

# EPFMA Bulletin



75 June 2021

European Parliament Former Members Association

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ANNIVERSARY - ANNIVERSAIRE  
**20**  
*Experience for the future*



EP FMA  
PE AAD



## Special Edition

20th Anniversary  
of the FMA

Page 12



## Special Edition

We are Former  
Members

Page 20

# IN THIS ISSUE

---

**03** Message from the President

**04** European Parliament at work

## IN MEMORIAM

**06** In memoriam

## LATEST NEWS

**09** Upcoming events

**09** New members

**10** Elections results

**11** FMA at work

## SPECIAL EDITION

**12** 20th Anniversary of the Former Members Association  
(*David Maria Sassoli*)

**15** We are Former Members  
(*Lord Henry Plumb*)

**17** Experience for the Future  
(*José María Gil-Robles*)

**19** The European Parliament Former Members Association turns 20 (*Pat Cox*)

**21** The European Parliament: school of democracy  
(*Enrique Barón Crespo*)

**22** A fruitful cooperation  
(*Monica Baldi*)

**23** Joining Forces to Analyse and to Explain Europe  
(*Renaud Dehousse*)

**24** An active partnership for Europe - The FMA and the Historical Archives of the European Union  
(*Dieter Schlenker*)

**25** Parliament's archives on the eve of their 70th anniversary  
(*Ludovic Delepine*)

**26** FMA Networking overseas  
(*Lord Richard Balfe*)

**27** FP-AP Networking  
(*Brigitte Langenhagen*)

**28** Election Observation and Democracy  
(*Brigitte Langenhagen*)

**29** The current challenges of Democracy  
(*Edward McMillan-Scott*)

**30** Women in the European Parliament  
(*Maria Luisa Rodano*)

**32** Simone Veil: a free and open-minded woman  
(*Luciana Castellina*)

**34** Nicole Fontaine: a consciously pro-European  
(*Monica Baldi*)

**36** My experience with the Campus Programme  
(*Birgit Daiber*)

**37** EP to Campus Programme: An invaluable programme  
(*Michael Hindley*)

**38** Celebrating Twenty Years of Collaboration  
(*Jonathan Larson PhD*)

**40** EP to Campus experiences

**44** Happy 20th Anniversary

**47** Messages from other Associations

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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

Dear Members,

We made it. This year, we're celebrating the 20th anniversary of the Former Members Association (FMA).

Thanks to the involvement and commitment of every single member. Thanks to the hard work of our former presidents, former and current members of the Management Committee, and our staff. Thanks to the successful engagement with our numerous partners and to every single person who has helped to make the FMA what it is today: a closely-knit multicultural, pluralist and multilingual association which aims to promote our shared values such as respect for human dignity, human rights, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and peace.

I am delighted to present this special edition of our bulletin for the 20th anniversary of the FMA, which sets out to acknowledge our achievements and build on them to move forward and look towards the future. The President of the European Parliament and all former FMA presidents have contributed an article, for which I am very grateful.

We have worked together over the years to promote political dialogue through meetings with national parliaments, our annual study visits or policy roundtables. We have worked together to promote

intergenerational dialogue and share our experiences by taking part in some 232 EP to Campus programmes, reaching thousands of students. We have worked together to build democracy by volunteering to be election observers and offer democracy support. We have also worked together to remember and honour the work and commitment of former MEPs during our annual memorial service. At this point I would like to thank all the families and former members who joined us this year for our special and solemn virtual memorial service. We have worked together to build and strengthen the FMA, which today stands as the symbol of our shared success.

These activities and achievements are just a few of the examples of a wide range of activities we have undertaken together over the years. And we will continue to develop and engage ourselves, as demonstrated by ongoing and recent activities such as Librorum and the Reflection Group of the FMA for the Future of the EU. I would invite you to take part and follow the upcoming debates within the Conference on the Future of Europe, contributing to the democratic discussion and sharing your ideas for Europe's future.

Finally, I would like to thank every member who contributed to the success of our 20th anniversary events and took part in the annual General Assembly on 2 June. Thanks to your votes, you enabled us to form a new Management

Committee for the coming year.

I would like to warmly welcome newly elected committee members, Mr Michael Hindley, Mr Pier Antonio Panzeri and Mr Manuel Porto. We are very glad to have the chance to work with them.

I also take this opportunity to pay special tribute to the outgoing members, Mr Jan-Willem Bertens, Lord Richard Balfe and Ms Zofija Mazej Kukovic, for the years of committed work, energy and passion they have put into the development of the FMA.

Twenty years ago, one of our stated goals was to stay in touch with one another. We will continue on this path. The bond we have built together is strong and will help us to go forward even in these uncertain times. We can rely on the friendships we have forged beyond boundaries.

Stay safe and in touch with one another.

I wish the FMA a happy birthday.

**Hans-Gert Pöttering**

*FMA President*

## Key facts

**MEPs adopted the new InvestEU programme, which will mobilise public and private investments and guarantees simplified access to financing.**

*(March session - P9\_TA(2021)0068).*

The programme is part of the €750 billion Next Generation EU recovery package, and will foster strategic, sustainable and innovative investments and address market failures, sub-optimal investments and the investment gap in targeted sectors.

**MEPs adopted the EU4Health programme for 2021-2027, which aims to prepare EU health systems more rigorously for future health threats and pandemics.**

*(March session - P9\_TA(2021)0069).*

The main objectives include strengthening health systems by supporting countries to coordinate with each other and share data, as well as making medicines and medical devices more available, accessible and affordable.

**EP President Sassoli, Prime Minister of Portugal Costa and Commission President von der Leyen signed the Joint Declaration on the Conference on the Future of Europe.**

*(March session).*

To launch a series of debates and discussions for an open, inclusive, transparent and structured debate with European citizens around the issues that matter to them through various fora, including digital, and where possible, also physical formats, and an interactive multilingual digital platform.

**Parliament declares the European Union an "LGBTIQ Freedom Zone".**

*(March session - P9\_TA(2021)0089).*

In response to the backsliding of LGBTIQ rights in some EU countries.

**Parliament adopted a strengthened EU legal framework for civil protection, in response to the unprecedented experience of the COVID-19 pandemic**

*(April session - P9\_TA(2021)0128).*

1.263 billion EUR will be allocated to the Mechanism for 2021-2027, supplemented by 2.056 billion EUR from the EU Recovery Instrument (approximately five times more than the previous seven-year budget).

**Parliament approved new rules for a common mandatory Transparency Register.**

*(April session - P9\_TA(2021)0130).*

Parliament, Council and Commission aim to make registration de facto mandatory, as a precondition for certain activities and through equivalent complementary measures.

**Parliament formally approved EU-UK trade and cooperation agreement.**

*(April session - P9\_TA(2021)0140).*

Parliament's consent was necessary for the agreement to enter into force permanently before its lapse on 30 April 2021.

**A new law to address the dissemination of terrorist content online was approved by Parliament.**

*(April session - P9\_TA(2021)0144).*

Hosting service providers will have to remove or disable access to flagged terrorist content in all member states within one hour of receiving a removal order from the competent authority. Member states will adopt rules on penalties, the degree of which will take into account the nature of the breach and the size of company responsible.

**Parliament adopted its negotiating position on the proposal for a certificate to reaffirm the right to free movement in Europe during the pandemic.**

*(April session - P9\_TA(2021)0145).*

MEPs agreed that the new "EU COVID-19 certificate" - instead of Digital Green Certificate, as proposed by the Commission - should be in place for 12 months and not longer. Holders of an EU COVID-19 certificate should not be subject to additional travel restrictions, such as quarantine, self-isolation or testing. MEPs also stress that, EU countries should "ensure universal, accessible, timely and free of charge testing".

**The 2021-2027 programme for Environment and Climate Action (LIFE) will become the EU's most ambitious climate and environmental programme.**

*(April session - P9\_TA(2021)0153).*

It is the only programme at EU-level solely dedicated to the environment and climate (launched in 1992). It entered into force retroactively from 1 January 2021. The total budget allocated for LIFE in the compromise on the 2021-2027 Multiannual Financial Framework is EUR 5.4 billion (current prices).



## Other main dossiers

*discussed in the plenary sessions were:*

**10.03.21**

Parliament adopted a resolution on a WTO-compatible [EU carbon border adjustment mechanism \(CBAM\)](#). The resolution underlines that the EU's increased ambition on climate change must not lead to 'carbon leakage'.

MEPs recommended changes to draft legislation aiming to trace and tax the sales that people make through [online platforms](#) more effectively. This will mean a better cooperation between national authorities and non-EU platforms.

**11.03.21**

**Fishing rules:** Parliament adopted its negotiating position on the new [Fisheries Control system](#), which will reform the rules that have governed EU fishing activities since 2010. MEPs agreed to use new technologies to better enforce fishing rules and improve security and transparency.

MEPs highlighted the [impact of the pandemic on children's health and education](#). They called for a European Child Guarantee where EU member states must invest more in education, healthcare, housing, family support and childcare, making sure that these services reach all children.

**25.03.21**

**Enlargement reports for Albania, Kosovo, North Macedonia and Serbia:** MEPs fully support Western Balkans' European future. MEPs warned that advancement by these countries towards joining the EU depends on lasting, in-depth and irreversible reforms across fundamental areas such as the rule of law and the effective functioning of democratic institutions. They also stress the importance of stepping up the fight against corruption and organised crime.

A resolution on an [EU strategy for sustainable tourism](#) has been adopted. Parliament called on member states to fully implement common criteria, including a common vaccination certificate, for safe travel without delay.

**27.04.21**

MEPs adopt landmark research programme [Horizon Europe](#) that incorporates the EU's highest ever budget allocation for digital-related research and digitalisation. The 2021-2027 research and innovation programme will help the EU's health systems prepare for future pandemics, and its industry to decarbonise, digitalise and innovate.

**29.04.21**

**Rule of law in Malta:** Parliament called for justice and reforms. The European Parliament takes stock of developments in the case of Daphne Caruana Galizia and other related investigations, following the testimony of Vincent Muscat. MEPs urge the government to bring to justice all those implicated in all cases brought to light by the journalist.

MEPs laid out plans for a [fairer tax system](#) fit for the digital age. They called for a minimum effective tax rate to be set at a fair and sufficient level to discourage profit shifting and prevent damaging tax competition.

European Parliament upgrades [rail passengers' rights](#) to protect better train passengers when there are delays and cancellations or when they face discrimination.

**20.05.21**

A report was adopted calling for an [EU framework for legal migration](#) that would encourage more orderly migration, attract much-needed workers, undermine smugglers and traffickers, and ease integration.

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



# IN MEMORIAM



## **Robert ROWLAND**

⚔ 23 January 2021

*NI, United Kingdom (2019-2020)*

He served as a British member of the European Parliament. At the national level, Mr Rowland represented the the Brexit Party.

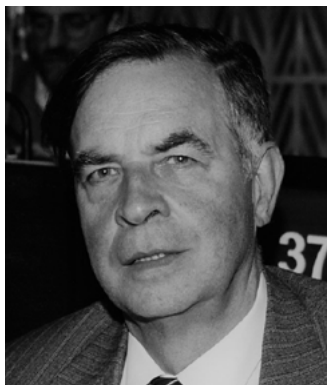


## **José ÁLVAREZ DE PAZ**

⚔ 16 February 2021

*PES, Spain (1986-1994)*

He served as a Spanish member of the European Parliament. At the national level, Mr Alvarez de Paz represented the 'Partido Socialista Obrero Español'.



## **Arthur Stanley NEWENS**

⚔ 2 March 2021

*PES, United Kingdom (1984-1999)*

He served as a British member of the European Parliament. At the national level, Mr Newens represented the Labour Party.



## **Vera SQUARCIALUPI**

⚔ 3 April 2021

*COM, Italy (1979-1989)*

She served as an Italian member of the European Parliament. At the national level, Ms Squarcialupi represented the 'Indipendenti di sinistra'.



## **Jens-Peter BONDE**

⚔ 4 April 2021

*RBW, ENF, EN, EDD, IND/DEM, Denmark (1979-2008)*

He served as a Danish member of the European Parliament. At the national level, Mr Bonde represented the 'JuniBevægelsen - Mod Unionen'.



## **Maj Britt THEORIN**

⚔ 6 April 2021

*PES, Sweden (1995-2004)*

She served as a Swedish member of the European Parliament. At the national level, Ms Theorin represented the 'Socialdemokratiska arbetarepartiet'.



## **Peter Michael MOMBAUR**

⚔ 23 April 2021

*EPP-ED, Germany (1994-2004)*

He served as a German member of the European Parliament. At the national level, Mr Mombaur represented the 'Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands'.



## **Silvio LEGA**

⚔ 24 April 2021

*EPP, Italy (1979-1984)*

He served as an Italian member of the European Parliament. At the national level, Mr Lega represented the 'Democrazia cristiana'.

# IN MEMORIAM

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## **Johannes Cornelis van BAALEN**

⚰ 29 April 2021

*ALDE, Netherlands (2009-2019)*

He served as a Dutch member of the European Parliament. At the national level, Mr van Baalen represented the 'Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie'.



## **Poul SCHLÜTER**

⚰ 27 May 2021

*EPP-ED, Denmark (1994-1999)*

He served as a Danish member of the European Parliament. At the national level, Mr Schlüter represented the 'Det Konservative Folkeparti'.



## **Llewellyn T. SMITH.**

⚰ 26 May 2021

*PES, United Kingdom (1984-1994)*

He served as a British member of the European Parliament. At the national level, Mr Smith represented the Labour Party.



# UPCOMING EVENTS



## ACTIVITIES

SEPTEMBER 2021

### Study Visit to Moldova

A Delegation of FMA members will visit Moldova in September 2021. Members will meet with Parliament, government and civil society's representatives and universities students. Details will be communicated at a later stage by email.

OCTOBER 2021

### Visit to Slovenia

An FMA Delegation will visit Slovenia, the country holding the Presidency of the Council of the EU. Details will be communicated at a later stage by email.

7  
DECEMBER 2021

### Policy Debate - 15 years of EP to Campus programme

A high-level debate will be organised on the occasion of the 15th Anniversary of the "EP to Campus" programme. Details will be communicated at a later stage. Please check your emails.

7  
DECEMBER 2021

### FMA 20th Anniversary - Cocktail and Gala Dinner

This year of celebrations will culminate with a Gala Dinner from 19.30 to 21.30 in the House of European History. The dinner will be preceded by a cocktail from 18.30 to 19.30. More information will be communicated at a later stage.

8  
DECEMBER 2021

### Together for the Future of Europe

A new event of the series "Together for the Future of Europe" will take place from 10.00 to 13.00. Details will be communicated at a later stage. Please check your emails.

*\* The format of the above-mentioned events will be confirmed at a later stage depending on the evolution of the COVID-19 pandemic.*

## NEW MEMBERS



**Lily  
JACOBS**  
(Netherlands  
2007-2009  
S&D)



**Artur  
ZASADA**  
(Poland  
2009-2014  
EPP, ECR)



**Joanna  
SKRZYDLEWSKA**  
(Poland  
2009-2014  
EPP)



**Edward  
CZESAK**  
(Poland  
2015-2019  
ECR)



**Andrzej  
SZEJNA**  
(Poland  
2004-2009  
S&D)



2 June 2021

Dear Member,

Re: RESULTS OF THE VOTES

Please find below the detailed results of the votes which took place at the Annual General Assembly of the Association on 2 June 2021:

### 1) The vote on the Annual Report:

	FOR	AGAINST	ABSTAIN
To approve the Annual Report	157	0	3

There were 160 votes cast, of which none were ruled invalid, leaving a total valid poll of 160.

### 2) The vote on the Annual Accounts:

	FOR	AGAINST	ABSTAIN
To approve the Annual Accounts	156	0	3

There were 159 votes cast, of which none were ruled invalid, leaving a total valid poll of 159.

### 3) The election for five members of the FMA Management Committee


The following members were elected in the order below and will now serve on the Management Committee for a period of two years until the Annual General Assembly meeting of 2023:


1. Teresa RIERA MADURELL
2. Miguel MARTINEZ MARTINEZ
3. Michael HINDLEY
4. Manuel PORTO
5. Pier Antonio PANZERI

There were 187 votes cast, of which three were ruled invalid leaving a total valid poll of 184.

We would like to take this opportunity to thank all those who took part in these elections.

Yours sincerely,

  
Gianfranco DELL'ALBA  
Scrutineer

  
Mario MAURO  
Scrutineer

## MEMBERS OF THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE



**Hans-Gert  
PÖTTERING**



**Monica BALDI**



**Jean-Pierre  
AUDY**



**Teresa RIERA  
MADURELL**



**Michael  
HINDLEY**



**Brigitte  
LANGENHAGEN**



**Miguel  
Angel MARTÍNEZ  
MARTÍNEZ**



**Edward  
McMILLAN-  
SCOTT**



**Pier Antonio  
PANZERI**



**Manuel PORTO**

## FMA BUREAU

President: **Hans-Gert PÖTTERING**

Vice-President: **Monica BALDI**

Secretary: **Teresa RIERA MADURELL**

Treasurer: **Jean-Pierre AUDY**

### LIST OF MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE RESPONSIBILITIES

#### **FMA Bulletin Editorial Board:**

Ms Langenhagen (Chair), Mr Audy, Ms Baldi, Mr McMillan-Scott and Ms Riera Madurell.

**EP to Campus:** Mr Hindley and Mr Porto.

**Relations with Budgets Committee,  
DG Finance:** Mr Audy.

**Dinner Debate:** Ms Baldi and Mr Panzeri.

#### **Delegates to the Bureau of the European Association of Former**

**Members:** Ms Langenhagen (FP-AP Vice-President) and Mr Martínez Martínez. If necessary, Ms Langenhagen will be substituted by Mr Audy and Martínez Martínez will be substituted by Ms Riera Madurell.

#### **Delegates to the Annual General Assembly, seminars and colloquies of the FP-AP:**

Ms Langenhagen, Mr Martínez Martínez and Mr Audy (if necessary the substitute will be Ms Riera Madurell). Besides the FMA delegates or their substitutes and in agreement with the European Association, other FMA Committee Members may participate in the annual seminars or colloquies at their own expense.

**Relations with Former Members  
Associations outside Europe:** Mr Audy and Mr Martínez Martínez.

**Relations with Think Tanks, Policy  
Institutes, Foundations:**

Ms Riera Madurell (Chair), Ms Baldi, and Ms Langenhagen.

**Archives:** Ms Baldi.

**FMA Communication:** Ms Baldi (Chair), Mr Hindley and Ms Langenhagen.

**Working Group on Democracy  
Support and Election Observation:** Ms Langenhagen (Chair), Mr Hindley, Mr Martínez Martínez, Mr McMillan-Scott, Mr Panzeri and Ms De Keyser (FMA member with advisory role).

**Relations with the House of European  
History:** Mr Martínez Martínez.

**Relations with the European University  
Institute (EUI):** Ms Baldi.



## FMA 20TH ANNIVERSARY

*Cartoon prepared by Juan Fernando López Aguilar, MEP*

## 20th Anniversary of the Former Members Association

In 2019, when I became President of the European Parliament, Europe had just engaged in the largest democratic exercise in the history of the continent. Across the then 28 member states,

out to vote. Those citizens recognised that their vote matters, that the decisions taken in the European Parliament will have significant effects on their lives and livelihoods.

**"Since 1979, our Parliament has been the direct link between citizens and the EU institutions. Giving voters the chance to choose those who will represent them, who will debate and vote on the laws that shape the future of our continent."**

more than 200 million people turned

Since 1979, our Parliament has been the direct link between citizens and the EU institutions. Giving voters the chance to choose those who will represent them, who will debate and vote on the laws that shape the future of our continent. It is that responsibility that we took on when taking up our mandate as members of this house. Over the last decades, many people have wagered on the demise of our Union, fuelling divisions and conflicts which we regarded as belonging to history. The



*David Maria Sassoli, EP President with Hans-Gert Pöttering, FMA President and Former EP President ©European Union 2019 - Source : EP*



citizens of our Union, meanwhile, have shown that they still believe in this extraordinary project, the only one which offers answers to the global challenges facing us.

Parliaments are not static entities; they grow and develop like a living organism. The decisions of one legislature build from those of the past. This is particularly true for our Parliament and its role in advancing the European Project. As Robert Schuman said "Europe will not be made all at once, or according to a single plan. It will be built through concrete achievements which first create a de facto solidarity." Every member who has sat in this house has played their role in developing that solidarity – setting the foundations on which Europe can be built.

Working for Europe is a process, a continuous process that does not end with the expiry of our mandate. For this reason, today I want to thank you for your continuous commitment, your passion and your dedication that did not stop with the end of a term. The Former Members Association has a vital role to play in communicating the work of the European Parliament, its achievements, but also highlighting where we can be better. Your work with citizens, policy makers, academics, can help build a European demos. While your work on democracy building can help take the lessons of our unique Parliament to other parts of the world.

In the two years since the beginning of my mandate as President, the world has changed beyond recognition. Hundreds of thousands of Europeans have lost their lives and every one of us has faced restrictions on everyday life that would have been unthinkable just a few months before. We thank all those who have worked on the frontline to keep us safe and ensure that our societies can continue to function and the European researchers who give us hope for the coming year.

I thank you for your work over the last 20 years. Your activity contributes to strengthening our sense of community, that constant commitment that we need to make our democracies stronger, and better able to respond to the needs of our citizens. I hope that this work continues for many more years to come.

by **David Maria Sassoli**  
*President of the European Parliament*

**"Working for Europe is a process, a continuous process that does not end with the expiry of our mandate. For this reason, today I want to thank you for your continuous commitment, your passion and your dedication that did not stop with the end of a term. "**

Throughout this crisis the European Parliament has remained open and functioning, so that we can continue to vote on the measures needed to rebuild our continent. Now all of us, both current and former members need to rediscover the pioneering approach of the founding fathers, the spirit of those who found a way to put aside the enmities of war and heal the wounds caused by nationalism. As we come out of the worst health emergency in a century, we need to show we too can take the decisions necessary to build a brighter future for Europe.

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## We are Former Members

As you can imagine, my profound satisfaction in sharing in the celebrations of the twentieth anniversary of our Association is tinged with an equally profound regret that my country is no longer a member of the European Union. But that is another story. Today I reflect upon the importance of the Association in the context of the great European project.

**"My profound satisfaction in sharing in the celebrations of the twentieth anniversary of our Association is tinged with an equally profound regret that my country is no longer a member of the European Union."**

relatively late on to the European stage. Its role in reducing the notorious democratic deficit has been a difficult, but crucial one. The very existence of our Association illustrates the unique nature of our contribution to the project.

In my experience the difference between MEPs and MPs is that whilst both come to their respective chambers with a national and party-political identity, the MEPs, through their day-to-day activities, osmotically absorb an additional awareness, which makes them think not only about what is good for their constituents, their country, or their political party, but also what is good for Europe. Those who founded our Association, regardless of their everyday political differences, were conscious of that extra dimension.

The European Parliament, as a directly elected institution, came

It is an ethos which must be maintained and fostered, for we



*Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and Lord Henry Plumb during the first FMA Annual Dinner in 2002*

must recognise that one of the failings of the overall project to date has been that at grassroots level our citizens have not sufficiently identified with the European institutions as being “theirs”, on a par with their national institutions. The UK experience, alas, stands as a stark warning in that respect. Since 1979 the European Parliament has gradually advanced – and our members have played a very significant role in that advance – from a largely consultative assembly to a thorough-going legislative institution. That advance in terms of constitutional law must be matched by a parallel advance in terms of public awareness.

Our members can play our part in that effort. We are “former members”, but we have, collectively, a great reserve of experience and many of us still have public platforms at our disposal through which we can inform, stimulate debate and advocate specific policies. We come from a vast variety of party-political backgrounds, but I firmly believe that we all have an overriding interest in engaging with the European electorate on topics of interest to the man and woman in the street. I think of topics which



*Former Presidents of the European Parliament ©European Union 2007*

in the past have struck a positive chord – the creation of the Single Market, the lowering of airfares, improvements in environmental standards, the promotion of human rights, or aid to underdeveloped countries.

The European Parliament has the justifiable reputation amongst political observers of wishing to be in the vanguard of change within the EU. Its detractors often accuse its leaders of being “dreamers”, who wish to hurry ahead with policies and positions deemed to be “unrealistic”. But it is true that many advances in Europe have started out as EP proposals or have gained traction through our promotion of them. All too often, the role of the parliament has been overlooked in public opinion. We must encourage similarly avant-garde initiatives at the

present time. Looking forward it is understandable that public interest should currently be focused on the Covid crisis; nevertheless, our influence should move towards the post-pandemic future. And the emphasis should be on the EU framework.

As I look back over the past twenty years, I am acutely conscious of the privilege that has been ours of being part of an association which has made possible a whole network of friendships and a wide breadth of cultural enrichment across both nationalities and ideological divisions. That in itself is something well worth celebrating.

by **Lord Henry Plumb**

*FMA Honorary President*

*Former President of the FMA and the European Parliament*

[henry@theplumbs.org.uk](mailto:henry@theplumbs.org.uk)

**“We come from a vast variety of party-political backgrounds, but I firmly believe that we all have an overriding interest in engaging with the European electorate on topics of interest to the man and woman in the street. ”**

# Experience for the Future

The European Parliament Former Members Association turns 20.

20 years may not sound much in a Union which is three times that age, but they are enough to be able to congratulate an association that is thriving and to congratulate ourselves for an idea that has been very fruitful indeed.

The association has filled a gap, one that would have been very regrettable; it has enabled those of us who at one time or another have represented Europeans to remain in contact and has been able to draw on the knowledge acquired over the years and ensure that it is used to consolidate this 'sui generis' body which brings together and channels our peace efforts.

I thank President Pötering for his invitation to write these lines and I would like to begin by sending him my warmest congratulations, which extend to everyone who, since Lord Henry Plumb, have had the honour of presiding over the association and to those who have led it over the past twenty years. I believe we can look back with the satisfaction of having served our colleagues and Europe.

When it comes to Europe, looking back makes sense only when planning for

**"When it comes to Europe, looking back makes sense only when planning for the future. I am very, very old now, and ever since I started dreaming of the European Union in the late 1940s, I have done nothing but imagine and build its future as best as I could. "**

the future. I am very, very old now, and ever since I started dreaming of the European Union in the late 1940s, I have done nothing but imagine and build its future as best as I could. We are now at a crucial moment, once again, on the eve of a Conference on the Future of Europe, and that future must be projected, even if it will not be us this time who will reach an agreement on it and make it a reality. I would therefore like to take this opportunity to contribute

my two cents' worth to this process of reflexion which concerns each and every one of us.

Article 311 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, adopted in Lisbon on 13 December 2007, states: 'The Union shall provide itself with the means necessary to attain its objectives and carry through its policies.



José María Gil-Robles ©Communautés européennes 1997 - EP





Without prejudice to other revenue, the budget shall be financed wholly from own resources.'

In other words, the Treaty clearly lays down two principles:

- The principle of financial adequacy: the European Union must provide itself with the means necessary to carry out its tasks; and
- The principle of financial autonomy: these means must be obtained from its own resources, not from resources provided by other bodies or echelons of power.

This is the ideal. However, the history of EU financing has been one with ups and downs and changes of direction. Let us recall:

- The European Coal and Steel Community was financed by a system of production levies, which the ECSC collected directly and not through the Member States; in other words, own resources.
- The European Economic Community, on the other hand, began financing itself with contributions from the Member States, but in 1970 it switched to own resources financing: customs

duties, agricultural duties and an annual percentage of the harmonised VAT base.

- As from the financial period 1993-1999, a 'fourth resource' was added, namely the additional contributions from the Member States, which now account for the lion's share.

Now, almost thirty years later and after many attempts to put an end to this situation, the European Union has finally taken a giant step forward: It has decided to provide itself with substantial resources to enable it to recover from the ravages of the current pandemic: no less than EUR 750 billion in joint debt, which will have to be repaid over the next few years. In other words, own resources will have to be established to finance this gigantic and unexpected act of solidarity. Kölh said that the essence of the Union is solidarity, and what we are doing is injecting, at the most difficult of times, a tremendous dose of solidarity.

The Conference on the Future of Europe will have to translate this new reality of solidarity into concrete achievements. We can envisage some of them now, others will become apparent as we go along. It will undoubtedly be necessary to make economic union a reality, with a common economic policy to complement the euro, integrating the treaties that have been concluded into a single treaty, and putting an end to the historical censure between Eastern and Western Europe. It will also be necessary to finalise the integration of the Balkans and of Iceland and Norway, leaving the door open for the United Kingdom to return when it realises how bad

life is outside the Union. But next time without privileges or 'British rebates'.

In an increasingly globalised world, our Foreign and Security Policy must become more and more autonomous and common, which means:

- strategic autonomy and a rebalancing of NATO;
- a dynamic neighbourhood policy in the Eastern and Southern Mediterranean;
- continuing to promote democratisation and integration in Latin America, Africa and the Caribbean,
- good trade relations in Russia and China,
- and supporting multilateral relations.

The green deal and the transformation of our economy into a digital economy await us. And if we want our social market economy model to survive, and I believe it is the fairest of those that exist, our political forces have to seriously address how income is distributed in the Union to make it fairer and more equitable, and how we can secure the future of our pensions.

Put simply, the future of our Union will require enormous efforts. We have taken a big step, thank God, but it is the first step on a long road.

by **José María Gil-Robles**  
Former President of the FMA and the  
European Parliament  
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# The European Parliament Former Members Association turns 20

I had the pleasure to lead four FMA Study Visits in the course of my Presidency, rich in content and fascinating in diversity. These were to Iceland, Russia, Turkey and Tunisia. Though our programmes were suffused with politics and economics my more resonant memories lie elsewhere.

Iceland in October 2010 was living with a heavily devalued currency and currency controls, an economy in deep shock as a result of a massive home-grown but globally connected banking crisis and still feeling the ripples of a so-called Pöts and Páns mass protest movement that one year earlier had swept the former government from power. Back then they had just opened negotiations for EU accession, subsequently abandoned.

But my outstanding memories are of the natural beauty, the endlessly active geology, the pleasure of bathing in hot geothermal springs, which in one rural instance was in a landscape that appeared to be more lunar than earth bound. I recall fondly a visit to the Arctic Institute in Akureyri and a lesson in perspective, when they showed us a map of the world with them at its centre and we, much of the rest of Europe, barely appearing over their southern horizon.

Russia was the next port of call in late September 2011

arriving into Moscow's splendid Hotel Metropol, close to the Kremlin, where breakfast was served in the morning under a spectacular dome to the gentle accompaniment of a classical harp. We had the usual intense round of institutional, political and cultural visits in a city that then could boast of world beating traffic jams, forcing abandonment our hired bus to maintain our schedule. Duma elections were scheduled two months later and Prime Minister Putin, on a temporary constitutionally necessitated break from the Presidency, was contemplating getting back on the front seat of the political tandem that he was then riding with President Medvedev. A visit to the Central Election Commission elicited especially lively exchanges with its head who radiated the certainties that go with managed democracy.

Again, my outstanding memories lie elsewhere. A visit to Perm, for long a closed city in Soviet times, introduced us to the Perm Ballet. In the course of the ballet tens of young dancers came on stage to be greeted by their proud families with the kind of reception one associates more with a football match than a ballet. It exuded warmth, joy and a profoundly decent Russian authenticity. A more sombre note followed with a visit to Perm 36, a museum of political repression, a former gulag, 120 miles from Perm, alone and isolated in a vast wooded wilderness. Times have changed and that place of memory has been closed.

October 2012 took us to Ankara beginning with the mandatory laying of a wreath at the mausoleum of the founder of the Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The Museum of Anatolian



*FMA Delegation in Thingvellir (Northern Europe's First Parliament), Iceland - 2010*

Civilisations was a reminder in terms of art, history and legend how much we share in common. Bilateral EU-Turkey relations back then were not without controversy but were in a much better place than the very strained relationship of today. A visit to Iznik, historically known as Nicaea, where the First Ecumenical Council of the Christian faith was held in 325, revealed its rich tradition of exquisite tile making. While Istanbul charmed with its magnificent mosques, spectacular Ottoman palaces and colourful bazaars - all speaking to a civilisational culture, appreciated by Europeans but not always evident in bilateral political discourse with a nation that notwithstanding our many differences is deeply proud of this heritage.

And so to the last of my privileged FMA visits, this time in October 2013 to Tunisia. We began in the Carthaginian ruins and associated Roman relics, a reminder that in time even the greatest glory can fade. Tunis' Bardo museum is one of the great museums of the world and houses what arguably is the best collection of Roman mosaics in existence and unhappily was the scene of a deadly terrorist attack eighteen months after our visit. Tunisia was the place where a humble vendor lit the fuse in 2010 that became the Arab Spring. Autocracy, civil war and oppression have ground it down in most places but not in the country where it began. In meeting after meeting it was uplifting to see and feel the determination to enact a new pluralist constitution which eventually was adopted in early 2014, a powerful and positive legacy of the otherwise wilted

flower that was the Arab Spring.

by **Pat Cox**  
*Former President of the FMA and the  
 European Parliament*  
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*Pat Cox during a press conference in Tunisia*



*FMA Delegation in Russia - 2011*



*FMA Delegation in Turkey - 2012*



*FMA Delegation in Tunisia - 2013*



# The European Parliament: school of democracy

'Welcome to the school of European democracy' was my greeting to visitors to the European Parliament when I was an MEP. This was a school where colleagues lived and worked side by side, alternating between being friends and secular enemies to build a common destiny on shared values. Afterwards, being a member of the FMA is not only to be part of a club of senior fellows, it also enables us to continue our informative and educational work in universities, schools and other forums.

In forms part of the defence and promotion of the best form of multilateralism enshrined in the UN Charter, a constitutional obligation expressed in Article 3 of the Lisbon Treaty.

'The EU, Weaver of Peace' was the evocative title of my speech at the UN University for Peace in Costa Rica  
[www.UPeace.org](http://www.UPeace.org).

The struggle for democracy in Spain and for the construction of Europe have been the goal of everything I have done in politics



*Opening speech and Election of Enrique Barón Crespo as the new EP President during the plenary session in Strasbourg on the 25th of July 1989  
©Communautés Européennes 1989*

since my arrival at the university in 1960. Decisive at that time were the Congress of the European Movement in Munich, the first meeting between the Spanish opposition within Spain and in exile after the Civil War, and the European Parliament's Birkelbach Report of 1964, which made being a democratic state a prerequisite for Spain to join the EEC. Although this was the only condition explicitly set out in the Lisbon Treaty, we knew that these were the principles, values and objectives that guided our common action from the very beginning. That is why the EP to Campus programmes, and in particular the Institute of European Studies (EUI) in Florence, are so well received by our members and in such widespread popular demand from universities and think tanks around the world. In the age of globalisation, the experience and development of peace technology through step-by-step cooperation between warring peoples is rightly appreciated.

The relationship between the EU and the USA is of particular value. The most important bilateral and multilateral relationship in the post-war world took on a new dimension after the end of the Cold War and the transition from the EC to the EU. I experienced this firsthand as EP President in Brussels and Washington, and later as a regular visitor to the US Congress and universities, think tanks and institutes across the country. The recent experience of the Trump administration openly questioning

the value of that relationship and even the very existence of the EU in a more multipolar and less multilateral world has had the merit of forcing us to rethink our relationship, as well as the validity of the UN system itself. This is an area in which university-level debate and collaboration have a major role to play. The Biden presidency's first decisions to return to the WTO and WHO and to resume the fight against climate change herald a sea change that allows us to modernise our relationship in a new context.

The shift towards the Pacific is undeniable, but this does not mean that the transatlantic relationship is no longer essential. Within this relationship, Latin America and Africa are two important components, which we must keep in mind because of the importance of political, economic and cultural relations, not just historical ties. The best way for us to contribute to the noble European cause is to continue to go on pilgrimages and explain it to anyone who wishes to hear, wherever they may be. We will not lack for hard work and courage.

by **Enrique Barón Crespo**  
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## A fruitful cooperation

The cooperation with the European University Institute began in 2015 on the basis of a proposal of mine approved by the FMA Management Committee, subsequently followed by the relevant work done by our staff, whom I thank.

Since then, I have been constantly involved in the complex relations with the EUI, which began with a series of meetings and exchanges of correspondence between the presidents at the time, Enrique Barón Crespo and Joseph Weiler, and which continue today with presidents Hans-Gert Pöttering and Renaud Dehousse.

However, despite the great willingness to cooperate, it has not been easy to build a mutually beneficial partnership in view of the multi-faceted structure of the university and the high level of expertise of our members, in a wide variety of fields.

There have been numerous operational meetings with EUI decision-makers to determine participation in programmes, round tables, workshops and debates on the future of the European Union: Ambassador Vincenzo Schioppa Narrante, Ambassador Vincenzo Grassi, Miguel Maduro, Dieter Schlenker, Brigid Laffan, Alfredo De Feo, Stephan Albrechtskirchinger, Marco Incerti, etc. At the time even our Secretary, Brigitte Langenhagen, came to visit the Institute. Subsequently, partnerships were launched with four departments: Historical Archives of the European Union (HAEU); Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (RSCAS); 'The State of

the Union' conference; School of Transnational Governance.

In 2016 we actually began our successful cooperation with the HAEU, with regard to both the storage and exploitation of the archives, such as the oral history project 'Collecting Memories: The European Parliament 1979-2019', and participation in the educational projects submitted under the 'Le Chiavi della Città' programme in Florence.

It was a unique experience, in the prestigious Villa Salviati, to be able to see the interest and enthusiasm of secondary school students simulating hypothetical parliamentary committees and asking for information about the EU institutions, treaties, topical issues and EU citizenship. The thirty meetings attended by the following members, as well as myself, were particularly appreciated: Luciana Castellina, Jean-Paul Denanot, Barbara Dührkop, Riccardo Garosci, Vitaliano Gemelli, Michela Giuffrida, Gyula Hegui, Gisela Kallenbach, Andrea Manzella, Cristiana Muscardini, Niccolò Rinaldi, Oreste Rossi, Riccardo Ventre and Graham Watson. Our organisation, together with the HAEU, of the events to celebrate the '40 years of direct elections to the European Parliament' was also a real success: in Florence, in November 2018, we held a conference with the participation of former Presidents of the European Parliament Enrique Barón Crespo, Pat Cox and Klaus Hänsch, together with 20 of our members, followed by

the exhibition of the significant Folon statuette in Palazzo Vecchio; then in Brussels, in 2019, we held two conferences: one in April, in the Parliament library and the other in November in the House of European History.

In 2019, the conference 'Women of the European Parliament', organised by the HAEU with Villa Finally - La Sorbonne in Florence, aroused great interest, with the stories by Luciana Castellina about Simone Veil and my own personal story about Nicole Fontaine.

Equally interesting was the workshop 'The MFF and EU Policies 2021-2027: The EU Towards 2030', organised by the RSCAS, where I spoke together with Reimer Boege, Elmar Brok, Ivailo Kalfin and Alain Lamassoure.

Our support for the 'The State of the Union' conference has been constant, also through the inspiring speeches of Presidents Pöttering and Barón Crespo.

I should like to express my most sincere gratitude to President Dehousse, who developed this cooperation with special care and helpfulness and, in particular, to Director Schlenker who, with great foresight, efficiency and professionalism, so promptly planned a series of successful meetings and initiatives.

Thanks to the EUI for this fruitful cooperation with the FMA, which we hope will continue over the years.

by **Monica Baldi**  
FMA Vice-President  
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# Joining Forces to Analyse and to Explain Europe

Discussions on creating a European University date back to the Congress of Europe in 1948 and concrete proposals for the project were launched by the Messina conference in 1955. At the time, it was felt that cooperation was particularly important in the area of atomic energy, which was viewed as the energy of the future. A reference to establishing “an institution at university level” even found its way into the Euratom Treaty. However, the construction of Europe is a bumpy road; De Gaulle’s return to power dramatically altered the project’s progress and some fifteen years later the 1972 Florence Convention gave birth to a ‘European University Institute’. That body was given the broad mission ‘to contribute, by its activities in the fields of higher education and research, to the development of the cultural and scientific heritage of Europe, as a whole and in its constituent parts’.

Doing so requires action at different levels. In the social sciences and the humanities,

in which the EUI was given a mandate to act, there is often great variation between national approaches, and the need was felt to train new generations of young scholars in a way that would help them to gain critical distance from national schools of thought. It has also appeared important to develop research on all kinds of policy issues that are relevant to Europe (a much broader remit than the study of European integration alone). And gradually the idea emerged that research developed at the Institute could irrigate a wide range of training programmes, aimed at professionals or, more simply, at people who aspire to follow careers in public affairs.

For all these tasks, the ability to mobilise recognised experts is a fundamental asset. Experts make invaluable contributions to our efforts to understand today’s world, and they are indispensable allies in the outreach that all universities are expected to undertake. This has led us to establish partnership agreements

with the main European institutions. Likewise, cooperation with former members of the European Parliament has steadily developed. They are regular participants in the seminars and workshops organised by the Robert Schuman Centre and the School of Transnational Governance. Thanks to the partnership between the Former Members Association and the Historical Archives of the European Union, they share their experience with high school students. In large numbers, they have contributed in the ‘oral history’ project launched by the Archives. And many seminars have been organised, in Brussels and in Florence, on matters of joint interest.

The construction of Europe is not merely the product of ‘history-making decisions’ but also of countless, more modest interactions between professionals from across different sectors, sharing their views on matters in which they demonstrate expertise of some kind. For us, the partnership with the Former Members Association has been vital. It has been rich in initiatives that have greatly assisted us in fulfilling the tasks for which the EUI has been established.

Writing on behalf of the Institute, I wish to express my deep gratitude for the fruitful cooperation in which we engage, and my hope that our partnership will continue to flourish in the coming years.

by **Renaud Dehousse**  
*President of the European University  
Institute in Florence, Italy*



*From left to right: Vincenzo Grassi, Secretary General of the EUI, Monica Baldi, FMA Vice-President, responsible for the relations with the EUI, Enrique Barón Crespo, Former EP and FMA President and Renaud Dehousse, President of the EUI*



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# An active partnership for Europe – The FMA and the Historical Archives of the European Union

On this special occasion celebrating the anniversary of the Former Members Association (FMA), let me express my sincere congratulations on this remarkable journey. It was a great honour and pleasure for me to contribute to this special bulletin, considering our successful cooperation and partnership in recent years.

The Historical Archives of the European Union (HAEU) is the home of the historical records of EU institutions. Since 1984, the HAEU preserves and makes available to the public the archives of EU institutions along with numerous private papers of individuals, movements, and political groups. It facilitates research on the history of the EU, promotes public interest in European integration, and enhances transparency in the functioning of European institutions.

The FMA has played a key role in transmitting the mission of the EU expressed in its written archival memory to European citizens. The FMA's collaboration

began with the HAEU's education programme in 2016. Since then, more than 30 appointments were organised at Villa Salviati, the seat of the Archives, during which FMA members shared their experiences in European politics with more than 600 students from secondary schools in the Florentine area.

Seventeen FMA members from Italy and other EU member states were actively involved in these recurring appointments, which enhance the understanding and knowledge of school students and teachers in the history and written memory of European integration, and in relevant EU policies on citizenship, climate change, Brexit, migration and free movement in Europe. A special project was launched in 2017, when students drafted a new 'Treaty for Europe' to mark the 60th anniversary of the Rome Treaties.

Along with its cooperation in the education programme, the FMA was a key partner in organising a series of events to mark the 40 years of direct European elections. More than 20 FMA members, such as former European Parliament Presidents Enrique Barón Crespo, Pat Cox and Klaus Hänsch, participated at the conference "40 Years of European Parliament Direct Elections" at the EUI on 22-23 November 2018. On International Women's Day 2019, a workshop was organised on "Women in the European Parliament". Two initiatives followed in Brussels, firstly a policy roundtable on 40 years elections

on 3 April 2019 hosted in the EP library, and secondly, on 29 November 2019, a conference at the House of European History on "The European Parliament - Research Projects, Sources and Historical Memory 1979-2019", co-organised with the Association of Friends of the HAEU.

The most recent collaboration focused on collecting the contributions of former MEPs, brought together in the oral history project 'Collecting Memories: The European Parliament 1979-2019', which was coordinated by a team of former EP officials and hosted by the Alcide De Gasperi Research Centre at the EUI. More than 100 interviews were conducted in the framework of this ambitious project, which were then deposited at the HAEU for online access and consultation by scholars and the public.

During this time, I had the privilege to liaise directly with Florentine FMA board member Monica Baldi as pro-active and dynamic ambassador of the Association. My thanks and congratulations, therefore, go to her, the kind and efficient FMA team co-ordinated by Elisabetta Fonck, and to all the active FMA members that have contributed and continue to partner in our joint European mission.

by **Dieter Schlenker**

*Director of the Historical Archives of the European Union at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy*



*Dieter Schlenker and Monica Baldi*

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# Parliament's archives on the eve of their 70th anniversary

The written archives are the historical memory of the European Parliament. Ever since the Common Assembly of the European Coal and Steel Community was created and its Secretariat established in Luxembourg in 1952, historical documents have been stored in the European Parliament's archives with four key aims in mind: to bring together all the traces of Parliament's past activities; to process and describe the documents stored; to make the archives available to the public; and to showcase the heritage that the archives represent. One of the Archives Unit's core tasks is to make documents available within Parliament and its various departments, as well as opening them to the public. The archives have been kept in the Schuman building in Luxembourg since 1973.

The documentation archive is particularly important, as it includes a collection of around five million documents. There is also an extensive collection of pictorial documents, including posters for European elections, the Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought, and other events relating to Parliament's activities. The Archives Unit preserves and promotes the historical memory of the European Parliament by giving access to the archives, helping researchers and students with their research, and publishing historical studies on

the European Parliament based on the archives and other sources.

The archives have 23 collections received from former Members, 12 of which are currently being processed. After they have been inventoried, collated, described, digitalised and registered in the digital archive-management system, the collections will be made available for consultation on the Archives website once the statutory period of 30 years has expired (see Article 1 of Council Regulation (EEC, Euratom) No 354/83).

In addition to the role that the Former Members' Association (FMA) plays in the process of acquiring private archives, the preservation and promotion of a unique heritage connected with the history of European democracy and of European integration have always been central to the interaction between the FMA and the Archives Unit. For example,

some of the archives received from former Members proved to be particularly rich and very useful for the conferences held in Brussels and at the European University Institute in Florence in 2019 to mark the 40th anniversary of the European elections. More recently, the exhibitions published by the Archives Unit – in close collaboration with the Directorate for the Library and Knowledge Services – on the European web portal have attracted more than 40 000 visitors and received more than 6 million hits on social media. The fact that so many people are now using new media in this way is partly down to developments in archiving practices that have emerged during the pandemic, and it bodes well for the future with a view to establishing fruitful cooperation for the benefit of the general public.

by **Ludovic Delepine**  
*Head of Unit of the European  
Parliament Archives Unit*



*The European Parliament's Schuman building in Luxembourg, where a number of plenary sittings were held between 1973 and 1979 ©European Union-EP*

## FMA Networking overseas

by **Lord Richard Balfe**

*Former FMA Board member responsible for the relations with Former Members Associations outside Europe. United Kingdom, PES and EPP (1979-2004)*  
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For the last twenty years, I have been the link person between our FMA and similar associations outside Europe. The only countries that have had an association existing throughout the twenty years are the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

The largest is the USAFMC or to give it the full title United States of America Former Members of Congress ([www.usafmc.org](http://www.usafmc.org)). Most former Senators and Congressmen join this body and its range of activities is similar to ours. In particular its outreach programme to Universities is very similar to our EP to Campus programme and plays a valuable role in explaining how Washington works.

Few U.S. politicians have much time in their constituencies as the attendance and voting demands of Congress are considerable. Besides, like most of the MEPs, they are often thousands of miles away from their electorates. Consequently, former members play an important part in bringing Washington closer to the people.

Canada and Australia are similarly large countries where former members can and do play an important educational role.

However, these three countries rely almost completely on voluntary commitment; only the USAFMC and our FMA have the infrastructure to support outreach efforts.

Finally, Covid-19 and Zoom have transformed relations. We now have regular sessions with Universities that we just could not have afforded to visit.

As an example, I celebrated digitally the Europe Day in May with the main University in Taiwan that teaches European studies.

In June, I stood down from the Committee of the FMA to concentrate on my engagement in the UK House of Lords. Our colleagues, Jean-Pierre Audy and Miguel Ángel Martínez Martínez, who are also European and international expert will then cooperate with Former Members Associations



## FP-AP Networking

Miguel Ángel Martínez Martínez succeeds also Jean-Pierre Audy in his position as FMA Representative by the FP-AP, the European Association of Former Members of Parliament of the Member States of the Council of Europe ([www.fpap-europe.org](http://www.fpap-europe.org)).

Jean-Pierre Audy stresses out: "I had the honour of representing the FMA in co-operation and under the leadership of Brigitte Langenhagen, now being one of the FP-AP Vice Presidents. We were able to defend and transmit all the interest of European values of human dignity, freedom, equality and solidarity based on the principles of democracy and the rule of law and freedom of press, placing the individual at the heart of its activities and creating an area of freedom, security and justice".

The FP-AP has been founded in 1994 and includes currently 23 national associations plus the FMA,

which has been a member since 2008. Karin Junker succeeded in strengthening our profile in the FP-AP. A series of FP-AP seminars and colloquies concentrate on democracy and active citizenship building.

A thick volume of togetherness is represented e.g. by at least those two documents:

On the one hand, it is the FP-AP "Appeal for Democracy and Dialogue" (Walter Schwimmer as author and under presidency of Rune Ryden) about "conspiracy theories, unprecedented baiting against the results of democratic elections, fake news, the misuse of fears – threatening our democracy ....". The document has been drafted in particular in cooperation with the USAFMC and the Canadian Association and has been then unanimously adopted.

On the other hand, it is a paper

being put to the vote later this year on "Europe facing global powers at a horizon of 10 years" - "External unity – internal diversity: Protecting and promoting Europe's way of life." (Roland A. Kohn). This was preceded by various studies on the future of Europe which needs an answer more than ever.

Solidarity, sovereignty and stability as well as responsibility and education are FP-AP and also FMA principles. Democracy needs our constant commitment. Because democracy has no alternative!

by **Brigitte Langenhagen**  
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*Delegates of the European Association of Former Members*



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# Election Observation and Democracy

The desire for political participation is one felt by people throughout the world. Without democracy, that desire can never be fulfilled.

Social harmony, freedom, equality and human dignity are the symbols of our democracy. But democracy, like so many things [all of us], is constantly changing over time. Today, autocrats and demagogues, authoritarians who cleverly exploit and misuse social media and other tools, are gaining in popularity.

The threat they pose, both inside and outside the EU, is an insidious one. We former Members, as informed observers, are confronting extremism, terrorism and nationalism, courageously and tirelessly. Our goal: to increase people's knowledge of world events and to help them recognise and think about what lies behind those events. To identify possible approaches to the problems we face. And to do this together with the European Parliament.

Our allies as we tackle these very complex issues are the new House of European History in Brussels and the European Parliamentary Research Service (EPRS) in Parliament.

In addition, the Jean Monnet Actions scheme, the OSCE Election Observation Mission, the World Movement For Democracy and our own Democracy-Building Committee, which I chair, are gearing up to challenge the political forces that want to change our democratic system - and not necessarily for the better. These forces are generally highly vociferous, but sometimes deliberately very quiet.

Elisabetta Fonck, our long-standing Secretary General, has correctly drawn attention to recent developments, such as Brexit or the departure of Orban's MEPs from the EPP: 'The authoritarian or egoistic tendencies are there and continue to grow. ... and a lot

of this is connected to financial resources of States (economic welfare) and fair redistribution of resources to avoid inequalities.' She concludes: 'What is left to do for the international organisations including the FMA striving for democracy in this global economic situation?'

Everything is connected! For 20 years, the FMA has placed its experience at the disposal of the Democracy Dialogue Forum.

by **Brigitte Langehagen**  
*FMA Board member, Chair of the  
Working Group on Democracy  
Support and Election Observation.*

*Germany, EPP-ED (1990-2004)  
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# The current challenges of Democracy

I am proud to have been the author of the world's biggest democracy and human rights promotion programme, the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) set up by the of European Parliament in 1993 after the fall of the Berlin Wall and currently with a seven-year budget of some £ 1.3 billion (2021 – 2027). It remains the only external EU programme which can operate without host country consent – and does so effectively from China to Cuba and in other “difficult territories”.

No-one can pretend that the current international situation is stable. Indeed, in some areas there is clearly an increase in tension. Since the 2021 inauguration of President Biden, one pole of stability – the US with its worldwide economic, political and military reach – has returned to active and generally benign internationalism after the disastrous Trump era.

**“The US and EU see the democratic process as the key element of their values system and both spend diplomatic, political and personnel effort in promoting democracy and its associated value, human rights.”**

The other pole of stability – the EU with its projection of soft power but significant economic weight and, in conjunction with NATO, a developing security role. Both the US and EU see the democratic process as the key element of their values system and both spend diplomatic, political and personnel effort in promoting democracy and its associated value, human rights.

The diplomatic side of the EU has been reviewing its external posture in recent times, amongst others with an increasing tension with China – which in March signed a strategic cooperation agreement

with Iran, its first in the Middle East – as well as Beijing’s aggressive developments in its neighbourhood and its appalling treatment of its internal religious and ethnic groups. Putin’s Russia – and its satellite Belarus - remains the EU’s biggest strategic challenge which is being addressed with steady determination by the EU and NATO.

by **Edward McMillan-Scott**  
*FMA Board member,  
member of the  
Working Group  
on Democracy  
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*Edward McMillan-Scott during an election observation mission*

# Women in the European Parliament

I became an MEP in 1979, when the first direct elections to the European Parliament were held. This was a significant moment for Europe, as reflected in a 63% voter turnout, which has never been equalled since. The first act of the new Parliament was to elect as its president a woman, Simone Veil, a prominent pro-European feminist, who had suffered Nazi persecution and deportation.

I felt that this 'new' institution could give women an opportunity to rise to the forefront and, above all, promote the cause of women throughout Europe. If we did our work well, Europe could do more to influence national policies and redefine the position of women in the world.

Indeed, the empowerment of women has been central to my own work in politics and civil society.

I have always been aware of, and indeed experienced at first hand, the great difficulties and obstacles still facing women today in Italy, a country that only gave them the right to vote in 1946.

The many institutional and social obstacles they were having to surmount in various countries in order to assert themselves and participate in public life soon became clear to me. While Italy was among the worst offenders on the European league table, the situation was not much better in other countries or indeed the EC institutions. I well remember overhearing through my headset a comment from a female interpreter on one particular occasion when I was speaking on this subject. 'How right she is,' came the voice. 'If she only knew how we are being treated.' Afterwards, she began to explain to me how hard things could also be for women working in the EC institutions, who were underpaid and basically required to do the impossible in order to combine their family lives with impossible working hours.

During my ten years in Parliament as a member of the Communist and Allies Group, I was in fact able to devote my energies to the interests of women and measures uphold their freedom.

In Brussels and Strasbourg, I discovered a new set of circumstances that were different to those prevailing in Italy, with a Commission unit being devoted



*Maria Luisa Rodano during a meeting of the Committee on Women's Rights ©Communautés européennes 1988*



*Maria Luisa Rodano*  
©Communautés européennes 1988

to issues concerning women. This was, I believe, unparalleled at the time, at least as far as the national governments were concerned. The unit was run by the energetic, efficient and highly competent Fausta Deshormes La Valle (sister of Raniero La Valle and wife of a Commission official), providing a hub of legal and administrative expertise, information and documentation, a listening post and a meeting point for a vast network of women's associations. It also published a periodical entitled 'Women of Europe', a valuable, not to say indispensable guide for new female Members.

A number of MEPs in the group then proposed the creation of the Ad Hoc Committee on Women's Rights, followed by the Committee of Inquiry into the Situation of Women in Europe, of which I was chair and coordinating rapporteur.

Two important directives concerning women's rights had already been adopted by the Council in 1975 and 1978 respectively, one on equal pay and one on equal treatment in matters of social security. While they called

for progressive implementation and the approximation of national legislation, this did not actually appear to be happening in the Member States.

The purpose of the committees was to investigate gender equality issues and bring pressure to bear on public opinion and the national parliaments in this respect. It was as a direct result of this work and the final report adopted in January 1984 that the European Parliament set up a fully-fledged Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality, once again being the only parliament in Europe to do so.

**"I felt that this 'new' institution could give women an opportunity to rise to the forefront and, above all, promote the cause of women throughout Europe."**

It was demanding and absorbing work. The women on the committee, who were of various nationalities and persuasions, divided up their tasks in researching the relevant topics, of which there were no less than 99, encompassing progress made in implementing the equal pay directives, the launching of a social security directive, the reorganisation of working time, vocational training for women, the impact of new technologies on women at the workplace, women and health, migrant women and the wives of migrants, the situation of women in agriculture,

commerce and the craft industries, the situation of women in the third world and Community aid, raising women's awareness, maternity issues, parental leave and early childcare infrastructure, women's problems with the tax authorities, women's problems in disadvantaged regions, education for girls and the place of women in decision making hubs.

My work in this field also gave me the opportunity to be a part of European delegations to major world events in Nairobi and Beijing.

I hope that my commitment to this cause can still be of service to the

many women still being denied their rights and whose ability is being called into question.

For this very reason, I should like to thank the association, which has kept our legacy alive over the decades, thus enhancing not only our parliamentary institution but also our lives as a whole.

by **Maria Luisa Rodano**  
*Italy, COM (1979 - 1989)*



## Simone Veil: a free and open-minded woman

My first memory of Simone Veil is inextricably linked with my first memory of the European Parliament when, in 1979, I first set foot in the Chamber to which we Members had, also for the very first time, been elected by universal suffrage. We were pioneers in an historic experiment embarked upon for the very first time. A coincidence that, as I look back over those many years to July 1979, I can say with even greater conviction makes me glad: I was struck right away back then by the number of things we would have to change if we really wanted to have the Europe described in the Ventotene Manifesto. Finding a woman like Simone in the seat reserved for the institution's most important post – Parliament might have had fewer powers than any other body but it was still the most symbolic – was decisive in encouraging me to commit myself to fighting for this change.

I was a communist, and what's more, a

dissident; she, a liberal. It was not easy and yet right away I was sure that we would be in agreement. And in fact, already, in those very first days, she showed that she understood exactly what we, the 'odd ones out', were calling for as we held that first demonstration (outdoors, obviously), in a protest against the European Parliament's rules of procedure that would not allow the formation of parliamentary groups consisting of less than 20 Members (if I remember well). The world had, however, changed since that rule was introduced in 1968, and the long wave of unrest of that particular year was still rolling on and had assailed, as was only natural, even the old historic formations, many of which we could no longer identify with. We marched through Strasbourg to call for the right to set up a small group covering our disparate views: Antoinette Spaak, the daughter of former Prime Minister Paul Spaak, who was no longer happy in the Belgian Socialist Party; an Irishman who was friendlier with the IRA than were his fellow citizens in the House; a Flemish autonomist; and we Italians – radicals and Manifesto-Pdup – proud to have with us Leonardo Sciascia, the very newest recruit to parliamentary ranks. Contrary to our expectations, Simone Veil listened to us and agreed we were right. She understood that not even political parties can remain frozen in the past. Because our first President was not



*Simone Veil chairing the first sitting of the European Parliament elected by direct universal suffrage in Strasbourg. ©Communautes Europeennes - 1979*





Luciana Castellina ©Communautes Europeennes - 1979

illusion they would be dealing with a woman who was meek and submissive. If nothing else, the dramatic experiences of her youth had taught her to be a fighter.

by **Luciana Castellina**

Italy, GUE/NGL (1979-1999)

lcastellina@gmail.com

just 'liberal' but also a free, open-minded woman.

A fact that I was able to confirm in the years that followed, including through all she did as a government minister in France, as we found ourselves on the same side on more than a few issues: already on abortion some years before, but then too on equally important matters such as events in Yugoslavia and Algeria, the world hunger campaign, etc.

Later I got to know even better the woman who, not just in the institutions but throughout her whole life, was my 'first' President when her autobiography 'Une vie'

was published in 2007.

Why doesn't the European Parliament republish it and present all newly elected Members with a copy with their Member's card? It would be a real source of encouragement, as meeting Simone Veil in 1979 was for me. In 2023 this will probably be more necessary than ever.

One last point: beware of the image of Simone Veil as just being soft and conciliatory, as always happens when talking about women. We said she had 'an iron fist in a velvet glove', just so it would be understood immediately that no one should be under the

**"Finding a woman like Simone in the seat reserved for the institution's most important post – Parliament might have had fewer powers than any other body but it was still the most symbolic – was decisive in encouraging me to commit myself to fighting for this change."**

## Nicole Fontaine: a consciously pro-European

Nicole Fontaine was President of the European Parliament from 1999 to 2002. An erudite lawyer and refined strategist, she was an authoritative politician and consciously pro-European, known for her clarity and elegant style of language, and was particularly successful and professional in representing the institutions.

I met Nicole in 1994 in the European Parliament delegation to the Packaging Conciliation Committee and I remember that, as Members appointed by our political groups, we managed to deal successfully with a delicate and complex compromise situation despite the contrasting positions of the twelve Member States that made up the Council at the time.

It was particularly rewarding to work with her, as she had a personal, human touch, empathy and listening skills. She sought to build relationships on a solid

basis, always faithful to her goals of achieving a genuine, shared European project.

We were both extremely active in the Women's Rights Committee and the Culture, Youth and Education Committee where, with special skill, she finalised key pieces of legislation, including the Socrates and Youth for Europe programmes.

A great Member of the European Parliament, for five parliamentary terms she was a member of the group of the European People's Party, in which she strove, with determination and professionalism, to achieve European integration based on freedom, democracy, human rights, the rule of law and equality.

Her commitment to a citizens' Europe was constant and determined. She



*Election of Nicole Fontaine as EP President during a plenary session in Strasbourg in July 1999 ©Communautes Europeennes - 1999*



worked on projects concerning youth education and the mutual recognition of academic qualifications, as well as women's rights and gender equality.

A refined and infectiously energetic woman of French pro-Europeanism, her demeanour was always one of youthful enthusiasm that attracted those talking to her, especially when she paused to quote the opinions of her university students, with whom she had maintained an ongoing dialogue.

A talented, brave and far-sighted lawyer, as Minister for Industry in the second Raffarin government (2002-2004) she was responsible for implementing the modernisation process in the energy sector and supported industrial ventures by focusing on the protection of industrial property, research and the promotion of innovation. She also worked to strengthen European and international cooperation in the fight against counterfeiting.

Her exceptional diplomatic skills manifested themselves several times during her presidency of the European Parliament. On 5 April 2001, she invited Commander Ahmad Massoud to Strasbourg while the Taliban were spreading chaos and violence in Afghanistan. In 2000 she received the Speaker of the Palestinian Legislative Council and the Speaker of the Knesset at the same time, in Parliament's Chamber. In December 2000 she signed the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights at the Nice Summit. She oversaw the adoption of the euro and started a process of reforming Parliament's working methods to bring the institution closer to the citizens, including by adopting the motto 'United in diversity'.

22 years have now passed since

**"Let us hope that we do not have to wait another twenty years for a woman to become President of the European Parliament"**

Nicole Fontaine said, just after she was elected, 'Let us hope that we do not have to wait another twenty years for a woman to become President of the European Parliament', referring to her only female predecessor, Simone Veil, elected in 1979. And since then there have only been men. How right she was!

On this our 20th anniversary, the European Parliament Former Members Association would like to thank all the women who are busy addressing the new European challenges, remembering here the famous fellow female Presidents of Parliament Simone Veil and Nicole Fontaine, and extending our very best wishes to centenarian Maria Lisa Cinciari Rodano.

Our hope is that, following their and our example, attitudes towards the rule of law and equality will evolve further, overcoming stereotypes and gender inequalities in work and decision-making.

by **Monica Baldi**  
FMA Vice-President  
Italy, EPP-ED (1994-1999)  
baldi.monica@email.it

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# My experience with the Campus Programme

After taking a bow from the Brussels political scene in 2012, I finally had the opportunity to do a bit more voluntary work. One initiative for which I have been volunteering is Parliament's Campus Programme.

It is an invaluable EU programme whose reach extends to universities and young people well beyond the Member States. At every Campus seminar, I find out about yet more of its projects: the Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence support research and teaching at universities in 72 countries on all five continents.

The Marie Skłodowska-Curie Action's 'Initial Training Networks' (ITN) facilitate cooperation among PhD students on research fellowship programmes. The key exchange programme for young people in the EU, however, is the Erasmus+ programme, which provides grants for studying and working abroad. And we must not forget the many individual universities – which definitely now make up the majority – offering courses in European Studies. The

EP to Campus Programme adds a touch of colour to the broad range of – otherwise rather theoretical – activities on offer, as former parliamentarians can not only discuss specific European topics, but also shed light on the practical political processes that take place behind the scenes at European level. What is more, we former members can share our first-hand experience with European politics.

Since 2013, I have taken part in seven Campus seminars. The first was held that year at the University of East London and focused on the financial crisis in the EU. At the end of the seminar, the students took a vote on their relationship with the EU, with 95% concluding the EU was a good thing. In 2014, I was invited to Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca, Romania. In order to preserve the region's multicultural heritage, this establishment teaches in Romanian, Hungarian and German. It also has support programmes for members of the Roma minority. This time the topic was relations between the EU, Ukraine and Moldova, and a wonderfully creative simulation walked the students through the structure and work of Parliament. This was followed in 2015 by a seminar at De Montfort University in Leicester. On the agenda at this large public event was the future of the EU, and the question of whether the UK should remain in the EU was also discussed. Back then, things didn't yet look so bleak. 2016 took me to University Blaise-Pascal in Clermont-Ferrand,

France, where the order of the day was 'European Union and Sustainable Development: Challenges and Prospects'. High-profile experts and ITN students discussed the progress being made in the environmental sciences. 2018 then saw me at Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, Ukraine, for an international conference on the future of European integration. Having served as an electoral observer in Ukraine many times, I found it fascinating to get to know the country in a different context. The topic for my discussion with students was democracy and the significance of the EU's fundamental values. It should come as no surprise when I say that an extremely lively debate ensued! In 2019, the Alexandru Ioan Cuza University invited me to Iaşi, Romania. This university is not only the most easterly in the EU, but also the oldest in Romania. The students on the European Studies course had an exceptional understanding of EU financial policy and it was a pleasure to talk to them. My most recent EP to Campus experience was a brief virtual lecture on European youth politics, organised by the Colorado European Union Center of Excellence at the University of Colorado Boulder, in the United States. Let's see where the Campus Programme takes me next...

by **Birgit Daiber**  
Germany, V (1984-1994)  
bir.dai@hotmail.com



*Birgit Daiber and the students  
of University of Alexandru Ioan  
Cuza in 2018*



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# EP to Campus Programme: An invaluable programme

I have participated in ten guest lectureship and an additional two “webinars” on the EP to Campus programme, each and every one enjoyable in its own way.

My first experience at Coventry University, England, provided a welcome reunion when after a couple of days visiting and participating in several student exchanges I joined a panel to discuss Britain’s role in the EU. The panel was chaired by Lord Plumb who since his retirement from the European Parliament, where he had been a distinguished, fair and firm President, had become the Chancellor of Coventry University.

Students and staff in the universities have always been appreciative of the chance to exchange views in question and answers sessions for it gives them the chance to match their academic perceptions and observations with the everyday experiences of political practitioners.

Understandably in recent years, European audiences have always wanted to know about Brexit.

My own partisan view has been clear, it is a backward step for my country, but rather than submit to the temptation to make a speech to that effect, it has been a useful intellectual exercise to explain as objectively as possible the wider background and the implications of Brexit. This led to me being asked to turn my lectures into a book by the Manipal University Press a

**“The EP to campus has provided me and others to distil our experiences and pass them on. Long may it continue. I would encourage other members of the FMA to participate.”**

university I visited whilst on a FMA guest lectureship at Mangalore University, India. The book will appear later this year under the title “The Semi-Detached European”

If I may highlight a couple of visits and what they have contributed to my own knowledge and understanding of the unfolding history of Europe.

The list of its Chancellors is at the Babes Bolyai University, Cluj, Romania is a reminder of the complex turmoils of Central Europe; first the names are Austrian/German, then Hungarian, then Romanian. I was much heartened that a young staff there now offer Masters courses in international politics, in Romanian, Hungarian German and modern Hebrew as an acknowledgement of its own multiculturalism, often suppressed in the past but now flourishing in a new Central Europe. As in many other European universities, the courses are given in English, which despite Brexit will remain the lingua franca of academic life.

My visit to the Higher School of Economics in Perm, Russia was extremely interesting. More than

anywhere else I know, Russia is re-evaluating its past. The International Relations faculty there had become fascinated by the survival of mainstream right wing parties in the west which thrived on their advocacy of capitalism. The staff had been schooled in the Soviet days when the inevitable collapse of the capitalist system was a not a political opinion but an objective fact. They now have the academic freedom to study how this curious phenomenon not only survived but actually wins democratic elections.

In terms of my own connections, I am pleased that two visits have turned into ongoing friendships and cooperation. Both the Euroculture Centre of the University of Göttingen and Tallinn University of Technology have invited me back for private visits and zooms.

The EP to campus has provided me and others to distil our experiences and pass them on. Long may it continue. I would encourage other members of the FMA to participate.

by **Michael Hindley**  
*United Kingdom, PES (1984 - 1999)*  
mhindley1947@gmail.com

# Celebrating Twenty Years of Collaboration

The Illinois EU Center marked its twentieth anniversary in 2018. It is impossible for our center not to see shared origins in a moment in the history of European cooperation and transatlantic relations that called for new resources to advance understandings of the institutions and processes of European integration among scholars and students, policy makers, and the general public.

We welcomed our first Former MEP, Michael McGowen, in October 2015. Mr. McGowen was part of the roundtable panel discussion, "Testing the Limits of the EU: Greece, the Economy, and Refugee Crisis," as part of the annual Illinois EU Studies Conference. He also visited classes on our campus as well as regionally at Illinois State University and Illinois Wesleyan University. In October 2018 we subsequently welcomed Former MEP Robert Evans. During his visit, Mr. Evans visited classes

on our campus, contributed to the roundtable "Elections and US-EU Relations: A Comparative Look at the Elections to the US Congress and the European Parliament and Implications for Transatlantic Relations," and gave the opening keynote for the EU Studies Conference, "Brexit and its Implications for the Rest of EU." We also arranged for Mr. Evans to be a guest on a radio program of our local National Public Radio station, conducted by Niala Boodhoo, Senior Producer for Illinois Public Media.

These years were the seeds for a blossoming relationship in which the students, faculty, and community members who engage with our center are learning more about the European Parliament and the EU as a whole. Writing one year after the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, we can reflect on how the FMA helped our center experiment with the new circumstances that our remote work environments have created. In June 2020 we contacted the staff of the FMA with a proposal to expand the numbers of Former Members appearing in our center's events during the 2020-21 academic year. We were interested in not just increasing the numbers, but to try new kinds of events made possible by not needing to physically move people across the Atlantic (and to incorporate considerations of carbon footprint into our collaborations, a move slightly ahead of the rollout of the European Green Deal). We found



*Robert Evans with the students of University of Illinois in 2018*

the staff of the FMA wonderfully supportive in helping us advance our proposals in a timely manner that accounted for the different work cycles of the year.

This exchange yielded a pair of events on the theme of “the New Speed of Politics” in Autumn 2020. We first welcomed Former MEP from Romania Dr. Maria Gabriela Zoana in a panel with a European philosopher and university administrator responsible for issues of diversity and inclusion on the topic of “Is Gender Equality Speeding Up or Slowing Down?” This panel was followed in November by one on “Technology and Sustainability in the EU” with the contrasting perspectives offered by Former MEP from Germany Mr. Hans-Olaf Henkel and Former MEP from Hungary Mr. Benedek Jávor. From this second panel we were very grateful that Mr. Henkel and Mr. Jávor were willing to schedule follow-up “virtual coffees” with a set of students so that there was time for questions that were not possible to raise during the panel or that may have been more relevant to other matters, such as on careers in politics and public service.

This spring we are very pleased to welcome five Former MEPs to



*Michael McGowan during his intervention at University of Illinois in 2015*

a series of seminars that is both part of a course (module) and a set of public events. The set of public events, “Case Studies in the Making of the European Parliament and Parliamentarians” fits together with the course “The Everyday Making of the European Parliament and Parliamentarians.” The course builds on a tradition of access to the European Parliament and Former MEPs that has generated some interesting research by anthropologists as well as the recent edited collection, *Shaping Parliamentary Democracy: Collected Memories from the European Parliament* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2019).

The staff at the European Union Center at the University of Illinois

send their sincere congratulations to the Former Members Association on the occasion of its twentieth anniversary. We are very pleased by what we have been able to accomplish together, and look forward to how this work will generate new ideas, solutions, and collaborations to address the issues of the coming decade and beyond.

by **Jonathan Larson PhD**  
*Associate Director of the European Union Center at University of Illinois, USA*  
larsonjl@illinois.edu

**“These years were the seeds for a blossoming relationship in which the students, faculty, and community members who engage with our center are learning more about the European Parliament and the EU as a whole.”**

# EP TO CAMPUS EXPERIENCES

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EP to Campus challenges the audience to think deeper about the explored topic and view it from different angles. Plus, the programme is a chance for many of us who miss the university days and emotions to step back and enjoy.

*Mariela Baeva*  
ALDE 2007 - 2009  
Bulgaria

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It was a pleasure to speak to well informed and interested students and professors at the University of Genova about how the Brexit disaster came about and what might happen next.

*Richard Corbett*  
S&D 1996- 2019  
United Kingdom

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The most common memory from the programmes in which I have participated is of how interested the students have been to hear about the Parliament and the wider EU institutions. It is clear especially in non-EU countries how much our values and standards mean to the aspiring class of public administrators that so many of these students are. We are clearly sowing a raft of valuable ideas and aspirations in their developing approach to life.

*Lord Richard Balfé*  
Former FMA Board Member responsible for the  
EP to Campus Programme  
PES 1979 - 2002  
EPP 2002 - 2004  
United Kingdom

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The Struggle for Democracy must be constant, requiring constant efforts!

On November 17, 2020 I had the opportunity to give a lecture at York University in Toronto.

Because of the pandemic, the lectures were held online. But this should be an exception, given that online debate strips it of its vivacity.

Despite these unfortunate circumstances, the discussion developed well.

Nevertheless, the programme creates a win-win situation. It allows students to benefit from our experiences as former MEPs and for us to remain active in the scientific field.

*Dr. Stefan Gehrold*  
EPP 2018 - 2019  
Germany



EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT  
TO CAMPUS



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An excellent idea of Lord Balfe, soul of the EP to Campus program since its birth, welcomed with enthusiasm that continues after these 15 years of great acceptance.

I am very grateful for the program that has allowed me to revisit the Universities (Deusto and Salamanca) where I studied, and many others, always kindly and friendly to “preach Europe”.

*José María Gil-Robles*  
EPP-ED 1989 - 2004  
Spain



EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT  
TO CAMPUS

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Participating the EP to Campus programme is always an intellectual challenge and emotional adventure. It is exciting to arouse interest in European affairs among young people and rather nice to see if they become a little bit more interested at the end of the meeting. All of my programmes were remarkable but perhaps the most interesting was the one in Izmir, Turkey. If it is possible, we should involve more non-EU universities to promote our values among their students.

*Gyula Hegyi*  
PES 2004 - 2009  
Hungary

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It was exhilarating going to a university campus just two miles from my childhood home. The campus was a dockyard when I was a child and in 2012 had been an athlete's village for the London Olympics. I spent two days with some challenging undergraduates and another day with school students from nearby schools who came to have a taste of university life. I enjoyed every moment and would encourage other former members to take part in the scheme - even if it's very local!

*David Hallam*  
PES 1994 - 1999  
United Kingdom

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The (EP to Campus) programme is an excellent opportunity to get closer European legislative work and the European Parliament to university students in Europe and beyond. Better understanding procedures, positions, debates and dilemmas means better understanding how the EU functions, and this can provide the feeling to European youth of being part of the lively discussions in the EU institutions. It strengthens Europe more than millions of slogans.

*Benedek Jávor*  
Greens/EFA 2014 - 2019  
Hungary

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The EP to Campus series plays a vital role in the inter-generational dialogue. In November 2020 I virtually visited York University where I gave a lecture and fielded many interesting questions on gender equality in the EU and the world, Brexit and immigration policy. I also spoke at the Manipale Centre for European Studies, India, in November on gender equality and fighting for democracy. The students for both sessions were very engaged, informed and inquisitive. The younger generation fill me with positivity for the future. We need to keep talking and listening to each other.

*Jackie Jones*  
S&D 2019 - 2020  
United Kingdom

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When the results of the Brexit referendum came out I was lecturing at the ESSEC Business school, one disappointed student from Scotland immediately exclaimed: “We will stay in the EU!”.

*Zofija Mazej Kukovic*  
Former FMA Board Member responsible for the  
EP to Campus Programme  
EPP 2011 - 2014  
Slovenia

“

My EP to Campus experiences have been wonderful. Missions to universities in Romania, Turkey, Australia and New Zealand gave me huge opportunities for knowledge flows on all sides. Thank you.

*Baroness Nicholson of Winterbourne*  
ELDR 1999 - 2009  
United Kingdom

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I found the EP to Campus program very rewarding and interesting. Sharing my experience with students and staff at Universities was mutually beneficial and it did encourage debate.

*Seán Ó Neachtain*  
UEN 2002 - 2009  
Ireland



**EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT**  
TO CAMPUS

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I only could enjoy it once, it was in 2016 at the University of Clermont Ferrand where we met a very committed Professor from Hungary who was teaching about sustainability. He had invited an interesting Professor from Island, member of the club of Rome, which was an important link to my green beginnings in 1979.

The students were nice and committed and from nearly all over the world. I especially tried to talk to students from Eastern Europe and Africa. The debate with Members of Parliament coming from the region in the evening was good. We also met some artists in the streets and visited the quiet volcano nearby.

I think these programmes are very useful and can enrich students and ourselves.

*Eva Quistorp*

*Greens/EFA 1989 - 1994  
Germany*

“

After leaving the EP in 2014, I right away joined the Former Members Association. For me this was very important not losing the contact with Parliament and former colleagues.

I have been to De Montfort University in Leicester, England, twice. Before Brexit together with Malcolm Harbour, UK, and post-Brexit with Seán Ó Neachtain to Ireland. Extremely well organized and prepared by Professor Alasdair Bair.

I have also visited the Szeged University in Hungary and Anita Pelle who is the holder of the Jean Monnet Chair seat.

I very much appreciate the European Campus idea of meeting students and teachers discussing the EU and the future of Europe. In addition, of course, meeting old colleagues.

It brings back good memoirs.

*Olle Schmidt*

*ALDE 1999 - 2014  
Sweden*

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Meeting students from all around the world to share insights and experiences from my time as a former MEP is a powerful way to demystify politics and promote active citizenship.

*Julie Ward*

*S&D 2014 - 2020  
United Kingdom*



*Lord Richard Balfe during his participation in the EP to Campus programme at the Yeditepe University in Istanbul-Tukey in 2011, one of the first EP to Campus programmes.*

# HAPPY 20TH ANNIVERSARY

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I would like to express my deep appreciation to the FMA team whose energy and talent drive the spirit of a community with shared values.

*Mariela Baeva*  
ALDE 2007 - 2009  
Bulgaria

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HAPPY ANNIVERSARY!

I find the Association very useful to keep in touch with colleagues with whom I was in contact during my eighteen years as an MEP. I congratulate the whole management team for their work and their initiatives and all the information they provide me with, as well as for the meetings they organise, now virtual.

Many happy returns!

“

Despite Brexit, the FMA is a continuation of my happy and positive decade in the Parliament and no one can break the friendships and alliances made and continued from those years.

*John Bowis*  
EPP-ED 1999 - 2009  
United Kingdom

*Carles A. Gasòliba i Böhm*  
ELDR 1986-2004  
Spain

“

I wish to congratulate the Former Members Association on their 20th Anniversary. The Former Members Association is a fantastic resource and network for MEPs. I had the privilege to serve as an MEP across three parliamentary terms, and the Former Members Association allows friends and past colleagues to remain in contact, to share new ideas and to support the advancement of the ideals of the European Union and the peace and prosperity of the citizens we represented with great pride in the European Parliament.

*Pat the Cope Gallagher*  
ALDE 1994 - 2002 & 2009 - 2014  
Ireland

“

Leaving the EP would be a difficult break if the FMA did not exist to maintain the link between MEPs, to inform them of European news, so that they can always be ambassadors for the EU. Thank you to all those who keep this Association alive, and allow us to be part of this great European family.

Happy Birthday!

*Françoise Grossetête*  
EPP 1994 - 2019  
France





# MESSAGES FROM FMA MEMBERS

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The honour of being elected to serve in the European Parliament is the pinnacle of any career. The Former Members' Association provides the ideal forum for the people who have enjoyed this privilege to maintain good friendships and pass on the value of their experience.

*Alasdair Hutton*  
EDP 1979-1989  
United Kingdom

“

The Former Members are “living bridges”.

We alumni remain committed to democratic values by building symbolic bridges on a voluntary basis. These enable us as Former Members to build culturally and politically reliable networks. Even beyond the EU. Built on solid foundations, these bridges guarantee a lasting, valuable dialogue with each other.

*Brigitte Langenhagen*  
EPP-ED 1990 - 2004  
Germany

“

For me, this Parliamentary Association is a useful supranational platform that could offer us:  
recycle our political experiences and capacities ;  
invest them in conflict anticipation and deterrence strategies.

*María Izquierdo*  
PES 1989 - 2004  
Spain

“

For me “Former Members Association” is a link with European friends and a sad reminder of what we Brits have so foolishly thrown away by leaving the EU. Geography and history however cannot be denied and come what may we are toujours voisins.

*Roy Perry*  
EPP-ED 1994-2004  
United Kingdom

“

The mandate as a Member of the European Parliament was a very special honour, responsibility and obligation that will accompany me throughout my life. The FMA gives me the opportunity to continue to be part of this special “family”. I can still have a foot in the door today. I can continue to participate in what is happening in Brussels and Strasbourg through profound information. I can continue to help build the House of Europe which fills me with great joy.

*Gisela Kallenbach*  
Greens/EFA 2004 - 2009  
Germany

“

Taking decisions as an MEP, you become accustomed to looking at issues with a European – not just national – perspective. The FMA enables me to be among others who have that same sense of being first and foremost ‘Europeans’. It gives me a great feeling of common understanding and comradeship.

*Peter N. Price*  
EDP 1979 - 1994  
United Kingdom

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The FMA first meant to me, not to lose the link to wonderful and good former colleagues and to the ongoing debates within our common political and cultural democratic sphere, the European Parliament. It means a lot of good memories and inspirations too, with memories of the very well prepared and organised travels to Tunisia, Turkey, Morocco, Georgia, Serbia and other countries. Therefore, I am thankful for this community and the team and presidency of the FMA who help us all to support the civil societies in the countries, who cooperate with the European Union and who are members and come to know their parliaments and ministers and city lives. These networks between colleagues and citizens of different European countries are crucial but more difficult to fulfil under situations like financial crisis, globalisation, authoritarian world powers, pandemics and the huge split between superrich and poor. Nonetheless we can rely on the hope of our forerunners like Jean Monnet, Jacques Delors, Simone Veil, all those, who helped to build a democratic modern Europe with equality for women and minorities and who built bridges between cultural traditions and innovations and different religions and life styles. May the fundamental rights, the green deal, and the SDGs for 2030 within the UN be our common guide for many practical questions for more than one generation of European politicians. And may we have always joy to meet us again and embrace us healthy!

*Eva-Maria Quistorp*  
Greens/EFA 1989 - 1994  
Germany

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Stay “up to date” - Thanks a lot to the Former Members Association to contribute to this and for your continuously strong and sympathetic support!

*Peter Simon*  
S&D 2009 - 2019  
Germany

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I loved my work in the parliament and know I contributed to improve the lives of millions. As a proud European who views Brexit as a tragic mistake I value the opportunity to maintain close connections with my peers and promote the work of the parliament, especially in uncertain times.

*Julie Ward*  
S&D 2014 - 2020  
United Kingdom

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As a British former Member, the Association means that I keep my European credentials. Brexit cannot stop us being European and the Association allows us to continue that solidarity with former comrades and colleagues.

*Terry Wynn*  
PES 1989 - 2006  
United Kingdom

# MESSAGES FROM OTHER ASSOCIATIONS

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President Hans-Gert Pöttering,

On behalf of FP-AP, I would like to congratulate you and your Association on the 20th anniversary of its foundation.

FP-AP are proud of having FMA as a member of our Association and we appreciate the valuable contributions from FMA members in our work.

We in FP-AP wish you and your Association all the best in the future

and that we will continue to have the same good contacts and collaborations as we have had during the past twenty years.

Sincerely,

*Rune Rydén*

*President of the European association of Former Members of Parliament  
of the Member States of the Council of Europe (FP-AP)*



Mr. President,

On behalf of the Association of Turkish Parliamentarians and myself, I would like to congratulate you and your colleagues on the occasion of the 20th Anniversary of the foundation of the FMA.

Throughout the last 20 years, the FMA has put forward tremendous efforts in order to realize its core mission of strengthening parliamentary democracy and serving European unity.

We are delighted to share the same platform under the umbrella of the European Association of Former Members of Parliament of the Member States of the Council of Europe (FP-AP) and I recall with great appreciation the working visit of the then President of the FMA, Mr. Pat Cox and his delegation to Turkey in October 2012.

I want to underline that the Turkish Association is ready to actively cooperate with the FMA in various areas of common interest. I wholeheartedly believe that the FMA and the Turkish Association will continue to undertake fruitful activities in the future.

Yours sincerely,

*Nevzat Pakdil*

*President of the Association of Turkish Parliamentarians*





European Parliament  
**FORMER MEMBERS  
ASSOCIATION**

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