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VIKTOR ORBÁN

The man behind the power

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EDITORIAL

What you have in your hands is the very first issue of a redesigned, print-digital hybrid news magazine, and it is with great pleasure that I write this lead-off editorial in this new edition of Europe Diplomatic Magazine.

Just as the ancient Hindu gods churned the Ocean of Milk to extract the nectar of immortal life, we have tried to churn out interesting, relevant and useful articles from the untold masses of information and data circulating in both the real and virtual worlds.

Europe Diplomatic Magazine is destined for decision-makers and opinion-formers from all sectors : government, the foreign-policy establishment, think-tanks, international business and the media.

Our mission : to analyse and bring to our readership the defining political, economic and geopolitical events and ideas shaping and changing today's world.

Our overriding ambition however, is to provide convenient and easy access to this information, especially in cases when our target audience may not be in a position to carry out repeated and time-consuming searches even when everything is available on the internet.

Without question, the Digital Revolution has resulted in broad social impacts and sweeping lifestyle changes. It has increased and improved the ability to communicate and find important information, among a myriad other benefits.

But it has not been able to replace the unique smell of printer's ink and the feel of turning a page of crisp, glossy paper.

No... the printed page is not at all dead and gone ! In fact it is as attractive and vibrant as ever. Major studies have demonstrated that the highly-anticipated infatuation, not to say craze, for the digital press and printed material in general has not happened as expected. In fact, we are witnessing a clear disinterest for digital reading on the part of the general public.

However, it goes without saying that the digital domain will always prevail when it comes to technological suitability in situations that do not allow for the printed page to be accessed. And it is for this very reason that Europe Diplomatic Magazine lives in both the real and virtual worlds.

Finally, there is little doubt that any person receiving a newspaper or magazine through the mail box would not inevitably, and at the very least, just take a look...

*The Editor-in-Chief
Trajan Dereville*

VIKTOR ORBÁN

*The man
behind the power*



EPP Congress, Bucharest 2012

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THE IRRESISTIBLE RISE OF EUROPE'S "ENFANT TERRIBLE"

In the summer of 1989, hundreds of thousands of people had gathered in Heroes' Square in Budapest for the ceremonial reburial of Imre Nagy along with other heroes of the 1956 uprising that was brutally crushed by Soviet troops. At one point, a bearded 26 year-old man gave a short but fiery speech in which he called for free elections and openly demanded that Soviet troops be withdrawn. He became instantly famous at home and abroad.

That young man was Viktor Orbán, a recent law graduate from the prestigious Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest.

Viktor Orbán was born on 31 May 1963 in Székesfehérvár, Hungary's medieval capital. His father, an agricultural engineer, became a member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party while his mother was an educator and speech therapist.

The family was poor and until the early 1970s didn't even have access to running water; in fact Orbán has said

that he first used an indoor bathroom with hot water when he was fifteen. However, he was an exceptional student and after high school and a year in the army, he attended István Billó, a college in Budapest where dissenting ideas were tolerated and even protected. And the source for this protection was the support of an unlikely figure : George Soros, the Hungarian-American millionaire and financier who set up a foundation to promote democracy in Hungary in 1984. His Open Society Foundation (OSF) aimed to counter communist dictatorship as well as the nationalism that he feared would reappear after the fall of communism.

Soros visited the college in 1985 and offered his full support to Orbán and his fellow students who founded "Fiatal Demokraták Szövetsége" or Federation of Young Democrats, which would later become known as Fidesz.

In 1988, Orbán began work at the Central European Research Group which was funded by the Soros Foundation. One year later, he obtained a grant from that foundation



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to study political science at Oxford University. However, his stay in England proved to be a short one and only four months later, he returned to Hungary to enter politics.

At the time, Fidesz presented itself as a liberal and libertarian party of young dissidents advocating for foreign investment and privatization.



Opening of Maria Valeria Bridge, Slovakia 2001

His party having won twenty seats in the National Assembly, Orbán decided to become a member of parliament. However, as a result of internal disagreements regarding alliances with other parties, several hundred members broke away, leaving Orbán as the head of the party. In the following elections in 1994, Fidesz lost two seats and became the smallest party in parliament.

This situation led Orbán who was brimming with ambition, charisma and tactical skill to re-think the infrastructure of the party. He recognized the need for the media and the press in the creation of an effective apparatus as well as the support of “big capital”. Consequently, Fidesz shifted away from its original centre-right and pro-European integration platform toward right-wing national conservatism, skillfully exploiting a hurt national pride and public frustration with corruption.

By exploiting the highly sensitive “national question” which concerns the trauma caused by the 1920 Treaty of Trianon, through which Hungary lost two-thirds of its historic territory and over 3 million Hungarians found themselves living in foreign states, Fidesz gradually became the main political force in Hungary.

Fidesz won a parliamentary majority in 1998 and Orbán, at thirty-five, became the youngest freely elected Prime

Minister in the history of Hungary. Yet, despite maintaining a growing economy, Fidesz lost the 2002 and 2006 elections to a coalition of left-of-centre parties and Orbán spent the next eight years as the leader of the opposition. At one point, even his position as the leader of Fidesz briefly came under question, although no party member was up to the challenge of taking over from him. In the meantime, the Social-Liberal coalition demonstrated its ineptitude at governing the country.

The economy practically collapsed and Hungary was on the verge of default following the 2008 financial crisis. The International Monetary Fund finally provided a bail-out package but demanded severe austerity measures in return.

However, a large section of the Hungarian public, weary of the political bickering, again turned to Orbán and his party for salvation. The year 2010 proved a turning point in Viktor Orbán’s career. He led Fidesz back into power, winning a two-thirds parliamentary majority. Faced with a divided and discredited opposition, he proceeded to fill all positions of state power with trusted supporters. Also, in the next few years, he passed several thousand pages of laws.

In 2011, he even introduced an entirely new constitution which passed in only nine days.

He levied taxes on foreign companies and put an end to the country’s hybrid, public-private pension system. He nationalized about twelve billion dollars in assets and cut the number of MPs nearly in half; a move popular with most Hungarians.

However, opposition politicians and investigative journalists maintain that Orbán has become phenomenally wealthy through companies that are registered in the names of family members and friends – a pattern familiar throughout the post-Communist world.

LIBERAL DEMOCRACY

Every summer, Viktor Orbán has given a speech akin to a state-of-the-union address in the hills of Băile Tușnad in Transsylvania.

This region which was ceded to Romania in 1920 is home to ethnic Hungarians who were stranded there after the Treaty of Trianon.

In 2014, he argued that, after the financial collapse of 2008, the world had awoken to a new reality, as dramatic as that of 1945 or 1990, except that this time no one realized it. In a critique of Western liberalism, he said that the idea that one could do whatever one wanted as long as it didn’t infringe on the freedoms of others had resulted not in justice but in the strong dominating the weak.

“The Hungarian nation is not simply a group of individuals but a community that must be organized,” he said.

“And so, in this sense, the new state that we are constructing in Hungary is an illiberal state, a non-liberal state.”

In the summer of 2018, he refined his idea. “There is an alternative to liberal democracy: it is called Christian democracy,” he said at the gathering.

“And we must show that the liberal élite can be replaced with a Christian-democratic élite.” Orbán offered some clarification. “Liberal democracy is in favour of multiculturalism, while Christian democracy gives priority to Christian culture,” he said. “Liberal democracy is pro-immigration, while Christian democracy is anti-immigration.”

By early 2015, the Orbán government had lost its supermajority, and the prime minister resorted to using immigration as a key issue to regain support. The migrant and refugee

crisis, which reached its peak that year, proved a godsend for that project. Hungary received 174,000 asylum applications in 2015 alone—or 1,770 applicants per 100,000 residents, the highest rate of any European country.

Sharply opposed to the influx of migrants, Orbán ordered the building of a 175 kilometre-long fence along the border with Serbia to keep them out, and later one along the border with Croatia.

He explained his position regarding immigration first in Hungary and then across the postcommunist states of Central and Eastern Europe by emphasizing two predominant elements of Hungarians' self-image, both consequences of the Treaty of Trianon: the myth of the victim and the will to survive.

As a result, Fidesz's poll ratings and Orbán's popularity rose sharply. He achieved international notoriety as a sort of pioneer and role model for nationalists. Even critics of the government's harsh treatment of asylum seekers admitted that Orbán realized before most EU leaders that borders had to be controlled before a relocation plan for migrants could be agreed upon. However, the effects of Orbán's demagogy in Central and Eastern Europe should not be underestimated. It is largely due to his influence that three other post-communist EU states,

namely the Czech Republic, Poland and Slovakia have emerged as a nationalistic group, blocking European integration. Russia, through its expansive strategy and China have shown much interest in this credo, as have Tukey and India. Meanwhile, in Western Europe, Orbán boasts numerous admirers in Germany, Austria, France, and the Netherlands. Over the past eight years, Orbán has pioneered a new model of what some Hungarian and other European analysts describe as a "half democracy in decline" or a "soft autocracy," merging crony capitalism with right-wing rhetoric. This is a formula that could lead to a one-party state committed to rooting out anti-Christian values, with no effective checks and balances, controlling the media and a network of oligarchs who owe their fortunes to government contracts. He has rejected outright all accusations about the alleged impropriety of the sources of his allies' enrichment, but opposition speakers in parliament repeatedly complain that he has become not only the most powerful but also the richest man in Hungary. Be that as it may, Viktor Orbán remains a fighter who thrives on confrontation. And he holds two great cards – being in the frontline of Muslim immigration and a fragile economy. Neither a weak and split opposition in Hungary nor warnings from the EU and human-rights organizations threaten his grip on power...for now.

Hossein Sadre



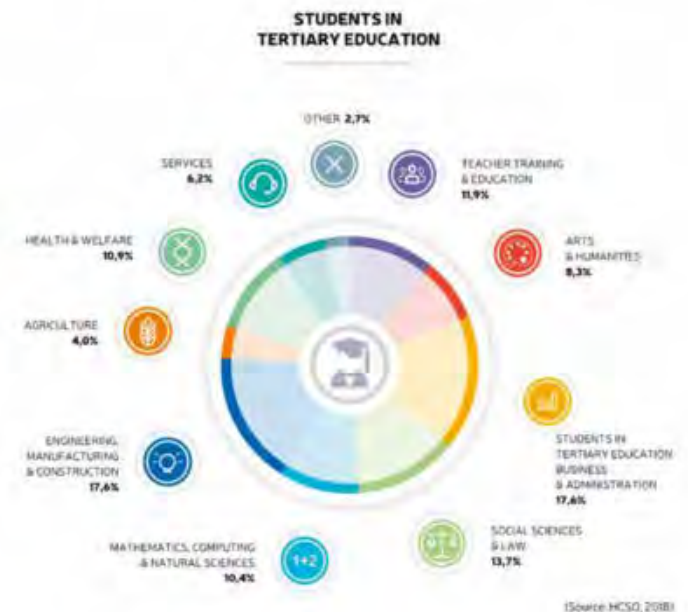
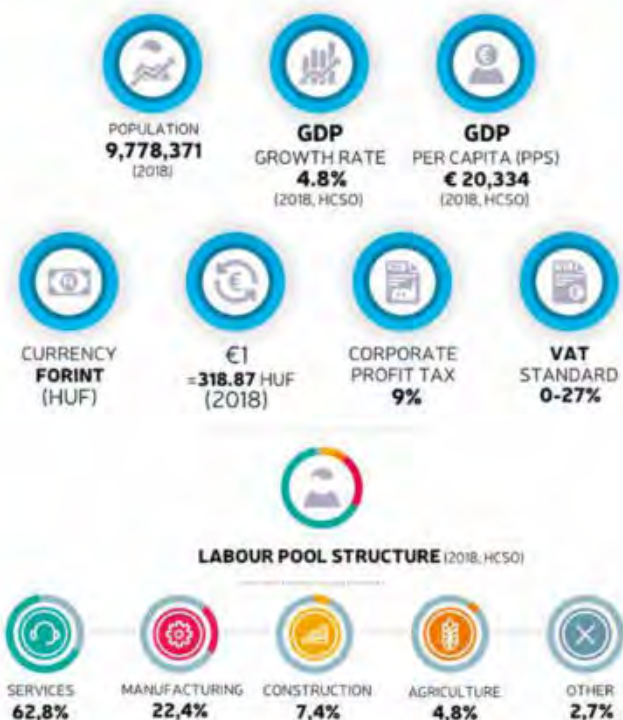
Mike Pompeo - Viktor Orbán 2019



EPP Congress, Rome 2016



EPP Congress, Bucharest 2012





EPP Congress, Brussels 2004



EPP Congress, Malta 2017

SOME EXCERPTS FROM VIKTOR ORBÁN'S DECLARATIONS

« The migration crisis affecting Europe has in fact broadened to become a civilizational crisis, and “the East has come to the West.”

Europe is politically deluded if it thinks that people arriving from the Islamic world do not bring with them the laws, customs and conflicts that have existed in their culture for centuries. »

« Western Europe’s modern-day warriors for integration believe that there’s no reason why anyone who wants to go to France or Germany and who wants a French or German standard of living shouldn’t immediately become French or German. Today the Brussels elite lives in this bubble. Contrary to the belief in Brussels, in reality migrants are coming because they want French, German or Hungarian standards of living, but also want to live according to their own rules. »

« The Hungarian position is that help should be taken to where it is

needed, because this is the appropriate and only approach which does not force anyone into surrender. »

« The Balkans route must be closely monitored, however, as “there is a huge supply of potential migrants”, but at present “the real threat” is not from the Balkans, but much rather from Africa. »

« An era in the history of Europe will soon come to an end, when Central European countries match the economic performance of the EU’s founding states. »

« When migrants choose a land route instead of a sea route they necessarily come into Europe across Hungary’s southern borders. Whether or not we wanted this role, whether or not it’s fair, whether or not we like it, we are where we are; and as we want to defend our borders, this has granted us Europe-wide fame. Neither Hungary nor Hungary’s political leaders – myself included – want

to play any kind of a leading role in Europe. We have an ancient Hungarian world, and keeping it in order, maintaining it and adjusting it to the needs of the future provides us with quite enough work as it is. But we’ve no choice, because – and I say this for the sake of our guests – we don’t want to live through a repeat of what we’ve already experienced: for want of an effective border, almost 400,000 people – mostly men of military age, unarmed but in military style – all of a sudden marching across our border and into Hungary. We no longer want to lack the physical power to stop or manage such a mass of 400,000 – which may not be armed, but which all the same represents a significant physical force. So we don’t want to relive this experience of being at the mercy of outside forces. And so it came about that we built a fence, introduced border defense, and turned to stand in opposition to the European mainstream. »



9 NOVEMBER 2019 - 2PM, GENEVA

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Luc Pettavino, Founder/Organizer of Only Watch

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The battle of beauty and research of excellence

The battle of awareness for research on Duchenne muscular dystrophy. Now, let's continue pushing hard, and win the battle to cure this disease."

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PETULANT PARTNERS:

Switzerland and the European Union

Take a look at some of Switzerland's great heroes. William Tell, of course, famously shot an apple from his son's head and later used the same crossbow to kill the tyrannical Habsburg bailiff, Albrecht Gessler, in 1307, thus launching the fight for Swiss independence. If he actually existed, that is. His story first appeared in print two hundred and fifty years after the supposed event and bore remarkable similarities to a Viking tale from four hundred years earlier. How about Roger Federer? There is no doubt about his existence at least. Or there's Charles-Édouard Jeanneret-Gris, although he's remembered as Le Corbusier, the great architect.

Daniel Bernoulli is renowned for his 18th century work on fluid dynamics, which remains especially important for aerospace engineers and designers, while another Swiss mathematician, Leonhard Euler, came up with his so-called "identity" equation, $e^{i\pi} + 1 = 0$, described by the Nobel Prize-winning American physicist Richard Feynman

as "the most remarkable equation in mathematics", even though relatively few people could explain exactly what it does, at least in layman's terms. In fact, without it your smart phone and laptop would not function and many of the electronic marvels we live with and rely upon today would not exist. Oh, and by the way, Ursula Andress, the first "Bond girl", is Swiss, too.

Even so, the Swiss have always seen themselves as a people apart. That's why Swiss children are brought to see the very spot where William Tell got into trouble for refusing to salute Albrecht Gessler's hat, the crime for which he was compelled to endanger his son's life. Daniel Bernoulli and Leonhard Euler may have had a far greater influence on science and the modern world (and they both really existed) but you get the feeling that most of the visiting youngsters would rather take up the crossbow and fight against tyranny than commit themselves to the world of fluid dynamics or complex numbers

and exponentiation. It's something that should matter in a nation of bankers: Euler's number (designated "e") is what fixes the upper

limit of compound interest. So, Roger Federer and Ursula Andress aside, relations between the Swiss Federation and the European Union have seldom been completely close or cosy. Perhaps not surprisingly for a people who still idolise a possibly fictional hero from the early 14th century, a hard-won independence rooted in a mythologised past is more important than the prospect of an Institutional Framework Agreement between Bern and Brussels.

Switzerland has had a range of some 120 bilateral agreements with the EU for many years, affecting various sectors of the Swiss economy and regulating access to the EU's single market. There has been talk of streamlining the various measures – twenty main agreements and a further one hundred of lesser importance – with a single framework since 2002 when the idea was raised



in the Swiss Senate. It was necessary because Swiss citizens rejected joining the European Economic Area (EEA) in a referendum in 1992. It became a matter of greater importance when Brussels decided to press for it in 2008, following EU irritation at measures by Bern to protect its labour market. One example disliked in the European Union's corridors of power is designed – theoretically – to ensure that foreign firms do not undercut local Swiss pay scales by bringing in foreign staff to work in their branches in Switzerland on lower salaries than locals would get. To achieve this, foreign-based firms operating within Switzerland must give the Swiss authorities eight days' notice before placing non-Swiss staff there even on a short-term basis. However, the EU argued that such measures breach the requirement for free movement of people to which (along with other provisions) Switzerland signed up in order to gain access to EU markets. A referendum in 2014 narrowly passed an initiative to impose quotas on foreign nationals, which led the EU to begin bilateral talks in a bid to bring the various measures together into one coherent agreement.

The talks did not go easily but in December 2018 the EU finally published its draft Institutional Framework Agreement on future relations. It may go no further. Under it, Swiss rules would

come into line with EU regulations while protecting the free movement of people within both jurisdictions, mutually recognising industrial and agricultural standards, securing transport by land and air and creating a joint arbitration panel. This would be in accordance with the Luxembourg-based European Court of Justice's interpretation of EU law. It had taken four years and a lot of sometimes ill-tempered wrangling to get the deal hammered out. Then the Swiss government decided to go for a six-month public consultation before agreeing the text to which they had already – in theory – assented. The European Commission was not pleased, announcing on the 9 December, 2018, that both sets of negotiators had agreed it was “the best possible deal”. On the 17 December, EU Enlargement Commissioner Johannes Hahn was clear when he addressed journalists. “Negotiations have been finished,” he said, “there will be no renegotiations”.

The Commission continues to claim that a new agreement could be in place by June 2019, and has agreed to allow the Swiss Stock Exchange to retain access to the EU market for six months after its expiry at the end of 2018. If this equivalence regime had not been extended it would have prevented Swiss financial institutions from selling

products based on Swiss stocks within the EU. Commissioner Hahn has linked the extension to continuing progress towards a deal, denying that this amounts to putting Bern under pressure, but within Switzerland there is a lot of opposition. Politicians on both the left and right have claimed that the proposed agreement infringes Swiss sovereignty, while the SGB trades union argues that it threatens to undermine hard-won wage agreements by opening a possible door to cheap foreign labour. Most outside experts agree that the governing coalition would find it very hard to win a majority for accepting the deal, while on the EU side the protracted and difficult negotiations with Britain over its troubled departure from the economic bloc have blunted the member states' willingness to agree to exceptions, exemptions and special sectoral concessions.

Finding a way forward matters. The European Union is Switzerland's largest trading partner and Switzerland is the EU's third largest after the United States and China. In 2017, the EU imported just over €110-billion of goods from Switzerland and exported over €150-billion, a trade surplus of almost €40-billion in the EU's favour. Among Switzerland's most important exports are chemicals, medicinal products, machinery, instruments, watches, jewellery and gold. In return, its imports



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from the EU – mainly Germany – include machinery, chemicals, metals, agricultural products and cars. In the services sector, Switzerland earned almost €70-billion from the European Union, while EU services to Switzerland amounted to over €128-billion. The trade surplus was almost €59-billion, again in the EU's favour. Both sides stand to lose if the current trading relationship were to collapse. Some in Switzerland accuse Brussels of bullying but EU negotiators say it has to be an all-or-nothing arrangement. Curtailing free movement would kill off all other aspects of the relationship.

It's not just in trading terms, either. The European Commission last year introduced legislation to give protection to whistle-blowers which should be adopted shortly. Only ten of the European Union's 28 (soon to be reduced to 27) member states have laws that effectively protect those who report their employers for breaking the law, but that will change. According to a 2017 report by Eurobarometer, which has been monitoring the opinions of EU citizens since 1974, 81% of respondents admitted they did not report examples of corruption that they experienced or witnessed. A public consultation by the European Commission, also in 2017, put the figure at 85%. When asked why not, most people replied that fear of

legal or financial consequences lay at the root of the problem. The EU believes that the Volkswagen diesel emissions scandal would have come to light sooner if Germany had laws to protect whistle-blowers. Similarly, the Panama and Paradise Papers scandals, Luxleaks and the alleged improper use of Facebook data by Cambridge Analytica might have been avoided or brought to earlier conclusions. Other European scandals have come to light, such as at Danske

Bank, where a former executive helped reveal a money laundering scandal worth €200-billion.

The proposals to reform whistle-blower protection in Switzerland, on the other hand, are widely seen as falling somewhat short of international best practice (and a long way short of what the European Union is proposing). An IT specialist with a major bank there who revealed murky dealings by thousands of wealthy customers is still



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being pursued by Swiss authorities for shining a light on the customers' illicit financial activities. A Swiss attempt to get him extradited from Spain, however, was rejected by a Spanish court. Many Swiss companies – and government authorities – still seem to believe that traditional banking privacy outweighs compliance with international law in terms of importance. Even so, a majority of large Swiss companies now have reporting systems for whistle-blowers, even though only 10% of small to medium sized companies do. So far, politicians have failed to reach agreement with employers and trades unions on what sort of whistle-blower protection is needed.

Relations between the Swiss Federation and the European Union are, of course, about much more than disgruntled employees spilling the beans on crooked employers and their more venal clients. The connections go back a long way; after all, it was at the University of Zurich in 1946 that Britain's wartime leader, Winston Churchill, so recently voted out of office at the time, urged the formerly warring nations to come together and form what he called "a United States of Europe". The idea got a cheer, even if the EU's embryonic forebear, the European Coal and Steel Community, was largely the result not so much of Churchillian pan-European idealism as of pressure by the then US Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, to cement West Germany into the western European family of nations in order to put a brake on Soviet expansionism. And nothing achieves that so effectively as interlocking their economies and tying up their coal and steel industries, described by the French Foreign

Minister of the time, Robert Schuman, as "the engines of war".

In 1960, Switzerland joined the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), a British idea to counterbalance the heft of the new European Economic Community (EEC) that had sprung from the Treaties of Rome, signed in 1957. Switzerland acceded to the Council of Europe in 1963, but that august body, Europe's oldest association of nation states, was and is concerned solely with jurisprudence, human rights, the rule of law and European heritage. Although larger, it also has far less clout than the EU and is now being starved of funds by its members.

Switzerland signed up to a free trade agreement with the EEC in 1972, an agreement on trading in non-life insurance in 1989 and a mutually acceptable arrangement on the carriage of goods in 1990. Two years later, the Federal Council proposed opening membership negotiations with the European Union, although it put the idea on hold a year later. In 2006, Switzerland downgraded the idea of joining the EU from an objective to an option. Nobody expects it to happen, ever, following a referendum in 1997 that overwhelmingly rejected the idea. With that plan a non-starter, Switzerland and the EU began to negotiate and sign agreements issue by issue. In 1999 that included free movement, the removal of technical barriers to trade, public procurement, agriculture and transport.

These "Bilateral Agreements", as they're known, form an overall package with the various elements linked: breach one and all of them fall. They gave Switzerland gradual access to the EU's

Internal Market and participation in research projects. In 2001 another referendum again rejected applying for EU membership by a convincing 76.8%. However, Switzerland joined the EU's policing body, Europol, in 2004. The following year, Switzerland joined the Schengen area of passport-free open borders. It also joined the Dublin agreement, which is intended to ensure that migrants from non-European countries apply only once for asylum in the first country they reach, rather than making multiple asylum applications in several countries. Switzerland joined the European Environment Agency (EEA) in 2006, also signing up that year to the EU's MEDIA programme to promote the movie industry. 2010 saw an agreement on education and youth programmes as well as harmonising rules on product safety. In 2011, Bern and Brussels agreed to recognise each other's "designation of origins" (PDO) for agricultural products (no Gruyère from Lyon but no Bleu d'Auvergne from Geneva, either).

But it wasn't all handshakes and smiles. In 2012, Switzerland opted to invoke the safeguard clause in its free movement deal for people from eight of the EU's newest member states and a year later it did the same for the EU 17. Brussels expressed concern, but the safeguard clause expired in 2014, just as more deals were done on supporting asylum seekers, agriculture and business taxation. The EU wanted to wrap up all the various agreements into one all-encompassing framework agreement and after four tortuous years of difficult, often angry, nose-to-nose negotiations, Brussels announced an agreement.

But Bern was having second thoughts, announcing that it would subject the deal – which the EU negotiators swore had been agreed by both sides – to six months of public consultation. Few expect it to win public approval. Meanwhile, the EU has somewhat grudgingly given Bern a six month extension of its recognition of Swiss stock-trading venues. There are six of them, and losing access to EU markets would cost them half their revenue. Many in Switzerland's corridors of power would prefer renegotiation but Brussels is having none of it. For Switzerland, "The EU has nothing new to offer," Commission spokesperson Margaritis Schinas, told reporters in January this year. She said there had been "no change"





in the Commission's policy. But Swiss President Ueli Maurer, who doubles as Finance Minister, told reporters in Switzerland that the agreement must be re-opened. "As things stand today," he said, "the Framework Agreement would not be accepted. So we would still have to make substantial negotiations." Outside of Switzerland, few agree. "This is much more a challenge for Switzerland than for the European Union," said Paul Schmidt, Secretary-General of the Austrian Society for European Politics. "I think Switzerland tries to be independent at the same time as it adopts European regulations, without sitting at the table and taking part in the decision-making and I think they have to rethink their approach to the European Union. They have to understand how much they actually depend on the European Union and then we can sit down and sort the issue." There seems little inclination on Bern's part to do anything of the sort.

The affair has unfortunate echoes of the agonising negotiations between the United Kingdom and the European Union over Britain's plans to withdraw from the EU. A number of leading UK politicians say "we must renegotiate", despite disagreements within the British government, while the EU side, with twenty-seven separate states in full agreement, says "take it or leave it". Desperate for trade deals before tumbling out of the EU without a parachute, Britain has signed a trade agreement with Switzerland which will basically allow the existing terms under Switzerland's EU treaty to continue after Britain leaves. The deal was signed in Bern on 11 February by Federal Councillor Guy Parmelin and Britain's Secretary of State for International Trade, Dr. Liam Fox. It comes under what Bern calls a "mind the gap" strategy to avoid one agreement ending before another can begin. The deal also extends to the Principality of Liechtenstein

under the Swiss-Liechtenstein Customs Union.

Switzerland is a major trade partner for the United Kingdom, which is its sixth most important export market (CHF 11.4-billion, €10-billion) and its eighth most important market for imports (CHF 6-billion, €5-billion). It is the UK's 5th main export partner outside the EU after the United States, China, Hong Kong and the United Arab Emirates, while Swiss direct investments in the UK are the fifth most significant for Switzerland at CHF 54-billion (more than €47-billion) in 2017. Hailing his success, Dr. Fox told reporters: "Switzerland is one of the most valuable trading partners that we are seeking continuity for, accounting for more than £32-billion (over CHF 42-billion, €37-billion) worth of trade a year." This being only the fourth of some forty trade deals he had promised to sign before the end of March this year, he was keen to emphasize its value. "This is of huge economic importance to UK businesses," he said, "so I'm delighted to be here in Bern today, ensuring continuity for 15,000 British exporters." Swiss Federal Councillor Guy Parmelin agreed. "I am very pleased to have signed this agreement today," he said. "It ensures continuity in our trade relations after the United Kingdom leaves the European Union and lays the foundation for our future trade relations." However, nobody seriously believes a UK deal for Switzerland or a Swiss deal for the UK can replace one with the mighty European Union with its population of more than half a billion people. Clearly, though, if its proposed Framework Agreement with the Swiss Federation falls, as seems increasingly likely, and Britain's future prosperity is threatened by its lamentable lack of other trade deals, then both countries will be left with little to cling to but their somewhat mercurial dreams of independence and memories of more forceful times, when differences were settled with swords, pikes and – yes – crossbows. It's worth remembering that while the Swiss venerate William Tell, the British still hold Robin Hood in high regard. But unlike Bernoulli or Euler, both almost certainly have no basis in historical fact. Nor much practical use in an increasingly globalised world.

JG

HIGH FLYER

A career in motorsport placed Thierry Boutsen in pole position for success in his next venture, business aviation. But Formula One also introduced the Boutsen Aviation Chairman and Founder to Monaco - and now there's no place like home



Of all the races on the Formula One calendar, it's fairly safe to say that for former driver Thierry Boutsen his favourite was Monaco. After first competing in F1's flagship race behind the wheel of an Arrows in 1984, he loved the principality so much that he quickly made it home. "It's the best place in the world to live," the Belgian native enthuses to Europe Diplomatic.

Today, as he travels to and from the rue Grimaldi office of Boutsen Aviation, the brokerage firm he founded in 1997 with his wife Daniela, his preferred mode of transport as he zips around Monaco's streets is much less flashy. "I drive the circuit everyday... on a scooter" he chuckles. "Or by foot or bicycle."

That's not to say that he doesn't still draw upon experiences from his F1 days in his aviation career. "Racing is a very good school of life, you learn lessons the hard way," he says. "You feel it every single day, every single minute that you sit in the car."

Two decades may have passed since he last raced competitively, but the importance of team spirit is another lesson that has followed him into the business world. "In motorsport, the whole team is there to make the car win, and I apply the same principle here. We are a small team. But we all work together to achieve success and to sell aeroplanes. There is no personality that is more important than another in the company. We are just one team going for it," he continues.

Growing up with a passion for aviation, Boutsen admits swapping fast cars for corporate jets hadn't crossed his mind as he neared the end of his racing career. "I wouldn't say (the transition) came as a surprise," he says. "More as a coincidence." He passed his pilot's licence in the early 80s, and, a year before his maiden F1 Grand Prix (fittingly, in Belgium), he found himself the owner of a small, single-engine aeroplane. "When I won points in F1, I was able to upgrade for a better, faster plane," he recalls.

During his racing days, he completed four aviation transactions for himself. Then, in 1997, he found himself the go-to figure for fellow F1 drivers keen to explore the world of private jet ownership for themselves. "Heinz-



Harald Frentzen said he wanted to buy a plane exactly the same as the one I had, but he didn't know where to look and the process involved in certifying and registering aircraft. So I offered to act on his behalf." Two months later, Frentzen's new plane had been delivered and Keke Rosberg, Michael Schumacher and Mika Häkkinen were all queuing up at Boutsen's door for the same service.

"I was close to retiring from racing, so I thought, why not continue a bit and see what this is going to bring me." With Daniela, a laptop, and his living room for an office, he formed Boutsen Aviation in Monaco. "We've been very busy since then," he smiles. In 2000 he hired his first salesman (Dominique Trinquet, who became President of Boutsen Aviation in 2015). "Slowly, we have been increasing the size of the aeroplanes that

we sell and now specialise in mid-size and heavy jet sales of the biggest planes in construction today, such as Airbus, and Boeing Business Jets." Today, along with headquarters in Monaco and representation in Moscow, New Delhi and Dubai, the company has sold 370 aircraft in 71 countries around the world. "We've been learning as we go along," he admits.

When asked to identify a turning point in the company's evolution, he doesn't hesitate to recall one singular contract for two Airbus Corporate Jets, signed in 2006. "At the time, these were by far the biggest aircraft we had sold and it was when we really entered into the big league of aviation brokers." In the years since, the Boutsen Aviation team has traded "six or seven more Airbuses, as well as Boeing Business Jets, lots of Gulfstreams and Dassault Falcon's in that category," Boutsen says.

This 2006 sale happened to be a watershed moment for the husband and wife team for more than one reason. "The client really was after a very special interior design inside the aircraft and we couldn't find anybody who could create exactly what he





wanted.” Instead, with her impeccable taste and sense of aesthetics, Daniela was handed the opportunity. “That was the start,” Boutsen explains proudly. “The project was a big success and so we decided to develop the design side of the business.” First, under the label of Boutsen Aviation and, since 2011, as a separate company, Boutsen Design. “We found it was too complicated to manage two companies under one roof,” he continues. “Plus, it doesn’t fit selling tablecloths and aeroplanes at the same time,” he laughs.

Not that Daniela is too far away, however. With offices opposite each other on rue Grimaldi, the couple is more than within walking distance. “We

are probably about ten seconds away from each other!”

Boutsen has had to navigate inevitable obstacles in his business career with all the precision and quick-thinking he relied upon as an F1 driver. None more so than the Global Financial Crisis of 2007-8, or, in the case of the private aviation industry, mid-2010 to mid-2017. “We found ourselves with an incredible amount of inventory and not many buyers,” he recalls. “Prices were decreasing on a daily basis, which made it very difficult to sell aircraft.” Preparation, however, was the key to the company’s survival – and a willingness to adapt. “We changed our attitude, changed our marketing, and changed our strategies

and we kept on enduring even though the market was slowing down.” More than survive, Boutsen acknowledges that the company actually grew. “I’m very proud of that,” he says. Today, the outlook is brighter. “We are in recovery mode, the market is getting better and we are a trusted name in the industry.”

Which leaves Boutsen and his team free to focus on what they do best: brokering aircraft. “Currently we’re trying to grow the business. We’ve been selling planes in 71 countries but everything has been based out of Monaco,” he says. In order to develop local markets, the company has employed a series of representatives: one in Moscow, one in New Delhi and one in Dubai. “The result is more insight into a particular country, a greater presence and the chance to build up closer relationships with our clients there,” he explains. “It seems to be working quite well.”

With an eye on the present, Boutsen is also carefully planning for the future. “I’m in the process of structuring the company so that it can start to function without my input 18 hours a day,” he explains, adding that there is a bit of maturity to the business now.

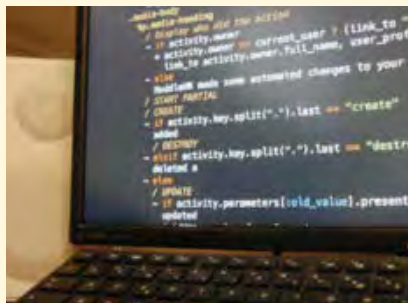
Boutsen’s trophy cabinet may be full from podium finishes on the racing circuit, but figuratively-speaking, it is overflowing with achievement. “There is not one single moment that I am more proud of than others. Instead, it’s a case of looking at what has been attained overall. We’ve sold 370 aeroplanes and each sale is celebrated in the same spirit as a race victory. So I’ve got quite a few trophies now,” he laughs.

There’s no place like home

Although both his F1 and aviation career have taken Thierry Boutsen around the world, he doesn’t hesitate to name Monaco as his favourite destination. “We travel a lot so when we are at home, we enjoy it,” he says. Away from home, he is likely to be found with his wife and children enjoying Sunday lunch at Ristorante La Salière, on the port in Fontvieille. “It’s a bit of a family tradition,” he says.

Chrissie McClatchie

THE EU vs ONLINE PROPAGANDA AND DISINFORMATION



State-sponsored internet propaganda is defined as a government's use of paid internet propagandists with the intention of swaying online opinion, undermining dissident communities, or changing the perception of what is the dominant view.

Another similar online activity has also made an appearance: 'astroturfing'. This is the practice of masking the sponsors of a message or organization (e.g., political, advertising, religious or public relations) to make it appear as though it originates from and is supported by grassroots participants.

The intention here is to give credibility to the statements or organizations by withholding information about the source's financial connection.

The term astroturfing is derived from AstroTurf, a brand of synthetic carpeting designed to resemble natural grass, as a play on the word "grassroots".

The implication behind the use of the term is that instead of a "true" or "natural" grassroots effort behind the activity in question, there is a "fake" or "artificial" appearance of support.

With these definitions in mind, let us examine a recent case of such activity that has had a number of detrimental effects on its intended targets in Europe.

RUSSIA'S 'NEW' TOOLS FOR CONFRONTING THE WEST

In the last three years, Russia has demonstrated its assertive foreign policy by successful military interventions in Ukraine and Syria. The distinctive Russian approach to operations in Ukraine gave rise to an impression among some observers

that its military had employed fundamentally new concepts of armed conflict.

But the techniques and methods displayed by Russia in Ukraine have roots in traditional Soviet approaches.

Since the end of the Cold War, Russia's military academics have displayed a consistently developing train of thought on the changing nature of conflict and how to prevail in it, including – but not limited to – the successful application of military power.

Russia's practice of information warfare has become a real cause for concern. This type of activity has developed rapidly, while still following key principles that can be traced to Soviet roots. This development has consisted of a series of adaptations following failed information campaigns by Russia, accompanied by successful adoption of the internet.

Russian disinformation campaigns continue to be described in the West as failing due to the implausibility of the narratives. But by applying Western notions of the nature and importance of truth, this approach measures these campaigns by the wrong criteria, and apparently misunderstands their objectives.

Russia continues to present itself as being under approaching threat from the West, and is mobilizing to address that threat. Its security initiatives, even if it views or presents them as defensive measures, are likely to have negative consequences for its neighbours.

Russia's growing confidence in pursuing its objectives will make it even harder for the West to protect itself against its assertiveness, without the implementation of measures to resist Russian information warfare, and without the availability of significant military force to act as an immediate and present deterrent in the front-line states.

According to the European Parliament Research Service, the visibility of disinformation as a tool to undermine democracies increased in the context of Russia's hybrid war against Ukraine. It gained notoriety as a global challenge during the UK referendum on EU membership as well

as the United States presidential election campaign in 2016.

As a result, the European Union and the European Parliament are stepping up efforts to tackle online disinformation ahead of the May 2019 European elections.

The phenomenon of false, misleading news stories is at least as old as the printing press.

However, social media and their personalisation tools have accelerated the spread of rumours, hoaxes and conspiracy theories. The phenomenon gained global visibility during the 2016 US presidential election, when viral false news or 'junk news' across the political spectrum received more engagement on Facebook than real news.

Research has shown that Russian accounts posted over 45 000 Brexit messages in the last 48 hours of the campaign.

When designed to deceive users for political purposes, digital gossip falls under 'disinformation' – the dissemination of verifiably false or misleading information which non-state and state actors can use to intentionally deceive the public and cause public harm.

The Kremlin continues its disinformation campaigns in its ongoing hybrid war against Ukraine, and is applying them in its information warfare against the West.

Pro-Kremlin information campaigns boost Moscow's narrative of a morally decayed EU on the brink of collapse, and seek to exploit divisions in Western societies.

In November 2017, British Prime Minister Theresa May accused Russia of 'weaponising information', and a February 2018 report by UK communications agency 89up.org found Russian pro-Brexit social media interference worth up to €4.6 million during the campaign.

In August 2017, the US imposed fresh sanctions on Russia over its interference in the 2016 election. Following the nerve-gas attack on a former Russian spy, Sergei Skripal, and his daughter on British soil in March 2018, the US imposed new sanctions, including on 16 Russian entities and individuals linked to the Internet

Research Agency that was indicted by US Special Counsel Robert Mueller for its role in election-meddling operations.

The European Commission and the Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy (HR) responded with a June 2018 joint communication on boosting resilience against hybrid threats, emphasising strategic communications as a priority.

Whereas US tech giants had previously played down the volume of content purchased by Russian actors during the 2016 US presidential election campaign, Facebook, Google and Twitter told US lawmakers in November 2017 that pro-Kremlin actors bought and published divisive ads aimed at influencing both liberals and conservatives.

Facebook said Russia-backed posts reached up to 126 million Americans during and after the 2016 election. The March 2018 disclosure that user data from 87 million Facebook users – including that of 2.7 million EU citizens – had been improperly shared with the controversial political consultancy company Cambridge Analytica (which used the data to micro-target and mobilise voters in the US and the UK) further increased the focus on the role of online platforms, not only in spreading, but also in monetising disinformation.

In April 2018, Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg told the US Congress that tens of thousands of fake accounts were deleted to prevent election interference in 2017. He explained that Russian accounts primarily used ads to influence views on issues rather than promoting specific candidates or political messaging.

In May 2018, Zuckerberg dodged questions about data protection, fake news and election security, posed by Members of the European Parliament in Brussels. Confidential emails from Zuckerberg, published in December 2018 – suggesting that Facebook secretly gave some companies access to users' friends' data – cast further doubt about Facebook's ethics.

EU STEPS UP ANTI-DISINFORMATION EFFORTS TO PROTECT DEMOCRACY

The Facebook data breach disclosure reignited the ongoing debate on the role of online platforms in the spread of conspiracy theories, disinformation and false news.

In its June 2017 resolution on online platforms and the digital single market, the European Parliament had already called on the Commission to analyse the legal framework with regard to 'fake news', and to look into the possibility of legislative intervention to limit the dissemination of fake content. President Jean-Claude Juncker tasked Mariya Gabriel, Commissioner for the Digital Economy and Society, to look into the democratic challenges that online platforms create as regards the spread of fake information, as well as to reflect on possible action at EU level.

The Commission then launched a public consultation on fake news and online disinformation. It also set up a high-level expert group (HLEG) representing academia, online platforms, news media and civil society. The Commission's April 2018 communication on 'Tackling online disinformation: a European approach' took recommendations of the HLEG into account and proposed an EU-wide Code of Practice – signed by the online platforms – to ensure transparency by explaining how algorithms select news, as well as improving the visibility and accessibility of reliable news.

The communication also recommended support for an independent network of fact-checkers as well as actions to boost quality journalism and media literacy.

COORDINATING THE RESPONSE TO DISINFORMATION AHEAD OF THE EUROPEAN ELECTIONS

Responding to the June 2018 call by the European Council to protect the EU's democratic systems and 'combat disinformation, including in the context of the upcoming European elections', the Commission and the HR in December 2018 presented an 'action plan against disinformation' with specific proposals for a coordinated European response.

The action plan builds on existing Commission initiatives as well as the work of the East StratCom Task Force, set up in 2015 under the European External Action Service.

The action plan focuses on four main areas:

IMPROVED DETECTION. Strategic Communication Task Forces and the EU Hybrid Fusion Cell in the EEAS, as well as the EU delegations in the Neighbourhood countries will receive additional specialised staff and data analysis tools.

The EEAS's budget for strategic communication to address and raise awareness about disinformation is planned to more than double, from €1.9 million in 2018 to €5 million in 2019.

COORDINATED RESPONSE. A dedicated Rapid Alert System will be set up among the EU institutions and Member States to facilitate data sharing and to provide alerts on disinformation threats in real time.

ONLINE PLATFORMS AND INDUSTRY. The signatories of the EU-wide Code of Practice on Disinformation (signed on 26 September 2018) are urged to swiftly and effectively implement the commitments, focusing on actions that are urgent for the European elections. This includes deleting fake accounts, labelling messaging activities by 'bots' and cooperating with fact-checkers and researchers to detect disinformation and make fact-checked content more visible.

RAISING AWARENESS AND EMPOWERING CITIZENS. In addition to targeted awareness campaigns, the EU institutions and Member States will promote media literacy as well as support national teams of independent fact-checkers and researchers to detect and expose disinformation on social networks.

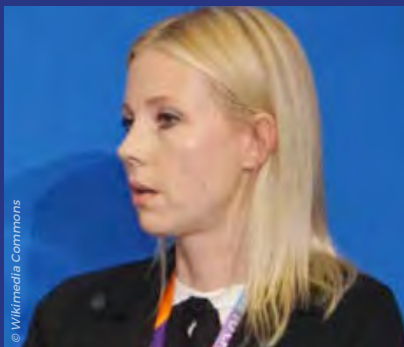
As Russia continues to present itself as being under approaching threat from the West, and is mobilizing to address that threat, its security initiatives, even if it views or presents them as defensive measures, are likely to have severe consequences for its neighbours.

Russia's growing confidence in pursuing its objectives will make it even harder for the West to protect itself against Russian assertiveness, without the implementation of measures to resist Russian information warfare, and without the availability of significant military force to act as an immediate and present deterrent in the front-line states.

In short, Russian military interventions and associated information warfare campaigns in the past two years have not been an anomaly. Instead they are examples of Russia implementing its long-standing intent to challenge the West now that it feels strong enough to do so.

For Western governments and leaders, an essential first step towards more successful management of the relationship with Moscow would perhaps be to recognize that the West's values and strategic interests and those of Russia are fundamentally incompatible.

J.L. Vignerey



Jessikka Aro



Old habits die hard...



PRO-RUSSIAN TROLLS *and their destructive effects*

Long before suspicions in the United States about Russian meddling in the 2016 presidential campaign, Jessikka Aro, an investigative journalist in Finland, was sifting through information about an unusual company in St. Petersburg, the Internet Research Agency.

In 2014, she was investigating the existence of pro-Russian troll factories when she uncovered evidence of a state-sanctioned propaganda machine pushing a pro-Kremlin line through Twitter bots - automated accounts - and bot networks.

In early 2015, she located the building that housed the firm, and by looking at job advertisements and piecing together earlier reports by Russian journalists, she identified the online troll factory.

A troll factory is an organization set up in order to publish a large number of messages or posts on the internet, that often appear to be from people who do not really exist and that are intended to cause trouble by spreading false information influencing political views.

The Internet Research Agency (IRA), also known as Glavset and known in Russian Internet slang as the Trolls from Olgino is a Russian company, based in Saint Petersburg where hundreds of Russian bloggers are paid to flood forums and social networks at home and abroad with anti-western and pro-Kremlin comments. The aims clearly are online influence operations on behalf of Russian business and political interests.

For nearly a decade now, the Kremlin has been busily waging an information war mainly through its international broadcaster RT (formerly known as Russia To-

day). Some reports have indicated that in 2015, Russia increased its spending on RT by more than 50 percent to over 260 million euros.

The other arm of the Kremlin's international media operation, the news agency Rossiya Segodnya (Russia Today), now also gets the equivalent of 78 million euros in state funding. These increases were needed to partially offset the recent slump in the rouble's value, but they also underline the increasing importance the Kremlin attaches to its international media operations.

The Russian government has repeatedly denied using botnets or online tools to interfere with Western countries.

A botnet, short for robot network, consists of a number of Internet-connected computers communicating with other similar machines to complete repetitive tasks and objectives, often with a negative or malicious intent.

However, soon after Jessikka Aro started looking into the story, she became the target of a systematic campaign of abuse which continued right up to mid-2018.

Her personal information including her address, contact details and whereabouts has appeared online - and trolls have spread fake stories about her.

A high-profile court case gained public attention in October 2018 when two pro-Russian influence agents were convicted by the Helsinki District Court in Finland.

Ilia Janitskin, the founder of anti-EU website MV-Lehti and anti-immigration website Uber Uutiset, was found guilty of 16 criminal charges related to his websites

and handed a 22 months prison sentence. He was also ordered to pay, along with two other defendants, 136,000 Euros in damages to the victims of his harassment.

Among the other defendants was Johan Bäckman, a Finnish academic known for publicly championing Russian child custody rights abroad.

He received a one year suspended sentence for harassing and defaming Jessikka Aro and also inciting others to defame her. Bäckman had taken aim at Aro for writing about Russian internet trolls trying to influence public discourse in Finland.

Bäckman was convicted of three charges for his role in Aro's harassment: persecution, aggravated defamation and aggravated instigation of defamation.

He was charged for his activities on social media and by having contacted Aro, he defamed and harassed her in a manner that amounted to persecution, according to the court.

He was found guilty of aggravated defamation because he made false statements saying that Aro was a drug addict and falsely claimed through his Russian channels she was a spy and enemy of the Russian state.

What Jessikka Aro in fact exposed in St. Petersburg was ground zero for the Russian disinformation campaign against the 2016 presidential election, according to an indictment subsequently returned in the United States.

The troll factory was funded by one of President Vladimir Putin's cronies, restaurateur Yevgeniy Viktorovich Prigozhin.

Prigozhin, his companies and associates face economic sanctions and criminal charges in the United States.



The European Court of Human Rights building in Strasbourg

THE EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Judgments that can transform national laws

The European Court of Human Rights (ECHR or ECtHR) based in Strasbourg, France hears applications alleging that a contracting state has breached one or more of the human rights provisions concerning civil and political rights set out in the Convention and its protocols.

However, an application can also be lodged by an individual, a group of individuals, or one or more of the other contracting states.

Once registered with the Court, the case is assigned to a judge rapporteur, who can make a final decision that the case is admissible.

As far as Britain is concerned, one particular case recently underlined the effectiveness of an ECHR judgment in modifying the law.

In early 2010 Liberty, an independent organization active in the defence of civil liberties won a landmark legal case before the European Court of Human Rights, which ruled that section 44 was unlawful.

In *Gillan and Quinton v UK*, the Court ruled that section 44 violates the right to respect for private life because the power is so broad it fails to provide safeguards against abuse.

Kevin Gillan and Pennie Quinton are both British nationals who live in London. During September 2003 they were stopped and searched by police on their way to a demonstration in East London. A journalist, Ms Quinton was also prohibited by police from filming.

Section 44 and the Counter-Terror Review

In July 2010 the British Government announced that it was suspending the police's power to stop and search an individual without suspicion under section 44.

The Government's Review of Counter-Terrorism and Security Powers recognised that change was needed in this area to comply with the *Gillan and Quinton* judgment, and that the broad framework of the legislative provision had led to valid concerns about misuse.

Accordingly the Review recommended that section 44 be repealed.

Fundamental rights and border checks in the European Union

Every year hundreds of millions of passengers arrive at international airports in the EU. At the border, all passengers undergo entry checks which must comply with fundamental rights. These checks are also an important opportunity to identify persons requiring protection.

However, there are strict guidelines that must be followed by border management authorities in order to comply with the relevant EU legislation regarding the safeguard of fundamental rights.

Border guards rely on various sources of intelligence, behavioural analysis, document control and past experience when selecting passengers for further checks. Particular attention is paid to those nationalities that uncommonly arrive via a certain flight, for example, a passenger from Namibia arriving via Bahrain.

If national intelligence centres have received information that a person of interest is arriving on a particular flight, officers will inspect those passengers in greater detail or issue an alert on that flight.

The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) regularly reports about the treatment of third-country national passengers during entry checks to the EU at international airports.

Since the ECHR first began handing down judgments in 1960, successive decisions have transformed the legal landscape of European nations.

Often rulings have not been immediately welcomed by the governments of the day. Sometimes they have been dismissed as inventing fresh rights.

Many, over the course of time, have come to be seen as inevitable milestones in the march of progress.

Beghal v UK

The conclusion to an old chapter, or the beginning of a new one?

The case concerns the power of police to stop and question travellers at ports and airports in Britain without the requirement for reasonable suspicion.

On 28 February 2019, the European Court of Human Rights gave its judgment in *Beghal v United Kingdom*, in which it unanimously held that there had been a violation of Sylvie Beghal's right to respect for private and family life, enshrined in Article 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights.

The applicant, Sylvie Beghal, is a French national living in Leicester, United Kingdom.

On 4 January 2011, she arrived at East Midlands Airport following a visit to her husband, Djamel Beghal, who is in prison in France for terrorism offences.

Upon arrival, she was stopped under the Schedule 7 of the UK Terrorism Act 2000, a piece of counter-terrorism legislation which gives British police and immigration officers the power to stop, search and question passengers at international points of border-crossing.

Such powers are to be exercised for the purpose of determining whether the person "appears to be concerned or to have been concerned in the commission, preparation or instigation of acts of terrorism" – and can be exercised

without any suspicion of involvement of terrorism.

If someone fails to co-operate he or she is deemed to have committed a criminal offence and could face up to three months in prison, a fine or both.

After being stopped, Sylvie Beghal was taken to an interrogation room and given the opportunity to call a lawyer. She and her luggage were searched.

She was told that she was not under arrest, but would be questioned under Section 7. She told the officers that she would only answer questions in the presence of her lawyer, but the officers started the examination before the arrival of the lawyer a few hours later.

She was also asked a number of questions about her family, her financial circumstances and her recent visit to France.

She refused to answer most of those questions and was later charged with wilfully failing to comply with a duty under Schedule 7.

Legal arguments: was the interference in accordance with the law?

The fact that there had been an interference with Ms Beghal's right to respect for private life was not contested by the UK Government. The question, therefore, was whether such an interference was "in accordance with the law".

The applicant argued that it was not in accordance in the law, because the powers under Schedule 7 were not sufficiently circumscribed and did not provide adequate safeguards against abuse.

Taking into account those insufficient safeguards, considered together with the absence of any requirement of "reasonable suspicion", the Court found that at the time the applicant had been stopped the Schedule 7 powers had not been "in accordance with the law".

It followed that there had been a violation of Article 8 of the Convention.

The Court, however, found that the applicant had neither been arrested nor charged with any criminal offence. The mere fact that she had been selected for examination could not be understood as meaning that she had been suspected of involvement in any criminal offence.

The Court therefore considered that the applicant's examination under the Schedule 7 scheme could not engage Article 6 of the Convention and rejected that part of her complaint as inadmissible.

The Court held that the finding of a violation constituted in itself sufficient just satisfaction for non-pecuniary damage sustained by the applicant.

It awarded 25,000 euros in respect of costs and expenses, to be paid to the applicant's lawyer.

In this and countless other cases, no one could argue that the impact of Strasbourg's case law has been insignificant.



INSIDE THE DOME

Chernobyl's new confinement structure

Within months of the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear disaster, Soviet crews contained the radioactive wreckage inside a temporary shelter, a 21-story-tall “sarcophagus.” There were many gaps, and most of the sarcophagus wasn’t secured to the underlying structure, leaving the enclosure vulnerable to leaking rainwater, settling, and earthquakes.

In the latter part of the 1990s, the US firm Bechtel which is one of the world’s most respected global engineering, construction, and project management companies designed what is known as the New Safe Confinement (NSC) structure, the heart of a broader, longer-term Shelter Implementation Plan. The structure will enclose the reactor and associated debris—as well as the sarcophagus surrounding it—providing a confined space within which unstable upper portions of the sarcophagus can be taken apart and the remaining highly radioactive material removed to a long-term storage repository.

The New Safe Confinement (NSC) is the largest moveable land-based structure ever built with a span of 257m, a length of 162m, a height of 108m and a total weight of 36,000 tonnes equipped.

The arches are constructed of tubular steel members and are externally clad with three-layer sandwich panels. These external panels are also used on the end walls of the structure. Internally, polycarbonate panels cover each arch to prevent the accumulation of radioactive particles on the frame members.

Large parts of the arches were shop-fabricated and transported to the assembly site 180 metres west of the remains of reactor 4.

Warm, dry air will be circulated in the gap between inner and outer roof sections to prevent condensation, which will reduce corrosion and prevent water from dripping into the interior.

It will confine the remains of the reactor 4 unit and make the accident site safe. The structure also encloses the sarcophagus or “Shelter object” that was built around the reactor immediately after the disaster.

With a lifetime of 100 years, it will allow

for the eventual dismantling of the ageing makeshift shelter from 1986 and the management of the radioactive waste.

The NSC is designed to withstand temperatures ranging from -43°C to +45°C, a class-three tornado, and an earthquake with a magnitude of 6 on the Richter scale.

Because of its vast dimensions, the structure had to be built in two halves which were lifted and successfully joined together in 2015.

The process of sliding the entire arched structure from its assembly point into position over unit 4 was completed on 29 November 2016.

The NSC which is a key part of the Shelter Implementation Plan is being funded by the international community through donations to the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD).

It is expected to cost EUR2.1 billion (\$2.5 billion) and is funded by contributions, as well as donations from more than 40 countries and organizations.

The EBRD has, to date, provided EUR715 million of its own resources to support Chernobyl projects, including the NSC.

The contract for the design and procurement of this unprecedented construction project was awarded to the Novarka consortium led by the French construction companies BOUYGUES Travaux Publics and VINCI Construction Grands Projets in 2007.

The original EUR432 million contract comprises the design and construction of the NSC and planned to employ 900 people at its peak.

The consortium worked with local sub-contractors and others from across the world.

For instance, the arch was made of structural elements designed and built in Italy. The cranes were manufactured in the US. The arch cladding contractor was from Turkey, and lifting and sliding operations were carried out by a Dutch company.

The construction involves professionals from contracting and sub-contracting organizations from 27 countries.

However, the basic work force is made up of 2,000 Ukrainian workers; more than 1,000 of them are constantly present at the site; 50 people at the site are engaged in radiation protection activities alone.



A TITANIC VENTURE

It all started with an incredible amount and scope of preparatory work.

Fifty-five cubic meters of process materials and solid radioactive waste alone were removed from the future site in order to begin construction work.

When the sarcophagus was erected, large amounts of contaminated materials of all sorts were buried underground on the spot since there was no other place and no especially no time for the evacuation and transportation of those materials.

As a result, the incredible amounts of earth excavated for the preparation of the site were considered not as debris, but as radioactive waste.

A total of 396 steel piles, 376 reinforced concrete piles, and 8,000 tons of reinforced bars were installed.

39 cubic meters of concrete alone was poured in order to prepare the temporary and permanent foundations for the arch.

A unique ventilation system will prevent the steelwork corroding and a specially-designed hermetic membrane will prevent any emission of radioactive dust.

After the NSC is commissioned, the remnants of the destroyed power unit will still present some hazard, despite the new confinement.

The Ukrainian law entitled “On the National Programme of Chernobyl NPP Decommissioning and Shelter Object Transformation into an Environmentally Safe System” provides for the Shelter transformation into an environmentally safe system by implementing a large range of measures.

It is necessary to dismantle unstable Shelter structures, develop Fuel Containing Material (FCM) retrieval process procedures, and remove and dispose of all the “raw” materials remaining in the shelter.

However, the work is being carried out under very difficult radiation conditions and the workers can stay in certain areas for no more than 30 minutes per shift.

Dismantling of “unstable” structures is the most burning issue; and this question must be resolved before the end of the established time limit of the shelter’s stability in 2023.

However, these works are beyond the scope of those financed through the Chernobyl Shelter Fund, and the source

of their financing has not yet been determined.

The NSC operation costs will become a burden on the state budget of Ukraine, because in the active phase, according to preliminary estimates, they will exceed operating costs of the Shelter object roughly by 5 times and will amount to about \$60 million per year.

The project is scheduled for completion on November, 2020.

Decommissioning a nuclear reactor takes a long time, even when the reactor is shut down safely, according to its original life plan.

In 30 or 40 years we might well live in a world where all energy is generated from renewable sources, and where we still have to invest in maintenance for old, partially decommissioned nuclear power plants.

We will one day view these silent, burdensome reactors as our last responsibility in mitigating the damage of nuclear power production — and a reminder that powering the modern world wasn’t always as easy as simply installing panels on our roofs.

HS



The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development involvement in the Decommissioning of the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant

Closing the three units of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant not damaged in the 1986 accident and still operating afterwards, was an urgent priority for the international community in the 1990s.

Once the decision to close the units had been taken, their decommissioning became an important element of the international support efforts for Ukraine.

As with most nuclear plants in the former Soviet Union, there were serious shortcomings in the technical and financial provisions for the decommissioning process and an urgent need for investment in the site's infrastructure.

Assistance initially focused on urgent safety and security upgrades of unit 3, which was the last operating reactor and shut down only in 2000. Later the main task became the safe decommissioning of all three reactor units at Chernobyl.

While some decommissioning infrastructure projects have been funded through bilateral aid, two key Chernobyl facilities are being financed by the EBRD-managed Nuclear Safety Account (NSA).

The Interim Spent Fuel Storage Facility 2 (ISF-2), currently in the final phase of commissioning, will process, dry and cut more than 21,000 fuel assemblies from the Chernobyl units 1-3, which will then be placed in double walled canisters and stored in concrete modules on site. The spent fuel will be stored safely and securely for a minimum period of 100 years. Once all fuel has been transferred to the new ISF-2 facility, the existing fuel storage facilities can be decommissioned. This will represent a major step forward in increasing nuclear safety at the site.

The Liquid Radioactive Waste Treatment Plant (LRTP) retrieves highly active liquids from their current storage tanks, processes them into a solid state and moves them into containers for long-term storage. The plant is complete and fully operational.

To date, the NSA has committed €280 million, provided by 18 donors, to decommissioning and safety projects in Chernobyl. In addition, the EBRD has provided €235 million to support the construction of the ISF-2.

NUCLEAR SAFETY ACCOUNT

The Nuclear Safety Account (NSA) finances the Interim Storage Facility 2 (ISF-2) and the Liquid Radioactive Waste Treatment Plant (LRTP).

The Nuclear Safety Account dates back to 1993 when it was set up at the initiative of the G7 to provide safety assistance to countries operating Soviet-designed nuclear power plants. In the following years, the EBRD-managed fund successfully completed urgent nuclear safety improvements in nuclear power plants in Bulgaria, Lithuania and Russia.

In 1995 the NSA extended its activities to Ukraine. Initially, it funded nuclear safety and security projects at unit 3 of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant, the last operating reactor at that time. Since 1998 the fund has been focusing on the construction of two vital infrastructure projects: the Interim Spent Fuel Facility (ISF-2) and the Liquid Radioactive Waste Treatment Plant (LRTP).

The following contributors are members of the NSA: Belgium, Canada, Denmark, European Union, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Russia, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, Ukraine and the United States. Azerbaijan has made a donation.

Overall as of mid-2018 the NSA has received some €440 million.

The EBRD provides €235 million of its own resources to support construction of the ISF-2.

One of their biggest projects in Chernobyl is the new Interim Spent Fuel Storage Facility, the largest of its kind in the world. It will process fuel from all Chernobyl's reactors, the last of which was finally closed down in 1999.



The ISF 2

CHERNOBYL, APRIL 26, 1986

A date and place that history will never forget



On April 26, 1986, a sudden surge of power during a reactor systems test destroyed Unit 4 of the nuclear power station at Chernobyl, Ukraine, in the former Soviet Union. The accident and the fire that followed released massive amounts of radioactive material into the environment.

Emergency crews responding to the accident used helicopters to pour sand and boron on the reactor debris. The sand was to stop the fire and additional releases of radioactive material; the boron was to prevent additional nuclear reactions. A few weeks after the accident, the crews completely covered the damaged unit in a temporary concrete structure, called the “sarcophagus,” to limit further release of radioactive material. The Soviet government also cut down and buried about a square mile of pine forest near the plant to reduce radioactive contamination at and near the site. Chernobyl’s three other reactors were subsequently restarted but all eventually shut down for good, with the last reactor closing in 1999. The Soviet nuclear

power authorities presented their initial accident report to an International Atomic Energy Agency meeting in Vienna, Austria, in August 1986.

After the accident, officials closed off the area within 30 kilometers (18 miles) of the plant, except for persons with official business at the plant and those people evaluating and dealing with the consequences of the accident and operating the undamaged reactors. The Soviet (and later on, Russian) government evacuated about 115,000 people from the most heavily contaminated areas in 1986, and another 220,000 people in subsequent years (Source: UNSCEAR 2008, pg. 53).

HEALTH EFFECTS FROM THE ACCIDENT

The Chernobyl accident’s severe radiation effects killed 28 of the site’s 600 workers in the first four months after the event. Another 106 workers received high enough doses to cause acute radiation sickness. Two work-

ers died within hours of the reactor explosion from non-radiological causes. Another 200,000 cleanup workers in 1986 and 1987 received doses of between 1 and 100 rem (The average annual radiation dose for a U.S. citizen is about .6 rem). Chernobyl cleanup activities eventually required about 600,000 workers, although only a small fraction of these workers were exposed to elevated levels of radiation. Government agencies continue to monitor cleanup and recovery workers’ health. (UNSCEAR 2008, pg. 47, 58, 107, and 119)

The Chernobyl accident contaminated wide areas of Belarus, the Russian Federation, and Ukraine inhabited by millions of residents. Agencies such as the World Health Organization have been concerned about radiation exposure to people evacuated from these areas. The majority of the five million residents living in contaminated areas, however, received very small radiation doses comparable to natural background levels (0.1 rem per year). (UNSCEAR 2008, pg. 124-25) Today the available evidence does not strongly connect the accident to radiation-induced increases of leukemia or solid cancer, other than thyroid cancer. Many children and adolescents in the area in 1986 drank milk contaminated with radioactive iodine, which delivered substantial doses to their thyroid glands. To date, about 6,000 thyroid cancer cases have been detected among these children. Ninety-nine percent of these children were successfully treated; 15 children and adolescents in the three countries died from thyroid cancer by 2005. The available evidence does not show any effect on the number of adverse pregnancy outcomes, delivery complications, stillbirths or overall health of children among the families living in the most contaminated areas. (UNSCEAR 2008, pg. 65)

Experts expected that some cancer deaths might eventually be attributed to Chernobyl over the lifetime of the emergency workers, evacuees and residents living in the most contaminated areas. While cancer deaths have generally been far lower than initial speculations of tens of thousands of radiation-related deaths, a recent study of a cohort of emergency workers found a statistically significant relative risk of solid cancer incidence and mortality. (Kaschcheev, 2015)

There are also psycho-social impacts on residents and evacuees from the disaster including higher rates of depression, alcoholism and anxiety over potential health effects. Residents report very negative self-assessments of health, unexplained physical symptoms, and expectations of a short life. (IAEA, 2006, and World Health Organization, 2016)

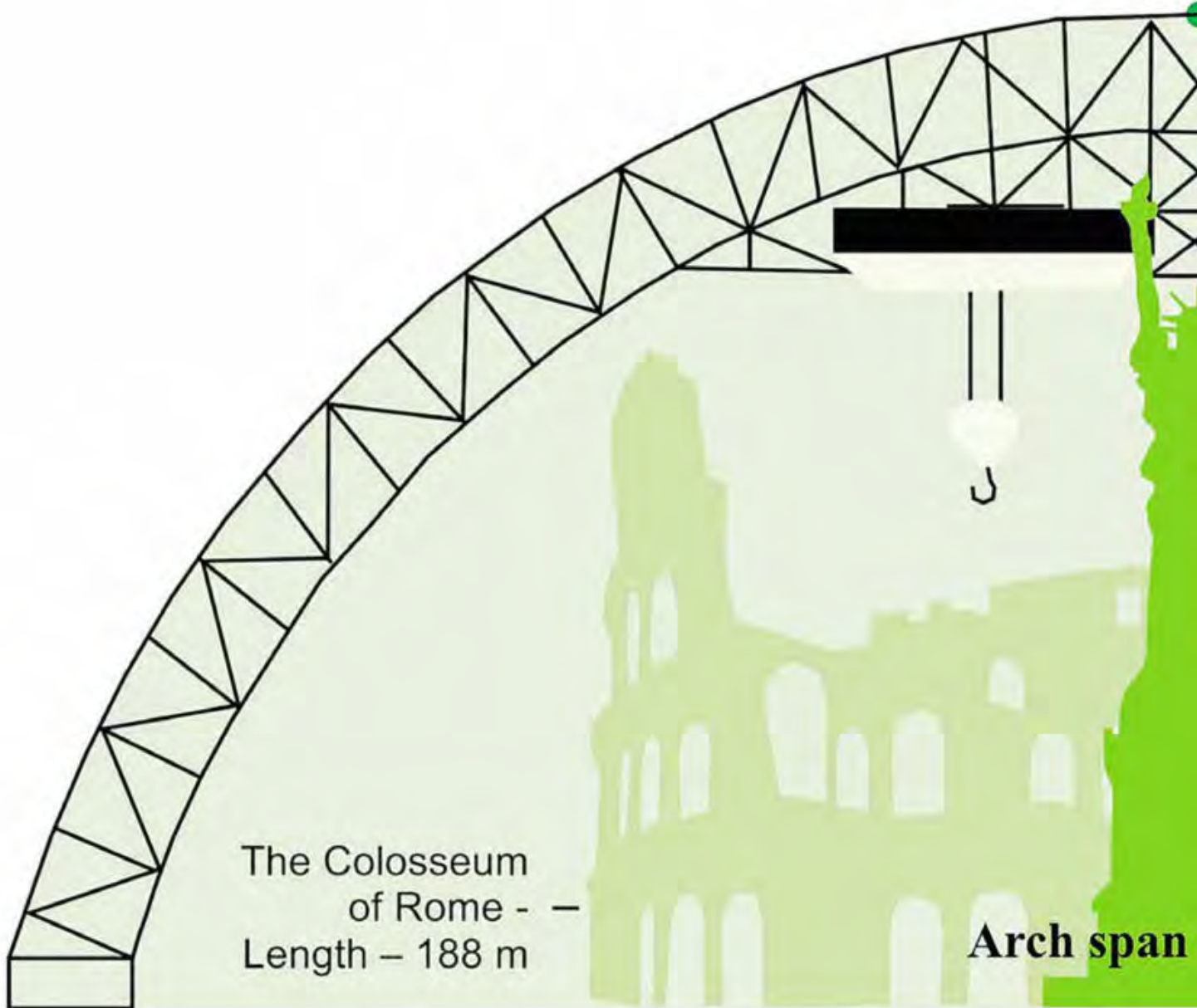


Most of these workers would die

Because of the highest construction rates and the use of remote methods for execution of some works in 1986, the sealing capacity of the Shelter leaves much to be desired: the total area of cracks in the roof and walls makes 1000 m².

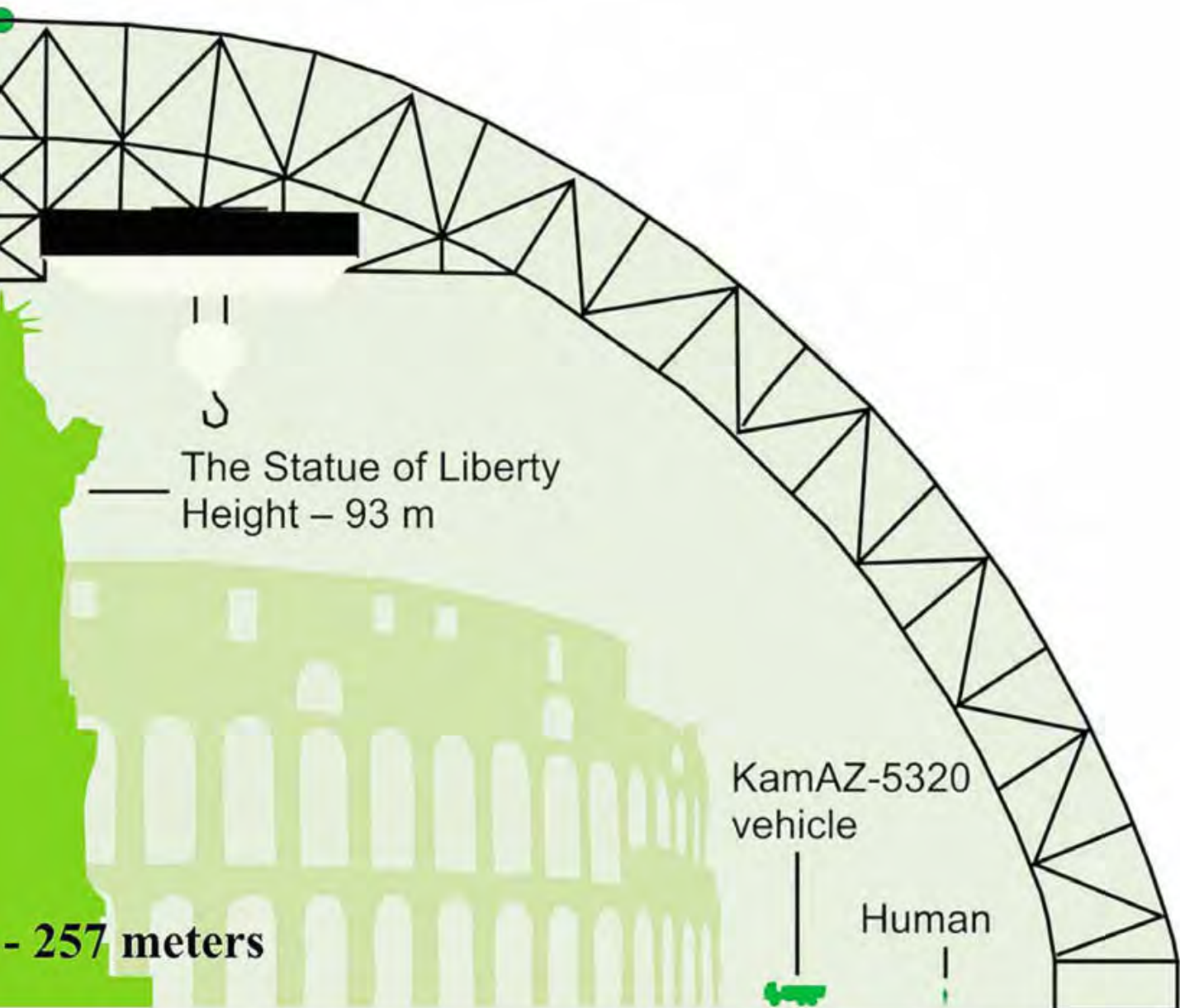
Remote methods of installing the structures, and the inability to use welding to connect them made it impossible to define the object as a stable facility.

The stabilization activities carried out in 2008 have reduced the risk of collapse of building structures, thus some level of stability of the Shelter has been achieved, but only till 2023.



Further, it will be necessary either to stabilize unstable building structures or dismantle them.

And finally, the lava-like fuel-containing materials contained within, gradually spontaneously disintegrate and transfer from a bound state into movable dust particles, therefore, there is a risk that in case of emergency collapse of the structures the radioactive dust could rise up and go with the air flow in any direction.





GERHARD SCHRÖDER

The Chancellor who came in from the cold

In 1998, Gerhard Schröder became the first politician since World War II to unseat an incumbent chancellor in Germany.

He defeated Helmut Kohl who had been chancellor for 16 years and promised to continue the social programs and to reinstate the mild cuts in worker benefits that Kohl had made earlier, but he also pledged to modernize policy so that Germany could remain a global economic force.

When Germans went to the polls in 1998, they were somewhat reluctant to make major changes. However, the Social Democratic candidate, Gerhard Schröder, convinced them that he was not an extremist. Although his party's leftist policies could offer benefits, he would not necessarily always follow the official party line.

He supported the working class, but also understood the importance of promoting business. He moulded his image af-

ter that of US president Bill Clinton and British prime minister Tony Blair, both of whom claimed office after years of control by opposition parties.

While serving as a premier in the state of Lower Saxony from 1990 to 1998, Schröder emerged on the national scene as a charismatic, telegenic personality capable of stirring popular support for his party, which was eager to unseat Kohl's Christian Democrats.

Despite a much-publicized divorce from his third wife in 1997, the charming Schröder, with his designer suits, cigars, and witty remarks, remained a favorite with the public. Many commentators professed skepticism about his leadership abilities, expressing the opinion that he was more interested in getting to the top than in effecting needed policy changes in the government.

The country's generous social spending and rigid labour laws were making it difficult to compete in a world market,

and critics wondered if Schröder would be willing to push through the unpopular, but necessary reforms that Kohl had begun.

The majority of Germans however, were willing to try a fresh face, and were anxious to see if he could follow through on his promise of balancing social programs and economic stability.

EARLY YEARS

Gerhard Fritz Kurt Schröder was born on 7 April 1944 in the village of Mosenberg, in what is now the state of North Rhine-Westphalia. His father, Fritz Schröder, a lance corporal in the Wehrmacht, was killed in Romania in October 1944, while Gerhard was still an infant. He, his sister, and their three half-siblings grew up in poverty.

In order to support her family, his mother worked as a cleaning lady in the barracks for British occupation forces in

the town of Lemgo, in northern Germany. Schröder began working in the fields as a farm hand at the age of 12 to bring in money. He quit school at 14 to take sales jobs in a china shop and then a hardware store.

He was an eager student and paid for night courses in order to finish high school. He went on to Göttingen University, where he studied law and joined the Young Socialists, a youth branch of the Social Democratic Party (SPD). Schröder became the group's leader in the district of Hannover in 1977. The following year he became the national chairman of the SPD Young Socialists.

In the meantime, he pursued post-graduate work and obtained a law degree in 1976; he was a practicing attorney from 1976 to 1980.

Schröder combined his profession and his politics, becoming noted for defending Red Army Faction terrorist Horst Mahler in a parole hearing. He also spoke for the dissident socialist organizer Rudolf Bahro who had been arrested in 1977, as did U.S. President Jimmy Carter as well as other personalities.

He also had a close working association with Willy Brandt, the former SPD chancellor.

By 1978, he had completely embraced mainstream Marxism and was busy organizing protests against the United States and the deployment of NATO missiles in Germany.

In 1980, he won a seat in the Bundestag - the National Assembly branch of the legislature - as a member of the SPD from the district of Hannover.

PREMIER OF LOWER SAXONY

After six years in the Bundestag, Schröder returned to Lower Saxony in 1986, serving until 1990 as opposition leader in the parliament and chairman of the SPD Party Group. He made an unsuccessful bid to become premier of the state government of Lower Saxony in 1986. He ran again in 1990 and this time, won the election.

As he began his rise, Schröder's views became more moderate. This undoubtedly helped his success in 1990, as did the assistance of his third wife, Hiltrud, nicknamed "Hillu." As an environmentalist, vegetarian, and animal-rights pro-



ponent, she forged important relationships with members of the Green Party. The pair became known as the German equivalent of the Clintons, a political power couple who were young, attractive, and on the move.

As the premier of Lower Saxony, Schröder formed what was dubbed a "red-green coalition," a combination of the socialist SPD party and the environmentalist Green Party. He became nationally known through his popularity with the public, rather than his leadership abilities within his party. In fact, he built a reputation as a leader unafraid to cross party lines, rather than one bound to ideology.

Though he held to socialist programs such as nationalizing some failing industries, he was viewed as being more pro free-market than most Social Democrats, thus earning him the tag of the "German Tony Blair."

Media-savvy and good-looking, many felt Schröder could be the new face of Germany.

CHALLENGING HELMUT KOHL

Schröder won re-election as premier of Lower Saxony in March of 1998 with a populist platform. "It makes sense that politicians think of people's feelings," he once announced to a cheering crowd.

By that time, he made it clear that he wanted to challenge longtime incumbent Helmut Kohl, in a bid for the chancellorship.

The SPD, long the underdog to the Christian Democratic Union, had managed to gain seats in 1994 and saw a chance to finally topple Kohl. Schröder lobbied to win his party's nomination against Oskar Lafontaine, the SPD chair. Lafontaine was more dedicated to the party's leftist politics, but Schröder was more popular among German voters.

Though some criticized his state's fast-growing debt and high unemployment, Schröder pointed out that he suppressed the rise in unemployment by saving jobs. Again, critics observed that his methods included costly government bailouts. Schröder replied to a crowd, "It's always better to invest in jobs than to invest in unemployment!"

Schröder was ahead in the opinion polls and continued to win supporters with his brief, ten-minute speeches. "People don't want to listen to hour-long oratories anymore," he commented. In fact, most of Schröder's campaign was marked by his willingness to give the people what they wanted.

Observers noted that his reticence to discuss specific issues made it impossible to determine what he really stood for. He would appeal to the working classes, but he also held the title of the "Comrade of Business" due to his willingness to forge relationships with heads of industry.

In fact, as minister-president of Lower Saxony, Schröder also served on the Volkswagen board and his tendency to promote pro-car policies led to him being nicknamed the "Auto-Kanzler" (car chancellor).



with Vladimir Putin, 2005



He promised to continue social programs and reinstate the mild cuts in worker benefits that Kohl had made, but he also pledged to modernize policy in order to remain a global economic force. Schröder also tapped into voters' reluctance to usher in an unproven leader after living with Kohl for 16 years.

Not entirely happy with the way their country was heading, especially in terms of the double-digit unemployment figures, the conservative Germans were nonetheless concerned that a change could be for the worse. As a result, the SPD developed the slogan, "We won't change everything - we'll just do things better."

In an SPD advert which ran in cinemas across Germany at the time, a team of astronauts, accompanied by rousing orchestral music, was beamed from Earth in spectacular fashion to another planet. But while the slimmer ones, including Gerhard Schröder, made it, the bulky one got left behind. The message in this political broadcast was clear: Helmut Kohl, the Christian Democrat chancellor was deemed unfit to take Germany into the future.

Schröder went on to defeat Kohl in September 1998, making him the first candidate to oust an incumbent chancellor since the end of World War II. He won by a surprisingly wide margin of about

six percentage points in an election that saw 81.5 percent voter turnout.

Although Schröder identified himself as a Protestant, he created something of a stir when he did not add the optional phrase *So wahr mir Gott helfe* formula (so help me God) when he was sworn in as chancellor for his first term in 1998.

Be that as it may, the Christian Democrats suffered their worst defeat in over 40 years, taking just 35 percent of seats in the Bundestag, while the Social Democrats reaped about 41 percent.

However, this was not enough to give the SPD a majority, so Schröder was expected to form another "red-green" coalition with the Green Party, who earned 6.7 percent of the seats. This put him under some scrutiny, as the Green Party consisted of both pragmatic and extremist wings. It was feared that their radical elements could strain the partnership.

Schröder faced a number of challenges upon taking office, including participating in the unification of Europe with a common monetary system, balancing social justice and fiscal concerns, establishing ties with France, and promoting economic development in Russia.

He also faced the task of establishing a policy on immigration - the SPD has generally taken a liberal stance in accepting non-Germans - as well as tackling the high unemployment rate, especially in the former East Germany.

"AUDI CHANCELLOR"

In 1996, his marriage dissolved after Schröder became involved with Doris Köpf, a journalist who had a daughter out of wedlock while she was living in New York. The German media, normally rather stoic on such matters, turned the event into a circus. Hillu Schröder subsequently wrote a scathing exposé of the relationship accusing her ex-husband of being mean, egotistical, cowardly, and opportunistic.

Schröder countered in the media, claiming that she tried to force him to become a vegetarian, a serious offense in a nation that enjoys eating meat.

He managed to emerge with his popularity intact and he married Kopf three weeks after his divorce in 1997. Schröder reportedly once said "I'm a constant guy...I may swap wives every 12 years, but I'm faithful in between !"

In response, Köpf is alleged to have quipped “In that case, my successor will have to be able to push a wheelchair !”

And Gerhard Schröder, who was once a figure of fun in the political world for his colourful personal life, did effectively separate from wife number four in 2015. He split from his wife of 18 years, Doris Köpf, and moved out of the family home into a separate apartment in Hanover.

Schröder earned the nickname the ‘Audi Chancellor’ during his political career, a reference to the German carmaker’s four-ring symbol.

However, his other nickname ‘The Lord of the Rings’ was reinforced even further when he married for the fifth time in October 2018.

His new wife, Kim So-yeon is a South Korean translator 26 years his junior.

Kim, 47, is a Seoul representative of the Economic Development Agency of the German state of North Rhine-Westphalia and has worked as a Korean translator for Schröder.

But it is not just his many wives that has landed him in hot water.

In 2014, Schröder was photographed hugging Russian President Vladimir Putin in St Petersburg as he celebrated his 70th birthday.

He has long had close ties to Mr Putin and devoted considerable attention to improving relations and economic ties with Russia. He is in fact a key proponent of the original Nord Stream project and he joined the board of the Russian energy giant Gazprom after losing Germany’s 2005 election as leader of the Social Democrats, who are now in a coalition with Angela Merkel’s Christian Democrats (CDU).

Controversy over Gerhard Schröder’s relationship with Russia began in 2006, when he became chairman of the shareholder committee of Gazprom’s first Nord Stream pipeline under the Baltic Sea.

Nord Stream 2, a second pipeline along the same route became a flashpoint in EU affairs. This project is a joint venture between Gazprom and half-a-dozen Western European energy firms.

Once completed, it will double Nord Stream’s existing capacity, and be able to deliver another 55 billion cubic metres (1.9 trillion cubic feet) of Russian natural gas to European countries per year.

It runs from Vyborg compressor station at Portovaya Bay in western Russia along the seabed of the Baltic Sea to Greifswald in north-east Germany.

The length of the under-sea pipeline is 1,222 kilometres and bypasses traditional transit countries, such as Ukraine and Poland.

It is condemned by many eastern European states that say it will endanger the continent’s energy security by increasing dependence on Russian gas.

In other political areas, Schröder has defended the Kremlin’s aggressive actions in the Ukraine by claiming Russia wanted to stay ‘big and strong’ and an equal to the US. In the past, he has described the Russian President as a ‘flawless democrat’.

As recently as 2017, Schröder faced a backlash after being elected chairman of the Russian state-controlled oil giant Rosneft. The appointment deepened his controversial links with Moscow.

The West had imposed sanctions on Rosneft after Russia annexed Crimea in 2014 and Schröder was accused of “cashing in” on his former role as chancellor and agreeing to work for a company that is a “major part of President Putin’s system of power”.

EX-CHANCELLOR’S LEGACY

Gerhard Schröder was the last chancellor of the

Social Democratic Party and his government engineered and implemented the sweeping social and economic reforms that have helped buttress Europe’s biggest economy against the worst of the Eurozone crises in recent years.

But Schröder’s drastic policies known as Agenda 2010, also alienated much of the SPD’s traditional grass-roots base and the party has never really managed to win back many disenchanted left-wing voters. Many feel that it’s still an issue even today, that it was unjust and that the SPD betrayed its values.

In many ways, he was caught between a rock and a hard place - and it’s difficult to take stock of his achievements.

Konrad Adenauer led Germany westward. Willy Brandt opened the doors to the east. Helmut Schmidt defended the country against domestic terrorism.



And Helmut Kohl oversaw reunification. Each leader of postwar Germany, except for short-lived chancellors Kurt-Georg Kiesinger and Ludwig Erhard, has left his mark on an era.

What about Schröder? He was Germany’s third chancellor to come from the ranks of the SPD Social Democratic Party and he ruled for seven years, not even half as long as his predecessor, Helmut Kohl, but longer than Social-Democrat demigod Willy Brandt.

Gerhard Schröder may well go down in history as Germany’s transition chancellor.

Trajan Dereville

A COSMIC BAT IN FLIGHT

ESO's Cosmic Gems Programme captures the Cosmic Bat's dusty clouds

© Credit: ESO

Hidden in one of the darkest corners of the Orion constellation, this Cosmic Bat is spreading its hazy wings through interstellar space two thousand light-years away. It is illuminated by the young stars nestled in its core — despite being shrouded by opaque clouds of dust, their bright rays still illuminate the nebula. Too dim to be discerned by the naked eye, NGC 1788 reveals its soft colours to ESO's Very Large Telescope in this image — the most detailed to date.

ESO's Very Large Telescope (VLT) has caught a glimpse of an ethereal nebula hidden away in the darkest corners of the constellation of Orion (The Hunter) — NGC 1788, nicknamed the Cosmic Bat. This bat-shaped reflection nebula doesn't emit light — instead it is illuminated by a cluster of young stars in its core, only dimly visible through the clouds of dust. Scientific instruments have come a long way since NGC 1788 was first described, and this image taken by the VLT is the most detailed portrait of this nebula ever taken.

Even though this ghostly nebula in Orion appears to be isolated from other

cosmic objects, astronomers believe that it was shaped by powerful stellar winds from the massive stars beyond it. These streams of scorching plasma are thrown from a star's upper atmosphere at incredible speeds, shaping the clouds secluding the Cosmic Bat's nascent stars.

NGC 1788 was first described by the German–British astronomer William Herschel, who included it in a catalogue that later served as the basis for one of the most significant collections of deep-sky objects, the New General Catalogue (NGC) [1]. A nice image of this small and dim nebula had already been captured by the MPG/ESO 2.2-metre telescope at ESO's La Silla Observatory, but this newly observed scene leaves it in the proverbial dust. Frozen in flight, the minute details of this Cosmic Bat's dusty wings were imaged for the twentieth anniversary of one of ESO's most versatile instruments, the FOCal Reducer and low dispersion Spectrograph 2 (FOR2S2).

FOR2S2 is an instrument mounted on Antu, one of the VLT's 8.2-metre Unit Telescopes at the Paranal Observatory, and its ability to image large areas of the sky in exceptional detail has made it a

coveted member of ESO's fleet of cutting-edge scientific instruments. Since its first light 20 years ago, FOR2S2 has become known as “the Swiss army knife of instruments”. This moniker originates from its uniquely broad set of functions [2]. FOR2S2's versatility extends beyond purely scientific uses — its ability to capture beautiful high-quality images like this makes it a particularly useful tool for public outreach.

This image was taken as part of ESO's Cosmic Gems programme, an outreach initiative that uses ESO telescopes to produce images of interesting, intriguing or visually attractive objects for the purposes of education and public outreach. The programme makes use of telescope time that cannot be used for science observations, and — with the help of FOR2S2 — produces breathtaking images of some of the most striking objects in the night sky, such as this intricate reflection nebula. In case the data collected could be useful for future scientific purposes, these observations are saved and made available to astronomers through the ESO Science Archive.

NOTES

- [1] In 1864 John Herschel published the *General Catalogue of Nebulae and Clusters*, which built on extensive catalogues and contained entries for more than five thousand intriguing deep-sky objects. Twenty-four years later, this catalogue was expanded by John Louis Emil Dreyer and published as the *New General Catalogue of Nebulae and Clusters of Stars (NGC)*, a comprehensive collection of stunning deep-sky objects.
- [2] In addition to being able to image large areas of the sky with precision, FORS2 can also measure the spectra of multiple objects in the night sky and analyse the polarisation of their light. Data from FORS2 are the basis of over 100 scientific studies published every year.

MORE INFORMATION

ESO is the foremost intergovernmental astronomy organisation in Europe and the world's most productive ground-based astronomical observatory by far. It has 16 Member States: Austria, Belgium, the Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Finland, Germany, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom, along with the host state of Chile and with Australia as a Strategic Partner. ESO carries out an ambitious programme focused on the design, construction and operation of powerful ground-based observing facilities enabling astronomers to make important scientific discoveries. ESO also plays a leading role in promoting and organising cooperation in astronomical research. ESO operates three unique world-class observing sites in Chile: La Silla, Paranal and Chajnantor. At Paranal, ESO operates the Very Large Telescope and its world-leading Very Large Telescope Interferometer as well as two survey telescopes, VISTA working in the infrared and the visible-light VLT Survey Telescope. Also at Paranal ESO will host and operate the Cherenkov Telescope Array South, the world's largest and most sensitive gamma-ray observatory. ESO is also a major partner in two facilities on Chajnantor, APEX and ALMA, the largest astronomical project in existence. And on Cerro Armazones, close to Paranal, ESO is building the 39-metre Extremely Large Telescope, the ELT, which will become "the world's biggest eye on the sky".

ESA: REVIEW BOARD GIVES JUICE THE ALL CLEAR

ESA's JUpiter ICy moons Explorer, JUICE, has been given the green light for full development after its critical design review was successfully concluded on 4 March. This major milestone marks the beginning of the qualification and production phase, taking this flagship mission one key step closer to starting its long journey to Jupiter in 2022.

The critical design review (CDR) was carried out during the period between December 2018 and March 2019, although preparations for this major review began many months earlier.

Around 100 people from ESA were involved in the CDR, including the members of the review board, chairpersons, reviewers, and project team members. The review also required a major effort and investment from all parties involved, including industrial partners.

In preparation for the review, five independent CDRs were held for main JUICE subsystems as well as 14 equipment CDRs, with over 400 documents were delivered to ESA by the start of the review.

Meanwhile, the review teams themselves were divided into dedicated panels that would each focus on specific aspects of the design: mission/system; mechanical/thermal; product assurance/quality/safety; electrical; assembly, integration, and testing; and schedule.

On 4 March, the review board declared the JUICE CDR a success, meaning no obstacle has been identified that should prevent the mission from moving to the qualification and production phase. The review confirmed that the project is under control and that the design as reviewed is expected to meet the science and mission requirements.

"JUICE is half way through its development programme and running precisely on schedule," said Giuseppe Sarri, ESA's JUICE project manager. "The excellent outcome of the critical design review, with a clear and confirmed design, gives confidence that the planned launch date will be met."

After launch, currently planned for 2022, JUICE will embark on a 7.5-year cruise toward Jupiter, entering orbit around the giant planet in 2029 to study its environment and three of its icy moons: Ganymede, Europa and Callisto.

"The critical design review was a long time in preparation, but the preparation itself proved very useful to consolidate the mission's status after a few years of rapid progress since the preliminary design review," added Robert Furnell, ESA's JUICE system engineering manager.

"The result is evidence that all the teams are working well and that the design is secure. The critical design review was held as planned, almost exactly two years after the preliminary design review, demonstrating that the project remains on course for launch in 2022."

Reviews of the mission's science capabilities were all positive. They found that the communications downlink capability from the spacecraft exceeds requirements. The power and energy available for supporting the payload operations provides sufficient margins for the flybys of Europa in particular.

Overall, the pointing performances of the spacecraft and its trajectory in the Jupiter system also meet the mission requirements. The propellant budget is adequate to perform the required mission.

Furthermore, the primary science operations, which involve a series of Europa flybys and insertion into a 500-km circular orbit around Ganymede, have been validated by industry.

"The critical design review has shown that we are on the right track with this fantastic mission," said Olivier

Witasse, ESA's JUICE project scientist. "We are well on the way to developing a spacecraft that will provide the most complete exploration of the Jupiter system, and characterise the subsurface oceans inside the planet's giant icy moons."

In the next phase, the JUICE team will start to integrate and test the flight model version of the spacecraft, starting with the structure and chemical propulsion system.

In parallel with integration of the flight model, testing will continue on the electrical and functional engineering model spacecraft mockup in Toulouse, France, which is currently outfitted with key units from the platform and instrument packages.

The next major milestone for JUICE will be the flight acceptance review,

currently scheduled for late 2021, which will declare whether the spacecraft is ready for launch.

JUICE (Jupiter ICy moons Explorer) is the first large-class mission in ESA's Cosmic Vision 2015-2025 programme. It will complete a unique tour of the Jupiter system that will include in-depth studies of three potentially ocean-bearing satellites, Ganymede, Europa and Callisto.

The Jupiter tour includes several flybys of each planet-sized world, and it ends with orbit insertion around Ganymede, the largest moon in the Solar System.

JUICE will carry the most powerful scientific payload ever flown to the outer Solar System. It consists of 10 state-of-the-art instruments plus one science experiment that uses the

spacecraft telecommunication system with ground-based radio telescopes.

JUICE's instruments will enable scientists to compare each of these icy satellites and to investigate the potential for such bodies to harbour habitable environments such as subsurface oceans. They will also carry out observations of Jupiter, its atmosphere, magnetosphere, satellites and rings.

The launch of JUICE is currently planned for 2022. After a 7.5-year cruise toward Jupiter, which includes gravitational assists from Earth, Venus and Mars, the spacecraft will enter orbit around the giant planet in 2029.



Exploring Jupiter © Credit: Spacecraft: ESA/ATG medialab; Jupiter: NASA/ESA/J. Nichols (University of Leicester); Ganymede: NASA/JPL; Io: NASA/JPL/University of Arizona; Callisto and Europa: NASA/JPL/DLR



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SHOULD AULD ACQUAINTANCE BE FORGOT

Scotland, England and Brexit

In October 1297 the great Scottish hero Sir William Wallace, together with Andrew Moray, wrote to the leaders of the Hanseatic League in Lübeck, assuring them of safe access to Scottish ports and harbours for their merchants. They also said they'd like this concession to be reciprocated. Sir William and Moray had just defeated the English at the Battle of Stirling Bridge, gaining Scotland's freedom from England, albeit fairly briefly on that occasion. When the letter was written, Moray was already dying, mortally wounded in the battle which would, centuries later, be celebrated in the movie "Braveheart", with Mel Gibson playing Wallace, complete with kilt, woad-painted face and a very suspect Scottish accent. The letter, though, established Scotland's wish to be part of European trade, rather than tied to its southern neighbour, even if it stopped somewhat short of applying to join the League itself. That European outlook still exists: the Scottish people voted by a considerable margin to remain in the European Union during the referendum in 2016 but their decision is being ignored in Westminster.

In fact, at the time of Wallace's approach to Lübeck, Scotland already had a treaty with France, still known today as the

Auld Alliance (Old Alliance), signed in 1295 between the kings of both countries, John Balliol and Philip the Fair, and aimed at providing mutual protection against an aggressively expansionist England. The irony is that Balliol was chosen to be king of Scotland by England's ambitious Edward 1 after the death of the true heir, Margaret, the so-called "Maid of Norway", in childhood. Edward thought Balliol would be pliant and obedient but within three years of taking the crown he was seeking friendship with England's oldest enemy in order to keep away the man who had chosen him. The treaty, often renewed, lasted until 1560. It says a lot about relations between these neighbouring states of the United Kingdom. What England could not take with steel and gunpowder it largely achieved through bribery and coercion. As Scotland's most famous poet, Robert Burns put it:

"We're bought and sold for English gold - Such a parcel of rogues in a nation!"

The English have never been happy in a binding relationship of which they are not in sole charge.

"I think that in Scotland in general, people are more comfortable with having multiple identities and I think being

European is not seen as problematic and to the extent – especially on the pro-independence side in Scotland, that people think there's an external presence telling them what to do, that's London and Westminster," says Doctor Kirsty Hughes of the Scottish Centre for European Relations. She believes English people can feel uneasy about the influence of Brussels, while it has less resonance in Scotland than, for instance, the undoubted day-by-day influence of Westminster.

"Brexit is very much about English nationalism," she argues. "There are a lot of very serious divisions in English society and it's not that there are none in Scotland, but Scotland in a way is a country more at ease with itself and England I think is going to take very many years, whatever happens with Brexit, to work out what being English means."

Doctor Hughes, who has spent thirty years writing and researching European Union issues, was one of the speakers at a conference in London in March 2019 about the future of Europe and the Scottish dimension, organised jointly by The Federal Trust, a pro-European think tank, and Doctor Hughes' Scottish Centre on European Relations. Those attending heard how EU errors had con-

tributed to the bad impression it seems to have made, especially in England, with (among other things) its failure to flag up the advantages of immigration and its embarrassingly cowardly silence over the trials of Catalan separatists in Spain. However, the Scots were aware of the €7-billion awarded to Scotland from the European Union's Social Fund to help boost equality; English citizens rarely seem to know if some new facility has been funded under an EU scheme. Things are even odder in Wales, which currently receives around £680-million (€790-million) from EU funds every year – most it going to West Wales and the Valleys, where average income is below 75% of the EU average and seen as among Europe's poorest. The recipients voted overwhelmingly to leave the EU. But the view of most speakers at the London conference was that the main difference between Scotland and England was – and still is – leadership. Scotland has firm leadership that mainly explains to the people what is happening while the English rely upon and believe very suspect media. Most English newspapers are right-wing, anti-European and not always truthful. Many of the Euro-sceptic stories come under the heading “fake news”, although one conference speaker, Alistair Burnett, former editor of BBC Radio 4's *The World Tonight*, prefers to describe them simply as “lies”. Political leadership in England has been notable mainly for its absence, while the Conservatives have largely cast themselves as “the Brexit party”. In fact, within Westminster a lot of influence is held by a group of members of parliament opposed to British membership of the European Union. They call themselves the European Research Group (ERG). Does this mean that the Conservative Party has been infiltrated by far-right Eurosceptics? Probably not.

“I think you have to be careful about looking at it in that way,” says Brendan Donnelly of The Federal Trust. “The ERG represents most of the Conservative Party, it's not that it has taken over the Conservative Party. The Conservative Party in its membership, in its constituency associations, has been radicalised enormously over the past ten to fifteen years. It's really only in the parliamentary party that there's any significant push-back.”

It is perhaps worth bearing in mind that according to the party's own think tank, the Bow Group, the average age of Conservative Party members is 72. Most

think that is an exaggeration; the true figure is probably closer to 57, much as it is in other political parties. But it's a finding that does tend to underline the fact that many members are very conservative, with a small “c”, as well as Conservative with the Party's capital letter. There are only some 124,000 of them, too; a smaller number of members in Britain overall than the Scottish National Party can boast. They are currently in government, however, and that somewhat jaundiced view of the European Union prevails among most – but not all – Conservative members.

“I think there are too many people making decisions based on incomplete knowledge and what are really gut feelings rather than intellectual considerations of the issues at hand,” says Neil Carmichael, the former Conservative Member of Parliament for Stroud in Gloucestershire and now President of a group campaigning for a second referendum, Conservatives for a People's Vote (C4PV). “The issue is fundamentally about our national interests, it's what we've got to pursue and the Conservative Party seems to have deviated from that.”

While this has been worrying for those in England who would prefer to remain in or at least close to the European Union, north of the border it has been a nightmare. They're shouting loudly but London isn't listening.

“Back in 2017, a majority of members of the Scottish Parliament – not just Nationalists but also the Greens – voted that Scotland should be allowed to hold another independence referendum before Scotland got taken out of the European Union against its will,” explains Joanna Cherry, a Scottish National Party (SNP) member of the Westminster Parliament. “Now so far the British government have refused the legitimate means to do that, but there's a big problem with democracy here in that the representatives of the Scottish people, who in a democratic vote have said they want another independence referendum and the British government is denying them the legitimate means, so in the weeks and months to come, Scotland is going to have to find a way round that, because by far the majority of Scots want to remain members of the European Union.”

The problem is that most English politicians do not recognise Scotland as anything other than a part of the United Kingdom. It was in 1603 that the Crowns



of Scotland and England merged, following the death of the childless Elizabeth I of England and the succession of James, the son of Mary Queen of Scots, a royal cousin executed on the orders of Elizabeth. He was already King of Scotland and he had children who would succeed him, so looked like a good choice. A century later, after a series of bad harvests in Scotland and ruinous financial losses due to an ill-fated colonisation scheme, England offered to help out, but the price was the union of the parliaments, which was very much against the wishes of most Scots. The vote was taken in a fairly poorly-attended Scottish Parliament in 1707, those supporting the idea having been won over by offers of financial assistance. It is the issue referred to in Robert Burns' poem, quoted earlier. The “Parcel of Rogues” refers not especially to the English but rather more to the Scottish aristocrats and landowners who sold out to them. And the Treaty of Union, passed in 1706 in England and the following year in Scotland, is very much still in force, meaning Scotland is being compelled to comply with a Brexit that won most support in England and relatively little north of the border.

“At the moment, Scotland is certainly part of the United Kingdom,” says Brendan Donnelly, “and if the United Kingdom leaves the European Union, then Scotland will have to go with it. I think that's one of the many aspects of Brexit that is going to cause some strain in the United Kingdom.”

The continuing row places the people of Scotland in an invidious position. They certainly don't want to leave the European Union but neither do they want to break up the United Kingdom. It's been some 1,600 years, after all, since a hard border existed between Scotland and England, despite battles, wars and minor skirmishes, and nobody on either side of it wants it to be policed and guarded, fitted with



Nikola Hendrickx

customs posts and passport checks. It is a bigger issue on the island of Ireland, of course, where the EU-funded Peace Process is still seen by most people as a vital tool to keep the gunmen and bombers at bay. There, a border of 499 kilometres has a great many crossing places, each of which would require controls and presumably customs booths and passport checks if one side of it were to be inside the European Union and the other outside. It would not be easy to police for historical political reasons, running as it does primarily through what would be seen as Irish nationalist territory where English or Northern Irish guards are unlikely to be popular and it could prove to be an irresistible target for terrorists bent on disruption. Circumstances are different along the border between England and Scotland but the same caveat applies: if Scotland managed to stay in the EU when England left, then a border would be essential. And nobody wants one. However, as both Scotland and Northern Ireland voted to remain, the many inconveniences arising from an unwanted departure is leading some to consider that breaking up the United Kingdom could be an interesting alternative option.

“I think the choice becomes very stark,” says Doctor Kirsty Hughes. “If Brexit goes ahead, Scotland chooses to stay with the UK or chooses to go independent in the EU and if it were to choose independence you do hit some serious border problems, although how serious those are comes back to the question we don’t have an answer to yet, the UK’s future relationship with the EU.”

Nobody wants to harm Scotland’s world-famous whisky industry, either. Scotch whisky accounts for 20% of all the United Kingdom’s food and drink exports, with the largest regional desti-

nation being the EU, which takes 39% by volume, 31% by value, mainly entering through the Port of Rotterdam, a fact that tends to exaggerate the value of the Dutch market. It also provides some 40,000 jobs, many of them in remote and hard-to-reach rural areas of Scotland where work is not easy to find. Overall exports of whisky were worth almost €5.5-billion in 2018. A messy exit from the European Union would be disastrous. And to quote Robert Burns’ memorable use of old Scottish dialect again: “Freedom and Whisky gang together!” (Freedom and Whisky go together)

“A no-deal Brexit would cause the Scotch whisky industry considerable difficulties,” says Karen Betts, Chief Executive of the Scotch Whisky Association, “and could force cost and complexity into production, distribution and exporting.”

And it’s not just whisky; Scottish politicians like Ian Hudghton, an SNP member of the European Parliament, at least until the European Parliament’s mandate ends before the 2019 elections, have little faith in London’s ability or even its willingness to concern itself with Scotland’s businesses.

“Scotland sells significant quantities of high-value products, such as Scotch Whisky and quality seafood, within the EU single market,” he says. “There is justified fear among businesses active in such industries that we may face some interruptions to the smooth flow of shipments, especially if we leave with no deal. The UK Government will be responsible for negotiating our future relationship, and we have no reason to be confident in their negotiating skills, or their commitment to protecting Scotland’s interests.”

Even so, the rest of the UK remains Scotland’s largest market, taking 60% of its

exports in 2017 to a total value of well over €57-billion. A further 22%, valued at more than €20-billion went to the rest of the world. The European Union took just 18% - slightly under €17.5-billion - which is a sizeable proportion but not Scotland’s most important. And whisky isn’t the top export, either. That honour goes to oil and gas (almost €12-billion), followed by machinery and transport at almost €8.5-billion.

“It’s true to say at the moment that England is Scotland’s main trading partner,” says Joanna Cherry, MP, of the Scottish National Party, “but that was the position for the Republic of Ireland back in the early seventies when it joined the European Union. Now the Republic of Ireland does its major trading with the European Union and in actual fact for Scotland the biggest area for growth in Scotland’s trade, its foreign trade, is the European Union. Scotland needs to commit to the future. Do we want to be part of a market of five-hundred million people - the European Union - or part of a market of sixty-five million people, the UK, and I think that’s a bit of a no-brainer.”

The unfavourable market comparison has also been made by Scotland’s First Minister, Nicola Sturgeon. Taking Scotland out of the European Union is bad enough but the UK government looks set to go further. “It will take us out of the customs union and the benefits of EU trade deals with more than forty countries across the globe,” said Ms. Sturgeon. “In short, it will make us poorer.” Quite a lot poorer, it’s claimed: analysis by the Scottish government published in November 2018 estimates that it will cost every person in Scotland £1,600 (€1855.08) by 2030, compared with staying in the EU.

Scotland’s fisheries have lost a lot of their economic importance but little of their significance to the Scottish psyche. It’s a fishing country. Many, perhaps the vast majority of Scotland’s fishermen voted to leave the EU. A former Scottish MEP, the late Doctor Allan Macartney, used to say it was partly down to religion. A lot of Scottish fishermen are members of a radical Calvinist branch of the Presbyterian Protestant church, known somewhat pejoratively as the Wee Frees, and they view the European Union as a Roman Catholic plot. But few would ever argue that the Common Fisheries Policy (CFP) was without fault. Even its supporters tend to cross their fingers



behind their backs whilst defending it, although it has prevented extinction of fish stocks and preserved the (admittedly somewhat reduced) livelihoods of the boat skippers, crews and fishing communities.

“The CFP is unpopular for good reasons,” says Ian Hudghton, “It has been far too centralised and inflexible in its application, although the most recent review made a start in building a foundation for devolving some decisions on regulation. UK Governments were fully involved in constructing the CFP over the decades. Many fishers expect to be able to catch more fish outside of the CFP. Given that the UK Government has chosen to retain management powers in London after Brexit, I am not confident that Scotland’s fishing communities will suddenly become a political priority at Westminster. The UK’s record in representing us in the EU has been very poor.”

Meanwhile, there is dispute over the so-called Block Grant, money contributed to Scotland’s budget from the United Kingdom Treasury. According to Scottish sources, including Derek Mackay, the Scottish government’s Finance Secretary, it has been cut for this coming year by almost £2-billion (roughly €2.75-billion) compared with 2011, a claim disputed by Scottish Conservatives who say it has gone up. “Derek Mackay can’t play any more tricks,” Conservative Shadow Finance Secretary Murdo Fraser told the Scottish Parliament, “The numbers are there in black and white, and now he has to act. He should apologise for claiming he has less money when it can be clearly shown that’s not the case, and admit this has been a great budget for Scotland.”

It is very hard to be definitive on the issue. UK Chancellor of the Exchequer Philip Hammond announced in his 2018 Autumn Budget that Scotland would be getting £2-billion extra, as Mr. Fraser claims, but it comes with strings attached that limit where and how it can be spent and, in any case, it has to be repaid eventually to the British Treasury. It would perhaps, be more accurate to describe it as a very cheap form of borrowing. Trying to read the actual figures is tricky because parts of the Block Grant Adjustment (BGA) mentioned by Mr Hammond involve fiscal measures that have not yet been devolved, requiring recalculation of virtually all the figures.



But whether it has gone up or down, the Scottish government has tax raising powers to compensate. In fact, it has set its tax rates higher than in England, with higher rate taxes starting with annual earnings of £43,430 (just under €51,000) compared with starting at £50,000 (€58,573) in England, although lower-rate tax payers are better off. The Block Grant calculations, under what’s known as the Barnett Formula, are so arcane and complicated that the issue leaves plenty of room for heated debate. Devised in the 1970s by the then Labour Chief Secretary to the Treasury, Joel Barnett, to allocate central funds to the UK’s devolved governments on the basis of population numbers, it actually seems to favour people in Scotland and especially Northern Ireland unfairly compared with the English and Welsh. Lord Barnett himself, now in his nineties, has long called for it to be scrapped. Many in Scotland reckon they could be better off without it, if anyone other than a qualified accountant could understand it.

“One of the main benefits of independence for Scotland,” argues Ian Hudghton, “would be the ability to manage all of our own income, not just expenditure. The UK Government’s austerity policy continues to cause a painful squeeze on the block grant, and the Scottish Government works very hard to mitigate the worst effects of Tory austerity policy.”

Scotland has always made its mark in Europe. Under the Auld Alliance, Scottish soldiers fought alongside Joan of Arc during the so-called Hundred Years War in the early 15th century and it was Scottish military music that greeted her triumphant entry into Orléans after she led French troops to raise the English siege. She was just 17 years old and from peasant stock. The Scots loved her. Any-

one who could put a dent in English over-confidence was a friend. Earlier, in a battle on Easter Sunday 1421, the brother of Henry V, the victor of Agincourt, was killed and his army routed by a Scottish force fighting for France. Pope Martin V, on hearing the news, commented that “the Scots are well-known as an antidote to the English”. If Mrs May’s Conservatives are still seeking revenge for that defeat and others they’ve left it a very long time. Another Burns poem begins with the stirring lines, recalling ancient battles:

“Scots, wha hae wi’ Wallace bled,
Scots, wham Bruce has often led,
Welcome to your gory bed,
Or to victory!”

(Scots who have with Wallace bled; Scots whom Bruce has often led, welcome to your gory bed or to victory)

After all, Scotland has long seen itself as a European nation. Scottish traders were active in Europe from at least the early 13th century and had even created a settlement at Bruges in what is now Belgium. It was called “Scottendyk”. Scottish surnames are not uncommon in Flanders even today, nor names of Flemish origin in Scotland. If the Scots decide to defy the government in Westminster in some way it may once more be Robert Burns whose words will resonate as they scream defiance at the old foe:

“Lay the proud usurpers low!
Tyrants fall in every foe!
Liberty’s in every blow!
Let us do or die!”

Though for most in Scotland that may be taking things a bit too far.

Jim Gibbons

TIMELESS CHIC

Standout Fashion and Beauty trends

By Clara Bauman

Belt bags are back...and they're cool!

Unless you've just returned from a long hiking trip to Jupiter, you have no excuse to be unaware that the Belt Bag or «Bum Bag » has made a comeback in the very exclusive circle of « It bags 2019 ».

Say goodbye to those synthetic fabrics and loud colours that made us look like tourists up until the year 2000. Today, the belt bag or « banana bag » as it's known in French comes in the most noble of leathers and can be worn around the waist for a retro feel or over the shoulder for a more contemporary look.

Our absolute favourites are these three models by the Belgian brand Lilù. Quality leather and studded trimmings give that "Glam Rock" look and there's a choice of three tremendously trendy colours (a very contemporary yellow, a glitzy gold and a classic, timeless black).

"Fanny Collection" by Lilù

lilu.be



Diamonds are – definitely - a girl's best friend

All you fans of Dinh Van out there...rejoice! His iconic jewellery line « Le Cube Diamant » is enhanced by a miniature version where one solitaire manages to combine the subtlety and preciousness of the diamond. Yellow, rose or white gold? The most difficult part is choosing which colour...or possibly not! The trend of « stacking jewellery » will see to that!

"Le Cube Diamant"

Collection by Dinh Van

dinhvan.com

Dress Code Coral

Just because Pantone has declared it the colour for 2019, « Living Coral » is being used and abused in all its different shades - from soft pastel tones to intense orange – and various forms, in accessories, make-up and even the bottles containing our favourite perfumes.

But there is certainly pleasure in admiring this warm and vibrant colour that is so flattering on translucent or matt skin.

Couture Blush « Orange Perfecto» by Yves Saint Laurent

yslbeauty.fr

Un Jardin sur la Lagune by Hermès

hermes.com

Marc Jacobs watch

Miumiu sunglasses





EUROPEAN BORDER AND COAST GUARD

Stronger EU borders with a new standing corps of 10,000 border guards

The European Parliament adopted the Commission's proposal to reinforce the European Border and Coast Guard Agency with a standing corps of 10,000 border guards by 2027. The Agency will also have a stronger mandate on returns and will cooperate more closely with non-EU countries, including those beyond the EU's immediate neighbourhood. This reinforcement will give the Agency the right level of ambition to respond to the common challenges facing Europe in managing migration and its external borders.

Welcoming today's positive vote, First Vice-President Frans Timmermans and Commissioner for Home Affairs, Migration and Citizenship Dimitris Avramopoulos said:

"The reinforced European Border and Coast Guard with a new 10,000 strong standing corps of border guards will give Member States the support where and when they need it to better manage their external borders. The standing corps will be operational and ready to be deployed to assist Member States as of 2021 and will gradually reach its full capacity of 10,000 border guards by 2027. This is a major step forward in the EU's collective ability to protect its borders and we can be proud of what we have achieved.

Thanks to the commitment of the European Parliament and the Council, this upgrade was agreed in record time, showing that together, we can rise to the challenges facing our Union. The

reinforced European Border and Coast Guard will bring about a Europe that protects: a Europe that is better at managing our common external borders, fighting irregular migration, carrying out returns and cooperating with partner countries, beyond the EU's immediate neighbourhood. Stronger borders will also contribute to preserving the Schengen area of free movement.

After today's positive vote and adoption in the European Parliament, our main task is now to ensure the quick implementation of the Agency's reinforced mandate and the swift roll out of the standing corps. The preparatory steps will start in the coming weeks and the Commission will lend its full support in this process."



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RFA Mounts Bay, equipped with a Wildcat helicopter, is currently supporting the NATO mission in the Aegean to help national coast guards and EU FRONTEX vessels to counter the flow of illegal migrants from Turkey to Greece.

Next steps

The Council now has to adopt the Regulation. The enhanced mandate of the European Border and Coast Guard will enter into force 20 days after publication of the text in the Official Journal of the European Union. The new European Border and Coast Guard standing corps will be available for deployment from 2021, once it becomes fully operational and will reach its full capacity of 10,000 border guards by 2027.

Background

The European Border and Coast Guard was established in 2016, building on the existing structures of Frontex, to meet the new challenges and political realities faced by the EU, both as regards migration and internal security. The reliance on voluntary Member States' contributions of staff and equipment has however resulted in persistent gaps affecting the efficiency of the support the European Border and Coast Guard could offer to Member States.

In his 2018 State of the Union Address President Juncker announced that the Commission will reinforce the Europe-

an Border and Coast Guard even further. The objective of this upgrade was to equip the Agency with a standing corps of 10,000 border guards and to provide the agency with its own equipment to allow it to respond to challenges as they arise. The European Parliament and the Council reached a political agreement on the Commission's proposal on 28 March, which was then confirmed by the Council and the European Parliament's LIBE Committee on 1 April.

Frontex offers funding for development and delivery of training activities

Frontex has published a call for proposals for "Development and delivery of training activities for border and coast guards"

The objective of the call is to support Member States in their efforts to improve the knowledge, skills and competences of the border and coast guards. The proposed training activities should facilitate harmonisation of border and coast guard education and training and foster cooperation between Member

States and / or non-EU countries, and thus contribute to building interoperability.

Groups of entities can jointly develop training courses and/or mobility and exchange programmes in accordance with European standards, which include common core curricula developed by Frontex and the Sectoral Qualifications Framework for Border Guarding. The proposed projects should respond to training needs and enhance quality and innovation in education and training of border and coast guards. Frontex will monitor the implementation of the projects.

Projects may receive up to EUR 60 000 contribution from Frontex. The deadline for submitting applications is 28 June 2019.

The relevant documentation is available at <http://frontex.europa.eu/about-frontex/grants/>

Frontex, the European Border and Coast Guard Agency, promotes, coordinates and develops European border management in line with the EU fundamental rights charter and the concept of Integrated Border Management

MONACO'S MODEL STUDENTS

By bringing the United Nations into the classroom, students at the International School of Monaco and Collège Charles III are learning a set of invaluable life skills as they grow into tomorrow's global citizens.



Student Delegate reading their resolution in committee debates at FerMUN Geneva January 2019

“You never really understand a person until you consider things from his point of view... until you climb into his skin and walk around in it,” famously quipped Atticus Finch in *To Kill a Mockingbird*. And, for a handful of high school English students studying Harper Lee’s modern classic as part of their IB curriculum at the International School of Monaco (ISM), these words rang even truer: a reminder of the lessons they had learnt during Model United Nations (more commonly known as

MUN), an extra-curricular activity held one lunchtime a week.

“Learning to think and act on behalf of countries that students may not be overly familiar with leads to a more sympathetic mindset towards alternate political viewpoints,” explains Keith Oxley, ISM’s MUN director. The private school overlooking Port Hercules runs a MUN program for both Middle and Secondary School students and is joined by Collège Charles III as the two schools to offer MUN in the principality.

Away from the confines of the school curriculum (although its lessons resonate throughout it), MUN introduces diplomacy and international relations into the classroom by imitating the United Nations framework. Usually (though not exclusively) an elective activity, students have weekly classes as they prepare for MUN conferences, which they attend as delegates. At these conferences, each student is placed in a committee, such as Human Rights or Environment, and assigned a country



to represent – and they must research extensively its position on selected topics and write resolutions to debate.

Conferences can be local, such as SAMUN in Sophia-Antipolis for middle school students, or further afield: for the past two years, ISM secondary school students have travelled to Geneva for FerMUN, which takes place in actual UN buildings and attracts schools from across the globe. In March, ISM hosted its own conference, with students from Collège Charles III and Collège l'Éganaude in Biot participating.

Topics debated vary at each conference, yet are united in their global relevance. At April's SAMUN, issues included "Protecting the Human Rights of Unaccompanied Migrant Children and Adolescents," "Promoting the Responsible Disposal of Electronic and Hazardous Waste," and "The Situation in Somalia."

In a year that marks the 70th anniversary of the first MUN conference in St. Lawrence University, New York State, it's obvious the concept is just as important today as it was in the post-war period. "MUN questions cultural, religious and

economic differences between students and gives everyone an equal footing when faced with the challenges of an increasingly global society," Oxley says.

For James Wellings, Head of Middle School at ISM, the skills MUN promotes is one of the reasons this activity is so invaluable. "What do we want our learners to be, moving into the future?" he asks. "We want them to be great communicators. We want them to have empathy. We want them to speak publicly. We want them to be able to construct an argument. We want them to listen and analyse. MUN has all that in abundance in a really nice, structured way that helps scaffold some of those core ideas for them," he explains.

Wellings also applauds the relevance MUN brings to the classroom. "In teaching, we often have situations which aren't the real world. Whereas, if we're talking about solving the water crisis in South Sudan, for example, that's a real-world situation they can get to grips with, and they know the adults are also talking about it, which is a great thing."

Across the principality at Collège Charles III, Caroline Dubos incorporates

"I'm not really interested in grades, rather building them into aware citizens of tomorrow," she explains.

MUN into her 4ème geography syllabus (although in In 3ème, the subject becomes elective). "It's amazing for the children to be able to tackle learning another way. Instead of having something very academic on sustainable development, they are able to see what it is like for a country to get a real project for sustainability off the ground and how difficult and challenging that can be," she says.

For Dubos, the program offers a "rare opportunity", as she phrases it, "to demonstrate to them that what we are teaching has a use somehow when they will be adults." A course where lessons in respect, tolerance and citizenship are some of the greatest outcomes, she believes the importance of MUN for today's current crop of students lies in personal development. "I'm not really interested in grades, rather building them into aware citizens of tomorrow," she explains.



Student interpreting at FerMUN Geneva January 2019

Asides from the obvious skill acquisition fostered by MUN, such as critical thinking, public speaking, teamwork and debating, there is much emphasis placed on the student-led character of the program. “We train the students to lead themselves, so it’s a platform for them to take ownership of both their academic learning and personal growth,” Oxley explains. Senior MUN students hold the positions of Secretary-General and Deputy Secretary-General and chair the various committees. In keeping with correct UN protocol, students must refer to each other as ‘delegate’ of their represented country rather than by their first name and follow parliamentary procedure. At multilingual conferences, such as FerMUN, student-interpreters provide a live translation.

Both schools acknowledge the program’s ability to help students find themselves outside of the traditional classroom environment. Simone Sebban, Head of Secondary School at ISM, travelled with the students to FerMUN in Geneva in January and says one of the most rewarding aspects was seeing shy students blossom. “We took two young girls who were new to the school. At first, both students were very hesitant but they soon opened up and, by the end of the trip, were communicating a lot more freely with the other students. I think they have found their place now.” Appreciation has also filtered back from their families. “I’ve had a lot of parents thanking me for the conference too,” Dubos says.

MUN students may find themselves arguing some of the most complex issues in the world – the type that politicians and diplomats cannot reach common ground on – but, no matter how heated the debate gets inside the conference, the goodwill spirit of MUN always shines through. “One example really stands out,” says Sebban. “A delegate from Israel was debating with his counterpart from Palestine; they were deep into an argument about the politics. When they were finished, however, they shook hands and hugged. It was a great example of unifying the world through MUN.”

Europe Diplomatic sat down with four MUN students at ISM to discuss the MUN experience and what it means to them:

"At school, we learn how to actually debate and about the procedure and how to speak officially," explains year 10 student Anais Shakidi. "We practice how to write resolutions as we need to debate them too."

The first day of a student's first conference takes some time to settle into. "One of the most challenging aspects, especially at your first conference, is trying to put yourself in the place of the country you are representing. You may have to argue points you don't believe in," explains fellow year 10 student Gemma Griffiths (the Secretary-General at ISM's recent MUN conference). "But it allows you to see both sides and really opens your mind to other possibilities."

Year 9 student Sophia Hilbert agrees. "At first I was quite nervous," she says. "All the language was quite confusing but we soon got used to it - and it all became much more clear at the actual conference. I enjoyed debating and meeting new people."

Her classmate Charlie Wurz says he was quite shy on the first day. "But then I really found my way. As it went on I started speaking a lot, always raising my hand," he says. This is the very reason Charlie chose MUN. "I wanted to improve my speaking and communicating skills for my career in karting," he explains.

All agree that MUN has opened their eyes to global issues and increased their awareness of world affairs. "We don't really talk about topics like illicit trade in small arms and light weapons at school," says Shakidi. Griffiths is impressed by the scope of the subject-matter. "A lot of the issues we debate at a conference are long term and offer some amazing solutions for the future."

- Q & A -

with Carole Lanteri, Permanent Representative of Monaco to the United Nations Office at Geneva

Europe Diplomatic: How important are initiatives such as MUN for developing our future leaders?

Carole Lanteri: I think that initiatives that can help students to dive into a job are of utmost importance, including for diplomacy. There are so many clichés attached to the diplomatic world, starting from "diplomats spend their time in lunches, receptions, etc..." to "being diplomat means being a spy". With MUN, they can see

one of the multilateral aspects of diplomacy. Students participating in MUN also develop and/or train skills that are critical in many jobs, not only diplomacy: being able to analyse a situation quickly, to collect information, to develop strategies and to find allies for reaching the goal that has been given to them, and, of course, being able to compromise if needed to reach the best possible result. That is the beauty of multilateralism."



View of the Sea at Scheveningen (1882) © Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam

RECOVERED PAINTINGS BY VINCENT VAN GOGH

back on permanent display at the Van Gogh Museum

Van Gogh's works *View of the Sea at Scheveningen* (1882) and *Congregation Leaving the Reformed Church in Nuenen* (1884-1885) have gone back on display at the Van Gogh Museum. After being stolen from the museum in 2002, the paintings were recovered in Italy in 2016. The works returned home soon after, but have spent the last two years in the conservation studio being examined and restored.

Axel Rüger, Director of the Van Gogh Museum: 'We are delighted to be able to put these significant works in our collection back on display in the museum, where they belong. The conservators have done a brilliant job and the paintings will now go back on permanent display in their full glory, for everyone to see. Having the opportunity to see this

happen before the end of my Van Gogh Museum career is a dream come true.'

Conservation treatment

After the paintings had returned to the museum, it became clear that both works required conservation treatment. *View of the Sea at Scheveningen* was damaged during the theft; a considerable piece of paint was missing from the bottom left-hand corner. This lacuna was filled using a 3D-printed mould, which was developed based on scans and research to replicate the relief of the original brushstrokes. The conservator subsequently retouched this filling.

To the museum's relief, *Congregation Leaving the Reformed Church in Nuenen* was hardly damaged, but the paint-

ing was covered with a non-original glossy varnish layer that had yellowed over time. Investigation showed that this layer could be removed. The colours are now much brighter and cooler, particularly the sky. During examination of the painting, the conservator also discovered another varnish layer (protein based, probably an egg white varnish) that was applied by Van Gogh himself. This is the first time that such a layer has been found in the artist's early work.

New frames have also been selected for both paintings; the old frames were removed by the thieves.

Back on display since Wednesday 17 April, *View of the Sea at Scheveningen* and *Congregation Leaving the Reformed Church in Nuenen* is back on permanent display at the museum. In the initial

months, the paintings will be displayed alongside information about the conservation treatment. In mid-September, the works will return to their 'old' place in the presentation of the collection, alongside Van Gogh's other early paintings.

YouTube series and Unravel Van Gogh app

The research and conservation treatment process was filmed. The episodes are available on the Van Gogh Museum YouTube channel, as are the previous episodes about the recovered paintings, under the title Van Gogh Returns.



Restorer at work © Photograph: Maartje Strijbis

Conservation treatment of View of the Sea at Scheveningen

View of the Sea at Scheveningen (1882) is one of only two seascapes that Van Gogh painted in the Netherlands, and one of his first works in oil paint. View of the Sea has suffered a great deal over the years. Van Gogh painted it on paper, which was later fixed to panel during a conservation treatment. This panel was removed during a subsequent conservation treatment, and the work was attached to a canvas.

When the work was stolen from the museum, a piece of the painted paper measuring approximately 7 x 2 cm was torn from the bottom left-hand corner. In order to fill this lacuna, the scanning technique optical coherence tomography (OCT) was used to measure the thickness of the surrounding paint and the contours of the missing corner (this work was conducted by Northwestern University, Chicago). By combining this information with a raking light photograph from before the theft, the scientists were able to determine the relief, and therefore the surface. This was subsequently shaped in a 3D-printed mould. The filling from the mould was

The Unravel Van Gogh web app contains visual material and more information about the paintings, the recent research and the conservation treatment. The web app is free to use via mobile, desktop or tablet.

Supporters

The return and conservation treatment of the works is supported by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, the BankGiro Loterij, Van Lanschot, Heineken, Kikkoman Foods Europe B.V. and Bulgari.



Congregation Leaving the Reformed Church in Nuenen (1884-1885) © Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam

Background information about the conservation treatment

then attached to the painting by the conservator – the relief of the filling perfectly matched the brushstrokes of the original paint. Finally, the filling was retouched by hand, after an old photograph of the painting (in which the bottom left-hand corner is still intact).

A non-original varnish layer was also removed and old overpaint on the painting was retouched to make it visually less disturbing. This overpaint had discoloured and due to aging, had become insoluble. The remains of a signature 'Vincent' were discovered during the conservation treatment, but it is most likely that this was applied by someone else other than Van Gogh.

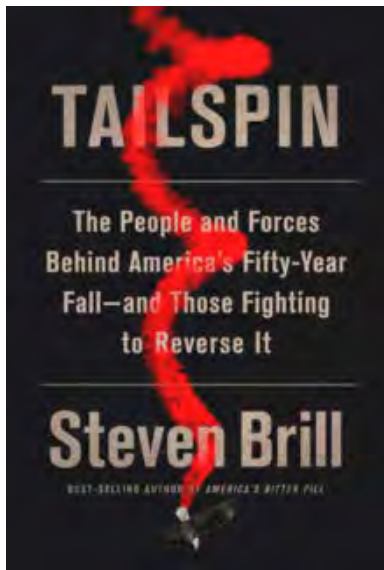
Conservation treatment of Congregation Leaving the Reformed Church in Nuenen Congregation Leaving the Reformed Church in Nuenen was hardly damaged when it was stolen. Examination did reveal that the painting had multiple varnish layers; the top two of them consisting of a synthetic resin, which were applied during a conservation treatment in 1961. Extensive research revealed that this varnish – that was glossy and yellowed with age – could be removed safely without affecting the underlying original paint layers. Now that these varnish layers have been re-

moved the original colours as intended by the artist can be appreciated once again.

During this treatment, an original varnish was also discovered. This protein-based layer, probably egg white, was applied by Van Gogh himself sometime between 1884 when he first worked on the painting, and the autumn of 1885, when he returned to it. The varnish was namely found on the surface of the paint from the first painting session, and under the overpaint added by the artist later. Van Gogh did not remove this so-called 'saturating varnish', which means it still covers almost the entire surface. When he applied the protein-based layer, the paint underneath was not yet completely dry. The paint and varnish have therefore formed a close bond. Due to this, and to the fact that Van Gogh did not remove the varnish on the painting, the conservators decided to leave this original layer intact.

Congregation Leaving the Reformed Church in Nuenen is the only early painting in the Van Gogh Museum collection with a protein-based varnish layer that was definitely applied by Van Gogh. In a few letters to his brother Theo from the period, he mentions applying a layer of egg white to paintings to 'saturate' the colours.

BOOKS



The People and Forces Behind America's Fifty-Year Fall—and Those Fighting to Reverse It

By *Steven Brill*

In this revelatory narrative covering the years 1967 to 2017, Steven Brill gives us a stunningly cogent picture of the broken system at the heart of our society. He shows us how, over the last half century, America's core values—meritocracy, innovation, due process, free speech, and even democracy itself—have somehow managed to power its decline into dysfunction. They have isolated our best and brightest, whose positions at the top have never been more secure or more remote.

The result has been an erosion of responsibility and accountability, an epidemic of shortsightedness, an increasingly hollow economic and political center, and millions of Americans gripped by apathy and hopelessness. By examining the people and forces behind the rise of big-money lobbying, legal and financial engineering, the demise of private-sector unions, and a hamstrung bureaucracy, Brill answers the question on everyone's mind: How did we end up this way? Finally, he introduces us to those working quietly and effectively to repair the damages. At once a diagnosis of our national ills, a history of their development, and a prescription for a brighter future, *Tailspin* is a work of riveting journalism—and a welcome antidote to political despair.

Secrets and Lies in a Silicon Valley Startup

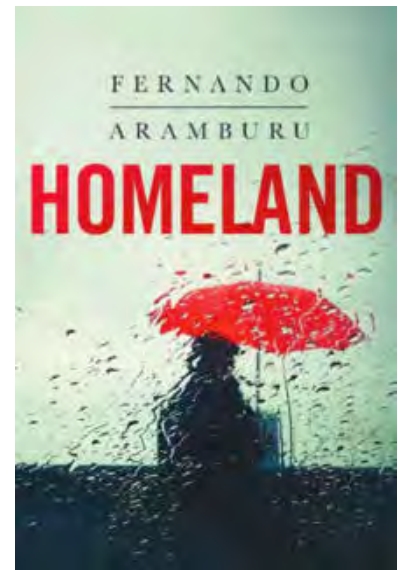
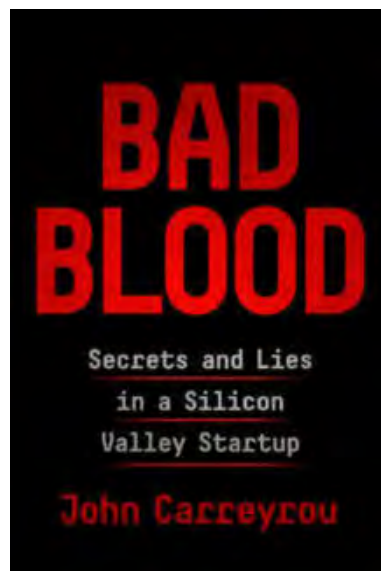
By *John Carreyrou*

The full inside story of the breathtaking rise and shocking collapse of Theranos, the one-time multibillion-dollar biotech startup founded by Elizabeth Holmes—now the subject of the HBO documentary *The Inventor*—by the prize-winning journalist who first broke the story and pursued it to the end.

“The story is even crazier than I expected, and I found myself unable to put it down once I started. This book has everything: elaborate scams, corporate intrigue, magazine cover stories, ruined family relationships, and the demise of a company once valued at nearly \$10 billion.” —Bill Gates

In 2014, Theranos founder and CEO Elizabeth Holmes was widely seen as the female Steve Jobs: a brilliant Stanford dropout whose startup “unicorn” promised to revolutionize the medical industry with a machine that would make blood testing significantly faster and easier. Backed by investors such as Larry Ellison and Tim Draper, Theranos sold shares in a fundraising round that valued the company at more than \$9 billion, putting Holmes's worth at an estimated \$4.7 billion. There was just one problem: The technology didn't work.

A riveting story of the biggest corporate fraud since Enron, a tale of ambition and hubris set amid the bold promises of Silicon Valley.



Homeland

By *Fernando Aramburu*

Miren and Bittori have been best friends all their lives, growing up in the same small town in the north of Spain. With limited interest in politics, the terrorist threat posed by ETA seems to affect them little. When Bittori's husband starts receiving threatening letters from the violent group, however – demanding money, accusing him of being a police informant – she turns to her friend for help. But Miren's loyalties are torn: her son Joxe Mari has just been recruited to the group as a terrorist and to denounce them as evil would be to condemn her own flesh and blood. Tensions rise, relationships fracture, and events race towards a violent, tragic conclusion...

Fernando Aramburu's *Homeland* is a gripping story and devastating exploration of the meaning of family, friendship, what it's like to live in the shadow of terrorism, and how countries and their people can possibly come to terms with their violent pasts.

AUTHOR INFORMATION

Fernando Aramburu was born in San Sebastián in 1959. The author of three volumes of short stories and several novels, he lives in Germany where he works as a lecturer in Spanish language.

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