

EUROPE

July
2019

Diplomatic

magazine



As with Caesar,
so with Tony Blair



OLAF and Belgium customs
busting crime perpetrators

BERLUSCONI

Back from the dead, again

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



EDITORIAL

As he prepares to leave the Presidency of the European Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker has been named European Leader of the Year by Euronews and the European Business Summit (EBS).

This may seem a consolation for someone who last March, during a press conference said “I believe in heaven and I have never seen hell, except when I was doing my my job”.

He was answering a reporter who had quoted Donald Tusk, then president of the European Council, claiming that “there was a special place in hell for those who promoted Brexit without even an inkling of a plan for carrying it out safely”.

During his tenure, Juncker has been widely criticized by British pro-Brexiters as well as the media. Especially when he suggested that Theresa May failed to set out a clear vision in the attempt to rescue her controversial Brexit deal in December 2018.

To be fair, it should be said that Brexit overshadowed most of Juncker’s positive achievements concerning the economic stability of the eurozone, as well as other matters.

Blaming a man in his mid-sixties for indulging in Bordeaux wine, or characterizing him as ‘the master of lies’ as one journalists did by comparing him to Nazi propaganda chief Joseph Goebbels, seems to somewhat lack decency.

After all, during his five-year term as President of the European Commission, he had to face multiple economic and political torments that plagued Europe. Among these, Brexit has probably been the most challenging issue in Europe’s political history.

As always in politics, it is the lessons from history that will determine Europe’s future, as well as the achievements of its leaders. Many will be relegated to the dustbin of history, while others will be remembered for their courage as political leaders, who sought to get Europe out of its inextricable dilemmas and challenges.

As for Jean-Claude Juncker, it is certain that without his tireless efforts, many stumbling blocks would have remained, to be faced by the next President of the European Commission.

Let us, as a final farewell gesture, mention his last words during his State of the Union address in 2018.

He quoted French philosopher Blaise Pascal: “I like things that go together. In order to stand on its own two feet, Europe must move forward as one. To love Europe, is to love its nations. To love your nation is to love Europe. Patriotism is a virtue. Unchecked nationalism is riddled with both poison and deceit”.

Adding his own thoughts, he said: “In short, we must remain true to ourselves. The trees we plant today must provide shade for our great grand-children whether they hail from East or West, from South or North. To give them all they need to grow and breathe easily. A few years ago, standing in this very same spot, I told you that Europe was the love of my life. I love Europe still and shall do so forever more”.

Whether he decides to go fishing or enjoy visiting French wine cellars during his possible retirement, or even head back to politics again, we wish him fair winds and following seas.

*The Editor-in-Chief
Trajan Dereville*



Nikola Hendrickx



© EDM

BERLUSCONI

Back from the Dead, Again

It would undoubtedly be a cause of shock and alarm to see someone you believed to be dead turn up at a feast and take your chair. It certainly alarms Shakespeare's Macbeth, when the ghost of the man he has had murdered, his former friend, Banquo, appears to him whilst remaining invisible to his wife and their guests. Well, it would upset anyone, wouldn't it? Macbeth makes clear to his doubting wife how the experience is upsetting him:

"The time has been that when the brains were out, the man would die,

And there an end: but now they rise again
With twenty mortal murders on their crowns,
And push us from our stools".

What would he have made of Silvio Berlusconi, Italy's third longest serving Prime Minister and Machiavelian political manipulator?

The unexpected reappearance of the supposedly departed has been the theme of many a horror film and many a legend, especially in certain parts of Eastern Europe such as the Carpathian Mountains. As Lady Macbeth says, such tales "could well become a woman's story at a winter's fire". Take Dracula, that wonderful 1897 creation of the Irish author, Bram Stoker, for instance. The book has inspired no end of films, with sequels galore, letting the toothsome Count come back to life so often that his crypt would need a revolving door and a willing servant to change and wash his shroud regularly. It's a strange fact that people enjoy being horrified and frightened by the so-called "undead". The tag-line for George Romero's classic 1978 horror movie, *Dawn of the Dead*, was: "When there's no more room in hell, the dead will walk the earth." It's a horrible notion and one with no logical justification, even in the movie.



Silvio Berlusconi - Romano Prodi

THE COMEBACK KID RIDES AGAIN

When have you ever seen the dead rise up and displace the living? Until now. Well, not dead, in fact, but assumed to be a figure from the past, someone whose true place is in a history book, rather than a political chamber. Macbeth was upset because they “push us from our stools”. But what if they push us from our seats in the European Parliament? All stand, please, for Silvio Berlusconi, who at the age of 82 has re-entered mainstream politics as an MEP. Forced to step down as Prime Minister of Italy in 2011 as its economy went into meltdown, he has decided on a comeback, saying he had “a sense of responsibility to head for Europe, where there is a lack of deep thinking about the world.” Such an accusation has only carried weight since the arrival in Europe’s elected chambers of populists who proclaim simple answers for all the people’s ills. Sadly, Berlusconi may almost have a point when he says “In Brussels I will remain the sole levee against anti-European nationalism.” There remain others, perhaps better suited to such a role. Berlusconi certainly says he believes in Europe, almost as much as he clearly believes in Berlusconi. Who would have thought just a few years ago that people might one day see the man famed for his “bunga-bunga” parties as a bulwark against the march of anti-European populism? But is he? He wants to see the centre-right European People’s Party (EPP) group, to which his Forza Italia party belongs, create greater distance from the centre-left Social democrats by aligning

itself more closely with the far right. He recently tweeted: “The EPP must leave the alliance with the Socialists and turn to the right, to the conservatives and the nationalists. I am convinced that even Orbán (Viktor Orbán, controversial Prime Minister of Hungary) and Salvini” (*Matteo Salvini, Italy’s Deputy Prime Minister and leader of Lega Nord*) “can enter this alliance to transform Europe into a Europe for growth.” He campaigned alongside Salvini to win a regional gubernatorial election in Abruzzo earlier this year for the neo-Fascist Brothers of Italy party, which is even further to the right than Lega Nord.

But cosyng up to populists can have negative consequences, as Sebastian Kurtz, leader of the centre-right Austrian People’s Party, discovered when he assumed he could go into coalition with the far-right FPÖ leader, Heinz-Christian Strache, while reining in Strache’s more extreme politics, only to see his new partner caught in a sting operation that left him mired in an apparent attempt to let a fake Russian oligarch take over Austria’s biggest newspaper and fill it with pro-FPÖ propaganda. Mr Kurtz ended the alliance while Mr Strache resigned in tears. And if the European Peoples’ Party followed Berlusconi’s lead and drifted towards populism, there could be a political cost. “If they move any further right - and they’ve gone a long way - they we start losing those from the centre to ‘Renew Europe’ as they don’t want to be in bed with Fidesz and PiS,” according to former MEP Glyn Ford, who was at one time Deputy Leader of the Socialist and Democratic Group in the European Parliament and who wrote the book “Talking to North Korea”.

As he began a campaign to restore his centre-right Forza Italia party to the political forefront, Berlusconi told reporters that “Europe must return to being a continent ‘that counts’ and not one of ‘divided states’”. And yet he has campaigned alongside Matteo Salvini, aligning Forza Italia with Salvini’s virulently anti-immigrant and Euro-sceptic Lega Nord, thus strengthening Italy’s political right. Salvini has recently been making a point of upsetting France, accusing it of “stealing wealth” from Africa. He has also shared a political platform with Jörg Meuthen of Germany’s far-right Al-

ternative for Germany (AfD) party. Salvini has tried to put obstacles in the way of Berlusconi’s return from the political wilderness, hoping that he would not need to ally his League with Forza Italia. Berlusconi was forced to give up his seat in the Italian Senate in 2013 following a conviction for tax fraud and a further conviction in 2015 seemed to many commentators to have put the final nail in the coffin of his political career. He also served a community service sentence, working in a retirement home, helping inmates with parlour games and sing-songs. It should have suited his talents as a former singer on a cruise ship. His ban on public office was overturned in 2018 when the Milan Appellate Court decided he had been “rehabilitated”. The ban would have run out in 2019 in any case.

ONE VISION, MANY VIEWS

He says he has a vision for Europe but it veers very close to populism, at least in part. When he announced his plans to contest the European Parliamentary elections, he made his position clear. “This time the European elections cannot be underestimated because Europe’s need for change is urgent,” Berlusconi said, “for the interests of Italy but also and above all for the role that Europe must return to playing in the world. The world today is a much less secure place than in the past, perhaps it has never been so dangerous since 1945. Today there is no longer a power that protects the global order.” Could this have been a dig at Donald Trump? His declaration on his party’s electioneering website sounds convincing enough: “The nationalists fight Europe in the name of our identity. They do not understand, perhaps they do not know, that Europe is our identity,” he writes, “it is the system of values and the lifestyle we are used to. Europe is the great Western culture, the one that built the cathedrals of the Middle Ages, created the music of Beethoven or Bach, Verdi or Chopin, the books of Dante, Goethe, Shakespeare, the philosophy of Aristotle of Saint Thomas, by Kant.” Reading it, one can almost hear the European anthem, Beethoven’s Ode to Joy, playing in the background, but it’s not the sort of Euro-enthusiasm that is likely

to find many allies among the more nationalist parties represented in the new European Parliament. “The only thing that the Caruso of Italian politics seems not to understand is that the culture of Europe, and the institutions of the European Union are very different things,” commented Gawain Towler, Director of Communications with Nigel Farage’s Eurosceptic Brexit Party, which returned the highest number of British MEPs in the recent European elections. “One is watered by the range of cultures, histories and differences of the peoples and nations of Europe, and one seeks to co-opt these things whilst draining them of their vitality in favour of a one-culture-fits-all approach.” I have to point out that within the European Union, that would be held as very much a minority view. And the range of views espoused by Berlusconi sounds suspiciously like something Groucho Marx once said: “Those are my principles, and if you don’t like them... well I have others.”

LAMBS TO THE SLAUGHTER

Certainly, Berlusconi’s manifesto sounds moderate and reasonable - more powers for the European Parliament, a common foreign and defence policy, protecting Italy against unfair competition - but also includes an end to irregular immigration, giving Italy a leading role in Mediterranean affairs (including immigration, energy

and infrastructure) and better respect for the environment. Berlusconi the green? It seems uncharacteristic, somehow, although he appeared in a 2017 video for the Italian League in Defence of Animals, urging people to “choose a vegetarian Easter” while hand-feeding five lambs he claimed to have saved from the dinner table. Lamb is the dish traditionally served at Easter in Italy. It annoyed Italy’s meat industry, which may well have been the intention: Assocarni, the lobby group of Italy’s butchers, called on advertisers to boycott Berlusconi’s TV channels and publications in retaliation.

But his green credentials seem somewhat cosmetic, however. Compassion hasn’t normally seemed to figure highly among his priorities, but maybe that doesn’t matter to voters. In any case, it doesn’t sit well with his party’s demand that no more EU money should be spent on immigrants. Salvini’s Lega Nord surprised everyone by taking more than 34% of the vote in the European elections. He was jubilant in victory: “It’s not just Italy,” he said, “it’s Le Pen in France, Farage in the U.K., it’s Hungary, Poland.” He may not be keen on an alliance in Italy with Berlusconi’s Forza Italia, but he believes the overall results will strengthen his position elsewhere. “I am counting on having allies everywhere to save the EU ... to change its rules. We finally have to change after decades of bureaucrats and bankers’ rules.” He did not clarify what those changes might be, nor if Berlusconi

will support them. Presumably he will. Berlusconi’s party won 8.8%, a slight drop in support but enough to send him to Brussels and Strasbourg. Even so, he is expected to see a drift away from Forza Italia in favour of Salvini’s Lega Nord and the neo-fascist Brothers of Italy.

NON-STICK, NOT FLAME-PROOF

Berlusconi can hardly avoid attracting attention and headlines by re-entering the political fray despite his colourful past and his dubious record in office. He was known as “the Teflon don” because the muck simply didn’t stick. Anyone who has ever owned a non-stick pan, however, will know that the Teflon coating can wear away with time. And even if many people have forgotten - or, in the case of younger voters, were unaware of - Berlusconi’s record, Italians deserted him in droves because of corruption scandals, diplomatic blunders on a grand scale (he reportedly called Angela Merkel an “unf***able lard-arse and also insulted the then leader of the Socialist group in the European Parliament, Martin Schulz, who went on to become President of the Parliament, by suggesting he should be cast as a concentration camp trusty - a prisoner who also serves as a guard - in a film about the Second World War. It made Schulz a hero and an icon of the Left) as well as stories of private sex parties. He has been cleared on appeal of having paid for sex with an underage Moroccan nightclub dancer, known as “Ruby the Heart-stealer” (real name Karima El-Mahroug) after the judge decided he could not have known for certain that she was only 17 and therefore too young (the age of consent in Italy is 18) and after twenty-five others who had attended his parties testified that they were merely “posh dinners”. He had originally been sentenced to a seven-year jail term. El-Mahroug admitted having attended one of his parties and having received money from Berlusconi but denies having had sex with him. His alleged affair with Ruby was not just about sex with a minor; he was accused of an abuse of power by putting pressure on the police to drop a shoplifting charge against her. Meanwhile, he is also ac-





cused of witness tampering in Milan, Sienna, Rome and Turin by allegedly paying those witnesses who said the parties had been innocent, classy events while keeping quiet about what really happened at his “bunga-bunga” parties. It has been suggested that Berlusconi paid out some €10-million in bribes to them. Even so, few people seem to believe the parties were candle-lit dinners, as the witnesses were saying, while one of the young women who claimed they were sex parties, 34-year-old Moroccan-born Imane Fidal, died in mysterious circumstances in March, alleging she had been poisoned. The autopsy report into her death is due to be published this July. She had claimed that women performed striptease dances at the parties in what Berlusconi later dismissed as “burlesque contests” and “theatrical events”.

ONCE UPON A TIME

Monsters do not just rise from the grave; like Dracula, they have to have some kind of back-story, a beginning; Vlad Dracul was a hero in Wallachia, now part of Romania. Silvio Berlusconi was raised in a middle-class household in Milan and evacuated with his mother to the countryside during World War II. His father, Luigi, was a bank employee. Berlusconi began his career selling vacuum cleaners but rose to riches in the construction industry, erecting some four thousand apartments in Milan in the 1960s. Using his profits from that, he launched a small local cable TV station. It was a success and he bought more channels, eventually founding his media group, Fininvest, in 1978, later setting up It-

aly's first private nationwide channel, Canale 5. In 1984, judges in Turin, Pescara and Rome tried to close down Berlusconi's channels, but he had become friendly with the then Socialist leader and Prime Minister, Bettino Craxi, who simply overturned the decision by reclassifying the channels as “legal”. It emerged many years later than Craxi's offshore bank accounts were enriched to the tune of some 21-billion lira (€15-million) from Berlusconi's Fininvest media group.

Ever ambitious, Berlusconi decided to try his hand at politics, forming his Forza Italia party in 1993. The following year he became Prime Minister for the first time. Losing to the centre-left Romano Prodi in 1996, he set about building a coalition of right-wing parties, making a lot of expensive promises to the electorate, such as higher pensions, more jobs and cutting down on crime. He was swept to victory, later claiming to have fulfilled most of his election promises during what turned out to be a turbulent premiership. When his opponents poured scorn on his claims he blamed a biased media.

RISING, MOB-HANDED?

What of the other allegation that dogs Berlusconi's steps? He has always denied having links to organised crime, but when he entered politics he was helped by Mercello Dell'Utri, who is currently serving a jail term for his links to the Sicilian Mafia. Dell'Utri had business ties with Berlusconi over many years but was arrested in Lebanon in 2014 after fleeing Italy the previous day. And that's not all. Another

Mafia boss, Giuseppe Graviano, was recorded in conversation at Ascoli Piceno prison with a fellow inmate describing Berlusconi as a ‘traitor’ for betraying the Cosa Nostra, as it's called. The “Teflon Don” tag doesn't just refer to his ability to shrug off scandals but to a popular public conception that he is (or was) a “Don” in the Mafia sense of the word. He denies it. Graviano, in the taped conversation, allegedly said his Mafia family had helped Berlusconi but that once he became successful, Berlusconi decided he didn't need to share his good fortune with those who had supported him. Graviano also said that Berlusconi had done “shameful and unjust things” while in government. He seems to have pledged revenge, supposedly calling Berlusconi “Mr. Cuckold” and accusing him of lavishing money on prostitutes while he himself has rotted in jail for 24 years. Given their relative situations, it hard to see how such a threat could be carried out, however long the Mafia's reach, but I'm sure Berlusconi watches his back very carefully. He may need to.

A STONY ROAD AHEAD

Italy's position within Europe, and the attitude of its fractious coalition government, are likely to figure in Berlusconi's political calculations. Italy's debt to GDP ratio remains stubbornly at 130% of GDP, the second highest in the euro area and is forecast to increase over the years immediately ahead. As a result, the European Commission has begun an excessive deficit procedure against Italy, which is not likely to enhance the EU's popularity there. The main bone of contention here is not the deficit itself, which so far has stayed below 3% of GDP, but the fact that public debt is not falling. It's a state of affairs that could play into Salvini's hands, but which is also likely to prove useful to Berlusconi who wants to see reform of the European Central Bank to focus less on controlling inflation and more on investment and employment. Austerity is unpopular everywhere so Berlusconi will have none of it.

Not everyone is convinced that this political chameleon is about to settle on a single set of policies nor even do

any useful work at all in Brussels or Strasbourg. “I cannot believe he will have the inclination to familiarise himself with the procedures of the EP in any great depth or to participate in its detailed legislative work,” commented Brendan Donnelly of the London-based research institute, The Federal Trust. “I expect he will use his new position as a platform in the domestic Italian debate, where the role of MEP is regarded with greater respect than it is in this country.” This is something many British commentators may miss: elsewhere in Europe, the European Parliament is held in higher regard than it is in the UK or in the pages of Britain’s popular (and often misleading) newspapers and its members seen as relatively important. After all, the European Parliament takes decisions that affect every EU country. So will Berlusconi be an asset in his new role? “I can imagine Berlusconi as making the occasional provocative speech in the plenary but not as voting on endless amendments in committee,” said Donnelly. “Over the years a number of prominent European politicians have done a brief time as MEPs, only to cede their positions when something better came up at home. I expect Berlusconi will do likewise.”

The man seems unstoppable. Despite a near fatal heart attack in 2016 and emergency bowel surgery earlier this year, he just keeps coming up for more. The US business magazine *Forbes* estimates his family wealth at around €5.7-billion (\$6.4-billion). He has held the office of Prime Minister three times, including for the longest political administration since the war, from 2001 to 2006. But can he make it as an MEP? Despite frequently hostile media reports, being a member of the European Parliament can be a hard slog. A former British Labour Party minister in Harold Wilson’s 1960s administration, Barbara Castle (Baroness Castle, as she became) once told me it was a tougher job than being a government minister, with more travelling, more documents to study and more antisocial hours. And that view has been expressed by others, too. Berlusconi won’t find it an easy ride. “I think he’s a bit of a ‘busted flush’ on grounds of politics and biology,” says Glyn Ford, “The European Parliament is hard work and you don’t get some-

thing for nothing. I’m not sure he’s either willing - or able - to put in the time necessary to be a lead figure in the EPP. No-one else can do the ‘heavy lifting’ for him.” Few, it seems, would be willing to try.

HARING AHEAD, RE-HAIRING A HEAD

Berlusconi is not only a politician and media tycoon. He has also been an active owner and investor in football. He sold top Serie A side AC Milan in April, 2017, and has now bought Serie C side, Monza, with the aim of making it an “all-Italian” team. An ‘all-Italian’ Monza is “a reaction to the Serie A teams who field 11 foreigners with unpronounceable names,” he told reporters, “I want to make them a model team with only players who are Italian, young and without beards, tattoos or earrings. I only want players who, if they commit a foul, apologise to their opponents, who approach referees with education, who write autographs well.” The fans, I would guess, also hope they can play football acceptably, however hairy or physically decorated. And in any case, Berlusconi has already signed Matheus Paqueta, the brother of Milan’s Brazilian midfielder Lucas Paqueta. So maybe the “all-Italian” claim can be regarded as an aspiration rather than a serious requirement. His record is impressive, though: he bought AC Milan in 1986 when it was on the brink of insolvency and turned it into the most successful Italian football team of all time. It cost him a lot of money, so why did he do it? “It is an affair of the heart, just like beautiful women,” he said, not uncharacteristically. During his 31 years as owner, AC Milan won 29 trophies. As for Monza, he wants to make it as famous for its football as it is for hosting the Italian Formula 1 Grand Prix. It will, however, take two promotions to rise from what is Italy’s Third Division. And that is likely to require some heavy spending in the transfer window, plus some skilled management, whatever the nationalities of his players.

People have described Berlusconi as the ultimate come-back kid. But by no stretch of the imagination could this

octogenarian be called a kid. More energetic and ambitious than many a fraction of his age, Berlusconi seems determined to ensure he plays a part in Italy’s future, whatever it may hold, right up to the finish line. Meanwhile, he has addressed his embarrassment over losing his hair with at least two transplants, the first in 2004. He was criticised by Microsoft founder and philanthropist Bill Gates for spending so much on dealing with his own hairline at a time when Italian contributions to overseas aid were especially puny. Prior to that, Berlusconi was known to try to meet journalists while standing on a raised platform or with his aides carrying convenient umbrellas. He always tried to keep camera crews covering the many EU summits he attended from getting clear shots of the top of his head. He once tried to explain his hair loss by saying “I have little hair because my brain is so big it pushes the hair out.” It was a problem he shared with one of his heroes, Julius Caesar, a man also notorious for being shy about his bald spot as well as being somewhat libidinous in his activities. During his Gallic triumphs, Julius Caesar’s soldiers composed and sang a ribald song about him, according to the Roman historian, Suetonius: Home we bring our bald whoremonger; Romans, lock your wives away! All the bags of gold you lent him Went his Gallic tarts to pay.

It’s strange how history repeats itself. However, no-one ever suggested Julius Caesar would come back from the grave after he fell on the steps of Pompey’s theatre, stabbed by his political opponents, and then cremated by the Roman mob in the Forum, even though Shakespeare makes him appear twice to Brutus before the Battle of Philippi (in Plutarch’s account, the ghost merely refers to itself as “the spirit of your doom, Brutus”). In Berlusconi’s case, when he finally shuffles off this mortal coil, his enemies may not be so sure he’s really gone, given his propensity for cropping up again when you least expect him. They may need a wooden stake and quite a lot of garlic to make sure of it. Otherwise, their wives and girlfriends will have to sleep with the windows closed.

By Jim Gibbons



AS WITH CAESAR, SO WITH TONY BLAIR

“The good is oft interred with their bones”

When Julius Caesar was assassinated it was because powerful discontents in Rome feared he was getting above himself. Caesar insisted he was not a king, according to the Greek-born Roman historian Plutarch, who clearly didn't believe his assurances. Caesar had showed disrespect to the Senate, too, which was considered an insult to the people, and was too eager to go to war, even when it wasn't necessary, such as against the Parthians and Scythia. Even so, another Roman historian, Seutonius, records that he planned a new canal to improve access to Rome, to drain the Pontine marshes, to build a highway from the Adriatic to the Tiber and to provide the best possible public libraries. He also reformed the calendar so that the various ceremonies lined up with their correct seasons. Ambitious stuff and undoubtedly good for Rome. After his murder, one of the conspirators, Brutus, reassured the Roman crowds that Caesar's ambition had been his overriding fault. In Shakespeare's

play, the mob are swayed by Brutus' oratory. Then Mark Antony speaks, initially in the face of hostility, and he assures the people that his aim is merely to bury Caesar, not to praise him. “The evil that men do lives after them,” he says, “the good is oft interred with their bones. So let it be with Caesar.” And so let it be with Tony Blair?

There is no modern Plutarch to write the story of Tony Blair, although there are plenty of biographies, but Plutarch would surely have seen parallels. Great achievements but a feeling that he was “getting above himself”, getting too ambitious and rather too keen to engage his troops in a war, whether or not it was truly justified. Blair has had no Ides of March moment with dagger-wielding conspirators, but his character has been assassinated many times in the media. Does he deserve that opprobrium? That is a judgement for tomorrow's historians to make.

FOLLOW THE LEADER

The first time I met Tony Blair he wasn't sure he wanted to be interviewed by me. It was at the Essen summit of the European Union in December, 1994. As part of the Brussels press corps I was there to report for Sky News and I had arranged the interview in advance with Alastair Campbell, a man I liked and who was, I think, vital to Blair's premiership. Things started to go wrong for Blair when their ways parted. The interview was one of a series, conducted in the garden of the building being used to house the media, and I was in a queue behind the BBC's John Pienaar, a member of the Westminster lobby and a familiar face for Blair. He didn't know me and didn't seem keen to talk, asking Campbell in a stage whisper if he had to do the interview with someone he didn't know. Campbell promptly, and in no uncertain terms, said yes, he did

have to. I got the feeling Campbell was very much in charge on that occasion. I can't remember what I talked about with Blair but as he was still fairly new to the job of Leader of the Labour Party and therefore of Her Majesty's Opposition, I'd guess it would have been British politics, John Major's administration and his plans for the future. It probably involved Europe, too. Blair has the memory and charm of the professional and successful politician; it's said he modelled himself on Bill Clinton, that most practised and skilled worker of crowds and "pressing the flesh" (shaking hands). Establishing a rapport with the media is a skill which, to Blair, was as instinctive as breathing.

Anthony Charles Lynton Blair rose to the top of the Labour Party as a fresh, new face with a vision, following the sudden and early death of John Smith, who had himself only been elected leader in 1992. Not everyone saw him as Smith's natural heir apparent. "He didn't strike me as someone who would go to the top," admits Linda McAvan, a young party activist at the time who went on to become a Labour member of the European Parliament. "I'd been a student in Edinburgh and met Gordon Brown and Robin Cook and they seemed more the favourites for senior office. So I was surprised when Gordon stood aside after John Smith died, but as Tony grew into the job, happy that at last - after 18 wasted years in opposition - Labour had a leader who was on track to win."

MINING FOR POPULARITY

Blair was the MP for Sedgefield, a small former coal mining town in the Durham coalfield of North East England. In fact, the connection with Durham went back to when he was 5 years old; his father took a job as a lecturer at Durham University after four years at the University of Adelaide in Australia where the family had lived since Blair was just a year-and-a-half old. In Durham, Blair attended the city's highly-regarded Chorister School but when he was 13 he was sent to Fettes College in Edinburgh, sometimes described as the "Scottish Eton". He did not enjoy the experience. It would be nice to imagine that Sedgefield would have felt like coming home for a lad partly educated in Durham,

but it seems unlikely. Blair's father was a practising Conservative, which would not have gone down well in Sedgefield.

The nearby city of Durham is the venue for the annual Miners' Gala, at which every coal mining town in the United Kingdom is supposed to be represented, led by its inevitable brass band and carrying magnificent banners which are proudly displayed to the various left-wing dignitaries and trades union leaders on the balcony of the County Hotel. It has been held on the second Saturday of July since 1871, with brief breaks during wars or national strikes. These days the slowly dwindling numbers of colliery towns and their banners are augmented by other trades unions, keen to take part in Britain's biggest celebration of trades unionism. To the deep puzzlement of its organisers and regular participants, Blair never attended one during his time as Prime Minister. Although there are no longer any deep mines in Durham or the rest of the United Kingdom, the Gala – called by locals the "Big Meeting" – still attracts some 50,000 people every year, mostly from former mining communities who are still having new banners designed and made at considerable cost, so that they can be blessed in Durham Cathedral during the Gala. It is a sight to see, although as Prime Minister, Blair never did.

A CHANGE OF KEY?

It's significant, perhaps, that the theme music of Labour's landslide victory and early administration was "Things Can Only Get Better", performed by the pop group D:Ream, with particle physicist

Brian Cox – now Professor Brian Cox – on keyboards. Quantum particles and political promises have something in common. As the great Danish physicist Niels Bohr once said: "Everything we call real is made of things that cannot be regarded as real." Well, perhaps not everything. Blair saw his task as modernising the Labour Party, making it electable after the party had suffered four successive electoral defeats. The Labour Party leader who had been in Winston Churchill's wartime coalition government, Clement Attlee, and who went on to oust Churchill as Prime Minister in the 1945 election, had once said that he had felt "not much idea of destiny" when he came to power. From the hype surrounding the election of Blair it seems likely that, unlike Attlee, he did. He set out to distance the party from its traditional roots on the fairly far Left. He eventually succeeded in abandoning the Party's Clause IV pledge to work towards "the common ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange"; in other words, a programme of nationalisation. One British Labour member of the European Parliament at the time, Scotland's Alex Falconer, even approached me about the possibility of making a campaign video for him, opposing the proposed changes, although the idea came to nothing. As another of his colleagues told me, he expected Blair to amend the first lines of the Red Flag, the left-wing anthem traditionally sung at Labour Party conferences, replacing the words

*"The people's flag is deepest red,
It's shrouded oft our martyred dead."*

with

*"The people's flag is palest pink,
It's not as red as you might think".*



That didn't happen, of course, but the singing of the Red Flag was abandoned altogether at party conferences under Blair.

One of his friends, the former actor Michael (now Lord) Cashman has no doubt about Blair's legacy, saying his administration "on balance was highly positive. After 18 years of Tory rule the country's public services including education and health in particular were at rock bottom. Schools were overcrowded, hospital waiting lists for serious operations were as long as 18 months. Morale in public services was low and the economy was far from positive." So D:Ream were right: things could only get better.

TOTALLING THE POSITIVES

The changes Blair's administration put forward were opposed in Parliament but his massive majority saw them through. "One must remember the brilliant sure start scheme giving young children that early start in life, support so that we could build 100 new hospitals, new schools recruiting new teachers, police, additional nurses and doctors. Investment in public services was at the top of the agenda," points out Lord Cashman, "But equally a minimum wage was enshrined in law. Positive directives on workers' rights and the environment were no longer resisted in the European Union, they were supported."

Blair did advocate peace, which makes it ironic that he ordered British troops to war on five occasions during his first six years in office, a record for any Prime Minister in British history. He was accused by the media of trying to adopt a more "presidential" style of government than any former British Prime Minister. Certainly, he seemed to admire the US President of the time, George W. Bush, apparently eager to support his "war on terror" in the aftermath of the 911 attack on the World Trade Centre in New York. Bush seemed to like Blair, too, greeting him before the assembled members of Congress and the Senate with the words "Welcome, friend," when Blair attended a special sitting following the 911 terrorist attack, before going on to say that "America has no truer friend than Great Britain." But there were signs

that the relationship was perhaps a little one-sided – Bush was overheard trying to attract Blair's attention with an imperious "Yo, Blair!" – and in any case, even if the closeness was genuine and mutual, it was a closeness that didn't please the British people.

But Blair's time as Prime Minister is too well documented to require recapping. He had the public largely on his side until his decision to join Bush in the invasion of Iraq, based on his claim that Saddam Hossein had "weapons of mass destruction", or WMD, that could be launched against Britain in 45 minutes. Saddam was a brute, a tyrant and a vicious thug but he never had any WMD, the intelligence upon which the claim had been based was at best doubtful and Blair stood accused of exaggerating it further to win over the House of Commons to military intervention without a UN mandate. It compounded the anger of the thousands who had marched through London in protest at the invasion and the 139 of his own backbenchers who vociferously opposed it.

STORM CLOUDS BLOW IN

Additionally, the Labour Party's traditional supporters felt they were being left behind and ignored as Blair cosied up not only to the Americans but perhaps more worryingly to wealthy businessmen, getting them involved in funding projects in a way that many economists saw as detrimental to the interests of tax-payers. The voters felt he was not so much "New Labour", as he claimed, and rather more "Not Labour". But it was Iraq that ended the dream. From then on, to misquote D:Ream, things could only get worse.

Blair has admitted to mistakes (not many), including the suggestion that the invasion helped to motivate the creation of Daesh or Islamic State. But he has refused to apologise for involving the United Kingdom in the conflict, despite being severely criticised in the Chilcot Inquiry in 2016. In June, 2007, he officially handed over leadership of the Party – and thus the keys to Number 10, Downing Street – to his long-serving Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gordon Brown. He claimed in his 2010 autobiography, "A Journey", that the relationship between them had been difficult. It's said that Brown agreed not to oppose Blair for leader on condition that Blair would subsequently stand down to let Brown take over. He did, of course, but much later than Brown felt he'd been promised. During his time in office, however, Blair had a number of successes to chalk up: the creation of the Department for International Development and the progress towards spending 0.7 per cent of national income on overseas aid, establishing a national minimum wage, some social reforms and improving the rights of gay people with the Civil Partnership Act of 2004. That was especially welcomed by Lord Cashman, a long-term campaigner for LGBTI rights. "When it came to the LGBTI community, Blair led the way," he said, "his speech as shadow Home Secretary in an equal age of consent debate in 1994 is a hint to his commitment, but he was unflinching in ensuring that LGBTI people were afforded equal rights, equal treatment, even when it meant facing down the House of Lords and having to use the Parliament Act in order to achieve an equal age of consent." Blair never dismantled Margaret Thatcher's restrictive laws on trades unions, however. Faithful members of the Parliamentary Labour Party felt he had lost his assured touch and was no longer in line with public opinion. "For someone who prided himself on being



Tony Blair - Vladimir Putin

connected with the mood of the nation,” says Linda McAvan, “by the end of his term in office he seemed to have lost that feel for where the nation stood and seemed too close to the wealthy and the bankers whose careless management of the nation’s wealth would lead to the 2008 crash.” Time to go, in other words.

TRIUMPH AND DISASTER

Hero to zero? Not at all. Whatever British voters thought, Blair was in great demand on the international speaking circuit, commanding extremely high fees for offering his words of wisdom. When he came to speak to MEPs and journalists at the European Parliament in Brussels about progress in the Middle East peace process, one fellow journalist commented, tongue-in-cheek, that at least we hadn’t had to buy expensive tickets just to hear him. An attempt by human rights campaigner Peter Tatchell to perform a “citizen’s arrest” of Blair for alleged war crimes during his visit was thwarted by security staff and Tatchell was ejected from the building. Many felt that with Blair’s record in Afghanistan and Iraq he was the wrong choice to be Middle East Peace Envoy on behalf of the United Nations, the European Union, the United States and Russia – the so-called “Quartet” – but his achievements in Northern Ireland suggested otherwise. His negotiating skills, backed up with EU funding and supported by the Irish Taoiseach (Prime Minister) Bertie Ahern and the then Commission President, Jacques Delors, had put an end to thirty years of what are called “the Troubles”, which began in 1968: a bitter, bloodthirsty war between the IRA, who wanted a united Ireland, and the Loyalist paramilitaries, who didn’t. The locals, more or less regardless of their affiliation, were tired of the sound of bombs and gunfire, the death and destruction. Meanwhile, the leaders of the two main terrorist groups were happily carving up the spoils of their respective extortion rackets, meeting clandestinely, sometimes in the Crown Liquor Saloon, a beautiful and historic Victorian Belfast pub that has changed little in more than a hundred years. Their criminal and secret use of the place was why it never suffered a bombing campaign while the International Hotel, just across the road and popular with visiting journalists, was



Tony Blair - Volodymyr Groysman (former Ukrainian PM)

bombed five times. One Northern Irish politician, the Official Ulster Unionists’ Jim Nicholson, always said there were really three armed groups operating there: the IRA (Irish Republican Army), the UDF (Ulster Defence Force) and the CBC: common bloody criminals.

Bringing about an end to the killing must never be under-estimated; it was a stunning achievement, and the peace Blair won goes on, despite squabbles between the Democratic Ulster Unionists (DUP) and Sinn Féin (Irish for “ourselves alone”) and the random acts of sectarian violence between Catholics and Protestants. Religion never really mattered here as much as was reported in the mainland British media except as a fig leaf to hide murderous activities, extortion and criminality. Many of the killings carried out by the paramilitaries were done because the volunteers on both sides received a cash bonus for what they did and came to rely on it. It’s why, when peace was achieved, there was a brief upsurge in so-called “punishment beatings”; the fighters, denied the chance to commit murders for money, sought to augment their incomes with less deadly but extremely unpleasant activities, often involving baseball bats. It didn’t end the hatred that began with the Troubles. Before that there was general co-existence, inter-faith friendships and only what one Sinn Féin councillor, Connor Maskey, described to me as “recreational violence” in Alexandra Park, where a wall now divides Republican and Loyalist communities. The park is in a fairly wealthy area of Belfast, where Israel’s first president, Chaim Herzog once lived. Now that uneasy state of affairs has been returning, although an untidy “no-deal” Brexit leading to a closed border between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland, complete with customs posts, could well bring about a return to the bad old days.

AT THE HEART OF EUROPE?

If he never achieved anything else in his life, that one great peace accord, the Good Friday Agreement, would have earned Blair his place in history. So, putting him in charge of bringing peace to the Middle East – another tangled web of religious and political hatreds – seems logical with hindsight, despite voices raised in opposition because of Afghanistan and Iraq, which smacked to many of an attempt to win favour in the United States. The problem for Blair was that his stock had fallen; the Iraq adventure seemed to have been designed more to boost corporate America than to bring democracy to the country. Indeed, what it brought was a vicious radicalisation of Al Qaeda sympathisers that then spawned other extremist groups.

On the eve of Britain taking over the rotating Presidency of the European Council in the second half of 2005, Blair addressed the European Parliament. “The media predicted a very uncomfortable ride for the British PM, who by backing George W Bush, had alienated many EU partners,” Linda McAvan recalls. “My recollection is that Tony made a very powerful speech, using that self-deprecating style he often employed – ‘I know guys you’re not very happy with what I’ve been up to’ – style and by the end of the session, he had many MEPs eating out of his hand. I remember leaving the Parliament Chamber and one of the Tory right wingers said to me “boy, I wish we had someone like that”. They still don’t.

In the speech, Blair told MEPs that it was his aim to “put Britain at the heart of Europe”. Unfortunately, with all the anti-EU stories circulating in a hostile British media, that proved an unreach-

able goal. As a Brussels correspondent, working for a TV agency at the time, it's easy to see why. If I telephoned a regional newsroom with a positive story, however well it reflected on a local MEP or a group of visitors from the region, it was almost always turned down. News editors would actually ask for Eurosceptic stories, claiming they were what people wanted, on what evidence I have no idea. The picture back in the UK was a very distorted one. There were plenty of politicians back in Britain who wanted to leave the EU and turn the UK into a kind of "Singapore in the North Sea". Oddly enough, in his autobiography, "A Journey", Tony Blair quotes Lee Kuan Yew, Singapore's leader in 1995, who told Blair "Britain can't afford to be out of Europe in a world as it is today. It's just not realistic." While wishing to emulate Singapore, Britain's Eurosceptics were never in a mood to heed the advice of its leader; advice, Blair wrote, that was echoed by the then Indian Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh and others.

Blair took up the post of peace envoy immediately upon his resignation from government and the House of Commons in 2007. He resigned the job eight years later but not before drawing criticism for allegedly profiting from his role. He has been accused of earning millions from giving advice to some fairly shady companies and less-than-wholesome governments, which rather undermines his record as a peace-maker. There is no doubt that Blair has enormous talent and remarkable negotiating skills that could still be put to use for the benefit of the world. Sadly, his brand is now seen as "too toxic" for him to have anything other than a negative effect on any campaign in which he gets involved.

FROM WHITE KNIGHT TO DEMON KING

In their book *Heroes or Villains?*, John Rentoul and the academic Jon Davis, wrote that Blair's administration was more successful than those of other recent leaders and was, on balance, positive (many might say considerably more so than David Cameron's or Theresa May's, for example). "Historic victories were achieved," they wrote, "mistakes were made, but overall we believe that the condition of the country improved."

Since stepping down as Prime Minister he has set up the Tony Blair Faith Foundation, which aims "to promote respect and understanding about the world's major religions", and also a sports foundation, also in his own name, which is supposed to encourage participation in sport among disadvantaged children around the world. In 2016, Blair set up the Tony Blair Institute for Global Change, with a stated aim of making globalisation work for everyone, rather than just the industrialists and super-rich who mainly benefit from it, at least directly. In fact, the rush towards globalisation has slowed considerably since 2010 as the cost of transporting goods stops falling and multinational companies find themselves losing out to local producers. According to the Institute's website, the idea is "to work on some of the most difficult challenges in the world today, including how the centre ground of politics renews itself with practical policy solutions". Laudable if somewhat vague and even esoteric, perhaps, but won't his tarnished reputation prove a barrier to progress? Certainly, on the political left where the Iraq war has led to him being considered a pariah and even a class traitor. Given his background that's a difficult charge to prove. After all, his father was a Conservative.

Most controversial was his creation of Tony Blair Associates (TBA), which served in an advisory role for various governments. TBA's first contract, with Kuwait, was reported to have earned the company £27-million (€30-million). While he was serving as Middle East Peace Envoy, TBA also worked for Nursultan Nazarbayev's regime in Kazakhstan, reputedly earning another £16-million (€18-million) in the process. That drew a lot of criticism, given Nazarbayev's reputation as a cruel and ruthless dictator. Blair said his task was merely to "nudge controversial figures on the progressive path of reform". He also denied receiving any personal gain from the work, although opposition activists in Kazakhstan said he would have "blood on his hands". Truth, as ever, is an elusive property, but there is no doubt that Blair earned a lot from TBA, whether it was, as his critics put it, "whitewashing" the blood-spattered public image of despotic regimes or merely helping them in terms of international negotiations and difficult public relations. Becoming rich in such a way has not endeared Blair to the political left, nor, indeed, to the public at large.

ET TU, BRUTÉ?

He has become in the public mind what Julius Caesar had seemed to the Roman mob after hearing Brutus speak about his assassination in Shakespeare's play. Having achieved so much, according to Plutarch, Caesar's "past successes induced and encouraged him to hope for more in the future and engendered in him plans for more grandiose projects and a lust for fresh glory". Familiar, isn't it? Were Blair's ten years as Prime Minister and his three electoral victories to Britain's advantage or not? Lord Cashman has no doubt: "He changed the political landscape so that the Tories had to modernise and change their approach to human rights, including LGBTI rights, in order to prove that they were a modern and relevant political force." However, deciding the balance between good and bad in his case will be the job of future historians; my instinct suggests that they will plump for "mainly good" with some awful lapses of judgement along the way, further shadowed by his pursuit of personal wealth. For now, though, in Britain at least, causes he openly supports seem to benefit more from his absence than from his participation. It is a sad waste of an enormous talent. "Sometimes I think the hardest thing is getting the right answer," Blair wrote in the introduction to the paperback edition of his autobiography, "This is harder still in an era of uniquely low predictability." He also passes this comment on his time since leaving office: "The oddest yet most interesting thing about being an ex-leader is how much I did not know when I was leader, how much there is to learn about the world and how endlessly fascinating are the processes of change going on within it."

The question is: will Blair be remembered with kindness or contempt? Returning to the Julius Caesar comparison, despite his ambitious overreaching and the belief in his own superiority that led to his assassination, it's worth noting that even today people place flowers on the spot where Caesar's body was cremated by the Roman mob. Still being remembered with gratitude and fondness after more than two millennia has to be some kind of recognition. Perhaps Blair won't have to wait quite so long.

Robin Crow



© Bouygues

A NATURAL PROGRESSION

Monaco is a principality in constant transition, no project currently more attention-grabbing as the six-hectare land reclamation development underway off the coast at Larvotto. Europe Diplomatic Magazine sits down with Bouygues Travaux Publics to learn more about the maritime infrastructure for L'Anse du Portier that the company is on track to deliver.

It seems only fitting that the Monaco office of Bouygues Travaux Publics (Bouygues) is located in the Fontvieille business district, deep in the heart of what today remains the leading example of the Mediterranean principality's ability to conjure up habitable territory from the sea that borders it. In a state where space has always caused planning headaches, reclaiming land from the ocean offers a viable solution and currently accounts for 40 hectares, or 20 per cent, of Monaco's total territory.

By 2025, however, that baton is set to be passed across the principality, when the first residents move into the luxury wa-

terfront apartments and handful of individual villas of Monaco's newest district: L'Anse du Portier (or, as it is often referred to in English, Portier Cove), just off the coast of Larvotto and in front of the Grimaldi Forum and Japanese Gardens. If reports are true, the price per square metre on this new six-hectare slice of territory is set to reach €100,000, making it perhaps the most expensive residential district in the world.

But before the first blocks in architect Renzo Piano's designs can be laid, the platform must be finished – and it's exactly this reason that brings me to the Bouygues office this sunny spring

morning. The atmosphere is ordered and serious as I wait to meet Caroline Valentin-Bruneval, although I wouldn't expect anything less from the team that is responsible for laying the foundations for such an ambitious and innovative development.

"At the height of the project, including the team in Marseille making the caissons, we employed 700 people," Valentin-Bruneval tells me. "Today, now that they are all completed, we're probably down to around 300 employees." If you live in France or Monaco, Bouygues is a name you're undoubtedly familiar with. With interests in communica-



© Bouygues

tions, construction and media (The Bouygues Group has a 43 per cent stake in the TF1 Group), CEO and chairman Martin Bouygues is one of France's richest men.

Bouygues Travaux Publics, its construction arm, was awarded the contract for the design and construction of the maritime infrastructure in July 2015, and after more than two years of studies and preparation, the first caisson arrived from Marseille on July 22nd, 2018. In total, 18 of these watertight chambers have been fabricated out of reinforced concrete to create a protective band around the reclaimed land. Each measures 26 metres in height and weighs 10,000 tonnes.

"Tomorrow, we're all set to lay caisson number 11," Valentin-Bruneval reveals enthusiastically. "So we're more than halfway through." This part of the works is set to be completed by the end of July and, as she happily explains, they are right on time. "Since the beginning of the project we've given ourselves a little bit of leeway because the caissons are coming from Marseille by water and the weather has to be favourable or else we cannot get underway."

Each caisson takes around a day to place on the bare bedrock and once every caisson is in place "we will fill the interior with ballasted sea water and weigh them down with quarry materials, which will close the band," she explains. After this, the final stage of the maritime infrastructure can begin, which will involve a dredger delivering 60,000 cubic m² of sand extracted from northern Sicily every 80 hours. At the end of the ten-week-end program, Monaco's newest district will start to rise from the ocean.

Bouygues anticipated four and a half years to complete the maritime infrastructure and looks set to meet the delivery timeline. "The only obstacle we've really met is the weather," she says. "Of course, when you've got bad sea or lots of wind, it's impossible to work when everything is based on water." As early as next year, construction of the superstructure will begin, but that doesn't mean that Bouygues' work is finished. "We will continue to be here for some civil engineering work, as well as environmental monitoring," she explains.

The project is the brainchild of H.S.H Albert II, Sovereign Prince of Monaco, who wanted to create an eco-quarter that

would serve as an example of sustainable living for the rest of the world to emulate. Initially, Valentin-Bruneval tells me, the idea was to build a floating island connected to the mainland by a bridge, in the style of developments in Dubai or Hong Kong. "After expert studies, however, we were advised that we are in a very seismic zone with very deep seabeds," she says. The only location along the whole of Monaco's coastline with a depth less than 50 metres was identified just off the coast of the Hôtel Fairmont Monte-Carlo and the Grimaldi Forum. "So the form of this new district has been dictated by the sea," she continues.

Once completed, L'Anse du Portier will house 60,000m² of residential properties, 3,000m² of commercial space, a marina with approximately 30 berths, a waterfront boulevard, parking, as well as gardens and other public areas - all built on the maritime foundations constructed by Bouygues. Monaco's first eco-district, "it will be exclusively pedestrian, there will be solar panels, an extension of the Japanese Garden, and an artificial hill," she explains.

But these environmentally-friendly measures have also been incorporated below



eye level. “The concrete used to make the caissons has been specially created to allow flora and fauna to rehabilitate in it,” she says. “We undertook many studies, tested a variety of different concretes and, in the end, we chose that which would be perfect for the new underwater residents.”

The new district borders the Larvotto Marine Reserve to the north-east and the Spélugues coral reef to the south-west and, from the very start of this project, ensuring the protection of the underwater life has been an absolute priority. “We are the first construction company in the world to have moved species before starting work, something we are very proud of,” she says. Each species found inside the perimeter – from Posidonia to Pinna Nobilis (a large species of Mediterranean clam) and corals – has been painstakingly transplanted to artificial habitats created to the left and right of the platform. The company has made a commitment to monitor the progress of each and every species for another ten years.

Which has necessitated not only the employment of a team of expert marine biologists but plenty of technological in-

novation as well. Over 500m² of Posidonia Oceanica has had to be re-housed and, working with partners Andromède Océanologie, a new instrument has been developed which delicately excavates the mound of Posidonia into a protective basket. “We created this device because there was nothing like it in existence,” she says. Underwater turbidity screens have also been erected to limit the dissipation of fine particles.

A specialist in communication, Valentin-Bruneval has been involved in some of the region’s most exciting – and iconic – developments; from the Allianz Riviera stadium in Nice to Monaco’s soaring Tour Odéon and Lord Norman Foster’s distinctive Yacht Club de Monaco. But, as she lights up discussing the sustainable practices being undertaken by Bouygues, I get a glimpse of just how special this particular project is. “I am always amazed by the magic of engineering, what man can do between thought, drawing and after that, the actual construction,” she beams.

Especially in Monaco, where ingenuity is perpetually tested to the limits in the name of town planning.

BOUYGUES EXPORTING FRENCH EXPERTISE AROUND THE GLOBE

Monaco’s L’Anse du Portier is far from the only landmark development for Bouygues Travaux Publics. Some of the French construction company flagship projects include La Nouvelle Route du Littoral in La Réunion, at 5.4km long the longest Viaduct in France, Tanger Med I and Med II Ports in Morocco, and the 55km Hong Kong-Zhuhai-Macao bridge, the longest ocean crossing in the world.



Hong Kong Zhuhai Macao Bridge



ECB LAUNCHES SCHOLARSHIP FOR WOMEN IN ECONOMICS

Of all the race ECB offering economics master's degree scholarship to up to five female students

- Each scholarship student to receive €10,000 per year for tuition and other related costs
- Scholarship one of ECB's initiatives to promote diversity and gender balance in central banking

The European Central Bank (ECB) has launched a scholarship programme to support women pursuing a master's degree in economics in Europe. The scholarship is part of the ECB's initiatives to promote diversity and gender balance in central banking.

"We aspire to be an organisation in which diversity is welcomed and appreciated for the richness that it offers. Enabling diversity is vital to our institution to

deliver the best possible outcome for our staff and for Europe," said Mario Draghi, President of the ECB.

The €10,000 per year scholarship for tuition and other related costs will be awarded to up to five female students from lower-income backgrounds. It also includes a study visit to the ECB and mentoring by an ECB economist. After completing their master's degrees, scholarship recipients will be encouraged to apply for an ECB traineeship and the ECB Graduate Programme. The award is merit-based and requires a high grade average in prior studies. The deadline for applications is 19 June 2019.

The ECB has launched a range of measures to address the under-representation of women in economics and more specifically to support women in their career development at the ECB.

The ECB aims to increase the share of women in management and senior management positions to 35% and 28% respectively by the end of 2019. Currently, 29.7% of the overall managers and 26.5% of the senior managers are female.

Further details about the application process and terms and conditions can be found at www.ecb.europa.eu/weecs.

NOTES:

The ECB was certified by Economic Dividends for Gender Equality (EDGE) in 2019. EDGE recognised the ECB's commitment to promote gender equality in the workplace.

Source ECB



© Wikimedia Commons

NOW OPEN: SINGAPORE'S NEW JEWEL CHANGI AIRPORT



© Wikimedia Commons

It first began with the need to expand the capacity of Changi Airport's Terminal 1 as well as its open-air carpark. This led to a strategic vision with the conception of Jewel as a gem of a destination, to augment Changi Airport's position as a leading air hub globally and boost its appeal as a stopover destination for travellers.

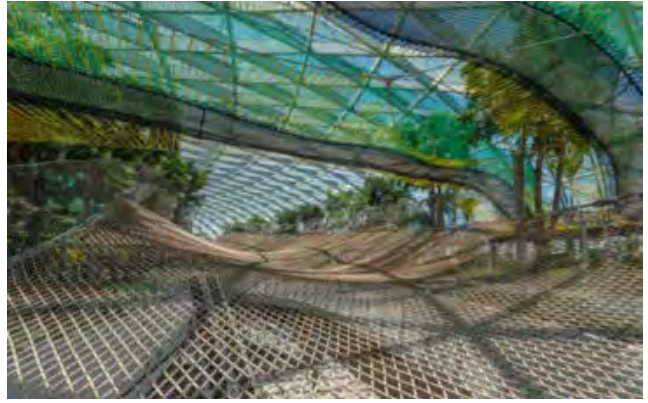
The stunning result is a mixed-use development with gardens, attractions, retail, dining, a hotel and facilities to support airport operations. This integration of nature with engineering marvels housed under a striking glass and steel dome is poised to make headlines.

The 135,700 sqm complex, built on the site of the former Terminal 1 open air carpark, is designed by world-renowned architect Moshe Safdie and features a distinctive dome-shaped façade. It will offer both local residents and international visitors a multi-faceted experience that includes attractions, unique shopping and dining concepts, as well as airport and accommodation facilities.

During its inauguration Ms Hung Jean, Chief Executive Officer, Jewel Changi Airport Devt, said, "The vision for Jewel Changi Airport is to be a destination where 'The World meets Singapore, and



View of the Shiseido Forest Valley and the HSBC Rain Vortex from Changi Airport Terminal 1



Manulife Sky Nets at Canopy Park



Topiary Walk at Canopy Park

Singapore meets the World. The unique proposition of world-class shopping and dining, seamlessly integrated with lush greenery, fulfils the needs of increasingly discerning travellers for a meaningful and experiential journey, even for brief layovers.

“Moreover, by providing innovative and fresh experiences for Singapore residents and working professionals in its vicinity, Jewel will invigorate Singapore’s eastern precincts and provide more opportunities for the public to enjoy time with family and friends.”

Visitors to Jewel can look forward to a slew of long-awaited new-to-Singapore brands including Emack & Bolio’s, JW360°, Lavender, OYSHO and Pokémon Center Singapore that will open their first stores alongside familiar hometown favourites such as In Good Company, Supermama and Tiger Street Lab. These local retailers, designers and craftsmen are given the opportunity to craft a retail theatre to share the nation’s story with the world. Jewel also has a dedicated retail cluster of

homegrown brands on Level 1 meant to be a one-stop shop for travellers looking to bring home a piece of Singapore.

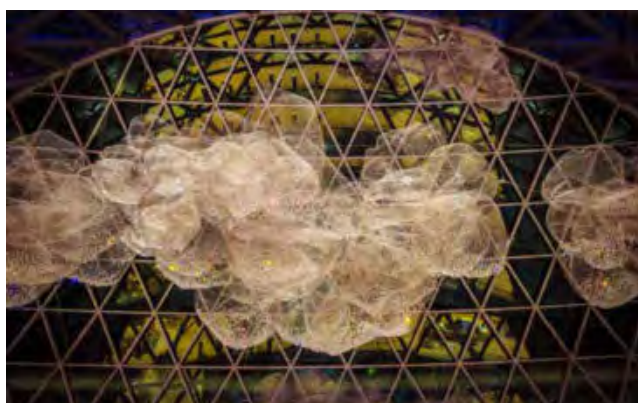
Multiple retailing formats are present at Jewel, including duplexes, outdoor terraces and spaces within the Canopy Park on the topmost level. Several established brands such as Bengawan Solo, Nike and Tiger Street Lab will also offer new concepts and even exclusive- to-Jewel merchandise.

The majestic 40-metre HSBC Rain Vortex, the world’s tallest indoor waterfall, will greet visitors upon entering Jewel. Surrounding it are the manicured grounds of the Shiseido Forest Valley. Play attractions such as the Manulife Sky Nets, Hedge Maze, Mirror Maze and Discovery Slides were designed to blend into the unique indoor garden environment and will open on 10 June 2019.

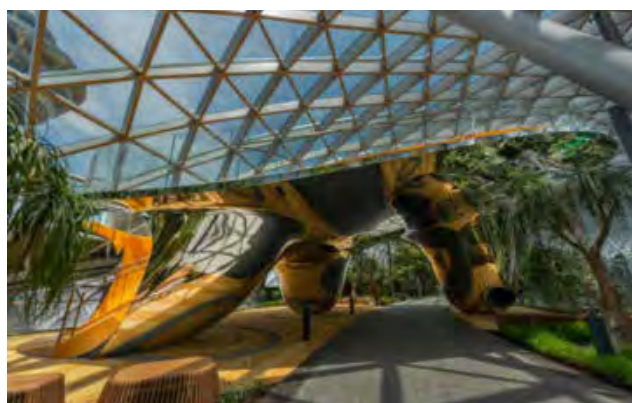
Come May 2019, the Changi Experience Studio on Level 4 will bring visitors on a journey of fun and discovery through the virtual world of Changi Airport with interactive games, projection experiences, immersive shows and gallery exhibits.



View of the Shiseido Forest Valley and the HSBC Rain Vortex from the South Viewing Deck



Night View of the Crystal Clouds art installation



Discovery Slides at Canopy Park

Enhancement of capacity at Changi Airport

In conjunction with the development of Jewel, Changi Airport's Terminal 1 has also been expanded to increase capacity by another three million passenger movements per year. This brings the airport's total capacity to 85 million, ensuring that it remains well placed to support the growth of air travel in the region.

As part of Changi Airport's continued focus on providing passenger convenience, airport facilities have also been added in Jewel. These include early check-in counters and kiosks, a baggage storage service and the Changi Lounge, a 150-seat lounge with shower facilities, offering seamless transfers for passengers connecting to and from cruise and ferry services.

Jewel will also house the first YOTELAIR property in Asia. With 130 smartly-designed cabins that optimise space in its Premium, Accessible and Family cabins, these rooms can be booked for a minimum of four hours, ideal for short daytime layovers or overnight stays. YOTELAIR also features time-saving airline style self-check-in kiosks that will facilitate a hassle-free check-in process.



© EDM

AN ADDRESS TO IMPRESS

With its prime position overlooking the entrance of Port Hercule, the Yacht Club de Monaco is emblematic of the principality and its most beloved venue.

When he first started at the Yacht Club de Monaco (YCM) in 1976, Bernard d'Alessandri was one of four employees. More than four decades on, he is now leading a team of almost 200 at this famous Quai Louis II location. The first step in his journey to Secretary General was meeting Prince Rainier III - first as a sailing instructor, then as skipper on the *Biotonus*-YCM for the inaugural Monaco-New York transatlantic in 1985, and finally at the helm of the Yacht Club's flagship *Tuiga*, which celebrates her 110th anniversary this year. "I've been amazingly lucky," admits d'Alessandri. "Throughout my working career, I have had the pleasure of being able to devote myself to my passion for sailing." Europe Diplomatic Magazine sits down with Mr d'Alessandri to reflect on life as an insider at this famous Monaco address.

Europe Diplomatic Magazine: You've overseen some big transformations during your career, none more visible than the move across Port Hercule to the new address on Quai Louis II. What are some of the initiatives you are proudest of?

Bernard d'Alessandri: Thanks to the initiative of H.S.H Albert II, Sovereign Prince of Monaco, the YCM has a new building designed by the British architect, Lord Norman Foster, in 2014. This crucial new phase in the life of the Club means it now has world-class facilities and is today a wonderful showcase of Monaco's yachting sector, with the ultimate ambition being to position the principality as Capital of Yachting.

At the time the new building was being delivered in 2014, we also launched the Monaco Solar & Energy Boat Challenge. Organised by the YCM in partnership with the International Powerboating Federation (UIM) and the Prince Albert II of Monaco Foundation, this annual international event is an invitation to see what the future may hold for motorboats and owners looking to reduce their impact on the environment.

This year, the 6th Monaco Solar & Energy Boat Challenge (2-6 July) will have 33 teams in three categories: Solar Class, Energy Class (any clean energy source) and Offshore Class, where the boat must be able to accommodate one driver and two passengers and complete a 67km round-trip (Monaco-Ven-



© YCM

Bernard d'Alessandri

timiglia-Monaco) autonomously. Many teams are engineering students from universities in 14 countries, who are already working with the industry.

We also showcase innovations ashore and bring the industry and young engineers together at conferences, tech talks and an exhibitor village in the boat paddock which is open to the public. Two trade conferences (4-5 July) will see experts delve deeper into alternative clean energy systems and new-build efficiency, and discuss the latest research findings.

The ZERO Emission Challenge is another initiative during the event. We have thrown down the gauntlet to competitors and the Monegasque community to produce as near to zero emissions as possible for the week, by banning fossil fuels. Ashore and at sea, initiatives to reduce the event's impact include electric or hydrogen-powered bikes and cars (electric vehicles can be recharged courtesy of the *Suncy* vessel), eco-friendly gourdes and water fountains; solar ovens, etc. Any workable initiative will be encouraged and promoted!

Another initiative close to my heart is the Monaco Sport Academy (MSA), set up with support from our members. Its key mission is to encourage the development of young Monegasque athletes and support them to the highest level in their sport. The goal here is to have the principality represented and performing at the 2020 Summer Olympics in Tokyo and realising the dream of a multi-disciplinary team at the 2024 Summer Olympics in Paris. To achieve this, the Academy promotes a balance between sporting and academic/career success and

achievement on a personal level, so they become well-rounded ambassadors for Monaco in the future, involved in innovative projects for the long-term.

Has the "Yacht Club de Monaco" become a brand in its own right? If so, how?

The Yacht Club is not a company; it's an association with a strong image. Rather than using the word brand, I would say it's a spirit that we try to perpetuate in our day-to-day lives around a shared 'Art de Vivre la Mer' philosophy, with the sea at its centre.

But it is definitely now one of the most prestigious yacht clubs and welcomes owners as members from 25 per cent of the world's largest superyachts.

This recognition is not only down to our iconic building, but also the involvement of our members and their presence as Club representatives abroad, as they are our best ambassadors. We also host major sporting events which brings together sailors from all over the world. For example, the Rolex Giraglia (7-15 June), a great Mediterranean classic regatta which, this year, finishes in Monaco for the second time in its history; Monaco Classic Week (11-15 September), celebrating 25 years this year, and the exclusive concerts in the YCM Marina. After Sir Elton John, Duran Duran and Sting, this year we have Lionel Richie coming to perform his greatest hits on a stage built on the water with the YCM's decks as the seat terraces.

How have you exported the values and vision of the YCM around the world?

In 2011 we launched our 'La Belle Classe Destinations' label and now the Yacht Club de Monaco unites the most exclusive marinas around common standards and exports its expertise in yacht club management, marina development, setting up sailing schools and establishing regattas. This came about as a response to requests from marina promoters and developers.

The aim is to encourage new ports of call to be developed for our members in countries that are opening up to yachting while guaranteeing certain standards. The first signatory of this network was the Visun Royal Yacht Club in Sanya on Hainan Island in China. We are currently working on a new project in China, in collaboration with (French architect) Jean Nouvel's design teams.

What are some of your other areas of current focus?

We attach great importance to passing on knowledge, which is why we opened our 'La Belle Classe Academy' in 2015. It's a training centre for yachting professionals offering industry-recognised courses in navigation and safety, and also courses linked to lifestyle at sea - our famous Art de Vivre La Mer!

Another subject dear to the Yacht Club's heart and its President, HSH Prince Albert II, is protecting the marine environment. That is why every year the YCM organises an Environmental Symposium in March as part of Monaco Ocean Week. For the first time, this year's edition closed with a 'La Belle Classe Superyachts Explorer Awards' that recognise those expedition yachts which are cruising in some of the remotest and least explored regions to collect scientific data and bear testimony to the fragility of our oceans.



Of all the venues and experiences on offer in Monaco, the Yacht Club de Monaco is the membership everyone wants to have. What do you think has made the YCM such a beloved institution in the principality?

It's not like any restaurant or luxury hotel, as the Club really is a home-from-home for members with a range of activities for them and regattas organised all year round (Monaco Sportsboat Winter Series, Primo Cup, Challenge Inter-banques), as well as social events like our Oktoberfest and Russian New Year parties.



Being located in the middle of the principality means the YCM also benefits from iconic events like the recent F1 Monaco Grand Prix and Monaco Yacht Show.

How do you make sure the YCM evolves as the yachting industry evolves?

The Yacht Club de Monaco is at the centre of industry debates and every January organises a Business Symposium for all key players and owners to take stock and look ahead to what the future holds.

We also run a Captains' Club which has about 120 members now, all of whom must have the Captain 500 qualification as a minimum. It provides a meeting point and discussion platform for yacht captains and organises customised events, like the Captains Forum that will take place at this year's Monaco Yacht Show (27 September).

Do you still get to pursue your passion for sailing?

I have much less time to sail these days but always enjoy taking the helm of *Tuiga* when time allows. We plan to celebrate her 110th anniversary in style this year at Monaco Classic Week.

By Chrissie McClatchie



© UK MoD

BOLDLY GOING, TOGETHER BUT ALONE

the Franco-British anti-ship missile

Sitting on my desk on a small mahogany stand is an unexploded and disarmed 75-mm Turkish artillery shell, one of many used successfully by Ottoman forces to rebuff the Allied naval attack on the Dardanelles during World War 1. Made of steel, brass and just a little copper, with its settings in Arabic script to show its pre-Kemal Ataturk origins, it stands some 27 mm high. It has a blunted nose from its impact with the warship on which my grandfather was serving as an engineering officer. It was, fortunately, a dud, although his ship was subsequently torpedoed and sank. He survived; he was lucky. Hundreds didn't. Naval warfare was, as ever, a very bloody business and the biggest naval guns of the time could hit and sink ships up to 30 kilometres

away, although the 75-mm Krupp M03 L/30 Field Gun, from which my old shell was fired, had a range of just 6000 metres. Small beer indeed, compared with today's high-tech armaments.

A supersonic, multi-role cruise missile with stealth technology has an operational range of around 300 kilometres and is currently being developed for the British and French navies. It is likely to share several key features with the MBDA SVS401, jointly developed by European arms manufacturer MBDA with the French and British navies and unveiled at the 2011 Paris Air Show, which can, in theory, sink one large or three medium-sized ships with its main and two smaller subsidiary warheads. It can also be used against land-based

targets. Very little, it seems, can bring it down, including Brexit. The concept has been named Perseus, after the son of Jupiter, who was cast into the sea together with his mother Danae and left to perish. Washed up on one of the Cyclades islands, they were initially welcomed but Perseus, unable to give the local king a horse as a present offered him instead the head of Medusa, which he cut off with the help of the gods Pluto, Minerva and Mercury, using it to defeat various enemies and turn them to stone, incidentally rescuing Andromeda on his way home. They led full and adventurous lives, these Greek gods and heroes. Still, Perseus seems an appropriate name: sent out to sea, deadly, and dare I say "petrifying", to any enemies.



© MBDA

DIVORCE WITH BENEFITS?

The British government may be semi-determined to take the United Kingdom out of the European Union but it remains theoretically committed to developing with France what it calls “future anti-ship missile systems”. The new weapon, being developed by the MBDA company and equally funded by France and Britain, will, to quote its manufacturers, “rationalise the development and production of missiles through the “One MBDA” organisation and to harmonise the research and technology efforts of both nations across their entire missile industrial sector”. MBDA is itself a “fusion” between French Matra Defense and British Bae Dynamics, later joined by Marconi Electronic Systems and France’s Aérospatiale. It has a presence in five EU countries – France, the United Kingdom, Germany, Italy and Spain – and accounts for around 70% of all missile production in the Union. The UK seems oblivious to other European opinion in defence matters. But then so does France under President Macron: back in February a small squadron of Mirage fighter jets flew from the capital of Chad, N’Djamena, to bomb a convoy of lorries carrying rebel forces from Libya. The attack was in support of Khalifa Haftar, the Libyan warlord who regularly shells Libya’s UN-backed Government of National Accord. An attempt by the EU to call on Haftar to desist was vetoed by France, much to the annoyance of her

EU partners. Paris also supports Chad’s less-than liberal leader, President Idriss Deby, who came to power after toppling his predecessor, Hissene Habre, with the help of the French secret service. Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité? Certainly, but not beyond France’s border, and especially where French oil interests are concerned. Certainly, both France and Italy see Libya as being in their national interests, although they bitterly disagree on who should be running it and how.

RULING THE WAVES - TOGETHER

So why do Britain and France in a post-Brexit world of dangers and potential conflict need a new missile for use at sea? According to a joint Inquiry by members of Britain’s Parliamentary Working Group and their French partners, the plan is to provide, as the report puts it “a heavy anti-ship capability – to deal with the possibility of a confrontation on the high seas – and a deep strike ability that can penetrate and neutralise air defences and hit long-distance targets”. Both sides agree about the nature of future threats and how best to deal with them, and both sides have shown a willingness to diverge from the commonly held views of other EU members where defence is concerned.

The missile is currently referred to as the Future Cruise/Anti-Ship Missile, normally (if somewhat dully) shortened to the FC/ASW. It’s not the first time:

France and Britain also worked together to produce the SCALP/Storm Shadow air-launched cruise missile. It is a deadly weapon which, once launched, cannot be controlled or commanded to self-destruct, although if it fails to recognise the target on close approach, it is designed to fly off to a safe area and explode there. Storm Shadow entered service with the Royal Air Force in 2001 and was first used during the 2003 invasion of Iraq. First decided upon with the signing of the Lancaster House agreements in 2010, research work was undertaken by MBDA Missile Systems, makers of the SCALP/Storm Shadow missile. Two years into the concept phase, MBDA announced the successful achievement of its “Key Review”, conducted jointly with the British and French armament procurement agencies, Britain’s Defence, Equipment and Support (DE&S) and the Direction Générale de l’Armement (DGA). The FC/ASW missile will replace SCALP/Storm Shadow, on which development work began in 1994, the missile itself entering into service in 2002. By the standards of modern weaponry, it’s an old missile. The FC/ASW will also replace France’s ageing Exocet and the Harpoon Block 1C anti-ship missile used by UK forces. The €100-million three-year Concept Phase was launched in 2017, the cost split evenly between Britain and France and aimed, in MBDA’s words, at “mature systems and technologies that will increase the survivability, range and lethality of anti-ship and deep strike missiles launched both by air and naval combat platforms.” Both governments seem keen. “The FC/ASW programme is an exciting opportunity to deepen the UK’s and France’s defence partnership,” said Julian Lewis, Chairman of Britain’s Defence Committee, “and the ‘One Complex Weapons Initiative’, involving MBDA, that has helped to sustain key skills in both countries’ defence industrial bases.” In fact, MBDA has not been selected beyond all doubt to build the missile – Britain in particular likes to see competitive tendering – but it’s hard to see any other company that could deliver while meeting all the complex criteria, technical, economic and political.

MIND THE GAP

There are, however, problems, flagged up last December by British and French legislators. According to Nicolas Jouan, Aerospace and Defence analyst at Global-Data: “The FC/ASM will replace the

British Harpoon and the French Exocet by 2030, but the former is set to retire as soon as 2023, creating a 7-year capability gap that will require the acquisition of an 'interim' anti-ship missile, likely to be American." So far, so worrying for UK defence chiefs. But there's more. "The interoperability of the F-35 fighter, in use in the Royal Navy, and the French Rafale also add to the complexity of the project," Jouan pointed out. Both these issues are under discussion by the Parliamentary committees of the two countries, along with the divergence of views over whether stealth capability (favoured by the UK) or outright velocity (France's preferred option) should take precedence. The missile cannot do both, which could put obstacles in the way of the two countries' declared ambition to have "the ability by the early 2020s to deploy a UK-French integrated carrier strike group incorporating assets from both countries". Philippe Duhamel, Deputy General Manager for Defence Mission Systems at Thalès, an aerospace company with wide industrial interests, told French parliamentarians that under the FC/ASW programme France and the United Kingdom could agree to aim for a speed of Mach 7 (8,640 kilometres per hour) for the new missile. One possible solution could be two versions of the same missile, one a supersonic anti-ship weapon for France, the other stealthier deep-strike missile for the United Kingdom, but sharing components. It sounds a little like trying to develop an all-round family car while combining it with a Formula 1 racer, but MBDA think it can be done.

At the Parliamentary Working Group's meeting in Paris in February 2018, the Chairmen of the House of Commons Defence Committee, the Right Honourable Dr Julian Lewis MP, and Jean-Jacques Bridey, President of the Assemblée nationale's Standing Committee on National Defence and the Armed Forces, agreed to deepen collaboration between their two committees. In recent years, the working groups have met in Paris to hear the views of General Philippe Montocchio, General Officer in Charge of Military Relations at France's Military staff, and Vincent Thomassier, Deputy Director for Europe and North America, in charge of international development at the Direction Générale de l'armement, and shortly afterwards in London for talks with Richard Berthon, Director for Military Strategic Programmes at the Ministry of Defence, as

well as with Brigadier Gerald Strickland of the Royal Gurkha Rifles, on operational aspects of Franco-British Defence Co-operation. However, the probable gap in British capabilities from the retirement of the Harpoon in 2023 to the theoretical availability of the FC/ASW poses a major problem. According to the British Parliamentary committee: "When Harpoon exits service in 2023, there will be a serious capability gap, until the potential entry into service of FC/ASW programme in 2030. This gap will not be adequately filled by the smaller and more lightweight anti-ship missiles that will be available from 2020 onwards on the Navy's Wildcat helicopters." The report goes on to suggest that there are several "bridging options available, varying in age, cost and capabilities". And what is more "it is clear from the evidence gathered by our joint inquiry that any decision to procure a 'bridging' system with long post-2030 life expectancy would not be viewed favourably in Paris and could pose a serious threat to the strong bilateral relationship that has developed since 2010." Whoops.

WEIGHING UP THE CHOICES

So, what are Britain's options? The Ministry of Defence has hinted at the possibility of extending the operational life of the Harpoon. Appearing before the Joint Inquiry, however, the Minister for Defence Procurement, Guto Bebb, and Sir Simon Bollom, a retired senior Royal Air Force officer and now the government's Chief Executive of Defence Equipment and Support, admitted that option "looks very challenging". Included among the alternatives are Lockheed Martin's Long-Range Anti-Ship Missile (LRASM), which enters into service with the US Air Force this year and the US Navy in 2020. Each unit would cost between \$700,000 and \$1,000,000. A cheaper option could be the Naval Strike Missile, jointly produced by Kongsberg and Raytheon. It can destroy ships at a range of 100 nautical miles and is expected to be a viable choice until 2040. It is also available off-the-shelf right now. Then there is Saab's RBS15 Mark 3, which is said to be "packed with a range of high-end features" and an effective killing range of 134 nautical miles at a speed of 0.9 Mach. There are updated versions of the Harpoon and the Exocet, plus MBDA Italia's Otomat Mark 2



Block IV. Paris, however, is wary: Joël Barre, Chief Executive of DGA, warned London that while he "fully understood that the capability gap must be closed.... the decision you make in that regard should not jeopardise our co-operation on the FC/ASW". He especially urged the Ministry of Defence to go for a short-term solution, rather than to replace Harpoon with a missile that would still be available by 2030. Barre said the UK should not choose as a replacement for Harpoon a real alternative to the FC/ASW which, he said, "will postpone our objectives for the FC/ASW". In other words, Britain must tread carefully because any decision could have implications for bilateral relationships that have developed since 2010.

And that is especially relevant in the light of Britain's probable (but as yet undated) departure from the European Union. As the British House of Commons Defence Committee's summary put it: "As the United Kingdom prepares to leave the European Union, the FC/ASW programme offers an opportunity to demonstrate the growing strength of our bilateral defence co-operation". That sounds rather like an oxymoron, albeit one with massive explosive power. And any decision has ramifications for jobs. MBDA boasts 10,500 employees working in France, Germany, Italy, Spain and the United Kingdom. Its shareholders are Airbus and BAE Systems, each owning 37.5%, with a further 25% owned by Italy's Milan-based Leonardo, (formerly Finmeccanica), the



© MBDA

world's ninth largest arms company. Its products include military helicopters, fighter aircraft, drones, missiles, naval guns, artillery and armoured combat vehicles. MBDA matters greatly to France and Britain. "Today, our missile industry is Franco-British," said Joël Barre, France's Delegate General for Armament. "MBDA is a Franco-British company with centres of excellence shared by the two nations and all the skills needed to carry out the ambitious missile programmes we are talking about."

FIRST AMONG EQUALS?

The FC/ASW promises to be a formidable weapon but it won't be unique. Indian forces are already equipped with the Brahmos, jointly developed with Russia and described as "the fastest low-altitude missile in the world". Flying at just 10 metres above the surface of the sea and with a range of 290 kilometres, it can be carried by surface ships, fired from land-based missile batteries, and from aircraft such as the Indian Air Force's Russian-designed Sukhoi Su-30MK1 multi-rôle all-weather fighter jets. It's no surprise that planners and politicians see a potentially hostile world around them. Russia, for example, invests 3 to 4 per cent of its GDP in developing and building weapons, while China's military budget has quadrupled over the last decade alone, resulting in significant arsenals. The danger of China's growth in combat capability was underscored by Admiral Christophe Prazuck, Chief

of Staff of the French Navy, who warned the Joint Inquiry about: "the emergence of new powers, capable of building the equivalent of the French Navy every four years, and with offensive capacities likely to call into question the sovereignty of certain maritime areas, or the security of communications lines essential to ensuring supply to Europe". The Joint Inquiry concluded that "a new arms race" appears to be underway.

A further concern is that these sorts of weapons, once the exclusive preserve of major powers, are becoming much more widely disseminated. Examples include Russia's S-300 and S-400 Triumf surface-to-air (SAM) missiles in Syria. At around half the price of the United States rival Patriot missile, S-400s have been exported to China and ordered by India and Turkey. Thirteen other countries have expressed an interest. Houthi militias recently used anti-ship missiles in the Persian Gulf, especially targeting American vessels. As Admiral Prazuck told the inquiry: "disruptive influences have invested hugely in long-range high-velocity missiles and highly effective – and increasingly widespread – surface-to-air missiles, which have completely upset the strategic landscape." The use of anti-ship missiles became commonplace during the Six Day War in 1967, when the Israeli frigate INS Eilat was destroyed by Egyptian missiles. France equipped her navy with Exocet missiles in the early 1970s but has never fired one in anger. It was a French air-launched Exocet, however, fired from

a French Super Etendard fighter of the Argentine navy that sank HMS Sheffield during the Falklands conflict in May, 1982. Two fighters fired their Exocets but only one struck the target; the other fell into the sea. Britain used its Franco-British SCALP/Storm Shadow cruise missiles in Iraq in 2003; France also fired several in Libya, Iraq and Syria. It is not, of course, without controversy. French-made Leclerc tanks, backed by artillery, are being used by Saudi Arabian forces fighting Houthi rebels in Yemen while the UK has licensed the sale of £5-billion (almost €6-billion) worth of aircraft and bombs to Saudi Arabia since war in Yemen began in March 2015. Anger over British and French involvement in the war continues to inspire protests. A Saudi vessel, the Bahri-Yanbu, which was due to be loaded with French arms at Le Havre, faced a court challenge by the campaign group Action des chrétiens pour l'abolition de la torture (ACAT). The campaigners lost their case in a French court but the ship sailed without its cargo anyway, later docking in Spain. The arms sale issue is unlikely to go away any time soon, despite President Macron describing Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates as "allies in the fight against terrorism".

WHO WILL BUY?

In fact, France sells its arms to eighty-one countries, making it the world's third largest arms exporter after America – by far the biggest with 34% of global sales – and Russia, whose 22% share of the market actually decreased by 7.1% over the last four years. These figures come from the latest report by SIPRI, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. A quarter of French arms exports go to Egypt, with a further 8.6% to China and 8.5% to India. France's sales of arms went up by 27% over the last four years. Surprisingly, perhaps, Germany comes fourth with 5.8% of the market, selling mainly to other European Union countries, but also to South Korea and Israel, although its share fell by 14% in the same period. China comes fifth, selling to forty-eight countries, chief among them being Pakistan, Bangladesh and Algeria. Its arms sales rose by 38% in the last four years. France's predominance has come about through its aggressive sales policy of being willing to sell "off the peg" combat aircraft and warships being built for

its own armed forces. Its willingness to sell to Egypt has been criticised by Amnesty International, which claims in a report that French weapons were used to suppress internal dissent, in contravention of a 2013 European Union directive instructing member states to “suspend export licenses towards Egypt of all equipment that can be used for internal repression”. France rejects the criticism, Defence Minister Florence Parly arguing that it can’t be held responsible if arms supplied before the directive are used against civilians: “If Egypt uses hardware that was exported long ago,” she told the Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee “against its own civilian population, that was not our objective.” Even so, Amnesty notes that Egyptian security forces fired on protestors from the cover of more recently-supplied French armoured vehicles.

THE EXPLOSION SOUK

France has sold many weapons to Egypt, overtaking the United States to become Egypt’s main arms supplier between 2013 and 2017, supplying more than €1.4-billion worth of military and security equipment in 2017 alone, according to Human Rights Watch. The sales include warships, fighter planes and armoured vehicles, while French companies, acting with approval of the Elysée Palace, have provided surveillance and crowd control equipment. French Defence Minister Florence Parly, standing alongside Egyptian President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi, even performed the opening ceremony for Egypt’s first arms show. President Macron argues that the equipment is sold for Egypt’s military, not for its police and internal security forces, but it has made no public protest about its change of use. He is even on record as saying that “Egypt’s security is France’s security.” Macron’s only reference to Egypt’s human rights record came during a visit to Cairo in 2017, during a joint press conference with President el-Sisi: “Stability and durable peace go together with respect for individual dignity and the rule of law, and the search for stability cannot be dissociated from the question of human rights.” But as he said when the two met in Paris that he never criticised other countries’ style of government because he didn’t want his to be criticised in turn, el-Sisi could comfortably ignore it. Even so, America successfully vetoed the sale by France of SCALP missiles to Egypt in July, 2018, us-

ing ITAR (International Traffic in Arms Regulations), designed to prevent US technology from falling into potentially hostile hands. French Defence Minister Florence Parly told the Assemblée nationale that the only way to circumvent the United States’ use of the ITAR agreement to block the sale of Scalp missiles to Egypt would be by using domestically-built parts instead. “In this case, we will not be able to lift the US opposition to the sale of Scalp missiles,” she said. “The only thing we can do is for MBDA (the manufacturer) to make some investment in research and development to be able to manufacture similar components that are not covered by ITAR.”

This all may seem like a distraction but it raises an interesting point. Delegate General for Armament Joël Barre told parliamentarians from both countries: “Apart from France and the United Kingdom, no country in Europe currently has the capacity to carry out a deep strike.” In London, Lieutenant General Sir Mark Poffley told UK parliamentarians that he wants the new missile to be capable of use in co-operation with Britain’s allies. “We would want to be interoperable with many nations that are close and dear to us,” he said. Joël Barre, Chief Executive of DGA, agreed, when speaking in Paris. He wanted interoperability, especially with the United States, but he also stressed that: “We must none-the-less keep our sovereignty.” He told legislators that the technologies involved must be under European control “so that we have no restrictions when it comes to using or exporting them”. This point was picked up in the most recent report by the Joint Committee. “Anticipating the effects of the ITAR regulations,” says Paragraph 16, “and more broadly any potential hindrance to the export of these materials will be essential for the FC/ASW programme.” Viability depends on finding a lucrative market beyond French and British shores. The report continues: “We recommend that, as part of the concept phase, both countries and MBDA explore the potential impact of the ITAR regulations on the FC/ASW programme and in doing so ensure that lessons are learned from past experience, such as the recent aborted SCALP export to Egypt.” No more problems with Washington and ITAR, then, if France should decide to extend its sales of the FC/ASW beyond its traditional allies, as past experience suggests is likely.

RUNNING AHEAD OR CATCHING UP

Some experts have raised doubts about the relevance of ship-based long-range missiles such as the FC/ASW. The prospect of direct ship-on-ship conflict is unlikely, especially as both Russia and China have more experience in the field. They both continued to develop their armaments after the Cold War ended; the West, by and large, didn’t. These days, the warships of Western nations are more likely to engage with pirate skiffs and rigid inflatables, for which such a massive weapon would represent a costly and wasteful example of overkill. Looking at the conflicts in which Western forces have been committed in recent years in Central Asia and the Middle East, navies have been obliged to shift their priorities towards supporting their land forces. However, a resurgent and territorially ambitious Russia – still supplying arms and almost certainly men to the breakaway part of eastern Ukraine – and a China that has taken a more imperialist turn under President Xi Jinping, mean that Western navies must be ready to match their potential opponents in firepower terms. Furthermore, access to strategic areas is being disputed through the rise of increasingly deadly anti-access, area denial (or A2/AD) systems. A prime requirement in developing the FC/ASW system has been its ability to locate and take out A2/AD ordinance, however mobile and flexible it may be. Of course, there’s a risk that by 2030 it will be a whole lot more mobile and flexible. And deadly. But the capability of FC/ASW to suppress them was stressed to the rapporteurs of the Assemblée nationale by French Air Division General Thierry Angel and Admiral Christophe Prazuck.

It is to be hoped that neither the French nor British navy will be called upon to fire an FC/ASW in anger, although that may be wishful thinking. In the meantime, their ships will continue to focus on shows of strength by sailing where they’re not very welcome and by supporting forces on the ground in various theatres of war. That, more or less, was what French and British ships were trying to do at the Dardanelles in 1915. And as my old artillery shell shows, that really didn’t go too well.

T. Kingsley Brookes

WEAKNESS IN EU STEEL SAFEGUARD AND POOR MARKET CONDITIONS THREATEN SECTOR

Surging import volumes, stalling economic growth, high and volatile raw material costs and sharply growing carbon costs are coming together to form a perfect storm that could knock the European steel industry back into a period of severe crisis. The impact of this combination of factors has already begun to affect European steel producers, with facilities being idled and production being cut back significantly across Europe.



“The European steel sector has had less than two years of stability, a period which arguably ended in mid-2018 with the imposition of the US’ Section 232 measures”, said Axel Eggert, Director General of the European Steel Association (EUROFER). “2017 saw 8,000 jobs return to the sector, with another 2,000 following in 2018 – bringing total direct employment in the steel industry back up to 330,000. However, if this mix of negative conditions persists, these gains could be reversed”.

Steel markets have slowed abruptly, both in the EU and worldwide. Growth in steel demand was 3.3% in 2018. EUROFER forecasts suggest there will be a decline of 0.4% in 2019.

“This stalling demand coincides with import volumes rising at an ever faster rate. These grew by 12% year-on-year in 2018 – 2017 was already a record – and 2019 might see volumes increase even further”, added Mr Eggert. “This import growth underlines the absurdity of a safeguard which includes programmed periodic ‘relaxations’ of 5%: in February

and July 2019, and again in July 2020 – even though demand is expected to be flat. This is an overgenerous gift to steel exporters to the EU”.

Meanwhile, the carbon price has now reached €25 per tonne of CO₂, which is considerable given the relative size of the steel sector’s tight margins. Pared with supply volatility for iron ore in the wake of the Vale/Brumadinho dam disaster in Brazil, alongside high and volatile scrap and coking coal prices, the European steel industry is struggling on several fronts at once.

“Any one of these factors would cause difficulties for the sector. In combination they are a perfect storm of negative dynamics entirely beyond the control of the steel industry itself”, emphasised Mr Eggert.

Following the financial and economic crisis European steel struggled to swing back onto an even keel, with depressed demand growth and aggressive targeting by exporters to the EU in a global market awash with excess production capacity.

“We have now had as little as 18 months to rebuild – and have achieved just as the economic cycle seems to have reached the tail end”, said Mr Eggert. “For the European steel industry not to be swept away we need policy makers to handle the primary threat: the surge of imports that has consumed virtually the entirety of the growth in EU steel demand for the better part of a decade”.

EUROFER has written to EU policy makers making this point, in particular relating to making the EU steel safeguard more robust and effective, as well as continuing work on WTO reform and on international cooperation to remove the causes of subsidised global overcapacity.

“Despite being well-intentioned, the current steel safeguard framework has not prevented surging imports. EU producer margins are on the floor, which undermines their ability to invest in skills, technology and low-carbon development. The alarm bells are already ringing and action is required today to prevent this flood washing the sector away”, concluded Mr Eggert.



MOSCOW 'MOST TRAFFIC CONGESTED CITY' IN EUROPE

TomTom (TOM2) released the results of the **TomTom Traffic Index**, a report detailing the traffic situation in 403 cities in 56 countries around the world. Mumbai takes the top spot this year with drivers in the Indian city expecting to spend an average of 65% extra travel time stuck in traffic. Next in the global rankings are Colombian capital, Bogota (63%), Lima in Peru (58%), New Delhi in India (58%) and Russian Capital, Moscow (56%), making up the top five most congested cities in the world.

With Moscow taking the lead in Europe, Istanbul (53%) came a close second with Bucharest (48%) Saint Petersburg (47%) and Kiev (46%) making up the top five. Brussels (37%), London (37%) and Paris (36%) ranked in at 11th, 12th and 13th respectively.

North America's top five most congested cities are Mexico City (52%), Los Angeles (41%), Vancouver (38%), New York (36%) and San Francisco (34%).

CONGESTION UP, GLOBALLY

Traffic congestion has increased globally during the last decade, and nearly 75% of the cities TomTom includes in the new Traffic Index report had increased

or stable congestion levels between 2017 and 2018, with only 90 cities showing measurable decreases.

There are significant differences between continents: for example, decreases were measured in Asia, with a large decrease in congestion (-8%) in Jakarta, while nearly every city in South America posted increases, the largest (8%) taking place in Lima, Peru.

HOPE ON THE HORIZON

Ralf-Peter Schäfer, TomTom's VP of Traffic information, said: "Globally, traffic congestion is rising. And that's both good, and bad, news. It's good because it indicates a strong global economy, but the flip side is drivers wasting time sitting in traffic, not to mention the huge environmental impact."

TomTom has been collecting traffic information and providing traffic services for nearly a decade, allowing drivers to make smarter choices in route planning and avoiding congestion. And the location technology specialist's work on the future of driving – from high definition maps for autonomous vehicles, to efficient electric vehicle routing and charging – means that car makers, technology companies, road authorities and



Ralf-Peter Schäfer

governments already have the tools to make the roads less congested.

Schäfer continues: "At TomTom, we're working towards a future where vehicles are electric, shared and autonomous so that our future really is free of congestion and emissions. We have the technology to make this future happen – but it takes a collaborative effort. From road authorities, to governments; car makers to car drivers, we all have a part to play."

People can find out more about the TomTom Traffic Index, and discover where their home city ranks at <http://www.tomtom.com/traffic-index>. There's also helpful advice on beating traffic congestion. The Traffic Index website has been revamped so it is easier than ever to explore city statistics and insights – as well as real-time, live traffic information.



© EDM

YOUNG PEOPLE ARE KEY TO PREVENTING VIOLENT EXTREMISM, SAYS NEW UNDP REPORT

A New report supported by the Government of Norway underscores the need for systematic participation of young people in decision-making and governance to prevent and respond to violent extremism.

Young people are key to the prevention of violent extremism and must be involved as partners in developing and implementing policies which effectively counter the growth of extremism, according to a new report by the United Nations Development Programme. »

The report, « *Frontlines: Young people at the forefront of preventing and responding to violent extremism* », calls for more investment in ensuring systematic participation of young people in decision-making and governance, and for them to play proactive roles in communities and society at large.

The report was based on a global survey of youth, focus group discussions with young people on their aspirations and perceptions, a series of in-depth interviews with practitioners, and case studies from the field. The report was supported by the Government of Norway.

The global survey indicated an increased and substantive youth participation in initiatives contributing to the prevention of violent extremism. While encouraging, this momentum has yet to be translated into significant policy influence and systematic support for youth participation on the ground, the report found.

The report identifies the lack of meaningful consultation with youth in PVE initiatives and the lack of funding for youth initiatives as the top challenges for young people. Also, the potential sensitivities and risks both in the context of violent extremism and in the response, and the need for better coordination with youth organisations, movements and networks were commonly cited challenges, by both youth and non-youth actors in the report.

“If the object of policy and programming is ultimately to design and support effective approaches to prevent violent ex-



Jayathma Wickramanayake



tremism while upholding human rights standards, then it is vital that we better understand and nurture youth-led action on the ground,” said UNDP Administrator Achim Steiner. “The report aims to support a paradigm shift in thinking about youth’s role in PVE in order to find more effective approaches. The standout message from *Frontlines* is that youth must take a front and centre role to prevent and respond to violent extremism.”

The key findings also reflect that initiatives focusing on young women have been less common, and there are significant gaps between groups who are engaged and those who respondents believed should be engaged.

“Even though young people are joining violent extremist groups more than any other age demographic, evidence shows that the vast majority of youth neither fall prey to the tactics of terrorists, nor are participating in violence. On the contrary,

young people are our biggest hope and, rather than down-playing their overwhelmingly positive role, we should build on their aspirations and prodigious efforts to build resilience and social cohesion,” states Jayathma Wickramanayake, United Nations Secretary General’s Envoy on Youth.

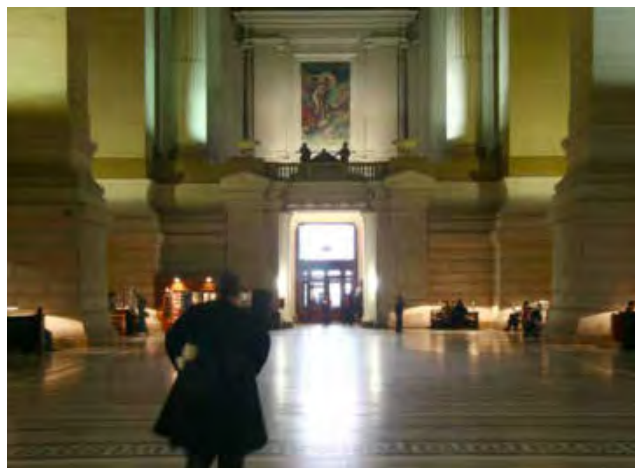
UNDP calls for a stronger partnership and a more coherent approach, through this comprehensive and global research, to pursue a powerful youth-inclusive approach to prevent and respond to violent extremism, including through enhanced inter-agency collaboration and youth organizations.

The report also makes an important contribution to the implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolutions 2250 and 2419 on Youth, Peace and Security, the United Nations Secretary-General’s Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism and the United Nations Youth Strategy (“Youth 2030”).

OVER 1.8 MILLION PEOPLE UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF PROBATION AGENCIES IN EUROPE, ACCORDING TO COUNCIL OF EUROPE SURVEY



© Photos: EDM



The number of persons in Europe subject to community sanctions and measures (CSM) — usually known as alternatives to imprisonment - under the supervision of probation agencies is increasing, according to the Council of Europe annual SPACE II survey, published today, whilst at the same time the prison population is falling.

The survey, which contains data on probationers serving different kinds of CSM such as electronic monitoring, community service, home arrest, treatments, as well as persons in semi-liberty or conditional release, were presented at the Council of Europe Conference of Directors of Prison and Probation Services, which is being held on 21 and 22 May in Ayia Napa (Cyprus).

On 31 January 2018 there were 1,810,357 people in Europe under the supervision of the 41 probation agencies participating in the survey, which represents an overall probation population rate of 169 probationers per 100,000 inhabitants. Comparing the 34 probation agencies that provided this data both for 2016 and 2018, the probation population increased from 1,540,578 to 1,723,652. At the same time, the overall imprisonment rate in Europe fell to 102.5 inmates per 100,000 inhabitants in 2018, according to the Council of Europe Annual Penal

Statistics for 2018 (SPACE I) recently published.

The probation agencies with the highest number of persons under supervision were those of Turkey (471 persons per 100,000 inhabitants), Belgium (426), United Kingdom (Scotland) (411), Lithuania (392), Russia (350), Romania (343), Latvia (333), Estonia (331), Republic of Moldova (321) and UK (England and Wales) (317). Other administrations with probation rates higher than the European average were Portugal (300), France (262), Netherlands (251), Czech Republic (248), the Slovak Republic (223) and Malta (217).

The high rates of probationers observed in several countries show the rapid expansion of community sanctions and measures throughout the continent, although with great differences across jurisdictions. In most countries, the probation population rate has become higher than the prison population rate (number of inmates per 100,000 inhabitants), with exceptions such as Serbia, Norway, Switzerland, Bulgaria, Spain (State Administration), Azerbaijan and Russia.

The Czech Republic, Republic of Moldova, Russia and Lithuania are countries with particularly high probation

and prison rates, whereas Norway, Switzerland, Finland, Iceland and Monaco have both low probation and prison population rates.

Over the years, the Council of Europe has consistently called on its member states to use alternative sanctions and measures to imprisonment as often as possible because they can effectively contribute to the integration of offenders to society, improve the operation of prisons and prevent overcrowding.

In 2017, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe updated its 1992 recommendation containing the European rules on community sanctions and measures, which advise states to ensure their use in a proportionate and just way, taking into account the offences and the profile of the suspect or the offender. The aim is to encourage states to use CSM as alternatives to imprisonment and not as supplementary sanctions, something that could happen if states start using them for persons who would not normally be placed in detention. The high number of probationers observed suggests that this 'netwidening' of the criminal justice system is already taking place in some countries.

Adding the total number of probationers and the total number of inmates



© Photos: EDM



in Europe on 31 January 2018, more than three million people were under the supervision of European probation and prison administrations. This can be considered a low estimate of the total correctional population, because it is based on the 37 probation agencies and the 44 prison administrations that provided this information.

Countries with particularly high correctional population rates - above the median European correctional rate of 318 inmates and probationers per 100,000

inhabitants - were Russia (769 inmates and probationers per 100,000 inhabitants), Lithuania (627), UK (Scotland) (548), Republic of Moldova (536), Latvia (528), Estonia (522), Romania (461), UK (England and Wales) (459), Czech Republic (456), Portugal (430), Slovakia (407), France (365) and Azerbaijan (342).

The survey shows that non-custodial measures continued to be seldomly used as an alternative to pre-trial detention: the median proportion of persons placed under supervision of a probation agency before trial was 3.3%.

Foreigners accounted for 7.1% of the total number of probationers among the 22 probation agencies that provided this type of information, whilst they represented as much as 24.7% of inmates in the corresponding prison administrations. This difference could be due to several reasons, including the fact that it is usually more difficult for a foreign citizen than for a national to meet the conditions required to be placed on probation.

On average, roughly 11% of probationers were female in contrast with only 6% in the prison population, as reflected in the SPACE I report on prison populations.

The SPACE II annual report is part of the SPACE survey conducted every year for the Council of Europe by the University of Lausanne, under the direction of Professor Marcelo Aebi. The SPACE survey provides an overview of the use of custodial (SPACE I) and community (SPACE II) sanctions and measures in the Council of Europe member states.

Notes:

- The data are expressed in median values, which are more reliable than average figures as they are less sensitive to extreme figures.
- The 2018 SPACE II survey contains data from the probation agencies of 47 Council of Europe member states except for Albania, Georgia, Hungary, Liechtenstein, North Macedonia, Poland, San Marino and United Kingdom (Northern Ireland). Bosnia and Herzegovina do not have probation agencies yet.
- The 2018 SPACE survey contains data on persons under probation supervision as of 31 January 2018, while the 2017 survey contained data as of 31 December 2016.



© OLAF

OPERATION POSTBOX

OLAF and Belgium customs busting crime perpetrators

A ground-breaking European operation led by the European Anti-Fraud Office (OLAF) and Belgian Customs busted online criminals trafficking drugs, counterfeit goods – including medicine – and endangered animal and plant species (CITES). The international operation, code-named Postbox II, took place in March 2019 and involved customs experts from 22 Member States and Europol. Focusing on criminals working on both the open and the Dark Web, Postbox II led to 2320 seizures, the opening of 50 case files and identification of 30 suspects in Member States.

Spearheaded by OLAF and Belgian Customs, operation Postbox II was carried out in cooperation with customs services from 22 Member States and Europol. The set-up and use of an international cyber patrol with customs services as the main actors makes the operation a first for Europe.

In the initial phase of the operation, customs authorities checked mail and courier service packages for prohibited items. More than 500 packages were seized in Belgium only, followed by Italy with 460 and Ireland with 304 seizures. OLAF provided participants with access to its Virtual Operation Coordination Unit, a secure communication system facilitating intelligence exchange in real time.

What followed was the assembly of an expert cyber patrol which raided both the open web and the dark net, as well as social media sites, in search of the perpetrators of the crimes. Investigators used special software and techniques to pierce the sellers' online veil of anonymity.



© OLAF

The main findings reveal that Asian e-commerce platforms are still responsible for the majority of counterfeit sales. Drug trafficking takes place mainly through the Dark Web, where technology is used to keep buyers and sellers anonymous.

The success of operation Postbox II is built on the shared expertise of all participating parties. Law enforcement bodies, working together at a pan-European level, make it increasingly difficult for fraudsters and traffickers to break the law and evade justice.

BACKGROUND

The illegal trade in endangered animal and plant species (CITES) damages the environment and threatens the biodiversity of our planet. CITES is a priority area for European customs authorities. Investments made in new technology to identify online platforms used for this type of traffic are vital to facilitating legal and sustainable trade, whilst ensuring that illicit trade can be identified and intercepted.

The trade of counterfeit products results in vast illicit profits and significant losses of tax revenues. The smuggling of counterfeit products harms the European economy, damages legitimate business and stifles innovation, putting many jobs at risk. Counterfeiting also poses serious risks to health and safety, as well as the environment.

OLAF is competent to conduct investigations related to the smuggling of counterfeit goods, thereby protecting the EU and its Member States from customs and tax revenue losses. OLAF particularly focuses on the smuggling of potentially dangerous products.



- 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

MARC ZENATI

A driving force

Marc Zenati is the first to admit that he's not your typical car nut. "I don't really like to drive super fast," he explains. "I have a family, so I like to drive safely and have a comfortable car. I do enjoy driving a Maserati or a Porsche, of course, but if you gave me a small Volkswagen or something like that, I'd be just as happy. It's really all the same for me."

Yet the owner of Monaco luxury car dealership MZ Motors would be the envy of many car enthusiasts when he reveals that when he does get behind the wheel, it's usually one of the cars he has in stock. "Sometimes it's a Porsche, sometimes it's an Audi, I'm not really attached to one car," he explains, adding that he would much prefer to be navigating the scenic bends of La Turbie, up behind Monaco, then at full speed in the fast lane on the highway. "I prefer to drive something that is responsive around curves," he says.

But, growing up in Paris with a father and grandfather who were passionate about cars, there was never any doubt that this was the industry for him. "I grew up seeing my family changing cars all the time, so it's what I do and what I like to do. I know I'm good at it and I love my job and I get to drive nice cars. It's a mix of everything that's good for me," he says.

Zenati opened his boulevard Rainier III dealership two and a half years ago, after previously owning and operating a car dealership just across the border in Beausoleil called Monaco Auto. "My business is buying and selling cars, mostly luxury cars above 40 or 50,000 Euros," he explains. Along with a showroom, he also buys to special order, and deals in supercars, limited edition mod-

els and "a few collectable cars as well, but the market is very small," he continues.

Yet, while his postcode may be MC98000, most of his business comes from outside the principality. "You may find this a little funny, but we don't have so many clients from Monaco," he reveals. "Here, people have the money to buy cars new, so I buy their used vehicles instead." Cars in excellent condition, with low mileage and good history, Zenati understands these very factors not only uphold the price of a vehicle but also makes it a very attractive option for buyers in France and countries such as Germany. "More than 90 per cent of our clients come to Monaco in search of a car because they know that the market here is good value," he says.

Along with a collection of up to 20 cars for sale at any one time, much of his business comes from buying to special order for clients after particular models, options and colours. And while these requests are often the most challeng-

ing, they also deliver the most satisfaction. "Once I had a client call to ask me to find a Ferrari Spider for his wife," he says. It was two weeks before Christmas. "He asked for a special white – the pearl white – which is quite impossible to find, and he wanted the car in one week." In the festive rush, Zenati sent an SOS across his extensive European dealership network and tracked down the exact model in Italy. "He absolutely wanted this car in this colour," he says. "It was very complicated but at least his wife had her Christmas present! In the right paint! He was happy, she was happy, everyone was happy," he recalls, laughing.

This client satisfaction is what drives Zenati in his business. "It's all about the long-term," he explains. "That's what is important. When my customers decide to change cars, they give me a call, and that's exactly how it should be. I take the car back and sell them something else, or I sell the car before they decide on a new





© EDM

vehicle.” As with all business, it’s these relationships that have laid the foundations for the growth of the company – as have the partnerships he has cultivated with luxury car dealers the continent (“I work a lot with Nordic and Eastern European countries” he explains), and with official dealerships such as Ferrari, Maserati and Porsche. No matter where he sources his stock from, however, there are certain criteria that must be met before Zenati brings a car into his dealership. “For me, what’s important is having a full history from the official dealer, to have a very big options list, to have the car in excellent condition and accident-free, and the original certified kilometres,” he explains.

The first to acknowledge that there will always be ups and downs in this line of work, Zenati does reveal that he is cur-

rently facing one very challenging bureaucratic obstacle. “France has recently introduced from very high taxes on registration, and it’s quite complicated for cars that have not been registered in France before,” he says, explaining that, for certain models from Mercedes or an SUV Bentley Bentayga for example, car owners are now are facing registration fees of between 15 and 20,000 Euros. “The government is definitely making things a bit harder for us,” he admits.

In response, Zenati says that he has started to adapt the type of cars he is selling. “If you have a car with an administrative fiscal horsepower greater than 35, well it’s going to cost you much more money to register. So I’m trying to work more with a brand like Porsche because it stays below this mark,” he explains. As he discusses these frustrations, it’s easy

to see why he chose Monaco to set up his business. “There are a few reasons besides the obvious tax system,” he admits.

I also can’t help but get the feeling that Zenati’s life would be much easier if more of Monaco’s population were in the market for second-hand cars as well. “No matter the car, registration is fixed at one hundred Euros in the principality,” he explains. “So when you take delivery of a Bugatti Chiron worth 2.5 million Euros, you pay less to register it in Monaco than you would pay to register a Renault Twingo in France!” It’s an incredible situation, but then again, as he says, “Everything is just easier and better in Monaco.”

PROTECTING THE EUROPEAN BORDERS

ALBANIA AND FRONTEX LAUNCH THE FIRST EVER JOINT OPERATION OUTSIDE EU



The European Border and Coast Guard Agency, Frontex in co-operation with the Albanian authorities, launched the first ever joint operation outside the European Union. This marks a new phase for border co-operation between the EU and Western Balkan partners. The event took place in Tirana, Albania, in the presence of Prime Minister of Albania Edi Rama, Albanian Minister of Interior Sandër Lleshaj, EU Commissioner Dimitris Avramopoulos and Frontex Executive Director Fabrice Leggeri.

The joint operation aims at controlling migratory flows, tackling cross-border crime, including migrant smuggling, trafficking in human beings and terrorism, and enhancing European cooperation at the land border between Albania and Greece.

Teams of border guards from Austria, Croatia, Czechia, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Latvia, the Netherlands, Romania, Poland and Slovenia will work together with their Albanian colleagues at the Greek-Albanian border to strengthen border management and enhance security at the EU's external borders, in full agreement with all concerned countries. They will support local authorities in border surveillance and border checks as well as training activities

to develop regional border control capacities and by the exchange of operational information, professional experiences and best practices.

"With the first ever deployment of European Border and Coast Guard teams outside of the EU, we are opening an entirely new chapter in our cooperation on migration and border management with Albania and with the whole Western Balkan region. This is a real game changer and a truly historical step, bringing this region closer to the EU by working together in a coordinated and mutually supportive way on shared challenges such as better managing migration and protecting our common borders," **Dimitris Avramopoulos**, EU Commissioner for Migration, Home Affairs and Citizenship highlighted.

The EU High Representative/Vice-President **Federica Mogherini** had also recently acknowledged Albania's role in the region as a constructive partner and Albania's continuous, 100% alignment to the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy. "We also share the goal of further consolidating the security cooperation between Albania and the European Union. Over the past months Albania has demonstrated that it remains a credible partner in this field also. A Cooperation Agreement was signed with Eurojust and

the agreement with our European Border and Coast Guard Agency has become operational, the first such agreement with a non-European Union country", she said. "Albania has also been a frontrunner in defining priorities for a bilateral action plan to strengthen the fight that we share against terrorism and violent extremism."

The joint operation with Albania marks a new phase for border cooperation between the EU and Western Balkan partners. Similar agreements were initialled with North Macedonia (July 2018), Serbia (September 2018), Bosnia and Herzegovina (January 2019) and Montenegro (February 2019) and are pending finalisation.

Albania is an EU candidate country since June 2014. The country has made progress towards meeting the political criteria for membership and, overall, steady progress continued in the five key priorities (reforming the judiciary and the public administration, fighting corruption and organised crime, and protecting human rights). The European Commission on 17 April 2018 recommended opening EU accession negotiations with Albania, while the Council in June 2018 agreed to respond positively to the progress made by Albania and set out the path towards opening the accession negotiations in June 2019.



RPAS MARITIME SURVEILLANCE SERVICES NOW UNDERWAY IN ICELAND

A medium altitude long endurance RPAS drone is being used by the Icelandic maritime authorities to enhance the maritime picture over its Exclusive Economic Zone, the service follows a request made by the Icelandic coast guard to EMSA and is expected to run until mid-July. The RPAS chosen will be integrated into the existing surveillance mechanisms and procedures covering coast guard functions in the areas of maritime safety and security, search and rescue, environmental protection, law enforcement and fisheries control.

The particular RPAS in use is adapted to withstand the strong winds and icy conditions common to the North Atlantic Ocean. It has an endurance of over 12 hours and may perform maritime surveillance tasks in areas extending as far as 200nm from the shoreline. The operations are based at the Egilsstaðir airport in the east of the island. From there, they have the capability to cover more than half of the Icelandic Exclusive Economic Zone.

EMSA's RPAS (Remotely Piloted Air System) services for Iceland involve the cooperation of several Icelandic authorities, who will be able to follow the missions remotely thanks to EMSA's RPAS data centre. Users will include the Icelandic coast guard, the fisheries directorate, the environment agency, the customs directorate, the police force, and the search and rescue association.

The Hermes 900 RPAS is under contract by EMSA from CEiiA – the Centre of Engineering and Innovation. It is a MALE-class fixed wing, single engine RPAS and is capable of night and day operations. Using SATCOM technology, it can operate beyond radio line of sight. The payload consists of electro-optical and infra-red video cameras, maritime radar, AIS receiver, and an EPIRB receiver.

“EMSA's RPAS services give us and our users, in this case Iceland, another lens through which we can gain even greater situational awareness. Our services have been used by three



different member states since the beginning of the year and more are in the pipeline for the upcoming months,” explained Executive Director, Maja Markovčić Kostelac.

EMSA's RPAS services were set up in 2017 for maritime surveillance and monitoring operations to support national authorities involved in coast guard functions. This includes: maritime pollution and emissions monitoring; detection of illegal fishing, anti-drug trafficking, and illegal immigration; border surveillance; and, search and rescue operations.

Source : Frontex, EMSA and EFCA

PROTECTING THE EUROPEAN BORDERS

UPGRADING BELGIAN & DUTCH NAVIES

The Belgium Naval & Robotics consortium, composed of Naval Group and ECA Group, were awarded the contract to supply twelve mine-hunting vessels to the Belgian and Dutch navies. Equipped with a total of approximately 100 drones, constituting approximately ten drone (toolbox) systems, six ships are destined for the Belgian Navy, while the other six will be delivered to the Dutch Navy. The Belgium Naval & Robotics consortium as well as the Naval Group and ECA Group teams are honored by the confidence of the Belgian and Dutch navies and look forward to this upcoming partnership.



© EDM

AN INNOVATIVE SOLUTION FOR ROBOTIC MINE WARFARE

Belgium Naval & Robotics, with Naval Group's recognized expertise, offers a 2800-ton militarized ship specialized in mine warfare with military characteristics (acoustic and electromagnetic discretion, shock resistance) perfectly adapted to the operational use targeted by the Belgian and Dutch navies. In particular, this vessel incorporates a launch and recovery system for ECA Group's **INSPECTOR 125 unmanned surface vehicles (USV)**. This innovative, robust and reliable system ensures the safety of operators and maneuvers to protect the ship, the USV and its payloads, while offering a high level of mission availability.

The drone systems on board these innovative vessels are the latest generation of drones developed by ECA Group over the past four years. They are integrated into the C2 MCM **UMI-SOFT™** system connected to the Naval Group's I4drones®

system to form the mine-warfare mission system integrated into the ship's combat system.

The solution includes among others **A18-M autonomous underwater vehicles (AUV)**, **T18-M towed sonars** and **Mine Identification & Destruction Systems (MIDS)** composed of **SEASCAN** and **K-STER C remotely operated vehicles (ROV)**. All these drones can be operated autonomously from the USV Inspector 125. The drone system also includes **unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs)** and influence sweeps.

The program provides for the supply of drone systems that can also be projected. **Containerized** and equipped with handling and communication systems, mine-hunting drone systems can be airlifted and deployed directly from the coast without a ship.

A TRANSFORMING CONTRACT FOR THE GROUP

ECA Group's share of this program represents approximately 450 million euros. The 10-year program will start with a design phase that will last approximately 3 years before the production and delivery phases of the drone systems. The turnover recorded by ECA Group should be above 5 million euros by 2019, reach between 15 and 20 million euros in 2020, be around 40 million euros in 2021 and eventually reach between 50 and 100 million euros per year over the following 5 years. This contract is the largest ever won by ECA Group. However, it does not include any maintenance services that the customer may subsequently entrust to ECA Robotics Belgium, nor any sales of consumables. ECA Group's order book is currently at a historic level of well over half a billion euros. ECA Group has sufficient equity and financial resources to deliver it. The objective of a turnover growth of 5% in 2019 should thus be significantly exceeded.

As the Belgian Navy is a reference in underwater mine clearance within NATO, this contract is a major asset for export. As with the tripartite mine-hunter program 40 years ago which generated sales of self-propelled **PAP** robots in several doz-



en navies in 20 years, this success in Belgium should generate many commercial export benefits in the coming years. ECA Group is already in discussions with several navies for the supply of robotic mine-hunting systems.



THE VALUE OF THE EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS

© Wikimedia Commons



The European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) is a supranational or international court established by the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR). The Court is based in Strasbourg, France.

The ECHR provides European nationals, and others, a forum that transcends national court authority for adjudication of issues in instances where they believe their human rights, as guaranteed by the European Convention on Human Rights have been violated.

An application can be lodged by an individual, a group of individuals, or one or more of the other contracting states. The Convention was adopted within the context of the Council of Europe, and all of its 47 member states are contracting parties to the Convention.

A VALUE AT THE INDIVIDUAL LEVEL

The individual justice model utilized by the ECtHR enables victims, once domestic remedies have been exhausted, to bring their application to the ECtHR to argue that their state has breached their rights under the ECHR.

Generally, nation states have been the final arbiters of most issues affecting their citizenry within their borders.

By treaty, the signatory nations of Europe have granted the ECtHR binding authority to decide cases affecting their citizenry and other persons subject to their authority.

In instances where state law is found inconsistent with an ECHR judgment, the nation at issue is obliged to amend its national law to comport with the ECtHR decision.

The following case illustrates the concept of what is increasingly being referred to as an evolving European supranational identity.

THE FACTS

In February 2018, the Court ruled in a case known as *M.A. v. France* (application no. 12148/18)

The case concerned an Algerian national, born in 1985 who had settled in France in 2008 and obtained a 10-year residence permit.

In September 2015 he was sentenced by the Paris Criminal Court to a six-year

prison term for his participation in a criminal conspiracy to commit an act of terrorism, together with an order of permanent exclusion from France.

The judgment indicated that the applicant had been, at least in 2012, wanted by the Algerian authorities.

Accordingly, he was notified in February 2018 of an order issued by the Prefect of the Loire district, indicating that he was to be deported to Algeria.

But on 5 March 2018, A.M. lodged an application for urgent proceedings with the Lyons Administrative Court to obtain the immediate suspension of his deportation to Algeria.

However, the judge rejected his application on the ground that he had not produced any specific, recent or detailed evidence to show clearly that he would be exposed, in Algeria, to treatment prohibited by Article 3 of the Convention which bans the use of torture and inhuman or degrading treatment.

Under Articles 43 and 44 of the Convention, this Chamber judgment is not final. During the three-month period following its delivery, any party may request that the case be referred to the Grand Chamber of the Court. If such



© ECHR

a request is made, a panel of five judges considers whether the case deserves further examination. In that event, the Grand Chamber will hear the case and deliver a final judgment. If the referral request is refused, the Chamber judgment will become final on that day.

Therefore on 12 March 2018, A.M. sought the indication of an interim measure by the European Court of Human Rights, under Rule 39, to have his deportation to Algeria suspended.

On 13 March 2018 the Court granted his request and instructed the Government not to enforce the measure until the end of the proceedings before it.

Finally, Judgment was given by a Chamber of seven judges.

The Court observed that since 2015 there had been many institutional and legislative developments in Algeria. It took note in particular of the revision of the Algerian Constitution in 2016 and the better safeguarding of a certain number of fundamental rights and freedoms.

That same year the Intelligence and Security Department (DRS) was disbanded.

It had been designated in 2008 by the United Nations Committee against Torture as potentially being responsible for

many cases of cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment.

The Court further observed that, since 2016, the Directorate General of National Security (DGSN) had regularly organized human rights training for police officers.

The Court found that most of the reports available on Algeria for 2017 and 2018 no longer mentioned any allegations that individuals linked to terrorism had been tortured.

The Court emphasized, on this point, that A.M. did not seem to be able to establish that any third party in a situation comparable to his own had actually been subjected to inhuman or degrading treatment in 2017 or 2018.

The Court further observed that the French Government had provided it with a detailed list of deportations to Algeria that had been ordered and implemented against Algerian nationals on account of their links to terrorist or radical Islamist factions.

None of those deportees had reported ill-treatment on the part of the Algerian authorities.

The Court also found noteworthy the fact that a number of domestic courts of

Council of Europe member States, after an in-depth examination of the general situation in Algeria and the individual situations of those concerned, had recently concluded that there would be no violation of Article 3 of the Convention in the event of the return to that country of individuals linked to terrorism.

While certain features of Algerian criminal procedure could possibly raise doubts as to the guarantee in that country of the right to a fair trial, they did not in themselves show that there was a general risk of ill-treatment under Article 3 for any given category of individuals.

The Court concluded that the general situation as regards individuals linked to terrorism in Algeria did not, in itself, preclude the applicant's deportation.

It took the view that there were no series or proven grounds to believe that if he were returned to Algeria the applicant would run a real risk of being subjected to treatment in breach of Article 3 of the Convention.

In conclusion, the Court went on to find, unanimously, that there would be no violation of Article 3 if the decision to deport the applicant to Algeria were implemented.



© Thomas Garnier

REVITALISING THE ROYAL CHAPEL

An essential restoration for a 300-year-old building



© Didier Saulnier

The Royal Chapel at Versailles has withstood the passage of time with just minor renovations, but it now requires a complete restoration to preserve the building. The roof, stone facing, statues, stained glass, and roof timbers all require comprehensive restoration work to preserve its unique harmony. In the autumn of 2017, Versailles began its greatest restoration project since the Hall of Mirrors.

The Royal Chapel has barely been modified since 1710, the date of its completion, except for the removal of a roof lantern in 1765, whose weight was severely damaging the timbers. This longevity is a testament not only to the quality of its overall architecture, but also to the choice of materials used in its construction. For example, no fewer than 10 different kinds of stone were used to build the Chapel, and its roof timbers, made entirely of oak, are among the finest in the Palace.

Nevertheless, damage over time is unavoidable. Despite a drainage system that was remarkable for its discretion and effectiveness, leaks in the roof, which is weighed down by lead decorations, are damaging the roof timber structure. On the facades that are exposed to bad weather, the ornaments and sculptures are gradually eroding. Three centuries after the inauguration of this jewel of sacred architecture, a large-scale restoration of the entire chapel is required to preserve the building's coherence.

THE ROOF TIMBERS

Though the Royal Chapel's roof timbers are not visible, they are of major heritage interest. The complexity of the design and the assembly of solid components hewn out of oak is exceptional. The structure is still in fairly good condition, but leaks have recently caused damage which must be repaired as quickly as possible. This renovation will respect the original materials, using identical replicas of the damaged oak pieces.

THE ROOFING AND DECORATIVE LEAD WORK

The "great roof" is a significant component of the Royal Chapel's exterior, remarkable for the large quantity of sculptures and lead ornaments that cover it. Two sets of sculptures define the extremities at the top of the building, with each ridge bearing decorative friezes. The slate roof also features six dormer windows also decorated with lead sculptures. In order to restore the roof timbers, the entire roof must be dismantled. Its sculptures and decorations will be restored in the workshop and regilded to return the building to its original state.

THE WINDOW FRAMES AND STAINED GLASS

The windows are a unique feature of the building's overall architecture, and much like the interior and exterior of the Royal Chapel itself, they are slender and luminous. This effect is only possible because of the size of the large windows made of clear glass, a true luxury at the time. The metal window frames that hold the clear glass and stained glass panes together have become damaged over time. They will have to be dismantled so that the windows can be renovated and the clear and stained glass windows restored in the workshop.

THE STATUES

The statues were produced by the most important artists of the time, and the allegories and iconography they display were chosen quite deliberately. However, their expressiveness and technical virtuosity present a challenge to the restorers of these works. This restoration has become critical as a result of the erosion caused by their exposure to the elements. An adopt-a-statue campaign has been launched to finance this key part of the restoration.

THE SCULPTURES

The quality of the Royal Chapel's sculpted decorations is unquestionably part of what makes this exceptional building so outstanding artistically. With the gargoyles, torches, pilaster capitals (tops of the facade columns), cherub heads on the windows and 46 bays framing these openings, no fewer than 140 components will have to be reworked in the workshop or on-site to restore the building to its unique sculptural splendour.

This extensive project to fix all the damage from deterioration over time will require a multitude of skills and professions that are essential to the preservation of heritage and artisanal traditions. Master roofers, master carpenters, stonemasons, sculptors, master glassmakers, glaziers, gilders, locksmiths, and so on will all contribute to the first large-scale renovation of this masterpiece of sacred architecture.

According to Frédérique Didier, Head Architect for Historic Monuments for the Palace of Versailles, it is hard to make occasional improvements to a building with such a unified style. "We have been debating whether to undertake this renovation for more than 20 years. [...] Making comprehensive improvements, starting with the top of the monument, requires considerable means." A project of such magnitude was only possible thanks to the support of Fondation Philanthropia and Saint-Gobain.

To restore and safeguard this masterpiece of heritage, initial weather-proofing will begin, for a period of 36 months, with urgent work to the roof (timbers, slates, lead ornaments and gilding) as well as the stone facing, statues and windows.

PHASING THE WORK

The stages of the first phase:

- Erection of scaffolding and temporary roof: August 2017 - January 2018
- Removal of existing elements (roof, lead, groups of sculptures): March - May 2018
- Restoration and consolidation of the roof timbers:
 - preparatory work: November 2017 - June 2018
 - restoration of roof timbers: June 2018 - June 2019
 - installation of new elements: June 2019 - late April

2020

- Restoration of groups of sculpted figures and lead roof ornamentation in the workshop: June 2018 - late May 2019
- Restoration of the upper parts of the facades in dressed stone: April 2018 - June 2019
- Conservation work on the bas-relief sculptures above the main windows: April 2018 - June 2019
- Gilding of the lead ornaments on the roof and windows: July 2018 - November 2019
- Restoration of the attic windows: April 2018 - late November 2019
- Gilding of the lead ornaments on the roof: July 2019 - December 2019.

Budget for the first phase: €11 million

The second phase:

This phase comprises further restoration work and is itself divided into three conditional phases concerning the lower part of the Chapel, the sculpted decoration and the stained-glass windows.

Budget for the second phase: €5 million

This work will also restore coherence and harmony to the building and ensure its integration into the Palace as a whole, as Louis XIV wished.

TIMELESS CHIC

Standout Fashion and Beauty trends

By Clara Bauman



Anything nice in the sunglasses department ?

To really show off on café terraces, it's high time we picked up our favourite pair of sunglasses. And for the best shopping tips, you're at the right place.

TRIANGULAR FACE SHAPES

The don'ts : Heavy frames in "Butterfly" or "Cat-eye" designs, as well as forms that are generally too glaring, such as square, rectangular, hexagonal and heart-shaped designs.

The do's : Forms that draw attention away from the top of the face and soften the angles...definitely favor round frames and/or those that point towards the lower face.



Liu Jo
(liujo.com)



Longchamp
(longchamp.com)



Salvatore Ferragamo
(ferragamo.com)

ROUND FACES

The don'ts : Round glasses and all John Lennon type frames... it makes sense !

The do's : Frames with geometric or angular contours. Their size and thickness will also emphasize or refine the features, depending on your mood.



Longchamp
(longchamp.com)



Paul Smith
(paulsmith.com)



Weekday
(weekday.com)

SQUARE FACES

The don'ts : Geometric and angular frames. Also, those that are wider than the face.

The do's : Depending on the desired effect (imposing or soft), frames with affirmed styles (Cat-eye, Aviator) or round glasses.



Salvatore Ferragamo
(ferragamo.com)



Marni
(marni.com)



Chloé
(chloe.com)

OVAL FACES

The don'ts : Too chunky frames with a high nose bridge if the face is elongated (such as a long nose). Here, the Butterfly design is the best compromise.

The do's : If the oval shape is harmonious, anything goes ! Given that round frames tend to give a bohemian, youthful or intellectual look, whereas angular frames affirm the character (with the added risk of hardening the lines of the face).



Michael Kors
(michaelkors.eu)



Chloé
(chloe.com)



BVLGARI
(bulgari.com)

TIMELESS CHIC

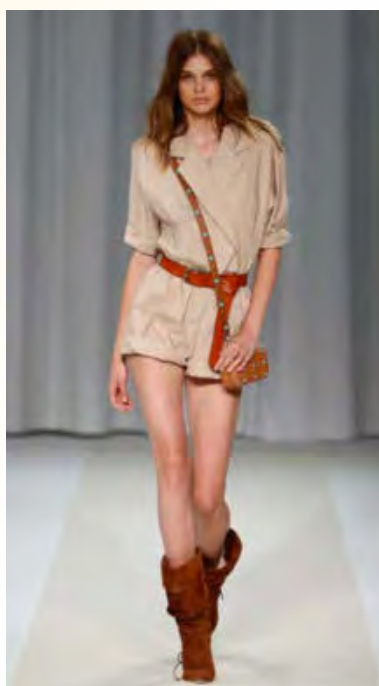
Standout Fashion and Beauty trends

By Clara Bauman

Dress code: 'nude'

Who said skin tones were drab ? It's all a question of well-chosen accessories that bring contrast and add some spice to these natural tones. Sand, beige, cream, off-white... let's go for the distinguished, tanned skin nude look !

Shopping (and user manual).



© Liu Jo

The beige playsuit by Liu Jo is altogether very alluring... customized with suede boots and accessories in natural, almost "raw" shades.

Must haves



Goatskin leather
stud jacket IKKS
(ikks.com)



Satin dress
by American Vintage
(americanvintage-store.com)



Wedge sandals
Steve Madden
(stevemadden.eu)



Crossbody bag Michael Kors
(michaelkors.eu)



Lipstick
"Powder Kiss" M.A.C.
(maccosmetics.com)



Gold nail polish
& Other Stories
(stories.com)



© Karl Lagerfeld



Karl turns on the neon lights

He may have been a lifelong follower of the "less is more" philosophy, which was also dear to Gabrielle Chanel, but the 'Kaiser' of fashion has also left his distinctive mark on the latest collection of his own brand. The result is a clothing and accessories line sprinkled with fluorescence and pieces that match the "athleisure" trend : sweatshirts, caps and the must-have belt bag (karl.com).



The raffia craze

No, the wicker bag hasn't written : "I'm going for a picnic in the fields" all over it...not any longer. This summer, it is a leading trendsetter in town as well as on the beach. In mini or king size formats, it adds a touch of cool elegance. We have an absolute crush on models with sophisticated details ("arty" handles, leather shoulder straps, sophisticated braiding...), by far the most stylish for the summer.

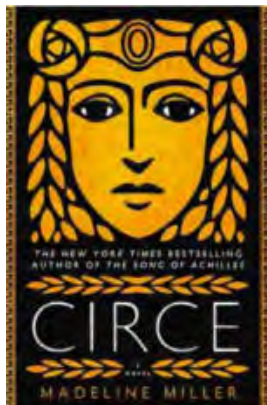


Bag with round handles
in tortoise shell style
(stories.com)

BOOKS

Circe

By Madeline Miller



In the house of Helios, god of the sun and mightiest of the Titans, a daughter is born. But Circe is a strange child—not powerful, like her father, nor viciously alluring like her mother. Turning to the world of mortals for companionship, she discovers that she does possess power—the power of witchcraft, which can transform rivals into monsters and menace the gods themselves.

Threatened, Zeus banishes her to a deserted island, where she hones

her occult craft, tames wild beasts and crosses paths with many of the most famous figures in all of mythology, including the Minotaur, Daedalus and his doomed son Icarus, the murderous Medea, and, of course, wily Odysseus.

But there is danger, too, for a woman who stands alone, and Circe unwittingly draws the wrath of both men and gods, ultimately finding herself pitted against one of the most terrifying and vengeful of the Olympians. To protect what she loves most, Circe must summon all her strength and choose, once and for all, whether she belongs with the gods she is born from, or the mortals she has come to love.

Daisy Jones & The Six

By Taylor Jenkins Reid

Everyone knows DAISY JONES & THE SIX, but nobody knows the reason behind their split at the absolute height of their popularity... until now.



Daisy is a girl coming of age in L.A. in the late sixties, sneaking into clubs on the Sunset Strip, sleeping with rock stars, and dreaming of singing at the Whisky a Go Go. The sex and drugs are thrilling, but it's the rock 'n' roll she loves most. By the time she's twenty, her voice is getting noticed, and she has the kind of heedless beauty that makes people do crazy things.

Also getting noticed is The Six, a band led by the brooding Billy Dunne. On the eve of their first

tour, his girlfriend Camila finds out she's pregnant, and with the pressure of impending fatherhood and fame, Billy goes a little wild on the road.

Daisy and Billy cross paths when a producer realizes that the key to supercharged success is to put the two together. What happens next will become the stuff of legend.

The making of that legend is chronicled in this riveting and unforgettable novel, written as an oral history of one of the biggest bands of the seventies. Taylor Jenkins Reid is a talented writer who takes her work to a new level with *Daisy Jones & The Six*, brilliantly capturing a place and time in an utterly distinctive voice.

About Taylor Jenkins Reid

Taylor Jenkins Reid is the author of *The Seven Husbands of Evelyn Hugo*, *One True Loves*, *Maybe in Another Life*, *After I Do*, and *Forever, Interrupted*. She lives in Los Angeles with her husband, their daughter, and their dog.

One Road, Many Dreams

By: Daniel Drache, A. T. Kingsmith, Duan Qi

One Belt, One Road is China's bold plan to remake the global economy. It's an ambitious strategy with a \$2 trillion – and rising – budget. The objective? To challenge the existing economic and political world order.



One Road, Many Dreams reveals the true extent of China's ambition, analyses the impact of the One Belt, One Road initiative and assesses its chances of success and failure.

This is the Asian century and China has a plan – to remake the world economy.

Under its audacious One Belt, One Road strategy, China is investing trillions of dollars in hundreds of projects all around the globe. It's buying up ports, building transport networks and constructing major infrastructure. From hydro-electric plants to oil pipelines, China supplies the labour if needed, the raw materials and the finance, creating customers and boosting its own economy in the process.

More than 80 nations have already joined China's increasingly less exclusive club and by 2049, when One Belt, One Road is set to end, its number of members is likely to rival the UN. So far, China has exercised its soft power of debt diplomacy and financial might shrewdly, serving the planet's overlooked middle-income and poor countries. The rest of the world needs to wake up because the scale of One Belt, One Road is unprecedented. Its implications for the global structure of power are potentially seismic as the geopolitical ties between Europe and Asia deepen.

Written by three highly regarded political economists, *One Road, Many Dreams* examines the One Belt, One Road initiative from all angles. It looks at the projects and the players, the alliances and the governance. It explores the opportunities for China and the threat to the West, particularly for Trump's isolationist US administration. At home and abroad, China is staking its credibility as a superpower on One Belt, One Road. Its resources appear limitless, but *One Road, Many Dreams* asks a tough question: has China overreached? Or can it really pull this off and remake the world economy in its own interests?

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



BY YOUR SIDE IN MONACO FOR MORE THAN 100 YEARS

Discover our solutions in Private Banking,
Retail Banking and Corporate Banking.

privatebanking.societegenerale.mc

**THE FUTURE
IS YOU**



**SOCIÉTÉ
GÉNÉRALE**

The present document has been distributed in Monaco by Société Générale Private Banking (Monaco) S.A.M., located 13/15, bd. des Moulins – 98000 Monaco – Principality of Monaco, governed by the *Autorité de Contrôle Prudentiel et de Résolution* and the *Commission de Contrôle des Activités Financières*. The financial products marketed in Monaco can be reserved for qualified investors in accordance with the Law No. 1339 of 07/09/2007 and Sovereign Ordinance No 1.285 of 10/09/2007. Further details are available upon request or on www.privatebanking.societegenerale.mc. © Getty Images.