

United Kingdom and France: friends and/or foes?

Presentation by Dr Hywel Ceri Jones CMG to the International Colloquium held at Universite Panthéon – ASSAS (Paris 2) on May 24/25 2019.

Origins, Development and Future of the ERASMUS programme

Thank you warmly for your invitation to participate in this special Colloquium.

The word “education” did not feature as such in the original Founding Treaty of Rome. Despite the Messina meeting in 1955 signalling that the new Europe needed close links with universities, and despite several unsuccessful attempts in the 1960s, education had been more or less taboo on the European political agenda. France, most especially, was concerned that action in education might impinge on its concept of national sovereignty. It argued that cooperation should be restricted to an inter-governmental approach, excluding the European institutions from playing a catalytic and organising role. Germany too was sensitive about the implications for its Federal system in which education was a devolved Lander responsibility.

It is difficult now to realise that in the early 1970s, 0.5% only of the EEC student population came from another Member State. Other than the foreign language teaching assistantship scheme which operated only between France, Germany and UK on a bilateral basis.¹ There was very little interchange involving other

¹ The bilateral scheme for the exchange of language assistants between the UK and France dates back to 1904, whilst Germany established its bilateral scheme with France and the UK a little later. Some spent their time in universities; others led English conversation classes as assistants in schools. These were valuable experiences in helping British students to improve their foreign language skills, exposing them to other cultures. But they touched a tiny percentage of the student population. The other European countries had virtually no incoming or outgoing students from Europe. In practice, many regions of the world remained inaccessible to British students.

European countries, and certainly not involving areas of the curriculum other than foreign language teaching.

By 2020 the ERASMUS+ programme will have involved over 9 million in all – students, apprentices, young people, volunteers and staff. It has engaged virtually all European Higher Education and, through its ERASMUS Mundus dimension connects universities across the globe. Its quality ERASMUS brand is widely recognised throughout the world. “Doing an ERASMUS” has become a tried and trusted way for students to enhance their knowledge and skills, thereby improving significantly their employability and career prospects.²

What a different picture today after 40 years of European collaboration, especially as a result of the impact of ERASMUS. Stories abound from successive ERASMUS generations³ of alumni all over the world to confirm the extent to which their ERASMUS experience provided a transformative, life enhancing dimension to them and for their careers.⁴ One happy

² Research indicates that mobile university students are twice as likely to have found a job one year after graduation compared to their non-mobile counterparts, one in three higher education trainees are offered a position in the company with which they trained abroad and one in 10 trainees go on to create their own company, 92% of European employers are looking for candidates with transversal skills when recruiting, and evidence shows that mobile students acquire these skills better having studied abroad.

³ Footnote: Generazione ERASMUS: L’Italia dalle nuove idee
A cura di Francesco Cappé
2011 Franco Angeli, Milano

The ERASMUS Phenomenon –
Symbol of a new European generation?
Peter Lang edition, Frankfurt 2013

⁴ Anne Corbett: Universities and the Europe of Knowledge
Palgrave Macmillan 2005

Commission Européenne
Histoire de la coopération Européenne dans le domaine de l’éducation et de la formation

Muriel Bourdon Communautés Européennes
L’Europe des universitaires
Collection EUROPA
Presses universitaires de Grenoble, mars 2012

unintended consequence of the programme is that there are now more than 1 million ERASMUS babies in the world!

Let me trace the early history and the difficult political journey to secure the adoption of the ERASMUS programme. The Paris European Summit held in November 1972 marked a decisive shift of political attitude by the founding six Member States towards the future development of the then European Economic Community (EEC) to emphasise “its human face”. In the words of the Paris communiqué they agreed “to pay attention to non material values as befits the genius of Europe.” The Paris Summit gave rise to the opening of European Environmental Policy, a new thrust in favour of cooperation with the third world and the launch of the first Social Action programme, and (particularly important to Wales), creation of a European Regional Development Policy and Fund. (ERDF)

This was the political context when, together with Ireland and Denmark, the UK entered the EEC in 1973, making then a total of 9 Member States, a third of what we now know after successive enlargements. They were in effect joining the much larger and more ambitious idea of Europe as a community, not simply a Common Market and its associated commercial arrangements, as some Brexiteers have repeatedly argued, re-writing history to fit their ideology.

Inspired by the retiring Commissioner Altiero Spinelli, the incoming Commission decided in 1973 to establish a Department for Education and Youth Policy for the first time. Spinelli had the vision to argue that a strong educational and cultural dimension was necessary to build an open, democratic Europe, dedicated to promote peace and reconciliation across the European continent. I was privileged to be appointed as its first Head with the challenge of preparing proposals for a European Action Programme.⁵

⁵ Hywel Ceri Jones was appointed to head the first education and youth policy department of the European Commission set up in 1973 and was responsible for developing the first educational cooperation programme at European level launched in 1976. He was promoted to director for education

The crucial challenge then was to give Member States the political assurance that engaging in education at European level would not lead to harmonisation of the educational systems, and that the European Commission would not seek to promote binding legislation on the Member States, the method of operation which typified its approach in fields such as agricultural policy and the Customs Union, requiring common European rules for their effective operation.

The charismatic presence and internationally acclaimed academic credibility of Professor Ralf Dahrendorf⁶ was an important factor in securing the initial breakthrough in the Commission's negotiations with European Ministers of Education. This led in February 1976 to the agreement to the first programme establishing close cooperation between the educational systems in the EEC. Ministers also agreed that the European Commission could act as the facilitator and broker of the 22 point action programme and that an Education Committee be set up consisting of the Member States and the European Commission to oversee the cooperation.⁷

and training in 1978 and then in the 1980s led the Commission team which initiated, negotiated and managed the different EU flagship programmes, including ERASMUS, Comett, Lingua, Petra, Force and Youth for Europe.

With the successful launch of these programmes, the Commission decided to establish a separate Task Force for human resources, education, training and youth policy with Hywel Ceri Jones as its Director, reporting directly to Commissioner Vasso Papandreou. The Task Force successfully launched the TEMPUS scheme for Central and Eastern Europe and prepared the proposals which led to anchoring education in the Treaty, thus also providing the legal basis for the financing of educational cooperation by the EU budget. The Task Force prefigured the creation of a Directorate General for Education. At that point, Hywel Ceri Jones was promoted to act as Director- General for employment, social policy and industrial relations in the Commission.

⁶ Professor Ralf Dahrendorf who was attributed the portfolio for Education, Science and Research in 1973. He left the European Commission in 1974 to take up his appointment as Director of the London School of Economics, the first foreigner to hold this important post. He was also responsible for the major breakthrough in the Council in negotiating the mutual recognition of qualifications for doctors.

⁷ This first education action programme was adopted on the basis of a mixed Resolution of the Council and Ministers meeting within the Council. This double formulation was negotiated as a special political formula to recognise that there was some (deliberately unspecified) justification provided by the Treaty of Rome (most evidently in relation to the education of migrant workers), whereas other educational actions fell exclusively under the competence of Member States – a mixture of inter-governmental and communautaire competence. It was a unique formula in the conduct of the Council of Ministers.

The original concept of the ERASMUS programme, dates back directly to this first programme, when it was agreed “to promote joint courses of study between universities and higher education institutions”. This was the first formulation of what was to develop as the core idea of the ERASMUS programme. I had proposed this formula to the Commission and to the Education Committee as a result of my previous experience when working at Sussex University⁸ The Sussex School of European Studies had broken new ground in the UK providing organised opportunities for all its students, whatever their major discipline – not only linguists – to pursue a year abroad as an integral and recognised part of their degree programme. I was convinced that such an idea could be developed on a European-wide basis. My personal experience of spending the year abroad as part of my Aberystwyth degree had a lasting impact on me as a committed Welsh European.⁹

Despite the diversity of systems for academic recognition and student financing, it took what turned into a 10-year development phase from 1976-1986 to demonstrate that the scheme could work well in practice.¹⁰ The pioneering experimentation initiated during this period with credit transfer and modular units of study (the ECTS) proved to be full of promise for larger scale development. The scheme received the

⁸ The first of the 7 new UK universities set up in the 1960s, following the recommendations contained in the Robbins report.

⁹ In 1957 I had arrived from the University of Wales College, Aberystwyth to teach as an Assistant for one year at the Lyceé Dupuy de Lomê in Lorient to find that 95% of the Breton town had been shattered by devastating bomb attacks during the war, though they had all missed their primary target of the naval arsenal.

¹⁰ Article by Karen Fogg and Hywel Ceri Jones
Educational Cooperation 1973 to 1985

Published in 1985 the European Journal on Education Volume 20 2/3 by Wiley
Speech by Hywel Ceri Jones at the North of England Conference held in Liverpool in January 1983 on
Education in the European Community

enthusiastic backing of universities and students across Europe.¹¹

Two important political impulses contributed to creating a favourable context for presentation of the ERASMUS initiative. Firstly, the People's Europe report submitted by the Adonnino Committee to the Milan Council was well received by it in June 1985.¹² Adonnino called for a "comprehensive programme of EU inter-university exchanges and studies open to a significant section of the community's student population". In approving the Adonnino report, the Milan Summit echoed the political commitment made earlier at the Hague Summit of 1969 to engage young people much more actively in building Europe and developing a mentality of cooperation.

The second crucial factor was the parallel decision of the EU Summit to set the political target of 1992 for the completion of the Internal Market. This gave added momentum to the ERASMUS and Comett initiatives, attracting wide public and private sector support for them as well as from universities. The idea of free circulation of students and researchers was increasingly linked to the central importance attached by the EU to the internal market and its four principles of free movement of services, goods, capital and persons. It was argued that future professionals in all fields should be able to act as multipliers of further European cooperation, developing a new kind of professionalism which would know best how to exploit the opportunities of the European Single Market, gained through

¹¹ In this initial period it is interesting to note that the British Polytechnics especially played an important role in demonstrating the value of joint programming of studies and the mutual recognition of the period spent abroad. A number of partnerships between French and British institutions were initiated at this time in the first generation of European joint study programmes. The three-way joint programme set up by Middlesex Polytechnic, the Ecolé de Commerce at Reims and the Fachhochschule at Reitingen in the Federal Republic was an inspiring example at that time.

¹² Histoire de la Cooopération Européenne dans le domaine de l'éducation et de la formation
Comment l'Europe se construit – Un exemple
Commission européenne 2006

This volume was edited by Luce Pepin, formerly Director of Eurydice, and provides an authoritative and official account of the history of European educational cooperation.

experience of working and studying in another country and by acquisition of at least one foreign language.

The thorny question of mutual recognition of both academic and professional qualifications became a matter of growing policy concern.¹³ This was especially important for young people and notably for teachers and trainers. The rapidly increasing number of business mergers and joint ventures of all kinds across the EU brought in their train new patterns of voluntary mobility, especially for the highly- skilled and qualified. Many firms gave a new European profile to their recruitment policies which in turn influenced the content of curricula at all levels, as the education systems sought to provide for these new needs.

Many signals followed of young people wishing to make their careers and plan their education and training in a European context. This coincided with the growing Europe-wide concern and consistent backing of the European Parliament to invest in people, their skills, their creativity and versatility as powerful forces for economic development.

During this period, the Gravier judgement in 1985 issued by the European Court of Justice had a profound influence on the legal debates on the place of education and training in the Treaty. A case had been brought by a Françoise Gravier, a French national who wished to pursue a course in cartoon design at a Belgian art school in Liège. She took the Belgian authority to court on the grounds that, as an EC national, she should have been given a place on the same terms as Belgian students and not charged the higher foreign student fee called the *minerval*. The European

¹³ Qualifications were but the tip of the iceberg. Concern grew about the barriers to movement which the educational systems were being called upon to help remove stereotyped conceptions and prejudices about other countries and other peoples. Jack Smith, General Motors international boss, summed up the problem on a global scale in an apocryphal tale he told at a Stockholm motor show.

Students at an international school were studying the automobile business. The Americans wrote a paper on the world's biggest and best cars. The English concentrated on the motor and the glory of the British Empire. The French topic was love and the automobile and the Italians never quite agreed on what their subject should be. The German devoted 12 volumes to the theory of the automobile, and the Swedes did a thesis on how to make cars for joy and fulfilment. Finally, the Japanese students came up with a strategic plan for 100% market share.

Court accepted that there should be no discrimination between EC (now EU) nationals in terms of access to training and that the word ‘training’ (case-law 294/83 Gravier (1985) ECR 593) should be deemed to cover university education.

Encouraged by the enthusiastic reactions and the rulings of the European Court of Justice, the Commission seized the opportunity to propose the full ERASMUS programme, building on its now well tested foundations. The difficult experience encountered by the Commission in its successful negotiation with the Council of the Comett programme (university-industry collaboration) led it to argue that the legal basis for ERASMUS should be justified by reference to both Article 235 (a catch-all article) and the vocational training Article 128 of the Treaty of Rome. On this combined legal basis, the Commission proposed to promote its objective “to secure a pool of manpower to provide a broader basis for intensified economic and social cooperation in the Community”.¹⁴

The negotiations which led to the adoption of both the ERASMUS and Comett programmes owed a great deal to the determination and dynamic leadership of Commissioners Peter Sutherland and Manuel Marin, both of whom were passionately attached to winning what turned into a difficult period of confrontation in negotiations of these proposals within the Council, notably with the three largest Member States which challenged the legality of the Treaty basis to approve and finance these programmes.¹⁵

With the explosion of enthusiastic support from universities and students and effective lobbying of Prime Ministers at the London European Summit, the programme was finally agreed

¹⁴ Commission Européenne
Histoire de la coopération Européenne dans le domaine de l'éducation et de la formation
Communautés Européennes

¹⁵ Article published in December 2017 by Hywel Ceri Jones
“Tribute to two Founding Fathers of the EU’s ERASMUS programme
Published by the Federal Trust.

and officially launched in 1987.¹⁶ A crucial role was played by a group of European Rectors led by Roger Dillemans following a seminar at Leuven University where the 30 rectors present agreed to directly lobby their respective prime ministers in the European capitals prior to the London summit. There is no doubt, the outstanding leadership qualities of Jacques Delors, President of the European Commission, strongly supported in particular by President Mitterand,¹⁷ played an important role in finally persuading the reluctant Mrs Thatcher, thereby securing the political breakthrough at this tense Summit, much to the delight of universities and students across Europe.

With its historic symbolism and immediate appeal, the official title ERASMUS worked perfectly as an acronym – European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students. The programme was to make a quantum leap at this point in the size of EU budget allocated to ERASMUS and in the numbers involved. This would simply not have happened without the political legal breakthrough.

We can now see that the ERASMUS programme and its European credit transfer scheme (ECTS) have contributed in a significant way to the reform process in the EU higher education scene. Since 1987 the trio of programmes – ERASMUS, Comett (University – Industry Collaboration) and Lingua placed inter-university and higher education cooperation in Europe on a much larger scale than any previous international venture.¹⁸ Following the fall of the Berlin wall, this pattern of education cooperation was given further impetus by the dramatic pace of political changes in Central and Eastern Europe after years

¹⁶ Council of the European Communities (1987)
Council Decision of 15 June 1987 adopting the European Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students (ERASMUS) (Doc 87/327/EEC)
Official Journal of the European Communities

¹⁷ President Mitterand had addressed an audience of students in Paris on Europe as the way forward, committing fully to support the ERASMUS programme.

¹⁸ Article by Hywel Ceri Jones for Prospect June 1991
Promoting Higher Education's contribution to the developing European Community – the European Community Higher Education Programmes.

under the Communist yoke. This led to the EU decision to launch from 1990-1991 the Tempus scheme, modelled on ERASMUS and Comett, tailored to respond to the reform needs to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, adapting and opening up their higher education systems through cooperation with Western institutions.

Looking back, I recognise that the initial 10-year period of development and try-out provided a necessary phase of experimentation and confidence building. The basic architecture of the ERASMUS programme has remained fundamentally the same to this day in respect of its focus on universities and higher education, although the + in its present title now indicates the greater breadth and depth of its coverage.

Whilst the organised mobility of students within Europe continues to be the idea that caught the wider popular imagination, the keys to its continuing long-term success lie in its basic architecture. It is often still described incorrectly as an exchange programme. This misses the central point of the programme's importance to strengthening the long-term mission of universities seeking to embed a strategy of internationalisation through partnerships in their teaching and study programmes. Let me highlight three features which have contributed to the sustainable impact and quality of the ERASMUS programme.

Firstly, the decision to open up ERASMUS to students of all disciplines was perhaps the most significant innovation. Present and future labour market opportunities required graduates in all fields, not only law, economics and business studies, the capacity to work across the cultures through the medium of at least two and preferably three languages. ERASMUS students have come from all disciplines, not just from modern languages: from humanities and the arts through business and law, social and natural sciences, mathematics and computing, engineering, manufacturing, agriculture and veterinary science to medicine

and nursing. The idea of a jointly awarded qualification represented a huge plus on the student's CV for his or her future career. In some cases more than 3 or 4 universities have been involved in this multi national cooperation.

Secondly, the programme was conceived from the outset to promote initiatives on a voluntary and decentralised basis, not via the national authorities. The power of initiative was placed firmly in the hands of universities themselves to seek and develop partnerships abroad. With their own degree-awarding powers in most European countries, universities were to be the initiators and drivers of the process. The institutional engagement of the university authorities was seen as the *sine qua non* for a lasting, long-term effort to embed the capacity to mount such joint degrees or joint ventures. University authorities in particular were expected to give the assurance that the period of study spent abroad would be fully recognised as a necessary and integral part of the students' final qualification, and that it would be explicitly presented as such in the final degree or certificate. This precondition is now a key component of the ERASMUS Charter which participating universities must sign when committing to participation in the programme.

The decentralised approach adopted by the Commission led many universities to set up their own ERASMUS or European offices to assist in institutionalising their partnership agreements, committing themselves institutionally more than ever before to a process of internationalisation of their teaching and study programmes. This commitment provided crucial backup to the vital decision which we also negotiated to underpin the ERASMUS programme by forging reciprocal cross-national arrangements regarding the financing of such exchanges, including the waiving of tuition fees and the provision of Commission top-up (complementary) grants to participating students towards their travel and subsistence which would complement the different national systems of student financing.

The third decision which has continued to make all the difference in the development of ERASMUS was to offer grants to academic and administrative staffs to help them to reconnoitre possible partners abroad and to plan jointly with their partners to prepare the necessary quality conditions governing the teaching and assessment of the joint courses. Over the years, this has helped build up mutual trust and professional friendships and enhanced mutual understanding of the different national systems and structures of curricula and degrees, as well as generating widespread confidence in the overall ERASMUS scheme. Thousands of grants have been awarded for both teaching and staff training assignments – so crucial to changing the European educational landscape, and later seeding the Bologna process.¹⁹

Education and training moved up the European political agenda. Fuelled by the dynamic of the ERASMUS and Comett programmes, mutual confidence grew between the different educational authorities. This certainly contributed to the successful negotiations leading to the introduction of a new chapter on education and vocational training policy in the Maastricht Treaty in 1993. This provided a clear legal basis for the future and made it possible subsequently for the EU budget to be drawn on to finance the ERASMUS programme. The wording of the two articles in the Treaty make it totally clear that the idea of harmonisation of the education and training systems is ruled out. The explicit formulation of the primary responsibility of Member States on education policy and the complementary role of the EU are perfect examples of subsidiarity written into the Treaty.

The progressive expansion and appeal of ERASMUS were given further momentum when the Commission launched its first ERASMUS Mundus programmes at Masters level.

¹⁹ ERASMUS+ 2017
European Commission 2018

Hundreds of Masters programmes have been supported as well as scholarships for thousands of students, involving over 80 countries from all over the world, including partners in India, China, Brazil, Russia and the USA. This world-wide scope of ERASMUS was further enhanced by the success of the special effort opened up by its International Credit Mobility Initiative involving non-EU partners around the world, funding short-term mobility of students, researchers and staff to and from Europe.²⁰

The ERASMUS+ and Horizon 2020 (research) programmes were adopted as centrepieces of the EU's strategy of development for 2016-2020. Since 2014, ERASMUS+ has been developed as a programmatic framework, building from its original inter-university base and drawing inspiration from the previous EU initiatives in these fields.²¹

The + sign indicates that it now also provides ERASMUS opportunities to those working and studying in the fields of initial vocational and further education, previously much less involved in international collaboration. This greater breadth of the programme fits well into the EU wide concern to raise the status and quality of vocational education and training throughout Europe as a vital component of the EU strategy to promote lifelong learning. The + in the programme signalled the opening of ERASMUS cooperation to help build schools fit for the 21st century, promoting a sense of global citizenship, and now also includes the European Solidarity core (launched in

²⁰ ERASMUS+ Annual Report 2017
European Commission 2018

²¹ Histoire de la Cooopération Européenne dans le domaine de l'éducation et la formation
See other Community programmes which progressively had an impact on the design of ERASMUS+
Communautés Européennes
Petra page 121
Lingua page 122-3
Force and Eurotecnnet pages 124-5
Tempus pages 125-128
Youth Exchanges 129-130

December 2016) incorporating the successful European Youth Voluntary Service.²²

Future of the ERASMUS programme

I found it depressing that during this latest period of my daily BREXIT nightmare, the persisting uncertainties around the UK's strategy for its post-Brexit future should coincide with the release of the European Commission's exciting proposals for the next phase of EU development, particularly for the ERASMUS and Horizon Europe programmes (the research framework programme re-titled) for the period 2021-2027. Together, they have enriched and strengthened the long-term missions and performance of universities and other higher education institutions throughout Europe.

In view of the great popularity and success of the programme and its iconic world brand, the European Commission has proposed the doubling of its budget to 30 billion Euros for the period 2021-2027. This will make it possible to support up to 12 million persons and to reach with targeted support to engage more people from disadvantaged backgrounds or with special needs.

At the same time, the European Commission has proposed the budget for Horizon Europe should be increased to 100 billion Euros, the highest absolute increase ever to the well known EU research framework programme. Horizon Europe will underpin the EU's collective effort to address global challenges with a clear focus on the UN's Sustainable Development Goals through effective joint action. Over half the total budget will be devoted to tackling global challenges, with the target of 25% of this expenditure to support climate objectives and eco-innovation to support implementation of the Paris Agreement on climate change. The Commission has proposed that the special focus of

²² ERASMUS+ Annual Report 2017
European Commission 2018

Horizon Europe in respect of sustainable development and climate change be complemented by the ERASMUS programme which fund strategic and cross-disciplinary collaboration between universities on this theme.²³

Setting this new level of ambition for Europe's global leadership in higher education development, science and innovation, both ERASMUS+ and Horizon Europe, working in synergy, will scale up international cooperation on an unprecedented scale, together they will also underpin the EU commitment in its forthcoming strategy 2021/2027 to continue to promote citizenship and its common values of freedom, tolerance and non-discrimination through education.²⁴ We can, I believe, look forward to substantial expansion of these EU engines of investment in research and education in support of what I hope will be a reformed EU anti-austerity economic strategy for the future of Europe.

Sadly, the dark shadow of Brexit has been cast on future UK participation. The turmoil and political impasse in the House of Commons and the exhausting Brexit psycho drama emphasise sharp continuing divisions across the UK and great public perplexity about the future of our economic, social, cultural and constitutional policies as well as the question of the future of the UK in Europe and the world.

Whilst the political focus of the last months in Parliament has been to find agreement on the terms of the Draft Withdrawal Agreement there has been little discussion of the scope and substance of the linked Political Declaration which sets out proposals for "a new, deep, special and comprehensive partnership between the UK and the EU". This draft text is an open ended wish list, including maintaining engagement in the

²³ Article by Hywel Ceri Jones on Education & Research: The Future at risk. Federal Trust and 'Click on Wales' websites 2018.

²⁴ http://ec.europa.eu/dgs_education_culture/repository/education/news/2015/documens/citizenship-education-declaration_en.pdf

ERASMUS and Horizon, but its contents remain uncoded and we still have no idea of how long its negotiation would take between the UK and the EU. This blindfold text has done little to allay the increasingly voiced fears of the CBI and Trade Unions and most especially of universities and students about the future.

Participation of any third country in these EU programmes requires the signature of a new association agreement, subject to very specific conditions set by the EU.

Unless as I hope we succeed in stopping Brexit, and if the UK is to continue to be involved in Horizon Europe and ERASMUS “as a partner”, it will fall into this category as a third country. The three conditions set by the Commission include:

- a fair balance regarding the contributions and benefits of participating in these programmes,
- financing of participation and the associated administrative costs;
- and exclusion from involvement in decision making about the programme.²⁵

Third country status will in no way match the advantages of the present situation as a Member State. The UK has clearly influenced the priorities of the Horizon programme, often providing a leading and coordinating partner in the funded

²⁵ The EU reserves the right to exclude third countries from parts of the programme where its economic or security interests might be threatened. Look at the row over future UK participation in the Galileo satellite project to see what this might mean.

projects, and, in respect of the current Horizon 2020, has paid in 20% less than it has received in funding.^{26 27}

The call for a “people’s vote” on Brexit intensifies. This is the moment for the university and higher and further education sector throughout the UK, particularly students and young people of all ages, to stand up once again to voice their opposition to the negative dynamics and impact of Brexit. Students and young people in the UK can make all the difference this time if they come out to vote.

The public mood remains volatile and unpredictable, and as we know, some of the British media have a long track record of distortions and prejudice against anything European. I remain optimistic that the 2016 vote can and will be reversed by a further democratic vote now based on almost three years of greater public discussions in the UK about European questions than during the whole of the previous 40 years of membership.

I am encouraged by the example of how the mood of the public and media shifted in France when *le Moniteur* the Parisian newspaper covered the journey of Napoleon when he fled from the Isle of Elba in 1815 and marched on Paris. The journey was covered in a series of headlines and I will read them to you together with the dates on which they were published

March 9: The beast has left its lair

March 11: The Corsican monster has set foot on French soil.

²⁶The Way Forward on Brexit
January 2019

Forward or Backward from Brexit for the UK?

Hywel Ceri Jones article published on the websites of the Federal Trust and Click on Wales
February 2019

²⁷ The House of Lords EU Home Affairs Sub-Committee published its report [Brexit: the Erasmus and Horizon programmes](#) on 12 February 2019.

The Government has sent its formal response to this report, is available on the Committee’s website: <https://www.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/lords-select/eu-home-affairs-subcommittee/inquiries/parliament-2017/student-exchanges-funding-universities-research/publications/>

March 19: Bonaparte wants to conquer Paris, but he will not succeed

March 20: The Emperor has already reached Fontainebleau

March 21: The liberator is pounding at the gates of the capital

March 22: His Imperial Majesty marched into Paris today

Vive L'Empereur

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The Commission broke new ground in its handling of European higher education cooperation, delegating day-to-day animation and technical assistance to a team of specialists, familiar with European higher education, capable of advising universities on opportunities for and conditions of partnership building across national frontiers. The policy oversight and direction given to the development of the ERASMUS programme the Commission was underpinned by the dedicated and highly-professional support of the external team, and proved to be a critically important factor in building the credibility and quality of this European cooperation.

With this article, I wish to pay a very special tribute to the cooperation and support of Raymond Georis and Lada Cerych, respectively Secretary-General of the European Cultural Foundation and Director of the European Institute of Education and Social Policy, which was based at the University of Paris – Dauphine. Their commitment was crucial to enabling the Commission to set up the team of experts which later became the ERASMUS Bureau with Alan Smith as its talented Director. The close cooperation with these colleagues, as well as with colleagues developing the Comett, Tempus, Lingua, Petra and Youth Exchange programmes has contributed in building the success of ERASMUS+. It has been a triumph of team work.