

EUROPE

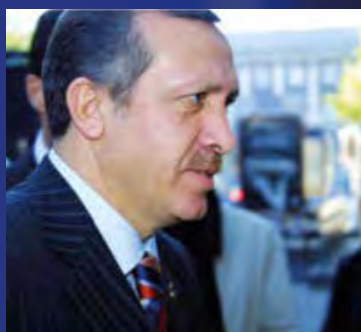
August
2019

Diplomatic

magazine



"Goznym": a cyber-criminal network operating out of Europe dismantled



Undiplomatic Behaviour:
Turkey targets its own diplomats



GEERT WILDERS

The rise of a Dutch populist

Fly Royal Jordanian from Copenhagen

3 weekly direct flights!

ROUTE DESTINATIONS:

Aqaba	Dammam	Kuwait
Abu Dhabi	Doha	Medina
Beirut	Dubai	Najaf
Baghdad	Erbil	Riyadh
Bangkok	Sulaimaniyah	Tel Aviv
Basra	Jeddah	
Cairo	Kuala Lumpur	

Fly to and from Copenhagen, the land of historic landmarks, beautiful architecture and the world's first amusement parks!

From Copenhagen to Amman
3:25 PM to 9:00 PM

From Amman to Copenhagen
10:45 AM to 2:30 PM

For more information, please visit rj.com, RJ mobile app, RJ sales offices or your preferred travel agent, call +45 5 373 2333 or email cphgdrj@rj.com.

*Fares start at advertised prices and are subject to availability.

rj.com

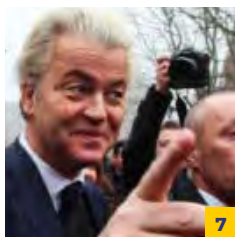


ROYAL JORDANIAN

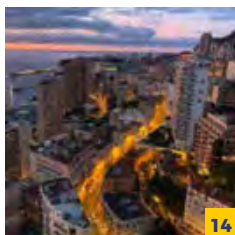
الملكية الأردنية



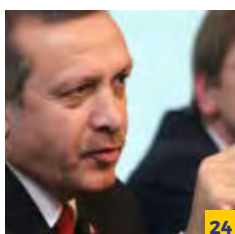
IN THIS ISSUE



■ **Geert Wilders**, The rise of a Dutch populist p. **7**



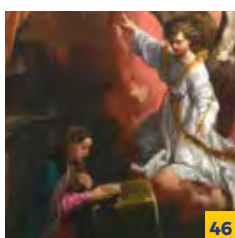
■ **Austria Corruption Report**, Very slow progress in Austria on measures to prevent corruption in respect of MPs, says Council of Europe anti-corruption body..... p.**12**



■ **EU Court of Justice** Issues Decision on Facebook "Likes" used by websites p.**13**



■ **Monaco**: Small in size, grand in gesture, still a long way to go to become a full member of the EU p.**14**



■ **"Goznym"**: A cyber-criminal network operating out of Europe dismantled p.**19**

■ **Surging debt** levels a threat to global economic stability, says GlobalData p.**23**

■ **Undiplomatic Behaviour** - Turkey targets its own diplomats..... p.**24**

■ **'Mothers of Srebrenica'**: Dutch State bears very limited liability p.**29**

■ **Chekhov's Incurable Disease?** The Troika Laundromat..... p.**31**

■ **UNODC launches Guide** to combat crime related to falsified medical products p.**38**

■ **ARTEMIS** Mission p.**40**

■ **NATO Agency** plans for 1.4 billion EUR in upcoming business opportunities p.**44**

■ **CERN** invites the public to explore the future at its Open Days p.**45**

■ **The Alana Collection**: masterpieces of Italian painting p.**46**

■ **Timeless chic** p.**48**

■ **Books**, our selection p.**50**

EUROPE
Diplomatic
magazine

international officials or academics, the magazine gives everyone the necessary and useful information about all topics that make up our daily lives. Covering sensitive issues such as nuclear, the rise of Islamism and energy dependence, the magazine opens its pages to recognized specialists who would like to express first order and exclusive information. But Europe Diplomatic Magazine is not only a source of information on recent topics. It is also addressing older facts with deep thought for further analysis. Whether it's news, security, diplomacy, technology, energy, terrorism, European affairs, no subject is treated superficially. Europe Diplomatic Magazine is an independent media, conveying balanced ideas of openness and analysis based on almost 30 years of experience in the journalistic world.

Visit our site and please give us your comments:

<https://europe-diplomatic.eu/>

europediplomaticmagazine@gmail.com



Nikola Hendrickx

EDITORIAL

CHRISTINE LAGARDE FACES A TOUGH CHALLENGE

Christine Lagarde is getting ready for what is arguably the biggest challenge of a stellar career. She doesn't have the typical résumé — no doctorate in economics, no post as a central banker — for running the body that sets monetary policy for one-fifth of the global economy.

A lawyer by training, she has previously served as France's finance minister before running the International Monetary Fund for eight years.

She has gone through some turbulent times in her career but Ms. Lagarde has a record as a strong manager.

She took over the IMF when it was in crisis. Dominique Strauss-Kahn, her predecessor, was forced out in 2011 after being accused of sexually assaulting a housekeeper in a New York hotel. The charges against him were later dropped, but the scandal ruined his presidential ambitions.

And then in 2014, Lagarde herself was accused of "negligence by a person in a position of public authority". She had to stand trial over a €403 million government arbitration deal in favour of Bernard Tapie, a controversial business tycoon.

Tapie, a former French football team owner, businessman and pop singer, was awarded the money in a case against the French public bank Crédit Lyonnais, which he accused of undervaluing his stake in Adidas.

Lagarde, at the time President Nicolas Sarkozy's finance minister, referred the long-running case to arbitration and signed off the payout.

In December 2016, the court found Lagarde guilty of negligence, but declined to impose a penalty.

BIG SHOES TO FILL

Lagarde has been nominated by the European Council to become the next president of the European Central Bank (ECB), which runs monetary policy for the euro zone. The 63-year-old will be the first woman to hold the position in the 20 year history of the ECB.

She will be taking over from the man known as "Super Mario" in Brussels - Mario Draghi - who has risen as a dominant figure in the global economy during his nearly eight years as president of the ECB. The Italian is noted for his "whatever it takes policy" which investors have said led to an impressive reign as head of the ECB.

But these same investors are betting that Christine Lagarde, the surprise nominee will act in much the same way as Mario Draghi.

As head of the IMF she built a strong relationship with Germany, and she has admirers across Europe.

In France and southern Europe, her French Treasury past and activist monetary policy thinking will give hope across the eurozone.

Lagarde is more politician than economist. That might be the point. After all, part of the problem with the monetary policy transmission channel in the eurozone is that it's expected to work across disparate economies operating under a hodgepodge of fiscal regimes. In her capacity at the IMF, Lagarde has all manner of experience dealing with that.

The political landscape in Europe is more fraught than ever. Although the worst-case outcome, defined here as a populist/euro-skeptic wave was averted in the EU elections, the Lega's performance in Italy and Rassemblement National's showing in France underscored the lingering appeal of nationalism, and suggested centrists have failed to stem the populist tide that swept across the bloc in 2015, during the migrant crisis.

In Lagarde, the ECB will get a seasoned political operator and something of a consensus builder.

That may prove especially useful going forward in the event the eurozone economy experiences a downturn, raising the stakes in contentious relationships between the member states of the EU.

Over the past year, the IMF and, by extension, Lagarde has repeatedly warned about the perils of protectionism and the mounting headwinds to global growth.

These are in line with the concerns and challenges that Mario Draghi had to face during his tenure.

In one speech, Draghi had declared: *"In the absence of improvement, such that the sustained return of inflation to our aim is threatened, additional stimulus will be required."*

And later, in the same speech: *"Further cuts in policy interest rates and mitigating measures to contain any side effects remain part of our tools."*

Invariably, there will be concerns that a non-central banker will face an uphill battle when it comes to crafting the kinds of innovative policy prescriptions that will be necessary in the event the ECB is forced to embark on another full-on stimulus push.

USING THE 'GLASS CLIFF' TO ONE'S ADVANTAGE

Women are often hired to leadership positions when an organization is in crisis, a phenomenon documented by academics and now widely recognized, dubbed the “glass cliff”.

Theresa May is perhaps the most recent example on the world stage, having taken up the role of UK prime minister in the messy aftermath of the 2016 Brexit referendum.

May struggled for years against almost impossible headwinds until finally, last month, she admitted defeat and resigned.

Lagarde's new appointment is not necessarily a “glass cliff” moment.

But her advice is that women shouldn't shy away from those types of challenges.

“When the situation is difficult, when it's really challenging, when the financial situation is really poor, when budgets have been blown, then there are opportunities for women,” she said in a recent interview.

“I have noticed, time and again, that when it's bad, you call women to the rescue. Or as a former central bank governor said to me... ‘The men go to war, and the women pick up the pieces,’” Lagarde added.

The ECB is not in crisis, but Lagarde will be taking over at a time of great complexity.

The 19-member currency union is preparing for the fallout from Brexit on the one hand and a debt-ridden Italy looking for support on the other. Those short-term issues have been compounded by slowing growth in the region, global uncertainty, and the escalating risk of a trade war with the US.

One of her first actions at the ECB may be to reboot the €2.5 trillion emergency stimulus measures introduced during the depths of the financial crisis which ended in December 2018.

The European Central Bank had embarked on a huge net asset purchase programme to stimulate the eurozone economy through its bond-buying scheme, worth €30bn a month.

A PRAGMATIC STANCE

Ultimately, Lagarde's role will lean heavily on her skills as a communicator and, to a certain extent, as a saleswoman, assuming policy becomes especially “creative”, so to speak.

In a recent interview, Mark Rutte, the Dutch Prime Minister told CNBC: *“When you come to her to get a loan, she is very tough on conditions, so I wouldn't like to be the European country who needs to go to the ECB asking for favours.”*

As far as loans and favours are concerned, one of the IMF's main functions is to monitor the economic performance of member countries, and the fund played a crucial role in preventing the collapse of Greece during the eurozone debt crisis.

But according to Yanis Varoufakis, the Greek Finance Minister at the time, the incoming ECB chief must call for an end to the eurozone's suicidal fiscal rules, which, he says, have now run out of road.

Varoufakis recalls when Christine Lagarde was a key member of the “infamous troika” – the European Commission, the IMF and the ECB – who *“crushed our people's resistance to perpetual debt bondage. The other key figure alongside the IMF's then managing director was Mario Draghi, president of the ECB, who played a central role in that drama by engineering the closure of Greece's banks”*.

He thinks that the question now is whether Lagarde's skills are in tune with the task of leading the ECB in the post-Draghi era: *“can she confront and push Berlin to ditch the eurozone's suicidal fiscal rules which reinforce Europe's deflationary dynamic and to accept the idea of a common, safe debt”?*

“If she does not do so, no matter how energetically she continues to impose Draghi's policies, she will fail the test of history. To succeed she needs to be subtle, creative and confrontational”.

In the face of rising populism, an ending expansion cycle and the impact of very low-interest rates in the credit market, it is imperative for the new leadership of the European Central Bank to be strong.

Most observers expect, in terms of monetary policy, that Lagarde will maintain the dovish stance of her predecessor. But, above all, there is hope that she will be able to extend the central bank's field of intervention, through her political prowess and capacity for dialogue.

Lagarde's greatest challenge is that she is replacing a man credited with saving the eurozone by means of policies that are no longer fit for purpose. If she departs from Draghi's script, she will face fierce criticism. And if she does not, the eurozone's never-ending crisis may spin further out of the ECB's control.

*The Editor-in-Chief
Trajan Dereville*



© Peter van der Sluis

GEERT WILDERS

The rise of a Dutch populist

In the 17th century, Dutch settlers flocked to the southern half of what is now Manhattan to establish New Amsterdam, a fur-trading post that would welcome Lutherans and Catholics from Europe; Anglicans, Puritans, and Quakers from New England; and Sephardic Jews who were, at the time, discouraged from settling in America's other nascent regions.

Though its English conquerors would rename the city New York, the values of diversity and tolerance that the Dutch introduced would remain the region's hallmark for centuries to come.

In modern-day Netherlands, however, the Dutch Republic's founding pledge in 1581, that *"everyone shall remain*

free in religion" has collided with the ambitions of one of the country's most popular politicians.

That man is Geert Wilders, the anti-establishment politician and rabble-rouser who founded his Party for Freedom (PVV) in 2006, by declaring independence from the "elite in The Hague".

He is renowned mostly for his divisive and scathing anti-Islam rhetoric, but also for his flamboyant blond hair. He has been branded as "Captain Peroxide" and "Mozart" by the Dutch press and has even been described by Radio Netherlands as "the most famous bleach-blond since Marilyn Monroe".

Wilders is often dubbed the Dutch Donald Trump, even by the Ameri-

can press. This of course has much to do with his hair, as well as his use of social media for communicating his thoughts, but this far-right populist is both more ideological and less impulsive than the American president.

He has called for making the "Netherlands ours again," banning the Quran, putting a tax on wearing the hijab, shutting down all mosques, sealing off Dutch borders to Muslim newcomers, and pulling the Netherlands out of the European Union.

"All the values Europe stands for — freedom, democracy, human rights — are incompatible with Islam," he said in a 2015 video. It was shocking but hardly the most controversial thing he's said.



© André P. Meier-Vitali

He is at the forefront of a wave of anti-immigrant populism sweeping Europe.

In the 2017 general election, initial Dutch exit polls had incumbent Prime Minister Mark Rutte's party in the lead, with Wilders' Freedom Party coming in second and exceeding its vote totals from the 2012 election, but falling well short of earlier projections.

Because of the fractured nature of Dutch parliamentary politics which require coalition building between parties, Wilders had been unlikely to ascend to the prime minister's office regardless of the final results.

That doesn't mean he's been marginalized: Wilders had already successfully dragged the political conversation in the Netherlands to the right — and may have helped to do the same for the rest of Europe.

Here, then, is a primer on Geert Wilders, the man who put parliamentary elections squarely at the centre of the world's stage in a country that rarely makes the news.

A NATIONALIST TRAILBLAZER

Wilders was born on September 6, 1963 in Venlo, a largely Catholic town in the southeastern Limburg region of the Netherlands, near the German border. He is the youngest of his parents' four children.

In 1991, Wilders married Krisztina Marfai Arib, a former Hungarian diplomat in Budapest.

His mother was half Indonesian, a fact he does not much discuss, while his father was a manager in a printing and photocopy machine manufacturing firm.

Wilders completed his secondary education in Venlo and at 18, he resolved to travel and see the world. But he did not have enough money to travel to Australia which was his preferred destination. So, he headed to Israel instead and worked on a moshav — a cooperative agricultural community of individual farms.

He lived there for two years and fell in love with Zionism and the idea of Israel as a bulwark against the Arab world. With the money he had saved, he also travelled to the neighbouring Arab countries and was moved by the lack of democracy in the region, due to the conflicts at the time. Wilders later took a course in health insurance in Amsterdam and earned several law degrees at the Dutch Open University. He has reportedly visited Israel over 40 times since then.

Unlike other European far-rightists, his outreach to Jews is not about covering up ancient anti-Semitism — Marine Le Pen's father, in France, for example, was a known Holocaust minimizer, a fact Le Pen has scrambled to make up for after taking over the Front National and later changing the party's name to Rassemblement National.

He first lived and worked in Utrecht in the health and social insurance sector. His interest in the subject led him into politics as speechwriter and parliamentary assistant to Frits Bolkestein, the leader of the conserva-

tive People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie or VVD). He held this job from 1990 to 1998.

Frits Bolkestein is often considered his political mentor, but another strong political influence on him was fellow VVD parliamentarian Ayaan Hirsi Ali, a Somali-born Dutch politician who had denounced her Islamic faith. Together, Wilders and Hirsi Ali developed a so-called 'critique of the Islamic religion' that saw the behaviour of Muslims as determined by their religion and that blamed the social-economic misery and lack of democracy in many Islamic countries, as well as sexism and racism inside Muslim communities on their 'backward' culture.

In 1997, Wilders was also elected to the municipal council of Utrecht for the VVD and at this time, he was living in a suburb where a high proportion of immigrants occupied cheap social housing in high rise apartment blocks.

It was while he was a city councilor that Wilders was mugged in his own neighbourhood; it has been speculated that this may have been the catalyst for his later political transformation.

In 2002 he was made a party spokesperson for the VVD. However, tensions developed over his opposition to Islam, and he was eventually expelled from the party for his refusal to endorse the party's position for EU accession talks to be started with Turkey.

But it was a far more ideological, and far more flamboyant party leader named Pim Fortuyn who truly paved the way for Wilders' eventual rise to prominence.

IN FORTUYN'S FOOTSTEPS

The nation's peculiar path from "live and let live" to "Make the Netherlands Ours Again" — as Wilders has said — has as its guidelines a changing definition of tolerance, some instances of political opportunism and two grisly assassinations.

In the 1970s and 1980s, there was growing discontent of Muslim communities, because the decline in

decent job prospects for the Turkish and Moroccan migrants only aggravated tensions. The parties, however, worked on the assumption that it was not appropriate to have political infighting about the presence of immigrants. They didn't want to use minorities to make a political point.

But by September 2001, that principle had all but eroded.

For many Dutch, the terrorist attacks of 9/11 turned a latent unease towards Turkish and Moroccan communities into an open distrust of Islam. Lost on them was a bit of historical irony: The Twin Towers stood just north of where the Dutch had once erected a 12-foot-tall barrier—Wall Street, they called it—to demarcate the borders of tolerant New Amsterdam.

As the country turned a suspicious gaze on its Muslim communities, two of the most vocal peddlers of anti-Islam sentiment in the Netherlands—Pim Fortuyn and Theo Van Gogh—gained an increasingly receptive audience.

Fortuyn was a charismatic man and openly gay. He was a former university professor and political columnist.

He became the leader of the right-wing “Livable Netherlands” party but, rather like Wilders, was dismissed after giving an interview in which he promised to keep out Muslim immigrants — *“As far as I am concerned, no Muslim will ever come in,”* he said.

Such statements accompanied his rapid ascent towards the top of Dutch politics, culminating with the formation of his own party, Lijst (List) Pim Fortuyn (LPF) in 2002.

Theo Van Gogh—the great-grandson of Vincent Van Gogh's brother—was a film director and fierce advocate of free speech. Together with the Somali-born parliamentarian Ayaan Hirsi Ali, Van Gogh produced a 10-minute film, titled *Submission* that depicted verses from the Quran projected onto women's bare bodies. The purpose, they said, was to highlight the issue of violence against women in many Islamic communities.

Through their respective paths, Fortuyn and Van Gogh actively hyped up a tension between the new brand of Dutch tolerance—one forged on socially progressive values—and the



© Wikimedia

supposed backwardness of traditionalist Islam. Many in the Muslim community were quick to point out that the contrasts that the two were drawing did not square with their own embrace of the openness of Dutch society.

Nonetheless, the gruesome deaths of the two men would give their messages a new sense of resonance among the Dutch.

In positioning his out gay identity against migrants, Fortuyn attempted to appeal to the way many Dutch liked to see themselves — as exemplars of a very Western, very tolerant, post-sexual revolution society. Indeed, the Netherlands was the first European country to legalize same-sex marriage, in 2001.

Fortuyn arrived at a form of xenophobia ideally suited to a nation that prides itself on its tolerance. The problem with immigrants is that they are intolerant. In this context, his flamboyant gayness probably was an asset. After all, if you're willing to back a man who brags about sleeping with Arab boys, how much of a bigot can you really be?

But Fortuyn's outspoken positions won him enemies as well.

Volkert van der Graaf, a 33 year-old environmental and animal rights activist, fed up with Fortuyn's exploitations of “the weak parts of society” as he called them, fired five bullets into the politician's head and back, just days before the 2002 general elections. This was the country's first prominent political assassination since the 17th century.

In August 1672, following the outbreak of the Franco-Dutch and Anglo-Dutch Wars, the republican key figures of Prime Minister Johan De Witt and his elder brother, Cornelis De Witt were lynched and brutally killed by civic militia and an angry mob in The Hague.

Van Gogh's death in 2004 was even more startling. He was cycling to his Amsterdam office to finish a film on the life of Fortuyn when Mohammed Bouyeri, a 26-year-old Dutch-Moroccan, also on a bicycle, shot him.

As Van Gogh pleaded for his life, the attacker fired several more bullets, then stabbed him to death and slit his throat. He then attached the names of future victims to the knife... among these names were those of Geert Wilders and Ayaan Hirsi Ali.

The murder of Theo Van Gogh was a crucial turning point. He represented this new anti-religion, leftish ideology that was part of the 1960s and 1970s.

Many people, even those from the left, would go on to argue that Muslims constitute a problem and a danger to the open society that the Netherlands is.

Despite instant renunciation from Islamic leaders across the country, dozens of retaliatory arson attacks were attempted on Dutch mosques over the following weeks.

The “live and let live ideal”, was dead, along with Pim Fortuyn and Theo Van Gogh.



© Peter van der Sluis

THE RIGHT-WING DRIFT

At the time of Van Gogh's murder, Geert Wilders and Ayaan Hirsi Ali, both known targets of religious extremists, were granted round-the-clock police protection. Hirsi Ali eventually left The Netherlands; Wilders has lived under police surveillance ever since.

While he was in Rome to receive the Oriana Fallaci Free Speech Award in 2009, a colleague counted 35 policemen guarding the door when Wilders went to the restroom.

He joked that it was "the best-protected pee" of his life, but the routine he endures because so many Islamists want to kill him is hardly a laughing matter as far as he is concerned.

Fortuyn, Van Gogh, and Wilders were all, in some way, responding to an increasing discomfort with the presence of Muslim immigrants in Dutch society.

A number of political analysts in the Netherlands have expressed the opinion that if it hadn't been for Fortuyn, there wouldn't be a Wilders phenomenon. They note that in the 1990s, there was growing frustration over immigration issues and Fortuyn was the first to frame the issue as "protecting Dutchness" which, he believed, was threatened by Islam and immigrants.

After the collapse of the List Pim Fortuyn in 2003, there was a large gap in the market for far-right populism in the Netherlands. Several figures vied for the support of this market but it was Geert Wilders who won this battle through the formation of the Party for Freedom (PVV).

Whatever else Wilders is, he is a very clever organizer and party manager. He correctly noted that all prior right-wing populist parties in the Netherlands,

especially the LPF, had fallen apart due to a lack of unity and party infighting.

His new Party for Freedom was thus created with a unique structure, both in the Netherlands and internationally. Under Dutch law a political party must have at least two members.

Hence, the PVV has exactly two members: Geert Wilders, and the Geert Wilders Foundation. The party and Wilders are essentially one and the same. PVV policy is set by Wilders and all the party's candidates for office are only accepted onto its lists after heavy vetting by Wilders personally.

This has downsides; the party is only ever capable of running in two municipalities, The Hague and Almere, but it remains tightly under Wilders' control.

Wilders claims to be the heir of Pim Fortuyn and like Fortuyn before him, he is an especially harsh critic of Islam. Wilders has compared the Quran to Mein Kampf and claimed it should be outlawed just as Hitler's book is in the Netherlands.

He has referred to Muhammed as 'the devil' and suggests that Islam is not a religion, but a totalitarian political ideology which he compares to Communism and Fascism. His proposed solutions to the 'Islamic problem' include €1,000 licences to wear a hijab, and to pay Muslims to leave the country.

He was acquitted of a hate speech charge in 2011, though the court stated that his speech was 'borderline'.

In 2009, Wilders produced his own short Islamophobic film, "Fitna", which was a mishmash of images from 9/11, the Madrid bombings, and words from the Quran.

It was seen as incitement; he was temporarily banned from entering Britain after it aired. The entire episode served, in fact, as publicity and provocation.

In 2012, he wrote a book, *Marked for Dead: Islam's War Against the West and Me*.

One distinctive characteristic of Wilders' ideology, and of the new right-wing in general in the Netherlands, is its ambiguous attitude to the heritage of the post-'68 social movements. They are vehemently opposed to the eco-

logical movement, and of course to anti-racism. But (verbal) support for women's rights and those of LGBTs as well as opposition to antisemitism have been made into markers of 'Dutchness' and modernity.

Emancipation in Dutch society is supposedly completed: emancipation movements are 'out-dated', except among 'backward' minorities. The fight against sexism, homophobia and antisemitism is redefined as one against 'non-integrated minorities', especially Muslims who are considered to be inherently misogynist, homophobic and antisemitic.

In the words of Fleur Agema, a prominent, young PVV parliamentarian: *"Antisemitism and homophobia are not Dutch phenomena. They have been imported, for a deplorable part, from Morocco."*

Racism in the Netherlands is not limited to the PVV, but Wilders, and Fortuyn before him, do more than just reflect existing sentiments: they mobilize and shape a social base for their politics.

In addition to Islam, Wilders has more recently branched out into attacking Eastern European migrants. In 2012 the party launched a website named 'Reporting Centre on Central and East Europeans' which solicits complaints about East and Central European immigrants.

The website had a headline which declared 'Do you have problems with people from Central and Eastern Europe? Have you lost your job to a Pole, a Bulgarian, a Romanian or other Eastern European?'

It also said 'Wouldn't it be better if they just went home?' and accused Eastern Europeans of criminality.

The European Commission promptly condemned the website.

Additionally, Wilders predictably, takes tough positions on law and order, is climate-sceptic and has populist views towards the political elite.

Wilders was originally very classically right-wing on economics, even amongst the VVD, but as the PVV's base is fairly mixed socially, and because of competition with the left-populist Socialist Party, the PVV's platform has become rather oddball and mixed in this area.

It is often described as economically centrist, but a better word might be syncretic. The PVV does not adopt centrist economic positions but rather has a set of positions which are either very left wing or very right wing.

He supports tax cuts, and welfare chauvinist positions tightening up the welfare system, but he also supports keeping the retirement age at 65, a position also supported only by the most left-wing party, the Socialists.

That said, Wilders does not much concern himself with economics and this is simply not a major part of the PVV's programme.

RIDING THE WAVE OF INSTITUTIONALIZED POPULISM

The Dutch far-right has evolved into one of the most successful national movements in Europe and Geert Wilders has become something of a major political figure, boasting international support. With 1.3 million votes, his party became the second largest in the last Dutch elections in March 2017.

For Wilders and the far-right, populism is the idea that society is divided into two camps; the 'good people' versus a 'corrupt elite'. The 'people' are not the whole of society, but the part of the society that is considered pure and whose political will is considered legitimate: it is a partial object that stands in for the whole.

Who is part of the 'people' is not really defined, and the borders of this category are contested.

Selecting those considered part of it and those who are not, is a political act.

In national-populism, the 'people' and the nation tend to overlap: the nation is not equal to the citizenry but to the 'people', a term with an historical, ethnic connotation. The national-populism of Wilders calls for the disappearance of an 'alien' minority culture to preserve a mythical, homogeneous 'Dutchness'.

As much as Geert Wilders may want power, he may, more than anything, want to exert influence — especially on the international stage. In that respect, he has already succeeded.



© Wikimedia

Political ideas such as his are prevalent in the European Union, where national-populist parties have made spectacular gains in parliamentary and general elections in a number of member states. Hungary, Poland, Belgium, Austria, Germany and Italy are among the more prominent nations where right-wing populist parties have garnered a significant following.

As far back as 2005, he was one of the leading campaigners for a Dutch No vote against the European Constitution, arguing that it limited national sovereignty.

And in a speech in 2017, Wilders spoke explicitly on Europe. He explained his view that the EU is characterized by cultural relativism and enmity towards patriotism. But that patriotism is not a dangerous threat... it is something to be proud of.

It means defending a nation's sovereignty and independence, and not selling it out in shabby compromises to the EU and its bureaucrats.

He also quoted his close political ally, Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán: "Europe is a community of Christian, free and independent nations. The main danger to Europe's future comes from the fanatics of internationalism in Brussels. We shall not allow them to force upon us the bitter fruit of their cosmopolitan immigration policy."

He then continued in the same vein, taking up historical considerations.

He affirmed that European civilization, based on the legacy of Jerusalem. Athens and Rome, is the best civilization on earth and that it gave us

democracy, freedom, equality before the law, the separation of church and state, and the notion of sovereign states to protect it all.

Finally, he launched a scathing attack on the European Union: *Instead of stopping it, the EU is facilitating the process of population replacement. The open border policies imposed by the EU on its member states prevent these countries controlling their own borders. The EU Court of Justice dismisses sovereign laws of member states and tramples on their rights to approve who enters their countries.*

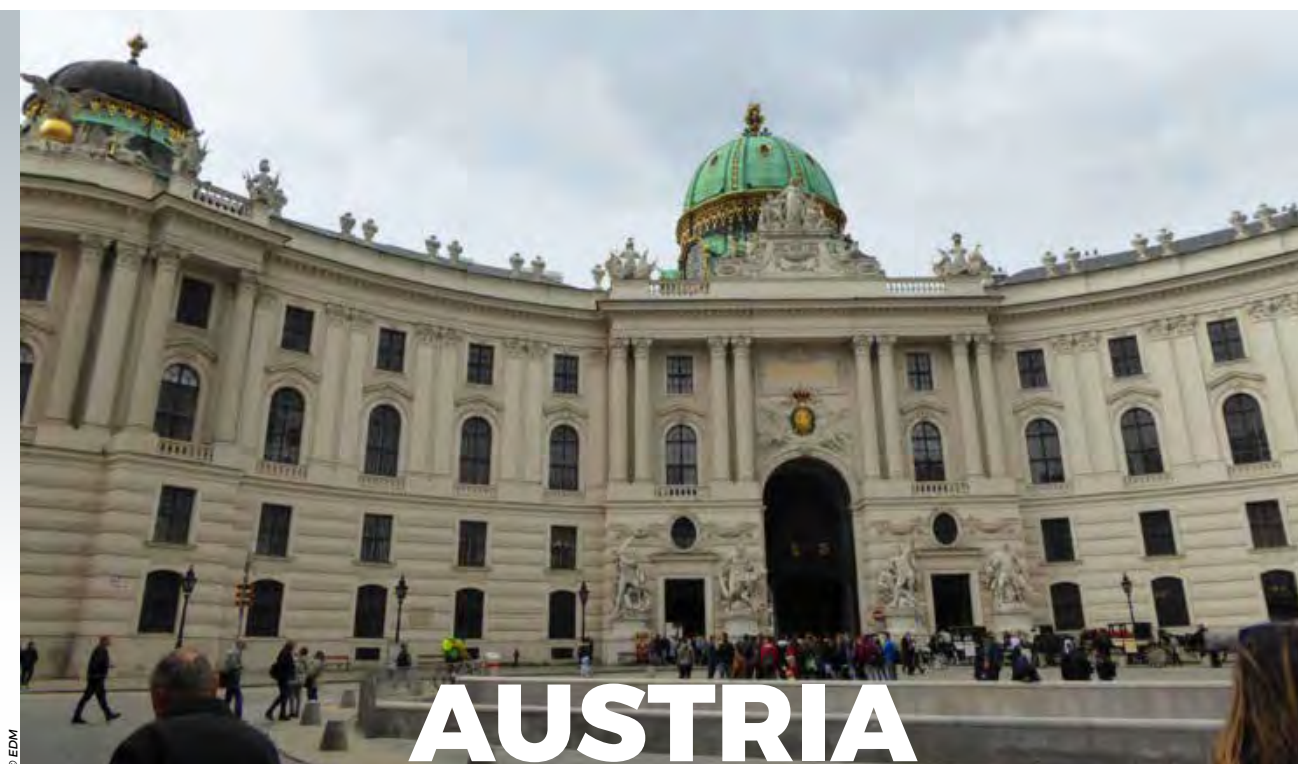
The EU is forcing countries to take in quotas of mostly Islamic immigrants. EU Frontex ships pick immigrants up at sea and transport them to the EU instead of sending them back. Everything the EU does makes matters worse.

Wilders was asked by a reporter if he thought that Europe could be saved.

This is his answer: "Yes, but only if we get rid of the EU, restore national sovereignty and de-Islamise our societies. And that is exactly what we intend to do."

The rise of Wilders and others like him points to a radical shift in politics across all of Europe. The entire political spectrum is shifting to the right. This shift certainly addresses real problems that Europe faces. But the less savory elements of this movement point to the dangers here.

The foreshocks in the Netherlands, followed by the refugee crisis may be the beginnings of a political earthquake that will restructure governments across the Continent and precipitate a transformative identity crisis in Europe.



AUSTRIA

CORRUPTION REPORT

Very slow progress in Austria on measures to prevent corruption in respect of MPs, says Council of Europe anti-corruption body

The Council of Europe's anti-corruption body (GRECO) today expressed disappointment by the very slow progress shown by Austria in implementing its recommendations on measures to prevent corruption in respect of parliamentarians and called on the Austrian parliament to intensify its efforts to address them.

In a report evaluating Austria's progress in implementing its recommendations to prevent corruption in respect of MPs, judges and prosecutors, GRECO concludes that the country has fully complied with only one out of 19 recommendations issued in its 2016 evaluation report. Five have been partly implemented and 13 have not yet been implemented. [see also the report in French and German]

GRECO regrets the low level of compliance with its recommendations in respect of MP's, although it acknowledges that the parliamentary early election in 2017 has delayed the implementation of a significant number of them concerning rules of conduct, declarations of interests and assets, lobbying and supervisory mechanisms.

At the same time, GRECO notes some positive steps such as improvements in the legislative consultation processes for the elaboration of governmental and parliamentary drafts, that rules of conduct are being drafted and that confidential councilors are to be established in the future.

With regard to judges and prosecutors, GRECO welcomes that a number of planned reforms will address its main recommendations. For example, the work programme of the current government for 2017-2022 aims at strengthening transparency and objectivity in the selection of judges. There are also plans to improve the appraisal system of judges and prosecutors as well as the rules on incompatibilities with func-

tions in the executive and legislative branches of power.

Moreover, a working group chaired by the head of the Compliance Department of the Federal Ministry of Constitution, Reforms, Deregulation and Justice is working on additional rules of conduct and guidelines for all justice officials and employees, including judges and prosecutors. There are also ambitious plans for the introduction of a Compliance Management System.

However, none of these improvements have been finalised yet and several intended reforms are still at an early stage. For the time being, the only recommendation fully implemented is the result of assurances provided by the Austrian authorities concerning the publicity of administrative court hearings.

Since Austria's level of compliance with the recommendations is "globally unsatisfactory", the country will remain subject to GRECO's non-compliance procedure. The Austrian authorities should report back about progress achieved by 31 December 2019.



EU COURT OF JUSTICE

EU Court of Justice Issues Decision on Facebook “Likes” used by websites

The operator of a website that features a Facebook ‘Like’ button can be a controller jointly with Facebook in respect of the collection and transmission to Facebook of the personal data of visitors to its website.

By contrast, that operator is not, in principle, a controller in respect of the subsequent processing of those data carried out by Facebook alone.

FashionID, a German online clothing retailer, embedded on its website the Facebook ‘Like’ button. The consequence of embedding that button appears to be that when a visitor consults the website of FashionID, that visitor’s personal data are transmitted to Facebook Ireland.

It seems that that transmission occurs without that visitor being aware of it and regardless of whether or not he or she is a member of the social network Facebook or has clicked on the ‘Like’ button.

Verbraucherzentrale NRW, a German public-service association tasked with safeguarding the interests of consumers, criticises FashionID for transmitting to Facebook Ireland personal data of visitors to its website, first, without their consent and, second, in breach of the duties to inform set out in the provisions relating to the protection of personal data. The Oberlandesgericht Düsseldorf (Higher Regional Court, Düsseldorf, Germany), which is hearing the dispute, requests the Court of Justice to interpret several provisions of the former Data Protection Directive of 1995 (which remains applicable to this case, but has now been replaced by the new General Data Protection Regulation of 2016 with effect from 25 May 2018). In its judgment, the Court finds, first, that the former Data Protection Directive does not preclude consumer-protection associations from being granted the right to bring or defend legal proceedings against a person allegedly responsible for an infringement of the protection of personal data. The Court notes that the new General Data Protection Regulation now expressly provides for this possibility. The Court holds,



second, that it appears that FashionID cannot be considered to be a controller in respect of the operations involving data processing carried out by Facebook Ireland after those data have been transmitted to the latter. It seems, at the outset, impossible that FashionID determines the purposes and means of those operations. By contrast, FashionID can be considered to be a controller jointly with Facebook Ireland in respect of the operations involving the collection and disclosure by transmission to Facebook Ireland of the data at issue, since it can be concluded (subject to the investigations that it is for the Oberlandesgericht Düsseldorf to carry out) that FashionID and Facebook Ireland determine jointly the means and purposes of those operations.

It appears, inter alia, that FashionID’s embedding of the Facebook ‘Like’ button on its website allows it to optimise the publicity for its goods by making them more visible on the Facebook social network when a visitor to its website clicks on that button. The reason why FashionID seems to have consented, at least implicitly, to the collection and disclosure by transmission of the personal data of visitors to its website by embedding such a button on its website is in order to benefit from that commercial advantage. Thus, those processing operations appear to be performed in the economic interests both of FashionID and of Facebook Ireland, for whom the

fact that it can use those data for its own commercial purposes constitutes the consideration for the benefit to FashionID. The Court makes clear that the operator of a website such as FashionID, as a (joint) controller in respect of certain operations involving the processing of the data of visitors to its website, such as the collection of those data and their transmission to Facebook Ireland, must provide, at the time of their collection, certain information to those visitors such as, for example, its identity and the purposes of the processing. The Court has also provided further information in respect of two of the six cases provided for in the directive in which the processing of personal data can be considered lawful. Thus, with regard to the case in which the data subject has given his or her consent, the Court holds that the operator of a website such as FashionID must obtain that prior consent (solely) in respect of operations for which it is the (joint) controller, namely the collection and transmission of the data. With regard to the cases in which the processing of data is necessary for the purposes of a legitimate interest, the Court finds that each of the (joint) controllers, namely the operator of a website and the provider of a social plugin, must pursue a legitimate interest through the collection and transmission of personal data in order for those operations to be justified in that regard.



© EDM

MONACO

SMALL IN SIZE, GRAND IN GESTURE

Still a long way to go to become a full member of the EU

Since the 12th century, the city-state of Monaco, perched on the Mediterranean and bordering France's southernmost shores, has gone through some very turbulent times.

But it has survived them all through sheer determination and the political foresight of its leaders throughout the centuries.

Ruled by the House of Grimaldi since 1297, the city-state's sovereignty was declared in 1861 after centuries of being passed between Genoa, France and Sardinia.

Today, even though it is the second-smallest country by area in the world; only Vatican City is smaller,

Monaco has attained a position of high standing within Europe and the world at large.

The number of residents the country can support is limited; Monaco is home to just over 38,000 inhabitants among which 8,300 Monegasques and including residents from 12 nationalities.

While Monaco's size tightens the population, its economic strength adds additional incentives for residents.

Interestingly much of the working class in Monaco does not actually live there.

Daily, more than 30,000 French and 5,800 Italian nationals travel to Monaco to work.

This lends to the enormity of the private sector industries, which account for 86 percent of the labour force in Monaco.

Other than tourism, for which it is world famous, Monaco has developed into a destination for research centers, and 22 percent of the labour force works in scientific and technical activities, including administration and support services.

It also possesses competitive advantages in engaging in economic policy aimed at developing core competencies and nurturing economic diversity.

Its exemption of income tax has led to many celebrities setting up home

THE PRINCIPALITY OF MONACO

The Principality of Monaco is an independent and sovereign state under international law. Its government structure is a hereditary constitutional monarchy, governed by the Constitution established on December 17, 1962. The Principality of Monaco is a city-state.

The executive power rests under the high authority of His Serene Highness Prince Albert II, Sovereign Prince of Monaco. The Prince also grants amnesty and Monegasque citizenship, and bestows orders, titles, and other ranks of distinction.

The Government is composed of a Minister of State who represents the Prince. He or she is the leading authority after the Prince, as well as President of the Government Council. The Minister of State is in charge of the administrative duties concerning the country and the State executive services. He is advised by five Government Councilor-Ministers who are each administrative heads of various Ministries (*Départements*): Interior; Finance and Economy; Health and Social Affairs;

Public Works, Environment & Urban Development; and Foreign Affairs & Int'l Cooperation. The Minister and the Government Councilors are directly accountable to the Prince for the administration of the Principality. Government Councilors hold the rank of Ministers.

The Sovereign Prince is advised by two committees, the Crown Council and the State Council. The Prince consults with the Crown Council on specific matters as is outlined in the Constitution, such as the signing and ratifying of treaties, dissolving the National Council, and the granting of amnesty and Monegasque citizenship. The State Council is responsible for advising the Prince on matters of law and order, and may be consulted on other matters.

The legislative power is exercised by both the Prince and the National Council. The Prince initiates laws, which are then voted upon by the National Council.

The judicial powers are exercised by the courts and tribunal in the name of the Prince, independent of the government. The separation between the administrative, the legislative and the judiciary branches is assured. The judicial system adheres to the principles of fairness and impartiality. These principles are ensured through the creation of various tribunals, permanent Magistrates, separate systems in the charging and sentencing of crimes, double jurisdiction degree, and the possibility of recourse through the court of appeals.



there and over the years, it has created some unique and innovative business models that have allowed Monaco to develop as one of the wealthiest states in the world.

SMALL IS BEAUTIFUL... BUT NOT TOO SMALL

On first examination, Europe's microstates seem irrelevant, mere historical oddities that somehow managed to survive despite being surrounded by larger powers.

They are, however, some of the wealthiest places on Earth and play an important role as service economies.

European microstates are notable because they offer lessons on how to build a foreign policy on the principle of survival, the most basic need of any sovereign state.

Monaco is a microstate, which can be seen as one of the survivors from Europe's consolidation into nation-states over the centuries. Europe features other such states, such as Andorra and San Marino.

These microstates have survived for so long and have probably succeeded by leveraging their greatest asset — their sovereignty.

But it seems that it is precisely for reasons to do with its size and degree of sovereignty that the future integration of Monaco as a full member into the European Union is unlikely.

Today, the generally accepted definition of a microstate is an internationally recognized sovereign state that has been able to unilaterally depute certain attributes of sovereignty to larger powers in exchange for benign protection of its political and economic viability against their geographic or demographic constraints.

Monaco is small in geographical and population terms, but unlike the constitutional monarchies within the EU, the Sovereign, arduous Prince of Monaco wields considerable executive powers and is not merely a figurehead.

In November 2013, the EU Commission published a report which concluded that *"the participation of the small-sized countries in the European Economic Area (EAA) is not judged to be a viable option at present due to political and institutional reasons"*, but that Association Agreements were a more feasible mechanism to integrate the microstates into the internal market, preferably via a single multilateral agreement with all the three states of Monaco, Andorra and San Marino.

Taking into account the size and the very limited natural resources of the country, the Princes of Monaco have always succeeded in negotiating protection and cooperation agreements with their large neighbours. And it is in this manner that for over 150 years, large sectors of the country's economic and social activities are regulated through bilateral agreements and conventions with France.



© EDM



© EDM



© EDM

Today, with France having chosen to share and even transfer a number of its powers to the EU, its capacity to enter into contracts is more limited in certain economic fields and international commerce, for example.

Furthermore, through these bilateral conventions with France, the country has been, in a way, directly involved in the construction of Europe: European products and services are freely commercialized in Monaco. However, companies established in Monaco can face difficulties in exporting to EU member states.

It is therefore only natural that both *de facto* and *de jure* reciprocity be guaranteed.

And this is the reason why Monaco accepted the EU's proposition to begin negotiations in view of reaching an Association Agreement.

The signature of an Association Agreement would also provide the benefit of a lasting legal and political framework for relations between Monaco, the EU, and EU member states. Among other things, it would set out the procedures for resolving any difficulties that might be caused by its implementation, by introducing a mechanism for settling disputes.

In addition to expanding economic prospects, the fact of establishing a partnership with the EU opens up the possibility of developing cooperation in



© EDM

areas of shared interest and participating in some of the EU's horizontal policies on such issues as research, the environment and education (ERASMUS).

The first round of negotiations took place in Brussels in May 2015 and the talks are being held at a rate of one three-day session every seven weeks.

The majority of the sessions are held on a quadripartite basis, with the participation of the EU plus Monaco, Andorra and San Marino, and to a lesser extent on a bilateral basis with the EU and Monaco.

Although it may be difficult to arrive at a precise estimate of the duration of the negotiations, which will depend on the priorities given to the Agreement by the parties as well as the difficulties encountered along the way, it is hoped that an agreement can be reached sometime in 2020.

LONG, ARDUOUS BUT STEADFAST NEGOTIATIONS

Monaco has always been at the core of European history and has deep, long-standing political, economic, social and cultural relations with the Member States in their immediate proximity and with the EU at large.

Also, the EU's partnership with this country is founded on a common set of political and cultural values.

In fact, given its customs union with France, the Principality has been part of the Community customs territory as far back as 1968.

The Monegasque state also established a permanent relationship with the EU when it accredited an ambassador to Brussels in 1999.

The Principality of Monaco has been officially engaged in negotiations with the European Union, aimed at reaching a balanced agreement, which will allow Monaco to participate as fully as possible in the EU's internal market, while ensuring respect for the Principality's vital interests, taking into account its unique geographical, demographic and economic features.

The launch of these negotiations was the outcome of a dialogue with Monaco, Andorra, and San Marino begun by the European Commission in 2010, acting on the basis that *"the Union will take into account the particular situation of small-sized countries which maintain specific relations of proximity with it"*.

In December 2010, the Council of the European Union requested an assessment of the EU's relations with European countries of small territorial dimension – Principality of Andorra, the Principality of Monaco and the Republic of San Marino – noting that *"their current relations with the EU are extended but fragmented"*.

Following the adoption of a report produced by the Hungarian Presidency, in June 2011 the Council invited the European External Action Service (EEAS) and the Commission to continue their analyses and reflections on the future development of EU relations with the three countries.

In November 2012, the Commission published a communication in which it presented the "relations of the EU with the Principality of Andorra, the Principality of Monaco and the Republic of San Marino" and explored "options for closer integration with the EU".

The communication looked at five options: the status quo, a sectoral approach, a framework association agreement, participation in the European Economic Area, and membership of the EU.

It was accompanied by a working paper on the obstacles the three countries face in terms of access to the EU's internal market and cooperation in other areas.

It was on the basis of this report that the Commission and the Council retained two options: participation in the European Economic Area and the negotiation of one or more framework association agreements.

In November 2013, the Commission adopted a report in which it concluded that negotiation of one or more



© EDM

association agreements was the more viable of the two options.

It also set out the key principles which should underpin the negotiations: respect for shared values, the need to ensure the homogeneity and good functioning of the internal market, and consideration for the specificities of countries of small territorial dimension.

In December 2013, on the basis of this report, the Council invited the Commission and the High Representative to submit, by the end of April 2014, a recommendation on opening negotiations with the three countries with a view to concluding one or more association agreements.



© EDM

The Council notably reaffirmed that a *"closer association of Andorra, Monaco and San Marino with the EU is also in the interest of the EU. It should contribute to addressing gaps and overcoming inconsistencies in relations, which are currently fragmented and diverge from one country to the other."*

Furthermore, enhanced participation of the three countries in the internal market could have a positive, though limited economic impact on the EU, in particular with regard to employment in the neighboring regions and cross-border economic activity".

YET MORE CHALLENGES AHEAD

Monaco and the other microstates in Europe have showed a remarkable ability to survive.

For centuries, a combination of political skill, adaptability and sometimes outright luck have allowed them to survive Europe's endless political vicissitudes.

In the future, however, these microstates will face new challenges.

As for Monaco, the Government is aware of the complexity of the images associated with the country. Consequently, a thorough examination of its image has been a strategic task, as it would be for any State striving for increased modernization and adaptability.

Studies show that Monaco's image is largely a very positive one in the public's view. However, the robustness of its institutions, the quality of life, the country's geographical location, the strength of its economic and social models or the hosting of famous international events often obscure, in the mind of some audiences, the origins of the deep-seated wealth of the country.

Along with Monaco's relentless efforts to further increase the convergence of its legislation with EU internal market *acquis* and strengthen its administrative capacity in view of facilitating the implementation of further relevant EU *acquis*, the Government has embarked on focused communication campaigns to increase Monaco's attractiveness for a target population and, more generally, international public opinion.

A campaign entitled "Monaco - A special role in the world" was the result of an initiative by H.S.H Prince Albert II. It has been widely disseminated and has won several awards.

The Sovereign Prince's interventions and exemplary positions have also largely contributed to transforming Monaco into an internationally recognized advocate for the protection of the seas, the development of eco-responsible initiatives and climate change issues.

A concrete example is Monaco's offshore extension. This is ecological engineering at the core of project design.

The creation of this 6-hectare offshore space between two reserves that are marine protected areas (the underwater reserve of Larvotto and the Spélugues coral reef), illustrates the particular care given to respecting the site's biodiversity and attention paid to impacts arising from the worksite.

With available land at a premium, this project will extend Monegasque territory, in the Larvotto district, as has been done many times since the first land reclamation in 1872. Since then the Principality has increased its surface area by 25%, today occupying 2.1km².

With more dramatic plans being submitted daily, the Principality has its hands full to control the already burgeoning area while retaining its historic and cultured past.

Hossein Sadre



“GOZNYM”

a Cyber-Criminal Network operating out of Europe dismantled

Network Formed by Individuals Who Advertised their Specialized Technical Skills and Services on Underground Russian-Language Online Criminal Forums.

A complex transnational organized cybercrime network that used GozNym malware in an attempt to steal an estimated \$100 million from unsuspecting victims in the United States and around the world has been dismantled as part of an international law enforcement operation. GozNym infected tens of thousands of victim computers worldwide, primarily in the United States and Europe. The operation was highlighted by the unprecedented initiation of criminal prosecutions against members of the network in four different countries as a result of cooperation between the United States, Georgia, Ukraine, Moldova, Germany, Bulgaria, Europol and Eurojust.

United States Attorney Scott W. Brady of the Western District of Pennsylvania made the announcement at Europol,

located in The Hague, Netherlands, along with his international partners.

The operation was conducted by the United States Attorney's Office for the Western District of Pennsylvania and the FBI's Pittsburgh Field Office, along with the Office of the Prosecutor General of Georgia, Prosecutor General's Office of Ukraine, Office of the Prosecutor General of the Republic of Moldova, Public Prosecutor's Office Verden (Germany), the Supreme Prosecutor's Office of Cassation of the Republic of Bulgaria, Ministry of Internal Affairs of Georgia, National Police of Ukraine, General Police Inspectorate of the Republic of Moldova, the Luneburg Police of Germany and the Republic of Bulgaria's General Directorate for Combatting Organized Crime with the significant assistance of Europol and Eurojust.



“International law enforcement has recognized that the only way to truly disrupt and defeat transnational, anonymized networks is to do so in partnership,” said U.S. Attorney Brady. “The collaborative and simultaneous prosecution of the members of the GozNym criminal conspiracy in four countries represents a paradigm shift in how we investigate and prosecute cybercrime. Cybercrime victimizes



people all over the world. This prosecution represents an international cooperative effort to bring cybercriminals to justice.”

Earlier today, the U.S. Attorney’s Office for the Western District of Pennsylvania unsealed an Indictment returned by a federal grand jury in Pittsburgh charging 10 members of the GozNym criminal network with conspiracy to

commit computer fraud, conspiracy to commit wire fraud and bank fraud, and conspiracy to commit money laundering. An eleventh member of the conspiracy was previously charged in a related Indictment. The victims of these crimes were primarily U.S. businesses and their financial institutions, including a number of victims located in the Western District of Pennsylvania.

“This takedown highlights the importance of collaborating with our international law enforcement partners against this evolution of organized cybercrime,” said FBI Pittsburgh Special Agent in Charge Robert Jones. “Successful investigation and prosecution is only possible by sharing intelligence, credit and responsibility. Our adversaries know that we are weakest aalong the seams and this case is a fantastic example of what we can accomplish collectively.”

According to the Indictment, the defendants conspired to:

- infect victims’ computers with GozNym malware designed to capture victims’ online banking login credentials;
- use the captured login credentials to fraudulently gain unauthorized access to victims’ online bank accounts; and,
- steal money from victims’ bank accounts and launder those funds using U.S. and foreign beneficiary bank accounts controlled by the defendants.

The defendants reside in Russia, Georgia, Ukraine, Moldova and Bulgaria. The operation was an unprecedented international effort to share evidence and initiate criminal prosecutions against members of the same criminal network in multiple countries.

At the request of the United States, Krasimir Nikolov, aka “pablocicasso,” “salvordali,” and “karlo,” of Varna, Bulgaria, was searched and arrested by Bulgarian authorities and extradited to the United States in December 2016 to face prosecution in the Western District of Pennsylvania. Nikolov’s primary role in the conspiracy was that of a “cashier” or “account takeover specialist” who used victims’ stolen online banking credentials captured by GozNym malware to access victims’ online bank accounts and attempt to steal victims’ money through electronic funds transfers into bank accounts controlled by fellow conspirators. Nikolov is named as a GozNym conspirator in the newly unsealed indictment, although he is charged in a related Indictment filed in the Western District of Pennsylvania. Nikolov entered a guilty plea in federal court in Pittsburgh on charges relating to his participation in the

GozNym conspiracy on April 10, 2019. He is scheduled to be sentenced on Aug. 30, 2019.

Five of the named defendants reside in Russia and remain fugitives from justice. However, to overcome the inability to extradite the remaining defendants to the United States for prosecution, an unprecedented effort was undertaken to share evidence and build prosecutions against defendants in the remaining countries where they reside, including Georgia, Ukraine and Moldova. The prosecutions are based on shared evidence acquired through coordinated searches for evidence in Georgia, Ukraine, Moldova and Bulgaria, as well as from evidence shared by the United States and Germany from their respective investigations.

The GozNym network exemplified the concept of “cybercrime as a service.” According to the Indictment, the defendants advertised their specialized technical skills and services on underground, Russian-language, online criminal forums. The GozNym network was formed when these individuals were recruited from the online forums and came together to use their specialized technical skills and services in furtherance of the conspiracy.

According to the Indictment, Alexander Konovolov, aka “NoNe,” and “none_1,” age 35, of Tbilisi, Georgia, was the primary organizer and leader of the GozNym network who controlled more than 41,000 victim computers infected with GozNym malware. Konovolov assembled the team of cybercriminals charged in the Indictment, in part by recruiting them through the underground online criminal forums. Marat Kazandjian, aka “phant0m,” age 31, of Kazakhstan and Tbilisi, Georgia, was allegedly Konovolov’s primary assistant and technical administrator. Konovolov and Kazandjian are being prosecuted in Georgia for their respective roles in the GozNym criminal network.

Gennady Kapkanov, aka “Hennadiy Kapkanov,” “flux,” “ffhost,” “firestarter,” and “User 41,” age 36, of Poltava, Ukraine, was an administrator of a bulletproof hosting service known by law enforcement and computer security researchers as the “Avalanche” network. This network provided services to more than 200



cybercriminals, including Konovolov and Kazandjian, and it hosted more than 20 different malware campaigns, including GozNym. Kapkanov’s apartment in Poltava, Ukraine was searched in November 2016 during a German-led operation to dismantle the network’s servers and other infrastructure. Kapkanov was arrested for shooting an assault rifle through the door of his apartment at Ukrainian law enforcement officers conducting the search. Through the coordinated efforts being announced today, Kapkanov is now facing prosecution in Ukraine for his role in providing bulletproof hosting services to the GozNym criminal network.

Alexander Van Hoof, aka “al666,” age 45, of Nikolaev, Ukraine, was a “cash-out” or “drop master” who provided fellow members of the conspiracy with access to bank accounts he controlled that were designated to receive stolen funds from GozNym victims’ online bank accounts.

Eduard Malanici, aka “JekaProf,” and “proccryptgroup, age 32, of Balti, Moldova, provided crypting services to cybercriminals. Malanici crypted GozNym malware in furtherance of the conspiracy to enable the malware to avoid detection by anti-virus tools and protective software on victims’ computers. Malanici, along with two associates, is being prosecuted in Moldova.

Victims of the GozNym malware attacks include:

- An asphalt and paving business located in New Castle, Pennsylvania;
- A law firm located in Washington, DC;
- A church located in Southlake, Texas;
- An association dedicated to providing recreation programs and other services to persons with disabilities located in Downers Grove, Illinois;



- A distributor of neurosurgical and medical equipment headquartered in Freiburg, Germany, with a U.S. subsidiary in Cape Coral, Florida;
- A furniture business located in Chula Vista, California;
- A provider of electrical safety devices located in Cumberland, Rhode Island;
- A contracting business located in Warren, Michigan;
- A casino located in Gulfport, Mississippi;
- A stud farm located in Midway, Kentucky; and
- A law office located in Wellesley, Massachusetts;

Five Russian nationals charged in the Indictment who remain fugitives from justice include:

Vladimir Gorin, aka “Voland,” “mrv,” and “riddler,” of Orenburg, Russia. Gorin was a malware developer who oversaw the creation, development, management, and leasing of GozNym malware, including to Alexander Konovolov.

Konstantin Volchkov, aka “elvi,” age 28, of Moscow, Russia, provided spamming services to cybercriminals. Volchkov conducted spamming operations of GozNym malware on behalf of the conspiracy. The spam-

ming operations involved the mass distribution of GozNym malware through “phishing” emails. The phishing emails were designed to appear legitimate to entice the victim recipients into opening the emails and clicking on a malicious link or attachment, which facilitated the downloading of GozNym onto the victims’ computers.

Ruslan Katirkin, aka “stratos,” and “xen,” age 31, of Kazan, Russia, resided in Khmelnytskyi, Ukraine, during the time frame of the charged conspiracy. Katirkin, like Krasimir Nikolov, was a “casher” or “account takeover specialist” who used victims’ stolen online banking credentials captured by GozNym malware to access victims’ online bank accounts and attempt to steal victims’ money through electronic funds transfers into bank accounts controlled by fellow conspirators.

Viktor Vladimirovich Eremenko, aka “nfcorpi,” age 30, of Stavropol, Russia, and Farkhad Rauf Ogly Manokhin, aka “frusa,” of Volgograd, Russia, were “cash-outs” or “drop masters” on behalf of the GozNym criminal network. Like Alexander Van Hoof, Eremenko and Manokhin provided fellow members of the conspiracy with access to bank accounts they controlled that were designated to receive stolen funds from GozNym victims’ online bank accounts.

Manokhin was arrested at the request of the United States while visiting Sri Lanka in February 2017. Following his arrest, Manokhin was released on bail but was required to remain in Sri Lanka pending the outcome of his extradition proceedings to the United States. In December 2017, Manokhin unlawfully absconded from Sri Lanka and successfully fled back to Russia prior to the conclusion of the extradition proceedings.

Other agencies and organizations partnering in this effort include the United States Secret Service, the National Cyber-Forensics and Training Alliance (NCFTA) in Pittsburgh and the Shadowserver Foundation. The Justice Department’s Office of International Affairs provided significant assistance throughout the investigation and spearheaded the efforts to enable the United States to request searches, arrests, and extraditions in the foreign countries as well as the sharing of evidence with those countries through Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty requests.

The case is being prosecuted by Assistant U.S. Attorney Charles A. “Tod” Eberle, Chief of National Security and Cybercrime for the Western District of Pennsylvania.

SURGING DEBT

LEVELS A THREAT TO GLOBAL ECONOMIC STABILITY, *says GlobalData*

Globalization has transformed the economic frameworks of both developed and emerging nations. However, along with steady economic growth, several countries have also witnessed high rise in their debt burden, both private and public alike. Against this backdrop, GlobalData, a leading data and analytics company, cautions governments against relying too much on debt and calls for more transparent and regulated financial markets.

The substantial debt burden of the Chinese economy is a suitable example of this scenario. During 1995-2017, the Chinese economy grew by 586.9%, whereas the total debt burden of the country expanded from 107.9% of GDP in 1995 to 253.6% of GDP in 2017. Out of the total outstanding debt of the country, 81.5% is private debt, majorly corporate debt, while the rest is general government debt. Other emerging countries such as Kuwait, Russia, Chile and the UAE have a high percentage of private debt (above 80% of the total debt burden).

In advanced countries such as South Korea, Australia, the Netherlands, private debt contributed more than 80% of the total debt burden as of 2017. In majority of the advanced economies, the private sector has the largest amount of debt share (more than 50%) and is the strongest driving force behind the rise in global debt.

On the other side, the sovereign debt levels of many countries have risen to an alarming level in recent years, posing a serious threat to their economic prospect. Countries such as Taiwan, Greece, Italy and Japan have a public debt share of more than 50%. According to IMF, general government debt has ballooned in economies such as Japan (237.6%), Italy (131.8%), Greece (181.8%), Portugal (125.7%), and the US (105.2%).

Downside risks of huge debts are becoming prominent

Kausani Basak, Analyst for Economic Research at GlobalData stated: "The rising cost of debt servicing on exploding levels of public debt can force governments to reduce spending on priority

areas such as infrastructure, health and education, and significantly impact their economic growth. Rising debt levels will lead to higher interest payments, adding to the levels of unproductive government expenditure. In addition, high levels of debt restrict governments from reducing the tax rates, which can become a roadblock to development."

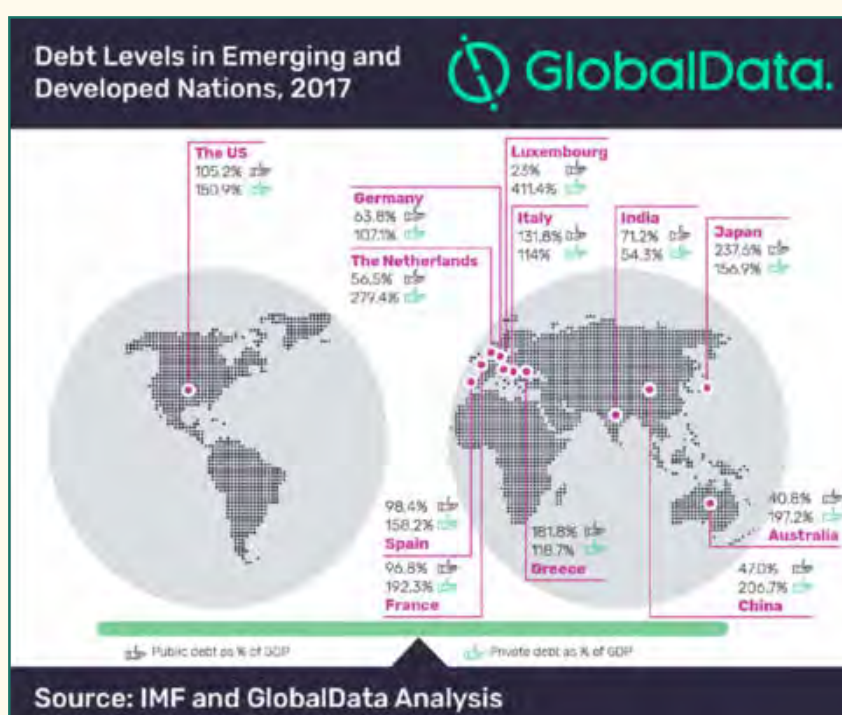
At the same time, the rising debt burden of the private sector will result in declining investor confidence. In an extreme case scenario of a corporate debt crisis along with high government debt, any assistance from the public sector will also be hard to come by.

Dynamic political landscape adds to debt burden

The changing political landscapes due to geopolitical conflicts are adding to the debt burden of the corporates and public alike. In the US, President Trump announced massive tax cuts in combination with an increase in federal spending and consequently the US government ended up issuing more bonds into the debt market. The substantial decrease in tax revenue is expected to cost the US treasury up to US\$1.9 trillion over the next decade (2018-2028), according to Congressional Budget Office, US.

The US-China trade war and Brexit have also created extreme uncertainty in the private sector. The slowdown in the activities of the private sector might hamper debt repayment capacity of the companies, which can be highly dangerous for the financial sector of a country.

Basak concludes: "As the threat of a possible debt crisis looms, the governments must implement forward looking policies that look beyond reducing the present debt burden. The policies should be geared towards creating well regulated financial markets. In addition, governments must aim to create enough fiscal space so as to be able to reduce their debt burden."





© Wikimedia

UNDIPLOMATIC BEHAVIOUR

Turkey targets its own diplomats



© EDW

“Speak softly and carry a big stick,” was the diplomatic advice of one-time US President Theodore Roosevelt. In Turkey, there are reports this year that it is the diplomats themselves that are experiencing the big stick. Ever since the attempted coup of 2016, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has become increasingly autocratic and unwilling to listen to others. Anyone who stands against him or criticises him can expect harsh reprisals, and that includes his own diplomatic corps. In much the same way as Josef Stalin inexplicably turned against doctors late in life (which may have hastened his death), President Erdoğan has organised a series of purges, with the country’s diplomats becoming the latest victims. Even the Ankara Bar Association has backed claims that a number of the 550 diplomats purged since 2016 have suffered torture at the hands of security forces. A report by the Association claimed that former Foreign Ministry employees have been beaten, threatened and sexually violated in detention. “When the statements are evaluated as a whole, they confirm that the individuals were subjected to blows, torture which does not leave marks and ill treatment,” the report claims.

Those arrested are accused of having cheated in their entrance exams, although as this involves a 4-hour interview in English, it’s hard to see how they could have done it. Erdoğan believes in the “big stick” approach. Perhaps he has taken too much to heart another pearl of diplomatic wisdom from Theodore Roosevelt: “If you’ve got them by the balls, their hearts and minds will follow.” This is just the latest inexplicable chapter in the unfolding saga of Turkey’s international relations that at one time looked so promising.

Helsinki, December, 1999; there was deep snow outside the large conference building and an impressive ice sculpture just in front of the main entrance. Helsinki was very cold when it greeted the heads of state and government as well as the media circus for the EU summit. As usual, it was a 2-day event, with the Council agreeing on the first day to accept Turkey as a candidate for full EU membership - a considerable breakthrough. It had applied to join the EU’s predecessor organisation, the European Economic Community, in 1959 and signed an Association Agreement in 1963, the so-called Ankara Agreement. However, in 1999,

Ministers had raised Turkish hackles by insisting that further human rights reforms would be needed and that disputes with Greece should be referred to the International Court before Turkey could join the club for real, although Turkey would become a candidate on the same basis as the other states lining up to join. The then EU foreign policy chief, Javier Solana, promptly flew to Ankara to reassure the Turks and on the afternoon of day 2, the Turkish Prime Minister of the time, Bülent Ecevit, arrived to a warm welcome; warmer, it seemed, than he had expected and certainly much warmer than the freezing temperatures outside. This was a potentially Earth-changing development. Those of us in the media were surprised and pleased to see him; press photos and video of the event show him surrounded by smiling journalists and camera crews, as well as officials. It seemed like the start of a new, better relationship between Ankara and Brussels. Alas, a lot can happen in twenty years, and unfortunately it did.

SLOW PROGRESS

Negotiations for membership opened in 2005 but by May, 2016, only sixteen of the thirty-five chapters required for accession had been opened and only one of them closed. Progress was even more glacial than the weather at the Helsinki summit. It has got much worse since the attempted coup of 2016 which Erdoğan blamed on the Islamic movement headed by Muhammed Fethullah Gülen, once considered an ally of Erdoğan's AKP party. The coup was quickly crushed but the recriminations have continued ever since as the government took its revenge. More than 125,000 people working for the government, in education, the media and in private companies were prosecuted; many were later sacked. Additionally, over 60,000 people were arrested, some of them allegedly denied a fair trial. According to a report by the US-based NGO Freedom House, "Since the attempted coup, at least 1,500 civil society organizations have been summarily closed and their property confiscated." The organisation has downgraded Turkey's status from "partly free" to "not free", and the report goes on to warn that many of the human rights taken for granted in the West have been severely eroded. "The prosecution of journalists and closure of media outlets continues. Arrests based on messages shared via social media are common, leading to widespread self-censorship and a general chilling effect on political discourse," the report says.

During the purges, university campuses were raided and many students arrested for holding anti-war beliefs. Erdoğan even talked about restoring the death penalty, which would have been totally unacceptable to the EU and could theoretically have led to the country being suspended from the Council of Europe, which it joined in 1949 as one of the earliest members. Remarkably, throughout this, negotiations on Turkey's accession to the EU have continued, despite some EU member states having serious reservations about Turkey ever meeting the commitments of the *"acquis communautaire"*, the accumulated body of law first established in 1958 and which every member state is required to meet. The more doubtful governments have proposed striking an eco-

nomic agreement with Turkey instead, or even adopting whatever sort of relationship between Britain and the EU emerges from the torturous Brexit negotiations, assuming that there is one. It's somewhat ironic, given that one of the principle arguments used by those campaigning for a "leave" vote in Britain's referendum was that Turkey was about to join the EU and that millions of Turkish immigrants would soon be arriving in the UK. It was, like many of those claims, a lie.

CHILLING TIMES

The recent arrests and torture of diplomats have caused shock and disbelief. According to one former diplomat, 550 have been purged since 2016 and 15 of them have now suffered torture. Bahadır Gülle, who claims to be one of the 550, tweeted that many of them, accused of incompetence and cheating in their entrance exams, have degrees from Harvard, Oxford, Columbia and Johns Hopkins, among other leading universities. "There were five diplomats in MFA (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) Turkey graduated from Harvard," ran the Tweet, "all of them either fled the country or ended up in jail. My dear colleagues are arrested on baseless charges and some of them are subjected to torture. They and I are accused of being incompetent. Many of my friends have much better CVs than mine." His story was reported at length in the Washington Examiner in June of this year.

The report from the Ankara Bar Association makes chilling reading, which is why I am including a large section of it. The arrested Foreign Ministry staff were, it claims, made to endure a catalogue of abuse by security forces at the Financial Crimes Investigation Bureau: "beating the detained until they pass out, making them watch the ones harassed and tortured, at least four incidents of torture incompatible with human dignity, referral of a beaten diplomat to hospital and the failure of the doctors to report it." The Bar Association team met just six of the detainees, but their horror stories were remarkably consistent: "All of the six people that were met stated that they were brought to meetings under the name of 'interviews', forced to be confessors and subjected to threats and insults. They indicated that they

were taken to interviews more than once and subjected to psychological pressure during the interviews. They added that they can identify the interviewers if they see them.

"Five of these six people stated that they were subjected to torture and ill treatment outside these interviews. One person recounted the incident of torture that s/he witnessed. Five people who have asserted that they were subjected to torture and maltreatment in detention have recounted the following: They were taken from the prison wards where they were held and brought to somewhere at the ground floor of the Financial Crimes Investigation Bureau of the Ankara Provincial Directorate General of Security; they were forced into a room with 'No entry' written on it and taken to a dark room afterwards; the ones who brought them to this dark room went out and other people, whose faces they could not clearly see due to darkness, entered the room; the newcomers forced the detained against the wall, closed their eyes, handcuffed them from behind and forced them to kneel; after making them crawl on the floor, they beat them and threatened with sexual torture."

OFFICIAL CENSURE

None of this seems like the behaviour of a civilised country which is a founding member of the Council of Europe and a signatory of the European Convention on Human Rights. President Erdoğan now seems to believe he is no longer bound by his or his country's promises and undertakings, nor the accepted standards of diplomatic behaviour. The Council of Europe's Commissioner for Human Rights is critical of Turkey's judicial system. "Turkey must take urgent and necessary measures to re-establish trust in its judiciary and repair the damage inflicted on the rule of law during the state of emergency and its aftermath", said Dunja Mijatović, in a report following a recent five-day visit to Turkey. The Commissioner wrote that the independence of the Turkish judiciary has been "seriously eroded", including through constitutional changes regarding the Council of Judges and Prosecutors which are "in clear contradiction with Council of Europe standards, and the sus-



pension of ordinary safeguards and procedures for the dismissal, recruitment and appointment of judges and prosecutors.” As a result, “the existing tendency of the Turkish judiciary to put the protection of the state above that of human rights was significantly reinforced, and the criminal process appears to often be reduced to a mere formality, especially in terrorism-related cases. In countless other cases, the judiciary is literally bypassed even for measures seriously affecting individuals’ core human rights, such as certain travel restrictions or the right to practise as a lawyer”, the Commissioner said. Her report accepts that Turkey has a right and a duty to fight against terrorism and crime, such as the attempted coup d’état of 15 July 2016, but not at the expense of the human rights of its citizens. She is especially critical of the widespread use of hostile political actions, smear campaigns and criminal proceedings against human rights campaigners. “These proceedings, combined with a wanton use of pre-trial detention, unjustly upend many persons’ lives in Turkey, including many human rights defenders. As a result, all of Turkish society is subjected to a profound chilling effect,” she wrote.

It wasn’t always like that. While Turkey held the rotating presidency of the Council of Europe’s Committee of Ministers, it pushed hard to get agreement on what became known as the Istanbul Convention. It is the Council’s Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence, signed in 2011 by forty-six countries plus the EU. The energy and determination shown by the Turkish delegation was an object lesson in how to get good human rights legislation onto the statute books of the various member states and into law. What Turkey pushed for - and got - has been described as the most comprehensive legal framework

in existence to tackle violence against women and girls, covering domestic violence, rape, sexual assault, female genital mutilation, so-called honour-based violence and forced marriage. It was a wonderful achievement in the face of fierce opposition from some governments, especially those on the political right. Not every country that signed has yet ratified the Convention, their reasons seldom linked to the actual welfare of women who suffer at the hands of violent husbands or families.

A TIGHTER GRIP ON POWER

But those halcyon days of widespread approval and congratulation are now a distant memory. First came the attempted coup and the vicious response to it. Then came Erdoğan’s power grab with a new constitution, adopted in 2017, to centralise power in the hands of the elected President, the rôle of Prime Minister having been abrogated. The constitutional change followed a controversial referendum that helped to sour Turkey’s relations with the EU. At the time, The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), which is the principal human rights institution of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), was highly critical of the way in which opponents of the change were denied fair access to the media while civil society organisations were excluded from taking part in the debate. Turkish officials tried to win over its citizens living overseas, even though this is illegal under Turkish law. Seeking to get agreement for the proposed changes, they tried to organise rallies in The Netherlands, especially Rotterdam, which is home to some 400,000 Turks, but Dutch authorities imposed travel restrictions and refused landing permission to a plane carrying

Turkey’s Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu. Erdoğan’s reaction was extraordinary. He called the Dutch “fascists”, “remnants of Nazism” and accused them of massacring Muslims in Srebrenica during the Bosnian war, something that is widely known to be a fabrication. The Dutch peace-keepers had failed to prevent a massacre by a far greater force of Serbian troops but took no part in the killings. Erdoğan had elevated a diplomatic disagreement over political campaigning in another country into an ugly incident of name-calling, outright lies and attempts to out-manoeuvre a fellow-member of NATO whilst apparently trying to abuse its hospitality. He appears to have little control of his own volatile temper, linked with an ability to inflame his more radical supporters: a potentially dangerous mixture.

In 2017, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) voted to reopen its monitoring procedure on Turkey, concerned about its human rights record. A condition of joining the EU is for PACE to consider such monitoring unnecessary, so the decision precluded any further progress on EU membership. Following the referendum, which granted Erdoğan his constitutional changes, he and his AKP won both the presidential and legislative elections in 2018. Again, he faced criticism from the OSCE/ODIHR for denying his opponents fair access to the media. His ideas of democracy fall woefully short of what many in the West have come to expect.

And yet, when I travelled to Nevşehir in Cappadocia in 2003 to make a TV feature on the European Convention for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, Turkey seemed relatively open and unintimidating. I met and interviewed the person charged with teaching the police to use humane methods and not to beat the prison-

ers as had been commonplace, especially in rural police stations. Perhaps surprisingly, she was Greek. Together with a French cameraman and sound recordist, we visited Nevşehir's high security prison, accompanied by the region's governor, a very impressive woman, where we were introduced to prisoners and shown the exercise yards, workshops, classrooms and various cells. In one, a large two-story cell with a downstairs kitchen, we met a drug baron who was famous for having escaped from a Dutch prison by helicopter, together with two fellow-inmates, one of whom offered us tea. With the governor interpreting, we chatted freely and, when the tea-maker returned with our refreshments, he joined in. It was all very free and easy and we drank our tea and ate biscuits together. Afterwards, I asked the governor why the man making the tea was in prison. He was a mass poisoner, she told me. Oddly, the whole visit was so relaxed it didn't seem strange, although we never met the PKK prisoners held in an area of the prison where they refused, we were told, to participate in lessons or work.

PROBLEM? WHAT PROBLEM?

Within Turkey, the media has come under enormous pressure since the failed coup. Many media outlets have come under the control of corporations with links to the AKP. Leading journalists have been arrested and opposition papers and TV or radio stations have been taken over by pro-government bodies. Freedom of speech has been restricted, local government has come under close supervision and local mayors have been replaced by Erdoğan appointees. After years of economic growth, the Turkish lira has plunged in value, falling 45% in value against the dollar between January and August last year and a further 14% since. Much of this is down to deteriorating relations between Ankara and Washington. That is, in part, because Turkey wants to extradite the Muslim cleric, Muhammed Fethullah Gülen, whom it blames for the failed coup and who lives near Saylorsburg, Pennsylvania. The US also supports Kurdish armed groups in the north of Syria; Turkey is bitterly opposed to them. The

disagreement almost led to fighting between Turkish and American forces at one point. Additionally, Turkey arrested a Turkish employee at the US consulate-general, leading to the temporary suspension of US visa services in Turkey. Washington also imposed sanctions after Turkey imprisoned an American clergyman, Andrew Brunson, whom they accused of terrorism.

Back in 2015 Turkey turned to its NATO allies for support against Moscow after a Turkish F-16 shot down a Russian warplane over its territory. More recently, though, Erdoğan has been cosying up to Vladimir Putin, a man who perhaps appreciates dictators more than Donald Trump can be seen to do. As a show of his new allegiance, Erdoğan has ordered the S-400 missile system from Russia. Turkish forces have been in Russia, being trained in how to use it. It's a very strange move for a NATO member and it means Turkey has now been excluded from the consortium producing the F-35, America's most advanced fighter jet, in which Ankara has already invested \$1.4-billion. The Americans fear that allowing the deal to continue would have enabled the Russians to learn more about the F-35 than is safe. Erdoğan's grasp of economics is not impressive either: he has long pushed for lower interest rates, which he believes will reduce inflation, despite being warned that it will have the opposite effect. To achieve his aims, he sacked deputy prime minister Mehmet Şimşek as Minister of Treasury and Finance and replaced him with his own son-in-law, Beret Albayrak. It has done nothing to restore international confidence in Turkey's economy.

BACKING THE WRONG HORSE

Just to add to the list of miscalculations, Erdoğan has endorsed a new school book which attacks the EU as a "Christian club" and blames Washington for inciting the 9:11 attacks by deciding which countries to reward and which to punish. A photograph of EU leaders with the Pope is cited as evidence that Western Europe is "hostile to Islam". In some ways, Erdoğan may have a point with that one: both Austria and France have said they would hold a referendum on whether



© White House

or not Turkey should be allowed to join. There is a certain amount of Islamophobia in Europe which a series of terrorist attacks by militant jihadis not linked with Turkey has done nothing to mitigate. Additionally, some Brussels insiders admit to an atmosphere of "Erdoğan fatigue". There is an ongoing dispute about Turkey drilling for gas in the waters off Cyprus, an EU member state, on behalf of the Turkish-run entity of Northern Cyprus, not recognised by the EU or any other country, yet Turkey wasn't mentioned at all during the first meeting with the European Commission's new President-elect, Ursula von der Leyen. The EU has been accused of burying its head in the sand over the issue, but then it cannot afford to upset Turkey because of Europe's problems with immigration. The 2016 agreement between Brussels and Ankara is aimed at returning to Turkey all those asylum-seekers arriving from there on Greek islands or the mainland. Turkey would also take steps to prevent migration across its territory, receiving €3-billion to help pay for the problem with more to come if necessary whilst the EU would grant entry visas more readily to Turks. The European Parliament criticised the arrangement as "out-



© EDM

sourcing” the refugee crisis and now Erdoğan has threatened to revoke the deal in response to minor EU sanctions over the drilling issue.

Furthermore, Turkey has defied an embargo imposed by the United Nations Security Council on arms exports to Libya. Since the overthrow of Muammar Gaddafi in 2011, various armed factions have tried to take over different parts of the country, the two leading contenders for overall control being the so-called Government of National Accord (GNA), based in Tripoli, and the Libyan National Army (LNA), headed by Marshal Khalifa Haftar, who has said he will take Tripoli. Both armies have links with terrorist militias and the LNA have accused Turkey and Qatar of arming the terrorists supporting the GNA. The GNA, despite lacking aircraft, claims to have launched air strikes against the LNA, and Turkey stands accused of supplying the GNA with sophisticated TB2 Bayraktar military drones, along with other matériel. The drones are manufactured by a company owned by the family of Erdoğan’s son-in-law, and it’s claimed that Turkish experts are teaching GNA fighters how to use them. The LNA has imposed an embargo on western Libyan ports in an attempt to prevent any further deliveries.

Not that President Erdoğan seems to be concerned with the criticism heaped upon him and his administration by the EU, the United States or anyone else. He insists that the diplomats who were arrested and accused of dishonesty, were connected with FETÖ, the *Fethullahçı Terör Örgütü* or Fethullahist Terrorist Organization, which, the charges allege, stole examination questions and delivered them to those candidates who were members, coaching them in their responses. FETÖ, you will not be sur-

prised to learn, is part of the Gülen movement. The Turkish Foreign Ministry insists that several of the suspects have “confessed” that they received personal tuition from “private imams” and that FETÖ’s corrupt practices had denied better qualified candidates from taking the jobs. However, the Ankara Bar Association report says that six of the victims admit they signed confessions but only after what they described as “heavy torture”.

A RACE TOWARDS THE VOID

Again, the report on the torture claim gives graphic detail. One detainee was allegedly told prior to being assaulted that he “would not be able to sleep with his wife,” and “he’d wake up at night crying” after they were finished with him. One of the detainees reported that he had told a judge about his cruel treatment and sexual assault threats. “I’m not a doctor,” the judge is said to have replied, “that’s not my job. Go tell a doctor.” If the reports are true - and they come from ostensibly reliable sources - they suggest a degree of paranoia on the part of President Erdoğan which may ultimately prove counter-productive.

After the constitutional changes of 2016, he cannot be removed from office until 2023, and a lot can happen in that time. The defeat of the AKP in Istanbul’s mayoral election suggests there is a groundswell of popular opinion opposed to Erdoğan that may be growing. When the election was first held in March, it was won by Ekrem İmamoğlu of the Republican People’s Party (CHP), defeating former Prime Minister Binali Yıldırım, a member of the AKP and an Erdoğan ally. The AKP demanded a recount and when that failed to reverse the result, demanded the election be re-run, claiming irregularities in the voting. The election was held again with the same winner, whose majority had gone up sixty-fold since March to almost 800,000. Erdoğan had no choice but to accept it, albeit with gritted teeth and an unconvincing smile. Altogether, the CHP won the mayoralties of five cities. Ordering the re-run of the election may have been a major tactical error; having always cast himself as the champion of the underdog, he has unwittingly

handed that title to İmamoğlu. According to Soner Çağaptay, director of the Turkish research program at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, “İmamoğlu has become the new Erdoğan, the underdog with whom Turkish voters love to identify.” During his brief period as mayor after the first election, İmamoğlu uncovered wasteful spending by the AKP as well as documents suggesting that a lot of Istanbul’s budget had gone to organisations linked to Erdoğan and his family.

Don’t write off President Erdoğan just yet. It will be four years before he has to stand for re-election and he and his party control the media, the judiciary, the civil service and the military, as well as Istanbul’s purse strings. However, some of the AKP faithful are showing signs of being tired of their leader and are starting to drift away to rival parties. Former Deputy Prime Minister Ali Babacan, a founder member of the AKP, said he has diverged from the party “rationally and emotionally” and he is thought to be forming a new party. Other leading AKP figures seem to be considering similar moves. Many observers note that Erdoğan doesn’t seem capable of learning from his mistakes, nor does he listen to experts (the debacle over the central bank and his economic policy are clear examples of this). The decisions of this Mercurial and inconsistent leader seem designed merely to bolster his power base at any cost. Upsetting Turkey’s biggest trading partner, the European Union, as well as the United States and NATO doesn’t seem to worry him. Russia, meanwhile, is happy to build closer relations as Vladimir Putin seeks to expand Moscow’s sphere of influence.

But to expand Turkey’s own sphere of influence, it will need skilled diplomats. In that department Erdoğan seems to be treading a dangerous path, allegedly replacing university-educated experts in diplomacy with internet trolls and party hacks. He seems increasingly like a circus ringmaster who has decided he also wants to be the lion tamer, the trapeze artist, the man who gets fired out of a canon, the juggler and the tightrope walker, whether or not he can actually perform those acts. The risk is that, if he can’t, he’ll end up being seen as the clown.

T. Kingsley Brookes



© Dutch Supreme Court

SREBRENICA

Dutch State bears very limited liability in 'Mothers of Srebrenica' case

The Dutch State bears very limited liability in the 'Mothers of Srebrenica' case. That liability is limited to 10 percent of the damages suffered by the surviving relatives of approximately 350 victims. That is what the Supreme Court ruled.

THE CASE

The case regards the events surrounding the fall of the city of Srebrenica on 11 July 1995 and the subsequent evacuation from Dutchbat's 'mini safe area' in the days that followed. The main issue was whether the Dutch State could be held (fully or partly) liable to the surviving relatives of the Muslim men who were murdered at that time by Bosnian Serbs. The surviving relatives believe that Dutchbat did too little to repulse the Bosnian Serbs' advance and protect the population. They also contend that Dutchbat acted unlawfully by cooperating with the evacuation of the refugees who had fled to Dutchbat's mini safe area in Potočari. During the evacuation on 12 and 13 July 1995, the Bosnian Serbs murdered the male refugees after separating them from the other refugees.

JUDGMENT OF THE COURT OF APPEAL

The Hague Court of Appeal held that the State had acted unlawfully in two respects. First, during the evacuation on 13 July 1995, the State allowed the refugees to be guided to the buses in groups and through a sluice which made it easier for the Bosnian Serbs to separate the male refugees from the rest. Second, the approximately 350 male refugees who were found to be in the compound at the end of the afternoon on 13 July 1995 were not offered the option to remain at the compound. As a result, according to the Court of Appeal, this group of refugees was denied a 30 percent chance of avoiding abuse and execution. The State was thus held liable for 30 percent of the damages suffered by the surviving relatives.

CASSATION

Both the State and the surviving relatives instituted appeals in cassation.

JUDGMENT OF THE SUPREME COURT

Like the Court of Appeal, the Supreme Court rejected the State's liability for Dutchbat's acts until the start of the evacuation on 12 July 1995. Up to that point, Dutchbat was operating under the responsibility of the United Nations (UN). Under international law, that entails that the acts of the Dutchbat must be construed as acts of the UN, and not of the Netherlands. Therefore, the Dutch State cannot be liable for the events that led to the fall of the city of Srebrenica.



Srebrenica Genocide Memorial

As the city of Srebrenica fell on 11 July 1995, approximately 25,000 refugees sought refuge at Dutchbat. Some stayed in the compound and some stayed in an adjacent area that was cordoned off with tape and armoured vehicles (collectively: the mini safe area). The conditions in the mini safe area were appalling. The UN and the State decided to evacuate the refugees and Dutchbat. From that point forward, the State exercised effective control over Dutchbat's conduct and Dutchbat's actions were attributable to the State. The refugees were evacuated under Dutchbat's guidance starting on the afternoon of Wednesday, 12 July 1995. Starting on the evening of 12 July, Dutchbat knew that after the male refugees had been separated from the rest of the refugees by the Bosnian Serbs, they would be at real risk of abuse and execution. That knowledge thus existed when Dutchbat continued evacuating the refugees from the mini safe area outside the compound on the morning of Thursday, 13 July. In the judgment of the Supreme Court, the continuation of that evacuation was not wrongful. The fate of the refugees would not have been changed had Dutchbat stopped cooperating, because the Bosnian

Serbs would have continued the evacuation in some other way. Discontinuing that guidance would not have affected the risk to the male refugees who remained outside the compound because they could not hide. Even if Dutchbat had stopped guiding the evacuation, therefore, the Bosnian Serbs would still have separated these men from the other refugees and taken them away. Dutchbat's choice to continue providing guidance in order to prevent women and children from being trampled was not wrongful.

According to the Supreme Court, however, the State did act wrongfully in relation to the evacuation of the 5,000 refugees who were still at the compound itself in the late afternoon of 13 July 1995. Amongst those refugees were 350 men of whom the Bosnian Serbs were unaware because they could not see them. Dutchbat failed to offer these 350 male refugees the choice to stay where they were, even though that would have been possible. This failure on Dutchbat's part denied these male refugees the chance to stay out of the hands of the Bosnian Serbs. That was wrongful because Dutchbat knew that the male refugees were in serious jeopardy of being abused and

murdered by the Bosnian Serbs, and all possible action should have been taken to prevent such an outcome. The chance that the male refugees would have escaped the Bosnian Serbs had they been given the choice to stay was slim, but not negligible. During inspections, the Bosnian Serbs would almost certainly have discovered that male refugees had remained on the compound. They would have subsequently done everything in their power to deport them from the compound, with all the ensuing consequences. The chance of Dutchbat receiving effective support from the international community was slim. The Supreme Court estimates that the male refugees had a ten percent chance of escaping from the Bosnian Serbs, had they been offered the choice to remain in the compound. The Supreme Court estimated this chance at 10 percent, and thus more limited than the 30 percent chance arrived at by the Court of Appeal.

The State's liability is thus limited to 10 percent of the damages suffered by the surviving relatives of these 350 male refugees. These surviving relatives may claim compensation from the State.

CHEKHOV'S INCURABLE DISEASE?

THE TROIKA LAUNDROMAT



© Raiffeisen Bank

“If a lot of cures are suggested for a disease, it means that the disease is incurable.”

Anton Chekhov, “The Cherry Orchard”

According to my dictionary, a troika is a Russian vehicle drawn by three horses harnessed side-by-side. The composer Prokofiev composed a much-loved melody of that name as part of his musical score for the 1934 film, *Lieutenant Kijé*. Shortly after the film's release, Prokofiev turned it into an orchestral suite at the invitation of the Moscow Radio Symphony Orchestra. It has remained one of his most loved and performed works ever since, especially in the run-up to Christmas.

Today, the word troika has a different meaning. It is not just a pretty assemblage of musical notes; the notes it assembles today are banknotes, not musical notes, and they are numbered in their billions. The counterpoint to the main theme is the desperate attempt by anti-fraud officials around the world to close down what has become known as the “Troika Laundromat”, merrily washing almost \$500-billion (€448-billion) for some of the world's most venal, vicious criminals and corrupt politicians. Indeed, its activities are so massive

that they disrupt the economies of many countries around the world. It forms a large part of the hidden treasure kept for the luxurious lifestyles of those who misappropriated it and carefully keep it out of sight. It funds terrorism, people trafficking, the illegal arms trade and the sort of regime under which no-one sane would choose to live (unless they were members of the criminal elite).

All of us, I imagine, have lost the odd coin down the back of the sofa, or dropped one we meant to put into a



Howard Wilkinson

parking meter, only to see it roll under a bus, or even left a banknote in a shirt pocket that emerged from the washing cycle severely devalued through being shrunk, faded or otherwise damaged. But the global economy loses rather more: according to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, the actual figure is somewhere between €715-billion and €1.87-trillion every year, the equivalent of between 2 and 5% of global GDP in 2009. Nobody knows the exact figure because, by its nature, it's a clandestine business, carried out in secret, but the figure is almost certainly more today.

The washing machine analogy is not so far out, either: we're talking money laundering here. It happens all over the world but Russia is especially firmly rooted at its core. Sergei Magnitsky was a Russian tax lawyer and auditor who called out his country over the vast sums of dirty money some of its banks were helping to clean up and hide. He named several high-ranking officials whom he accused of stealing vast tax payments from a number of companies, one of them Hermitage Capital, but he was arrested on almost certainly trumped up charges of tax fraud and he died in prison in 2009, allegedly after being held in terrible conditions and routinely tortured. It takes a lot of courage to stand up to authority, especially when the authority concerned has access to virtually limitless supplies of unaccountable cash and a number of ruthless and brutal enforcers. It helps to have no conscience, too. It is inevitable that anti-money laundering (AML) measures are difficult to enforce.

OPERATING THE LAUNDROMAT

Criminal acts are designed, of course, to generate profits for those involved. The problem then arises of how to turn the resulting cash into money that cannot be traced back to the crooks. The activities of organised crime, such as embezzlement, insider dealing, drug trafficking, prostitution, child pornography, people smuggling and computer fraud all produce large profits which then need to be turned into untraceable financial assets that won't attract the attention of the police, specialist fraud investigators or the tax authorities. The trick is to introduce the illegal profits into the financial system in some way, generally by breaking it up into smaller sums that attract less attention, either by depositing the sums in accounts or by buying negotiable financial instruments, which can then be taken and banked elsewhere. Next comes a process known as layering, in which the funds are then moved as far as possible from their source. This can be done through the purchase and sale of investment instruments like bonds or through wiring the money to a series of other banks, all instructed to wire it on to others. Sometimes false invoices are generated to account for the money. Having successfully got that far, the money launderer moves on to integration, reintroducing the money back into the mainstream economy, often using it to buy land, properties, works of fine art, expensive luxuries like yachts, antiques or whole businesses. In theory, the existing laws should alert those in the banking system that something odd is going on. In practice, bank officials sometimes fail to notice. Some can be and have been bribed, while other officials simply choose to turn a blind eye to the practice for the sake of an easy life, or in the hope of some generous non-cash reward at a later date. For banks that choose to look the other way, money laundering is very profitable business.

In the case of the Russian money laundering machine, the Troika Laundromat has been used (and may still be being used, in one form or another) to keep up business contacts originating back in the days of the Soviet Union, such as transferring money to North

Korea, for instance. One of the latest casualties in the scandal is Danske Bank, which is now planning a total withdrawal from Russia, where it registered with the Central Bank of Russia in 1996. It remained a low-profile operation through a number of name changes. It began as ZAO First Shipping Bank, based in Arkhangelsk. Ten years later, it became ZA Profibank and moved its operations to St. Petersburg. That same year, effective control of the bank went to Sampo Bank of Finland, finally being taken over by Danske one year after that, changing its name accordingly.

But in 2014, a whistle-blower, Howard Wilkinson, who had been head of the bank's trading unit in the Baltic region, revealed that the Estonian branch was being used to launder billions of dollars originating from activities in Russia, Ukraine, Moldova and other post-Soviet states, according to The Moscow Times. The operation dragged in other banks, including Deutsche Bank as well as lenders in Finland, Sweden, Norway and Latvia. The newspaper claims the money originated with front companies, apparently mainly English and Scottish partnerships, used by Russian intelligence services, relatives of the Russian President, Vladimir Putin, the ousted Ukrainian President, Viktor Yanukovich, and a number of wealthy oligarchs benefiting from a post-soviet freedom to operate. Wilkinson claimed, through his American lawyer, that the bank attempted to retaliate for his unwelcome revelations and the Danish prosecutor was informed.

DON'T ASK QUESTIONS

Even Danske Bank doesn't know how much of the money they handled came from the profits of crime, although they admitted that many of the transactions were suspicious. The bank closed around 15,000 accounts in 2015 and of them, 6,200 were drawn to the attention of the authorities. As to where it came from, the best guess is that 23% of the funds originated in Russia. The fees banks can earn from facilitating money laundering are impressive, so it's no surprise that Danske's share price has fallen by half since the start of last year, when the

scandal broke. The founder of Hermitage Capital, Bill Browder, believes that some \$1-trillion (€0.9-trillion) have been moved out of Russia during the last two decades, suggesting that most if it was of “dubious origin”. Several other banks have since been caught up in the scandal, such as Sweden’s Swedbank AB and Raiffeisen Bank International AG in Austria. Much of the alleged corruption occurred through Baltic branches of the banks. Nordea Bank Abp is claimed to have handled around €700-million in criminal proceeds, some of it linked to the arrest and subsequent death of Sergei Magnitsky, although the bank claims this is not new and that any dubious transactions in future will be notified to the authorities. It begs the question: why were suspicious transactions not treated that way in the past?

The Troika Laundromat is just the latest manifestation of the phenomenon. There have been others before and will be again as long as enough bankers see massive profits as more important than financial probity and are prepared to turn a blind eye to the acts that generated the profits in the first place. It gained its nickname from deals allegedly involving the Russian investment bank, Troika Dialog, bought out by a state-owned Russian bank in 2012, although its former boss denies any wrongdoing, insisting it met international standards throughout its independent existence. The Baltic branches of the mainly (but not exclusively) Nordic banks said to be involved are a popular route because a lot of people of Russian ethnicity live in Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. Russia has allegedly succeeded in recruiting some of them into acting as its agents, either by assisting in money laundering operations or by spying on their host country.

Earlier this year, members of the European Parliament overwhelmingly backed a resolution calling for new EU sanctions against those responsible for gross violations of human rights, symbolically to be named after Sergei Magnitsky and largely inspired by the United States Magnitsky Act, signed into law by then President Barack Obama in 2012. That act was aimed primarily at Russian officials suspected of being responsible for Magnitsky’s death. The Baltic states already have similar legislation in force, as do several other EU countries. This is all very welcome and laudable, say some critics, but it doesn’t really address the core issue: dealing with money laundering is still the responsibility of individual countries whose enforcement agencies find it very hard to liaise with neighbours or stand up against the teams of high-priced lawyers and accountants employed by the criminal gangs.

CHANGING THE RULES

According to the Brussels-based economic think tank, Breugel, reform is urgently needed and there should be a new EU agency whose sole job it is to look out for and interrupt money laundering anywhere in the Union. The European Central Bank lacks the ability to police this area of criminal activity as part of its overall supervision of banks. According to a report by Breugel’s Joshua Kirschenbaum and Nicolas Véron, “National AML supervisors have no efficient way to communicate and coordinate, neither with one another nor with the European Central Bank, which has overall responsibility for bank oversight in the euro area.” The report says that leaves supervisors in small countries

on their own, “with relatively limited capacity and resources, in the face of a sophisticated transnational threat.” And it gets worse, they argue, saying “it encourages the growth in ‘weak link’ countries of financial sectors catering to suspect clients of Russian and other origin. The outcome is undue political influence and sometimes even capture.”

Kirschenbaum and Véron point out that in the case of Danske Bank’s Estonian branch, “non-resident shell-company clients moved massive sums through a concentrated number of accounts, generating huge fees. Management knew that the clients represented unknown sources of money from Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States, but they failed to act for years.” The report points out that the ECB is tasked with ensuring the proper governance, capital adequacy and lending practices. But supervision of money laundering is seen as an issue of business conduct and therefore the responsibility of national authorities.

Financial services are “passported” across the EU’s Single Market but fines for AML violations have been generally quite small. Breugel’s report is forthright: “As was the case with prudential supervision before 2012, today’s AML architecture leads to perverse supervisory incentives. It leaves too many avenues for untoward political and regulatory influence on the part of those who benefit from a reliance on money of dubious provenance, creating a vicious circle of supervisory failure in the more vulnerable countries.

Even if some member states have effective AML supervisory regimes, the failure is systemic from a European perspective because there is always a weak link.”



© EDM

The Kremlin



Vladimir Putin and ousted Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich



Sergei Magnitsky's grave

The report calls for a single authority at European Union level to take on the responsibility. The EU has recently agreed to enhance the anti-money laundering powers of the European Banking Authority but the Breugel report is not impressed. “Under the soon-to-be-enacted legislation,” say the authors, “it will be unable to do much until after a failure of national authorities has been established, and even then there would be no meaningful penalties.” Breugel’s report calls for a dedicated AML agency to supervise banks and non-banks alike. It should not be part of the European Central Bank because that would limit its activities to the banking sector and only within the eurozone, leaving loop holes through non-bank financial institutions and in non-eurozone parts of the EU.

The new body should not follow the US example, they say, where fragmentation of AML supervision has impaired efficiency. “To be sure, the creation of a new agency would increase the complexity of the EU supervisory landscape and should not be taken lightly,” says the report, “but the critical importance of AML supervision to the integrity of Europe’s financial system justifies the effort. It would also demonstrate to the general public that the European Union is able to address its most serious challenges credibly and not just tinker at the edges. AML reform is a top priority from a European financial sector and security perspective.”

UNWELCOME DEVELOPMENTS?

To put it bluntly, it is not the sort of development that criminals around the world would like to see, although they have proved over many years to be able, in most cases, to find their way through the most torturous legal minefields to clean up their dirty profits. It’s why President Putin and other Russian officials have been highly critical of America’s Magnitsky Act. However, more and more countries are adopting similar legislation. Bill Browder, the CEO of Hermitage Capital Management is convinced Putin still wants him dead. He holds Putin and his inner circle responsible for a number of other deaths connected with political opposition to Putin and to investigations into financial crimes. Sergei Magnitsky was Browder’s Russian lawyer and Browder has energetically pushed for Magnitsky acts to be passed in more and more western countries. According to him, Putin is afraid the Magnitsky acts will impede his access to the money he has stashed away in the West, probably offshore. It sounds like paranoia, but at his press conference with President Trump in Helsinki, Putin mentioned Browder by name, without being prompted by a question, offering access to the Russian agents named in the Mueller report in return for his own agents having access to Browder and his team. Trump described it as “an incredible offer”, but given the numbers of deaths linked to Magnitsky’s discoveries, it’s not one Browder wants to see taken up.

However, Browder is a naturalised British citizen, which would mean Putin having to negotiate with the Prime Minister of the country where he is believed to have deployed his operatives to kill former double agent Sergei Skripal and his daughter Yulia, using a military nerve agent, Novichok, in the cathedral city of Salisbury. The attempt failed - narrowly - although it had a devastating effect on the city itself, killed an innocent woman, Dawn Sturgess, and almost killed a police officer. It’s not a happy basis for negotiation, although it’s unclear what sort of relationship Putin may develop with Britain’s new Prime Minister. Boris Johnson, after all, is a

strange choice, described by his former boss at the Daily Telegraph, Max Hastings, as “utterly unfit to be prime minister” and a “tasteless joke” being foisted on the British people by a tiny number of relatively wealthy, mainly elderly, white, overwhelmingly male members of the Conservative Party. Hastings wrote: “Dignity still matters in public office and Johnson will never have it.” Not that such failings are likely to bother Putin.

Britain is intrinsically linked with global money laundering. Billions of euros in transactions pass through the City of London every day. Identifying the crooked ones is never easy, while overseas criminals, using foreign-registered companies, can buy high-end property in London, as well as luxury cars and other goods. The situation is made more complicated by the existence of British-linked havens of banking secrecy such as the British Virgin Islands (BVI) and Jersey, where no record is released on any registered company’s beneficial ownership. The BVI is currently the registered address of some 400,000 companies, despite being home to just 24,000 residents, presumably none of whom are as wealthy as the owners of those companies. Respectable British banks and financial bodies can hide assets where no-one is allowed to look, and make a fortune in legally-earned commission for doing so.

It’s a wealthy criminals’ perfect playground, despite the efforts of the City of London Police, a body that operates only within the so-called Square Mile but which also polices financial crime in the UK. It is separate from the Metropolitan Police and has a separate jurisdiction. It’s a massive task. The scale of the problem was only exposed by the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ) which published the Panama Papers, thanks to a whistle-blower. Since then, a number of senior officials from several governments, including the prime ministers of Iceland and Pakistan, as well as business executives, have been forced to resign or have been sacked. Altogether, some 11.5-million documents were copied from the computers of Panamanian law firm Mossack Fonseca, a total of 2.6 terabytes of data. After a blustering defence that the firm was the victim of theft, Mossack



City of London

Boris Johnson's 1st cabinet meeting

Fonseca was forced to admit it didn't know who many of its clients were, as international law requires, nor how to contact them. The firm eventually closed, ending a handy money laundering facility for narco-traffickers, despots and oligarchs engaged in illicit activities. It had provided its services to dictators, drug cartels, Mafia clans, fraudsters, weapons dealers, and unpopular regimes like those of North Korea or Iran.

ON THE PROPERTY LADDER

London properties are an especially attractive purchase for criminals hoping to disguise their wealth, especially (but not only) Russians. In May on this year, Britain's National Crime Agency announced investigations into three properties worth a total of some £80-million (€87.8-million) linked to a suspected criminal with political connections, using the new Unexplained Wealth Orders (UWOs), which facilitates the investigation of unaccountable sums of money accruing to an individual or company. The NCA obtained freezing orders, which means the properties, owned on paper by offshore companies, cannot be sold or otherwise disposed of until the investigations are complete. The beneficial owners must explain to the NVA where the purchase money originated and how it was earned. It's a new tool in the fight against money laundering but the criminals can afford the very best - or at least the most effective and conscience-free - lawyers and accountants to aid and abet their activities.

The City of London Police's Financial Investigation Unit has certainly

chalked up some successes in apprehending money laundering activity. In June, 2018, they arrested eight Chinese citizens who are thought to have laundered millions through London's banks and financial institutions. They were jailed earlier this year. Countering such money laundering operations is important, not just to interrupt criminal networks, but to protect the interests of the rest of us. For a start, the transit of large quantities of dirty money through the economy can undermine the credibility of a sound financial system, which must have trust if it is to underpin the business economy. It can provide unfair competition to legitimate businesses, forcing them to close. It can also drag in such people as real estate agents, lawyers and accountants, either as complicit partners in the enterprise or even as unwitting dupes, using their knowledge and skills to help draft documentation, distribute funds or to create structures that move and store huge volumes of criminal funds. Britain's National Crime Agency estimates that money laundering costs the UK some £24-billion (€26-billion) a year.

The British government might have taken more action against suspect Russian wealth in London if it hadn't been obsessed with Brexit negotiations. Everything else has been put on the back burner, yet there have been calls for further investigation into where the Russian money originated. Behind Kensington Palace, and with armed police at either end, is the street known as Billionaire's Row, the most expensive street in London and perhaps the world. At number 16, the Russian owner of Chelsea Football Club, Roman Abramovich, lives in a 15-bedroom Victorian

mansion he bought in 2009 for a reported £97-million (€105-million). His neighbours are similarly wealthy and private security guards ensure nobody takes photographs there. Not far away in Belgravia, the extremely expensive and exclusive Eaton Square has become so popular with Russians that it's known locally as Red Square, although it seems unlikely that its residents subscribe to the policies of Karl Marx.

YOUR MONEY IS WELCOME HERE

The Russian influx mainly stems from the so-called Tier One investment scheme introduced by Gordon Brown. Anyone with a spare £2-million to invest could do so in the UK, gaining temporary residency rights that could become permanent after ten years. If you had £10-million to invest, the wait was only two years. That explains why a quarter of the 3,000 high-net-worth individuals who took advantage of the scheme are Russian. When she was Prime Minister, Theresa May talked about looking into the financial affairs of the rich Russians living in the UK but it's unlikely that her successor, Boris Johnson, will follow through on that. The City of London took a lot of trouble to lure its wealthy incomers, competing with New York with a "no questions asked" attitude to where the wealth came from. Its bankers and finance houses make a lot of commission from the investment activities of the super-rich and often seem blithely disinterested in the legitimacy of the whole thing.

Johnson has been mildly critical of Putin in the past but many observers



believe he may have to cast a more friendly eye on inward investment from Russia if Britain ends up with a no-deal Brexit and suffers the 8% cut in GDP predicted by the Bank of England. Johnson is not without Russian connections. He already has a close friendship with Evgeny Lebedev, the son of a former KGB agent and oligarch. Johnson often spent weekends at the Russian's Umbrian palazzo, sometimes travelling on Lebedev's private jet. However, Johnson did disclose the trips under Britain's transparency laws, so it's all above-board. And to be honest, Lebedev is not Putin's favourite Russian. He is a shareholder in the newspaper *Novaya Gazeta*, which has often criticised Putin's regime. He also held significant number of shares in the London freesheet, the *Evening Standard*, although he sold a great many of them in 2017 to an entity in the Cayman Islands, another offshore haven for companies that desire privacy.

Lebedev apparently backed Johnson's bid to be Prime Minister; under the mercurial reign of Putin it's sensible for Russia's wealthy to have friends elsewhere. He fears that Putin is still keen to control him. Recently, Lebedev's much-loved Borzoi dog was found dead on his Italian property. He has told his associates that he thinks the animal was poisoned as a warning from Putin. If so, in view of the way in which he has spread the information, it was a warning not merely intended for him. Johnson may have to be careful whom he befriends.

CLOSING THE STABLE DOOR

It may appeal to Lebedev and other wealthy Russians living in the UK that Johnson plans to take Britain out of the EU at the end of October, coincidentally at Halloween. The European Commission is proposing a major step-up in the fight against money laundering and the terrorism it helps to finance. On 24 July, the Commission adopted an official Communication and four reports to help European and national authorities to tackle the problem more effectively. "We must close off all opportunities for criminals and terrorists to abuse our financial system and threaten the security of Europeans," said First Vice-President Frans Timmermans. He was supported by Valdis Dombrovskis, Vice-President for the Euro and Social Dialogue. "Our strong AML rules have not been equally applied in all banks and all EU countries," he pointed out, "So we have a structural problem in the Union's capacity to prevent that the financial system is used for illegitimate purposes. This problem has to be addressed and solved sooner rather than later." The four reports deal with the supranational risk assessment, the assessment of recent high-profile money laundering cases in the financial sector, the Financial Intelligence Units and the interconnection of central bank account registries' reports, which analyse the shortcomings in current anti-money launder-

ing supervision and cooperation and identify ways to address them.

Will it be enough? Almost certainly not. In 1991, the then District Attorney for Manhattan, Robert Morgenthau, who died in July at the age of 99, took down the notorious Bank of Credit and Commerce International, an octopus of a money laundering operation with a presence in 76 countries, its offices positioned in jurisdictions with weak regulatory control and strict banking secrecy. It had been a favourite way for drug traffickers, mafia families, terrorists and despots to launder their ill-gotten gains. Morgenthau recovered some \$15-billion from the bank when he forced its closure. It was a triumph, but nobody can claim that money laundering no longer happens in the United States. Nor will they be able to say it has stopped in the European Union or the UK after the new Commission proposal comes into force. The criminals will find a way to circumvent the laws and they will find enough venal lawyers and accountants to help them to do it. The legal and financial authorities are always playing catch-up. Putin's circle have already shown with the clumsy attack on Sergei and Yulia Skripal and the deaths of other rich Russians around Europe that they have no concept of obeying international norms of behaviour. It was a warning to those who owe their wealth to their irregular dealings with the Russian government since the fall of Communism that getting out of Russia is no guarantee of safety. Robert Morgenthau used to say he did what he did because he was the long arm of the law. It's a frightening thought that Vladimir Putin's arm may prove even longer.

Robin Crow



- All done inhouse from our Monaco based factory.
Come and visit us.
9 Avenue Albert II, 9th floor.
- INTERNET PRICES | BRITISH CUSTOMER SERVICE | MONACO QUALITY**
- t: 06 43 9198 89
e: quotes@monacoprint.com

t: 06 43 9198 89
e: quotes@monacoprint.com



© EDM

UNODC LAUNCHES GUIDE TO COMBAT CRIME RELATED TO FALSIFIED MEDICAL PRODUCTS



The falsification of medical products is a crime affecting all regions of the world and addressing it requires greater cooperation along the entire supply chain.

To support countries in enacting or strengthening domestic legislation in this area and in protecting public health, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) launched the 'Guide to Good Legislative Practices on Combating Falsified

Medical Product-Related Crime' at a side event held jointly with Argentina, Belgium and France at the recent 28th Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice.

According to the limited number of studies on the magnitude of the problem, organized criminal groups engage in crime related to falsified medical products using the same routes and techniques employed in the trafficking in other illicit commodities.

They exploit gaps and discrepancies in national legislation and criminal justice systems, use new technologies and platforms such as darknet sites to traffic in falsified medical products and avoid detection by law enforcement authorities. Falsified medical product-related crime has a multi-

dimensional impact that includes health, economic and socioeconomic consequences.

John Brandolino, Director of the UNODC Division for Treaty Affairs, explained that "falsified medical product-related crimes occur along a supply chain that runs from the manufacturer of the falsified medical product to distributors and sellers - in other words traffickers - and, ultimately, the end consumer."

The side event highlighted two cases which illustrated the involvement of transnational organized criminal groups in crime related to falsified medical products, and the practical use of the Guide in such contexts. The transnational nature of the issue was also demonstrated in a case that involved 13 countries across Asia, the

**YOU don't realize it
but you could be
BUYING
FAKE!
MEDICINES!**

Be part of FDA's campaign against counterfeit drugs and SUPPORT the 2017 National Conscience Week Against Counterfeit Drugs!

Please verify a drug store through www.fda.gov/ph or email cdm@fda.gov




	COLOR	BATCH/LOT #	PACKAGING	PATTERN
FAKE	 Appears brighter or paler than usual	 Hard to read	 Packaging chips easily	 Dotted Pattern
AUTHENTIC	 Color and engraving should be how it is advertised on TV	 Visible and readable	 No sign of tampering	 Diamond Pattern



CLEAR GENERIC AND BRAND NAME



DOES NOT CRUMBLE EASILY



LOT NUMBER AND EXPIRATION DATE



SOLD IN FDA LICENSED DRUG STORES

Image Sources: FDA and Unilab



Middle East, Europe and Africa, in which life-saving medicines were falsified and that led to three convictions.

Countries face numerous challenges in effectively combating crime related to falsified medical products, including weak or inconsistent legal frameworks and the lack of regulations to address online and distance selling of medical products. In its resolution 20/6, the Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice encouraged Member States to counter falsified medicines by reviewing and updating their legal and regulatory frameworks as necessary, and to ensure that they do not overlook any stage in the supply chain.

UNODC developed the guide with financial support of France and contributions of numerous experts from

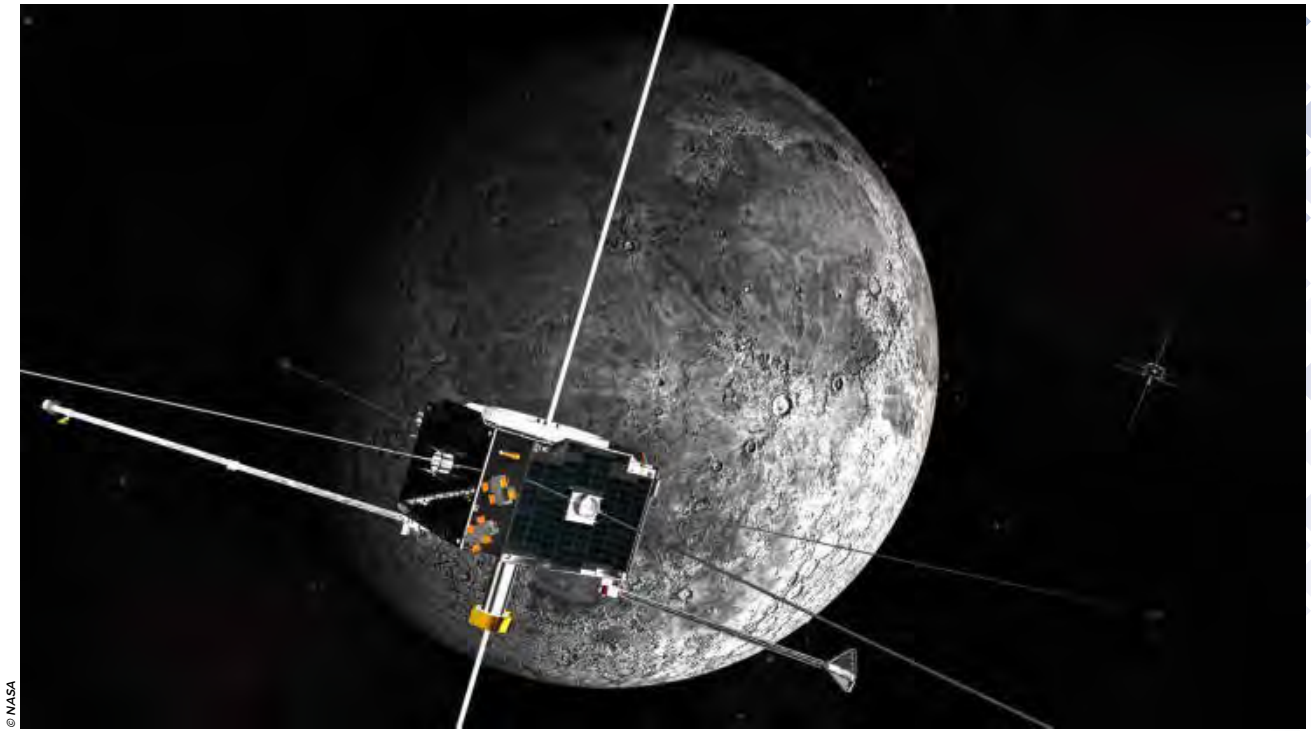
all continents and of the Council of Europe, the Economic Community of West African States, the European Union, the International Council of Nurses, the International Criminal Police Organization (INTERPOL), the New Partnership for Africa's Development, the World Customs Organization and the World Health Organization.

States can use the Guide as a practical tool as they draft, amend or review relevant national legislation. Intellectual property rights are specifically excluded from the ambit of this Guide. It is hoped that this Guide will contribute to an increased number of national and international investigations and prosecutions of falsified medical product-related crime, which remains a "high profit low risk sector" for criminals.



Guide to Good Legislative Practices on Combating Falsified Medical Product-Related Crime

The Guide can be downloaded on: http://www.unodc.org/documents/treaties/publications/19-00741_Guide_Falsified_Medical_Products_ebook.pdf



An artist's concept of the ARTEMIS spacecraft in orbit around the Moon

ARTEMIS MISSION

NASA says it's time to return to the lunar surface. But this time, it wants to stay there.

Working with U.S. companies and international partners, NASA will push the boundaries of human exploration forward to the Moon for this program. As a result of Artemis, NASA will be able to establish a sustainable human presence on the Moon by 2028 to uncover new scientific discoveries, demonstrate new technological advancements, and lay the foundation for private companies to build a lunar economy.

With the goal of sending humans to Mars, Artemis is the first step to begin this next era of exploration

NASA has just announced a major step forward in its plan to send astronauts to the Moon by 2024: task order awards to three commercial partners to deliver NASA science and technology instruments to the Moon. This is one of many recent milestones to come in the new Artemis program to explore the Moon.

On April 9, NASA expressed its commitment to a timeline of landing humans on the lunar South pole

by 2024. The agency's lunar exploration plans are based on a two-phased approach: the first is focused on speed – landing astronauts on the Moon in five years – while the second will establish a sustained human presence on and around the Moon by 2028. NASA will use an orbiting lunar outpost called Gateway to access the Moon. The agency is targeting launch of the power and propulsion element in late 2022.

Planning this program requires many different pieces, including new technologies and partnerships. Developments on all fronts are moving ahead rapidly. Here's a summary of recent progress with Artemis.

A Charge Forward

The Artemis program will send the first woman and the next man to the Moon by 2024 and develop a sustainable human presence on the Moon by 2028. The program takes its name from the twin sister of Apollo and goddess of the Moon in Greek mythology.

The Moon to Mars exploration approach is outlined in Space Policy Directive-1, which President Trump signed into law in December 2017. In one of the first steps to accomplish this bold goal, NASA announced its Commercial Lunar Payload Services (CLPS) initiative, in which companies under contract can bid on delivering science and technology payloads to the Moon.

These public-private partnerships will be essential to the development of Artemis program by helping us study the Moon ahead of a human return.

Astronaut Health Projects Selected

Astronauts face a very different environment in space than on Earth, and scientists are still investigating the many possible impacts of space-flight on the human body. On April 30, NASA selected 12 proposals for projects related to studying astronaut health and performance during future long-duration missions beyond low-Earth orbit. These include what effects stress and sleep disturbances in space may have on the brain function, as well as how the immune system responds to simulated microgravity.

The 12 projects will help prepare astronauts for what they may experience on missions to the Moon, and eventually Mars.

Budget Amendment

Sending humans to the Moon by 2024 will require funds specifically for this endeavor. On May 13, President Trump announced a budget amendment for fiscal year 2020 of \$1.6 billion to put NASA on track to accomplish this feat.

New Technologies from Small Business

A sustainable human presence on the Moon and sending astronauts to Mars will require a variety of new innovations. On May 14, NASA announced small business awards totaling \$106 million that included technologies in the areas of human exploration and operations, space technology, science, and aeronautics. The awards green-lit 142 proposals from 129 U.S. small businesses.

Many of these selected projects have direct applications to Artemis and other future human exploration endeavors. For example, the technology behind solar panels that deploy like venetian blinds can be used as a surface power source for crewed missions on the Moon and Mars.

Human Lander Prototypes

NASA is planning to get astronauts to the lunar surface and back through a multi-part landing system. They will start on the Gateway orbiting lunar outpost and ride down to low-lunar orbit in a spacecraft called a "transfer element." Then, a different spacecraft called the "descent element" will take them down to the Moon's surface. An ascent element will take them back to the Gateway. NASA is investigating ways to make these systems reusable through refueling.

On May 16, NASA selected 11 companies to advance technology to land humans on the Moon. The companies will conduct studies and build prototypes for the Artemis program. These projects will relate to the descent, transfer, and refueling elements of a potential human landing system.

Power and Propulsion Element

The ambitious Gateway lunar outpost, which will enable access to more of the Moon than ever before, will need power, propulsion and communications capabilities. On May 23, NASA announced that Maxar Technologies, formerly SSL, in Westminster, Colorado, would develop and demonstrate these capabilities for the Gateway through a component called the "power and propulsion element."

The power and propulsion element, the first element of the Gateway that will launch to lunar orbit, is a spacecraft itself. It will fly by means of a technology called solar electric propulsion, but with three times more powerful than what has flown so far. This power and propulsion element will provide communications relays, including for human and robotic landers as well as visiting vehicles. NASA is targeting a launch of this element no later December 2022.



Johnson Space Center in Houston



Orion's service module for NASA's Artemis 1 mission



Human landing system

Artemis 1, 2, and 3

NASA Administrator Jim Bridenstine spoke about the Gateway element and Artemis in general on May 23 at the Florida Institute of Technology. He outlined that the Artemis 1 mission will send the first human spacecraft to the Moon in the 21st century through a test flight of the Space Launch System (SLS) rocket and Orion spacecraft as an integrated system. Artemis 2 will be the first flight of human crew to the Moon aboard this SLS-Orion system. And Artemis 3 will send the first crew to the lunar surface.

Next-Generation Landers

On May 31 as part of the CLPS initiative, NASA selected the first three commercial Moon landing service providers that will deliver science and technology payloads to the lunar surface. Representatives from each company

explained their concepts in a televised event at NASA's Goddard Space Flight Center in Greenbelt, Maryland. These missions will acquire new science measurements and enable important technology demonstrations, whose data will inform the development of future landers and other exploration systems needed for astronauts to return to the Moon by 2024.

Where Did The Name Artemis Come From?

Artemis was the twin sister of Apollo and goddess of the Moon in Greek mythology. Now, she personifies our path to the Moon as the name of NASA's program to return astronauts to the lunar surface by 2024, including the first woman and the next man. When they land, our American astronauts will step foot where no human has ever been before: the Moon's South Pole.



The launch abort motor at NASA's Kennedy Space Center in Florida



11 AMERICAN COMPANIES SELECTED BY NASA TO CONDUCT STUDIES AND PRODUCE PROTOTYPES OF HUMAN LANDERS FOR ITS ARTEMIS LUNAR EXPLORATION PROGRAM

The total award amount for all companies is \$45.5 million. As NextSTEP is a public/private partnership program, companies are required to contribute at least 20% of the total project cost

“To accelerate our return to the Moon, we are challenging our traditional ways of doing business. We will streamline everything from procurement to partnerships to hardware development and even operations,” said Marshall Smith, director for human lunar exploration programs at NASA Headquarters. “Our team is excited to get back to the Moon quickly as possible, and our public/private partnerships to study human landing systems are an important step in that process.”

Through Next Space Technologies for Exploration Partnerships (NextSTEP) Appendix E contracts, the selected companies will study and/or develop prototypes during the next six months that reduce schedule risk for the descent, transfer, and refueling elements of a potential human landing system.

- **AEROJET ROCKETDYNE – CANOGA PARK, CALIFORNIA**
One transfer vehicle study
- **BLUE ORIGIN – KENT, WASHINGTON**
One descent element study, one transfer vehicle study, and one transfer vehicle prototype
- **BOEING – HOUSTON**
One descent element study, two descent element prototypes, one transfer vehicle study, one transfer vehicle prototype, one refueling element study, and one refueling element prototype
- **DYNETICS – HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA**
One descent element study and five descent element prototypes
- **LOCKHEED MARTIN – LITTLETON, COLORADO**
One descent element study, four descent element prototypes, one transfer vehicle study, and one refueling element study
- **MASTEN SPACE SYSTEMS – MOJAVE, CALIFORNIA**
One descent element prototype
- **NORTHROP GRUMMAN INNOVATION SYSTEMS – DULLES, VIRGINIA**
One descent element study, four descent element prototypes, one refueling element study, and one refueling element prototype
- **ORBITBEYOND – EDISON, NEW JERSEY**
Two refueling element prototypes
- **SIERRA NEVADA CORPORATION, LOUISVILLE, COLORADO, AND MADISON, WISCONSIN**
One descent element study, one descent element prototype, one transfer vehicle study, one transfer vehicle prototype, and one refueling element study
- **SPACEX – HAWTHORNE, CALIFORNIA**
One descent element study
- **SSL – PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA**
One refueling element study and one refueling element prototype



© DOD Nathan T. Beard

NATO AGENCY PLANS

for 1.4 billion EUR in upcoming business opportunities



© EDM

The NATO Communications and Information (NCI) Agency is planning to release 1.4 billion EUR in business opportunities in the next 18 months.

As NATO's tech and cyber leader, the Agency works to deliver technology and services to NATO Nations and Commands. During these next 18 months, the Agency plans to issue bids for, or award contracts in areas such as cyber security; joint intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance; and satellite communications.

The Agency holds open competitions through Invitations for Bid, or IFBs. You can read more about the process here.

Satellite Communications: The Agency plans to contract out 189 million EUR in satellite communications transmission services for the space, ground and control resources to support NATO operations from 2020 to 2034.

Cyber Security: 129 million EUR is planned for refreshing and optimizing the security technology for NATO's communications and information systems.

Deployable Communications and Information Systems (CIS): Through several other projects, the Agency is also planning to contract out 153.2 million EUR on deployable CIS and capability enhancements.

Nuclear Command and Control Services: NATO plans to make investments in the order of 15-to-20 million EUR to ensure a safe, secure and effective nuclear deterrent in the face of new technologies and threats. These funds will be used to develop software and procure IT equipment, among other things.

Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear (CBRN) Functional Services: NATO also plans to invest 10 million EUR in this area to develop software, replace certain ageing tools and support command and control of CBRN assets.

Joint Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance: The Agency plans to issue a bid worth 17 million EUR in the area of Joint ISR, to provide additional intelligence collecting and sharing capabilities to NATO Commands.

CERN INVITES THE PUBLIC

TO EXPLORE THE FUTURE AT ITS OPEN DAYS

On 14 and 15 September, CERN will throw its doors open wide and invite the public to spend the weekend exploring science. The event will be a unique opportunity to discover the Laboratory's installations.

On 14 and 15 September, CERN will open its scientific facilities to the public from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. Under the banner "Explore the future with us", everyone is invited to come along to the Open Days to live the CERN experience and meet the men and women working on the technologies and discoveries of today and tomorrow.

As always during the Open Days, the underground experiments and machines will, exceptionally, be accessible to the public. The weekend will be an unmissable opportunity to discuss, explore and have fun with science. The laboratories, workshops and control rooms on the surface will also be open. From theatre performances to proton football and chats over coffee with physicists, the event has the perfect mix of ingredients to take visitors of all ages into the very heart of one of the largest physics laboratories in the world.

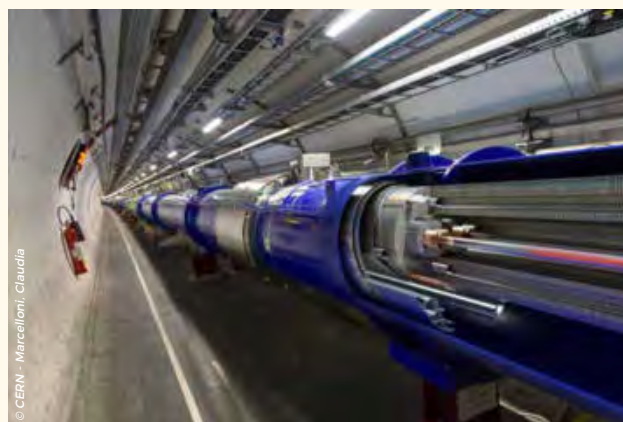
Entrance to the nine visit sites will be free and open to everyone. There will be plenty for all age groups to enjoy, with physics shows, demonstrations by firefighters and worksite machinery operators, face-to-face encounters with the LHC robots and escape games on offer to keep the youngest visitors enthralled. The list of activities is available on the [Open Days website](https://opendays.cern/). <https://opendays.cern/>

"Education and introducing younger generations to science are key to meeting the challenges of the future," says CERN's Director-General, Fabiola Gianotti. "The Open Days are an opportunity to spark new passions, but also to introduce experts and novices of all ages to our machines, the technologies we use and their applications in our daily lives."

The 2019 Open Days will take place during the second long shutdown of the Large Hadron Collider (LHC), providing a unique opportunity to discover the major upgrade work that is currently being carried out at CERN in preparation for the LHC restart in 2021. This work aims to improve the LHC's performance and prepare for the arrival of the High-Luminosity LHC (HL-LHC), which is planned for 2026. During the Open Days, physicists, engineers and technicians will explain all the ins and outs of their work and help visitors to discover the future of particle physics.

Some visit itineraries will carry age restrictions: the underground installations will be accessible only to people over 12 years of age. To ensure that as many people as possible have the chance to explore the underground installations, the number of underground visits per person will be limited to two each day.

Registration will be open from 26 June onwards on the Open Days website. Visitors will also be able to access all the information they need to create their own itinerary and make the most of a unique and unforgettable experience. It is strongly recommended to register online in order to guarantee your place.



3D cut of the Large Hadron Collider HC dipole



COMPASS Aera

The Route de l'Europe and part of the Route de Meyrin will be closed to traffic on both days: visitors are therefore strongly recommended to use public and sustainable transport. Additional buses and trams will run, and a free shuttle service will take visitors to and from the nine visit sites, which are spread out over a large area. Free car parks will be available for motorised vehicles and bicycles. All the necessary measures will be taken to ensure that visitors can enjoy their visit in complete safety. The event will be accessible to people with reduced mobility.

CERN is a research institute near [Geneva, Switzerland](#). The full name is **Organisation Européenne pour la Recherche Nucléaire (European Organization for Nuclear Research)**. The letters "CERN" are left over from the older *Conseil Européen pour la Recherche Nucléaire* (European Council for Nuclear Research). CERN was founded in 1954. Today 22 [nations](#) are members of the organisation. It is the world's biggest laboratory for [particle physics](#). About 2600 people work there full-time, and over 7800 [scientists](#) from about 500 [universities](#) and research institutes work there in total.

The [Large Hadron Collider](#), the largest [particle accelerator](#) in the world, is at CERN.

Soon at the Musée Jacquemart-André one of the most precious and little-known private collections of Renaissance art in the world

THE ALANA COLLECTION:

Masterpieces of Italian Painting

The Musée Jacquemart-André will be focusing on the Alana collection, one of the most precious and little-known private collections of Renaissance art in the world, which is currently located in the United States. Echoing its exceptional collection of Italian art, the Musée Jacquemart André will hold an exhibition of more than seventy-five masterpieces by the greatest Italian masters, such as Lorenzo Monaco, Fra Angelico, Uccello, Lippi, Bellini, Carpaccio, Tintoretto, Veronese, Bronzino, and Gentileschi.

This exhibition will give visitors a unique chance to admire for the first time pictures, sculptures, and objets d'art that have never been exhibited to the general public.

The Musée Jacquemart-André was a model for collectors who, in turn, established collections that largely focused on the Italian Renaissance. The collection assembled by Édouard André and Nélie Jacquemart inspired the most prestigious American collectors, who built up considerable collections of works.

In keeping with the original aims of its founders, the Musée Jacquemart-André will be presenting for the first time in the world a selection of masterpieces from the Alana collection. Although art historians are familiar with the collection it remains unknown to the general public, because it has never been exhibited.

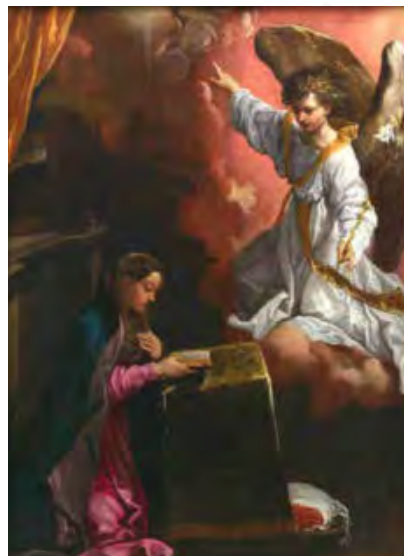
In the tradition of all the greatest American collections, the Alana collection is the fruit of a passion for art and an intensive selection process, adopted over several decades by Alvaro Saieh and Ana Guzmán; the combination of the couple's forenames make up the name of the Alana collection.

These masterpieces have been exceptionally loaned to the Musée Jacquemart-André due to the two collectors' passion for this period of art. The exhibited works attest to the enduring taste for the Italian Renaissance, considered as a founding stone of Western civilisation. They provide a comprehensive overview of one of the greatest collections of private art, from thirteenth-century painting to Caravaggesque works.

CURATORSHIP Carlo Falciani, an art historian, exhibition curator, and professor of the History of Modern Art at the Accademia di Belle Arte in Florence.

Carl Brandon Strehlke, an art historian, specialist in Italian Renaissance painting, and curator emeritus at the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Pierre Curie, curator at the Musée Jacquemart-André and a specialist in seventeenth-century Italian and Spanish painting.



Annibale Carracci (Bologna, 1560 - Rome, 1609), *The Annunciation*, circa 1582-1588. Oil on canvas, 134.6 x 98.4 cm, Alana Collection, Newark, DE, United States



Antonio Vivarini, (Venice and Veneto, circa 1415 - 1476/1484, documented from 1440), *San Pietro da Verona che esorcizza il demonio apparso nelle sembianze della Madonna* [Saint Peter Martyr exorcising a demon having taken the features of Madonna], circa 1450 Tempera and gold on wood, 53.4 x 36 cm, Alana Collection, Newark, DE, United States

13 SEPTEMBER 2019 - 20 JANUARY 2020

Musée Jacquemart-André
158 boulevard Haussmann
75008 Paris

Plantar Reflexology K-Taping Therapy Targeted Aromatherapy



Elisabeth Thurat Clinic

YOUR TRUSTED PODIATRY AND MEDICAL PEDICURE CLINIC IN BRUSSELS



- Uses APIVITA natural French products
- Proposes various treatments using organic essential oils
- Uses the unique Low Level Laser Therapy (manufactured by Erchonia, a US company and world leader in the field of Low Level Laser Therapy)
- Bespoke treatment programs and state-of-the-art equipment
- Spotless hygiene

We provide the best care possible

ELISABETH THURAT CLINIC offers a wide range of care specifically tailored for young children, teenagers, adults, athletes, and people with disabilities.

*At Elisabeth Thurat Clinic
Your Feet are in Good Hands !*

www.pedicure-medicale-thurat.be

+32 4 94 04 84 24

482, Avenue Molière • 1050 Brussels (Ixelles) • Belgium

Consultations only by appointment • From 8am to 8pm • Monday to Saturday



TIMELESS CHIC

Standout Fashion and Beauty trends

By Clara Bauman

Fragrances to cherish this summer

Beguiling vanilla, captivating orange blossom... scents of fruit cocktail and hints of fresh sorbet. It's now or never for wearing the fragrances that recapture that holiday mood.



Tasty : Les Sorbets (Nina Ricci)

Lovers of gourmet fragrances, rejoice ! Nina Ricci's collection treats us to three limited editions inspired by the most tempting iced desserts.

Highlights :

The famous apple-shaped bottle in frosted glass has taken on pastel shades and has been bitten into...the forbidden fruit has finally been eaten !

What's good in the bottle ?

- A sparkling fruit cocktail in "Les Sorbets de Bella" (Green bottle)
- The freshness of a Pear Granita mingled with a bouquet of flowers (peony, jasmine, magnolia) in "Les Sorbets de Luna" (blue bottle)
- A surprising caramel and praline-flavoured dessert, enhanced with citrus fruits in "Les Sorbets de Nina" (pink bottle)

Yes we know... the most difficult part is choosing which !

(ninaricci.com)

Audacious : Lady Million Empire (Paco Rabanne)

This is the realm of sophisticated fragrances. Created in 2010, Lady Million now comes in an ultra-feminine version.

Highlights :

Although the iconic diamond-shaped bottle remains unchanged, its colour is



now a bright pink. No, there's no reason to envy the original bottle !

What's good in the bottle ?

- This sandalwood preparation has been elaborated for a rich fragrance : the two main ingredients at the heart of Lady Million (orange blossom and patchouli) are blended with osmanthus absolute, white musk and a whiff of brandy. Exhilarating !

(pacorabanne.com)

Exotic : Vanilla Vibes (Juliette has a gun)



By creating this fragrance, the brand famous for niche products has aimed at evoking visions of sunset in the desert. Close your eyes...you're in Palm Springs !

Highlights :

The bottle's sumptuous colour gradation of blue and pink gold, brings to mind the blue of the sky and the hot desert sand.

What's good in the bottle ?

- Having distanced itself from its traditional facets, the vanilla, here, takes on a more mineral aspect and surrounds itself with unexpected ingredients : sea salt, orchids, tonka beans and brown musk.

(juliettehasagun.com)

Irresistible : Good Girl (Carolina Herrera)

Working girl by day, femme fatale by night in a vibrant New York City... these images have inspired the creation of this 'oriental and floral' elixir that has finally reached Europe.

Highlights :

Can't get any more 'haute couture' than this fragrance : the shoe-shaped bottle evokes the creations of the brand and its ultra-feminine fashion designs.

What's good in the bottle ?

- A faithful combination of low and high-key fragrances, following the example of the "Good Girl" : the warmth of coffee and almonds versus the coolness of lemon and bergamot. The intensity of cocoa versus the lightness of Bulgarian rose... among other paradoxes.

(carolinaherrera.com)



TIMELESS CHIC

Standout Fashion and Beauty trends

By Clara Bauman

Dress code: 'everybody in midis !'

No, you're not dreaming... the midi length dress (falling somewhere between below the knees and above the ankles) has made a very noticeable come-back. And yes, it is fiercely modern on condition you wear it according to the codes of the day.

User manual and shopping list



© 10 DAYS

Who said wearing midi length meant looking prehistoric ? Certainly not with this very "athleisure" combination by 10 Days (10dayslifestyle.nl). Or this "glam rock" look by IKKS (ikks.com)

The great fashion combos

Sneakers (immaculate white or colourful... sporty or bulky)... "Dad shoes" are still very much "in" !

Low boots in cowgirl style or in metallic leather for a touch of "rock'roll".

A tiny sweater or a short T-shirt to elongate the figure (mind you...we never said anything about a crop top !)

A combination of materials, to modernize the look (e.g. a well-made stitch sweater over a satin skirt)

Must haves



Silky midi skirt
(rueblanche.com)



Tulle-inspired skirt
(10dayslifestyle.nl)



Pleated and cut-out midi skirt
(ikks.com)



"Athleisure" - inspired midi skirt
(fredginger.com)



Pleated midi skirt
(fr.tommy.com)



The watchword at Levi's : ever higher !

Riding the fashion wave of "high-waist" jeans, Levi's is way ahead with its "Ribcage" model, with over 30 centimetres that follow the curve of the hips right up to the waist.

Why that model, you might ask... well, because high-waist signifies "endless legs", which in turn signifies a super-flattering figure, whatever the body shape. QED !

(levi.com)

Hello sweetheart !

A safe bet when it comes to romantic gifts : heart-shaped jewellery. But it's not meant to be offered exclusively on Saint Valentine's day. Do it anytime! Three designs and three different styles :



*With a logo
and just enough «bling»*
(michaelkors.eu)

*A very neat pendant
in pink gold*
(ginette-ny.com)



A pair of minimalist earrings
(pandora.net)

BOOKS

Demonetization

By: Pankaj Sharma, Saurav Sanyal

MODI'S POLITICAL MASTERSTROKE?



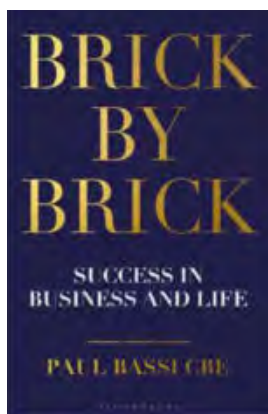
On 8 November 2016, at 8:00 PM IST, Prime Minister Narendra Modi announced that four hours from his declaration, all 500 and 1000 rupees notes would be devalued. At the stroke of the midnight hour, India awoke to an unexpected tryst with demonetization. An incisive and insightful take on the issue, Pankaj Sharma and Saurav Sanyal's book gives agency to the ordinary Indian voters, the 'torchbearers of democracy'. Going beyond the idea of the citizen as a mere recipient of the government's edicts or munificence, the authors focus on the power of the common man as a voter and the repercussions of demonetization on the upcoming 2019 general elections in India.

In 2019, will demonetization be seen as the waterloo of Modi, or will he emerge stronger and even more powerful? In dissecting the political implications of demonetization, the authors espouse a varied yet nuanced approach. From discussing the role of human psychology in making political choices to a search for an on-the-ground sentiment in determining the factors of influence, Sharma and Sanyal leave no stone unturned in analysing demonetization as THE political issue for the future of Indian democracy.

Brick by Brick

By: Paul Bassi

SUCCESS IN BUSINESS AND LIFE



Success is a simple thing that most people believe to be something mysterious and complicated - the reality, according to Paul Bassi, is something completely different. In the vast majority of cases, the people at the top have got there by following disciplines that open to everyone. The truth about success is that it's closer than you might think but harder work than you expect.

Anyone can be successful in life - by your own definition, which is the only one that really matters - if you set yourself a central ambition and

follow some fundamental principles about how it can be achieved. While the advice in this book may look primarily at business and property, the underlying themes are applicable to whatever life and career you wish to pursue.

Drawing on stories from his youth, early career, family life and his current position as one of the Midlands' most prominent property investors, Paul Bassi shows how you can plan your own journey to success. It won't be easy; it won't happen overnight; and it won't come without making sacrifices. But if you want it badly enough and are prepared to be disciplined and relentless in your approach, it is all perfectly possible. This book will show you exactly what it takes.

The Battle for Sky

By: Christopher Williams

THE MURDOCHS, DISNEY, COMCAST AND THE FUTURE OF ENTERTAINMENT



From perilous early years through clashes with the BBC and BT, not to mention the News Corporation bid for full control that failed in the wake of 2010's phone hacking scandal, there has been no shortage of drama in Sky's history - nor in its likely future. In 2018, the organization was the target of bids from two true titans of the global media industry - Disney and Comcast - with a dramatic bidding war waged for ultimate ownership. Throw in an industry already shaken by the arrival of newer media players such

as Netflix, the declining circulation of Murdoch newspapers such as *The Sun* and *The Times*, as well as the UK government's scrutiny of the Murdoch family's influence on UK media, and the scene was set for a major corporate battle of a size rarely seen on the global business stage. But how exactly did Comcast win in the battle for shareholder votes? How will the Murdoch empire fare when the dust finally settles? And what does it mean now for the future of entertainment in a streaming, downloadable and digital world?

Featuring interviews with key individuals and stakeholders from around the world, *The Battle for Sky* offers a timely and intriguing glimpse into the workings of media empires, and a gripping account of one of the largest corporate battles in recent years.

Monsieur X

By: Jamie Reid

THE INCREDIBLE STORY OF THE MOST AUDACIOUS GAMBLER IN HISTORY



Monsieur X is a dazzling tale of glamour, riches, violence and ultimately tragedy.

Patrice des Moutis was a handsome, charming and well-educated Frenchman with an aristocratic family, a respectable insurance business, and a warm welcome in the smartest Parisian salons. He was also a compulsive gambler and illegal bookie.

Between the late 1950s and the early 1970s, Des Moutis made a daring attempt to beat the French state-run betting system. His success so alarmed the authorities that they

repeatedly changed the rules of betting in an effort to stop him. And so a battle of wits began, all played out on the front pages of the daily newspapers as the general public willed Des Moutis on to ever greater triumphs. He remained one step ahead of the law until finally the government criminalised his activities, driving him into the arms of the underworld. Eventually the net began to close, high-profile characters found themselves the target of the state's investigation, and people began turning up dead.

Fly with Royal Jordanian to Brussels and Back!

At least two indirect flights daily

We also provide rail & fly solutions to/from Brussels – Midi station via Schipol & CDG. Enjoy your stay at a city known for its delicacies, history and life. What more could you ask for?

For more information and to reserve, please call us on +32 2 512.70.70, email brutrrj@rj.com or visit your preferred travel agent, our website rj.com or our RJ app.



rj.com



ROYAL JORDANIAN

الملكية الأردنية



Monaco Classic Week

La Belle Classe



11-15 Septembre 2019



Yacht Club de Monaco : www.ycm.org | +377 93 10 63 00 | mcw@ycm.org | #MCW2019