

# ICTU Global Solidarity Summer School

## Tackling Corporate Power in the Global Economy.

UCC, 29<sup>th</sup> Aug, 2015

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of financial Transitions for the Aid of Citizens:

<http://www.attac.ie/>

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1. List of live trade and investment agreements
2. Background – where they came from
3. The ratification process
4. TTIP's Regulatory Cooperation Council & Precautionary Principle
5. Implications for Developing World & Climate Change
6. The China Situation
7. Resistance is Fertile!

## Pro-Corporate V's Pro-Democracy:

### A New Generation of Trade Agreements

1. **TTIP** (EU + USA): Transatlantic Trade & Investment Agreement.
2. **CETA** (EU + Canada): Comprehensive Economic Trade Agreement.
3. **EUSFTA** (EU + Singapore): EU-Singapore Free Trade Agreement.
4. **TPP** (US + Pacific countries): Trans-Pacific Partnership.
5. **TISA** (EU + 24 others): Trade in Services Agreement
5. **RCEP** (10 ASEAN countries with China, South Korea, Japan, India, Australia, New Zealand): Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership

# **The Pro-Corporate Trade Vision:**

Ending post-WW2 era of citizen-led national parliamentary democracy:

- **No more improvements:** in health & safety law, chemical regulation, or workers' rights
- **Regulatory Cooperation:** Legally enforced corporate input to new laws and regulations
- **ISDS:** corporations elevated to sovereign nation status = super special private corporate-only courts to overrule democratic will of the people

**2. BACKGROUND:** Wilhelm Roepke, 1942: lamented the perceived high-jacking of the state by **“the mob of vested interests”**

Weimar era state was weak because:

- assumed functions such as welfarism
- heavily influenced by workers' movement

**Roepke's “remedy” to this weakness:**

- the decisive transfer of powers to the judiciary,
- judges were understood as branch of government less susceptible to pressures of class-struggle and democratic movements

=>Inter-war “protectionism”

=>legacy of Keynesian politics

... disrupted 19<sup>th</sup> century free competition

... necessitated development of international law  
into what was to become *international economic law*

**Wilhelm Roepke in ‘The Social Crisis of Our Time’  
1950:**

*“It is now advisable, to make courts, more than in the past, organs of the economy and to entrust to their decision, tasks that were previously entrusted to administrative authorities”*

[see by Ntina Tzouvala, TTIP: Back to the future?:

- For more see:

**The Crisis of Democracy – by The Trilateral Commission** (1975) New York University Press

**[http://trilateral.org/download/doc/crisis\\_of\\_democracy.pdf](http://trilateral.org/download/doc/crisis_of_democracy.pdf)**

- *go to slide 17*



REPORT ON THE GOVERNABILITY  
OF DEMOCRACIES TO THE  
TRILATERAL COMMISSION

MICHEL J. CROZIER  
SAMUEL P. HUNTINGTON  
JOJI WATANUKI

# **TTIP: Why We're Being Kept in the Dark?:**

- 1.** ISDS: anti-democratic, unacceptable, unreformable, unnecessary – the end of equality before the law
- 2.** TTIP: a myth of economic growth and jobs
- 3.** Workers' Rights: an unnecessarily restrictive barrier to trade
- 4.** Safety Last: eliminate the precautionary principle
- 5.** Climate Change: 'no change please, we're corporate'
- 6.** Buyer Beware: lack of food safety, unlabelled GMOs, cancerous cosmetics
- 7.** And the Rest: regulatory co-operation councils, financial regulation, impact on developing world, SOPA & PIPA are back (no digital privacy, eliminate net neutrality), education and health services, all public services and govt. spending



# **#1: Investor-State Dispute Settlement (ISDS): undemocratic, unacceptable, unreformable, unnecessary**

“ ... allows companies to sue countries, but not vice versa, before a tribunal of for-profit arbitrators that is insulated from judicial review”

– Gus Van Harten, Associate Professor, Law School, York University, Ontario <http://blog.oup.com/2014/01/van-harten-q-a-investor-state-arbitration/>

- major transformation of both international and public law

- states delegate core powers of courts to private arbitrators
- conflicts with cherished principles of separation of powers, of judicial accountability and independence
- corporations bypass national courts and are elevated to the status of a sovereign state

**Literally: All legal entities are equal, but some are more equal than others!!**

## **Example 2001:**

Cosmetics billionaire Ralph Lauder (CME) V's Czech Republic:

ISDS 'compensation' \$353m because of change to regulation of commercial TV licencing

Equal to annual Czech health-care budget

Adjusted (2012) as if it was the USA for population and size of economy (GDP) = \$131 billion (\$131,000,000,000)

## **Example 2013:**

Ruling by Ecuadorian court ordering Chevron to pay \$19 billion in compensation for their environmental destruction in Ecuador, overturned by IDSD

Ecuadorian court was overruled under 1993 US-Ecuador treaty called 'Encouragement And Reciprocal Protection Of Investments' agreement

“When I wake up at night and think about arbitration, it never ceases to amaze me that sovereign states have agreed to investment arbitration at all.

<sup>1</sup>

“... Three private individuals are entrusted with the power to review, without any restrictions or appeal procedure, all actions of the government, all decisions of the courts, and all laws and regulations emanating from parliament.

“ ... Politicians have never given such authority to a national court, and no state has given an international court nearly so much power,”

- Arbitrator J. Fernández-Armesto, quoted in S. Perry, ‘Stockholm: Arbitrator and Counsel: The Double-hat Syndrome’, 7(2), Global Arbitration Rev (15 March 2013).

## **The Enlightened Question:**

What specifically is it that the 'investors' and Commission employees conducting the TTIP negotiations find so unpalatable about the Irish and European justice system?

Would they like us to reform our commercial court for example? If so, specifically in what way?

Where is the evidence of European and American judges riding roughshod over the interests of corporations and capitalist investors?

In the absence of a list of clearly identified problems with the Irish and European justice system, only one conclusion can be drawn:

=> ISDS is designed to allow companies to avoid the jurisprudence and constitutional rights which accompany the application of justice in democratic societies

=> nonsensical supposed 'better' ISDS voted for in European Parliament July 8<sup>th</sup> 2015: claims will not impinge state's right to regulate for public health, workers' rights, environment, etc. Why not use courts?

=> *Colin Brown: Dispute Settlement & Legal Aspects of Trade Policy, with DG Trade of the European Commission:*

“If a European investor or an Irish investor has a problem in the US, it cannot turn to the local court or to the US Federal Courts and ask for the application of the TTIP agreement.

That is important because there are certain rules of non-discrimination which would be included in the TTIP agreement for the investment protection part that will not necessarily be found in US domestic law.

Therefore, the investor will be left with no defence and no means to enforce the agreement because it is not enforceable in US domestic law. The fact that the US has a highly developed legal system, just as is the case with the EU, is frankly not a guarantee that either country respects international law. ”



### **3. Ratification Process**

- “ ... we need to reflect upon how to address the fact that EU countries already have 1,400 bilateral agreements of this kind, of which some date back to the 50s”
- Trade Commissioner Malmström

## **RATIFICATION of Agreements Similar To TTIP**

The EU-Canada investment deal (CETA):  
a done deal, has ISDS- “can’t reopen the text”

The EU-Singapore Free Trade Agreement (**EUSFTA**):  
a done deal, has ISDS; Commission claims “exclusive competence” ratification by QMV at Council of Ministers & 51% majority in European Parliament

= no Member State veto at EU Council

= no Member State parliament vote

= three-year automatic lock-in if not approved

## **An “exclusive competence” deal means:**

- (a) no one has a right to change the text once the European Commission has signed off on it with the other party;
- (b) 28 Member State Ministers for Trade at EU Council of Ministers vote by Qualified Majority Vote (QMV), no veto, (needs 15 countries with 62% of EU population to pass);
- (c) European Parliament simple majority vote, no text changes;
- (d) no vote on text in Member State national parliaments, no text changes.

## **Commission says ‘TTIP is a “Mixed Agreement”**

If so, provide legal evidence, please.

Explain the Commission’s legal opinion request to the ECJ on EUSFTA and subsequent withdrawal.

## **European People’s Party (EPP), biggest group in European Parliament (includes Fine Gael)**

Pro-ISDS: “ ... there are no clear indications on how to ensure the non-discrimination of EU investors in the US market. We have studied this issue with the commission and do not have any indication that this can be achieved without ISDS.” *[go to slide 30]*

# TTIP Economic Growth Myth

Ex-Trade Commissioner deGucht (Jan. 2014) claims 0.5% economic growth from TTIP, when in fact it is 0.05%!  
(second 1.46) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=00co6XpryXg>

Commission's own research (CEPR study) paltry improvements in economic growth (0.03 to 0.054% per annum for each of ten years) = One twentieth (1/20th) of one percent economic growth per year

Report says 4/5 of trade displacement will take place through imports and exports within the same industry: job losses through that process are not counted

## **Commission's CEPR report:**

Ignores that one country's export growth is another country's export decline or reduction in domestic production

€545 per family-of-four per annum TTIP windfall calculated by the assumed TTIP-induced profit created by removing costs of red tape (i.e. health and safety regulations), divided by total population, then multiplied by four:

- best-case scenario = €136 per person per year, or a cup of coffee: €2.62 per person per week!

# TTIP Jobs Myth

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How many economists does it take to change a  
lightbulb?

None.

If the lightbulb was broken, the market would have  
fixed it!

# **Commission TTIP Study**

<http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/press/index.cfm?id=968>

## Poor Calculation Method: 'Computable General Equilibrium' (CEG)

[http://frankackerman.com/publications/trademodeling/Shrinking\\_Gains\\_Global\\_Trade\\_Liberalization.pdf](http://frankackerman.com/publications/trademodeling/Shrinking_Gains_Global_Trade_Liberalization.pdf)

- regulations which protect workers, health, food quality and environment are “costs”
- removal of costs calculated as economic gain



- much evidence regulations create safe, stable, predictable working and investment conditions and boost economic growth are completely ignored
- financial gains to society, the state, companies and the economy flowing from regulations, are excluded from CGE method

- study predicts 0.6% EU jobs lost or displaced by 2027

- assumes a fixed labour-supply and perfect labour mobility, i.e. a 100% employment model

- e.g.: assumes steel jobs lost in France means French workers emigrate to new software engineer jobs in Romania, overnight, at no cost

- do not factor in the impact of human and social disruption
- assumes competitive, growing, economic sectors absorb job losses in other sectors (evidence contradicts)
- do not factor in environmental and human health costs

(e.g.: use of previously banned chemicals, fracking-induced water pollution, weakened workers' rights, GMO crop pollution and cross-pollination, etc)

# ***‘The Transatlantic Trade & Investment Partnership: Implications for the European Union & Beyond’***

- Jeronim Capaldo, Global Development & Environment Institute, Tufts University, predicts:
  - net losses in terms of GDP
  - EU will lose 600,000 jobs
- loss of working income per capita @ €4,800 Northern European: €4,200 UK workers.

<http://ase.tufts.edu/gdae/Pubs/wp/14-03CapaldoTTIP.pdf>

## **Workers' Rights: are barrier to trade**

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Workers' rights unnecessarily restrictive trade barriers

Least meddlesome regulations

ISDS 'court' decides meaning of “justifiable regulations ...  
the public interest ... least burdensome ... fairness ...  
equality ...”

Minimum Wage: no US minimum wage

Workers' Holidays: no statutory holidays in USA

The Veolia Case in Egypt

## **4.: TTIP's Regulatory Cooperation Council**

“a living agreement”

legally enforceable mandate for corporations to be involved from the beginning of drafting new laws and regulations

“regulatory harmonisation”

“regulatory recognition”

- **End of Era for EU Food and Health Standards**
- 2013 REACH directive deadline missed: Done to show good faith at start of negotiations.
- Commission broke EU law by not implementing body to define “endocrine disrupting chemicals”
- Willing to drop “precautionary principle”

# Cancerous Cosmetics

labelling for allergens

EU bans 1,328 chemicals and additionally  
regulates more than 250 ingredients

11 substances banned in USA!

<http://www.beuc.eu/blog/325/>



**Commission wants to eliminate**  
**‘precautionary principle’**

e.g.: neonicotinoids

Reductions in bee populations across the world - a reduction which threatens 80% of the human food supply

EU used ‘precautionary principle’ to ban neonicotinoids

## - CropLife America:

“Abuse of the precautionary principle by the EU. ... Categorisation of chemicals as endocrine disruptors currently taking place” is “highly problematic”, and it “runs counter to the science-based risk assessment approach used by the US Environmental Protection Agency”.

- effects workers' health and safety conditions, food safety and labelling, use of chemicals in production processes, cosmetics

## 5. Implications for Developing World

- EU-US stated intention to make TTIP the world standard trade agreement:
- - ISDS private corporate courts:  
legislative chill
- - barrier to raising workers' rights
- - barrier to expanding public services
- - barrier to raising environmental  
regulation

# Climate Change: 'no change please, we're corporate'

- currently ISDS cases against Spain relate to solar panel regulations
- EU wants unrestricted access to US oil and fracked gas
- US wants to overturn French constitutional court ruling that government has right to ban fracking
- regulations and taxes to stop climate change will alter the investment environment and lead to ISDS compensation claims

## 6. The China Situation

### **RCEP (10 ASEAN countries with China, South Korea, Japan, India, Australia, New Zealand): Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership**

- EU supports China entering TISA (Trade in Services Agreement).
- EU officials claim no EU-China trade deal without ISDS in TTIP.
- China-Australia FTA done deal. Government spending \$25m on advertising.
- China-South Korea FTA done deal. Both have ISDS.

# 7. RESISTANCE IS FERTILE: International Day of Action Against Free Trade & Investment Agreements: Saturday 10<sup>th</sup> October 2015



WWW.TTIP.IE

HOME

WHAT IS THE PROBLEM?

BLOG

ACT NOW!

ABOUT US

You are here: [Home](#) / About our campaign

## About our campaign



## Who Are We?

We are a network of diverse Irish civil society organisations who are focused on fair trade, global and local, social, environmental and economic justice issues, workers' and consumers' rights, as well as the provision and regulation of high quality food and public services. Our Network's aim is to share information and to stimulate greater awareness and public debate on the anti-democratic implications of the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP), its private negotiation process and its provision for a private corporate court.

## Sign Up

Email

Get Updates

➤ [From Top Chefs to Street Demos: #A18DoA in Ireland](#)  
May 8, 2015



➤ [Bruton & Malmström: Both Wrong on TTIP](#)  
March 28, 2015



➤ [Irish Water, Veolia & TTIP](#)  
December 9, 2014



➤ [Radio Silence Broken](#)  
October 18, 2014

➤ [TTIP Day One](#)



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https://www.globaltradeday.org Search

len English

# PEOPLE AND THE PLANET BEFORE PROFITS !

GLOBAL DAY OF ACTION **APRIL 18TH 2015**  
TO DEFEAT FREE TRADE AND INVESTMENTS TREATIES

#April18DoA #A18DoA

Home Call for action Events More info

World map showing locations of Global Day of Action events on April 18th, 2015. The map is color-coded by region: North America (green), South America (green), Europe (yellow), Africa (blue), Asia (blue), and Australia (blue). Numbers are placed near the pins to indicate the number of events in each location. A zoom in (+) and zoom out (-) button is in the top left, and a full screen (</>) button is in the top right.

EN 09:32 29/08/2015

Sunday 8<sup>th</sup> November: Dublin (venue tbc)

## **CETA Speaking Tour**

- Council of Canadians, Maude Barlow.
- Global Justice Now, Nick Deardan.

CETA due to be voted on by European Parliament  
early in new year 2016!



# Resistance Is Fertile, and Global

**Trade Unions:** - a key means of defeating the TTIP

- ICTU motion at congress 😊

**Civil Society:** E.g.: Self-organised European Citizens' Initiative against TTIP and CETA:

**WWW.STOP-TTIP.ORG**



**SELF-ORGANISED EUROPEAN CITIZENS' INITIATIVE**  
AGAINST TTIP AND CETA



**38 : 14 : 20 : 45**  
days hours min. sec.  
**TO SAY NO TO TTIP! SIGN NOW!**

**STOP THESE SINISTER TRADE DEALS**

2,553,696 Participants

3,000,000

2,553,696

TTIP and CETA are a threat to democracy, the environment, consumers and labour standards. But we can stop them!

**TAKE ACTION**

- **TTIP & CETA with ISDS:**
- - Destroys democracy
- - Privileges corporations
- - Attacks workers rights
- - Ensures climate change
- - Blocks developing world
  - Privatises public services
  - Destroys the internet
- **People Power Will Defeat It!**

# **Buyer Beware: lack of food safety, cancerous cosmetics, unlabelled GMOs**

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## **Food Safety**

- “mutual recognition”
- labelling (e.g.: contains allergens)
- food production to move from Europe to USA
- geographic names (Parma ham, Waterford bla, Red Leister, etc)

**The Negative List** if it is not on the list, it is not protected, and you cannot see the list)

# Genetically Modified Food

- labelling & “substantial equivalence”
- Europe last place in world GMOs are not endemic
- seeds will not grow without use of patented herbicide and pesticide
- the seed from GMO crops belong to the corporation
- food production on island of Ireland: high quality, clean, green

# **Cancerous Cosmetics**

labelling for allergens

EU bans 1,328 chemicals and additionally  
regulates more than 250 ingredients

11 substances banned in USA

<http://www.beuc.eu/blog/325/>

## #7. And Everything Else:

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- Regulatory Cooperation Council:  
a “surreal institutionalization of lobbying”  
(head of European consumer group BEUC)
- EU wants to block new US financial  
regulations
- prospects for the poorest countries: raising  
regulations, workers’ rights and financial  
control

- SOPA & PIPA are back: circumvent Digital Privacy Laws
- eliminate net neutrality: ISPs to be allowed to charge for privilege of normal website speed,
- and slow everyone's else's website,
- not carry websites they do not like

- education and health services:

all specific details not listed in the text for protection can be seen as up for open contract bidding with only 'cheapest' criteria allowed

- all public services up for grabs



# Extremist viewpoint reflected in EU-US 'High Level Working Group on Jobs and Growth (HLWG)'

A stated objectives is:

“elimination, reduction, or prevention of unnecessary ‘behind the border’ non-tariff barriers to trade in all categories”

<http://www.ustr.gov/about-us/press-office/reports-and-publications/2013/final-report-us-eu-hlwg>

## #8. Resistance Is Fertile, and Global

**Trade Unions:** - a key means of defeating the TTIP  
- ICTU motion at congress

**Civil Society:** E.g.: Self-organised European Citizens' Initiative against TTIP and CETA

The screenshot shows a web browser window displaying the 'STOP TTIP' website. The browser's address bar shows 'https://stop-ttip.org'. The website features a logo with the text 'STOP TTIP' and a blue star. Below the logo, the text reads 'SELF-ORGANISED EUROPEAN CITIZENS' INITIATIVE AGAINST TTIP AND CETA'. A large banner image shows a crowd of people at a protest, with a sign that says 'Stoppen Sinistere Univer' and 'Demokr'. Overlaid on the banner is a white box with the text 'STOP THESE SINISTER TRADE DEALS'. Below this text is a progress bar showing '1,306,569 Participants' out of a goal of '2,000,000'. A red button labeled 'TAKE ACTION' is visible. At the bottom right, there is a blue button labeled 'PLEASE DONATE'. The browser's taskbar at the bottom shows various icons and the system clock indicating 10:23 on 25/01/2015.

File Edit View History Bookmarks Tools Help

TTIP - Bing News x The battle against... x friends of teh eart... x Commission cons... x EU-US trade: EU C... x European Commi... x Home - Stop TTIP... x Stop TTIP - 50,000... x

https://stop-ttip.org

STOP TTIP

SELF-ORGANISED EUROPEAN CITIZENS' INITIATIVE  
AGAINST TTIP AND CETA

3-Minute-Info

STOP THESE SINISTER  
TRADE DEALS

1,306,569 Participants 2,000,000

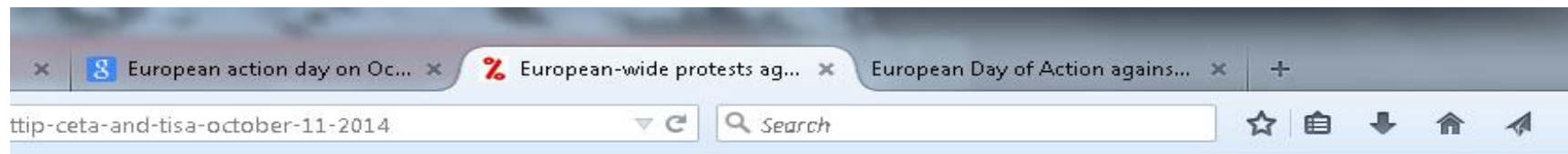
1,306,569

TTIP and CETA are a threat to  
democracy, the environment,  
consumers and labour standards.  
But we can stop them!

TAKE ACTION

PLEASE DONATE

EN 10:23 25/01/2015



## European-wide protests against TTIP, CETA and TISA on October 11, 2014



**Democracy and the environment will not be traded away!**

On October 11, 2014, tens of thousands of people and hundreds of organisations in 22 countries are organising actions to reclaim democracy, and stop the negotiations on three far-reaching trade agreements: the EU-US deal (TTIP), the EU-Canada deal (CETA) and the trade in services deal (TiSA).

**‘We are fed up!’:**

**50,000 march against TTIP & GMOs in  
Berlin, January 17, 2015**





## **TTIP Information Network:**

|                              |                                     |                              |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| ATTAC Ireland                | An Taisce                           | Centre for Global Education  |
| Comhlámh                     | Trade Justice Group                 | Debt & Development Coalition |
| Euro-Toques                  |                                     | Ireland People's Movement    |
| Presentation Justice Network |                                     | Trade Union Left Forum       |
| Trócaire                     | UNITE – The Union                   | Young Friends of the Earth   |
|                              | National Womens' Council of Ireland |                              |

[www.TTIP.ie](http://www.TTIP.ie)

<https://www.facebook.com/TTIPInformationNetwork>

# **3rd multi-sectoral European civil society strategy and campaigning meeting on TTIP**

## **2nd-3rd February 2015 – Brussels**

Hosted by

Seattle to Brussels Network - [www.s2bnetwork.org](http://www.s2bnetwork.org)

Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Brussels Office –  
[www.rosalux-europa.info](http://www.rosalux-europa.info)

Stop TTIP – [www.stop-ttip.org](http://www.stop-ttip.org)

European Attac Network – [www.attac.org](http://www.attac.org)

EDRi – [www.edri.org](http://www.edri.org)

German NGO Forum on Environment & Development -  
[www.forumue.de](http://www.forumue.de)

AK Europa - [www.akeuropa.eu](http://www.akeuropa.eu)



## With the support of:

Campaña No al Tratado Transatlántico de Comercio e Inversión (Spain) – [www.noalttip.blogspot.com.es](http://www.noalttip.blogspot.com.es)

Plataforma Não-ao-TTIP (Portugal) - [www.nao-ao-ttip.pt](http://www.nao-ao-ttip.pt)

Coalition against secret (trade) deals (Slovenia)

Danish TTIP-network

Stop Tafta Luxembourg – [www.stoptafta.lu](http://www.stoptafta.lu)

Stop TTIP Italia Campaign - [www.stop-ttip-italia.net](http://www.stop-ttip-italia.net)

TTIP stoppen" (Austria) - [www.ttipstoppen.wordpress.com](http://www.ttipstoppen.wordpress.com)

TTIP-unfairhandelbar (Germany) - [www.ttip-unfairhandelbar.de](http://www.ttip-unfairhandelbar.de)

Collectif national Stop TAFTA - Non au grand marché transatlantique (France) [www.collectifstoptafta.org](http://www.collectifstoptafta.org)

No TTIP network Netherlands

TTIP Information Network (Ireland) - [www.TTIP.ie](http://www.TTIP.ie)

# **Global Day of Action, 18th April, Against Free Trade & Investment Regimes:**

TTIP - Europe & America

CETA - Europe & Canada

EUSFTA - Europe & Singapore

TPP - America & Pacific Countries

TISA – Trade in Services Agreement

***Next Day of Action: Saturday Oct. 10<sup>th</sup>***



# **The TTIP and the ISDS:**

- Destroys democracy
- Privileges corporations
- Attacks workers rights
- Ensures climate change
- Blocks developing world
  - Privatises public services
  - Destroys the internet

**People Power Will Defeat It!**

“This amendment was carried due to the fact that 109 members of the socialist group (S&D), including the president of the European Parliament.

- *If they had voted as socialists, against this amendment that is allowing investor's abuses, it wouldn't have been adopted, the amendment would have been rejected by 338 against (or 344 with those who abstained), 336 in favour.*
- *Interesting enough to see how some representatives of ALDE, ECR and EPP voted against the amendment, against the position of their party, in favour of people's interests.”*

**Result of RCV vote Am 117 (ISDS), Resolution Lange on TTIP negotiations,  
08/07/2015 13:57:19.00**


































**Resolution Lange on TTIP negotiations,**

**Amendment 117: Compromise amendment of the rapporteur Bernd  
Lange on TTIP (former amendemnt Schulz)**

**Point 1. (d) (xv)**

to ensure that foreign investors are treated in a non-discriminatory fashion while benefitting from no greater rights than domestic investors, and to replace the ISDS-system with a new system for resolving disputes between investors and states which is subject to democratic principles and scrutiny where potential cases are treated in a transparent manner by publicly appointed, independent professional judges in public hearings and which includes an appellate mechanism, where consistency of judicial decisions is ensured, the jurisdiction of courts of the EU and of the Member States is respected and where private interests cannot undermine public policy objectives;

Vote result: 447 + (in favour) ; 229 - (Against); 30 0 (Abstention);

| Name               | Group   | Member State   | Vote  | Loyal / Rebel to political group |
|--------------------|---|--|---|----------------------------------|
| Lynn BOYLAN        |  GUE-NGL   |  Ireland   |    | Loyal                            |
| Matt CARTHY        |  GUE-NGL   |  Ireland   |    | Loyal                            |
| Nessa CHILDERS     |  S&D       |  Ireland   |    | Rebel                            |
| Deirdre CLUNE      |  EPP       |  Ireland   |    | Loyal                            |
| Brian CROWLEY      |  ECR       |  Ireland   |    | Didn't vote                      |
| Luke Ming FLANAGAN |  GUE-NGL   |  Ireland   |    | Loyal                            |
| Marian HARKIN      |  ALDE/ADLE |  Ireland   |    | Rebel                            |
| Brian HAYES        |  EPP     |  Ireland |  | Loyal                            |
| Seán KELLY         |  EPP     |  Ireland |  | Loyal                            |
| Mairead McGuINNESS |  EPP     |  Ireland |  | Loyal                            |
| Liadh NÍ RIADA     |  GUE-NGL |  Ireland |  | Didn't vote                      |