

# EPFMA

## Bulletin



81

· December 2022

European Parliament Former Members Association

[www.formermembers.eu](http://www.formermembers.eu)



### FMA Activities

Visit under the EU  
Presidency

Page 17



### Focus

Measures to fight  
inflation

Page 29

ISSN 2790-7635

# IN THIS ISSUE

**03** Message from the President

**04** European Parliament at work

## CURRENT AFFAIRS

**06** Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II and the European Union  
(Baroness Rawlings)

**07** Queen Elizabeth 1926 - 2022  
(Edward McMillan-Scott)

**08** Natural disasters: combining agility and strength to bolster the European model of solidarity  
(Renaud Muselier)

## FMA ACTIVITIES

**10** FMA Study Visit  
Lausanne

**16** Former Members Network

**17** Visit under the EU Presidency

**21** EP to Campus

**25** Book review

## LATEST NEWS

**26** Upcoming events

**26** Publications

**26** New members

**27** FMA at work

## IN MEMORIAM

**28** In Memoriam

## FOCUS

**30** Inflation is back: what to do?  
(Prof. Joaquín Almunia)

**32** What type of inflation are we witnessing, and how to address it?  
(Lasse Michael Boehm)

**34** Marking the 30th Anniversary of the Single Market  
(Malcolm Harbour)

**36** Sustainable policies needed  
(Ivailo Kalfin)

**38** Stopping stagflation in 2022  
(Prof. Waltraud Schelkle, EUI)

Cover: © Adobe Stock

### Parliament appoints new Secretary General

*The FMA Board Members welcome Alessandro Chiochetti as new Secretary General of the European Parliament as from 1 January 2023 and thank Klaus Welle for his longstanding support towards the Association.*

*From left to right: Klaus Welle and Alessandro Chiochetti  
© European Union 2022 - Source: EP*



## CALL FOR CONTRIBUTIONS

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 Due to the long time lag between the call for contribution and the publication, some articles may be outdated.

The FMA Bulletin is published by the European Parliament Former Members Association (FMA) with the assistance of the European Parliament. However, the views expressed in articles represent the views of contributing FMA members or guest writers and do not necessarily represent the views of either the European Parliament nor the FMA. Similarly, any advertisement does not imply an official endorsement by the FMA or Parliament.

## EDITORIAL BOARD

Monica BALDI  
Jean-Pierre AUDY  
Edward McMILLAN-SCOTT  
Teresa RIERA MADURELL  
Paul RÜBIG

## PREPARED BY

Elisabetta FONCK  
Valerie RASKIN  
Pilar RAMOS CARBONERO  
Maria MERELAS CALDERERO

## 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,

In my first semester as President of the European Parliament Former Members Association, I was often reminded of the values of the Association and the appreciation it receives from the European Parliament. This emerged among others during several meetings in early October with the President of the European Parliament Roberta Metsola and political groups' representatives, with whom I had a wide-ranging discussion on the importance of our commitment to European values beyond our parliamentary mandate.

The active existence of our Association is reflected in the numerous events we organise every year. I recently had the honour of leading a Delegation of ten former Members representing five different Member States during a Visit to Prague from 23 to 25 October, on the occasion of the Czech Presidency of the Council of the European Union. I want to thank the representatives of the Czech government for the fruitful discussions on a variety of issues such as the EU enlargements, the accession of Czech Republic to the Euro zone, EU energy union and transnational lists, among others. In particular, the European Parliament Liaison Office (EPLO) in Prague organised excellent meetings with students, offering an opportunity to answer their numerous questions on a variety of issues. A report on this visit is included in this edition.

We also developed a fruitful co-operation with EPLO in Greece, which supported our Librorum event with FMA Member Anna Karamanou held on 15 September. The Head of EPLO, Constantinos Tsoutsoplides, participated in the event which was opened by Vice-President Monica

Baldi, with an introduction by the Secretary Teresa Riera Madurell and a Q&A session moderated by the Treasurer Jean-Pierre Audy. The last Librorum event was held recently with Italian FMA Member Vitaliano Gemelli in the House of European History during the FMA Annual Events.

Other than the Visit to the Czech Republic, an FMA Delegation, led by FMA Vice-President Monica Baldi, visited the Jean Monnet Foundation in Lausanne on 22 September. Vice-President Baldi reports on the visit in this Bulletin. Let me thank her for leading the delegation as well as the President of the Jean Monnet Foundation for Europe and Former FMA and EP President Pat Cox for welcoming our members to Lausanne so warmly and for his continuous support to the Association.

Previously to that, the delegation visited the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) in Geneva. The delegation included our dear member and Former IPU President Mr Miguel Angel Martinez Martinez who contributed to this Bulletin with an article about this visit. The FMA and IPU have similar goals and are instruments to enhance parliamentary co-operation with countries not only in Europe but also in other continents, supporting democratic principles in international relations. Today we need it more than ever and we intend to support this important organisation in its work.

After the summer break until now, 14 EP to Campus programmes have been organised of which two on campus. My thanks go in particular to FMA Board Members

Michael Hindley and Manuel Porto responsible for this programme. We look forward to receiving your applications for our future lectures, which will be published shortly.

The FMA will pursue its activities and meetings next year starting with an Extraordinary General Meeting that will take place on 2 February 2023. The Notice has been sent by email to all the Members and to those who have requested to receive it by post. I encourage our Members to participate to the vote on the revision of the FMA Statutes, either in person or by proxy.

After an intense year characterised by a difficult economic situation, the focus of this edition concentrates its attention on 'Measures to fight inflation'. You will read contributions from experts in different fields, including an article by our guest speakers Professor Joaquín Almunia, FMA Member Ivailo Kalfin and Lasse Michael Boehm who participated in our Annual Seminar held on 7 December.

Thank you to everyone for contributing to this edition of the Bulletin and for your presence online or in person at our FMA Annual Events. It is pleasing to resume personal interaction with members.

Merry Christmas and a Happy and Healthy 2023.

With my best regards,

**Dr. Klaus Hänsch**  
FMA President



# EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AT WORK

## Key facts

### **Climate change: new rules for companies to help limit global deforestation**

(September session - P9\_TA(2022)0311)

To fight global climate change and biodiversity loss, Parliament demands companies ensure that products sold in the EU do not come from deforested or degraded land. The new law would make it obligatory for companies to verify (so-called "due diligence") that goods sold in the EU have not been produced on deforested or degraded land anywhere in the world.

### **MEPs: Hungary can no longer be considered a full democracy**

(September session - P9\_TA(2022)0324)

Parliament condemns the "deliberate and systematic efforts of the Hungarian government" to undermine European values and demands results in the Article 7 process. The lack of decisive EU action has contributed to the emergence of a "hybrid regime of electoral autocracy", i.e. a constitutional system in which elections occur, but respect for democratic norms and standards is absent, MEPs say.

### **Health Union: stronger EU response to public health emergencies**

(October session - P9\_TA(2022)0333)

Parliament approved new measures strengthening the EU's capacity to prevent and control the outbreak of communicable diseases and tackle cross-border health threats. MEPs endorsed the deal reached with the Council on extending the mandate of the European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control (ECDC) with 542 votes in favour, 43 against and 9 abstentions. The new legislation aims to strengthen the EU's capacity to prevent, prepare for and manage communicable diseases outbreaks.

### **End discrimination and admit Bulgaria and Romania to Schengen, MEPs demand**

(October session - P9\_TA(2022)0364)

The European Parliament urges member states to allow Romania and Bulgaria to join the Schengen free-travel area without delay.

In a resolution adopted on Tuesday, MEPs say the Council should adopt a decision on Romania and Bulgaria's accession to the Schengen free movement area by the end of 2022. This should ensure the abolition of checks on persons at all internal borders for both countries in early 2023.

### **MEPs want EU budget for 2023 to focus on Ukraine, energy and pandemic**

(October session - P9\_TA(2022)0366)

EPs demand an EU budget for 2023 that addresses the consequences of the war in Ukraine and the pandemic recovery process more effectively. With this vote, Parliament has set the overall level of commitment appropriations for 2023 (pledges to pay) at €187.3 billion, representing an increase of €1.7 billion compared to the draft budget proposed by the Commission. It has set the overall level of payment appropriations at €167.6 billion.

### **Parliament approves new tool to ensure fair competition on the single market**

(November session - P9\_TA(2022)0379)

Parliament gave its green light to a new EU law ensuring foreign subsidies granted by non-EU countries do not distort the internal market. The new regulation, adopted by 598 votes, with five against and nine abstentions, enables the Commission to investigate subsidies granted by non-EU public authorities to companies operating in the EU.

### **Cybersecurity: Parliament adopts new law to strengthen EU-wide resilience**

(November session - P9\_TA(2022)0383)

Rules requiring EU countries to meet stricter supervisory and enforcement measures and harmonise their sanctions were approved by MEPs on Thursday. The legislation, already agreed between MEPs and the Council in May, will set tighter cybersecurity obligations for risk management, reporting obligations and information sharing. The requirements cover incident response, supply chain security, encryption and vulnerability disclosure, among other provisions.

### **MEPs back Croatia's Schengen accession**

(November session - P9\_TA(2022)0385)

MEPs endorsed lifting internal border controls between the Schengen free-movement area and Croatia. On 9 December 2021, the Council confirmed that Croatia had fulfilled all the necessary conditions for the full application of Schengen rules. Now, MEPs urge the Council to continue with the process and adopt a final decision to lift border controls.

### **European Parliament declares Russia to be a state sponsor of terrorism**

(November session - P9\_TA(2022)0405)

Following the atrocities carried out by Vladimir Putin's regime against Ukrainian civilians, MEPs have recognised Russia as a state sponsor of terrorism. On Wednesday, Parliament adopted a resolution on the latest developments in Russia's brutal war of aggression against Ukraine. MEPs highlight that the deliberate attacks and atrocities committed by Russian forces and their proxies against civilians in Ukraine, the destruction of civilian infrastructure and other serious violations of international and humanitarian law amount to acts of terror and constitute war crimes.

### **Parliament approves €18 billion loan for Ukraine for 2023**

(November session - P9\_TA(2022)0412)

MEPs approved an €18 billion loan to support Ukraine during Russia's war against the country. The money will go to supporting essential public services - such as running hospitals, schools, and providing housing for relocated people -, macroeconomic stability and the restoration of critical infrastructure destroyed by Russia, according to the Commission's proposal. Sourced by the EU from financial markets, the loan will be disbursed in quarterly instalments, with a continuity and predictability that is essential to keep Ukraine afloat amid the war.

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

14.09.22

**Minimum wages** in all EU countries should allow for **decent living and working standards**, and member states should promote collective bargaining for pay.

With 505 votes in favour, 92 against and 44 abstentions, Parliament adopted new legislation on adequate minimum wages in the EU.

15.09.22

Parliament's latest assessment of the **state of fundamental rights in the EU** identifies numerous concerns and demands member states act in defence of European values.

MEPs are concerned about the **impact of COVID-19 measures on democracy and core freedoms**, including the rights of people dealing with the legal system and law enforcement, and prisoners. They also regret the persistent rule of law violations in some member states, once again stating that the rule of law, democracy and fundamental rights are inextricably linked.

04.10.22

In order to create a toxic-free environment and a real circular economy, MEPs agreed to **impose stricter limits on persistent organic pollutants**.

Plenary adopted the **new rules on persistent organic pollutants (POPs)**, and how to manage waste that contains them, with 534 votes to 25 and 66 abstentions. While POPs are generally not present in new products, they can still be found in waste and hence pose a threat to the environment and to human health.

15.10.22

The European Parliament agreed **not to accept travel documents that Russia has issued in the areas it illegally occupies in Ukraine and Georgia**.

EU member states and EEA allies should no longer accept travel documents issued by Russia in these regions. According to the proposal, the Commission should consult EU member states and **draw up a list of Russian travel documents** that should not be accepted going forward, say MEPs.

19.10.22

To help the EU become climate neutral, **MEPs want car-recharging stations every 60 km**, hydrogen refuelling stations every 100 km and fewer emissions from ships.

Parliament adopted its position on draft EU rules aimed at spurring the **deployment of recharging and alternative refuelling stations** (such as electric or hydrogen) for cars, trucks, trains and planes and supporting the uptake of sustainable vehicles.

21.11.22

The European Parliament has given its final approval to rules on **improving the protection of the EU's essential infrastructure**.

With 595 votes in favour, 17 against, and 24 abstaining, MEPs voted to confirm an agreement from negotiations with the Council on **boosting critical infrastructure protection in the EU**. The new rules will harmonise the definition of critical infrastructure, so that it is consistent between the member states.

22.11.22

By July 2026, all big publicly listed companies in the EU will have to take **measures to increase women's presence** at their helm.

The adoption of the so-called **"Women on Boards"** Directive on Tuesday comes ten years after the proposal was first made. It aims to **introduce transparent recruitment procedures in companies**, so that at least 40% of non-executive director posts or 33% of all director posts are occupied by the under-represented sex by the end of June 2026.

24.11.22

With the **2022 FIFA World Cup** having kicked off in **Qatar**, Parliament deplores the deaths of thousands of migrant workers ahead of the tournament.

MEPs highlight that the Gulf state won the FIFA World Cup bidding process amidst credible allegations of bribery and corruption. They deplore the **deaths of thousands of migrant workers** primarily in the construction sector who helped the country prepare for the tournament, as well as all those injured.

24.11.22

The European Parliament adopted three **resolutions on the respect for human rights in Afghanistan, Belarus and Democratic Republic of Congo**.

Human rights situation in Afghanistan, especially the **deterioration of women's rights** and **attacks against educational institutions**.

For more information, please visit:

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





## HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH II AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

So much has been said about Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, far more eloquently, than I could ever say, however, here are a few thoughts.

The sad death of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II marks the end of an era. No other public figure was so intertwined with modern Britain and Europe. Throughout the political and economic convulsions of her 70-year reign, the Queen represented stability and continuity in an age of ceaseless innovation and change.

**“The sad death of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II marks the end of an era. No other public figure was so intertwined with modern Britain and Europe.”**

That so many in the UK and the EU have mourned the Queen's death reflects not only the length of her rule but her manner and style. She embodied qualities that monarchists and republicans alike could admire: dutifulness, humility, civility, common decency, self-restraint and statecraft. During the Covid-19 pandemic, in one of her finest public addresses, the Queen spoke to and for the nation as she drew on her wartime service and vowed “we will meet again” – an allusion to the 1939 song popularised by Vera Lynn.

When she visited Strasbourg in 1992 with the Duke of Edinburgh, she dazzled everyone she met and of course spoke in her fluent French.



*Baroness Patricia E. Rawlings with Queen Elizabeth II in Strasbourg, 1992.*

Always mindful of the constitutional limits of her role, Elizabeth II avoided direct political interventions.

King Charles III, who ascends the throne after the longest wait of any heir in British history, faces formidable challenges, all of which I know he will rise to.

As Head of State, Charles III with his Queen Consort will need to earn the loyalty and affection of their public rather than assuming them. From their inspiring start they are well on their way and we are blessed.

It was often said that the Queen was never more relaxed than in the company of her dogs. She bred gun dogs at Sandringham and kept racing pigeons, but racehorses were her passion. Many years ago, President Giscard d'Estaing gave her a dog and I believe President Macron gave her one for the Platinum Jubilee.

The Britain of the immediate post war era that created the conditions for the Queen's remarkable reign no longer exists.

However, as public servants grapple with a restive Europe and a United Kingdom, they could do far worse than recall the example and decency of Elizabeth II.

The sad death of Queen Elizabeth II marks the end of an era. Now we have a remarkable new King. God save our King.

**Patricia E. Rawlings**

*EPP-ED, United Kingdom (1989-1994)  
rawlingspe@parliament.uk*



# QUEEN ELIZABETH 1926 – 2022

When Queen Elizabeth died of old age on 8 September at her favourite home, Balmoral Castle in the Scottish Highlands, millions who never knew her across the world mourned that a symbol of courtly continuity for 70 years had ended. Just hours before she died she said goodbye to Boris Johnson, and greeted his successor, the 15th UK Prime Minister to receive her “laying on of hands”. Even to republicans, this short ceremony was an acceptable symbol of dignity and transition. To all who were watching it was the end of an era at an uncertain time, closed by a monumental funeral.

I first met the Queen as the last guests left an evening reception at Buckingham Palace in 2009 for UK Members of Parliament. There were about six of us, including her beloved husband Prince Philip and my wife Henrietta. I took the liberty of asking a political question, normally not allowed: “Ma’am, what do you think of the Treaty of Lisbon?”. She made a moue – an expression either of dislike at the political question, or the Treaty itself? This ambiguity marked her extraordinary success as a monarch. So, when in 2019 three years after the referendum which took the UK out of the EU, and as millions joined marches calling for a second referendum, the Queen wore the hat we illustrate at the opening of a divided parliament. Many, including myself, believed that this signalled her support for EU membership. Time will tell, as UK opinion polls show that Brexit was an historic mistake.

Her death at 96 years marked the end of the longest female reign in history. It spanned an era from the

recovery from World War II to the present – 70 years of world peace, but Queen Elizabeth died at a time of renewed instability on our continent which we watch daily. Like millions, her coronation in June 1953 was my first TV experience – aged three. She was 26 and it was a time of hope.

As a result of history, Elizabeth did not just become Queen of the United Kingdom but also presided over some 70 territories in her Commonwealth. She died as sovereign of 15 countries, including Australia, Canada and New Zealand. My infant school atlas coloured all of these in pink across the world. One of the Queen’s major achievements was to gently preside over the gradual independence, mostly in peace, of many of these countries, large and small, starting with India in 1947.

As the senior UK Vice-President, I hosted King Charles during his visit to Brussels in February 2008, including a visit to the European Parliament. He met hundreds of people, and was shown around by

President Hans-Gert Poettering. That evening I sat next to Charles at a small dinner at the British Embassy, where he showed me his mastery of “evidence-based analysis”. Instead of answering a question simply, he would present both sides of the argument, usually without expressing his own opinion. I also met the late Princess Diana at a children’s charity event, shortly before her tragic death. I met too Princess Anne, until now the most active royal. At a factory visit, her speech was amplified by the names, jobs and personal details of those she met. In such royal duties, Queen Elizabeth set an extraordinary example of charm, quiet humour, intelligent interest and personal memory. She will be missed by millions.

## **Edward McMillan-Scott**

*Last UK Vice-President of the EP  
EPP-ED, ALDE, NA,  
United Kingdom (1984-2014)  
edward@emcmillanscott.com*



*From left to right: Edward McMillan-Scott, Hans-Gert Pöttering and then Prince Charles during a visit at the European Parliament in Brussels, February 2008.*

# NATURAL DISASTERS: COMBINING AGILITY AND STRENGTH TO BOLSTER THE EUROPEAN MODEL OF SOLIDARITY

A new record was sadly broken in 2022: around 760 000 hectares of European forests – 3 times more than the average for the past 20 years – were ravaged by flames, pushing our emergency services to their absolute limits.

Eleven requests for assistance were made over the 2 months of summer to the rescEU fleet, involving 33 planes and more than 369 firefighters, showing once again how important European solidarity is when dealing with such crises.

In the Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur region, I saw this when the Commission mobilised EUR 59.3 million from the EU Solidarity Fund (EUSF) following the severe damage caused by storm Alex in the mountain valleys north of Nice.

Being on high alert for extreme events – from large fires beyond the Mediterranean arc to a greater risk of floods, ground shifts and coastline erosion – will become the normality for countries across Europe in the future.

An unprecedented level of human resources (professionals as well as volunteers) and capabilities will be required for this 'climate war' if we want to protect our populations, natural heritage and economic mainstays. Fire and water know no borders, so it is vital that we cooperate at European level to pool our resources and work together on three key priorities: preventing, tackling and rebuilding.

In this regard, the announcements made by the European Commission and Member States following the informal ministerial meeting on forest fires of 5 September 2022 are encouraging.



Based on what has been said, RescEU should receive a financial boost to pool air assets and teams on the ground to better prevent and tackle crises.

The European institutions need to follow up on these announcements as soon as possible so we are all prepared for the seasons to come.

The Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur region, for its part, has set up a budget fully dedicated to climate issues that will allow it to take ambitious measures to help the area combat and adapt to major natural risks. A total of EUR 52 million have been earmarked for the 2 years to come. The money will be used to support emergency services, improve the technical tools available for firefighting, inform and raise awareness among the population about natural risks, recruit 200 young people to create a team of regional forest guards, set up a team of mountain guards, plant 5 million trees, implement nature-based solutions to increase ground surface permeability in urban areas and more.

The Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur region is also involved in several collaborative projects which have already proven fruitful, such as the MED-Star project with Italy or the 'Firefighters without Borders' project with the Federation of Municipalities of Jezzine in Lebanon.

With these examples, I would like to recall that the European regions play a key role in fighting natural disasters and adapting territories to the consequences of climate change, and must therefore be involved in EU discussions and initiatives on the topic.

Alongside its local efforts, our region is prepared to help more directly with rescEU, including by providing financial resources to bolster this mechanism that is so essential for our territories.

**Renaud Muselier**  
EPP, France (2014-2019)  
[europarl@renaudmuselier.fr](mailto:europarl@renaudmuselier.fr)



# FMA ACTIVITIES

---



EPFMA  
PEAAD



# STUDY VISIT TO LAUSANNE

## VISIT AT THE INTER-PARLIAMENTARY UNION (IPU)

Some time ago, we on the Management Committee of the European Parliament Former Members Association (FMA) discussed whether we should establish links to share information and collaborate with current and former parliamentary associations in countries other than the 27 that send Members to the European Parliament, that is: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain and Sweden.

There had already been some attempts to establish more or less permanent links with parliamentary bodies in the United States and a few Latin American countries, for example. Naturally, it was almost a requirement to have some discussion about whether to set up links with the Geneva-based Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), which some of us had been actively involved in in the past, including myself, as a Spanish member of parliament who ended up being IPU Vice-President and President between 1997 and 1999.

With the FMA Management Committee's support for looking into the possibility of linking up with the IPU, we could see our idea was getting resoundingly positive feedback, and a series of relationships began to develop that immediately showed good things could come about in the near future. It was against this backdrop that our FMA Management Committee received an invitation to visit the Jean Monnet Foundation's headquarters in Lausanne.



Its office in that city has an extremely interesting collection of historical objects related to the life and work of Jean Monnet, who was one of the main politicians involved in what would go on to become the European Union.

At our headquarters in Brussels, it was almost a given that while preparing the programme for an FMA delegation to travel to Lausanne we would take advantage of the opportunity to try and have a meeting with the IPU's Governing Council at its headquarters in the neighbouring city of Geneva. Our interlocutors were quick to provide a resoundingly positive response to our proposal, but unfortunately, on the dates our delegation would be in Switzerland, the IPU's Chief Executive and Secretary-General, Martin Chungong from Cameroon, was not available, as he had to go to New York to attend the opening of the UN General Assembly. But this was no obstacle for our helpful interlocutors, who proposed we visit their headquarters on 22 September where we would be hosted by Ms Anda Filip, who works alongside the Secretary-General.

This was to be followed by a teleconference between us and Mr Chungong on his return. That virtual meeting took place on 27 September.

In any case, at this point in the process the conclusions we can draw from these meetings are broadly positive. First of all, the FMA delegation had a very rewarding time visiting the IPU's headquarters, seeing for itself the great quality and quantity of the material that the organisation has and which is mainly to do with parliamentary matters from all over the world that none of us could fail to find interesting. But also, the meeting with Ms Filip was wonderfully relaxed and threw up numerous ideas that we should explore further. There are great opportunities for cooperation, and this was confirmed in Secretary-General Chungong's video call.

The FMA delegation was quite large and included parliamentarians from the following countries: Italy (Ms Mónica Baldi, who was leading the group); France (Ms Nathalie Griesbeck and Mr Fernand Le Rachinel); Ireland (Mr Pat Cox, former President of the European



Parliament and current President of the Jean Monnet Foundation); United Kingdom (Mr Michael Hindley, Mr Robert Moreland, Baroness Patricia Rawlings and Ms Carole Tongue); Slovenia (Mr Alojz Peterle, former Slovenian President and Prime Minister); Lithuania (Ms Margarita Starkeviciute); and Romania (Maria Gabriela Zoană). The group of former MEPs was accompanied by Ms Elizabetta Fonck, Secretary-General of our association. I also joined the group, as a member of the FMA Management Committee and former Member of the Spanish Congress of Deputies and the European Parliament.

One of the most fascinating parts of our trip to the IPU headquarters was definitely the chat we had with Ms Anda Filip, Director of IPU's Division for Member Parliaments and External Relations. I think I have already noted how warm and friendly our meeting and visit was throughout as we looked at all the different ways our European Parliament Former Members Association and the IPU could interact going forward.

This willingness to make our ideas a reality was also very evident in the video conference we had with Secretary-General Martin Chungong on 27 September.

**"One of the most fascinating parts of our trip to the IPU headquarters was definitely the chat we had with Ms Anda Filip, Director of IPU's Division for Member Parliaments and External Relations."**

One of the aspects to be examined further was to identify concrete actions that could be mutually beneficial, including those related to contacting current and former parliamentary associations located in continents other than Europe – that is, in Africa, Asia, America and Oceania. Another aspect was to make progress in showing our interest in those countries'

parliaments and in developing our work to make our societies' commitment to democracy a reality.

To conclude, I think this meeting was a truly meaningful step forward in the relationship between our association and the body that brings together parliaments from all the countries in the world, opening up enriching opportunities not only for our two parties, but also for the progress of democracy and humanity around the world.

**Miguel Angel Martínez Martínez**

*S&D, Spain (1999-2014)*  
*micar@email.com*



*The FMA Delegation at the Inter-Parliamentary Union in Geneva with Ambassador Anda Filip (fifth from the right) © IPU*



# STUDY VISIT TO LAUSANNE

## THERE CAN BE NO FUTURE WITHOUT MEMORY

'The unifying force behind the birth of the European Union' – Jean Monnet, French politician and economic adviser, who devoted his entire life to the cause of European integration.

He was the chief inspiration for the Schuman Plan which, along with the Treaty of Paris signed in 1951, established the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) – of which Monnet was the first president – with the aim of pooling production of those materials in six countries: Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands.

The construction of the common market was the basis for the enormous project for peace that led on to the European Union as we know it today and which was, moreover, awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2012 for having 'helped to transform most of Europe from a continent of war to a continent of peace'. All the Monnet documentation and archives are kept by the Jean Monnet Foundation for Europe, which he created in 1978 just a year before his death.

This is an independent public institution supported by the canton Vaud, the Swiss Confederation and Lausanne, which is based at Ferme de Dorigny. This old country residence, located at the heart of the university campus, was refurbished to house the Foundation's Centre for European Research and Archives.

One may ask why he decided to locate his archives in a house in Switzerland rather than in France, where he was born and worked very actively into his latter years – including in setting up in 1955, using his own money, the Action Committee for the United States of Europe – and given that he was a driving force behind European integration.

The choice of location owed much to Monnet's attachment to Switzerland and his friendship with Professor Henri Rieben, who became the first president of the Foundation.

Whatever the reason, it is today a warm and welcoming place for discussions and meetings, which also hosts many other private archives, including iconographic and audiovisual documents and which also has a specialised library,

a major documentation centre and the valuable collection of 'Cahiers Rouges'.

The visit to the Foundation was truly special thanks to the professional and warm welcome given by former President Pat Cox, Vice-President Jacques de Watteville, who reported on Swiss European policy, and the Foundation's Director, Professor Gilles GRIN.

It was exciting to retrace the history of the birth of Europe, recalling also José Maria Gil-Robles' presidency and the contributions of Enrique Barón Crespo and Hans-Gert Poettering in their assemblies, with the FMA delegation members attending from Italy, France, Lithuania, Romania, Slovenia, Spain and the United Kingdom.

Mr Cox, former President of the European Parliament and of the FMA, is a gifted orator and he gave us great insight into Jean Monnet, with some wonderful anecdotes, such as his intrepid marriage to Silvia. He traced the course of his life: from a cognac trader to banker, to being a captain of industry in France and the United Kingdom, to playing a decisive role in the global geopolitical landscape. It was also interesting to learn more – including in the form of new documents and films – about the places and people that are the cornerstones of European integration.

It is my hope that this special visit will lead on to great and fruitful cooperation, possibly also in partnership with the Historical Archives of the European Union.

**Monica Baldi**

*EPP-ED, Italy (1994-1999)*  
*baldi.monica@email.it*



*The FMA Delegation in Lausanne in front of the Jean Monnet Foundation for Europe © Sébastien Bovy*

# DE/CONSTRUCTION OF THE ENEMY

In September I paid a visit to the Jean Monnet Foundation in Lausanne together with other former MEPs. It was an opportunity to refresh my knowledge of the founding fathers of the European Union – of course, in the context of the senseless war in Ukraine.

Thanks to Victoria de la Torre, I learned about the role which Caux played in reconciliation between France and Germany. In Lausanne I also found out about the reconciliation efforts of the French Socialist Irène Laure, who also took part in the meetings in Caux. She toured the length and breadth of Germany asking for forgiveness for her hatred of the country, internally liberating herself in the process. All of this further bolstered my conviction of the importance of reconciliation for beginning a new European story. The European Union could only be forged by abandoning the idea of an enemy that had taken the lives of millions of people.

Ten years ago, I was Vice-President of the European Parliament's Delegation for Russia. At the time we were still talking with the Russians about a 'partnership for modernisation'. Today, for Russia, the EU is an enemy. I also organised discussions with the Russians about identity, with the participation of academics. They told us: 'We Russians are Europeans, but we're a bit different'. I liked the way they defined themselves. After all, we are all 'a bit different', and fortunately so.

The war in Ukraine is evidence that the concept of enemy is still alive in the former communist world. There has been no war in the EU for seventy years; to the east of the former Iron Curtain there have been ten, starting with the Yugoslav Army's attack against Slovenia in 1991.



*The FMA Delegation in Lausanne at the Jean Monnet Foundation for Europe  
© Sébastien Bovy*

Following Slovenia's victory, the war moved on to Croatia, then Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo, finally ending with NATO's intervention against Serbia. In the former Soviet Union wars have taken place in Tajikistan, Chechnya, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Ukraine.

To the east and south-east of the continent the European Union has not managed to implement the concept of soft power, based on respect for the dignity of individuals and nations.

The European Union has succeeded in cultivating political power and subordinating it to respect for and promotion of diversity. It may sound somewhat idealistic, but decades of EU development in peace have been based on the primacy of the question 'what' comes first, not 'who' comes first.

When I arrived in Lausanne I met two Ukrainians, and the following day, at the Olympic Museum, five Ukrainian children. I thought about the fate of this nation, millions of whose people are now displaced across Europe, and the fate of its neighbour, Russia, and what will happen between the two.

We spoke about this via Zoom with Ukrainian parliamentarians. One after the other predicted a Ukrainian victory. My question was: 'What will happen then?' They answered that they would behave as the French and Germans did after the Second World War: reconciliation. It is my fervent desire that this is what will happen in the aftermath of this senseless war. But the idea of reconciliation, which succeeded between Germany and France, has gained little purchase in the Western Balkans. There remains a great deal of hatred, which provides fertile ground for new conflicts and wars. I therefore welcome the EU's strengthened political will as regards enlargement to Ukraine and the Western Balkans. We know that an enlarged EU is not yet a truly united Europe, but it is a necessary step in that direction. But if the idea of reconciliation fails to take hold, we will be facing a long period of insecurity and political instability.

**Alojz Peterle**

*EPP, Slovenia (2003-2019)  
peterle.alojz@gmail.com*

# STUDY VISIT TO LAUSANNE

## THE EU AND SWITZERLAND

Maps of the EU show the large mass of countries covering most of Europe but excluding a small blob in the middle called Switzerland.

What makes this blob so different? Is it because it is mountainous or is it because it is "neutral" or rich or is it the Swiss like being independent or they believe democracy is about lots of referendums? Is it a combination of all these factors?

In October, a group from the Former Members Association visited Geneva and Lausanne primarily to visit the International Parliamentary Union and the Jean Monet Institute. We were also privileged to have a presentation from former Swiss Secretary of State Jacques de Watteville, who outlined the progress (and non-progress) of EU / Swiss relations since the formation of the EU.

The official statement on EU/Switzerland relations on the European Commission's website tells us Switzerland and the EU are key economic partners:

- Mutual exchanges in goods and services amount to about €1 billion every working day.
- In 2020, Switzerland was the EU's fourth largest trading partner after China, the US and the UK.
- The EU is Switzerland's largest trading partner by far.
- The EU accounts for around 42 % of Switzerland's exports in goods and for 60 % of its imports.
- Switzerland accounts for more than 7 % of the EU's exports and 6 % of its imports.

The EU's economic and trade relations with Switzerland are governed by the free trade agreement of 1972, and by the Bilateral agreements of 1999.

These agreements give Switzerland direct access to key sectors of the EU's internal market, including:

- The free movement of people.
- The mutual recognition of product standards.
- The opening of markets for public procurement, air transport, and road and rail transport of passengers and goods.

Economic exchanges without barriers are an important source of prosperity for both sides. However, behind this lies many battles and failed negotiations often exasperating to the EU. Switzerland took part in negotiating the European Economic Area (EEA) agreement with the European Union. It signed the agreement on 2 May 1992, and submitted an application for accession to the EU on 20 May 1992. However, a referendum held on 6 December 1992 rejected EEA membership by 50.3% to 49.7%, and the Swiss government decided to suspend negotiations for EU membership until further notice. These did not resume and in 2016, Switzerland formally withdrew its application for EU membership. In 1994, the EU and Switzerland started bilateral agreements.

### **Bilateral I (signed 1999, in effect 1 June 2002)**

1. Free movement of people
2. Air traffic
3. Road traffic
4. Agricultural products
5. Technical trade barriers
6. Public procurement
7. Science

### **Bilateral II (signed 2004, in effect gradually between 2005 and 2009)**

1. Security and asylum and Schengen membership
2. Cooperation in fraud pursuits
3. Final stipulations in open questions about agriculture, environment, media, education, care of the elderly, statistics and services. This strand established the Common Veterinary Area.

In December 2012, the Council of the European Union declared that there would be no further treaties on single market issues unless Switzerland and EU agree on a new legal framework similar to the EEA binding Switzerland more closely to the evolving EU.

Since then there have been further meetings over advancement in further areas but with limited success. The negotiations on a proposed framework accord between Switzerland the EU were restarted on 23 April 2021, with meetings with Ursula von der Leyen in Brussels. The Swiss could not accept the Commission proposals. On 26 May 2021, Switzerland decided to suspend negotiations with the EU and not sign the drafted EU-Swiss Institutional Framework Agreement. The main disagreements were about freedom of movement, the level playing field and state aid rules. Maroš Šefčovič, EU Vice President responsible for Swiss negotiation has resumed discussions in the last year on limited areas.

The sense of its own sovereignty and independence remains deep with many Swiss but equally it seems to miss so much. The Red Cross and its collaboration with the EU on peace missions are to be praised but there are areas like financial services still to be watched. There is the continual suspicion that Switzerland wants to "cherry pick". Switzerland is known for snow, watches, the wonderful Roger Federer, William Tell and the cuckoo clock. Surely it can play a bigger part on the world scene and be known for more.



**Robert Moreland**  
ED, United Kingdom (1979-1984)  
[horseferry@yahoo.com](mailto:horseferry@yahoo.com)



# FMA VISIT TO THE OLYMPIC MUSEUM

It happens that EU institutions do pay not so much attention to sports and culture. However, the FMA delegation to Switzerland decided to change this tradition and included in the agenda the visit to the Olympic Museum in Lausanne. The museum has the largest collection of more than 10 000 artefacts from Olympic Games archives. Located in a beautiful place on the mountain, on the shore of the lake and surrounded by a big Olympic park, the museum perfectly reflects the Olympic ideals. The bright spirit of kindness envelops everyone climbing the stairs to the Olympic mountain.



*The Olympic Museum in Lausanne*

On both sides, next to the stairs, there are sculptures of famous athletes of the Olympiad. The museum complex itself consists of three floors dedicated to getting acquainted with the history of the Olympiads, and the winners of Olympic Games medals, and offers an opportunity to test own fitness - reaction and visual memory.

For those who want to better understand the Olympic spirit, it is useful to visit this museum. There one can see and hear the historical context of each Olympic Games - nowadays sometimes not

well known - and see documentary shorts of the opening ceremonies. Great history and culture lessons for schoolchildren who visit the museum in large numbers.

The museum has a collection of medals from all the Olympic Games, which represent, even within the strict framework established by the Olympic Committee, the culture of the host country. It can immediately be seen that over the years, the Olympic medals have become larger, apparently reflecting how much effort it takes to win it.

**"It can immediately be seen that over the years, the Olympic medals have become larger, apparently reflecting how much effort it takes to win it."**

In one of the halls, one can get acquainted with all the winners of Olympic medals. For me, it was also personal memories. My father was the director of Zalgiris Swimming School in Vilnius (Lithuania), whose athletes Arvydas Juozaitis, Lina Kaciusyte, and Robertas Zulpa became Olympic medal winners.

With various successes, members of the FMA delegation used an opportunity to test their own fitness on museum exercisers. Though the results achieved were not bad, such tests stimulate the further desire for training. One thing was missing at the Olympic Museum exhibition – a lack of information about the Paralympic Games. But this is probably in its future plans.

**Margarita Starkevičiūtė**

*ALDE, Lithuania (2004-2009)*

*margarita.starkeviciute@gmail.com*



*Artwork in front of The Olympic Museum in Lausanne.*

# FORMER MEMBERS NETWORK

## ACCOUNT OF THE FP-AP MEETING IN BERLIN

I recently attended my first meeting of the Bureau of the European association of former members of parliament of the member states of the Council of Europe (FP-AP). I went together with my colleague Miguel Ángel Martínez, a former President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and a long-standing member of this organisation. It was a fantastic, enriching experience not only on account of the topics on the agenda, but also because it was an opportunity to meet interesting people who have had amazing political careers and enjoy the friendly, harmonious atmosphere throughout the meeting.

Jean-Pierre Fourré, a former Vice-President of France's National Assembly and the current President of the FP-AP, did an excellent job of chairing the meeting, which took place in the Bundestag in Berlin on 14 October. The schedule for next year's meetings was approved, as well as the admission to the FP-AP of Denmark: hitherto the only Nordic country that had yet to join.

A process to review the FP-AP's Rules of Procedure was also launched. It is due to be approved at the Bureau's next meeting. Next came an in-depth seminar on German reunification entitled 'From a dictatorship to a democracy'. It is now 32 years since 2 October 1990, when the German Democratic Republic (GDR) ceased to exist, presenting the new German nation with the daunting challenge of repairing the damage caused by division, and, in the East, dealing

with the after-effects of four decades of dictatorship.

The talks given by Prof. Richard Schröder (a former member of the first freely elected People's Chamber of the GDR and the German Bundestag) and Prof. Dr Steffen Mau (Professor of Macrosociology in the Social Sciences Department at the Humboldt University of Berlin) were excellent: clear, meticulously researched and very interesting. Although the two professors had different perspectives on the reunification process, their points of view complemented each other nicely. They shared the view that reunification was a challenge which was faced bravely, requiring a major collective effort, yet it was very positive for the country, as it made it possible for all Germans to once again live together in one democratic country. However, both speakers emphasised the economic inequalities that persist between the east and west of Germany to this day, despite the extensive efforts and millions of euros invested in integration.

The talks were followed by a rich and lively debate involving FP-AP members. The day's business concluded with a dinner at the Federal Foreign Office, where we were able to continue our discussions in a collegiate and friendly atmosphere.

It was not all about work, however: two extremely interesting cultural activities were also laid on.

First there was a visit to the Tränenpalast (Palace of Tears) at the Friedrichstraße railway station. During the dictatorship, the station was the exit point from the GDR to West Berlin. Despite the tight security, many East Germans went to the station with the intention of fleeing. Almost all of these attempts, however, ended in failure. Today the Tränenpalast is a museum showcasing real-life stories and almost 600 objects to help visitors understand what day-to-day life was like in a divided Germany.

There was also a spectacular tour of the Bundestag. A host of photos and models helped us understand how Paul Wallot's magnificent neo-renaissance building – completed in 1894 – became a stage for bloody battles and was itself seriously damaged during the Battle of Berlin at the end of the Second World War. We were also able to see how the Berlin Wall spanned the city, being directly attached to the eastern side of the Bundestag; and how the building was completely rebuilt and remodelled after 1990 by the British architect Norman Foster. We enjoyed splendid views of the city from the building's modern dome. Our two days in Berlin were jam-packed and very well organised. I want to thank our colleagues in the German association for their wonderful hospitality.

**Teresa Riera Madurell**  
S&D, Spain (2004-2014)  
[trierama@gmail.com](mailto:trierama@gmail.com)



*FP-AP delegation members at the meeting in Berlin, 13-15 October 2022 © FP-AP*



# VISIT UNDER THE EU PRESIDENCY

## FMA VISIT TO THE CZECH REPUBLIC



*The FMA Delegation in Prague during a meeting with Karel Havlíček, Vice-Chairperson of the Chamber of Deputies of the Czech Republic.*

A 10-person FMA delegation – ably led by former European Parliament President Klaus Hänsch – recently made a visit to the Czech Republic, which, until the end of December 2022, is holding the Presidency of the Council of the European Union for the second time. Our delegation was made up of members from a number of different countries (including Germany, the Netherlands, Lithuania, France and the UK) and political groups, and we were received at the very highest level by the Czech authorities.

In Prague – a magnificent baroque and Art Deco capital at the heart of Europe – our very first meeting was with Edvard Kožušník, the Deputy Minister of Industry and Trade and a former colleague of ours at the European Parliament, with whom we had a frank discussion on migration, the Russian invasion of Ukraine and political balances in the Czech Republic.

Next up was Karel Havlíček, Deputy Speaker of the Czech Parliament's Chamber of Deputies, with whom we addressed not only the current

energy challenges, but also the Czech Republic's position within the EU since its accession in 2004.

Immediately afterwards and just a stone's throw away, we were welcomed by David Smoljak, Chair of the Czech Senate's Committee on EU Affairs. Our discussion with him centred on EU rules, how they work and how they should be developed in future. We were then lucky enough to be given a well-organised tour of the magnificent palace that houses the Czech Senate.

We topped the day off by having a very open debate on European integration with the Master's students at the Prague University of Economics and Business.

Our last morning in Prague began with a fascinating visit to the Museum of Communism, followed by a lunch meeting up in the hills near Prague with Mikuláš Bek, the Czech Republic's Minister of EU Affairs. We had a first-class discussion with Mr Bek, a former cellist and Rector of Brno University who has only recently entered politics. He gave straight answers to all our questions, giving a clear and precise overview of European current affairs and the many challenges at play, be they political, institutional, or security-related.

So many thanks to President Hänsch and to Elisabetta Fonck (whose presence brought a sixth nationality, that of Italy, to our delegation) for this perfectly organised FMA visit to the Czech Republic.

**Nathalie Griesbeck**  
ALDE, France (2004-2019)  
[nathalie.griesbeck@gmail.com](mailto:nathalie.griesbeck@gmail.com)



*The FMA Delegation in Prague at the Hrzn Palace during the working lunch with Minister of European Affairs of the Czech Republic, Mikulas Bek.*



# VISIT UNDER THE EU PRESIDENCY

## VISIT TO PRAGUE

The FMA's habitual visit to the holder of the EU Presidency saw our delegation visit to the Czech Republic in October. As one of Europe's most interesting and attractive capitals in Europe, Prague was a fine venue and some of the meetings took place in buildings of architectural and historical interest.

The expansion of the EU means that the periods between having the honour of the Presidency has become much longer and given the last Czech Presidency was in 2009, the Czechs have had quite a long while to acclimatize to EU membership. Comment was made illustrating the point when several interlocutors stressed now they knew how things worked, the government entered their second Presidency with a determination to make an impact.

Indeed, times have dramatically changed since 2009 and have reached an unparalleled crisis caused by Russia's unpardonable invasion of Ukraine.

Whatever plans the Czech government had, have been overwhelmed by the necessity of dealing with consequences of that catastrophe.

Our visit received a pleasant welcome with an informal meeting with a former member of the FMA Board, Edvard Kozusnik, now the Deputy Minister of Industry and Trade.

Further meetings were held with the Vice-Chairperson of the Chamber of Deputies, Karel Havlicek and the Chair of the Committee on European Affairs, David Smoljak, the latter meeting held in the ornate building of the Senate.

Our final official meeting was a working lunch with the Minister of European Affairs, Mikulas Bek, in the Hrzansky Palace.

All our discussion partners were quite clear on the limitations to EU cooperation on the vital subject of the energy crisis which is hitting all our countries. There was unanimity on the need to have a common framework to reduce our dependence on Russian sources of energy, however, the more precise measures must be decided at a national level; for example, Czechia would continue to develop nuclear power. Czechia remains firmly in the pragmatic camp on the question of EU integration.

The FMA always tries to meet with a wider audience on such delegations, particularly young people and informal exchanges were held with students from the University of Economics and Business and also a meeting with representative of youth organizations in Europa House, the home of the EP Liaison Office of the Czech Republic. Both were fruitful exchanges and for me and other delegates it was quite refreshing to hear students' aspirations in modern Czechia in a reunited Europe.

It is easy to forget that the students have grown up in a liberated Czech Republic. It was fascinating for those of us, who had been in European politics of the 1990s and seen the collapse of the Soviet system and the negotiations for the Czech Republic's accession to the EU, to meet with students who were not even born at the time. Just how much the Czech life and politics has changed, and how its present generations inhabit a totally different world, was brought home by a visit to the Museum of Communism.

The museum offers a largely pictorial presentation of Czechoslovak history from its foundation in 1918 to collapse of the Communist system in 1989. The museum's displays are done objectively and without rancour and it is a fine example of how to come to terms with difficult periods in any nation's history.

All in all, an enjoyable, insightful and stimulating visit and once again, thanks to the EP Liaison Office in Prague and our own staff.

**Michael Hindley**

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



*The FMA Delegation meets with young people from youth organisations in the Europa House (EP Liaison Office of the Czech Republic)*

# DEBATE WITH YOUTH ORGANISATIONS



*The FMA Delegation meets with students on European Integration at the University of Economics and Business in Prague on Monday 24 October 2022.*

On Monday October 24th, former members of the European Parliament met at VŠE to debate the past, present, and future challenges of the European Union. The debate was organized by Centre for European Studies (CES) at the Prague University of Economics and Business, student clubs Junior Diplomat Initiative (JDI) and European Horizons Chapter at VSE and chaired by Martin Sušienka (President of JDI). At the beginning Mr. Jarolim Antal, CES Director introduced the guests and highlighted the importance of the European Parliament in the decision-making and its strong political power standing on the will of the EU citizens.

The topics discussed dealt with how to better engage European voters, what the European Parliament can do to address the current crisis in Ukraine, and whether the Western Balkans will access the EU within ten years. The former Members of the European Parliament (MEP) addressed each topic to varying degrees and offered various points of view on the issues. Regardless of whoever spoke and whatever

the topic was being discussed, the unifying theme in their answers was the importance of democracy and people's involvement in it.

**"Regardless of whoever spoke and whatever the topic was being discussed, the unifying theme in their (former MEPs) answers was the importance of democracy and people's involvement in it."**

I was invited to attend this debate by the European Horizons VŠE chapter. As an American student studying political science abroad, I was thrilled at the opportunity to witness the debate and learn more about the European Union.

The first question asked by the moderator gave great insight into how the European Parliament functions, asking "What can the EU Parliament do to address the current crisis in Ukraine?" The former MEPs responded to the question by stating that the crisis could be addressed

by Parliament's legislative powers, whether that be through amending current legislation or revising its budget to ensure the Union can resolve an emerging crisis.

Importantly, however, the European parliament's ability to take action can be slowed due to the scale of the EU, as there needs to be a majority consensus among representatives from multiple countries. One of the former MEP from The Netherlands described the difficulty with this, as the process to reach a consensus at the Union level is very different compared to the national level.

Dutch former MEP Jan Mulder explained that to pass legislation in The Netherlands he could rely on party loyalty to get members of the Dutch parliament to vote on a piece of legislation. In the EU Parliament, however, there are no political parties that use party loyalty to influence votes like in a national parliament in the Netherlands. So, EU Parliament negotiations rely more on persuasion of MEP to pass legislation. The process causes legislation to take longer to be agreed on, but it also makes legislation more representative because MEP from multiple countries have some of their concerns addressed when they are persuaded to vote on a piece of legislation.

**"The former MEPs stated that the best way to make sure that the European Parliament addresses a crisis or issue you care about is by voting in European elections."**

The former MEPs stated that the best way to make sure that the European Parliament addresses a crisis or issue you care about is by voting in European elections. This requires active participation from citizens of the European Union in European Parliament Elections.

This is an issue as there is low voter turnout in EU Parliament elections. The former MEPs debated over the reasons for the lack of voter turnout. One reason given is that the topics that the European Parliament debate are complex and at times require expert knowledge. The issues that Parliament address also tend to be more large-scale systematic problems that, while important, don't immediately affect the daily lives of Europeans.

**"The issues that Parliament address tend to be more large-scale systematic problems that, while important, don't immediately affect the daily lives of Europeans."**

The disconnected can be so severe that one former MEP stated that most Europeans do not know who their European Parliament representative is. To prove his point he asked the students attending the debate if any of them knew the name of their EU Parliament representative. To my surprise none of the students knew who represented them in the EU Parliament.

A solution proposed to address lack of voter engagement was to better market the accomplishments of the European Parliament so Europeans can see that voting for their representatives matters.



*The FMA Delegation meets with students on European Integration at the University of Economics and Business in Prague on Monday 24 October 2022.*

An example of an accomplishment is the EU legislation forcing Technology companies to adopt the same USB C charging port. Having EU citizens know that the EU Parliament can affect their lives so positively could encourage them to vote.

The former MEPs asked the attending students for ideas on how to encourage EU citizens to vote. One of the students gave an example of how he has been raising awareness of how the EU works. He described how he and his church group would go into small towns and hold competitions between the youth on who could make the best TikTok to explain how the EU worked. The reward for winning the competition was an Ipad.

Other students suggested similar community outreach programs. The former MEP then turned to the question of whether any western Balkan countries would be allowed into the EU within the next 10 years. The MEP emphasized that in order for any country to join they must meet the clearly laid out requirements.

The debate went on for an hour and ended with the former MEPs with two main points. The first was a strong emphasis on upholding democratic principles and the integrity of the democratic process in Europe. The second was reminding and encouraging students to engage with their EU representative, and getting other people from the upcoming generations engaged in EU politics.

#### **Francisco Antonio Rico**

*US exchange student and member of European Horizons VSE at Chapter ricf00@vse.cz*

#### **Aleksandra Stolbunsky**

*President of the European Horizons Chapter at VSE stoa08@vse.cz*

#### **Kaitlyn Elaine Elam**

*San Francisco State University kaitlyn.elam66@gmail.com*



**EU2022.CZ**

Czech Presidency of the Council of the European Union



# EP TO CAMPUS PROGRAMME

## CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN EUROPE TODAY

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, USA | 14 APRIL 2022 | ONLINE

I had the pleasure of speaking to students, staff and the wider community associated with the University of Illinois at an online semi-public event recently. Invited by Jonathan Larson, Ph.D., Associate Director of the University's European Union Center, I was asked to focus on an issue that had been "particularly challenging, satisfying, or revealing about the nature of work in the European Parliament". I chose to use the example of a CULT own-initiative report that was a direct response to the Charlie Hebdo murders and the Danish attacks. I was given responsibility for this report on 'the role of intercultural dialogue, cultural diversity and education in promoting EU fundamental values', a subject that was important to me as I had spent my life working with marginalised communities using the arts as a tool for social change, particularly in respect of combatting racism.

I began the session by laying out the multiple challenges facing the EU in the early years of the 21st century - the financial crash of 2008 which ushered in an age of austerity hitting the poorest people

hardest, followed by the civil war in Syria which resulted in a huge wave of refugees. I explained how right wing populist leaders had whipped up fear of 'the other', conflating Muslims with terrorism and how Islamic extremists responded under the guise of Jihad.

My report built on the Paris Agreement (signed by the Education Ministers of all 28 Member States) which sought to address the root causes of marginalisation and subsequent violent extremism through a pedagogic approach. My report placed particular emphasis on informal education and partnership work with civil society including the youth and community sector, arts and heritage organisations and faith groups.

In my talk I explained how I steered my report through the committee process to the plenary in January 2016 where impassioned and heated debates filled the chamber. The attack on the Bataclan had happened in November, further inflaming opinions and adding urgency to my work. The report was adopted by a large majority on

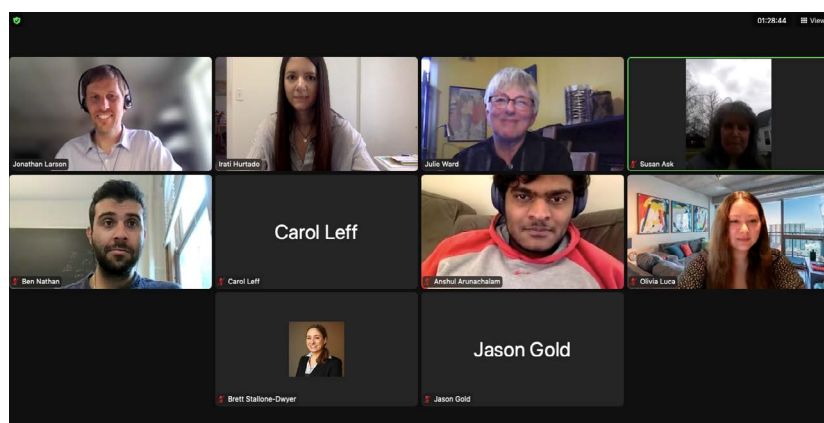
January 19th 2016 although British MEPs in ECR and ENF voted against. Round about the same time the British Prime Minister, David Cameron, was seeking concessions on immigration from the bloc in order to go to the country with his promised referendum on continued EU membership. I explained how this wider political landscape influenced divergent views as 'sovereignty' increasingly became the battle-cry in the Brexit campaign.

My opening talk was followed by a Q&A session with students, staff and the general public. Questions ranged from technical procedural queries about the inner workings of the parliament to issues of European identity and cultural diversity. The final question was from a student who asked me to give an example of the most European person or people I knew. I offered Roma as an example because although they are a minority group they are present in many different countries across the continent and embody the EU principle of freedom of movement. I also suggested that people from neighbouring countries who are seeking EU membership are often more proudly European than those from existing Member States, giving Ukrainians as an example.

The key take-away for students was that "Intercultural dialogue is not a subject in itself, but it is something we need to practice in all areas of our life".

**Julie Ward**

*S&D, United Kingdom (2014-2020)*  
[julie4nw@gmail.com](mailto:julie4nw@gmail.com)



*Julie Ward during her lecture at University of Illinois.*

# EP TO CAMPUS PROGRAMME

## THE ROLE OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

EUROPA-UNIVERSITÄT FLENSBURG, GERMANY | 24 MAY 2022 | ONLINE

Henkel started with what he considered the most important element of the EU: The Common Market, the base for unprecedented economic progress after WW2. He also described the European Parliament as regards to human rights, democracies, freedom of press to be by far the most active in the world as compared to other parliaments in the Free World. He expressed his satisfaction with the EU Commission, the EU Council and the European Parliament for listening to scientists and experts rather than only to politicians when managing the pandemic. He then described some of the in his opinion negative aspects: He voiced objections to the ever-increasing tendency toward "more Europe", towards more centralization and towards socialization. This would in his opinion lead not only to more bureaucracy but also to less competitiveness of the entire EU. He also objected to the assertion, commonly voiced by EU politicians, that human rights, democracy, freedom of press etc. are "European Values", whereas these are in fact global. The "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" was an UN declaration i.e. had a global

background and direction, not at all a European one.

He considered the European position as "arrogant" since there are countries adhering to those so called "European Values" elsewhere in the world, some of them with an even longer democratic tradition. In fact, he gave examples of cases where the insistence on "European values" became counterproductive. (As examples he quoted the response of representatives of dictatorships whom he met when he was President of Germany's Federation of Industries, e.g. Prime Minister Li Peng of China, Fidel Castro of Cuba, who insisted, "if the Europeans can have their values, why can't we have our own (Chinese, Cuban)?" On the subject of "sustainability", the lecturer criticized the EU for an exclusive focus on environmental issues, leaving other needs for sustainability aside like piling up of financial debts and not caring for sustainable social insurance systems.

According to Henkel, Brexit was the worst blow to the EU as well as to Great Britain. As a Member of the Parliamentary Political Group (ECR), where the British Tories sat with him,

he observed the real British motives for Brexit: "too much Europe", "too much centralization", "too much socialization".

Henkel then finished the lecture with his views of what should be done respectively not done:

An honest analysis of why Britain left the EU should be commissioned.

The EU needs to understand why historically all cross-cultural multinational States (USSR, Yugoslavia, CSSR) and multi-currencies (Euro!) failed.

The EU should go back to subsidiarity as a principle of governing, rather than centralizing everything in Brussels.

The EU should go back to a true market oriented economic system and resist the constant pressures (mainly by France) to institute ever more central planning and state intervention.

The EU should listen to the experts, scientists rather than follow ideologies. (Why did the EU listen to virologists in the pandemic but rarely to economic experts when it gets to economic subjects?)

In light of Russia's attack on the Ukraine, Henkel asserted that the EU should not even try becoming a "Third Military Block", NATO was irreplaceable.

Overall: the EU should concentrate on "widening" (more members) and resist "deepening" ("United States of Europe"). The EU current position ("Both!") is in his opinion not only unrealistic and dishonest, it would lead to the EU's failure.

**Hans-Olaf Henkel**

ECR, Germany (2014-2019)  
[henkel@hansolafhenkel.de](mailto:henkel@hansolafhenkel.de)



**Hans-Olaf HENKEL**

**"The single market is the core achievement of the EU, it has brought prosperity to the people. Brexit is the most terrible thing that ever happened to the EU, it is an economic and political blow for the EU and Britain."**

# EUROPEAN SECURITY AND DEFENCE

UNIVERSITY OF FLORENCE, ITALY | 25 MAY 2022 | ONLINE

The security architecture of the EU remains as dependent on that of the United States as it was during the Cold War. This is more evident than ever since the Russian aggression against Ukraine began on February 24, 2022. At the beginning of her term, Ursula von der Leyen, President of the European Commission, in her speech to the European Parliament:

*"My Commission will not be afraid to speak the language of confidence. But it will be our way, the European way. This is the geopolitical Commission that I have in mind, and that Europe urgently needs."*

Little did we know that this "European way" would only be about the statement, threats, and sanctions. The EU is certainly more vocal than ever, more active and persevering, but its role in Russia's war against Ukraine has remained secondary or even third after to that of the United States and United Kingdom, even though the conflict is taking place right at the EU's doorstep. However, EU member states have started to take their security much more seriously, many countries have raised their military budgets, others have launched defense reforms, started purchasing new and modern types of weapons. But all this happened only after Russia's invasion of Ukraine, although most Eastern European countries have been ringing the bells for 8 years since the first invasion of Ukraine in 2014.

The defense sector is a sector that needs a long time to be rehabilitated especially after a long and peaceful period on the European continent in which defense and security were neglected. However, things are changing and changing fast.

There is a complicated period in which military budgets are rising but at the same time inflation is rising, energy and fuel prices are rising as well, and the continent is still recovering from the pandemic that is not over yet even if it's not in the media headlines.

But once these difficulties are overcome, the European Union should be stronger and more resilient. All the debates must be about how we want to see the security of the European Union in the future, with its own army or with a bigger US presence or more integration into NATO. This decision must be taken as soon as possible so that it can be taken as it is better and not as the situation will dictate. The EU and its member states need to take on more responsibilities in terms of security and defense and amend the Lisbon Treaty to change the provisions that prevent us from being efficient, like the unanimity in the foreign policy and security matters.

As Eleonora Roosevelt said: "It isn't enough to talk about peace. One must believe in it. And it isn't enough to believe in it. One must work at it.", it's a saying that should define our future policies in terms of security and defense - common work in security and defense.

Only then EU and EU Commission will not be afraid to speak the language of confidence.



Krzysztof Lisek during his lecture at University of Florence.

The issue was the topic of my lecture to the students of the first year of master's at the International Relations faculty of the University of Florence, which was a great pleasure to discuss with them. Students were very interested in the security situation in the Eastern Europe and especially in Moldova. Asking about how the situation and spirit in Moldovan society is and how the government is dealing with the refugee crisis and the war next door. My response was that "Moldova is doing a great job helping the refugees that choose to remain in Moldova, constantly providing with all kinds of humanitarian aid." The President Amia Sandu and the government are trying to assure as much support as possible from the international community. Moldovans hope to join EU in the future and be part of the Western world.

**Krzysztof Lisek**  
EPP, Poland (2009-2014)  
lisekk@yahoo.com



## EUROPEAN ATLANTIC GROUP SUPPER DISCUSSION

EUROPEAN ATLANTIC GROUP (EAG), LONDON, UNITED KINGDOM | 21 SEPTEMBER 2022 | ON CAMPUS

**"The conflict and war between 'imperial' Russia and Ukraine will last a very long time. This is a real clash of civilisations and a clash between democracy and despotism. From Russia's perspective, Ukraine has no right to exist. From the Ukrainian point of view, Russia's ambitions of imperial domination must be stopped. "**

- Marek Siwiec, FMA Member

"The European Atlantic Group is an organisation that works like a members club: a real British one. People meet once a month to have a drink and listen to a guest. This time, thanks to the FMA, I was that guest. The event took place weeks ago, two days after London and the world had bid farewell to Queen Elizabeth II. The streets were filled with sadness from the events of recent days.

The hosts devoted our meeting to the topic of Ukraine. My recent stay in Kyiv was a good starting point from which to describe the attacks on Ukraine in the cities of Bucha and Hostomel. I recounted the mass graves, the looted shops, the piles of burned-out cars and the apartment blocks 'executed by bullets'. It may sound strange, but that is how the apartment building facades looked. Missiles had hit several neighbourhoods. Some people had died and others were reminded of who could be next.

I also talked about the exceptional mobilisation of the brave people who are standing up to Russia's imperialism. Ukrainians want victory and peace. President Zelenski, who has grown into a real leader, speaks about this very openly. This fight would be impossible without the help of America, Europe and the world. I thanked the British for their support in this war. In the efforts to help Ukraine, the support that the United Kingdom has shown by donating equipment and organising mass training is of great importance. Besides... Brits don't wage losing wars!"

**Marek Siwiec**

PES, Poland (2004-2014)  
msbike@me.com

"The European Atlantic Group eagerly anticipated Marek Siwiec's address in the City of London and they were not disappointed. Arriving from discussions in Ukraine, he had an up-to-the-minute insight into the current situation, which, combined with his long-term knowledge of the country and its people, gave his words serious gravitas. Some of those words were frightening but honest, as indeed was the way he dealt with members' questions."

- David Selves, European Atlantic Group

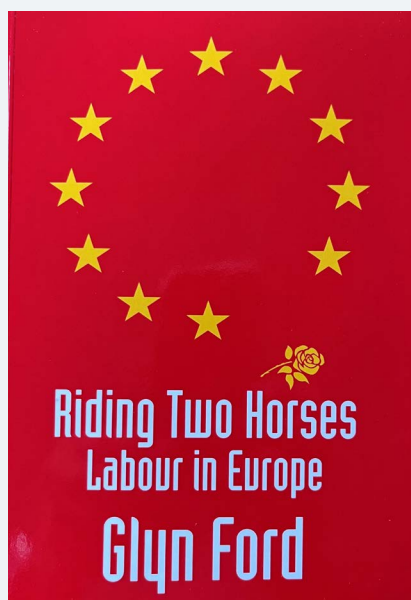


Marek Siwiec during his lecture at the European Atlantic Group dinner discussion on 21 September 2022.



## RIDING TWO HORSES: LABOUR IN EUROPE

by **Glyn Ford**, published by Spokesman Books 2022



The personal is political, goes the saying. Perhaps another title for this new book by veteran former Labour MEP Glyn Ford might be “Ford in the World”, since it is an intensely personal and philosophical anecdote of fifty years of political activity, rather than a tale of Labour in Europe.

Ford was elected to the European Parliament in 1984 serving until 2009, during which he was for several years the leader of UK Labour’s group of MEPs and a deputy leader of the Socialist Group. He served at various times on the Energy, Research Technology, Justice and Home Affairs, Petitions and Rules Committees. Originally an opponent of Britain joining the Common Market, he soon became a convert to “another Europe” and an interest in federalism.

His first term saw him chair a Committee of Inquiry into the Growth of Racism and Fascism in Europe and then become the rapporteur for a second Committee of Inquiry into Racism and Xenophobia. In his last decade as an MEP his focus was on the International Trade and Foreign Affairs Committees.

But this book also takes in years as a Labour councillor in the north west of England (Tameside), numerous foreign trips during his term as an MEP (where he developed his internationalism and particularly his interest in Japan and North Korea), science, plus substantial musings about the state of the world.

Ten chapters, each with substantial end notes listing sources of reference and developing the theme of internationalism versus nationalism, plus a substantial index. Chapters one to three cover his working class roots including personal history, youthful travel, academic career and growing interest in science and foreign policy. Slightly confusingly for the flow, Chapter one also includes a section on Julian Priestley and powers of the EP which might be better located later.

Chapter 4 details the latter part of the 1980s in the European Parliamentary Labour Party - a time of a substantial factional in-fighting - taking in the period of his leadership of the group and changes in the leadership of the Labour Party in the UK including the growth of a more positive policy towards membership of the EEC. My own first book takes a detailed look at this time and is frequently referenced.

Chapter 5 discusses South and South East Asia with insights into the development of his interest and expertise. Chapter 6 entitled Science Politics, concentrates on his time on the Energy and Research committee including issues such as Star Wars (Ronald Reagan’s Strategic Defence Initiative), the Echelon Affair and the development of STOA and mentions many of the active MEPs in the energy and science arena.

Chapter 7, Hard Power Soft Power and Trade, touches on the Iraq war and Labour’s controversial support for that during Ford’s stint as EPLP foreign affairs spokesperson. It discusses arms exports, the Soviet Union, Trident and then jumps to an election observation stint in Indonesia in 2004 in some detail.

In a subsection titled Disparate Elections, he mentions involvement in further election observation missions to South Africa, Kenya, Cambodia, Ukraine and Haiti before moving on to EU trade with North Korea.

A substantial interest for Ford throughout his 25 years as an MEP was racism and fascism. He was responsible for a huge amount of work covered in some detail in Chapter 8, ranging over various EP reports with plenty of criticism of players both in the EP and various EU countries and mentions too, the Council of Ministers’ Kahn Consultative Committee on Racism and Xenophobia and the establishment of a European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia. He also details his early work on the issue before becoming an MEP and the UK Labour government. Some attention is also paid to racism in America.

Chapter 9 digresses into football and lobbying and is a mixed bag, covering expenses scandals and a digression on the Tobin tax proposals. At the end, chapter 10 is a fairly lengthy polemic on his personal take on politics, Labour and Europe.

All in all this adds up to an interesting and very varied read.

**Anita Pollack**

*SOC, United Kingdom (1989-1999)*  
[www.anitapollack.eu](http://www.anitapollack.eu)

# UPCOMING EVENTS



## ACTIVITIES

2  
FEBRUARY 2023

### Extra-ordinary General Assembly, European Parliament, Brussels

The Extraordinary General Meeting will be held on 2 February at 12.45 in the European Parliament in Brussels. The Association requested the use of the Interactio remote system of the European Parliament allowing the remote participation of FMA members. If you cannot attend the meeting in person, you will be able to vote by proxy.

30-31  
MARCH 2023

### FMA Visit to Sweden (date to be confirmed)

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

3  
MAY 2023

### Librorum, Annual Memorial Service and Dinner Debate

From 15.30 to 17.15, the FMA will organise its next edition of Librorum in the European Parliament, Brussels. Following this event, current and former MEPs will commemorate their colleagues who passed away in 2022-2023 from 17.45 to 18.15 in the Hemicycle of the European Parliament. A Dinner Debate takes place from 19.30 to 21.30, preceded by a Cocktail Reception from 18.30 to 19.30.

4  
MAY 2023

### FMA General Assembly and Annual Lunch

From 10.00 to 13.00 the FMA Annual General Assembly will take place in the European Parliament, Brussels. The Assembly will be followed by the Annual Lunch. More information will be communicated at a later stage via email.

16  
JUNE 2023

### "Can the EU learn from experience?" - Hybrid conference

The FMA in cooperation with the Historical Archives of the European Union organises the hybrid conference 'Can the EU learn from experience?' in Villa Salviati EUI (Florence). More information will be communicated at a later stage by email and the FMA website.

## FMA MEMBERS' PUBLICATIONS



### "COMMENT RÉUSSIR NOTRE TRANSITION ÉCONOMIQUE" BY ANDRÉ FOURÇAN

The book examines the major events of economic and social history over the last fifty years, in a lively and clear style, in an effort to understand how we got to where we are today. And to draw lessons for tomorrow. The narrative decodes the thinking of our "elites" as well as the style and functioning of our institutions and the major issues facing France. Not to mention a few sketches of personalities that the author may have met or known more or less closely. It is also enriched with anecdotes and episodes drawn from his various experiences in "real life". Thus, How to make a success of our economic transition asks disturbing questions and does not spare anyone. It gives us a fresh look at the world today and reconciles us with the complex art of economics and reform.

## NEW MEMBERS

Welcome  
to the FMA

Sebastian Valentin BODU  
EPP, Romania (2007-2014)

Mark DEMESMAEKER  
Greens/EFA (2013-2014),  
ECR (2014-2019), Belgium

Lucio MANISCO  
GUE/NGL, Italy (1994-2004)

Lena KOLARSKA-  
BOBIŃSKA  
EPP, Poland (2009-2013)

Constanze KREHL  
S&D, Germany, (1991-2022)

Artis PABRIKS  
EPP, Latvia (2014-2018)

Catherine SOULLIE  
EPP, France (2009-2011)

Ernst STRASSER  
EPP, Austria (2009-2011)

Hannes SWOBODA  
S&D, Austria (1996-2014)



# FMA AT WORK

## MEMBERS OF THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE



Klaus  
HÄNSCH



Monica BALDI



Jean-Pierre  
AUDY



Teresa RIERA  
MADURELL



Michael  
HINDLEY



Miguel Angel  
MARTÍNEZ  
MARTÍNEZ



Edward  
McMILLAN-  
SCOTT



Pier Antonio  
PANZERI



Manuel PORTO



Paul RÜBIG

*President of the Former Members Association Klaus Hänsch decided on Monday 12 December 2022 that Mr Pier Antonio Panzeri is released of all his functions as a Member of the FMA Management Committee for the time of the investigation.*

## 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 Rübig.

**EP to Campus:** Mr Hindley (Chair) and Mr Porto.

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

**Dinner Debate:** Ms Baldi.

**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 Rübig.

**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 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.

# IN MEMORIAM

## Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II

8 September 2022

The whole world, it seems, took heart in Queen Elizabeth's passing. So many people said goodbye directly in Westminster. I also spent a day following the Queen's final journey on BBC News. I myself was in the UK for 12 months in 1959/1960, just after my final "Abitur" exam, for my first job as an 'au pair'. An English family, initially unknown to me, took me in, integrated me and after a short time I was a full family member. Today, Jane, the mother, is 94 years old and I have visited her and her children again this summer. The bond that has grown is as close as ever!

And why am I writing these lines? The boundless trust that this English family placed in a young German girl became a model for me and my attitude towards other nations. The Commonwealth was based in London and we all got along. My European attitude was shaped by this experience, it was unshakable and the foundation for my later work in the European Parliament. I am still grateful for that today, because it also shows that lasting friendships can develop between "strangers".

*A homage by Brigitte Langenhagen, former FMA Board Member and Member of the FMA.*



## Keith TAYLOR

31 October 2022

*The Greens/EFA, United Kingdom (2010-2019)*

He served as a British Member of the European Parliament. At the national level, Mr Taylor represented the Green Party.



## Werner SCHULZ

9 November 2022

*The Greens/EFA, Germany (2009-2014)*

He served as a German Member of the European Parliament. At the national level, Mr Schulz represented 'Bündnis 90/Die Grünen'.



## Edward T. KELLETT-BOWMAN

22 November 2022

*EPP-ED, United Kingdom (1979-1999)*

He served as a British Member of the European Parliament. At the national level, Mr T. Kellett-Bowman represented the Conservative and Unionist Party.

## MEASURES TO FIGHT INFLATION





# INFLATION IS BACK: WHAT NOW?

Those of us who lived through the aftermath of the crises in the 1970s can remember all too well the major difficulties we had to overcome to get through those years in one piece. By giving part of our income to the people selling us petrol at the highest prices going, as European countries we have impoverished ourselves; foreign exchange markets were subject to serious disturbances, hindering the common market's ability to function; many industrial sectors had to restructure themselves, while some even disappeared; and finally we became all too familiar with, 'stagflation'. high levels of inflation alongside low levels of growth and widespread unemployment.

We thought we had put inflation behind us with the introduction of a common currency and the European Central Bank's monetary policy.

However, the current rises in energy prices, driven by Putin's tampering with the supply of petrol and natural gas and exacerbated by his invasion of Ukraine, have meant that this phenomenon is back with a vengeance. At the same time, the pandemic's effects on global value chains cast doubt on the soundness of globalising trade, putting pressure on the prices of many raw materials and food products.

**"We thought we had put inflation behind us with the introduction of a common currency and the European Central Bank's monetary policy."**

What can be done now with all of these factors combining to drive prices upwards and limit any room

for manoeuvre when it comes to economic policies? Central banks, and in particular the ECB, have the mandate to manage monetary policy in order to achieve price stability. Their independence has been guaranteed by the public authorities to enable them to do so free from any political pressure. Consequently, they have opted to raise interest rates to the extent necessary to defy inflationary expectations and moderate demand. One can only hope that they wield this power cautiously, to avoid bringing about a recession with even greater repercussions than those stemming from inflation.

Rising interest rates not only have a moderating effect on excessive demand, they also affect families, businesses and the public sector in accordance with their respective levels of debt.



© Adobe Stock

In the case of the latter, the policies enacted to counterbalance the effects of the pandemic led to significant rises in the ratio of public debt to GDB. However, the sustainability of this situation has not given rise to too much concern, given the low costs of new bond issues.

That said, the outlook is now changing substantially, with a risk that too much enthusiasm from central bankers could create insolvency issues in some areas.



**"The outlook is now changing substantially, with a risk that too much enthusiasm from central bankers could create insolvency issues in some areas."**

With regard to energy policy, the rising prices of gas, petrol and their by-products create problems of a different nature which cannot be alleviated by monetary policies and increasing interest rates. It is true that against the backdrop of the fight against climate change, the increasing price of fossil fuels represents an excellent incentive to cut back on their usage, lowering greenhouse gas emissions and moving even more towards the use of renewable forms of energy and 'clean' technologies. However, the transition towards a climate-neutral economy EU-wide, in line with the net-zero objective for 2050, requires effort and the establishment of compensatory measures.

With the European Institutions co-ordinating things, the Member States have adopted a wide array of measures on a national level to work towards this goal. Many of these are expenditure based, such as grants and subsidies. Others bring revenue into play, attempting to claw back part of the

massive profits of energy companies or businesses in other sectors. However, not all measures hit the mark quite so well, nor are they all well thought out enough to prioritise passing their profits on to the sectors of society most affected by the rise in prices or by other knock-on effects. When inflation strikes with such a vengeance, it is particularly harmful for the most vulnerable citizens and families, and for the businesses least equipped to survive on the market.

**"When inflation strikes with such a vengeance, it is particularly harmful for the most vulnerable citizens and families, and for the businesses least equipped to survive on the market."**

Above and beyond the urgent measures to react to the financial situation and the decrease in available revenue, discussions of greater strategic importance are taking place. In my opinion, two of these require particular attention.

First, the income policies of each country and, indeed, of each business must ensure that efforts are spread fairly between everyone. Second, although it will be very complicated to achieve, it is evident that the current electricity market model needs reforming on an EU-wide scale, and the sooner the better.

**Prof. Joaquín Almunia**  
*Former Vice-President of the European Commission*

# WHAT TYPE OF INFLATION ARE WE WITNESSING, AND HOW TO ADDRESS IT?

The European Union has witnessed unprecedented price rises this year, impacting households and constraining consumers and businesses, as well as putting a burden on public budgets. But what type of inflation are we really talking about, and which lessons to draw?

While becoming a universal problem across the EU, inflationary pressures are uneven between Member States. At the time of writing, inflation in the EU stood at 10.1 percent as recorded in August 2022 (figures published 16 September), up from 9.8 percent the month before. By comparison, a year earlier, in August 2021, the EU recorded an inflation rate of 3.2 percent.

**"While becoming a universal problem across the EU, inflationary pressures are uneven between Member States."**

The headline figure masks wide regional disparities, although all countries experience very high inflation rates. In the three Baltic countries, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, inflation stood at 25.2 percent, 21.4 percent and 21.1 percent respectively in August 2022. Other member states such as the Czech Republic (17.1 percent), Hungary (18.6 percent) or Poland (14.8 percent) also recorded double-digit rates, while Malta had the lowest rate overall - but still high - at 7%.



© Adobe Stock

The bulk of inflation is of course driven by energy prices which skyrocketed in the wake of Russia's invasion of Ukraine. If energy would have been taken out of the headline inflation index, the HICP, the Euro area's inflation rate in August, for example, would have been 5.8 instead of 9.1 percent.

High energy prices are thus due to the EU's high dependence on fossil fuel imports from Russia in the past. Before the war, Russia was by far the largest energy supplier to the European Union, accounting for approximately 45% of the EU's gas imports in 2021, 27% of its oil imports and 46% of its coal imports. These deliveries are winding down or have come to a halt completely due to the war and Russia's decision not to deliver gas to some Member States.

Beyond its immediate and very visible impact, energy prices are starting to translate into broader price dynamics. Gas is a key input for fertilisers used in agriculture.

Farmers need petrol and diesel for their machines. And companies producing foodstuffs, from industrial plants to bakeries on the corner, are equally impacted by the price rise in their heating bill. Accordingly, in August, the euro area estimated processed food to become more expensive by 10.5 percent while the price of unprocessed food was set to increase by

11 percent. It is not just Europe of course which is impacted by rising prices and high inflation. The fall-out of the war impacts countries around the globe. Europe's north African neighbours suffer from high prices for wheat imports from Ukraine and Russia, on which they depend. In Asia, the price for liquefied natural gas (LNG) has skyrocketed with corresponding effects on consumer prices and electricity generation overall.

**"Correctly tackling inflation requires a careful analysis of its root causes."**



Correctly tackling inflation requires a careful analysis of its root causes. In a much-regarded speech shortly after Russia's invasion of Ukraine, in mid-March 2022, ECB Executive Board member Isabel Schnabel broke down the different types of energy-related inflation into three separate shocks: "climateflation", "fossilflation", and "greenflation".

The first shock, "climateflation", consists of natural disasters such as extreme weather events witnessed this summer, which contribute to price rises by, for example, destroying harvests or otherwise disrupting economic activities and the supply of goods.

"Fossilflation" was the expression she coined for the legacy cost of the dependency on fossil energy sources, as became painfully obvious in the sudden rise in fossil fuel costs, and primarily of course natural gas, we witnessed as a direct consequence of Russia's invasion and subsequent actions.

Finally, "greenflation" was the term she used for a more subtle and more long-term development:

price rises for individual components or entire systems needed to produce clean energy, such lithium, a key raw material.

A significant share of the very high inflation rates we see in Europe are a direct legacy cost from our past energy mix, in particular our dependency on Russian natural gas. Consequently, a crucial answer to address inflation lies in energy policy. Europe's inflation problem will only be solved fully once supply of - secure - energy once again matches demand and Europe has found sustainable alternatives to Russian pipeline gas.

is a rapid and forceful roll-out of renewable power across the continent, and in particular solar and wind power, coupled with additional energy sourced elsewhere. This needs to be supplemented by robust steps to provide the necessary interconnection capacities for electricity and gas grids to be connected across borders, thus ensuring an efficient European energy market and the flexibility necessary to cope with higher demand and higher market volatility at the same time.

**"Europe's inflation problem will only be solved fully once supply of - secure - energy once again matches demand and Europe has found sustainable alternatives."**

While the ECB's monetary policy will play a role in having to prevent secondary effects becoming entrenched above its inflation target, one of the crucial ways out of Europe's inflation conundrum

**Lasse Michael Boehm**  
*Head of Unit, Economic Policies,  
DG EPRS, European Parliament*  
[lasse.boehm@europarl.europa.eu](mailto:lasse.boehm@europarl.europa.eu)



© Adobe Stock

# MARKING THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SINGLE MARKET



Pascual Navarro Ríos, Spanish Secretary of State for the EU, who will have a leading role in their 2023 Presidency, also promised continuity. It was a cornerstone of the EU's economic success and a key to growth and progress. He called for a more strategic approach to single market evolution and a better "toolkit" for rule making.

Giulia Barbucci, Vice President, European Economic and Social Committee, reinforced the need for a more citizen centred single market. Well-being and welfare must be reflected in policy-making. In the current climate, building social and economic resilience was essential.

30 years on from the breakthrough 1992 programme, and despite its recognition as one of the EU's greatest achievements, the single market is still in need of care and attention. This was a central message from the public hearing organised by the IMCO Committee on October 27th 2022 to mark this milestone anniversary.

In her opening video message, Margrethe Vestager, Commission Executive Vice-President, called for the single market to be more resilient and underpinned by an effective rules based system. She highlighted developments in the digital single market and the new measures recently introduced, which had been strongly supported by IMCO.

Paolo Gentiloni, Commissioner for the Economy, reinforced the need to maintain the integrity of the single market to meet post Covid challenges. External borders must be secure, and non-compliant and dangerous products kept out. The single market needs to become an accelerator of the green transition. It needs more political commitment to its "constant journey of evolution".

Tomáš Prouza, Special Envoy on the Single Market for the Czech Council Presidency, emphasised his country's strong support. They were aiming to press ahead with new measures for market reinforcement. He expressed frustrations that "too many past proposals had been swept off the table".

Juho Romakkaniemi, Single Market Committee Chair, Eurochambres saw complacency creeping into EU policy at a time of creeping global protectionism. He called for a strong annual work programme that was systematically followed through. There must be an enhanced culture of trust between member states to maintain mutual recognition and eliminate discrimination in cross-border services. The aim should be light and easily enforced legislation.

Monique Goyens, Director General, BEUC said that the single market provided real benefits for European consumers. However due to weak enforcement, it often 'takes ages' for consumer friendly rules to deliver the promised benefits

**"Consumer making choices in the Single Market want security that they are offered safe and sustainable products."**

Chiara Giovannini, Deputy Secretary-General, ANEC, the Consumer Standards organisation, took up the enforcement message.

Consumer making choices in the Single Market want security that they are offered safe and sustainable products

The most powerful contribution came from Prof Mario Monti, who wrote the landmark 2010 report on the Single Market at the invitation of then President Barroso. He called for it to be given more political prominence and that it was “embarrassing” that more progress had not been achieved. It was “all too easy” for Member States for make unfulfilled promises.

He noted that, in 2004, when his Commissioner responsibilities moved from Single Market to Competition, he gained a remarkable increase in his enforcement powers. In competition, he could take immediate action against Member States to deal with breaches of state aid rules. By contrast, remedies available where single market rules were being flouted involved opening long-winded legalistic enforcement cases.

Prof Monti observed that, under COVID pressures, some countries had been allowed to by-pass state aid rules, and these cases would provide a “living laboratory” for policy researchers. In his view, state aid was an integral part of making the single market work affectively and he was confident that study of recent breaches would clearly demonstrate this.

He also made wistful observations on the UK’s position. It was the first country to leave the single market, but was also the country that had the most influence in its construction.

In the closing contributions from former IMCO Chairman, Arlene McCarty gave a forceful commentary on the single market benefits that the UK had lost by its departure. Anneleen Van Bossuyt emphasised the role of the Parliament in promoting the single market, supported by Petra De Sutter who described it as a “cornerstone of EU integration.

Malcolm Harbour highlighted IMCO’s strong collaboration with Mario Monti and then Commission Michel Barnier which led to the 2011-12 Single Market Acts. He showed archive photos of their 20th Anniversary event in which President Barroso, Commissioner Barnier, Prof Monti all participated, together with some long standing IMCO members who were pleased to be reminded of the occasion.

Current IMCO Chairman, Anna Cavazzini, played a major role in organising the Hearing and prying with great leadership over a notable and valuable occasion.

**Malcolm Harbour**  
*EPP-ED, ECR, United Kingdom*  
(1999-2014)  
[harbournutlands@sky.com](mailto:harbournutlands@sky.com)



Prof. Mario Monti during the IMCO Public Hearing ‘30th anniversary of the Single Market’ © European Union 2022 - Source : EP



## SUSTAINABLE POLICIES NEEDED

The Russian invasion of Ukraine has a major two-fold effect in the EU member states. On one side this is the unprecedented migration wave. More than 14 million Ukrainians are currently internally displaced or refugees from war, nearly 8 million among them migrated to another country. In the face of this humanitarian disaster the EU countries and the civil society demonstrated compassion, care and solidarity. They provided shelter, food, schools, care, work for the Ukrainian refugees.

The activation of the Temporary Protection Directive also allowed to better accommodate the refugee wave. As 86% of those fleeing the war in Ukraine are women, there are many children and elderly, the pressure is on housing and the public services as care and schools primarily. The labour markets were also opened but given the age characteristics of the refugees, only a fraction of them is able to take these opportunities in the near future.

Meanwhile some of the refugees already started returning to Ukraine. The question is how long the war will continue and respectively what dynamics of the refugee wave can be expected. In any case, 10 months after the beginning of the Russian invasion, there should be an idea about permanent solutions – long term settlement or assisted return. A condition sine qua non is the end of the war.

**"As 86% of those fleeing the war in Ukraine are women, there are many children and elderly, the pressure is on housing and the public services as care and schools primarily."**

The second strong impact of the Russian aggression is the soaring inflation, caused by the insecurities on the oil and gas and food commodities markets. That makes the entire world pay a price for the

aggressive political ambitions of Kremlin. In September 2022 the inflation rate in the EU reached 10,9% on annual basis, compared to 3.4% a year earlier. This hike is mostly driven by the food products (28,29% annual inflation) and energy (60,72%). Both Russia and Ukraine were major exporters of these commodities before the invasion. Within few months the EU countries decreased the use of Russia supplied natural gas from 40% to just 7% of its consumption. The replacement of these supplies put a pressure on the international markets and led to a substantial price hike.

To properly assess the scale of the inflation impact, one needs to recall that it comes immediately after the COVID-19 period when the EU allowed a more relaxed fiscal policy in order to compensate for the lockdowns and keep businesses alive. When the Russian invasion started in February, we already had a higher inflation rate, and the citizens and households were still under the stress of the pandemic. There were vulnerable groups (low-income households, elderly people, those needing care, families with small children among others) who did not succeed to recover before the crisis hit. Some economic sectors as transport, hospitality, care, etc. were also far from recovered to the pre-pandemic levels. This further accelerated the negative effects of the inflation. In its recent studies, the European Foundation for the Improvement of the Working and Living Conditions (Eurofound) found that between May 2020 and May 2022 the share of the EU households in arrears with their utility bills increased



© Adobe Stock



Ivailo Kalfin during the FMA Annual Seminar about 'Reflections on the Economic Future of the EU' ©European Union 2022 - Source: EP

from 10% to 16%, those in arrears for informal loans – from 9% to 11% with a similar number delaying their health insurance payments.

These policies were created ad hoc and achieved short term results. However, the question remains with the long-term solutions.

**"In its recent studies, the European Foundation for the Improvement of the Working and Living Conditions (Eurofound) found that between May 2020 and May 2022 the share of the EU households in arrears with their utility bills increased from 10% to 16%, those in arrears for informal loans – from 9% to 11% with a similar number delaying their health insurance payments."**

To mitigate the impact of the inflation, governments used an array of measures. Most of them are increasing the income in general – increasing the net income from work, increasing benefits and allowances, general support grants, tax reduction, support for housing or transport payments. The second focus area is the reduction of the energy bills – direct contributions, price caps, lower energy taxes. Some measures aim at reducing the fuel costs or at accelerating the green transition, the use of renewables and increased energy efficiency.

As the war entered in a protracted phase, the maintenance of the above measures will put a very strong pressure on the public budgets before they recovered from the COVID-19 period. About 2/3 of the measures used until now are not targeted and they are used by the entire population. This is not sustainable. The challenge for the governments is to identify and support the vulnerable groups and businesses in order to be able to maintain the lowering of the inflation at an acceptable social cost.

**Ivailo Kalfin**  
S&D, Bulgaria (2005-2009)  
[ikalfin@gmail.com](mailto:ikalfin@gmail.com)

# STOPPING STAGFLATION IN 2022

The current economic situation in many European countries, a coincidence of double-digit inflation rates and GDP growth at the brink of recession, has striking parallels with the two oil price shocks in the 1970s. The last stagflation ushered is a fundamental change in the economic policy paradigm, which foresaw a much more important role for monetary policy in stabilising the macro-economy and demoted fiscal activism.

**"The last stagflation ushered is a fundamental change in the economic policy paradigm, which foresaw a much more important role for monetary policy in stabilising the macro-economy and demoted fiscal activism."**

Now and then, an accommodative stance of macroeconomic policy with low interest rates and fiscal stimulus packages preceded an energy price hike that triggered a price-wage spiral given the ample liquidity. Once central banks ratcheted up interest rates after the Volcker shock in 1979, stagflation was the predictable result. It was no longer the usual choice between a rock (inflation) and a hard place (unemployment), it was just the hard rock.

Public debt ballooned even though governments largely gave up on fiscal pump-priming: tax revenue collapsed and social expenditure shot up. It may seem surprising with hindsight but this fiscal situation made governments ready to accept liberalised, integrated financial markets since the late 1980s. Bigger and deeper markets promised lower interest rates and thus lower debt servicing costs. Periodic bouts of exchange rate instability indicated, though, that

more integrated financial markets are not necessarily stable financial markets.

The theme of unstable financial markets both links and differentiates the 1970s and the 2020s. Given that accommodative monetary policy and fiscal stimulus have been so much bigger now than back then, what has made central banks so reluctant to intervene when the first signs of inflationary times ahead appeared on the horizon? Volatility in energy prices, blocked supply chains and a rise in vacancies due to what became known as the Great Resignation all preceded the Russian invasion of Ukraine.

It is true that higher interest rates would push economies into recession. But that has never stopped central banks before to do what they feel they have to do in the face of serious inflationary threats. The supply chain disruption bequeathed by the pandemic might give cause to hesitate, but an accommodating monetary environment would not address underlying supply problems. The explanation lies elsewhere, in financial markets.

**"It is true that higher interest rates would push economies into recession. But that has never stopped central banks before to do what they feel they have to do in the face of serious inflationary threats."**



© Adobe Stock





© Adobe Stock

The inflation in markets for goods and services in 2022 was preceded by fifteen years of unprecedented monetary expansion, deliberately offering negative real interest rates for funds that financial institutions could obtain from central banks and then in wholesale markets. How used financial investors have got to this cheap funding is indicated by the hysteria and outright panic in equity and bond markets that incremental interest rate rises of half a percentage point created, with the prospect of a 5 percent Treasury fund rate. Given that inflation is close to 10 percent, this would amount minus 5 percent in real terms, an inconceivable compensation for borrowing in peace times before 2008!

whenever the Fed wanted to raise its policy rate. In Europe, the sovereign debt crisis was a direct result of financial markets turning the table on governments that had just bailed them out.

The financial markets that fifteen years of monetary accommodation have created are monstrous. Because banks, insurers and pension funds are now fairly strictly regulated, large parts live a shadowy existence, hard to catch by existing prudential instruments. The regulated part of the financial system must try and earn some of these excessive rates of return, by entering the world of crypto assets or using hedging instruments made for less volatile times.

**"Monetary accommodation was absolutely necessary to tide economies over the systemic financial crises since 2008."**

Monetary accommodation was absolutely necessary to tide economies over the systemic financial crises since 2008. There was always a good reason why it had to be extended. Emerging markets got into a tailspin

A conservative, business-friendly UK government just experienced the devastating effects of the monster raising its head. Then Prime Minister Liz Truss and her Chancellor were intent on rewarding high earners with a cut of the top income tax rate, presumably for their hard work of

riskless financial investments. But borrowing for a tax cut spooked government bond markets. This hit pension funds who had hedged against falling bond yields and now had to pay the hedge providers for the rapidly rising bond yields. The pension funds' selling of bonds to meet the payments made the problem worse and forced the Bank of England to intervene in an emerging market-style rescue operation.

The monsters that they partly created is the real reason why central banks are unable to fight inflation resolutely now. Interest rate rises are a blunt instrument and they know it.

The real puzzle is why central banks have not already used more aggressively the macroprudential instruments they were given, for targeted interventions to deflate asset markets.

As long as their flourishing is the metric of successful stabilisation, the cost-of-living-and-doing-business crisis will linger on.

**Prof. Waltraud Schelkle**

*Joint Chair in European Public Policy at the European University Institute (EUI)*



European Parliament  
**FORMER MEMBERS  
ASSOCIATION**



## **European Parliament Former Members Association**

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

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

**[www.formermembers.eu](http://www.formermembers.eu)**

## Follow us

 @EuroparlFMA

 @Europarl\_FMA