short article the entire list of participants and the particular issues discussed in each panel. The Seminar covered the whole spectrum of



Panel of Speakers



A moment of the conference

issues concerning peace and security, including migrations, terrorism and the threats to the environment. I found particularly interesting the report by Prof. Enzo Cannizzaro, from the University of La Sapienza in Rome, on the contentious issue of "The responsibility to protect". Before taking the plane to Brazil I had apprehensions about the situation I could find as the country was involved in an electoral process that had heightened the levels of political confrontation and economic uncertainty. In fact, during the few days that I spent in Belo Horizonte, the "Real" was devalued and the shares in the stock exchange fell accordingly, while political violence and street criminality continued at a high level. In this context, many young Brazilians are now looking forward to the professional chances that Europe may offer to them in order to improve their professional and vital expectations. Due to the fact that many Brazilians are descendants of Europeans who migrated recently to the new continent, they are entitled to acquire the citizenship of one or the other of the EU Members. The number of applications for the acquisition of the Portuguese citizenship submitted to the Portuguese Consulate in Sao Paulo was so high that the Government was forced to cancel

the acceptance of new applications in that Consulate until next year. The solution to the problems of unemployment and living conditions in Latin America cannot be found in accepting as legal immigrants all those wanting to come to this part of the world, especially when the anti-European political parties are using the arrival of immigrants to Europe as a rallying banner against European integration. On the other hand, since Christopher Columbus discovered five hundred years ago that there were new lands in the western side of the Atlantic Ocean, Latin America has received hundreds of thousands of European immigrants. In a globalized social, political and economic system, isolation is not the solution to the problems of poverty and inequality. We need to cooperate more closely with Latin America. The European Union should look forward to ways to establish new world-wide arrangements that may help to solve our problems and those of our brothers and sisters on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. In this context, we should be aware that Brazil, and the whole of Latin America, is endowed with a competent, hard working and well prepared new generation of university students and professors that have received education in our universities and research centers,

The FMA member, Ivailo Kalfin has participated in the EP to Campus Programme at the "Summer Program - School of Government LUISS University" on 20 July in Rome. His speech was entitled "The Role of Parliaments in Front of the Internet Challenges in the 21st Century."

He said *"I believe we should reconsider the political systems in the democratic societies. And this can be made in a way to ripe the fruits of the digital advancement for further imposing and boosting democracy."*

You can read the full article at [www.formermembers.eu](http://www.formermembers.eu)

and are thus prepared to work with us in order to find solutions to our common problems in a world which has shrunk considerably as a consequence of the technological revolution that permits a broad-based exchange of knowledge across the borders of the nation-States, old and new.

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# FORMER MEMBERS NETWORK



From left to right: Jean-Pierre Audy, FMA delegate to FP-AP; Rune Rydén, FP-AP President; Liliane Maury Pasquier, President of the PACE; Brigitte Langenhagen, FP-AP Vice-President and FMA delegate to the FP-AP; Valeh Nasiri, FMA staff.

The Association of Former Members of Parliament of the Member States of the Council of Europe or the European Union, known as the European Association, comprises 32 national associations and seeks to promote the European ideal and to contribute to European integration. The FMA is a full member of the European Association since March 2010.

The current FMA delegates are Brigitte Langenhagen and Jean-Pierre Audy. This year the FMA delegate to FP-AP, Brigitte Langenhagen, was elected as FP-AP Vice-President.

During the last Colloquy in Strasbourg on 12 October 2018 a declaration on "The Future of Europe" was adopted. The rapporteur was Walter Schwimmer, Former General Secretary of the Council of Europe.

*"The European Association is concerned about the state of Europe that is at a crossroads. [...] There is a "polycrisis" with still unsolved conflicts, violence and even wars in the East of the continent. [...] In this situation the former parliamentarians want to contribute to a better future of Europe where a dignified life for all is possible.*

*Their answer is not less but more Europe, not less but more Union in all matters where joint actions make us stronger but at the same time more respect for subsidiarity. The principle of "Unity in Diversity" where the European countries keep their identity and tradition and cooperate for their common benefit must be respected."*

You can read the full declaration at [www.formermembers.eu](http://www.formermembers.eu)



A moment of the reception at the Strasbourg Town Hall



A moment of the Strasbourg Colloquy at the Palais de l'Europe - Council of Europe

# VISIT UNDER EU PRESIDENCY

## THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS IN VIENNA

The meeting organised by H. E. Maria Assunta Accili, Ambassador of the Permanent Mission of Italy to the International Organisations in Vienna, who cordially welcomed us to Palazzo Metternich, the residence of the Italian Ambassador to Austria, was particularly interesting. The statements made provided us with information and news enabling us to become better acquainted with the work done by the high representatives of the International Organisations, in the presence of the European ambassadors to those organisations. Director Christophe Xerri, of the Nuclear Fuel Cycle and Waste Disposal department at the IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency) pointed out that the Agency worked with 170 states and that among the priorities there were also nuclear applications in the field of science, known as 'atomic science in peaceful applications', which helped countries with various technologies and in developing appropriate infrastructure. In considering the 2030 Agenda, Mr Stefano Bologna, Special Advisor to the Director General, UNIDO (United Nations Industrial Development Organisation), stressed the importance of implementing an inclusive kind of industrial development that took environmental impact into account,

by using efficient energy and organising exchanges of experiences between developed countries and developing countries. Director Patrick Grenard, of the CTBTO (Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Organisation), called for his organisation to become more widely known, on the basis of the treaty banning all nuclear explosions on earth for both military and peaceful purposes. He announced that several states had failed to ratify the treaty and spoke of the alerts launched by CTBTO monitoring stations when an unusual seismic event was detected indicating that nuclear tests were being conducted in the area (such as in North Korea in 2017). Mr Giovanni Gallo, Senior Legal Advisor, UNODC (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime), pointed out that in 1997 the UN Secretary General had established an office for drug control and crime prevention which was designed to take over the roles and obligations of all the bodies involved in crime fighting. It was renamed the UNODC in 2002. The three main pillars of its work programme are: drugs (alternative development and monitoring of illegal crops; combating drug trafficking; prevention, treatment and rehabilitation with regard to drug consumption and HIV/AIDS); crime (organised crime, including the trafficking of persons, migrant

smuggling and firearms; corruption, money laundering and economic crimes; reform of justice and prisons); and terrorism (prevention). Mandates are established by international treaties (to set global standards) and are delivered through political analysis (to understand the problem) and technical cooperation (to address the problem). In 2017, UNODC's total budget was USD 373.7 million, 95% of which was covered by voluntary contributions from member countries, bearing in mind that the European Union was the third largest donor (USD 63 million). It has been involved in substantial legislative activity ranging from prevention – of crime and corruption – to rehabilitation, regarding the transformation of countries and regions based on analysis, research and technical cooperation. Lastly, Mr Ian Freeman, Office of the Director, UNOOSA (United Nations Office for Outer Space Affairs), reported on international cooperation for peaceful purposes and space exploration and on the use of space science and technology for sustainable economic and social development: the Office helped member countries to establish legal and regulatory frameworks to govern space activities and improve developing countries' ability to use space technology and applications. At present there are some 1800 satellites passing through space, compared to around 550 in 2017; they are all required to register with the United Nations.



*FMA Delegation with representatives of the International Organisations*

**Monica Baldi**  
EPP-ED, Italy (1994-1999)  
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## FMA VISIT TO AUSTRIA

The FMA Board member Lord Richard Balfe led an FMA delegation composed of 24 former MEPs from twelve EU countries and four European political families (EPP-ED, Socialists, Liberals and Greens), that visited Austria from 28 to 30 October on the occasion of the Presidency of the Council of the EU. The FMA in co-operation with the Austrian Association of former parliamentarians set up a programme aimed at evaluating progress towards achievements of the EU Presidency. It included official meetings with Parliament, government and international organisations' representatives, as well as an open debate with university students. The programme started with a meeting of the delegation with the Secretary General of the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), Mr Thomas Greminger, who stated: "The OSCE is the platform for inclusive dialogue addressing a broad range of security issues in the Euroatlantic and Eurasian area". There has been some discussions on the major challenges to security in Europe, with an emphasis to the efforts still needed



*FMA Delegation with Ms Karoline Edtstadler, State Secretary at the Federal Ministry of the Interior*



*FMA Delegation during the meeting with Austrian parliamentarians*

to achieve comprehensive ceasefire in Eastern Ukraine. A special session was devoted to the important work carried out by the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) in the field of election observation and its follow-up actions. Mr Richard Lappin,

Deputy Head of the ODIHR stated: "Since 1996, we have observed over 350 elections, in 56 of our 57 participating States. This includes to EU member states, as well as those looking to accede to, or enhance partnerships with, the EU". The series of meetings were concluded by interesting and stimulating exchanges with representatives of the different international organisations kindly invited by H.E. Maria Assunta Accili Sabbatini, Permanent Representative of Italy to the United Nations, to meet the whole FMA delegation at the Palais Metternich. The discussion proved the importance of the existence of these institutions and the need for further support by the international community.



*A moment during the meeting with Thomas Greminger, Secretary General of the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)*



# CO-OPERATION WITH THE EUI

Ahead of the vote in May 2019, a conference “40 Years of European Parliament Direct Elections” was organised jointly by the Alcide de Gasperi Research Centre (EUI) and the Historical Archives of the European Union (EUI), with support of the Robert Schuman Centre (EUI), School of Transnational Governance (EUI), the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung Rome Office, Association ‘Friends of the Historical Archives of the EU’, European Parliamentary Research Service (EPRS) and the European Parliament’s Former Members Association (FMA).

Among the distinguished speakers were former EP Presidents Enrique Barón Crespo, Pat Cox, and Klaus Hänsch, Monica Frassoni, Co-chair of the European Green Party, Alain Lamassoure and Laura Ferrara, Members of the European Parliament, Íñigo Méndez de Vigo, Member of the Spanish Parliament, Monica Baldi and Laurent Brinkhorst, as well as nearly 20 ex-MEPs brought over by the European Parliament’s Former Members Association. Since the first direct elections to the European Parliament in 1979, through the contribution of



From left to right: Dieter Schlenker, Renaud Dehousse, Enrique Barón Crespo, Emmanuelle Ortoli and Etienne Bassot ©European University Institute, 2018



From left to right: Laura Ferrara, Brigid Laffan, Laurens Jan Brinkhorst and Martin Kamp ©European University Institute, 2018

personalities such as Presidents Simone Veil and Nicole Fontaine, the political and institutional relevance of this institution has steadily grown. The EP established itself as a key actor in the European Union’s policy-making process, acquiring legislative, supervisory,

and budgetary responsibilities. The conference discussed the evolution of the EP, highlighting not only its expansion as a powerful institution, but also its role in democratising decision-making processes at the supranational level. The distinguished speakers also looked forward to May 2019, debating the relevance of the growing powers of the EP in a political context where the legitimacy of the EU is increasingly questioned and Eurosceptic parties seem to be gaining popularity across the continent. The panels brought together high-profile academics and political actors who shared insights and experiences about the role of the European Parliament in the construction and democratisation of the EU.



Monica Baldi and Pat Cox ©European University Institute, 2018



# PHOTO REPORT



EP President Tajani with former EP Presidents, Pat Cox and Hans-Gert Pöttering ©European Parliament

The European Parliament Former Members Association (FMA), under the presidency of Hans-Gert Pöttering, successfully hosted its Annual Events on 28th and 29th of November in the European Parliament in Brussels.

During a Cocktail Reception, the President of the European Parliament, Antonio Tajani, welcomed the Former Members back to the Parliament. Among them were well-known former MEPs like Astrid Lulling and former President of the Parliament Pat Cox. Mr Tajani appreciated the work of the FMA and of their members. He said that the information former MEPs can provide to society is very precious.



Panel of Speakers at the FMA Annual Seminar ©European Parliament

Carlos Moedas, Commissioner for Research, Science and Innovation was the keynote speaker at the Dinner Debate. He focussed on challenges for EU generations in different points of time.

On 29th of November, the FMA hosted the Annual Seminar at the European Parliament. Former Members, as well as university students from KU Leuven and UC Louvain, attended the seminar. Three experts, Heidi Hautala, Mikulas Dzurinda and Iñigo Méndez de Vigo, provided the audience with their insightful presentations on how former MEPs and citizens can inspire enthusiasm for Europe.



Commissioner Carlos Moedas at the Annual Dinner ©European Parliament

Students and former MEPs participated in the seminar and were able to ask questions and engage with the speakers.



# LATEST NEWS

## ACTIVITIES



**3 April 2019**

### EP-EUI HISTORY ROUNDTABLE ON "40 YEARS OF EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT DIRECT ELECTIONS" JOINTLY ORGANISED WITH THE FMA.

From 2.45 p.m. to 5.15 p.m..  
European Parliament. Brussels.

**3 April 2019**

### ANNUAL MEMORIAL SERVICE

Current and former MEPs will  
commemorate their colleagues  
who passed away in 2018-2019.  
From 5.45 p.m. to 6.15 p.m.  
European Parliament, Yehudi  
Menuhin Space. Brussels.

**3 April 2019**

### FMA COCKTAIL AND DINNER DEBATE

From 6.30 p.m. in Members'  
Restaurant, European Parliament,  
Brussels.  
Guest Speaker: Professor Renaud  
Dehousse, President of the  
European University Institute

**4 April 2019**

### FMA GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND ANNUAL LUNCH

At 10.00 a.m. followed by the  
Annual Lunch at 1.00 p.m.

**June 2019**

### VISIT TO ROMANIA

Details will be communicated at  
a larger stage.

## ARCHIVES OF MEMBERS AND FORMER MEMBERS

The Historical Archives of the European Parliament are available to receive and process the papers of former and current members of the European Parliament.

Once deposited, papers will be processed in accordance with the EP Bureau decision of 10 March 2014. This may involve their indexation, digitisation and/or conversion to PDF/A documents as well as making them available to the public, unless they are confidential, in accordance with relevant legal provisions.

For an application form for the deposit of papers, please contact the Parliament's Historical Archives (see below) or the FMA secretariat.

Sandrine BONNET  
Historical Archives - Directorate for the library  
European parliament  
Tel : +352 4300 23273  
Mail : EPRS-Archives-MEP@ep.europa.eu



## NEW MEMBERS



**Burkhard BALZ**  
(Germany, 2009-2018, EPP)

Burkhard Balz was a Member of the European Parliament from 2009 to 2018. Through his time in the European Parliament he served as a member in the committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs, Delegation for relations with the countries of Southeast Asia and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN); special committee on Tax Rulings and Other Measures Similar in Nature or Effect and committee of Inquiry to investigate alleged contraventions and maladministration in the application of Union law in relation to money laundering, tax avoidance and tax evasion.



**Irène CREPAZ**  
(Austria, 1995-1996, PES)

Irène Crepaz was a Member of the European Parliament from 1995 to 1996. Through her time in the European Parliament he served as member in the committee on Social Affairs and Employment, the delegation for relations with Bulgaria and Romania and the delegation to the EU-Bulgaria Joint Parliamentary Committee.



**Luigi FLORIO**  
(Italy, 1994-1999, EPP-ED)

Luigi Florio was a Member of the European Parliament from 1994 to 1999. Through his time in the European Parliament he served as Vice-Chair in the delegation for relations with Israel and as a member in the committee on Legal Affairs and Citizens' Rights, committee on the Rules of Procedure, the Verification of Credentials and Immunities and the delegation for relations with Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia.



**Otmar FRANZ**  
(Germany, 1981-1989, EPP-ED)

Otmar Franz was a Member of the European Parliament from 1981 to 1989. Through his time in the European Parliament he served as member in the committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs, delegation for relations with Japan and the delegation for relations with the Northern European Countries and the Nordic Council.

## NEW MEMBERS



**Geoffrey HOON**  
(United Kingdom,  
1984-1994, SOC)

Geoffrey Hoon was a Member of the European Parliament from 1984 to 1994. Through his time in the European Parliament he served as Chair in the Delegation for relations with the United States and the delegation for relations with the People's Republic of China, he served as well as vice-chair in the committee on the Verification of Credentials as a member in the committee on Legal Affairs and Citizens' Rights and the delegation for relations with the Gulf States.



**Alain HUTCHINSON**  
(Belgique,  
2004-2009, PES)

Alain Hutchinson was a Member of the European Parliament from 2004 to 2009. Through his time in the European Parliament he served as Vice-Chair in the Delegation for relations with the Maghreb countries and the Arab Maghreb Union (including Libya) and as a member in the committee on Regional Development



**Viviane REDING**  
(Luxembourg,  
1989-1999/  
2014-2018, EPP)

Viviane Reding was a Member of the European Parliament from 1989 to 1999 and from 2014 to 2018. Through her time in the European Parliament she served as Chair in the committee on Petitions, as Vice-chair in the committee on Social Affairs, Employment and the Working Environment and Committee on Civil Liberties and Internal Affairs and as a member in the Political Affairs Committee, Subcommittee on Security and Disarmament, committee on International Trade, delegation for relations with the countries of Central America and Mexico, Delegation for relations with the Member States of ASEAN, South-east Asia and the Republic of Korea and the Members from the European Parliament to the Joint Assembly of the Agreement between the African, Caribbean and Pacific States and the European Union (ACP-EU)



**Herbert REUL**  
(Germany, 2004-  
2017, EPP)

Herbert Reul was a Member of the European Parliament from 2004 to 2017. Through his time in the European Parliament he served as Chair in the committee on Industry, Research and Energy and the delegation for relations with the Korean Peninsula and as a member in the committee on Industry, Research and Energy, temporary Committee on Climate Change, and the delegation for relations with the People's Republic of China

## NEW MEMBERS



**Karl VON  
WOGAU**  
(Germany, 1979-  
2009, EPP-ED)

Karl Von Wogau was a Member of the European Parliament from 1979 to 2009. Through his time in the European Parliament he served as Chair in the committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs and Industrial Policy and the subcommittee on Security and Defence; He served as well as a vice - chair in the delegation for relations with Switzerland and as a member in the committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy, temporary Committee on the alleged use of European countries by the CIA for the transport and illegal detention of prisoners, delegation for relations with the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, delegation for relations with the Mashreq countries and the Gulf, Delegation to the EC-European Economic Area Joint Parliamentary Committee.



**Marina  
YANNAKOUDAKIS**  
(United Kingdom,  
2009-2014, ECR)

Marina Yannakoudakis was a Member of the European Parliament from 2009 to 2014. Through his time in the European Parliament she served as a member in the committee on the Environment, Public Health and Food Safety, dommittee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality and the Delegation to the EU-Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Joint Parliamentary Committee.

## SPONSORS

The FMA would like to thank for its generous contribution CANDRIAM



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For sponsoring the "EP to Campus" Programme.



## NEW PUBLICATIONS

**'Mein leben als frau in der politik'** (My life as a woman in politics) by Astrid Lulling, self-published, 320 pages, €19.50, in German only. Available through [www.editions-schortgen.lu](http://www.editions-schortgen.lu)

*Astrid Lulling, born to a labours family in Schiffingen, is a living legend. From 1949 onwards, she experienced as young labour unionist the foundation of the European Coal and Steel Community. As socialist parliamentarian after 1965 she fought for the equality between men and women in the European Parliament and the Chamber.*

*In 1970 she was elected the first female mayor in a local community in Luxembourg. Astrid Lulling was the figurehead of the Socialist party until 1982 before Pierre Werner was winning her over for the Christian-Democratic party.*

*She was loved, hated, and experienced ups and downs during her political career. Despite the hostilities, she was one of the most popular politicians until her resignation in 2014.*

*The Bar at the European Parliament in Brussels is named after her: "Astrid Lulling Lounge". In this book she wrote down her memories...with a twinkle in the eye.*



**All the Qur'an**  
in 100 pages  
by a non-Muslim  
for non-Muslims



**Amédée Turner**

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*Everything that is actually and undeniably in the Qur'an is incontestable in Islam.*

*All other Islamic writings are debatable.*

## IN MEMORIAM



† 15 August 2018  
Rita BORSELLINO  
S&D (2009-2014)

She served as an Italian member of the European Parliament from 2009 to 2014. During her time in Parliament, Ms Borsellino was member of the Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament.

At the national level, she represented Partito Democratico.



† 2 September 2018  
Jean SEITLINGER  
EPP-ED (1979-1984)

He served as a French member of the European Parliament from 1979 to 1984. During his time in Parliament, Mr Seitlinger was member of the European People's Party.

At the national level, he represented Union pour la France en Europe.



† 10 October 2018  
Yvan BLOT  
NA (1989-1999)

He served as a French member of the European Parliament from 1989 to 1999. During his time in Parliament, Mr Blot was member of the Non-attached.

At the national level, he represented Front national.



† 10 November 2018  
Raffaele BALDASSARRE  
EPP-ED (2009-2014)

He served as an Italian member of the European Parliament from 2009 to 2014. During his time in Parliament, Mr Baldassarre was member of the European People's Party.

At the national level, he represented Il Popolo della Libertà and Forza Italia.

## SUMMER PROGRAMME AT LUISS UNIVERSITY



©European Parliament

*Extracts of the speech by Ivailo Kalfin during his participation in the EP to Campus Programme at the "Summer Program - School of Government LUISS University" in Rome.*

*His speech was entitled "The Role of Parliaments in Front of the Internet Challenges in the 21st Century"*

"In the last years the new technologies changed dramatically the communication channels and hence – the way candidates and elected representatives connect with the citizens. Internet based technologies became a powerful engine of change in the media environment.

New realities happen so rapidly, that most of the people even do not realize the span of the change. But when you look back, the enormous shift happening within few years in the way to make politics is obvious. Now [...] political rallies are replaced by the social media. [...] Digital media are not just another communication channel. They practically influence the content and the perception of the information. Digital media become an important player in political communication.

Digital media change both the form

and the content of making politics.

[...] The traditional media are informative and they transfer the messages from the politicians to the voters while the digital ones provide the possibility to receive a reaction to the message and even to enter in a dialogue. [...] elected representatives have a much better possibility to interact with the citizens between the elections.

Digital media bring in politics is the increased transparency. Or the possibility for transparency. If used, that can be a very strong tool in politics. [...] More transparency as a constant goal is healthy.



Ivailo Kalfin ©European Parliament

[...] There is another very important characteristic of the new media – their atomization. Today an individual profile in a social platform or a blog are media per se – they produce news and participate in shaping the public opinion. [...] They also create a very favorable soil for new players and processes in the political life.

**"Digital media become an important player in political communication."**

[...] The result is very obvious – in a number of European countries we see newcomers or much strengthened formerly marginalized parties on the political stage. Many of them are populist and nationalist.

[...] Is it possible to retain politics in the EU away from the risky waters of populism and nationalism? My answer is affirmative. [...] I would rather focus on two proposals

- The first proposal is to dramatically enhance the use of digital technologies to make politics more understandable, transparent and closer to the citizens.

- My second proposal is much more forward reaching. I believe we should reconsider the political systems in the democratic societies. And this can be made in a way to ripe the fruits of the digital advancement for further imposing and boosting democracy. [...] We have to change the political systems towards a better mix between representative and direct democracy.

The full article is available at  
[www.formermembers.eu](http://www.formermembers.eu)