

EPFMA

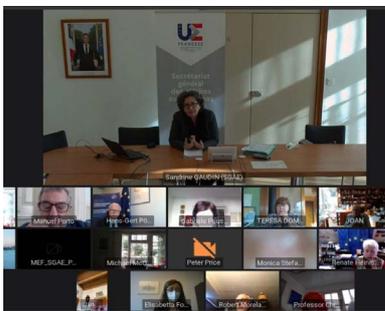
Bulletin



79 · June 2022

European Parliament Former Members Association

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France

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On Europe Day, 9 May 2022, the Presidents of the European Parliament, Commission and Council received the final report of the 'Conference on the Future of Europe' with proposals to reform the EU after a year of collaboration between citizens and politicians.

#TheFuturesYours

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CALL FOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The Editorial Board would like to thank all those members who took the time to contribute to this issue of the FMA Bulletin. We would like to draw your attention to the fact that the decision to include an article lies with the FMA Editorial Board and, in principle, contributions from members who are not up-to-date with the payment of the membership fee will not be included. Due to the long time lag between the call for contribution and the publication, some articles may be outdated.

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EDITORIAL BOARD

Monica BALDI
Jean-Pierre AUDY
Edward McMILLAN-SCOTT
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Paul RÜBIG

PREPARED BY

Elisabetta FONCK
Valerie RASKIN
Lore MERTENS
Laura SANCHEZ CASTILLO

CONTACTS

formermembers@europarl.europa.eu
Tel.+ 32(0)2 284 07 03
Fax.+32(0)2 284 09 89



MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

Dear Member,

First and foremost, I would like to express to you my gratitude and enthusiasm for being elected the new President of the European Parliament Former Members Association. Undoubtedly, it is an honour to be taking over the torch from my predecessor, Dr. Hans-Gert Pöttering. I would like to pay special tribute to him as he served the Association with great dedication and strong vision.

Let me also thank all my colleagues who have participated in the FMA's Annual General Assembly and who have voted in the election of the new Management Committee. On behalf of the entire Committee, I would like to express our gratitude for the confidence placed in us. Importantly, I want to give sincere thanks to outgoing FMA Board Member, Brigitte Langenhagen, for dedicating a part of her life to committed work for our Association making it grow over the years. Allow me also to extend my heartfelt thanks to our former staff members Lisseth Bravo and Valeh Nasiri who have strongly contributed to the development of the Association over the last years and have left the secretariat to continue their careers successfully, we wish them the best for their future. We warmly welcome Valerie Raskin and Pilar Ramos Carbonero.

While I am already looking forward to my FMA Presidency ahead, I would like to first take you back to the workings of the Association over the last few months. The FMA's impact has been markedly manifold.

Regarding our educational activities, the FMA succeeded to engage with several international universities through 16 different EP to Campus Programmes in the last six months and many others planned for the autumn. On the occasion of Europe Day, our Association was very active. EP and FMA former Presidents Enrique Barón Crespo and José María Gil-Robles, and

former MEP Ignasi Guardans Cambó participated in a round table organised by the Institute of European Studies from the University of Valladolid. I would like to thank them for sharing their insight on the contemporary challenge of "The new European legitimacy after the Pandemic and the war in Ukraine". In addition, on this day Robert Evans held an online EP to Campus lecture on the role and functions of the European Parliament at the Caucasus University of Georgia.

Favouring political dialogue, the FMA organised a virtual visit to France in the context of the French Presidency of the Council of the EU. A delegation of FMA Members, led by my predecessor President Dr. Hans-Gert Pöttering, participated in the two-day programme, containing a public debate on the Future of Europe. The following quote by a participating student illustrates the relevance of this debate for our youth: "Students, who suffered greatly during the COVID-19 pandemic, have mounting expectations of the EU and having their voices heard in the institutions is key to building a citizens' Europe."

Not only has the FMA been active in external dialogue as illustrated above, but also within the Association, we have worked hard to organise impactful gatherings and contribute to the debate on the future of Europe. We were pleased to host two Librorum events, each for a compelling FMA publication. First, the FMA presented and debated "Overcoming the pandemic", a book that collects the proceedings of the international conference "How to Overcome COVID-19 Pandemic and its Consequences", emphasising powerful feminine perspectives. Secondly, we, jointly with the European Parliamentary Research Service, presented and debated our publication, titled "Present Future of Europe". The publication contains the FMA Proposal to the Conference on the future of Europe and the proceedings of the high-level

conference "The Future of Europe starts today". I would like to thank the EUI of Florence for hosting this important event and I thank the Historical Archives of the European Union for co-organising both conferences and for supporting both publications.

Furthermore, I would like to thank you for your full attendance at our Annual Memorial Service to commemorate the deceased former MEPs, among them the respected and beloved Former EP Presidents, David Maria Sassoli and Lord Henry Plumb. With particular gratitude, we remembered Lord Henry Plumb as the Founding Member and Honorary President of our Association. Likewise, I am very grateful for your participation in the Dinner Debate, which brought us together for the first time after 2.5 years of necessary but challenging COVID-related restrictions. In particular I want to thank Pat Cox, former EP and FMA President, for his keynote speech on 'War in Ukraine – the 21st century's most momentous geopolitical event'.

This special edition is dedicated to energy. Energy is of course a timely topic that has repeatedly shown to be the linchpin in the development of a fairer and more sustainable Europe. In fact, Russia's military invasion of Ukraine has resulted in Europe's dependence on Russian energy sources. Therefore, I would like to thank our former MEPs for shedding a light on some of the most compelling questions regarding energy in their contributions to this editorial.

Finally, I would like to give credit to all members for contributing to the success of FMA activities in general. I look forward to meeting as many of you as possible at our future events.

With my best regards,

Dr. Klaus Hänsch
FMA President

Key facts

Parliament approves €1.2 billion in loans to Ukraine.

(February session - P9_TA(2022)0036)

MEPs gave the green light to a €1.2 billion macro-financial loan to help Ukraine cover its external financing needs in 2022. Parliament agreed to a Commission proposal to provide Kyiv with macro-financial assistance, an emergency resource for EU neighbourhood countries struggling to pay their bills. It will be paid out in two instalments.

Invasion of Ukraine: MEPs call for tougher response to Russia.

(March session - P9_TA(2022)0052)

In the aftermath of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, MEPs demand tougher sanctions on Russia and new efforts to grant Ukraine EU candidate status. EU should restrict imports of most important Russian export goods, such as oil and gas. Sanctions must strategically weaken the Russian economy and industry.

Parliament adopts EU environmental objectives until 2030.

(March session - P9_TA(2022)0067)

MEPs endorsed the EU Environment Programme until 2030, which aims to accelerate the EU's transition to a climate-neutral, clean, circular and wellbeing economy. The EU will develop a binding framework to monitor and report on member states' progress towards phasing out fossil fuel subsidies.

Three new committees on Pegasus spyware, foreign interference and COVID-19.

(March session - P9_TA(2022)0069, P9_TA(2022)0070, P9_TA(2022)0071))

Parliament has set up three new committees. Two special committees are set up: one on foreign interference including disinformation and one on lessons drawn from the COVID-19 pandemic. The third one is a committee of inquiry to look into the use of Pegasus spyware by EU governments.

Green Deal: EP backs updated guidelines for trans-European energy infrastructure.

(April session - P9_TA(2022)0105)

Parliament approved new rules for selecting which energy projects can receive EU funding and aligning the existing regulation with the EU's Green Deal. Energy infrastructure policy should help achieve climate neutrality goals. Funds should support hydrogen, and carbon capture and storage. The projects should also increase security of supply.

MEPs demand full embargo on Russian imports of oil, coal, nuclear fuel and gas.

(April session - P9_TA(2022)0121)

Parliament expresses indignation over reported atrocities by the Russian armed forces and demands that perpetrators of war crimes be held accountable. MEPs call for a special UN tribunal for war crimes in Ukraine. Parliament reiterates that deliveries of weapons must continue and be stepped up to allow Ukraine to defend itself.

MEPs begin revising rules on EU elections, calling for pan-European constituency.

(May session - P9_TA(2022)0129)

Parliament has started the reform of the EU's Electoral Act, seeking to turn the 27 separate elections and their diverging rules into a single European election. 28 additional MEPs are to be elected on EU-wide lists that must ensure balanced geographical representation.

Grant Moldova EU candidate status, say MEPs.

(May session - P9_TA(2022)0205)

In a resolution adopted, Parliament welcomes Moldova's EU membership application, saying the country is on the right track in adopting key reforms. MEPs call on the EU to provide Moldova with new macro-financial assistance. The European Union and Moldova should continue work on integrating the country into EU single market and enhance sectoral cooperation.

MEPs endorse the largest EU's fisheries agreement, with Mauritania.

(June session - P9_TA(2022)0229)

Parliament gave its green light to a new fisheries agreement with Mauritania, which should strengthen environmental, economic, social and scientific cooperation. It includes fishing opportunities for 10 member states. Mauritania will receive €60.8 million a year. The European Parliament also urges Mauritania to stop overfishing of small pelagic stock.

Human rights breaches in China, Nicaragua and Georgia.

(June session - P9_TA(2022)0237, P9_TA(2022)0238, P9_TA(2022)0239)

The European Parliament adopted three resolutions on the respect for human rights in China, Nicaragua and Georgia. The Chinese Government must end the Uyghur repression in Xinjiang. Nicaragua must release all political prisoners and allow those in exile to return immediately. National authorities must uphold media freedom in Georgia.

International public procurement instrument: securing fairness for EU firms.

(June session - P9_TA(2022)0241)

Parliament gave its final green light to the new International Procurement Instrument (IPI) intended to encourage the opening up of global procurement markets. The IPI introduces measures limiting non-EU companies' access to the open EU public procurement market if their governments do not offer similar access to public tenders to EU companies seeking business.

Parliament activates process to change EU Treaties.

(June session - P9_TA(2022)0244)

Parliament adopted a resolution calling on the European Council to agree to start the process to revise the EU Treaties, following the Conference on the Future of Europe. MEPs call for changes including abolition of veto powers and more EU powers in health, energy, defence, and social and economic policies.

Other main dossiers discussed in the plenary sessions were:

16.02.22

EP approves deal for stricter EU rules on hazardous substances in the workplace. Parliament gave the final green light for an update to EU rules on limiting workers' exposure to carcinogens, mutagens or reprotoxic substances.

MEPs succeeded in including reprotoxic substances within the scope of the Directive for the first time.

23.03.22

MEPs are set to protect EU funds more robustly against oligarchs. The EU's capacity to stop oligarchs from receiving EU funds is limited, due to highly fragmented reporting systems and lack of cooperation by the EU countries.

MEPs warn about the "unprecedented magnitude" of oligarchic structures in some EU countries involving members of governments and high-level politicians.

06.04.22

Parliament approves new rules boosting intra-EU data sharing. MEPs pushed to make the most of data made available voluntarily for objectives of general interest, such as scientific research, healthcare, combating climate change or improving mobility.

Trusted data-sharing services will be more visible and use a common European logo certifying their compliance with the Data Governance Act.

06.04.22

A new "right to repair" must cover designing long-lasting products that can be fixed, as well as more informative labelling and extended guarantee rights.

Practices which unduly constrain the right to repair or lead to obsolescence could be considered as "unfair commercial practices" and banned under EU law.

07.04.22

MEPs frontload 3.4 billion euro to address Ukrainian refugees' needs. EU countries sheltering people fleeing from Russia's invasion of Ukraine will immediately receive €3.4 billion, MEPs decided.

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

03.05.22

MEPs want the EU to be a global standard-setter on Artificial intelligence. Parliament proposes an EU Roadmap to 2030. They also stress that AI technologies could pose important ethical and legal questions.

The EU should therefore, according to the Parliament, prioritise international cooperation with like-minded partners.

04.05.22

Parliament is ready to start negotiations on a common charger to reduce e-waste and make the use of different mobile phones, tablets and digital cameras more convenient.

Mobile phones, tablets, digital cameras, headphones and headsets, handheld videogame consoles and portable speakers that are rechargeable via a wired cable would have to be equipped with a USB Type-C port, regardless of the manufacturer.

07.06.22

Turkey persistently moves further from EU values and standards.

Without clear and significant progress on EU-related reforms, Parliament cannot envisage resuming accession negotiations with Turkey, warned MEPs. MEPs call on the Turkish government to handle Finland and Sweden's NATO membership applications in good faith.

09.06.22

As MEPs rejected the report on the revision of the EU Emissions Trading System (ETS), three draft laws, part of the Fit For 55 package, are on hold pending political agreement.

Draft legislation on the ETS reform was referred back to the Environment Committee after Parliament rejected the report by 340 votes to 265, with 34 abstentions.

09.06.22

MEPs demanded the right to table legislative proposals, which would strengthen EU democracy and restore institutional balance.

Parliament calls for reform of the legislative process when the Treaties are next revised and notes that, as the only directly elected EU institution, MEPs must have the right to propose legislation.



UPCOMING EVENTS



ACTIVITIES

15
SEPTEMBER 2022

Librorum 'The peaceful uprising of the female sapiens', by Anna Karamanou (online)

From 17.00 to 18.15, FMA Member Anna Karamanou will present her book "The peaceful uprising of the female sapiens" during the ninth Librorum event. You will be noted via email and the FMA website about the opening of registrations for this online event.

23-25
OCTOBER 2022

FMA Visit to the Czech Republic (date to be confirmed)

Details will be communicated at a later stage. Please check your emails and the FMA website.

6
DECEMBER 2022

Guided tour in the House of European History, Brussels

From 15.30 to 16.30, a guided tour will be organised in the House of European History. Details will be communicated at a later stage. Please check your emails.

6
DECEMBER 2022

Librorum 'A European Conscience', a biography of Hans-Gert Pöttering

From 17.00 to 18.30, House of European History. Details will be communicated at a later stage. Please check your emails.

6
DECEMBER 2022

Annual Cocktail Reception and Members Dinner

This year a Gala Dinner from 19.30 to 21.30 will be organised 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 via email.

7
DECEMBER 2022

Annual Seminar and Get-Together Lunch

A high-level debate will be organised from 10.00 to 13.00 in the European Parliament, Brussels. Details will be communicated at a later stage. Please check your emails and the FMA website. Following the Annual Seminar, a Get-Together lunch will be organised in the European Parliament from 13.00 to 14.30.

NEW MEMBERS



John
IVERSEN
GUE/NGL, S&D,
Denmark, (1985-1999)



Erminia
MAZZONI
EPP, Italy
(2007-2009)



Guido
MILANA
S&D, Italy
(2009-2014)



Geoffrey
VAN ORDEN
ECR, United Kingdom
(1999-2020)



2 June 2022

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 2022:

1) 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 2024:

1. Monica BALDI
2. Edward McMILLAN-SCOTT
3. Jean-Pierre AUDY
4. Klaus HÄNSCH
5. Paul RÜBIG

There were 212 votes cast, of which none was ruled invalid leaving a total valid poll of 212.

2) The vote on the Annual Report 2021:

	FOR	AGAINST	ABSTAIN
To approve the Annual Report	205	0	1

There were 212 votes cast, of which 6 were left blank and none were ruled invalid, leaving a total valid poll of 206.

3) The vote on the Annual Accounts 2021:

	FOR	AGAINST	ABSTAIN
To approve the Annual Accounts	204	1	2

There were 212 votes cast, of which 5 were left blank and none was ruled invalid, leaving a total valid poll of 207.

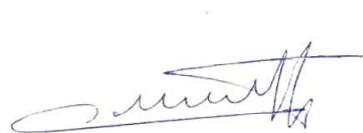
4) Amendments to the FMA Statutes:

	FOR	AGAINST	ABSTAIN
Amendment A	196	0	3
Amendment B - to Article 2	196	0	3
Amendment C - to Article 4	196	0	3
Amendment D - to Article 5	196	0	3
Amendment E - to Article 6	194	1	4
Amendment F - to Article 7	195	0	4
Amendment G - New article	196	0	3
Amendment H - to Article 8	196	0	3
Amendment I - to Article 10	196	0	3
Amendment J - to Article 11	194	1	4
Amendment K - to Article 13	196	0	3
Amendment L - to Article 14	196	0	3
Amendment M - to Article 15	196	0	3
Amendment N - to Article 16	196	0	3

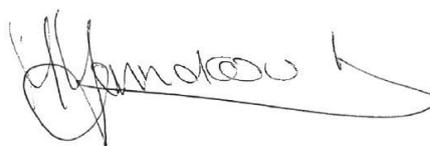
There were 212 votes cast, of which 10 were left blank and three were ruled invalid, leaving a total valid poll of 199.

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

Yours sincerely,



Françoise GROSSETÊTE
Scrutineer



Marina YANNAKOUDAKIS
Scrutineer

MEMBERS OF THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE



Klaus
HÄNSCH



Monica BALDI



Jean-Pierre
AUDY



Teresa RIERA
MADURELL



Michael
HINDLEY



Miguel Angel
MARTÍNEZ
MARTÍNEZ



Edward
McMILLAN-
SCOTT



Pierantonio
PANZERI



Manuel PORTO



Paul RÜBIG

FMA BUREAU

President: [Klaus HÄNSCH](#)

Vice-President: [Monica BALDI](#)

Treasurer: [Jean-Pierre AUDY](#)

Secretary: [Teresa RIERA MADURELL](#)

LIST OF MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE RESPONSIBILITIES

FMA Bulletin Editorial Board:

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

EP to Campus: Mr Hindley (Chair) 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 (FP-AP): Mr Martínez Martínez and Ms Riera Madurell. If necessary they will be substituted by Mr Audy.

Delegates to the Annual General Assembly, seminars and colloquies of the FP-AP: Mr Audy, Mr Martínez Martínez and 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.

Annual seminar and relations with think tanks, policy institutes and foundations: Ms Riera Madurell (Chair), Ms Baldi and Mr Rübzig.

Archives: Ms Baldi.

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

Working Group on Democracy Support and Election Observation: 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 ACTIVITIES



EPFMA
PEAAD



AUSTRALIAN ARMS AFFAIR

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, URBANA-CHAMPAIGN | 17 NOVEMBER 2021 | ONLINE

The lecture at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in the USA was held as an online discussion moderated by Dr. Xinyuan Dai, Professor of Political Science at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign and discussion participants Dr. Edward Kolodziej, Professor emeritus of Political Science, Jin Seog Kim, Ministry of Defence in South Korea and keynote speaker of FMA member Dr. Margarita Starkevičiūtė. Thus, students had the opportunity to hear different views on the topic “Australian Arms Affair: Assessing the Impact of Competition in Asia for US-European Relations”.

The EU’s trade policy in Asia was not well known in the US, as evidenced by the participants’ questions. When the United Kingdom was a member of the EU, mainly British MEPs led parliamentary relations with Australia and New Zealand. It was a natural decision, given that Britain and Australia have a close historical relationship as members of the Commonwealth. British politicians have also shown great interest in the region. France has historically maintained closer ties with Africa.

“Students had the opportunity to hear different views on the topic “Australian Arms Affair: Assessing the Impact of Competition in Asia for US-European Relations. The EU’s trade policy in Asia was not well known in the US, as evidenced by the participants’ questions.”

Brexit has had a significant impact on EU-Australia relations, all British MEPs have left the European Parliament and the EU has lost a lot of ties and its position in the region has weakened. As contacts moved from the EU to the Transatlantic Anglo-Saxon Alliance, the arms deal was moved from France to the US. Australia has had a history of strong financial, economic and defence ties with the US. The US dollar is the currency in which foreign trade takes place there.

There is a certain misunderstanding about the China-EU Investment Agreement, which was signed in December 2020 but has not entered into force as it awaits the approval of the European Parliament, while in the US it is an existing agreement.

The EU-China comprehensive investment agreement - agreed in principle between the EU and China - was “reasonably frozen” by the European Parliament due to Chinese sanctions against some EU companies and MEPs. When and if it comes into the force it will create more opportunities to EU companies to invest in China industries, ensuring level playing field to compete.

The panel debate also touched upon China policy in Asia region. It was noted that China strategy mainly focus on efforts to increase political influence in the neighbouring countries through support to pro-China candidates in elections. Russia uses a similar strategy in the countries, which it considers to be in sphere of its interest. Whether such a strategy is sustainable is difficult to say, because usually the population is against countries that restrict democratic freedoms, so candidates representing China or Russia cannot gather public support. Australia recently signed the Comprehensive and Advanced Pacific Partnership (CPTPP) with 10 other Pacific countries. EU trade agreement in making with Australia shall allow European companies exporting to or doing business in Australia do it on an equal footing with those from countries that have signed up to the Trans-Pacific Partnership or other trade agreements with Australia.

EU has signed trade agreements with Japan, Vietnam, South Korea, Singapore, and Pacific Islands, and continues negotiations with rest of countries from the region.

Margarita Starkevičiūtė
ALDE, Lithuania (2004-2009)
margarita.starkeviciute@gmail.com



Margarita Starkevičiūtė during her online lecture at University of Illinois, EU Centre, 17 November 2021

LINGUISTIC & CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN EUROPE

RIVNE STATE UNIVERSITY, UKRAINE | 9 DECEMBER 2021 | ONLINE

I was pleased in December 2021 to be invited as a former member of the Culture Committee of the European Parliament (1994-2004) to be asked to give my thoughts on linguistic and cultural diversity in Europe, to students at the Rivne State University in the Ukraine. At that time and now as I write in January 2022, the situation in the Ukraine and the threat from Russia was and is very real. I hope and trust there will be a peaceful resolution for these problems but sadly there is no guarantee.

What I took from the young students and their professors in the Q&A session, was that Ukrainians like the overwhelming majority of Europeans wish for no more than peace and prosperity. I admired their stoicism and readiness to continue with their academic work in the face of the very real threat they know their country faces.

“What I took from the young students and their professors in the Q&A session, was that Ukrainians like the overwhelming majority of Europeans wish for no more than peace and prosperity.”

My specific interest in Ukraine dates from the time of my first activity with the FMA. I participated in a delegation of Former MEPs and US Congressmen as an election observer to Ukraine in December 2004. Just after – or was it during – the “Orange Revolution”. Quite an

experience with a Presidential candidate having been poisoned and students staging a sit-in in the centre of Kiev surrounded by soldiers. Our delegation found that run-off election fair and proper with Yushchenko (the Orange/ democratic candidate) declared winner against Yanukovich the Russian backed former president by 52% to 44%.

Ukraine, like most European countries, has diverse linguistic communities and there can be no doubt the Russian speaking minority in the east supported Yanukovich. Lucky is the country where elections are based on political and economic philosophy and different views freely held, rather than linguistic or ethnic diversity. Ukraine is certainly not the only country in Europe where linguistic differences remain important. Belgium, par excellence, is a multi lingual country. Even in France, I still recall my “schoolboy” German was sometimes as useful in Strasbourg restaurants as my only slightly better French. I know from the work I did with the Joint Committee to Slovakia that the Hungarian speaking minority in that country is very significant. I was always struck when I visited Finland that despite a relatively small speaking Swedish minority, traffic signs even in Helsinki, were given in both languages. In the UK I admire the valiant efforts of the small Welsh speaking minority to keep their language alive and well in Wales but I judge the political significance of the Welsh language



Roy Perry during his lecture at the Rivne State University, Ukraine, 9 December 2021.

in UK to be very different from the political significance of Russian speakers in Ukraine. The message I hope I left with the Ukraine students was, that it is important to respect linguistic differences. I finished with an incident that I remember of speaking with an Estonian MP at the time Estonia joined EU. He told me how important it was to him that Estonian became an official EU language. As an ignorant (and arrogant ?) and thoughtless Englishman, I asked is that reasonable? -as Estonia is such a small country. His reply, I have never forgotten. He said Estonia in its history has been controlled by the Teutonic Knights, the Swedes, the Danes, the Russians- but the one thing that has kept our national identity alive is our Estonian language. Now we are free and independent, maybe for only the second time in our history, we cannot abandon our language. It is our soul. He was right, I was wrong. Linguistic diversity is important and to be respected. Vive la difference!

Roy Perry
EPP, United Kingdom (1999-2004)
roy.perry123@btinternet.com

PARLIAMENT'S ROLE IN ADVOCACY ON ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, URBANA-CHAMPAIGN | 30 MARCH 2022 | ONLINE

The discussion was held on a case-study concerning European decision-making (with a focus on the European Parliament) in the field of climate protection and transport with the University of Illinois and the participation of a group of Austrian students.

The discussion format was online and already beforehand we had a nice online meeting to prepare the details and to learn about the background of the students and their interests. Jonathan Larson from the University of Illinois also referred to me about his cooperation with Gerd Valchers from the University of Vienna, who also participated with some Austrian students. So we really had a transatlantic exchange!

The meeting then had a lively discussion on the topic with interesting questions and contributions from the students. After a short presentation on the impact of transport policy on CO2-emissions and the climate we

discussed the different situation in the USA and in Europe, possible measures to be taken and on the pros and cons brought into the debate by different interest groups. The focus was on the initiatives taken by the European Parliament concerning transport policy in the context of the general climate policy decided by the European institutions, especially the "Fit for 55"-package as part of the Green Deal.

As transport-emissions have still growing rates in some sectors, measures in this field are of utmost importance – and this is why I chose transport as example to illustrate the difficulties to manage a just transition to a climate-friendly policy. And after all, as we all know, transport is a highly emotional topic, even more since the pandemic showed us the vulnerability of global supply chains and our dependency on transport-modes, which have a negative impact on our climate.

“As transport-emissions have still growing rates in some sectors, measures in this field are of utmost importance – and this is why I chose transport as example to illustrate the difficulties to manage a just transition to a climate-friendly policy.”

Time flew by in this intensive exchange, and we could have continued another hour. I was happy to give a short insight into the working methods of the European Parliament and I hope to have been able to share my experiences with the students and to have motivated them to engage even more with European politics. The organization of the meeting was perfect – my thanks to all who have contributed!

Eva Lichtenberger
Greens/EFA, Austria (2004-2014)
eva.lichtenberger@chello.at



Eva Lichtenberger with Professor J. Larson and his students during the online lecture at University of Illinois, EU Centre, 30 March 2022.

Thank you to Candriam for sponsoring the EP to Campus Programme.

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VISIT UNDER THE EU PRESIDENCY

FMA VIRTUAL VISIT TO FRANCE | 28 FEBRUARY - 1 MARCH 2022

UKRAINE: THE GREAT CHALLENGE FOR THE FREE PEOPLES

The attack on Ukraine by Putin and the Russian army is an attack on Europe as a whole, on its values, its interests, and on its ability to guarantee democracy, the rule of law, freedom, economic initiative and social solidarity. Having said that, in blundering into a war against Ukraine, Mr Putin made a serious miscalculation: Europe, despite its lack of cohesion, is not the lifeless political entity he imagined. In fact, something major and even historic has happened among the peoples of Europe, and between them and the American people: we have seen a dual awakening of solidarity and commitment. This dual awakening must prompt us to strengthen our transatlantic ties and encourage the European Union to take a 'quantum jump' – as one used to say – towards geopolitical responsibility. This is the twin challenge that Emmanuel Macron has called on us to meet, within the ambit of the French Presidency of the EU.

Jean-Pierre Audy, FMA Board Member: "How do you feel about the idea of a referendum on self-determination for Georgia, the Crimea and Eastern Ukraine?"

Jean-Louis Bourlanges: "That is a very good idea, provided that the referendum is held in conditions of democratic transparency."

Michael Hindley, FMA Board Member: "Was the EU naïve in thinking that Ukraine could be bundled into the EU without taking Russian sensitivities into account?"

Jean-Louis Bourlanges: "We have implemented poorly a policy inspired by the right motives. The original idea was quite right: turn Ukraine into a neighbourhood area common to both the EU and the Russian Federation. Unfortunately, we sold this idea badly to the Russians and they felt marginalised. That said, even if we had been the finest diplomats in the world, Putin was already dead set in his beliefs. He wanted to cancel out the consequences of the fall of the Soviet Empire, and there was no reason we should let him do this. The end of the Soviet Union was not 'a catastrophe', but a boon and a step forward which those who love freedom had no reason to deny."

Jan Mulder, FMA Member: "How should one view European defence and cooperation in the European Union

in the short term and then in the long term?"

Jean-Louis Bourlanges: "NATO has come out of its coma, thanks to Putin. It must now be enlarged to include Sweden and Finland, if they so wish, and anchored firmly in an Euro-Atlantic area, and Europeans' resources and strategic autonomy must be reinforced. With this in mind, we must ensure that the Madrid Summit at the end of June is a success."

Hans-Gert Pöttering, then FMA President: "How has Putin's war against Ukraine changed the presidential campaign in France?"

Jean-Louis Bourlanges: "The war in Ukraine has resulted in multilateralism and solidarity between free peoples being placed at the heart of the campaign. It has made us reflect on the need to make the necessary adjustments to the Atlantic Alliance and to bolster a united Europe, and on pursuing an economic policy that puts technological clout and social solidarity at the heart of things. These are the topics on which Emmanuel Macron and the parties in his majority coalition are banking on when it comes to Marine Le Pen. But these convictions are also held right across the political spectrum - by the right, the centre and the left - which is why they took centre stage on 24 April."



Jean-Louis Bourlanges

Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the French National Assembly

Jean-Louis.Bourlanges@assemblee-nationale.fr

JEAN MONNET HOUSE, A HUB FOR THE NEW EUROPEAN DEMOCRATIC GENERATION



Jean Monnet House © European Union, 2019

On 1 March 2022, in close association with the European Parliament Liaison Office (EPLLO) in Paris and in collaboration with the Jean Monnet House team (DG COMM), the Former Members Association organised a 'virtual visit' to France in the context of the French Presidency of the EU. Originally, this event was to be held in person in Paris and Bazoches-sur-Guyonne, but the continuing COVID-19 pandemic meant that the debate had to take place online instead.

The idea was to discuss topics relating to the French Presidency, of course, as well as the citizens' recommendations from the Conference on the Future of Europe (CoFoE). With the FMA Secretary General's approval, we contacted a number of French civil society organisations and think-tanks, who were all very happy to take part in the debates (Confrontations Europe, the House of Europe in Paris, the Jacques Delors Notre Europe Institute, the Robert Schuman Foundation), as well as young people and students from several universities including Sciences Po Aix

(IEP) and the Université de Versailles-Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines. Drawing on a discussion paper prepared by the FMA for the CoFoE, young people in particular had the opportunity to ask former MEPs directly about their opinions and insight into a number of current topics, notably ways to deal with Euroscepticism, the EU's common foreign security policy, European defence, and the EU's health policy.

It is worth noting that on 30 January 2020, a meeting between the Presidents of the EU's three institutions – David Maria Sassoli from the European Parliament, Ursula Von der Leyen from the European Commission, and Charles Michel from the Council – was held at the Jean Monnet House, the night before their statement on Brexit was released and the CoFoE was launched.

“Drawing on a discussion paper prepared by the FMA for the CoFoE, young people in particular had the opportunity to ask former MEPs directly about their opinions and insight into a number of current topics (...)”

While the pandemic prevented some of parts of the debate from

going ahead as planned in person at the Jean Monnet House during the CoFoE, the relaxing of measures as of 15 March this year gave new impetus to the project. Being able to host lots of student groups and organise academic and civil society debates again has greatly enriched the discussions about democracy on our continent and ways to foster and defend it.

The war in Ukraine is a powerful reminder of the key role played by the Jean Monnet Dialogues in recent years, which brought Ukrainian political parties together in a meeting led by Pat Cox, former President of the European Parliament. Although these groups have often been at odds on the political spectrum, it is tragically paradoxical to see that the biggest threat to the country ultimately turned out to be a foreign invasion, which the Ukrainian people are facing in a resolutely united manner. The Jean Monnet House teams, in particular through their regular exchanges with delegations visiting the 'cradle of Europe' through the EUVP, have seen that several participants from third countries show a strong interest in translating the Jean Monnet Dialogue mediation model into their national context.

On 1 April, the Jean Monnet House opened 32 guest rooms, meaning that it will now be able to fully host Europe-focused groups coming to reflect and actively participate in building a better future for all.

Martí Grau

Curator of the Jean Monnet House
<https://www.jean-monnet-europe.eu>

MAY EVERY YEAR BE A YEAR OF YOUTH

On 1 March 2022, at the Conference on the Future of Europe, we were delighted and honoured to have been invited to talk to former members in the context of the European Year of Youth. Students, who suffered greatly during the COVID-19 pandemic, have mounting expectations of the EU and having their voices heard in the institutions is key to building a citizens' Europe. We discussed many issues, including cybersecurity and the rules which the EU imposes on foreign companies, which are very relevant at a time when globalisation is making the world ever more uncertain.

Against the backdrop of Russia's invasion of Ukraine and the Balkan countries' applications to join the EU, we discussed the FMA's proposals, putting forward our concerns while staying realistic about how to keep the project coherent. Having already gone through several enlargements, the EU now has to choose whether to take in new members or strengthen the 27-member union. One topic we drew particular attention to is the primacy of national law. Indeed,

there is a constant clash between the idea of expanding and the national sovereignty claims that run counter to the common project, and this urgently needs to be resolved.

On another note, when it comes to adopting and implementing sanctions, the EU often finds itself in an institutional and political deadlock. For example, with Poland and violations of the primacy of EU law. In the face of rising populism and social and health crises, we need to think creatively and work together to ensure that economic sanctions are credible and do not damage the cohesion of the EU.

We also talked about citizenship and what it means to be European. Democracies in Europe may well be systems of government in which the power lies with the people but they paradoxically also blur people's sense of belonging, undermining integration. In this area, we believe that citizens need to be reminded and shown how much the EU does for them in their daily lives. To this end, in addition to innovating and

thinking about ways to get people involved, we need to consider giving a greater role to the media.

Finally, although young people are often familiar with the history of European integration, they are not always aware of the EU's economic and social role. Food, environmental protection, higher education, student mobility funding – the EU is tied to every aspect of our lives and futures. The way in which our representatives can seem distant from us and the complex nature of the institutions make the EU difficult to understand and at times appear suspicious. It needs to become both simpler and more transparent for this democratic deficit to be tackled. The right to lodge a petition and launch initiatives, just like the meeting with the FMA on 1 March, help inform and mobilise young citizens, the leaders of tomorrow.

“We believe that citizens need to be reminded and shown how much the EU does for them in their daily lives.”

Faith in the institutions and their effectiveness has been shaken but the EU has the tools necessary to improve the situation. This year dedicated to youth is a perfect opportunity to raise awareness and build the Europe of tomorrow.

Daring Alicia Ambert
Student at University of Paris-Panthéon-Assas
ambert.daring-alicia@isitparis.eu

César Rivera
Student at University of Aix-Marseille
cesar.rivera@etu.univ-amu.fr

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DEBATE

OUR EUROPEAN UNION -
TIME TO BE BOLD, TO ACT,
AND TO DELIVER

1 March 2022 from 14.30 to 16.00

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in your hands**

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Conference on the Future of Europe

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EUROPE DAY

ROUNDTABLE AT UNIVERSITY OF VALLADOLID

The very first higher education institution of what would one day become Spain was established in 1212 in the city of Palencia, which at that time was part of the Kingdom of Castille. This Studium Generale was later moved to the city of Valladolid, where it became a university in 1241. It is based on these origins that the University of Valladolid has for centuries argued that it should be recognised as Spain's oldest university instead of the University of Salamanca.

We learnt all of this and much more from one of the hosts on a short walk before the round table held by the University of Valladolid's Institute of European Studies on 6 May to mark Europe Day.

'The European Union 70 years on: lessons from experience' was the solemn title of this event to which former Presidents of Parliament José María Gil-Robles and Enrique Barón Crespo and I had been invited to discuss the present and future and what could be drawn from the past. A grand room on the first floor of the institution's central building formed the ceremonious backdrop.

After warm words of introduction, President Barón Crespo kicked off the well-attended conference. He took us through a fair part of his experience in European politics and of the changes that occurred during his years in office. He spoke of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the impact it had on him, which a great number of the many assistants he had at that time will likely never forget.

President Gil-Robles took part remotely, his image projected on a huge screen. He began rather late due to connection issues that caused problems with the sound – a situation he rather



Enrique Barón Crespo, Ignasi Guardans and José María Gil-Robles (online) © University of Valladolid

expressively compared to the difficulties the EU has in making itself heard by its citizens. Next came a former President who was deeply troubled by the return of war to Europe. That's not to say that his speech was pessimistic; he made it clear that he believes that the conflict will end and this violent neo-Imperialist Russia will not be triumphant. However, the main sentiment of his intervention was understandably concern, based on a wealth of experience.

For my part, I wanted to frame the present situation with a quote from Chancellor Scholz's historic speech given on 27 February to the Bundestag, where he spoke of a new *Zeitenwende*. A real period of change has begun, which will mark the future of the continent and of the EU; a turning point in European history that will likely put 2022 next to the other significant years used by historians to try to organise the narrative of our collective political history: 1989, 1945, 1939, 1918, 1914, 1871, etc. But this change is one we are living through, and we face many uncertainties, undoubtedly not all tied to the war. I spoke about the threat of populist movements, about how Eurocentrism can give us a false sense of our weight and role in the world and about how it is

absolutely vital that we form a new identity narrative that brings the younger generations closer to the political side of Europe, the forum for guaranteeing and promoting democracy, freedoms and social progress.

“I spoke about (...) how it is absolutely vital that we form a new identity narrative that brings the younger generations closer to the political side of Europe, the forum for guaranteeing and promoting democracy, freedoms and social progress.”

We spent almost three hours discussing these topics in a conversation that was certainly a great addition to the event planned by the organisers to celebrate Europe and made possible by the cooperation programme with our association.

Ignasi Guardans
ALDE, Spain (2004-2009)
iguardans@culture-media.eu

PRESENT FUTURE OF EUROPE

FMA PUBLICATION 'PRESENT FUTURE OF EUROPE'

On 1 June 2022, the Former Members Association of the European Parliament (FMA) and the European Parliamentary Research Service (EPRS) jointly organised a round table on 'The "Present Future" of Europe: The key issues before and after the conference' as part of the eighth Librorum event, with an exclusive presentation of the FMA publication entitled: 'Present Future of Europe.'

The event was a real success in terms of the attendance of colleagues and MEPs, especially considering that it was the first Librorum event held in person. As Anthony Teasdale, Director-General of EPRS, pointed out in his opening remarks, it was a great pleasure to finally get together in the European Parliament Library Reading Room for the first official meeting in two years.

The publication was printed by the Historical Archives of the European Union (HAEU), as the result of a partnership that has become more and more fruitful over the years, not least thanks to a very active FMA/HAEU team that is ever stronger and more passionate. Dieter Schlenker, Director of the HAEU, and Professor Steven Van Hecke, both of whom had contributed directly to the publication, expressed their special appreciation of the work carried out.

The authors present at the event, FMA President Hans-Gert Pöttering, FMA Vice-President Monica Baldi and Secretary Teresa Riera Madurell, emphasised the importance of not interrupting the passionate debate that had been sparked at different levels of society, as this was fundamental for strengthening democracy and enabling EU citizens to participate actively and continuously in the entire development process.

In addition, former President of the European Parliament Klaus Hänsch emphasised the need for real political action and, therefore, for the reform of the Treaties to be accompanied by a clear political project in order to ensure that it was a success.

The speeches made by MEPs Marc Tarabella (S&D), Sandro Gozi (Renew), Gunnar Beck (ID), Michiel Hoogeveen (ECR) and Helmut Scholz (The Left) raised very important points and brought completely different perspectives to the debate on the Conference on the Future of Europe, in particular in the light of their membership of different political groups.

As is well known, after a year of debates and meetings, the final report of the Conference on the Future of Europe containing the proposals for EU reform was presented to President Roberta Metsola, French President Emmanuel Macron and European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen on 9 May 2022 in the Strasbourg hemicycle.

The process itself was initiated on 9 May 2022 last year by President David

Sassoli, to whom the publication is dedicated. The FMA proposal is published in this publication, together with the proceedings of the high-level conference entitled 'The Future of Europe starts Today', held at the European University Institute on 21 March 2022 in Florence.

Undoubtedly, the debate on the Conference on the Future of Europe and all the discussions held on public platforms, promoted mainly by think tanks, have played a key role in bringing together voices from different corners of the continent. However, these instruments of democratic participation are only of value if they manage to concretely follow up on citizens' demands.

We hope that the conclusions drawn will succeed in providing guidance on the future of Europe, taking on board the ideas and proposals emerging from this democratic process and giving consideration to social, cultural, political and geographical balance.

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

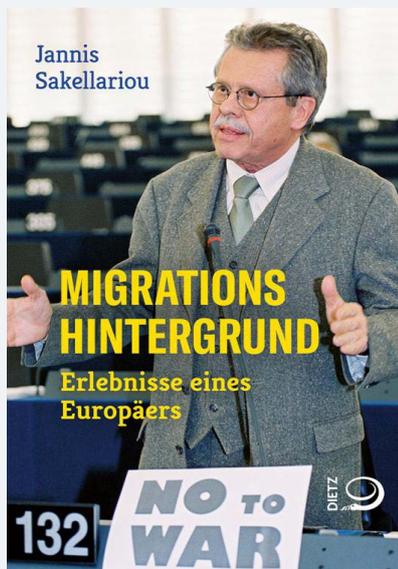


FMA Vice-President Monica Baldi during the round table 'Present Future of Europe' in EP Library's Reading Room, 1 June 2022. © European Union - Source: EP 2022



MIGRATIONS Hintergrund

by **Jannis Sakellariou**, published by Dietz Verlag.



**“As you set out for Ithaka
hope your road is a long
one,
full of adventure,
full of discovery.”**
Konstantino Kafavý

Like his fellow compatriots Homer, Pericles and Kafavý, Jannis Sakellariou was a cosmopolitan European in the original Greek sense of the word due to his universal vision, which is reflected in his book. He was a citizen of the world: Greek by birth, robbed of his nationality during the Regime of the Colonels, German by choice (I dare say Bavarian, even), a European citizen, and Spanish at heart (with a particular soft spot for Catalonia, giving his name to the Torre del Greco in Montblanc).

In the introduction to his book, he writes ‘these are neither memories nor stories of heroic feats’, and explains its title

Migrationshintergrund¹, which refers to people born abroad who acquire German citizenship through naturalisation. With his usual candour, he describes the term as ‘false and discriminatory’. He knew the 1960s in the Federal Republic of Germany, where ‘ius sanguinis’ (determination of a person’s nationality on the basis of the nationality of their parents) prevailed until the Schröder reform, which replaced it with ‘ius solis’, thereby granting German nationality to millions of immigrants.

Jannis was a pioneer in that he was the first person to be in charge of the Young Socialists in Bavaria without (yet) having acquired German citizenship, and later became the first German MEP with a migratory background.

He added the evocative subtitle ‘experiences of a European’, which sums up our shared political journey in the European Parliament since 1986, in which, during my time as President, we worked together to overcome the Cold War, achieve German unity, manage the fallout of the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the bloodiest of them all in Yugoslavia, conflict in the Middle East and peace in Central America. On behalf of the Socialist group he also coordinated the Committee on Foreign Affairs, which I chaired, in an ever efficient and precise manner, reflecting his technical, scientific and academic training. Various accounts and characters described and analysed in his book recount his experiences.

¹ (‘with a migratory background’, in English)

European citizenship – now enshrined in the Treaty of Maastricht – made us fully-fledged Europeans, which we experienced first-hand in the European Parliament, which is itself a veritable Erasmus, a melting-pot of learning, citizenship and democracy. Living in, and getting to know, a country and further mastering its languages means adding a new facet to one’s personality. Jannis embodied this cosmopolitan citizenship through his knowledge of, and openness to, other cultures and customs. All in all, he lived a life fighting for a Europe united by its values and an all-encompassing promise for peace and democracy. He was also part of the Erasmus generation as he shared his life with Laura Baeza, my first assistant in the EP, who went on to have a brilliant career in the Commission, culminating in her becoming EU Ambassador to Algeria and Tunisia, always with the unwavering support of Jannis.

Thanks to her and Jannis’ living will, which was made possible by pioneering Belgian legislation, we were able to say our final goodbyes in a fraternal embrace following an emotional conversation about the experiences we shared together.

Enrique Barón Crespo
PES, Spain (1986-2009)
enriquebaronfundacion@gmail.com



BOOK IT!

by **Dinesh Dhamija**, published by Austin Macauley Publishers.



Dinesh Dhamija's biography, "Book It!", tracks the journey of an internet pioneer from a commercial kiosk at Earl's Court station to a seat in the European Parliament, as MEP for London, a member of Renew Group and serving as Chair of the Delegation for Relations with India. Starting out with £1,500 loan from a friend, Dinesh and Tani Dhamija made their name and £100 million as founders of ebookers, "a pioneer in the millennial dot.com boom". Ebookers was also the first UK company to achieve global distribution through use of the internet.

The book describes many instances of Dhamija's energetic approach to problem solving, all of which are a delight. He tells of a bathroom shared with a neighbouring kiosk which was always dirty. The solution? Buy the neighbours lease, use the second outlet to start a sandwich shop, incidentally, serving City-style sandwiches for

half the price then, as owner of both outlets, "We could keep the toilets clean".

The first steps into internet operation must have been chilling: "Every day I'd check the messages and there were zero bookings ... For two, three weeks, just zero, zero, twice a day. Then one day, we got two bookings." Dhamija goes on "I was so sceptical of the system, I thought that Rudi [the brains behind the system] was doing his own bookings to make it look good." But Rudi wasn't, and those two bookings started a rise to global prominence that echoes through the travel industry even today. Ebookers survived the various catastrophes of the dot.com crash, the global travel freeze after 9/11, and the disruption around the US invasion into Iraq. When the sale of the business finally went through in 2005, Dhamija's description of working out what to do next is endearingly honest: "After all, you're only nouveau riche once."

Talking politics, Dhamija is as frank as he is about business. He cites David Cameron's right-ward shift after the catastrophic referendum of 2014 as the wake-up call that politicised him and brought him from default Conservative supporter to Liberal Democrat member and supporter of the campaign to remain in Europe.

As MEP, Dhamija tells how he came, as Chair of the India Delegation, to support the position of India and Narendra Modi, in the motion for a Parliamentary resolution on Kashmir. This found powerful

resistance in his own party, and he describes how he worked cross-party, to left and right, in classic, determined entrepreneur style to ensure the motion would succeed.

"He describes how he worked cross-party (...), in classic, determined entrepreneur style to ensure the motion would succeed."

Direct and refreshing advice is sprinkled through the book, detailing the motivation behind legal cases, the high-minded drive behind philanthropy and frank tactics for making the most of the clubs, sports, and memberships. Dhamija's story, even in politics, is that of a classic disruptor. As politicians, we would do well pay attention to "Book It!", especially those who wish to draw in business leaders to support campaigning or entice more business minds onto the European stage.

The book should also be required reading for any young entrepreneur, especially those who wish to shake up current business models. The truth of what it takes to succeed as a disrupting young business is daunting, but it is hard not to root for Dhamija and, as with any David vs Goliath story, it is hard not to delight when he comes out on top.

Judith Bunting

Renew, United Kingdom (2019-2020)
judith.bunting@btopenworld.com

IN MEMORIAM



Jean MOUCHEL

☞ 7 March 2022

EC/DA, France (1982-1989)

He served as a French Member of the European Parliament. At the national level, Mr Mouchel represented 'Rassemblement pour la République'.



Desislav CHUKOLOV

☞ 8 March 2022

ID/NA, Bulgaria (2007-2009)

He served as a Bulgarian Member of the European Parliament. At the national level, Mr Chukolov represented 'Attack Coalition'.



Alain KRIVINE

☞ 12 March 2022

GUE/NGL, France (1999-2004)

He served as a French Member of the European Parliament. At the national level, Mr Krivine represented 'Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire'.



Honor FUNK

☞ 18 March 2022

EPP, Germany (1989-1999)

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

IN MEMORIAM



Joel HASSE FERREIRA

☞ 18 March 2022
PES, Portugal (2005-2009)

He served as a Portuguese Member of the European Parliament. At the national level, Mr Hasse Ferreira represented the 'Partido Socialista'.



John PURVIS

☞ 20 March 2022
EPP-ED, United Kingdom (1979-1984, 1999-2009)

He served as a British Member of the European Parliament. At the national level, Mr Purvis represented the 'Scottish Conservative and Unionist Party'.



Trevor COLMAN

☞ 22 March 2022
ID, United Kingdom (2008-2014)

He served as a British Member of the European Parliament. At the national level, Mr Colman represented 'United Kingdom Independence Party'.



Domènec ROMERA I ALCÀZAR

☞ 5 April 2022
EPP-ED, Spain (1986-1994)

He served as a Spanish Member of the European Parliament. At the national level, Mr Romera i Alcàzar represented 'Partido Popular'.



Bouke BEUMER

☞ 10 April 2022
EPP, Netherlands (1979-1994)

He served as a Dutch Member of the European Parliament. At the national level, Mr Beumer represented 'Christen Democratisch Appèl'.



Joaquim VAIRINHOS

☞ 11 April 2022
PES, Portugal (1999-2004)

He served as a Portuguese Member of the European Parliament. At the national level, Mr Vairinhos represented 'Partido Socialista'.



Lord Henry PLUMB

☞ 15 April 2022
EPP-ED, United Kingdom (1979-1999)

He served as a British Member of the European Parliament. At the national level, Lord Plumb represented the 'Conservative and Unionist Party'.



Alan Leslie GILLIS

☞ 6 May 2022
EPP, Ireland (1994-1999)

He served as an Irish Member of the European Parliament. At the national level, Mr Gillis represented 'Fine Gael Party'.

IN MEMORIAM



Elisa Maria DAMIÃO

☞ 7 May 2022

PES, Portugal (1998-2004)

She served as a Portuguese Member of the European Parliament. At the national level, Ms Damião represented 'Partido Socialista'.



Ilkka SUOMINEN

☞ 23 May 2022

EPP-ED, Finland (1999-2004)

He served as a Finish Member of the European Parliament. At the national level, Mr Suominen represented the 'Kansallinen Kokoomus'.



Francesco FERRARI

☞ 23 May 2022

ALDE, Italy (2007-2009)

He served as an Italian Member of the European Parliament. At the national level, Mr Ferrari represented 'Partito Democratico'.



Luigi Ciriaco DE MITA

☞ 26 May 2022

EPP-ED, Italy (1984-1988, 1999-2004, 2009-2014)

He served as an Italian Member of the European Parliament. At the national level, Mr De Mita represented 'Unione dei Democratici cristiani e dei Democratici di Centro'.



ENERGY



ENERGY AND THE NUCLEAR APOCALYPSE

By Paulo Casaca
S&D, Portugal
(1999-2009)
pcasaca@gmail.com

It took humanity no time at all to find a way to self-destruct and simultaneously wipe out all life on Earth. Since then, the best that humanity has come up with to prevent this discovery from bringing about the apocalypse is the infamous 'MAD' strategy, so named because the acronym has a double meaning: it not only stands for 'mutual assured destruction' but can also be taken at face value.

In his invasion of Ukraine, Vladimir Putin has repeated tactics from his Chechen and Syrian playbook in Mariupol: shelling cities to ashes, indiscriminately killing civilians and forcing survivors to flee. Furthermore, while Kadyrov-led Islamist Chechen troops were sent to commit carnage in Grosny and Mariupol, in Aleppo, Russia deployed groups affiliated with Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps.

In this invasion, however, the nuclear option has been added to the traditional modus operandi. The Russian President has not only voiced threats to employ nuclear weapons, but

is also using Ukraine's nuclear power plants to show what he could do in the rest of Europe.

“The Russian President has not only voiced threats to employ nuclear weapons, but is also using Ukraine's nuclear power plants to show what he could do in the rest of Europe.”

At the start of the invasion, the Russians captured the defunct Chernobyl nuclear power plant, after shelling hit a nuclear waste repository. According to Ukrainian authorities, they then set up an ammunition depot next to the nuclear reactors. A few days later, they seized Europe's largest nuclear power station, in Zaporizhzhia, and fired shots at it from tanks.

Western elites have been doing all they can to close their eyes to the reality before them. On the threat of nuclear war: 'Americans shouldn't worry', says the US President! On the seizure of Chernobyl: 'It was a waypoint for [...] troops advancing towards Kyiv' and they 'certainly don't want loose nuclear material floating around' (from the related Wikipedia page). On the fire at the Zaporizhzhia Nuclear Power Plant: it has not affected essential equipment, says the International Atomic Energy Agency!

And French news agency France24 concluded in a headline to an article citing various experts on 4 March: 'A Russian attack to destroy reactors would be pointless', in an attempt to contradict the implicit message being



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given by the Russian authorities that an attack on a European nuclear power plant is a possible scenario if the war in Europe continues!

Worse still, the fiction is being peddled that nuclear energy is the alternative to dependency on Russian gas. In other words, instead of being in a commercial agreement with Russia, we should put ourselves at the mercy of the goodwill of Putin, his associates in Chechnya and Iran, and all other tyrants, to avoid a nuclear fallout between us. This proposal would make Europe more, not less, reliant on despotic regimes.

Of course, it is important for Europe's defence and security that it does not depend on bloodthirsty, immoral dictators for basic supplies; but we also need to understand why this concern was set aside in recent decades, when the reasons for avoiding this dependency were clear and the alternatives already existed.

“It is important for Europe’s defence and security that it does not depend on bloodthirsty, immoral dictators for basic supplies; but we also need to understand why this concern was set aside in recent decades, when the reasons for avoiding this dependency were clear and the alternatives already existed.”

But even more important than this is to think about how to reduce gaping defence weaknesses such as those caused by the presence of nuclear power plants; or rather, how to shut down and neutralise existing plants and block the construction of new ones.

Getting the ‘evil genie’ of nuclear fission back into the lamp will certainly prove more difficult than letting it out in the first place, and we will have to live for some time

under the appropriately named ‘MAD’ logic of the balance of nuclear terror. In this regard, the only thing we know for sure is that we must neither deny the evidence nor panic, as this will only convince the despots that nuclear weapons are the most effective way to achieve their goals.

This episode has also served as a reminder that we cannot view reality as a series of isolated events to be considered in silos. We cannot separate defence from the economy, politics or the environment, just as we cannot decouple the climate impacts of energy use from other environmental impacts. We need to adopt a holistic approach, and to think independently, taking care not to let the interests of a few individuals trump those of the many.

ENERGY EFFICIENT EUROPE

By Monica Frassoni
President European Alliance to Save Energy (EU-ASE)
 monica.frassoni@euase.eu

We all know that anthropogenic climate change is Humanity's biggest challenge, and yet we be soon crossing the tipping point. The IPCC 6th assessment report, drafted by hundreds of scientists, climatologists, experts in climate science and energy, is crystal clear. Greenhouse gas emissions must peak by 2025 and then massively decrease to avoid climate disaster. But it is still possible to act, and we should take this warning call as the opportunity to do whatever it takes to cut down emissions.

The Russian invasion of Ukraine has exacerbated an energy crisis that was already latent, but now has evolved into an explosive situation. Now the Member States are turning to short term measures in view of the EU's dependency on fossil gas imports, but the answer cannot be to look for other unreliable partners for gas supply. The Commission's own projections show that by 2030 fossil gas use must decline by 30% compared to 2015.

The solution cannot simply to ask citizens to drop the temperature at home, as highlighted by the IEA in his 10 points plan for the EU to cut dependency on Russia. The IEA estimates that turning down the thermostat in buildings by 1°C would reduce gas demand by some 10 billion cubic meters of gas a year, but the issue here is not the individual effort that may come and go. What Europe needs is a credible, long-term plan putting energy efficiency at its heart.

“What Europe needs is a credible, long-term plan putting energy efficiency at its heart.”

Regrettably, there is still a lot of convincing to do for policymakers to realise that this crisis, and the ones to come, must be urgently addressed by saving energy. The focus is still very much on the supply side and there is almost fear to talk about this as they fear that voters would not support the idea of changing their behaviour would worsen their quality of life: on the contrary, of If you act on efficiency, you have a direct impact on energy consumption and therefore on bills.

A 10-Point Plan to Reduce the European Union's Reliance on Russian Natural Gas

Measures implemented this year could **bring down gas imports from Russia by over one-third**, with additional temporary options to deepen these cuts to **well over half while still lowering emissions**.

<p>Action 1</p> <p>No new gas supply contracts with Russia Impact: Taking advantage of expiring long-term contracts with Russia will reduce the contractual minimum take-or-pay levels for Russian imports and enable greater diversity of supply.</p>	<p>Action 2</p> <p>Replace Russian supplies with gas from alternative sources Impact: Around 30 bcm in additional gas supply from non-Russian sources.</p>
<p>Action 3</p> <p>Introduce minimum gas storage obligations to enhance market resilience Impact: Enhances the resilience of the gas system, although higher injection requirements to refill storage in 2022 will add to gas demand and prop up gas prices.</p>	<p>Action 4</p> <p>Accelerate the deployment of new wind and solar projects Impact: An additional 35 TWh of generation from new renewable projects over the next year, over and above the already anticipated growth from these sources, bringing down gas use by 6 bcm.</p>
<p>Action 5</p> <p>Maximise generation from existing dispatchable low-emissions sources: bioenergy and nuclear Impact: An additional 70 TWh of power generation from existing dispatchable low emissions sources, reducing gas use for electricity by 13 bcm.</p>	<p>Action 6</p> <p>Enact short-term measures to shelter vulnerable electricity consumers from high prices Impact: Brings down energy bills for consumers even when natural gas prices remain high, making available up to EUR 200 billion to cushion impacts on vulnerable groups.</p>
<p>Action 7</p> <p>Speed up the replacement of gas boilers with heat pumps Impact: Reduces gas use for heating by an additional 2 bcm in one year.</p>	<p>Action 8</p> <p>Accelerate energy efficiency improvements in buildings and industry Impact: Reduces gas consumption for heat by close to an additional 2 bcm within a year, lowering energy bills, enhancing comfort and boosting industrial competitiveness.</p>
<p>Action 9</p> <p>Encourage a temporary thermostat adjustment by consumers Impact: Turning down the thermostat for buildings' heating by 1°C would reduce gas demand by some 10 bcm a year.</p>	<p>Action 10</p> <p>Step up efforts to diversify and decarbonise sources of power system flexibility Impact: A major near-term push on innovation can, over time, loosen the strong links between natural gas supply and Europe's electricity security. Real-time electricity price signals can unlock more flexible demand, in turn reducing expensive and gas-intensive peak supply needs.</p>

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While everyone agrees that we must press on energy efficiency, support shies away the moment we have to walk the talk. The transition to a net-zero energy system is impossible without saving a lot of energy across industry, transport but especially in the buildings sector.

The EU institutions are currently negotiating over the Fit for 55 package. The revision of the Energy Efficiency Directive is key to boost energy savings, which have been lagging behind compared to the development of renewable energy sources. The Commission introduced a proposal that would see the energy efficiency target raised from current 32.5% by 2030 to a reduction of primary (39%) and final (36%) energy consumption by 2030. Negotiators in the European Parliament seem to be more ambitious, and are proposing a binding target for 45.5% in primary energy consumption reduction, something that has been welcomed by the Commission, who is reevaluating the energy savings potential by 2030. This is a step in the right direction that Member States need to acknowledge.

Back in December 2021, the Commission also proposed to revise the Energy Performance of Buildings Directive, with the objective to multiply the rate of renovations of Europe's old and inefficient building stock. Buildings account for 40% of total energy consumption in the EU and the energy use for heating buildings still depends massively on fossil fuels like natural gas.

Energy efficiency and electrification are the two main drivers for a sustainable building sector.



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A recent study by Cambridge Econometrics concludes that by rolling out a wave of climate-friendly renovations and heat pumps in homes, Europe can save the equivalent of a quarter of current Russian gas imports by 2030, significantly reducing its dependence on volatile gas imports and enhancing its energy security. As a result, the annual spending on gas imports is projected to go down by €15 billion within a decade and by €43 billion in 2050.

“A recent study by Cambridge Econometrics concludes that by rolling out a wave of climate-friendly renovations and heat pumps in homes, Europe can save the equivalent of a quarter of current Russian

gas imports by 2030, significantly reducing its dependence on volatile gas imports and enhancing its energy security.”

Energy efficiency measures need policies, investments, focus, and a clear understanding of the urgency to act: we must reduce energy demand and at the same time optimise energy use so that we accelerate the integration of renewables and do not keep on generating the energy, above all from fossil fuels, that we do not need.

FACING THE FACTS ABOUT ENERGY

By Robert Goebbels
S&D, Luxembourg
(1999-2014)
robertg@pt.lu

Human history has been a long quest for energy. Since the beginning of time, we have sought out new sources of energy – from fire, through nuclear fission to the nuclear fusion of tomorrow – transforming our environment as we go.

Increasing awareness of the impact of human activity on the climate is spurring the international community to look for ways to reduce its greenhouse gas emissions, in particular CO₂ produced by burning fossil fuels. We hear a lot of talk about ‘soft energy’ and ‘renewables’. Clearly, we should be making more use of the power of water, of wind and especially that constantly beaming down from the sun.

Unfortunately, there are issues with each of these sources of energy. The construction of dams is met with opposition from conservationists, while wind turbines are not always welcomed by local residents as they mar the landscape. Solar panels are generally more accepted, but their power is too intermittent, particularly in northern and

central European countries, where the sun shines for approximately 2 000 of the 8 760 hours that make up a year. It is particularly in winter, when the weather is cold and the nights are long, that solar energy is in short supply, especially since the issue of renewable energy storage is far from solved.

As the supply of electricity needs to keep up with an ever-changing demand, no power grid will ever be able to rely solely on intermittent sources of power such as solar or wind energy. As for hydraulic energy, it remains dependent on the storage capacities of dams and other water retention facilities.

Thermal power stations are unbeatable when it comes to the immediate provision of back-up energy in the event of a sudden spike in demand. Powered by fuel, coal or gas, however, they produce carbon emissions, and so run counter to the goal of reducing greenhouse gas emissions.

This leaves nuclear energy as our only back-up. While it is virtually carbon-emission-free, doubts remain in the wake of Chernobyl and Fukushima. Even before Putin’s invasion of Ukraine, an increasing number of countries had come to the conclusion that it was impossible to meet the growing demand for electricity with renewables alone.

“Even before Putin’s invasion of Ukraine, an increasing number of countries had come to the conclusion that it was impossible to meet the growing demand for electricity with renewables alone.”



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There is a gulf between our green goals and our energy status quo. For instance, Germany decided to phase out nuclear energy after the nuclear accident in Fukushima; the country's carbon emissions have been on the rise ever since. The huge amount of effort invested in solar and wind energy has meant that carbon and gas-fired power stations have had to be kept open to compensate for the intermittency of these 'soft' energies.

France has also realised that ordering a phase-out of nuclear power won't cut it. Faced with the alternative of closing all nuclear power stations by 2025 and opening coal-fired power stations to meet France's energy needs, Nicolas Hulot, France's 'greenest' minister had to face up to reality and instead promised to halve the share of nuclear in France's electricity mix by 2030, or 2035 at the latest.

President Macron has just called time on nuclear-free dreams: he suggests investing in new power stations to enable the French economy to stay competitive while reducing carbon emissions in France – which are, nevertheless, considerably lower than Germany's, although it leads the way on renewables.

As Lenin used to say, 'Facts are stubborn things!' Making virtuous political statements is not enough. We must be brave enough to face the facts. Decarbonisation will take much longer than some ideologists claim. We must let reason prevail and avoid jumping on the latest environmental bandwagon. Electric cars, for example, still have to be greatly improved, particularly their batteries, before they can set the bar on emissions.

“We must let reason prevail and avoid jumping on the latest environmental bandwagon.”

Politics must maintain technological neutrality to allow for scientific emulation. In fact, it is the industrial sector which is at the cutting edge of energy conservation and efficiency. Industrialists, not ideologists, will win the fight for a better environment.

TRAJECTORIES FOR ENERGY DEVELOPMENT IN EUROPE

By **Jolanta Emilia Hibner**
EPP, Poland
(2012-2014)
jolanta@hibner.pl

Under the Paris Agreement, all European countries are committed to achieving climate neutrality by 2050. To this end, greenhouse gas emissions must be reduced as soon as possible.

Furthermore, it has recently become vital for European countries to free themselves from dependence on conventional sources, i.e. oil and gas from Russia or China. The war in the east of Europe has shown how unstable these sources are. This is why only joint action by all European countries will allow us to develop new technologies and meet the needs of our homelands in terms of electrical and thermal energy.

When setting targets, account must be taken of the geographical circumstances and technological capacities of each country. Firstly, we should all increase the share of renewables in our national energy mixes.

Wind energy is one of the fastest growing sectors of renewable energy. This energy can be obtained by erecting wind farms on land and at sea. Locating offshore wind farms in the Baltic and the North Seas is vital. The construction of offshore wind farms in these areas must take account of shipping routes and the migratory routes of birds and include 100-metre safety zones around each structure. It is also important to introduce rules on fishing in these areas. The construction of a significant number of offshore wind turbines requires an increase in the construction of onshore electricity transmission lines. The siting of onshore wind farms must take into account both energy needs and the urban development of the areas in which they are located.

Achieving climate neutrality requires the development of photovoltaic panels that exploit solar energy. The adoption of policies to maximise the potential of photovoltaic cells in construction (construction of zero-emission buildings) and the use of renewable energy sources in the development of the transport sector will contribute to reducing CO₂ emissions throughout the European Union.

“The adoption of policies to maximise the potential of photovoltaic cells in construction (...) and the use of renewable energy sources in the development of the transport sector will contribute to reducing CO₂ emissions throughout the European Union.”

Nuclear energy is and will continue to be the main low-carbon source of electricity. The development of energy from renewable energy sources should be complementary and not in competition with the development of nuclear energy. Renewables and nuclear power create a mix for sustainable development. Wind and solar energy sources are very weather-dependent and intermittent. Wind and solar energy sources are not sufficient to reduce CO₂ by themselves. In the past, there have been periods in which there was no wind at sea ('dead calm') or on land at the same time. Nuclear power plants operate on a load-following system that depends on demand. They can change their output very quickly. There are also no fluctuations in the raw material markets for nuclear power like there are for coal, lignite, oil and gas.

Nuclear fuel can be easily stored for several years.

Nuclear energy in Poland and around the world mainly uses:

- large Generation III reactors (mature and technically sound)
- small modular reactors
- Generation IV technologies

Large reactors has been tried and tested in operation for some 70 years. It is a cost-effective technology, but often arouses great public opposition due to the size of the reactors.



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It is possible for small modular reactors to handle local supply, which reduces the need for land (smaller investments). The biggest drawback of these technologies is that they are not proven in operation and are more materially intensive. This is still in the prototype phase. It is a typical form of distributed energy, upon whose development the future depends. The commissioning of new Generation IV technologies is safer and they are also faster to build. This nuclear energy generates less waste, and the heat produced is mainly used by industry.

Hydroelectric power can be developed more and more intensively in countries with high water potential, such as Norway, Albania and Switzerland. The natural capacity of these countries allows for the additional development of pumped hydropower storage plants. Pumped hydropower storage plants are not a source of energy, but rather storage facilities for energy. A problem that Europe

needs to solve in the near future is energy storage and energy transmission between countries. In order to be self-sufficient, Europe must link the development of energy from weather-dependent sources to nuclear technologies. An essential element of development plans is the need to build electricity storage facilities using technologies based on converting one type of energy into another: thermal or electric.

A significant number of heat storage tanks or large batteries/accumulators need to be built in order to enable energy to be stored and used in peak demand conditions. Similarly, research on energy storage in the form of hydrogen or uranium should be stepped up. The development of various energy storage technologies will enable the rational use of energy and increase stability in the European market. It also offers opportunities to decouple energy from fossil fuels. Even the best sources of energy will not solve problems in terms of energy requirements without

cross-border connections enabling their export to neighbouring countries or import at times of peak shortages.

This is why, along with the development of energy storage, we should focus on increasing network connections throughout the European Union. This element is essential for Europe's self-sufficiency in energy.

We can achieve energy stability by adding nuclear energy, in the form of nuclear reactors or distributed energy, to renewable energy sources. Measures and regulations to date have frozen energy from conventional sources. Is this a rational course of action at a time when we are facing various external threats? This question can only be answered by analysing existing research activities on new technologies. Only the development of new technologies using greenhouse gases, including CO₂, will allow us to turn to coal, oil or gas again.

THE ROLE OF HYDROGEN. WHY NOW?

By Marcelino Oreja
EPP, Spain (1989-1993)
marcelinoreja@gmail.
com

In the past, enthusiasm for the hydrogen economy has bubbled up, only to fade away. However, the rise in interest in H2 as a future energy carrier over the past 2-3 years appears to be different. What has changed?

Firstly, to reach net zero we need to move beyond simply decarbonising the electricity sector: sectors that are difficult to decarbonise, such as industry and long-distance transport, must also be transformed. Hydrogen will play a very important role in that transformation.

If we are to achieve net zero, direct electrification will have to increase, working on the assumption that in 2050 it will account for half of demand (Spain 52%, EU 45-50%).

Technical progress and efforts to make the market more effective (by introducing competitive auctions, for example) have slashed the cost of on-shore wind energy and solar photovoltaic (PV) energy generation,

making it more economically viable to produce green hydrogen.

The average global cost of electricity created from utility-scale solar photovoltaic energy fell by 85% between 2010 and 2020 (IRENA, 2021).

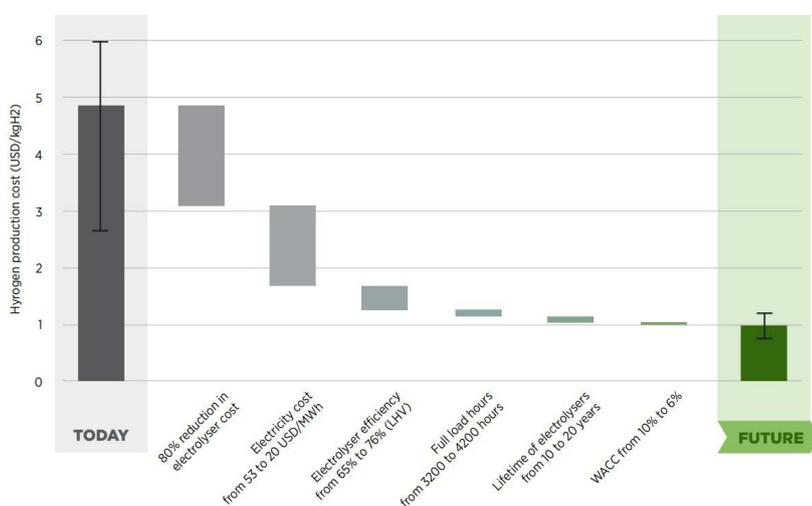
The excellent wind and solar resources found in some areas of Europe provide the potential for green H2 to be produced, thus reducing our dependency on energy imports.

The ongoing war in Ukraine will accelerate this process and many industrial sectors will seek energy independence by combining renewable electricity and hydrogen.

Renewable gases could enhance security of supply because they are easy to store and because gas pipeline networks are resilient. Using those gases would make it possible to develop Europe's renewable potential and to create an export industry.

“Using those (renewable) gases would make it possible to develop Europe’s renewable potential and to create an export industry.”

A rapidly increasing number of countries are pledging, as part of their energy transitions, to step up their use of hydrogen, a significant low-carbon energy carrier. Were H2 not to play an active role in the energy transition, the cost of decarbonisation could rise and rely on technologies that have not been tested as much.



A combination of cost reductions in electricity and electrolysers can deliver 80% reduction in hydrogen cost. ©IRENA 2020



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If the use of hydrogen is to become widespread in Europe, transnational networks will need to be created. Every industrial process requires a secure energy supply.

To achieve sufficient scale in the deployment of hydrogen generation and use, and to achieve economies of scale that will bring down costs, large-scale projects must be developed.

Furthermore, the stiffer competition among producers will create a more liquid market, with transparent prices, and reduce the number of captive consumers connected to small networks of groups. A pan-European network will also interconnect zones with excellent wind and solar resources and land which can be used for renewable electricity projects that can generate competitive green H₂.

More than half of Europe's current gas transportation networks could be transformed into a hydrogen 'backbone' network, of which 80% would come from the adaptation of existing pipelines, work which

would cost considerably less than constructing new pipelines or using maritime transport. It is estimated that the hydrogen backbone would have an average cost of between 0.11 and 0.21 EUR/kg/1 000 km, making it a better choice than transport by boat for distances within Europe.

In proposals made in December, the Commission made it clear that there will be a hydrogen network operator in the future. Its package also establishes the main regulatory principles by which the gas market will be governed.

Operation of the hydrogen networks will be separate from the production of hydrogen, avoiding vertical integration structures. Hydrogen networks will be open to access by third parties to ensure competition and provide a level playing field.

Joint use of hydrogen and gas networks will be permitted but use of the hydrogen network should be managed by a separate legal entity. The proposals also make it

clear that the long-term vision is to create an interconnected European market, including by eliminating cross-border tariffs for renewable and low carbon gases.

“The proposals also make it clear that the long-term vision is to create an interconnected European market, including by eliminating cross-border tariffs for renewable and low carbon gases.”

A new governance structure, the European Network of Network Operators for Hydrogen (ENNOH), will be created with a view to the development of specific hydrogen infrastructure, to cross-border coordination and to the establishment of technical standards.

The conditions required for hydrogen to play a significant role in the transition towards a decarbonised economy are set out above. Developing interconnected hydrogen networks at EU level will improve supply security and competitiveness and increase the availability of low-carbon, renewable H₂. It is important that we convert our current gas infrastructure so that it can play a central role in this future network.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE IN ENERGY

**By Godelieve
Quisthoudt-
Rowohl**

*EPP, Germany
(1989-2019)*

gqr@quisthoudt.eu

In an effort to devise a stronger European energy policy, in 2015 the Juncker Commission set out five objectives in its energy union strategy. The 'European Green Deal' adopted by the Leyen Commission in 2019 continues in this vein. The deal aims to effect a complete transformation of energy markets, abandoning fossil fuels for renewables and low carbon sources. Two of its other objectives: ensuring energy efficiency and designing electricity markets, were adopted in two of Parliament's own-initiative reports (in 2015 and 2016).

There is a conflict of competences between the EU and the national Member States: some of the latter still consider that mandatory national targets set by the Union conflict with their right, enshrined in European legislation, to freely determine their own energy mix and engage in energy procurement. Energy taxation has not been harmonised and an updated version of the Energy Taxation Directive of 2003 has not (yet) entered into force.

This conflict of competences has so far prevented the advent of a true 'internal energy market', although the first attempts to do so date back to the 1990s, and a better integrated energy market could lead to savings of EUR 250 billion by 2030. (EPRS, May 2020)

The TEN-E Directive (Trans-European Networks-Energy) adopted in plenary April 2022 is a step towards the further integration of energy markets. Improving the relevant infrastructure enables greater security of supply, and the projects we fund should give priority to energy efficiency and affordability.

Trade in energy takes place both within Europe (which, thanks to the advent of the Union and the internal market, is no longer foreign trade) and with third countries. Natural disasters, pandemics, material shortages and sanctions of all kinds put a strain on supply chains and, thereby, on our ability to plan ahead. In recent years, although the picture varies from country to country, Europeans have displayed overly one-sided thinking in relying on a handful of energy suppliers. For instance, in 2020 Germany imported around 55% of its gas from Russia. The war that has broken out practically on our doorstep clearly proves how much Europe's dependence on energy imports is strategically misguided. Diversification and self-sufficiency are more than just pipe dreams. These two dimensions, together with a resilient infrastructure, are essential if we do not wish to jeopardise our prosperity.

“In recent years, although the picture varies from country to country, Europeans have displayed overly one-sided thinking in relying on a handful of energy suppliers.”

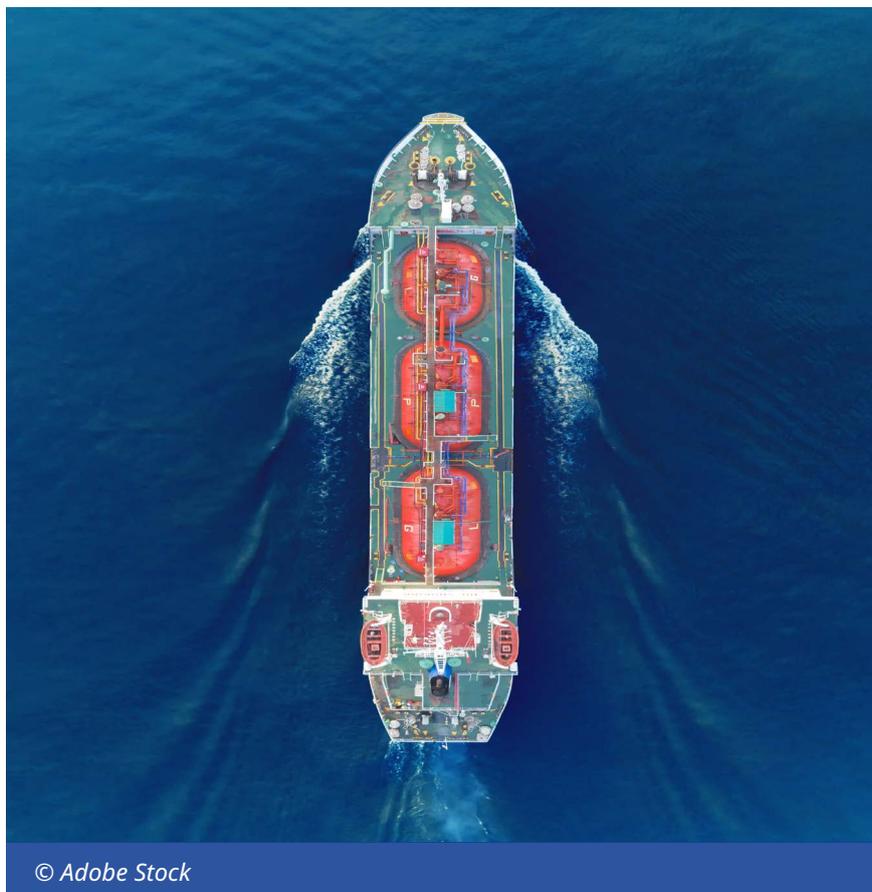
Energy production in the EU has been decreasing for years, while imports have been concurrently on the rise. In 2016, imports from third countries fulfilled 53.6% of the EU's requirements. The number one supplier of crude oil and petroleum products is Russia (34.6%), followed by Norway (10.8%). This equates to a dependency ratio of 86.7%. These two countries also supplied two thirds of gas imports, which means the EU's dependency ratio is 70.4% (2016).

The total import volume of all energy sources from the successor states of the USSR is about nine times that of imports from North America. The volume of European exports, meanwhile, is small.

How can we extricate ourselves from this dependence and get on the road to self-sufficiency? Theoretically, we know the answers: increasing renewable energy production, improving energy efficiency, reducing energy consumption and fostering innovation in new energy sources, storage and future-oriented mobility. Our political dependency decreases the more we diversify our suppliers, and we occupy a more favourable market position when negotiating as a Union and not as an individual state. Whether we can actually do all of this in practice and whether citizens will accept possible restrictions remains to be seen.

“Our political dependency decreases the more we diversify our suppliers, and we occupy a more favourable market position when negotiating as a Union and not as an individual state.”

Both the economy and households always need reliable heating – more in winter than in summer – electricity and fuel in the cheapest and most environmentally friendly manner possible. The availability of cheap energy is a competitive advantage for industry that should not be underestimated. Let us not forget, a one-dimensional energy



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policy has no future! Renewable energy sources need more input materials than conventional ones, which will significantly increase the demand for raw materials and thus create new dependencies.

The question we asked at the outset – ‘where from and where to’ – has thus become much more complex. With a view to finding an answer in the interests of our industry and our consumers, geopolitical and environmental factors must be taken into account in addition to technical and trade policy factors. In concrete terms: the question of whether Russian gas can be replaced by oil from Qatar is a matter of feasibility, but also of morality given the human rights situation there.

The conflict in Ukraine is forcing us to rethink the principles of our energy procurement (and not only that). We are facing an enormous challenge, but the crisis also gives us a strong signal: we need to be courageous in effecting the necessary transformation!

ENERGY AND SECURITY OF SUPPLY GUARANTEE

By **María Teresa Estevan Bolea**

*EPP, Spain
(1994-1999)*

mtestbol@outlook.com

Energy is at the heart of development and energy needs are growing – especially the demand for electricity – however much energy savings and efficiency increase. Electricity cannot be stored and this requires ample availability of generation facilities and electricity grids.

“Electricity cannot be stored and this requires ample availability of generation facilities and electricity grids.”

The European Union’s energy policy is based essentially on three pillars: security of supply, competitiveness and environmental protection.

It should be remembered that the contribution of oil and gas will continue – at least at 70% of the current level – until 2050, as will that of coal, albeit in part, owing to its use in the United States, China, Japan, Germany, Poland and many

other countries, with more than 40% of generation using coal.

Attention should also be drawn to the current demands on the entire energy sector as a result of the measures planned to limit global warming, bearing in mind the potential of current climate change.

High power electrical energy

Within the sector, the electricity industry stands out in all its areas: generation, transmission, distribution and consumption, with strong influence from economic measures: deployment of expensive technologies without full development (such as storage in the area of renewables), subsidies, taxation, surcharges and others, which give rise to a very high cost for electrical supplies.

Of all the demands that society makes on energy supplies, I will focus on the security of guaranteed supply, which is the most important factor.

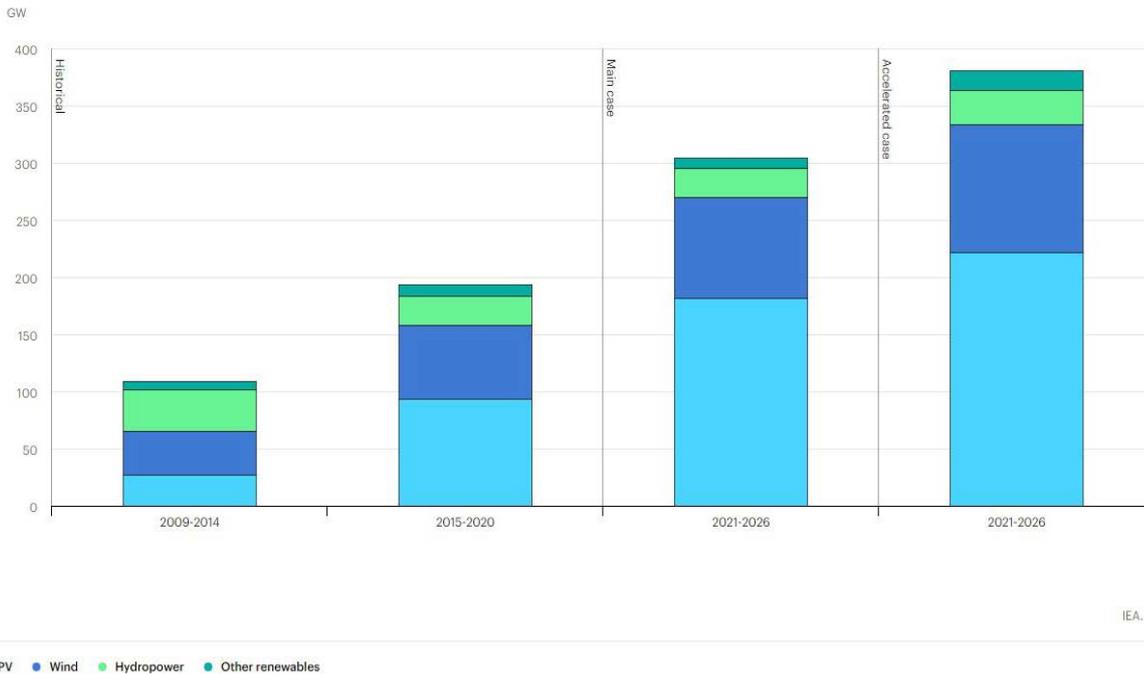


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Until a few years ago, generation took the form of synchronous alternators, transformation using large power transformers and transmission via high-voltage lines. Subsequently, electricity is transformed to a low voltage for use by the end-user. The whole process is based on alternating current.

All this requires that production and consumption be permanently in balance. The nature of electricity is wave-like. We are working with electromagnetic fields. This is pure physics and mathematics.

If we use rotating machines and alternators, sinusoidal waves are generated, where we must take into



Renewable electricity capacity growth by technology, main and accelerated cases, 2015-2020 and 2021-2026 © IEA, 2021

and the reactive or magnetising energy needed to establish and maintain the alternating magnetic fields on which an alternator’s operation is based.

Renewables – with the exception of hydropower – generate direct current electricity, which is converted to alternating current using inverters, but maintaining the power-frequency ratio in the grids is difficult and system operators have to carry out numerous adjustments – primary, secondary and tertiary – which are increasingly complex.

Electricity networks

In networks or high-voltage lines, the following aspects are essential:

- Wave quality;
- Frequency/power regulation;
- Guaranteeing the security of electricity supply.

A year has 8 760 hours. The average operation time of renewables is between 1 800 and 2 500 hours. Some years, when hydropower

one may attain 3 000 hours/year. It is estimated that in 2050, the split will be 50% conventional and the other 50% renewable, with more pumping, so that there are no blackouts.

“It is estimated that in 2050, the split will be 50% conventional and the other 50% renewable, with more pumping, so that there are no blackouts.”

It is very important to distinguish between power demand and energy demand.

Security of supply

In the current situation of our complex electricity systems, with their major operational challenges, especially when it comes to incorporating renewables into the system, the crucial aspect is security of supply.

A system in which nuclear, coal or hydraulic generation predominate is essentially stable. On the other hand, systems where wind or gas generation predominate in combined cycles, have much less capacity to respond to disruptions of any kind and is therefore structurally less stable. The steady power reserve allowance of the system must be at least 10%.

Cost

Energy is extremely expensive, mainly owing to taxes amounting to 25% and a similar amount for subsidies for renewables, and other levies and aid. 50 % of the price is taxes and subsidies.

Today, the electricity business is a financial business. We cannot continue with unjustifiable, unaffordable prices that bankrupt industry and other consumers.



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European Parliament Former Members Association

Tel.: + 32(0)2 284 07 03
formermembers@europarl.europa.eu

European Parliament - Bât. József Antall 02Q073
Rue Wiertz, B-1047 Brussels.

www.formermembers.eu

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