

EPFMA BULLETIN



European Parliament Former Members Association

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**SPECIAL
EDITION**

Values of
Democracy

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June 2020 will mark the 20th anniversary of the Community of Democracies and its founding document, the Warsaw Declaration, outlines 19 basic principles for a state to flourish as a democracy.

<https://community-democracies.org/>

Cover: FMA works for democratic values in building the future of Europe. This month FMA Bulletin dedicates a special edition: Values of Democracy.
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CALL FOR CONTRIBUTIONS:

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 Due to the long time lag between the call for contribution and the publication, some articles may be outdated.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

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Message from the PRESIDENT

As we all know, Brexit has been a hot and controversial topic during the last four years. Starting with the referendum that led to the United Kingdom's decision to leave the European Union, we have to acknowledge that 31 January 2020 - the leaving date of the United Kingdom - was a moment of separation in the long history of the European Union. Since the ceremonial signing of the Treaty of Rome in 1957, such an exit is unprecedented, but the UK and its citizens remain a crucial partner across all policy matters.

Now with 27 Member States, the EU, with all its strengths and weaknesses, all its accomplishments and insufficiencies, remains a unique instrument to defend our common values – the dignity of the human being, freedom, legal order and peace. I take this opportunity to express my full solidarity with the European countries impacted by Covid-19 and believe that a coherent EU-wide response is of utmost importance.

In January of this year, I was invited to attend the ceremony commemorating the liberation of the Auschwitz camp held in the Hemicycle of the European Parliament in Brussels. The liberation by the Allies played a major role in the promotion of human rights and the rising importance of the rule of law. Nowadays, these values represent the core values of the EU's Treaty of Lisbon, and this edition of the Bulletin focuses on the value of democracy in the EU. Keeping in mind that peace can never be taken for granted, it is the value of democracy and the rule of law that is essential and therefore must be promoted. The

authors are looking from different angles at this system of governance. For this Bulletin, our Board member Brigitte Langenhagen has written an article featuring the Meeting for endorers of the Declaration of Principles for International Election Observation in Warsaw, organised by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), that fits well with the theme of this month's edition.

This year is marking the 25th anniversary of the Beijing Declaration on gender equality, which represented a turning point for the global agenda for gender equality and resulted in pivotal commitments and objectives, the results of which we still measure today. There is still a lot of work to be done in gender equality, but European Parliament is acting to fight to protect women's rights and to improve gender equality at work, in politics and other areas.

This issue also covers the cooperation between the Former Members Association and the European University Institute in Florence. Members from Italy and beyond have had the opportunity to visit the Historical Archives of the European Union and give lectures to students and scholars from surrounding schools. The overarching 'EP to Campus' programme also featured visits to Ukraine, Germany and France. The participating former parliamentarians wrote articles for this month's edition.

From 29 to 31 March an FMA delegation composed of 19 persons was supposed to visit the Parliament of Croatia on the occasion of Croatia's

holding the Presidency of the Council of the European Union. The last visits to the Parliaments of Finland and Romania proved to be successful and enjoyable experiences for the participating members. Due to the Covid-19 outbreak, the visit has been postponed to a further date that will be communicated at a later stage. Finally, I am equally looking forward to meeting the FMA members at the Annual General Assembly to be held on 5 and 6 May. However, I would like to shed some light on the current situation regarding the Coronavirus COD-19 outbreak. Following a decision made by the President of the European Parliament on Tuesday 3 March 2020, 130 events were cancelled in March. Depending on the evolution of the situation and independent of our will, these measures might be applicable beyond that period and might affect the upcoming FMA events. We will keep you duly informed of the situation. With more than 800 members, among others British ex-MEPs who had been recently elected and joined after leaving the Parliament, the FMA continues to be a multinational, unifying institution that stands for democratic values and the promotion of the European spirit. We have to continue to be strong and united in this difficult moment for all EU countries.

Hans-Gert PÖTTERING
FMA President

Letters to the PRESIDENT

“ Dear President,

I was unable to take part in the study visit to Georgia organised by the Former Members' Association. I love the country, which has a brave history and an outstanding civilisation that has always looked towards Europe.

International commitments kept the President of Georgia away from Tbilisi and she could not meet our colleagues.

To make up for this missed opportunity, I will paint a brief portrait of the President, someone I have known for a long time.

I would like to begin by mentioning the book she wrote in 2008 and which she dedicated to me in the hope that we would continue our friendly dialogue on Europe. Her book *The Scar of Nations*, also dedicated 'to the Georgian nation in search of its borders and European identity', was prophetic. It urged Europe to develop into a strong strategic entity exercising a major influence on the world stage.

Salomé Zurabishvili has a natural elegance, she exudes authority

and her knowledge and political-intellectual vision set her apart. Her unusual career – a high-level French diplomat, ambassador to her native country Georgia, Georgian Minister of Foreign Affairs (a post from which she was brutally ousted for political reasons by a maverick President!), followed by a return to the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs - culminated in her assuming the role of Head of State in November 2018. I met Salomé Zurabishvili again on 8 September 2019, at the opening of the Tsinandali Festival, created in association with the Verbier Festival by my friend George Ramishvili, founder and chair of the Silk Road Group.

We had an exciting and engaging conversation. I saw her commitment to culture once again, as demonstrated by her attendance at Tsinandali. For her, culture is the vital component that forges a nation, promotes freedom and fosters peace.

As the first female President of the Republic of Georgia, she leads by looking back at the history of her own country, in which women

have always played an important role. For example, the reign of Queen Tamar is seen as 'the golden age of Georgia'. And, of course, we spoke about Europe. This wonderful country, which is at the heart of the Caucasus and shares a border with Russia, is led by a President who acts with both determination and clear-sightedness. Her commitment to Europe is very strong. She wants to make Georgia a bridge between Europe and Russia, so that territorial conflicts can be resolved peacefully.

“I saw her commitment to culture once again, as demonstrated by her attendance at Tsinandali. For her, culture is the vital component that forges a nation, promotes freedom and fosters peace.”

Salomé Zurabishvili has spread the message of culture, peace and negotiated conflict resolution throughout the European Union and at the United Nations General Assembly.



Jean-Paul Benoit with the President of Georgia, Salomé Zurabishvili

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EP AT WORK

KEY FACTS

Putting citizens at the centre of the debate (January Session - P9_TA-PROV(2020)0010)

The Parliament adopted a resolution setting out its vision for the upcoming Conference on the Future of Europe. MEPs want citizens to be at the core of broad discussions on how to tackle internal and external challenges that were not foreseen at the time of the Lisbon Treaty.

The UK Withdrawal Agreement was approved by the European Parliament (January session - P9_TA-PROV(2020)0018)

Most speakers on behalf of the political groups highlighted that the UK's withdrawal will not be the end of the road for the EU-UK relationship and that the ties that bind the peoples of Europe are strong and will remain in place.

The European Parliament calls on the Commission to put forward beefed-up rules on common chargers. (January session - P9_TA-PROV(2020)0024)

There is an "urgent need for EU regulatory action"

to reduce electronic waste and empower consumers to make sustainable choices, MEPs say calling for the mandatory introduction of common chargers for all mobile devices.

MEPs adopted a resolution providing their initial input to the upcoming negotiations with the British government on a new EU-UK partnership. (February session- P9_TA-PROV(2020)0033).

Parliament wants the association agreement with the UK to be based on three main pillars: an economic partnership, a foreign affairs partnership and specific sectoral issues, while preserving the integrity of the Single Market and the Customs Union.

Parliament called for a strong set of rights to protect consumers in the context of artificial intelligence and automated decision-making. (February session - P9_TA-PROV(2020)0032)

The resolution addresses several challenges arising from the rapid development of artificial intelligence (AI) and automated decision-making (ADM) technologies, with a special focus on consumer protection.

Other main dossiers discussed in the plenary sessions were:

November 2019

- MEPs approved the **EU budget 2020**: investing more in climate, jobs and the young (27.11.20)

December 2019

- MEPs supported measures on Tuesday designed to fight **e-commerce VAT evasion** that would help cut some of the €137 billion lost each year across the EU to VAT fraud. (17.12.19)
- MEPs call for **reduction in use of pesticides** to save Europe's bees (18.12.19)
- MEPs urge the Commission to condemn all public acts of **discrimination against LGBTI people**, notably the development of so-called 'LGBTI-free zones' in Poland. (18.12.19)

- MEPs press EU to engage fully in international efforts to tax the **digital economy**, while still being prepared to act at EU level if global plans fail. (18.12.19)

- **Emily O'Reilly** (Ireland) was elected **European Ombudsman** for the 2019-2024 parliamentary term.

January 2020

- MEPs supported the European **Green Deal**, but highlighted challenges, including ensuring a just and inclusive transition and the need for high interim targets. (15.01.20)
- MEPs noted that reports and statements by the Commission, the UN, OSCE and the Council of Europe indicate that "the **situation in both Poland and Hungary** has deteriorated since the triggering of

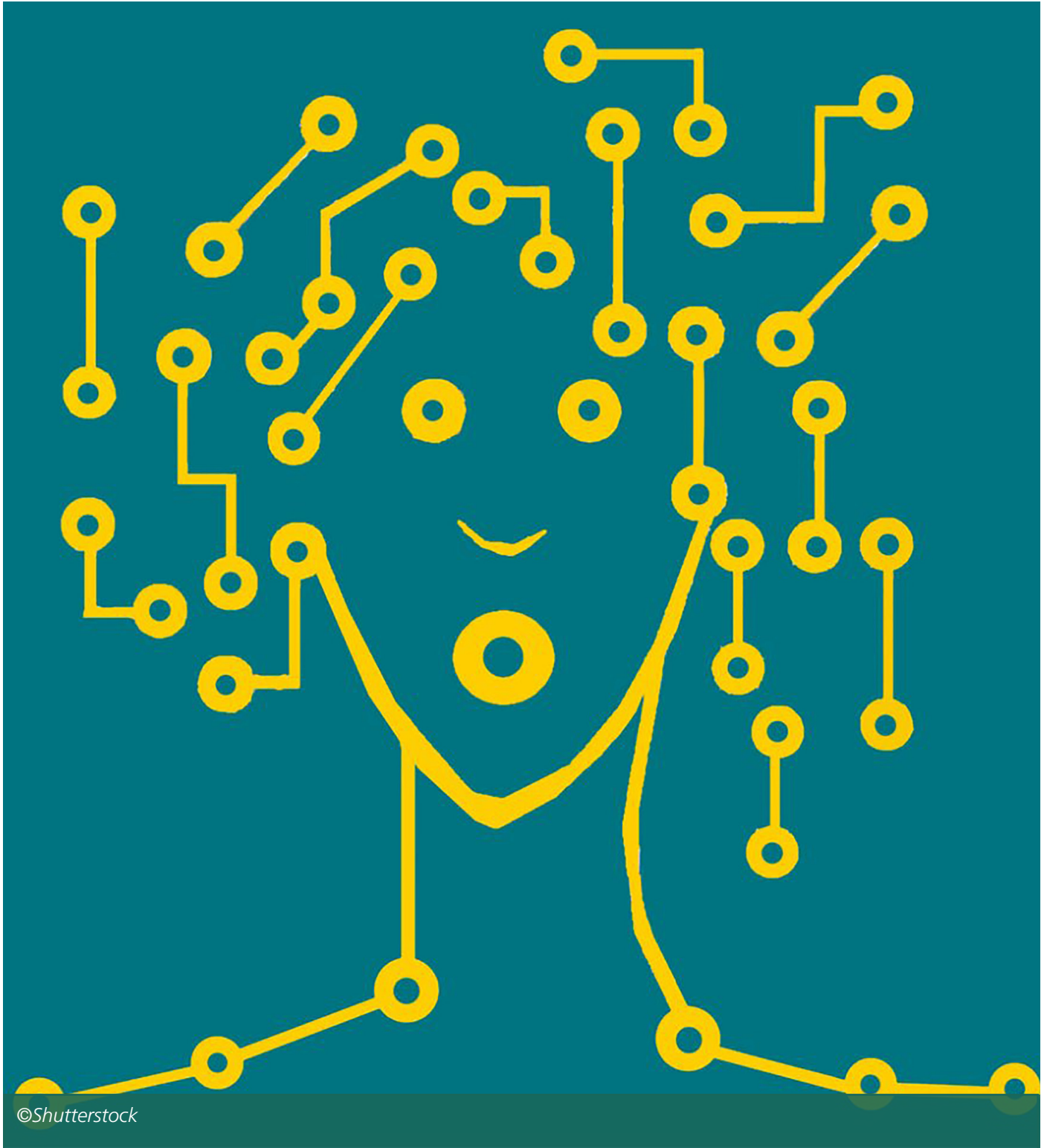
Article 7(1)". (16.01.2020)

February 2020

- MEPs have vetoed a Commission proposal that would have allowed some lead in **recycled PVC**. (12.02.20)
- MEPs asked the European Central Bank to step up its **green credentials** and address growing financial technology challenges. (12.02.20)
- MEPs called for measures boosting **women's economic and political empowerment**. (13.02.20)
- MEPs gave their consent to the **EU-Vietnam trade agreement** (12.02.20)

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

SPECIAL EDITION



VALUES OF DEMOCRACY

THE ROLE OF THE COURT OF JUSTICE TO SAFEGUARD DEMOCRACY AND RULE OF LAW

Since its famous judgment in *Roquette Frères v Council* (138/79), the Court of Justice has emphasized that the participation by the Parliament in the legislative process is the reflection, at Union level, of a fundamental democratic principle that the people should participate in the exercise of power through the intermediary of a representative assembly (C 263/14, p. 70).

In the same vein, transparency is of particular relevance where the Council is acting in its legislative capacity, as openness enables citizens to participate more closely in the decision-making process and guarantees that the administration enjoys greater legitimacy and is more effective and more accountable to the citizen in a democratic system (C 350/12 P, p. 106).

In its recent opinion on CETA, the Court underscored that the CETA Tribunals may not have the powers to call into question the level of

protection of public interest determined by the EU legislature following the democratic process defined in the EU and FEU Treaties. Consequently, those tribunals have no jurisdiction to call into question the choices democratically made within the Union relating to, inter alia, the level of protection of public order or public safety, the protection of public morals, the protection of health and life of humans and animals, the preservation of food safety, protection of plants and the environment, welfare at work, product safety, consumer protection or, equally, fundamental rights (Opinion 1/17, p. 151, 156 and 160). The Court has consistently pointed out that the European Union is a union based on the rule of law (i.e. "a Union of Law") in which individuals have the right to challenge before the courts the legality of any decision or other national measure concerning the

application to them of an EU act (C 619/18, p. 46). Indeed, the very existence of effective judicial review designed to ensure compliance with EU law is of the essence of the rule of law. Mutual trust between the Member States and, in particular, their courts and tribunals is based on the fundamental premise that Member States share a set of common values on which the European Union is founded, as stated in Article 2 TEU (C 64/16, p. 30 and 36).

“In the same vein, transparency is of particular relevance where the Council is acting in its legislative capacity, as openness enables citizens to participate more closely in the decision-making process and guarantees that the administration enjoys greater legitimacy and is more effective and more accountable to the citizen in a democratic system.”

Article 19 TEU, which gives concrete expression to the value of the rule of law affirmed in Article 2 TEU, entrusts the responsibility for ensuring the full application of EU law in all Member States and judicial protection of the rights of individuals under that law to national courts





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and tribunals and to the Court. The requirement that courts be independent, which is inherent in the task of adjudication, forms part of the essence of the right to effective judicial protection and the fundamental right to a fair trial, which is of cardinal importance as a guarantee that all the rights which individuals derive from EU law will be protected and that the values common to the Member States set out in Article 2 TEU, in particular the value of the rule of law, will be safeguarded. The judicial application of Article 2 TEU and of the values

enshrined therein have been, thus, put into practice.

In accordance with the principle of the separation of powers which characterises the operation of the rule of law, the independence of the judiciary must be ensured in relation to the legislature and the executive. Article 47 of the Charter must therefore be interpreted as precluding cases concerning the application of EU law from falling within the exclusive jurisdiction of a court which is not an independent and impartial tribunal (C 585/18, p. 120, 124, 167 and 171).

“The requirement that courts be independent, which is inherent in the task of adjudication, forms part of the essence of the right to effective judicial protection and the fundamental right to a fair trial, which is of cardinal importance as a guarantee that all the rights which individuals derive from EU law will be protected (...).”

Also, where the European Council adopts a decision determining, as provided for in Article 7(2) TEU, that there is a serious and persistent breach in a Member State issuing a European arrest warrant (EAW) of principles such as those inherent in the rule of law, the requested judicial authority would be required to refuse to execute the EAW. Even in the absence of such a decision, where a requested authority finds that there are substantial grounds for believing that the person in respect of whom a EAW has been issued will, following his surrender, run a real risk of breach of his fundamental right to an independent tribunal, it may refrain from giving effect to such an arrest warrant (C 216/18, p.72 and 73).



Court of Justice of the European Union in Luxembourg ©Stockshots 2014

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DIGITAL SOVEREIGNTY

Today, the European Parliament and national parliaments are having to deal with so-called 'digital sovereignty': the Web mainstream. This real constitutional revolution is, in fact, strongly affecting the way in which Europeans experience their 'citizenship', by glorifying their individual desires to be key political players. In other words, individual participation – through surveys and the social media – taken as a whole, is affecting institutions and parliaments (regarding the key points of election campaigns, the management of general government and key policy guidelines). Is this a good or a bad thing? There is no single answer to that. The Web mainstream may indeed have a positive impact on public decision-making processes, but it may adversely affect the moment at which the decision is taken. The widespread return of populist nationalist parties to the Union calls,



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first and foremost, for reflection on possible distortions in political decision-making. The well-known question of 'who decides on the state of exception (emergency powers)?' was used to determine a hierarchy and a uniting

factor in constitutional pluralism. But the 'who decides' question also applies to the definition of constitutional normality. And in this normality, the decision is always the final – though autonomous – result of a collective process: the precise moment at which, after completion of the previous stage, the legitimate will of the institutions takes shape, thereby creating legal and political obligations incumbent upon citizens. From this point of view, the insuperable individualism of the Web, with its paradoxical nature as a mass, yet solitary, phenomenon, is incompatible with that necessary final act in which politics expresses itself as one.

The punctiform hotchpotch of the so-called 'Web people' is something profoundly different: because it contains none of the aspects relating to mediation, debate or compromise from which parliamentary decisions, through their melting pot approach,



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derive. The 'Web people who decide', that populist illusion, is a democratic disaster.

However, there are also some positive aspects. 'Digital sovereignty' – to use this improper term, but one which expresses the powerful dimension of the issue – can indeed truly come into its own in the cognitive processes that precede a decision. Here, the influence of the Web should be regarded – and governed – as a grassroots, bottom-up source of information and enquiry, as a large collection box of individual opinions: these should influence – but not determine – the formation of political will, and even the deeper layers of collective identities (such as the religious or xenophobic dimension, or sexual behaviour).

The great current of Web opinions could also become a decisive instrument with a view to greater interconnection between representative assemblies. The closer to the individual citizen is the termination point of the network of elected assemblies – from town councils to the European

Parliament – the more appropriate is the geographical dimension of 'neighbourhood' in order to mutually determine greater democratic legitimacy and understanding between the various levels of representation.

However, as far as the Web is concerned, parliaments cannot merely have a receptive attitude. They have a great 'civic' mission to carry out – that of exercising a

counter-power of information: to establish a system of 'parliamentary true information'. In other words, it should be the parliaments that are called upon, in a sort of 'teaching role', to defend 'methodical' knowledge' from the 'induced' beliefs born of manipulated information, to assert the supremacy of the 'cognitive' process as opposed to the demagoguery of disinformation, which is caused by untruths that are repeated obsessively until they become a pseudo-truth. In other words, when faced with the challenges of the Web, parliaments – both in rejecting its grave dangers and exploiting its great opportunities – can take on a central role and impose some order in this society of disorder.

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IS AI THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY?

'Who needs democracy when we have data?' That is the title of a provocative article written by Christina Larson for MIT Technology Review. Democracy and markets are the two major inventions underpinning the Western world. Both are mechanisms for aggregating likes and needs. Both provide a solution which may not be optimum but is quick and reasonably efficient. Both are mechanisms for social development in the search for solutions that can be adapted to new needs or requirements but also promote their own development and that of societies that use them. However, a very attractive and seductive idea exists: what would a society with the capacity to recognise and aggregate those needs and likes in an optimum way be like? Isaac Asimov toyed with this idea in science fiction with 'Multivac', a computer capable of making perfect predictions. Minority Report is another example.

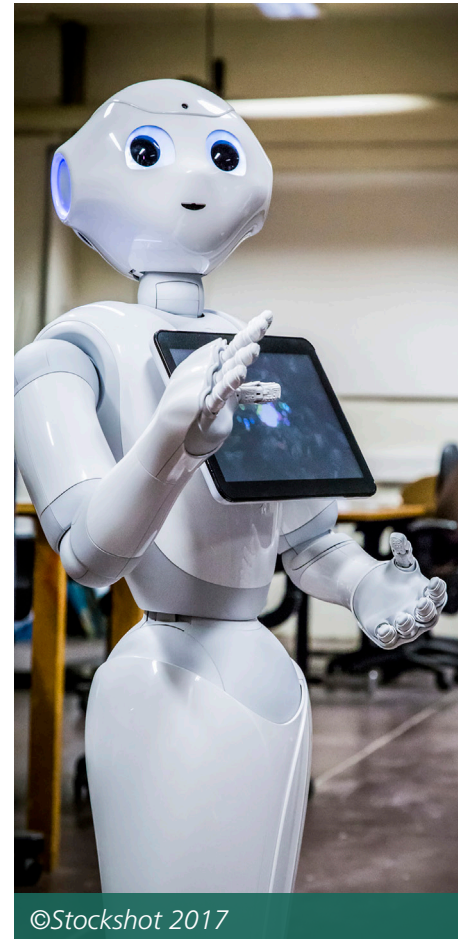
As with so many other dreams, attempts have been made to make this happen. Some of the first economically focused attempts were the socialist planning models based on Leontief's input/output tables. The attempt failed but, as a result of advances in artificial intelligence, it was picked up again and made more plausible.

Today, AI has a significant impact on our democracies, particularly in two areas: collecting and influencing. Our capacity to collect not only facts but also reactions to them has improved considerably. So much so that a discipline dedicated to it has been created: sentiment analysis. However, our capacity to collect data goes beyond what we put on Twitter and Facebook; image recognition

and specifically facial recognition has advanced so much that its use is now common in countries such as India and China with populations in the many millions. What is more, most countries use it in border control and for public order. Recognition of registration numbers is common; for example, on many motorways in China, these numbers are used for payment and there are payment pilots using facial recognition.

“As with so many other dreams, attempts have been made to make this happen. Some of the first economically focused attempts were the socialist planning models based on Leontief’s input/output tables. The attempt failed but, as a result of advances in artificial intelligence, it was picked up again and made more plausible. Today, AI has a significant impact on our democracies, particularly in two areas: collecting and influencing.”

Collection possibilities are still far from drying up. These technologies are still being developed at a rapid rate and have not peaked yet. Quite the opposite: work is being done on



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the recognition of micro-expressions so that our emotions can be revealed even when we would like to hide them and non-invasive diagnostic methods using images, for example, on the basis of our irises, that would reveal our health status even in public spaces.

More striking and undoubtedly even more public has been our increased capacity to influence. Shocking events such as the Cambridge Analytica scandal, Brexit and the frequent fake news claims are just the tip of the iceberg. In three areas, progress has resulted in changes of scale. The first is personalisation, which began with clusters in the

hundreds, moved to clusters in the thousands and tens of thousands and has now reached individual level. The second is the abundance of data that make individual preferences known, particularly to certain companies. The third is attention models, developed in the commercial world by social networks to understand, customise and manipulate incentives and motivation at individual level.

“Our capacity to collect not only facts but also reactions to them has improved considerably. So much so that a discipline dedicated to it has been created: sentiment analysis. (...) These technologies are still being developed at a rapid rate and have not peaked yet. Quite the opposite: work is being done on the recognition of micro-expressions so that our emotions can be revealed even when we would like to hide them and non-invasive diagnostic methods using images, for example, on the basis of our irises, that would reveal our health status even in public spaces.”

These techniques have evolved and now not only influence campaigns

but also have a direct bearing on them through social manipulation and control. Firstly, ‘nudging’ techniques are used extensively and successfully in the provision of public services. Social credit experiments – where behaviour which is socially acceptable is rewarded and incentivised and when it is not, it is punished – have begun in China.

The level of granularity and intrusion that these systems enable, at zero marginal cost and full scalability, make us fear the worst. It is not only that people who go through red lights and people who post criticism of the government online can be identified but also that it opens up possibilities such as controlling driving speeds via smartphones and detecting micro-expressions. Democracy involves more than simply managing, collecting and intervening. Democracy is also a means to aggregate citizens’ preferences – they are more active and demanding – as it is through agreement and discussion that collective discourse and society itself progress. Can AI help in these areas?

Definitely, but incentives are lacking. Let us not forget that to defend collective discourse is to defend democracy.

“Democracy involves more than simply managing, collecting and intervening. Democracy is also a means to aggregate citizens’ preferences – they are more active and demanding – as it is through agreement and discussion that collective discourse and society itself progress.”

Esteve Almirall

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THE VALUE OF DEMOCRACY

Living together in accordance with democratic principles is a win-win strategy. One thinks in the interest of the majority of citizens. However, Brexit has shown that democratic values are not always a guarantee for a peaceful Society.

On the other hand, leaving the European democratic decision-making system could make military forces more powerful. Military principles and strategies think from a lose-lose perspective. The one killing or destroying more than the other is the winner.

Real religious leaders, in turn, organise principles of human relations to settle conflicts.

The founders of the new EU institutions have looked to a balanced approach and a division of power. If the European Union has a democratic deficit, it is caused by the national interests of Member States and ethnic groups.

In the EU, political communication is organised on national Levels. There is no such thing as a 'European media room' using 24 languages and

therefore no European added value for citizens. This being said, several new EU initiatives have moved the EU several steps ahead in remedying this. The creation of the European Parliament Research Service produces many public and peer review studies. The Panel for the Future of Science and Technology (STOA) is a highly qualified political body putting future questions on their agenda. The newly founded European Science Media Hub is specializing on science metrics with new analytical tools like machine-learning and artificial intelligence.

Storytelling, infographics and in-depth analyses will be a good base for interested citizens and qualified journalists. The paradigm shift following the advent, and wide use, of social media has made new journalistic actors out of politicians. This competes with journalists who work along a single political wavelength.

The EU Parliament e-petition system, "Your Voice in Europe" and "European Citizens Initiative"

are basic initiatives for existing policies promoting e-participation. Crowdsourcing of policy ideas and monitoring platforms make it possible to understand people's future decision-making. To reduce the democratic deficit, digital tools can create stronger links between local, regional and national politicians. It is through this that different opinions can be widely shared and understood.

The cost of a non-democratic EU is high, especially when compared with the added value that is lost. Military spending of EU Member States is approximately 300 billion euros compared to the 10 billion euros spent by the EU institutions. The Brexit campaign costs were estimated to be 12 million euros.

“The EU Parliament e-petition system, “Your Voice in Europe” and “European Citizens Initiative” are basic initiatives for existing policies promoting e-participation. Crowdsourcing of policy ideas and monitoring platforms make it possible to understand people’s future decision-making.”

Hybrid war on democracy is a new phenomenon. Hate speech, disinformation and fake news are the new weapons. That is why fact-checking, using new technologies



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and citizens engagement is of the utmost importance. Involving social media communication tools tailored for different target groups is essential.

Finding the gaps where information is urgently needed could be accomplished by using a 'silo and pipe' strategy. Here, 'silo' represents cutting-edge knowledge and 'pipe' represents communication hard- and software with analytical tools.

E-voting and decision-making in non-binding or binding forms could help set and monitor the right agenda. In order to achieve this, e-voting needs integrity of the systems to build public trust.

Furthermore, political interest or satisfaction with the democratic system need a base of transparency. Turn-out rates, security aspects, data protection, user friendliness and trust should be rated. New algorithms in social media help their creators know all echo-chambers and interest- groups influencing political decisions and have in-depth psychological knowledge. Cambridge Analytica was just the start. Now, political level has to guarantee mapping and transparency of algorithms and use of machine learning for private data. A licence from citizens is necessary to use and commercialise the data from devices used by citizens.

General conditions for the use of devices, apps and software need an accreditation system at the EU-level for standardization and compliance. Data protection rules should not hinder the use of back-end data by consent. Transparent processing tools should be available to the public and enhance transparency in the dialogue on aggregation of quantitative and qualitative data analytics.

“New algorithms in social media help their creators know all echo-chambers and interest- groups influencing political decisions and have in-depth psychological knowledge.”

The sustainability of digital tools should be guaranteed and options for improvement should be made

available at all times.

The challenge of mobilising and engaging citizens around the world in democratic, political decision-making will prove the added value of democracy!

Paul Rübige
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Data Policy

We give you the power to share as part of our mission to make the world more open and connected. This policy describes what information we collect and how it is used and shared. You can find additional tools and information at [Privacy Basics](#).

As you review our policy, keep in mind that it applies to all Facebook brands, products and services that do not have a separate privacy policy or that link to this policy, which we call the [“Facebook Services”](#) or [“Services”](#).

- > What kinds of information do we collect?
- > How do we use this information?
- > How is this information shared?
- > How can I manage or delete information about me?
- > How do we respond to legal requests or prevent harm?
- > How our global services operate
- > How will we notify you of changes to this policy?

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THE ROLE OF EUROPE AND THE DEFENCE OF ITS VALUES

The process of the construction of Europe has become more and more a matter of defending basic values, such as upholding the values of democracy, a demanding social model -the 'European social model'- and the safeguarding of essential environmental values.

This is happening within a process of the opening of our economy, both internally and externally: with the strengthening of the single market and the single currency in 19 countries (which also opens up opportunities for entrepreneurs from other areas and generally makes things easier for their citizens who come to Europe), and a policy of open trade in relation to the outside world, with a low level of protectionism (the agricultural sector being an exception to a certain extent); at a time of globalisation where, emerging economies are increasingly competing with our products alongside existing important powers.

Where some economies of countries without the same political, social

and environmental requirements are concerned, it could be feared that the European Union would not be able to compete while at the same time meeting the requirements imposed by those values; having instead to relinquish them or follow a protectionist policy, limiting the access of products from countries with lower requirements in these matters.

However, statistics show the success of the European Union very clearly, in particular that of the euro area, with an unparalleled defence of these values and, generally, with the opening of its economy, with by far the largest current account balance of payments surplus in the world, well above US\$ 400 billion in recent years.

This is because in most cases it is not a matter of choosing between the defence of those values and greater competitiveness, with the defence of political, social and environmental values jeopardizing increased growth.

On the contrary, people with better qualifications and better social

conditions, with better protected rights, are naturally able to make a greater contribution to a greater efficiency of the economy. The empirical evidence is well-known and unequivocal in this respect. As far as environmental values are concerned, energy expenditure is particularly relevant, the energy sector being a particularly significant source of pollution. While an initial investment may be necessary for new equipment for manufacturing or transport, this uses less energy and more favourable sources of energy, ultimately resulting in a more competitive economy.

Such improved equipment also provides market opportunities for the companies producing it, thus leading to the creation of new jobs. And here too, Europe has a particularly important role to play at a global level and can serve as an example for other countries to follow, to the great benefit of their economies

It is therefore important that Europe does not abandon this path and does not lower the current political, social and environmental standards. This is a path which greatly benefits our citizens and rather than undermining our competitiveness, it boosts it, so that many other countries will follow in the same direction in a 21st century in which all the citizens of the world will benefit.

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60th Anniversary of the Treaty of Rome celebrations - 'March for Europe in Berlin' ©European Union 2017 - Source : EP

BREXIT – A DEFIANCE OF DEMOCRACY

As I write, the Brexit transition process has begun, in which little will change, with a checkpoint on negotiations for Britain's future relationship with the EU at the end of June and the UK's intended endpoint on December 31. This article is about how and why a Member State – and a permanent member of the UN Security Council- decided to leave the shelter of the EU's economic, cultural and human space for the phantasm of "Global Britain" and possibly throwing its 60m population into the now feeble embrace of the World Trade Organisation.

Britain's usually moderate Conservative Party is now dominated by an ideological anti-EU faction which fought against moderates like me for control of the political agenda. With the support of the malleable former Brussels journalist Boris Johnson, who wrote "Remain" or "Leave" articles before deciding to campaign for Leave in the 2016 referendum, the party he now leads absorbed the recently-formed Brexit Party and won a majority in the December 12 General Election with the slogan "Get Brexit Done". A majority of voters supported Remain parties, but the distorted British electoral system gave Johnson an 80-seat majority in Parliament: a defiance of democracy.

This ended the possibility of a second

referendum – a People's Vote - on Johnson's Deal, a campaign in which I was closely involved. Now, pro-EU organisations like the European Movement UK, which believes Brexit to be a profound national mistake, will highlight the impact of Brexit and hold the government to account - and in time prepare for a campaign to rejoin the EU.

The aspirations of the new British government were set out in Johnson's speech at Greenwich Observatory, where he spoke of the UK's maritime past: "We have the opportunity, we have the newly recaptured powers, we know where we want to go, and that is out into the world. The question is whether we agree a trading relationship with the EU comparable to Canada's – or more like Australia's." In reply, the EU's Trade Commissioner Phil Hogan said "We do not have an agreement with Australia. I think that's code for No Deal."

Alarmed, the former head of the Foreign Office and co-author of Article 50, Lord John Kerr said "We imagined a situation in which we withdrew a Member State's voting rights because of a move towards autocracy, and in a huff, that imagined leader stormed out, leaving a chaotic legal situation". Because of Johnson's comments and self-imposed cut-off point for negotiations with the EU, that is exactly where many fear the Conservative government seeks to be at the end of 2020 – to leave with No Deal.

We cannot ignore how potentially dangerous and divisive this politics is for the EU and the democratic world, faced as we are by multiple challenges from climate change,

continuing crises in the Middle East and Africa and the emerging economic, technological and military power struggle between dictatorial China and Russia and Trump's USA. The EU has an impressive record in terms of soft power – its enlargement to 10 mostly former Soviet Bloc countries, the growth of democracy and human rights within its wider neighbourhood, the Iran nuclear deal, moderating tensions and mediating from the Baltics to the Balkans and around the Mediterranean.

Partly in reaction to Brexit, the European Parliament has proposed a Conference on the Future of Europe, which should be launched on Europe Day, 9 May 2020 and run for two years. It would cover a wide range of topics, from the fundamental values of the EU, through climate change to security and role of the EU in the world. It would involve MEPs and national parliamentarians and a wide range of other contributors.

In response Commission President Ursula von der Leyen said the Conference should give Europeans a greater say on what the European Union does and how it works for them. The Conference will build on past experiences, such as citizens' dialogues, while introducing a wide range of new elements to increase outreach and strength.

Its outcome will be watched closely by the millions of Britons who marched for Remain, who wish that Britain had a fair electoral system

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FMA ACTIVITIES



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



ELECTORAL OBSERVATION

THE CONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE IS AN ART

Understanding that art is a cause that we Europeans have taken up, being firm believers in the European notion of democracy, peace, freedom and peoples' sovereignty.

In defiance of all prophecies of doom, there are more and more people who not only want to understand Europe's history and how the European Union came into being, but also are thinking seriously about Europe's future and hence their own. One expression of democracy is that citizens are called upon to take part in free, equal, direct and general elections by secret ballot.

Whether those principles are abided by in elections is something that the European Parliament verifies in close liaison with the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), whose main site is in Warsaw in Poland.

The ODIHR is the principal institution of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), which was founded in 1990 under the Charter of Paris, set up in 1991 and expanded in 1992 at the Helsinki Summit. Fifty-seven states are now members of the OSCE, which focuses on elections, human rights, democracy, the rule of law, tolerance and non-discrimination. The ODIHR Director is Ingibjörg Sólrún Gísladóttir, an Icelandic politician and former foreign minister.

In November 2019, the 14th annual Implementation Meeting - for all relevant organisations - was held by the ODIHR in Warsaw on the basis of the Declaration of Principles for International Election Observation (DoP).

The DoP was signed in 2005 by 22 organisations - there are now 54

signatories - under the direction of then UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, former US President Jimmy Carter and former US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright.

In attendance in Warsaw this time were nearly 30 international organisations from North and South America, Canada, Africa, Asia and Europe, plus the European Commission. In my capacity as FMA



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Chair of the internal Working Group on Democracy Support and Election Observation, I also attended.

That FMA working group liaises closely with the European Parliament (EP). As long ago as 2011, the EP set up a Directorate for Democracy Support within the Directorate-General for External Policies.

The International Election Monitoring Institute was founded by the FMA, the Former Members of the Canadian Parliament and the United States Association of Former Members of Congress; it was subsequently enlarged to form the Global Democracy Institute.

This is the basis for support from the FMA for its members taking part in

EU Election Observation Missions under the auspices of the European External Action Service.

Capable international and citizen observers are an imperative – as are adequate funds and, these days, above all the use of modern electronic resources – and disabled persons must also be catered for, including as regards social media and anti-fake-news measures.

The organisations attending in Warsaw renewed their commitment to integrity and transparency in connection with their international election observation activities, as enshrined in the declaration and code of conduct at the time.

The First Deputy Mayor of Warsaw, Pawel Rabiej, stressed with passion and gravity, inter alia, that the Warsaw Ghetto and Lech Walesa's Solidarno are a reminder of what we should continue to heed today:

'We know the value of freedom! Warsaw is an open, tolerant, diverse and freedom-loving city! Democracy and democratic elections should be nurtured and protected, also in the countries where tradition and practice of democracy already exist.'

Brigitte Langenhagen

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FMA COMMUNICATION

TODAY WE BECAME YOUNGER

When the Association of Former MEPs held a Study Day the hall was packed. In the front row, the faces of people with long political experience, and behind us a throng of students from all over the world. The theme was the future of Europe – a look at life in the family of European nations in the decades to come.

Young people are eager to listen, and to help shape the discussion, their fingers quickly relaying messages on social media. On this occasion we too, on behalf of our association, enter into the digital world of social media. For some it's a novelty, for others a daily routine, but for the most part it's done enthusiastically. We and the young students share a desire for a united Europe, a Europe at peace, a healthy environment and a decent standard of living.

In its last term, the European Parliament adopted most of the legislation relating to the digital single market in the European Union, which has also been highlighted as one of three priorities for Ursula von der Leyen, the first female President of the European Commission.

In our association too we have set ourselves the objective of developing digital communication and motivating all our members, including those in their later years, so that we are better able to reach out to young people and all European citizens.

The Management Committee and the President, Dr Pöttering, support the development of modern communications, while the Secretariat provides technical support and takes care of content organisation.

“Young people are eager to the discussion, their fingers quickly relaying messages on social media. (...) We too, on behalf of our association, enter into the digital world”.

In April 2019 the FMA Assembly elected me, as a former MEP from Slovenia, to the Management Committee. One of my responsibilities is to help develop digital communications. For many, it's a new challenge, but lifelong learning is a path to new knowledge, inner strength and new friendships via the invisible connections of the internet.

In one way or another digitalisation affects everyone. Young people acquire the necessary skills from a very early age, and we can learn from them, from our children and grandchildren. Enhanced, but ethical, use of digital technology is fantastic opportunity.

- Digital technology fosters intergenerational connectivity, closing the divide between generations.

Young people are the adhesive that binds Europe's nations together, particularly through the Erasmus programme and the use of digital technology. We can be stronger allies for them if we do more to keep up with their trends in areas such as digital communication.

- Digital technology can be used to promote the EU's values more intensively and connect people from different European nations.

The new FMA website will take

a fresh approach to providing access to public information and to information which is restricted to FMA members via the intranet. The more we visit this website www.formermembers.europa.eu, the better informed we will be about current European policies, our own events and the individual contributions that each of us can make. Used appropriately, Twitter and Facebook can also serve the same purpose.

- Digital technology makes everyday life more attractive and provides a forum to access and share information and personal experiences.

When I was young I could only have dreamt of opportunities such as learning remotely from my Alpine village in Slovenia, coming to the aid of sick parents using telemedicine, buying tickets online for a Beatles concert in London or Skyping my friends on the other side of the Iron Curtain. Today we can do all of this. We just need to put in a bit more effort to bring our digital literacy up to the level of our young people. It is certainly worth trying, and a decisive step was taken at our Study Day We became younger!



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COOPERATION WITH THE EUI

THE ORAL HISTORY OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT



To celebrate 40 Years of direct elections to the European Parliament, the Former Members Association (FMA) put in place a series of initiatives, concluding with its Annual Events on 10-11 December 2019, in Brussels. Over the past year, the FMA organised two high-level conferences with the European University Institute (EUI) and the European Parliamentary Research Service (EPRS), the first on 22-23 November 2018, in the Badia Fiesolana, Florence, and the second on 3 April 2019 in the European Parliament, Brussels. Both featured distinguished speakers and representatives of the FMA. On 29 November, FMA members were invited to attend a Conference on the History of the European Parliament: research projects, sources and historical memory 1979-2019. I had the honour of opening the conference, together with Emanuelle Ortolí, President of the Friends of the Historical Archives of the EU, and Dieter Schlenker, Director of the Historical Archives of the EU (HAEU).

The Conference took place at the House of the European History in Brussels. This event was intended to mark the 40th anniversary of elections to the European Parliament by universal suffrage. It presented an inventory of the written and oral historical and commemorative sources relating to the history of the European Parliament, whose powers and role in both the legislative and budgetary domains have not ceased to grow since its first mandate. The participation of authoritative members of our association, such as President Enrique Barón Crespo and Alain Lamassoure, made a significant contribution to the celebrations of the 40th anniversary, with lively discussions. The project Collecting Memories of MEPs (from 1979 to 2019) was one of several to be presented. It is to the great credit of the HAEU, which launched this project with the support of the FMA, that they have created a unique space where future researchers will be able to find the lively testimonies of MEPs who have participated in and contributed to the life and evolution of the institution.

“The participation of authoritative members of our association, such as President Enrique Barón Crespo and Alain Lamassoure, made a significant contribution to the celebrations of the 40th anniversary, with lively discussions.”

The project was conducted by a number of researchers, all former Parliament officials. In less than two years, the project has already been a success: more of 100 interviews have been deposited in the HAEU database and the project is still ongoing. The FMA was a crucial partner in this project, inviting former Members to be interviewed by the researchers.

During the presentation of the Collecting Memories project, numerous extracts of interviews were presented, giving an excellent idea of what it can offer researchers: a mix of politically and historically relevant elements framed by personal considerations.

Furthermore, the researchers also published a book entitled *Shaping Parliamentary Democracy*, published by Palgrave. Divided into ten themes, it is not an academic book but a structured collection of stories. At the end of each chapter, the reader can find the contribution made by MEPs, along with notes from their interviews, something that is highly appreciated by researchers. The book can be purchased on Amazon or the Palgrave website. I hope that this fruitful collaboration can continue in the future, with the same passion, enthusiasm and professionalism of our esteemed members.

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EP TO CAMPUS PROGRAMME

UNITY IN DIVERSITY

On 17 October 2019, on behalf of the Odessa Regional Institute of Public Administration of the National Academy of Public Administration under the President of Ukraine, Dr Mykola Izha welcomed the participants at this year's congress, the theme of which was 'New Strategies for the Cooperation between Ukraine and the European Union in the Times of Global Crisis'. Sechy Orlov, representative of Ukraine's Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Odessa, subsequently gave an account of the current situation in Ukraine, saying that the war in Ukraine was extremely dangerous for Europe and that it was incomprehensible that the daily fatalities because of the clashes in East Ukraine went virtually unnoticed in Europe. The congress was wide-ranging, with themes including democratic constitutions, human rights and enforcement thereof, war and international law and environmental protection. Speakers went into the fact that both the constitutional and other material differences in the EU and the resulting demands made on Ukraine were complex and had to be taken into account in any process of establishing closer ties. Other important themes were: the major efforts being made to achieve decentralisation and make improvements as regards the separation of powers, so as to drive forward necessary changes, and action to draw together Ukrainian interests under an umbrella organisation in Brussels. Igor Todorov commented that, from a Ukrainian perspective, it made sense and was necessary to expand free trade and

open it up further. Why does Europe need Ukraine, and why does Ukraine need Europe? A suitable answer can probably only be given to that fascinating question by considering the dwindling role of nation-states in conjunction with global developments concerning both environmental pollution and interlinked global workflows. Only a Europe that is united and diverse will have a voice on the world stage that is heeded.



The link between education and democratic development was a further theme at the 13th Annual Congress of the Ukrainian European Studies Association. With regard to the development of democracy in Ukraine, Roman Petrov pointed out in his paper that, for example, moving between education management and government was thought to be difficult and that that concerned all administrative personnel. There was also a thorough discussion of raising awareness of democratic structures and the issue of corruption. Petrov came to the conclusion that difficulties with combating corruption and the separation of powers had not been adequately resolved to date, from

a Ukrainian perspective, despite the positive influence of ongoing decentralisation. Stefan Lorenzmeier gave an account of what defined free and fair elections, from a German perspective, and highlighted the problematic issue of, inter alia, the propagandist power of various interest groups that stemmed from the control they exercised over their own media outlets, for instance. I myself commented on current developments in Ukraine. This focused not only on developments to date and EU expectations regarding democratic, transparent and corruption-free governance, but also on an appraisal of the situation of the EU in the light of Brexit and the appointment of the new Commission.

Valentyna Kryvtsova chaired a critical discussion on 'legal resilience in a modern world' between Igor Todorov and Oksana Holocko-Havrysheva. The issue of sustainable, flexible and consistent law-making was central to democracy, in particular in connection with present-day political challenges. The institutional resilience of democratic law-making to internal and external stress factors and shocks was closely bound up with social stability.

The conference - given over to establishing closer ties between Ukraine and the EU - was engrossing. Thanks go to the organisers of the event and to the working group moderators.

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EP TO CAMPUS PROGRAMME

GEORG-AUGUST UNIVERSITY VISIT

I was delighted to represent the FMA at the Georg-August University in Göttingen recently to speak to the students who were participating in the Erasmus Mundus Master's Programme "Euroculture-Society, politics and culture in a global context". The theme of the conference was "The role of the European Parliament & Challenges to and of the European Union: The EU as an international actor", "National Identity/Europeanness/Citizenship & BREXIT" and "EU Careers". The University of Göttingen is an internationally renowned research university. Founded in 1737 it offers a comprehensive range of subjects across 13 faculties. With over 30,000 students and offering up to 212 degree courses, the University is one of the largest in Germany. Amongst its alumni are Gerhard Schröder former Chancellor of Germany and the new President of the European Commission Ursula Von der Leyn. The Erasmus Mundus Master's Programme "Euroculture - Society, politics and culture in a global context" partly financed by the European Commission is a transdisciplinary, international and inter-university project. Ever since the establishment of the Programme in 1999, Euroculture was used as a concept to reflect in an interdisciplinary way on the many different expressions and



Seán Ó Neachtain lecturing at University of Göttingen - Georg-August-Universität Göttingen

manifestations of self-understandings of societies, social groups and individuals of, about, within and beyond Europe.

My attendance at the lectures was over two days and the students being international led to an interesting debate on the various topics that were discussed. The first session concerned the challenges facing the European Union. I covered the usual challenges like Migration, Ageing Europe, Climate Change and particularly the challenge for the European Institutions to connect with its citizens. As a former member of the Committee of the Regions I stressed the importance of the often quoted saying that all politics is local. The European Union needs to get its message across to the ordinary citizens in a clear unambiguous manner.

We also discussed the challenge that Brexit has presented and the implications that the United Kingdom's leaving the Union would have. As a former member of the European Parliament representing Ireland I reiterated that I regretted very much that the people of the UK voted to leave the EU in the referendum of 2016. Again, I expressed that like the other challenges the member states

working together would be stronger as a unit than any one country on its own.

The second day concentrated on my own experience as a member of the European Parliament. I was delighted that the students had researched my political background and one student from Wales referred to my involvement in making the Irish language a working language of the EU. I spoke of my belief that Europe is united by its diversity and my native Irish language was of great importance and a source of pride to me during my time as an MEP.

During this session a talk was given by Andreas Kumar, EU Careers Ambassador at the University on careers in the European Institutions. This was a comprehensive account and the students took great interest in the information given.

I would like to thank all the students who participated and the staff who organised the conference especially Marc Arwed Ruthe, the coordinator of the Euroculture programme. My thanks also to Dr. Lars Klein, senior lecturer and Professor Simon Fink, Director of Studies.

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FMA EVENTS

A YOUNG PERSON'S PERSPECTIVE

For me, as a young British person, it was a special time to be attending the Former Members events. I still hoped that Brexit could be stopped but, two days before our General Election, opinion polls made me fearful.

“I had mixed feelings – reassurance that the EU will go on bringing European countries together peacefully debating and determining the way forward but an even deeper sense of loss at the UK’s impending exclusion.”

Like many other young people, being an EU citizen matters to me – to enjoy all the freedoms and feel truly European. However, unlike most others, my father was an MEP in



Myfanwy Price during the march in London



Myfanwy Price with her father Peter Price at the European Parliament ©European Parliament

my early years and I first sat in the European Parliament chamber aged two! Before leaving school, I had even spent a week gaining work experience in the EP in Brussels. The EU institutions have been part of my life, so I am astonished at the irrational fears expressed about their output.

The FMA events brought home to me that Brexit is just one of many challenges facing the EU. Many are difficult and divisive but they will be tackled – now without UK influence. So I had mixed feelings – reassurance that the EU will go on bringing European countries together peacefully debating and determining the way forward but an even deeper sense of loss at the UK’s impending exclusion.

Many young Brits are pursuing careers in other member states. As a professional oboist, I want to be able to seek jobs wherever in Europe they occur. One of my current roles is with a Hungarian orchestra. I would love to have associate EU citizenship, so I hope that possibility will be adopted. My plea now is ‘don’t penalise young people like me!’

I am not a lone voice. I was proud to wear the beret with EU stars on a march in London, with about a million others, campaigning for a People’s Vote. I will go on campaigning to minimise the degree of separation and hope that it will not be many years before the UK will be back in the EU. In the meantime, fortunately, UK former MEPs can remain involved as members of the FMA.



“Together for the final say” march in London on 19 October 2019 ©Shutterstock

Myfanwy Price

Professional Oboist in the Alba Regia Symphony Orchestra in Hungary.

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PHOTO REPORT



Herman Van Rompuy, Former President of the European Council - Policy Debate 2019, (House of European History)

Once again, FMA members and guests followed with keen interest our Annual Events on 10 and 11 December 2019. The Policy Debate “EU institutional dynamics: Ten years after the Lisbon Treaty” co-organised with DGCOMM took place in the House of European History and was attended, amongst others, by Herman Van Rompuy, Former President of the European Council. The event was followed by our Annual Dinner with guest speaker, Klaus-Heiner Lehne, President of the European Court of Auditors. EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Josep Borrell Fontelles, was also present at this event together with many former colleagues. The Annual Seminar “The European Union and its Parliament in a Global Context” also proved to be a resounding success with numerous university students and former MEPs joining the debate.



From left to right: Rainer Wieland ,EP Vice President; Richard Lord Balfe, FMA Board member; Enrique Barón Crespo and Pat Cox, former FMA and EP Presidents; Constanze Itzel, House of European History Museum Director; FMA President Hans-Gert Pöttering and Gilles Boyer, Quaestor responsible for the FMA - Annual Dinner 2019, (House of European History)



From left to right: Josep Borrell Fontelles, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy; FMA President Hans-Gert Pöttering and Mr. Klaus- Heiner LEHNE, President of the European Court of Auditors- Annual Dinner 2019, (House of European History, Brussels)

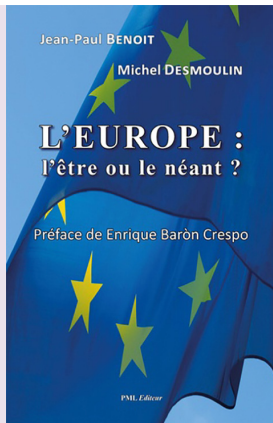


Annual Seminar 2019, (European Parliament, Brussels)



BOOK REVIEW

Europe: Being or Nothingness? by Jean- Paul Benoit and Michel Desmoulin, published by PML , €18.



Our colleague Jean Paul Benoit was a Member of the European Parliament during the historic period marked by the fall of the Berlin Wall and the introduction of the euro. He gives his thoughts on these and other events in a book whose title recalls Sartre's existential wager: Europe: Being or Nothingness?

This is precisely what the book is about. In more concrete terms, he could have written: is Europe heading towards a closer union, or at risk of breaking up? The author keeps his own view on this matter to himself, but he analyses, clearly and systematically, all the factors that may tip the scales one way or the other. He examines the past and the advances the Union has made over the years, but also its missed opportunities and the wrong turns it has taken. He is particularly harsh in his criticism 'of a legal-economic construction whose technocratic and financial liberalism carries within it the seeds of its own destruction'. Not even Marine Le Pen or Nigel Farage use

such severe terms. However, the author can afford to be so ruthless in his assessment, because he is fervently pro-European. 'Europe', he says, 'is an opportunity and a necessity'. His book attempts to show that this is still the case, despite the challenges and disappointments of today. It does so in the form of a dialogue with one of his friends, who is also fervently pro-European and concerned for the future of a European integration process for which he has had a lifelong passion, and who is also aware of the political, economic and social problems facing our continent. Their discussion could have gained from being less comfortable, because it is when they disagree that the pair become most interesting. They complement one other, however, in their assessment of a whole range of topics, including the eurozone, agricultural policy, immigration, competition, digital technology and cooperation with Africa. In this way, they paint a broad, detailed picture of the problems facing Europe today. Their proposals for the future differ somewhat. Jean-Paul Benoit's friend sees the election of a President of Europe by universal suffrage as the way ahead. Without rejecting this possibility out of hand, our colleague believes that the highest priority is to decide 'what we want to make of Europe'. 'Europe needs to determine what it wants to be, what role it

wants to play in the world and what kind of policies it wants to implement'. The author advocates what he terms 'the joint exercise of national sovereignties', which, he explains, is more promising than the notion of 'shared sovereignties' dear to Jacques Delors. Rather than imposing constraints on national sovereignties, Benoit proposes to elevate them to a higher level which they could not achieve alone.

Of course, Benoit takes sides at every stage, and even those who agree with his argument will not always be able to follow it through to its logical conclusion. I am referring in particular to his call for 'Europe as a world power', an idea favoured by certain political circles in France, in particular those around President Macron. But his book is not a search for a consensus. It is a weapon of war.

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BOOK REVIEW

“Brexit: The Internal Market in reverse gear” by Karl von Wogau, €18.

Karl von Wogau

Brexit -
The Internal Market
in reverse gear



How Europe’s single market was born.

Karl von Wogau, who served as an MEP from 1979 to 2008 and chaired the European Parliament’s Economic and Monetary Committee in the 1990s, has written an engaging and evocative personal memoir of the struggle to build the single market in Europe in the 1980s - and of the critical, often under-estimated, role which he and other parliamentarians played in framing, fighting and winning that key battle. Although entitled ‘Brexit: The Internal Market in reverse gear’, this short book is not so much about Brexit - a peg on which he hangs a much wider argument - as it is about the logic and benefits of the single market ‘in forward gear’. Brexit now has the potential to deny Britain the substantial advantages of access to the largest consumer market in the world, one which ironically the country’s politicians - especially British Conservative politicians - played an important part in creating. Hence

the striking image on the book’s front-cover of Margaret Thatcher meeting with the Kangaroo Group in Strasbourg in December 1981. The British prime minister is seen in intense discussion with Karl von Wogau, Dieter Rogalla, Basil de Ferranti, Christiane Scrivener, Fernand Herman and several other Members, flanked by Franco-German national frontier signs of the kind the group wanted torn down. Subsequently, Thatcher was to push the single market as a central objective for the Community.

‘Every revolution was first a thought in one man’s mind’, remarked Ralph Waldo Emerson. In the case of ‘completing the single market’ in the 1980s, the revolution was first a thought in the minds of several newly-elected MEPs in 1979. Mr Von Wogau describes his encounter with ‘Boz’ de Ferranti - a prominent British business leader who had moved from being President of the Economic and Social Committee (ECSC) to become an MEP - on their very first evening in Strasbourg in June 1979. Arriving downtown to find that most of the city’s restaurants had already closed, they ended up ‘on a stone bench in Place Kléber, dining on decidedly un-European hotdogs and Coca Cola’, swapping stories about the astonishing, ‘Kafkaesque’ handicaps being placed in the way of doing business across national frontiers in Europe, not least between Kehl and Strasbourg itself. Mr von Wogau - who lived on

the other side of the Rhine to Strasbourg - teamed up with Messrs Ferranti, Rogalla and others set up the Kangaroo Group to campaign for a barrier-free European economy. The Parliament commissioned the Albert-Ball Report which showed there was a ‘cost of non-Europe’ of around five per cent of Community GDP. It emboldened Jacques Delors to make the single market a central objective of his new Commission in 1985. The project proved much more successful than they could reasonably have hoped, not only in realising the GDP gain they predicted over the next 30 years, but in releasing new momentum for deeper European integration that saw a single currency agreed during the next decade. The achievement described in this book is one of which a whole generation of European parliamentarians can justifiably be proud. As a young staffer, it was my privilege to be involved, in a small way, in that historic process. We look forward to Mr von Wogau’s account of the 1990s, as the story moves forward.

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NEW MEMBERS



Christian ALLARD
(United Kingdom, 2019-2020, Greens/EFA)



Catherine BEARDER
(United Kingdom, 2019-2020, RE)



Judith BUNTING
(United Kingdom, 2019-2020, RE)



Richard CORBETT
(United Kingdom, 2019-2020, S&D)



Chris DAVIES
(United Kingdom, 2019-2020, RE)



Luis DE GRANDES PASCUAL (Spain, 2014-2019, EPP)



Dinesh DHAMIJA
(United Kingdom, 2019-2020, RE)



Jill EVANS
(United Kingdom, 2019-2020, Greens/EFA)



Barbara GIBSON
(United Kingdom, 2019-2020, RE)



Esther HERRANZ GARCÍA (Spain, 2014-2019, EPP)



Martin HORWOOD
(United Kingdom, 2019-2020, RE)



John HOWARTH
(United Kingdom, 2019-2020, S&D)

NEW MEMBERS



Chris HUHNE
(United Kingdom, 2004-2005, ALDE)



Jackie JONES
(United Kingdom, 2019-2020, S&D)



Anthea McIntyre
(United Kingdom, 2019-2020, GCRC)



Aileen McLEOD
(United Kingdom, 2019-2020, Greens/EFA)



Rory PALMER
(United Kingdom, 2019-2020, S&D)



Sheila RITCHIE
(United Kingdom, 2019-2020, RE)



Fernando RUAS
(Portugal, 2014-2019, EPP)



Caroline VOADEN
(United Kingdom, 2019-2020, RE)



Irina VON WIESE
(United Kingdom, 2019-2020, RE)



Julie WARD
(United Kingdom, 2019-2020, S&D)



LATEST NEWS

ACTIVITIES



29-31 March 2020

STUDY VISIT TO CROATIA

Members will meet with Parliament, government and civil society's representatives.

5 May 2020

POLICY ROUNDTABLE

on the Conference about the Future of Europe.
From 15.45 to 17.15 pm
in the Library Reading Room,
European Parliament, Brussels.

5 May 2020

ANNUAL MEMORIAL SERVICE

From 17.45 to 18.15 pm
in the Space Yehudi Menuhin,
European Parliament, Brussels.

5 May 2020

DINNER DEBATE

From 18.30 to 22.00 pm in
the Member's Restaurant,
European Parliament, Brussels.

6 May 2020

ANNUAL GENERAL ASSEMBLY

From 10.00 am to 13.00 pm
in the European Parliament,
Brussels.

6 May 2020

ANNUAL LUNCH

From 13.00 to 14.30 pm
in the Members
Restaurant, European
Parliament, Brussels.

September/ October 2020

STUDY VISIT TO NORTH MACEDONIA

Members will meet with Parliament, government and civil society's representatives and universities students, at the end of September/ beginning of October 2020 (dates to be confirmed).

9-10 December 2020

FMA ANNUAL EVENTS

The 2020 Annual Dinner will take place on Wednesday 09 December 2020.

The 2020 Annual Seminar will take place on Thursday 10 December from 10.00 am to 13.00 pm at the European Parliament in Brussels.

NEW TRAINEE

The FMA has two new trainees. Ms Sara Miguel Salado, who has worked for the FMA since November 2019, and will continue until May 2020. She is of Spanish nationality and has a Master in International Cooperation. She specialised in Communication at the University College of Dublin (UCD) and at the DEUSTO University. Members can address her in Spanish, English and French.

Martin Sarret will be an FMA trainee from March 2020 to July 2020. He is of French nationality and has a Master of Arts in Strategic Management, University of Paris Sud, Orsay (France). He speaks French, English, German and Russian.

IN MEMORIAM

† 23 November 2019
Francesc GAMBÚS I MILLET
EPP, Spain (2014-2019)

He served as a Spanish member of the European Parliament.

At the national level, Mr Gambús I Milles represented the 'Unió Democràtica de Catalunya'.



† 23 November 2019
Patrice TIROLIEN
S&D, France (2009-2014)

He served as a French member of the European Parliament.

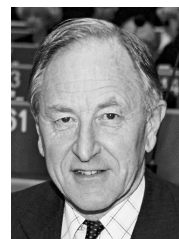
At the national level, Mr Tirolien represented the 'Parti socialiste (France)'.



† 13 December 2019
Christopher Murray JACKSON
EDP, EPP, England (1979-1994)

He served as an English member of the European Parliament.

At the national level, Mr Jackson represented the 'Conservative and Unionist Party'.



† 26 December 2019
Nicolas ESTGEN
EPP, Luxembourg (1979-1994)

He served as a Luxembourgish member of the European Parliament.

At the national level, Mr Estgen represented the 'Parti chrétien social'.



† 19 January 2020
Petrus A.M. CORNELISSEN
EPP, Netherlands (1984-1999)

He served as a Netherlander member of the European Parliament.

At the national level, Mr Cornelissen represented the 'Christen Democratisch Appèl'.

