

# V

## Summary of political and legal Europe

### 2012, a Swing Year?

Corinne DELOY

**S**ix countries in the European Union renewed their parliament in 2012, four of which did so early, notably due to domestic political crisis. The left – and it is a first in six years – was the winner in these general elections. Indeed three Member States swung from right to left: Slovakia, France and Lithuania; in Romania the left/right coalition that has governed the country since May 2012 won the ballot. In Romania, the left/right coalition – in power since May 2012 – won the election on December 9<sup>th</sup>. In the Netherlands, the Liberals formed a coalition government with the Labour Party (PvdA). Lastly, in Greece, the government formed by the right (ND which won the elections on June 17<sup>th</sup>), the PASOK chose four of its ministers even though it decided not to take directly in government.

However the right remains predominant in the European Union. It governs in 18 Member States (in coalition with the left in Finland, Ireland, Luxembourg, and in the Netherlands) whilst the left governs in seven (in coalition with the right in Austria and Romania)<sup>1</sup>. Socio-economic issues (debt and eurozone crises, public deficit reductions, revival of growth, the future of the industrial policy, etc.) featured at the heart of the electoral debate in each of these countries where an election was held this year.

Finally in 2012 the Irish also voted on Europe: on 31<sup>st</sup> May they ratified the treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance – otherwise known as the European Budgetary Pact.

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1. Italy and Belgium – led by governments of national union – were not included in this typology.

## The government majorities within the European Union on 31<sup>st</sup> December 2012

Countries governed by a left majority	Countries governed by a right majority
Austria (left/right coalition)	Germany
Cyprus	Bulgaria
Denmark	Spain
France	Estonia
Lithuania	Finland (right/left coalition)
Romania (left/right coalition)	Greece (right/left coalition)
Slovakia	Hungary
	Ireland (right/left coalition)
	Latvia
	Luxembourg (right/left coalition)
	Malta
	The Netherlands (right/left coalition)
	Poland
	Portugal
	Czech Republic
	United Kingdom
	Slovenia
	Sweden

### 1. A clear swing to the left

#### *Slovakia: the return of Robert Fico*

Direction-Social Democracy (SMER-SD), led by former Prime Minister (2006-2010), Robert Fico, easily won in the early general elections in Slovakia on 10<sup>th</sup> March. The party won 44.4% of the vote and 83 of the 150 seats in parliament, i.e. the absolute majority, a first since the country's independence in 1993. The early elections followed the fall on 11<sup>th</sup> October 2011 of Iveta Radicova's government which comprised the Democratic and Christian Union-Democratic Party (SDKU-DS), Most-Hid, Freedom and Solidarity (SaS) and the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH). The Prime Minister chose to associate the adoption of the European Financial Stability Facility (EFSF) by parliament with a confidence vote on her government. MPs chose to say "no" to the government in office to the detriment of the EFSF. Some months later the Democratic and Christian Union-Democratic Party collapsed winning 6% of the vote and 11 seats (-17) just like its government partner, Freedom and Solidarity which won 5.8% of the vote and 11 seats (-11). Turnout totalled 59.1%

The election undoubtedly bears less witness to the triumph of the left than to the collapse of the right. Already weakened, it also suffered due to the Gorilla scandal, the name given to the politico-financial affair that came to light after the recordings of internet conversations at the end of 2011 were put on line revealing bribery and money laundering that had taken place during the privatisations of 2005-2006, a period when the right was in office. The scandal also benefited the Party of Ordinary People and Independent Personalities (OL'aNO) led by Igor Matovic which made its entry into parliament.

In spite of the extremely social announcements made by Fico (“*We are against privatisation, support a better protection of the workers and greater public investment*”) the results of the first government he led (2006-2010) plead for the continuity of the policy undertaken by the right. During his time as head of State the leader of Direction did indeed succeed in protecting the heritage of the liberal right whilst increasing State social spending, notably to attenuate the effects of the international economic crisis.

### *The French give a majority to a leftwing President*

One month after the presidential election the Socialist Party and its allies won the majority in the National Assembly, the lower chamber of the French parliament, during the general elections on 10<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> June. The leftwing forces together won a total of 346 seats (+119).

With 215 seats the UMP faced an acceptable defeat. The dilemma was Cornelian for the voters of the right who were fighting for the victory of their camp and yet were opposed to cohabitation.

The National Front remained isolated in the political arena but asserted itself as the country's third political force. It won two seats whilst none of its candidates had succeeded in entering parliament since 1988.

Turnout was the lowest ever recorded in general elections in France: 57.2% in the first round and 55.4% in the second. The election, which since 2002, follows immediately after the appointment of the head of State, generates little interest and mobilises few, since voters are convinced that the match has already been won before it has even been played.

Jean-Marc Ayrault (PS) was appointed Prime Minister and formed a government including socialists and ecologists. One thing is certain however: with François Hollande in the Elysée and the majority in the National Assembly, in the Senate and in most of the regions (24 out of 26), departments and major cities, the French left – which holds an hegemonic position – can afford to make no mistakes.

### *Right-Left Alternation in Lithuania*

The leftwing won the general elections on 14<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> October in Lithuania. The Social Democratic (LSP) Party led by Algirdas Butkevicius became the country's main political force with a total of 38 seats in the Seimas, the only chamber of parliament. It came out ahead of the Homeland Union-Conservatives (TS-LK) led by outgoing Prime Minister Andrius Kubilius which won 33 seats. The latter, the first head of government to have completed a mandate since Lithuania won back its independence in 1991, and this in spite of an extremely difficult economic context, paid the price of the austerity policy which he had introduced to counter the economic crisis which sorely affected Lithuania (the GDP contracted by 15% in 2009). Although the country had recovered growth, wages and retirement, pensions decreased dramatically and unemployment rose to 13%.

The Labour Party (DP) led by billionaire Viktor Uspaskich came third with 30 MPs and the populist movement, For Order and Justice (TT) led by former President of the Republic Rolandas Paksas, won 11 seats. Together the Social Democrats and Labour won 78 of the 141 seats in Parliament. Turnout totalled 52.9%.

The Labour Party and the Social Democratic Party formed a government, joining forces with For Order and Justice and Electoral Action of the Poles of Lithuania (LLRA), a party representing the country's Polish minority.

## 2. The Netherlands and Romania: repeated political crises

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### *The Liberals re-elected in the Netherlands*

The People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD) led by outgoing Prime Minister Mark Rutte came out ahead in the general elections on 12<sup>th</sup> September in the Netherlands. It won 26.5% of the vote, i.e. the highest score in its history, taking 41 seats (+10 than in the election in 2010). The Liberals drew slightly ahead of the Labour Party (PvdA) led by Diederik Samsom, who won 24.7% of the vote and 39 seats (+9). Together the two parties formed a government after the election.

The electoral campaign focused on the European crisis (eurozone and debt crisis) and for a long time benefited the opposition forces which were more radical and hostile to the European Union (Socialist Party, SP, and the Freedom Party PVV) before the pro-European parties won back some ground. The Liberals, who were forced to take on board the rising hostility of the population to the reforms asked of the country by the European Union, took a firm stance against the States in the South of Europe.

The populists suffered a resounding defeat. On the right the Freedom Party won 10.1% of the vote and 15 seats (-9); on the left the Socialist Party won 9.6% of the vote and 15 seats (=), i.e. well below the results that the polls were forecasting. The Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA) was the other loser in this election. It recorded the lowest result in its history: 8.5% of the vote and 13 seats (-8). Turnout totalled 74.3%

The VVD did not suffer therefore from its cohabitation with the Freedom Party (PVV) led by Geert Wilders nor did it suffer from the crisis which had led to the withdrawal of the PVV's support that had forced the government to resign. On 12<sup>th</sup> September the Dutch clearly said "yes" to Europe, which they visibly deem to be the only organisation to guarantee their future.

### *Easy victory for the outgoing left/right coalition in Romania*

Since May 7<sup>th</sup> 2012 Romania has been governed by a motley left/right coalition. In February 2011 the Social Democratic Party (PSD) led by Prime Minister Victor Ponta and the National Liberal Party (PNL) formed the Social Liberal Union (USL) with the aim of bringing down the President of the Republic Traian Basescu (PD-L), who was appreciated by his fellow countrymen for a long time, but whose popularity collapsed after he imposed austerity measures on the country in a bid to counter the serious economic crisis affecting it.

The Romanian parliament approved the destitution of the Head of State on 6<sup>th</sup> July but the operation failed: the referendum organised by the government on 29<sup>th</sup> July on the issue was invalidated because turnout was not high enough (46.1%).

Four months later the Social Liberal Union won the parliamentary elections organised on 9<sup>th</sup> December. The coalition won 58.6% of the vote in the general election (and 60.1% in the senatorial election), i.e. the highest score ever achieved by a coalition since the collapse of communism.

The Alliance of the Romanian Right (ARD) led by former Prime Minister (February 2012-May 2012), Mihai Razvan Ungureanu, who rallied the main opposition forces (the Democratic Liberal Party (PD-L), the National Party of Christian Democratic Farmers (NP-CDP), the New Republic Party (NRP), the Christian Democratic Foundation (FCD) and the Civic Force Party (PFC)) won 16.7% of the vote in the Chamber of Deputies and 16.7% in the Senate. The People's Party (PP-DD) led by Dan Diaconescu came third with 13.8% of the vote in the legislative elections and 14.7% in the senatorial vote. Only four Romanians in ten turned out to vote (41.6%).

The only true issue at stake in these elections was the extent of the Social Liberal victory. Victor Ponta was appointed Prime Minister on 21<sup>st</sup> December.

### 3. Greece on the edge of collapse

The general elections on 6<sup>th</sup> May constituted a political earthquake in Greece which was in the midst of an extremely serious financial and socio-economic crisis. The electorate voted massively against austerity and the European Memorandum, the name given to the agreement signed by Athens with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the European Union and the Central European Bank. The two “major” government parties – the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) and New Democracy (ND) – collapsed, winning 32% of the vote only (18.8% and 108 seats + 17 for the rightwing party in comparison with the 2009 elections and 13.2% of the vote, 41 seats, - 119 for the leftwing party). Both were punished for having accepted the drastic austerity conditions that went with the two rescue plans for Greece (May 2010 and October 2011) in exchange for which the government had committed to implement major austerity measures.

With 16.7% of the vote (52 seats, + 39), the Radical Left Coalition (SYRIZA) was the true winner in the election on 6<sup>th</sup> May. The break through by the neo-Nazi party, Chryssi Avghi (CA, Golden Dawn), which won 6.9% of the vote (21 seats), was the other major event in the election, in which 65.1% of the Greeks took part.

Since the results made the formation of a government impossible another election was organised on 17<sup>th</sup> June. New Democracy then came out ahead with 29.6% of the vote and 129 seats (21 more than in May). The Radical Left Coalition scored even better: it won 26.8% of the vote and 71 MPs (+ 19). PASOK won 12.2% of the vote and 33 seats (- 8). Chryssi Avghi won 6.9% of the vote and 18 MPs (- 3). Turnout rose to 62.5%.

Although the vote on 6<sup>th</sup> May was an expression of anger, that on 17<sup>th</sup> June was one of fear – of what the future of the country might be outside of Europe and the fear of seeing Athens leave the eurozone. The Greeks voted in support of their country keeping the single currency and for the continuation of budgetary spending control, with the hope however of being able to modify the aid plan.

Antonis Samaras, the New Democracy leader was able to widen the electoral base of his party in both elections by embracing four leaders from the far right Orthodox Alarm (LAOS) and above all by re-integrating into his party the Democratic Alliance, founded by Dora Bakoyannis. After the election he formed a government in which the left chose not to take part but PASOK and the Democratic Left (DIMOK) did choose four of the 25 Ministers in the new team.

The 2012 elections fragmented the country's bipolarisation that had been in force since Greece's return to democracy in 1974; with political divisions giving way to the split opposing the pro- and anti-Europeans.

The leftwing has asserted itself in the European ballot boxes in four of the six countries which renewed their parliament. Has the supremacy of the right started to wane and was 2012 the start of a swing to the left by the European electorate? Political alternation, which is almost natural in politics, can also be explained by the difficulty experienced by the teams in office (mainly rightwing in Europe), as they were forced to undertake austerity policies and face the electorate's discontent. Some managed however to stave off the electoral verdict and were re-elected, as in the Netherlands.

The elections in 2013 will show us how this electoral trend towards the left is developing. Six Member States will be renewing their parliament including Germany, governed by the right since 2005; Italy, led by the right since 2008, and above all Austria, governed by a left/right coalition but where the far right has become the leading force, if we are to believe the polls.

## Five new heads of State in Europe

Five new presidents of the Republic were elected in 2012 in the European Union; three were appointed by universal suffrage and two others were elected by their parliament

On 5<sup>th</sup> February, Sauli Niinistö (Conservative Assembly, KOK) won the Finnish Presidential election with 62.6% of the vote (37% in the 1<sup>st</sup> round). He came out ahead of ecologist Pekka Haavisto who won 37.4% of the vote (18.7% in the first round). Sauli Niinistö, who belongs to Prime Minister Jyrki Katainen's party had the support of five of the six candidates who took part in the first round. The presidential election focused more on the personality of the candidate, both pro-European, rather than on their programmes. The lack of any real left/right opposition enabled Sauli Niinistö to rally the vote well beyond his own party. He put an end to thirty years of Social Democratic reign and became the first centre-right Head of State in Finland since Juho Kusti Paasikivi (1946-1956).

Joachim Gauck, with no political label and supported by five of the political parties represented in parliament, except for the Left Party (L), was elected on 18<sup>th</sup> March as President of the Federal Republic of Germany in the first round of voting, 991 in support out of the 1,232 votes cast in the German Federal Assembly (*Bundesversammlung*), the body responsible for appointing the head of State. This presidential election followed the resignation on 17<sup>th</sup> February of Christian Wulff, suspected of having benefited from his position as Minister-President of the Land of Lower Saxony (2003-2010) to gain various financial advantages and of then having tried to cover up the scandal.

A pastor, Joachim Gauck defines himself as “a social democratic conservative with liberal leanings”. Well loved by his fellow countrymen he is a symbol of the work of remembrance undertaken on the communist dictatorship (he chaired the committee responsible for the dissolution of the State Security Ministry (STASI) after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989). After this election Germany now has at its helm two Protestant personalities, who originally came from the former German Democratic Republic.

On 2<sup>nd</sup> May, Janos Ader (Democratic Youth Alliance, FIDESZ) was elected President of Hungary by Parliament (262 votes in support, 40 against). He was the only candidate running in this election, which followed the resignation of Pal Schmitt on 2<sup>nd</sup> April, the latter being accused of plagiarism in his doctoral thesis devoted to the Olympic Games of 1992. Janos Ader is the author of two extremely controversial laws; the new electoral law that favours the “major” parties and the reform of the judiciary.

He owes his election to his loyalty to the government majority and to his extremely close relations with Prime Minister Viktor Orban (FIDESZ).

On 6<sup>th</sup> May with 51.6% of the vote François Hollande (Socialist Party PS) became the second French President of the 5<sup>th</sup> Republic to come from the left. He drew ahead of outgoing President Nicolas Sarkozy (Union for a Popular Movement, UMP), who won 48.3% of the vote. The French punished the party in office. The election emerged as a referendum on the personality and style of government of the outgoing President. The victory of the Socialist candidate can be explained in part by the rejection of Nicolas Sarkozy as a person. He was elected as Head of State in 2007 thanks to a programme focused on three main ideas (economic flexibility, increased growth and the consolidation of the public finances) before the international economic crisis obliged him to modify his policy.

In 2012 the outgoing President undertook a campaign on the right which caused tension within his own party. Between rounds he vainly tried to rally Marine Le Pen's

voters (National Front, FN) and those of François Bayrou (Democratic Movement, MoDem) to his name.

With 18.1% of the vote in the first round Marine Le Pen succeeded in positioning her party as an inevitable political force. She easily drew ahead of Jean-Luc Mélenchon (Left Front FG) who won 11.1% of the vote, as he articulated his campaign around French concern over globalisation, and by using a communist political culture, which is firmly set on the left, and very much alive in France. François Bayrou did not succeed in rising beyond the 10% mark (9.1% of the vote.). Turnout was high and totalled 80.4% in the first round and 79.3% in the second.

Borut Pahor (Social Democratic Party, SD) was the source of surprise as he won the presidential election on 2<sup>nd</sup> December in Slovenia. The former Prime Minister (2008-2011) won 67.4% of the vote coming out ahead of outgoing head of State Danilo Türk who won 32.5% of the vote. Turnout was drastically down: 41.9%, i.e. 16.5 points less than in the second round of the election in 2007.

Borut Pahor, who gave his support to the austerity reforms undertaken by Janez Jansa's government (Democratic Party, SDS), has set the goal of "rallying the majority on the right and the left opposition to put Slovenia back on the path of growth." The country, which is experiencing a serious economic crisis, should benefit from the combined work of the head of State and the Prime Minister.

### **A resounding YES by the Irish to the European Budgetary Pact**

On 31<sup>st</sup> May the Irish approved the Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance otherwise known as the European Budgetary Pact. More than six voters in ten (60.3%) voted YES whilst 39.7% opposed the ratification of the European text. Turnout was low (50.6%). Ireland was the only Member State to organise a referendum on this text.

This vote was unique and contrary to past events regarding the adoption of the two most recent European texts – the Nice (2002) and Lisbon Treaties (2009). Dublin had no right to veto the European treaty since this one had to enter into force once at least 12 countries had ratified it.

Fine Gael (FG), of Prime Minister Enda Kenny, the Labour Party (Lab), a government coalition member and Fianna Fail (FF) the main opposition party supported the ratification.

Three parties represented in the Irish Parliament – Sinn Fein (SF), the far left nationalist party; the Socialist Party (SP) and the People's Movement before Profit (PBP) – were against it. In the "no" camp there were also several independent MPs, including the founder of the organisation Libertas, Declan Ganley.

In a country that is still recovering and aware that they would not be given another chance to vote, the Irish were not convinced that rejecting the treaty would improve their daily lot.

### Summary of the Legislative Election Results in 2012 in the European Union in %<sup>2,3,4,5,6</sup>

Country	Turnout	Far Left	Left of government	Right of government	Far Right	Others
Slovakia	59.1		44.4	29.4	4.6	21.6
France <sup>2</sup>	57.2	0,9	46.7	34	13.7	4.7
Greece <sup>3</sup>	62.5	31.4	18.6	37.2	6.9	5.9
The Netherlands	74.3	9.6	27	35	10.1	18.3
Lithuania <sup>4</sup>	52.9		38.2	33		28.8
Romania <sup>5</sup>	41.7		58.9 <sup>6</sup>	16.5	15.2	9.4

### Electoral Shifts in Europe in 2012

	Previous Elections	2012 Election
Slovakia	Right	Left
France	Right	Left
Greece	Right	Right (coalition right -left)
The Netherlands	Right	Right (coalition right -left)
Lithuania	Right	Left
Romania	Right	Left (coalition left – right)

### 2013 Elections in the European Union

11<sup>th</sup> -12<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> -26<sup>th</sup> January: Czech Republic – Presidential election

17<sup>th</sup> -24<sup>th</sup> February Cyprus – Presidential election

24<sup>th</sup> – 25<sup>th</sup> February: Italy – Parliamentary elections

9<sup>th</sup> March: Malta – Legislative elections

May: Italy – Presidential election

7<sup>th</sup> July: Bulgaria – Legislative elections

22<sup>nd</sup> September: Germany – Legislative elections

September: Austria – Legislative elections

2. Results of the first round of voting on 10<sup>th</sup> June 2012.

3. Results of the vote on 17<sup>th</sup> June 2012 (it is obligatory to vote in Greece).

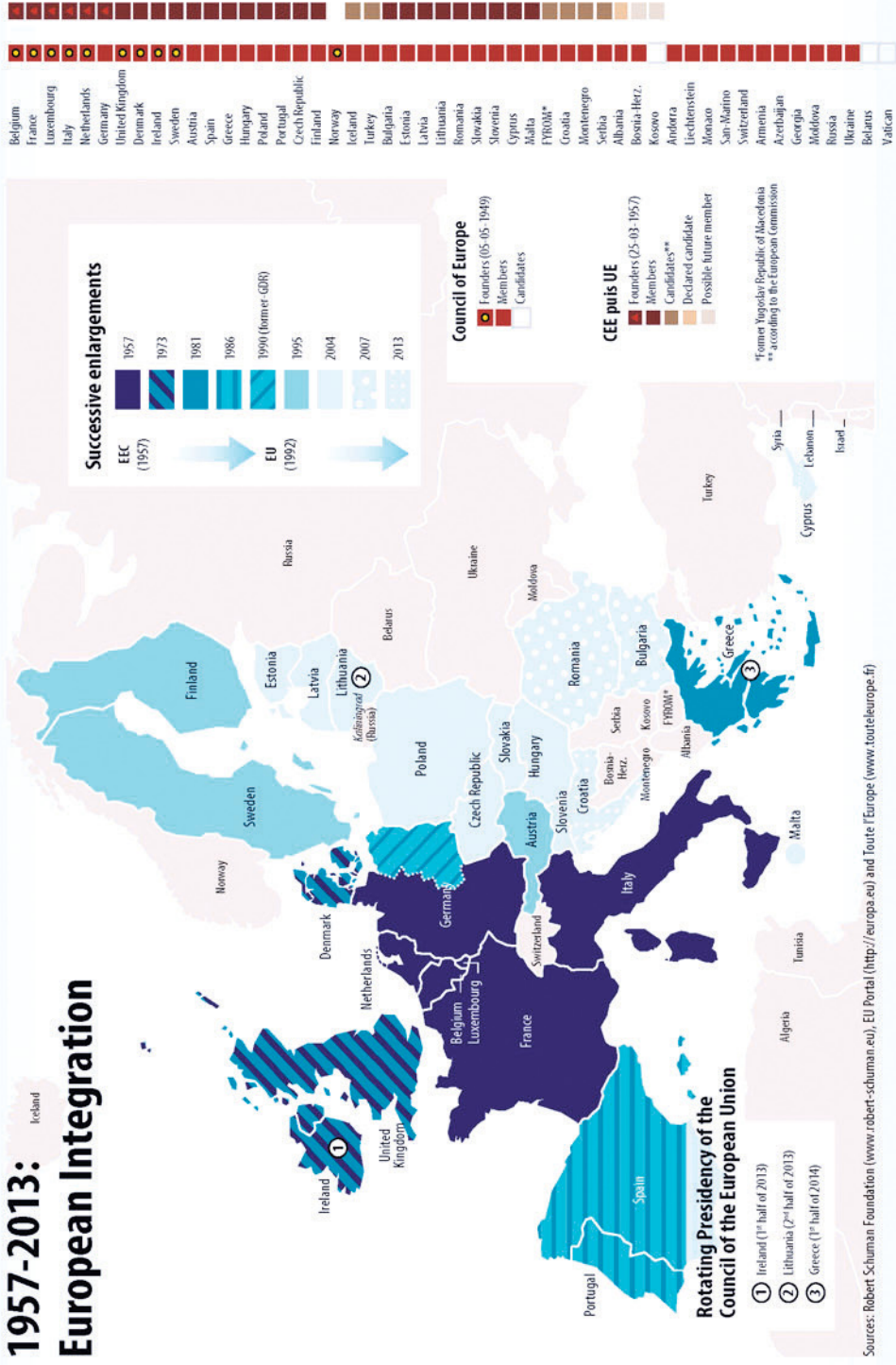
4. Results of the proportional vote only.

5. Results of the elections of the lower chamber of parliament.

6. The Social Liberal Union (USL) won 58.6% of the vote but this is a motley coalition (left/right) led by outgoing Prime Minister Victor Ponta, rallying amongst others the Social-Democratic Party (PSD) which lies on the left of the political scale and the National Liberal Party (PNL) which lies on the right. The result given here is that of the coalition as a whole.



# 1957-2013: European Integration



Sources: Robert Schuman Foundation ([www.robert-schuman.eu](http://www.robert-schuman.eu)), EU Portal (<http://europa.eu>) and l'Europe ([www.touteleurope.fr](http://www.touteleurope.fr))

# Territories of Europe

Council of Europe  
Member States

## EU on 1<sup>st</sup> January 2013:

EU Member States

Candidate Countries: negotiations have been completed with Croatia, accession planned on 1<sup>st</sup> July 2013; ongoing negotiations with Turkey (13 chapters opened, out of 35, 1 closed, 8 frozen), Iceland (27 chapters opened, 11 closed) and Montenegro (negotiations closed) and Montenegro (negotiations opened on 28<sup>th</sup> June 2012, 1 chapter closed).

States that the EU has recognized as "possible" future members

Euro Area Member States

Schengen Area Member States

The Azores (Portugal) and Greenland which are not visible on this map, are part the Schengen Area.  
Membership of Romania and Bulgaria has been delayed. It will be reassessed in March 2013.

## European Neighbourhood Policy:

Agreements signed

No agreement signed

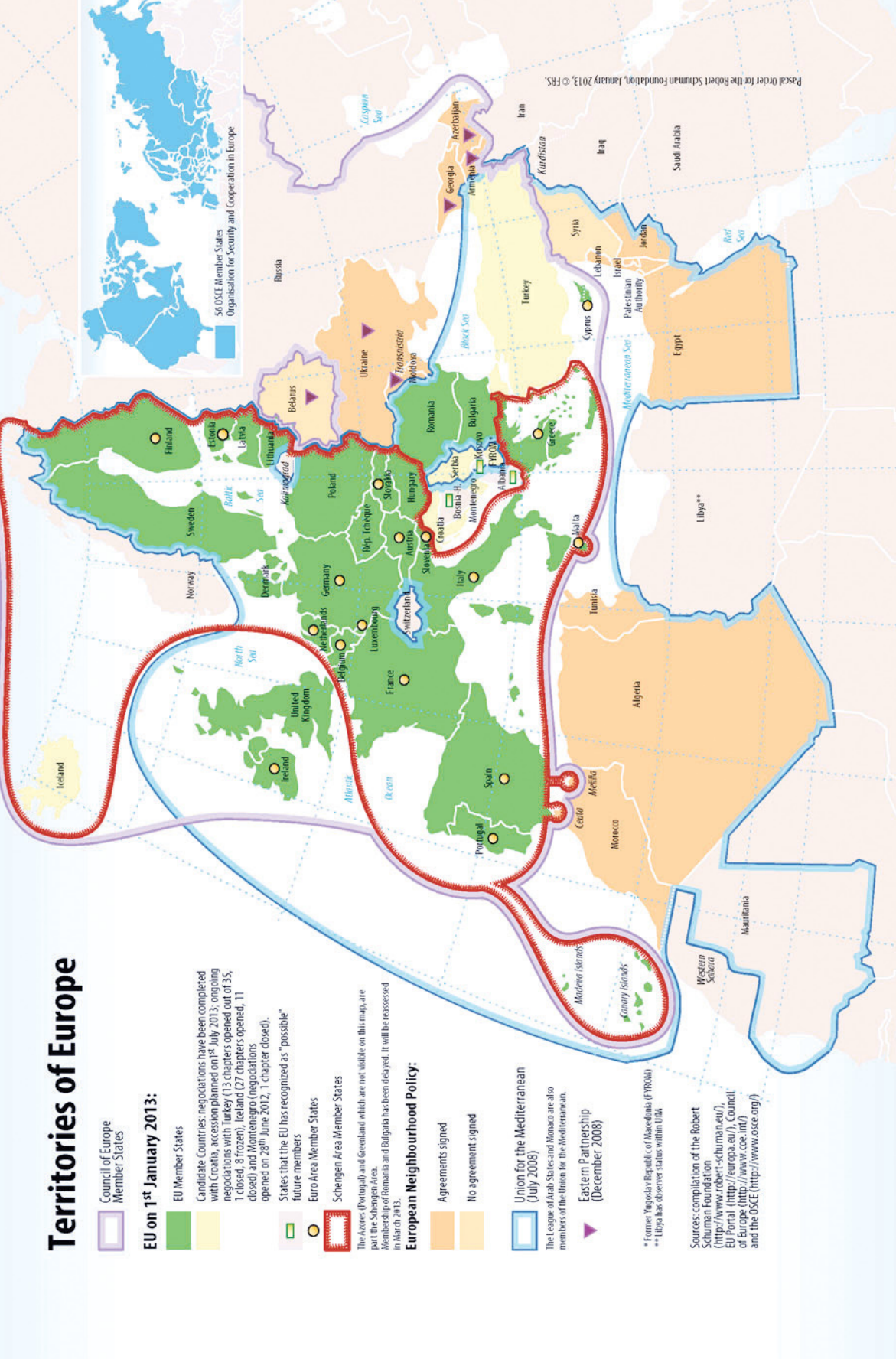
## Union for the Mediterranean (July 2008)

The League of Arab States and Monaco are also members of the Union for the Mediterranean.

Eastern Partnership (December 2008)

\* Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM)  
\*\* Libya has observer status within UEM

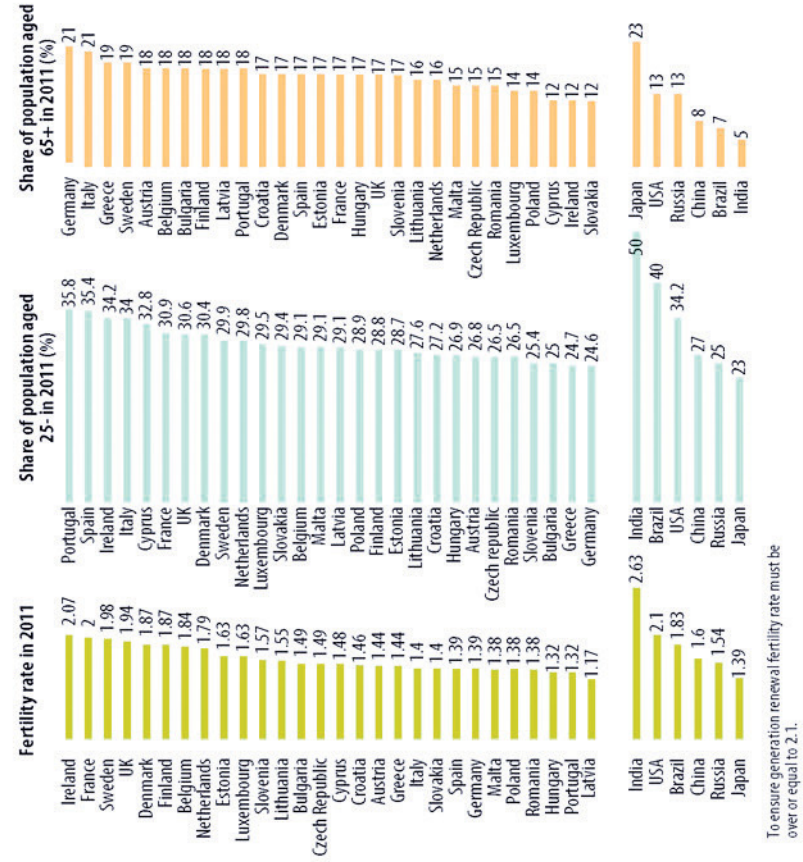
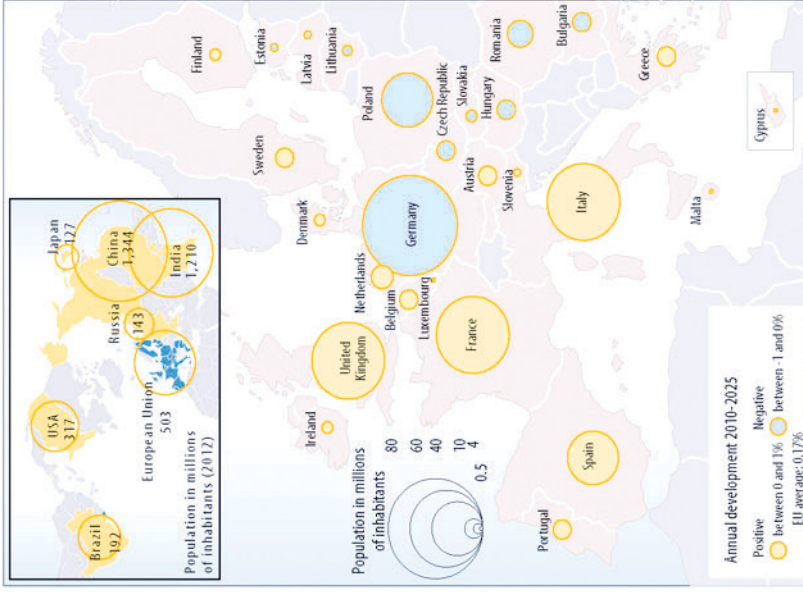
Sources: compilation of the Robert Schuman Foundation (<http://www.robert-schuman.eu/>), EU Portal (<http://europa.eu/>), Council of Europe (<http://www.coe.int/>) and the OSCE (<http://www.osce.org/>)



# Population of the EU Member States (2012)

## Population of the EU Member States

## EU States demographic dynamics



To ensure generation renewal fertility rate must be over or equal to 2.1.

# Internal migrations

## Policies of Openness to Internal Migrations

(situation on 1<sup>st</sup> December 2012) :

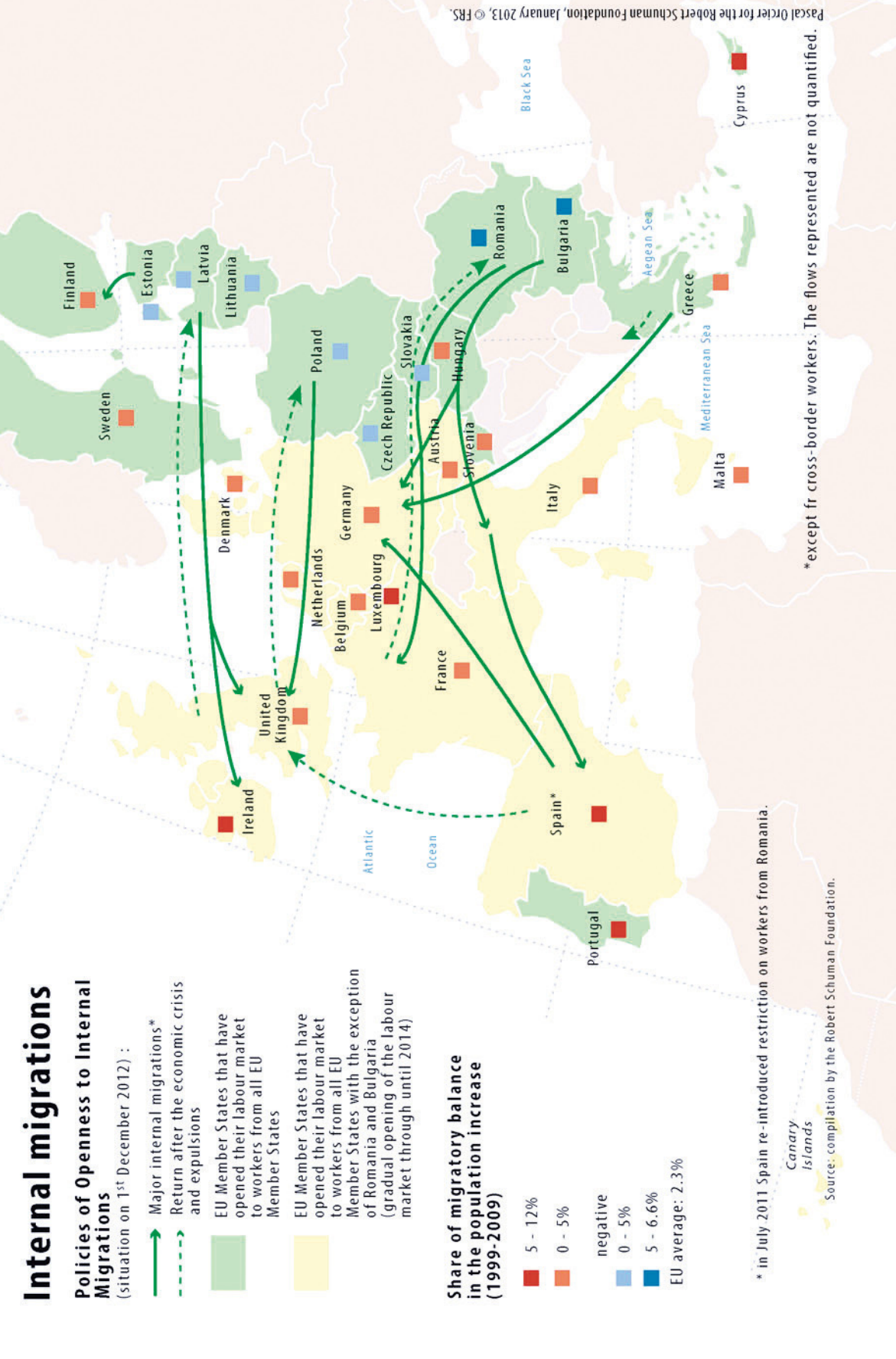
→ Major internal migrations\*  
- - - Return after the economic crisis and expulsions

EU Member States that have opened their labour market to workers from all EU Member States

EU Member States that have opened their labour market to workers from all EU Member States with the exception of Romania and Bulgaria (gradual opening of the labour market through until 2014)

## Share of migratory balance in the population increase (1999-2009)

■ 5 - 12%  
■ 0 - 5%  
■ negative  
■ 0 - 5%  
■ 5 - 6.6%  
 EU average: 2.3%





\* in July 2011 Spain re-introduced restriction on workers from Romania.

Canary Islands

Source: compilation by the Robert Schuman Foundation.

\*except for cross-border workers. The flows represented are not quantified.





# External migrations

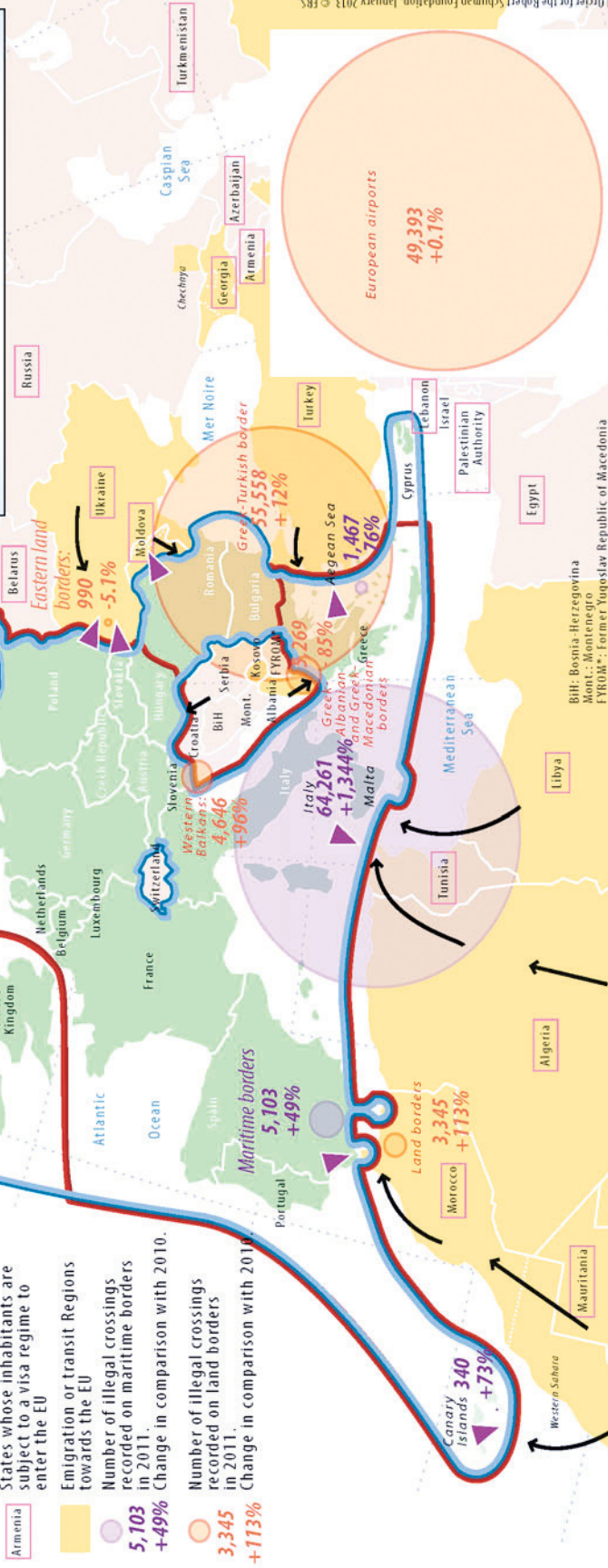
-  European Union External Borders
-  Schengen Area borders

 Frontex agency operations (Head office: Warsaw)

 Main migrant flows by land and maritime routes

## External migrations:

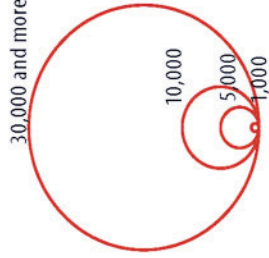
-  States whose inhabitants are subject to a visa regime to enter the EU
-  Emigration or transit Regions towards the EU
-  Number of illegal crossings recorded on maritime borders in 2011.
-  Number of illegal crossings recorded on land borders in 2011.



BIH: Bosnia-Herzegovina  
Mont.: Montenegro  
FYROM\*: Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

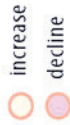
# The EU and Asylum Requests

Number of asylum requests in 2011

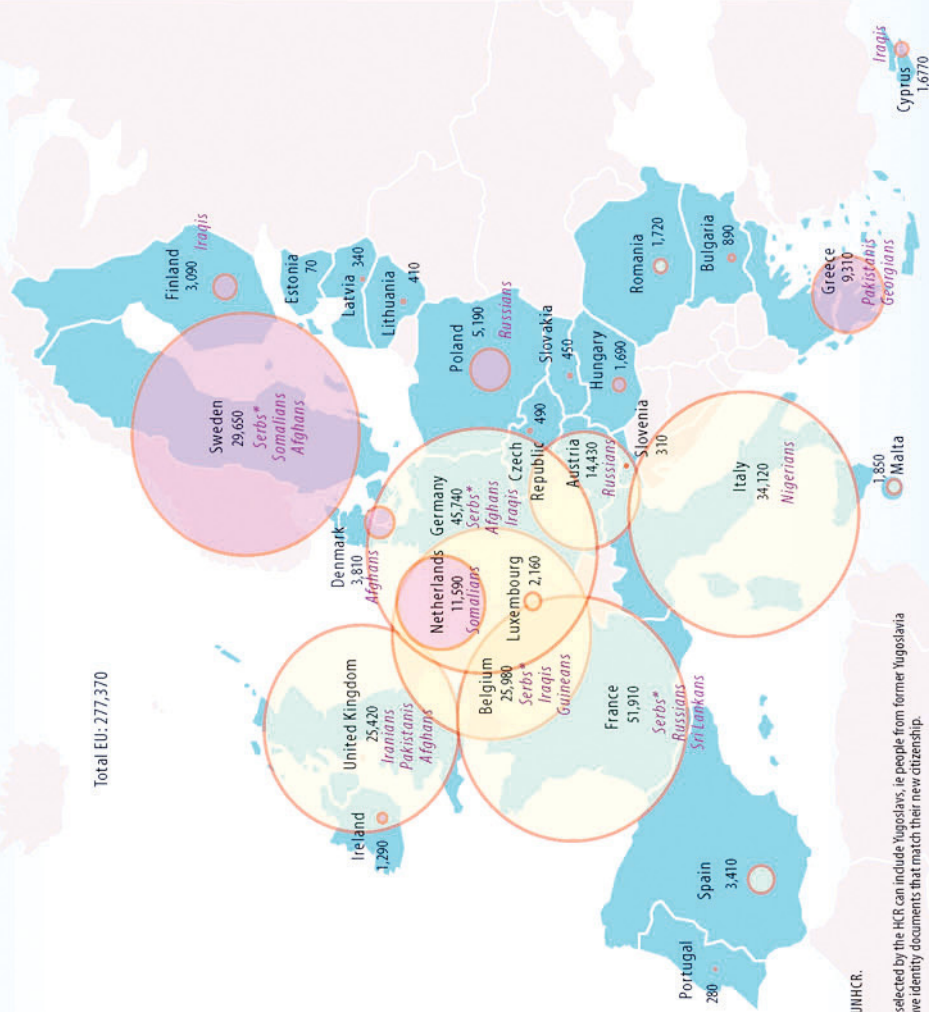


*Afghans* Main nationalities represented in the country

Evolution 2010-2011



Total EU: 277,370



source: UNHCR.

\*The name "Serb" selected by the HCR can include Yugoslavs, ie people from former Yugoslavia who still do not have identity documents that match their new citizenship.

# Political Europe in 2013

## Political Colour of Governments

- Left
- Right
- National union government
- Left/Right coalition
- Left/Right/Green coalition
- Liberal/Conservative coalition

*Andrus Ansip* Head of Government

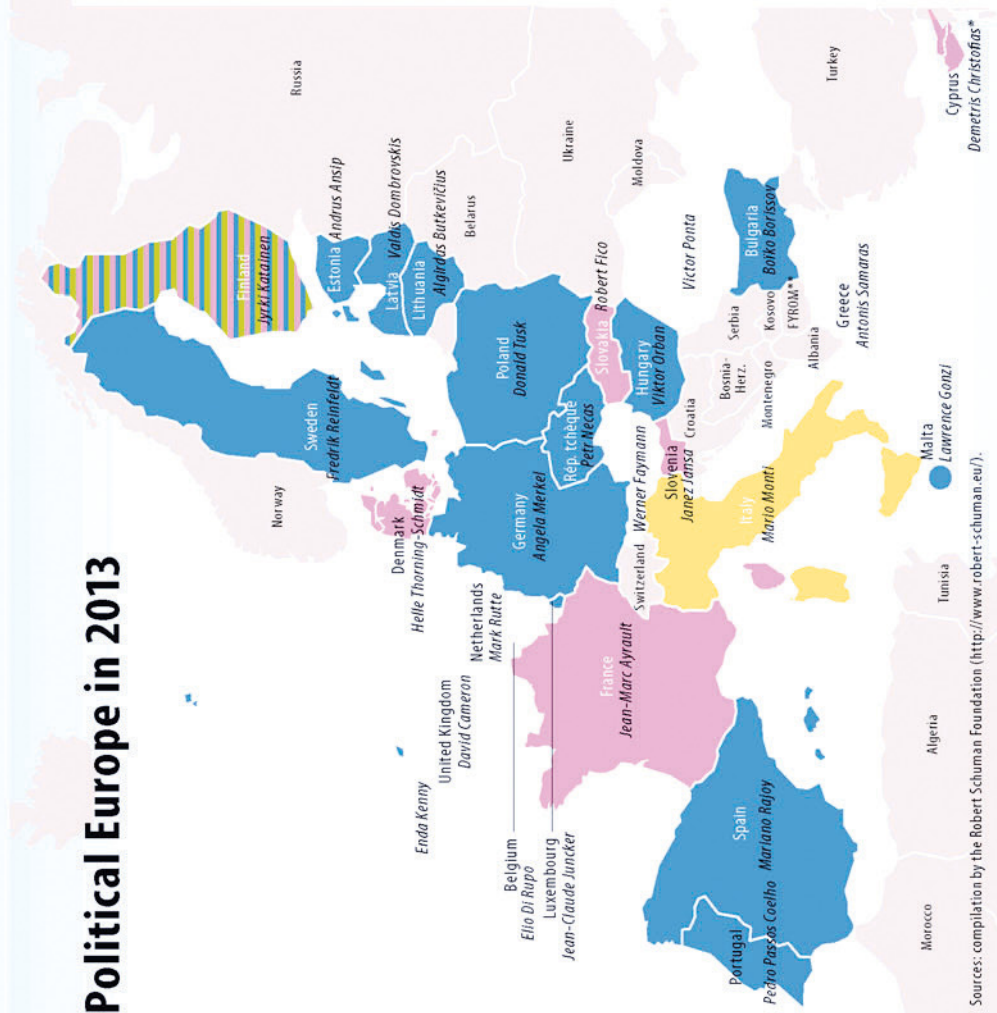
## Elections planned in 2013:

- 11th-12th & 25th-26th January: Czech Republic, *presidential*
- 17th-24th February: Chypre, *presidential*
- 24th-25th February: Italy, *parliamentarian*
- 9th March: Malta, *legislative*
- April: Montenegro, *presidential*
- 27th April: Iceland, *legislative*
- May: Italy, *presidential (by the Parliament)*
- 23rd June: Albania, *legislative*
- 7th July: Bulgaria, *legislative*
- September: Austria, *legislative*
- 22nd September: Germany, *legislative*

## 2014

- March: Macedonia (FYROM), *presidential*
- April: Malta, *presidential*
- April: Hungary, *legislative*
- May: Lithuania, *presidential*
- June: European Union, *parliamentarian*
- July: Belgium, *federal and regional*
- September: Sweden, *legislative*
- Autumn: United Kingdom, *referendum on Self-Determination in Scotland*

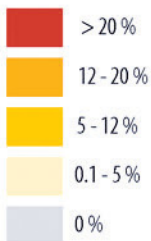
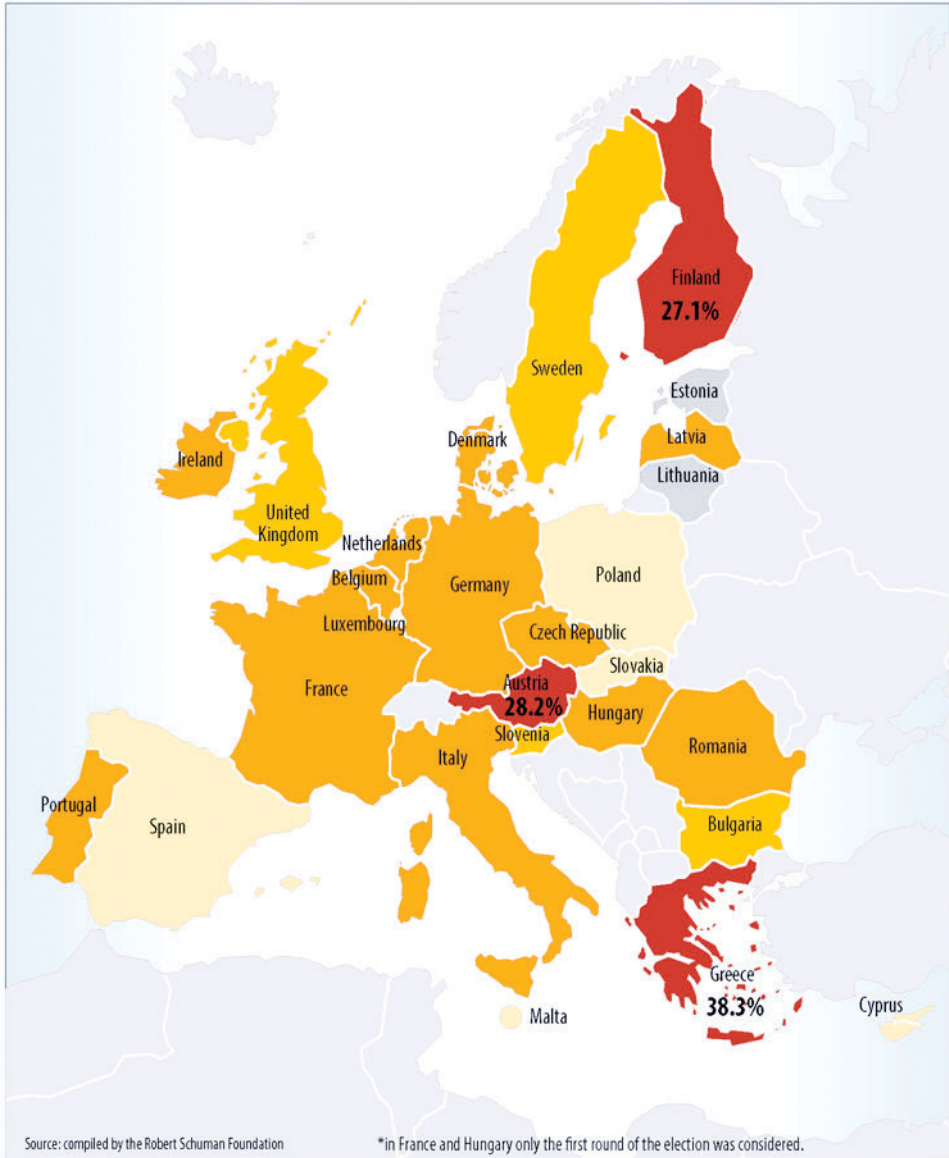
\* posts of both President and Prime Minister.  
 \*\* Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia



Sources: compilation by the Robert Schuman Foundation (<http://www.robert-schuman.eu/>).

# Populism in Europe

Results obtained by populist parties in the latest general election\*



## Populists' Results in the last presidential election (1st round)

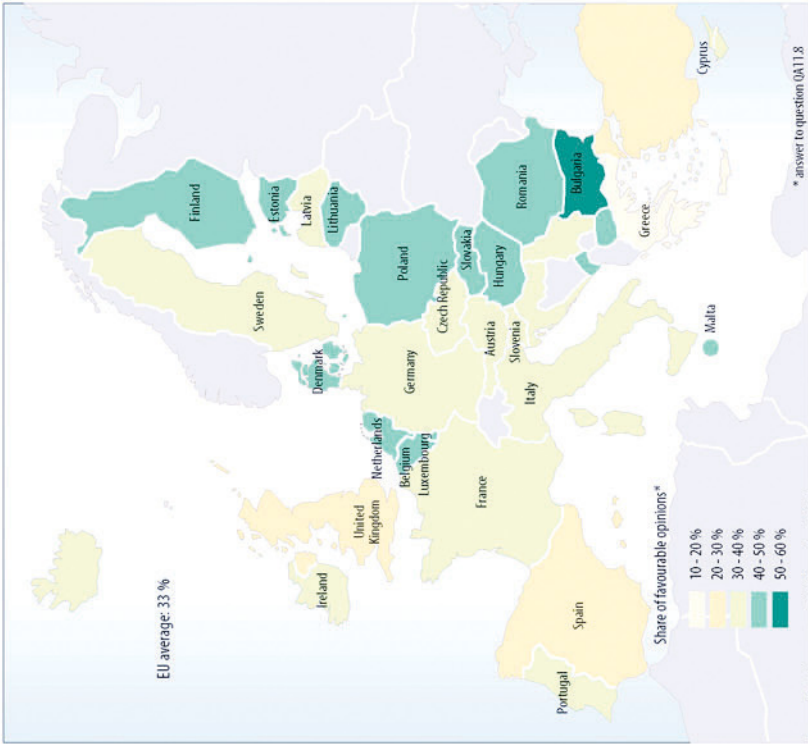
France (2012):	30.8%
Romania (2009):	22.2%
Finland (2012):	14.9%
Portugal (2011):	7.14%
Slovakia (2009):	1.1%
Austria (2010):	15.6%
Poland (2010):	1.5%
Lithuania (2009):	9.7%
Bulgaria (2011):	3.64%

To make this map the far right parties and far left parties were selected. Examples: the National Front (FN) in France, the Slovakian National Party (SNS), the Dutch Socialist Party, (SP), the true Finns (PS) or the Radical Left Coalition (SYRIZA) in Greece. Also on this map feature both the right and leftwing populist parties. Qualified as populist are the parties which have in part given up an extremist discourse but which all or party share the following positions: criticism of the elites; challenge made to representation; value given to the national (or regional) dimension; total opposition to immigration; rejection of Islam and rejection of a multi-ethnic society. Examples: Ataka (A) in Bulgaria, the Northern League (LN) in Italy, the New Flemish Alliance (NV-A) or the People's Party (PP-DD) in Romania.

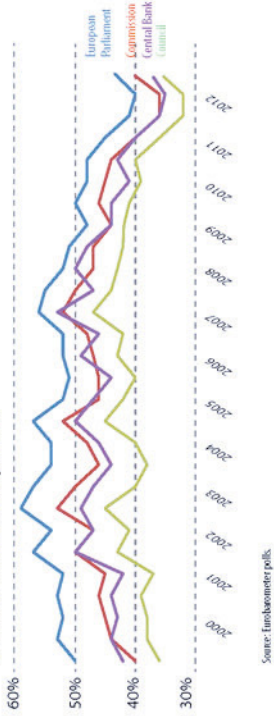


# The Confidence Deficit of Citizens in the European Institutions

## Citizens' Confidence in the European Union



Citizens' Confidence in the European Institutions  
Share of favourable opinions



# France - Germany, 2012

Trade (2011)

## Proportion within extra-Community Trade



## Germany's position in French trade



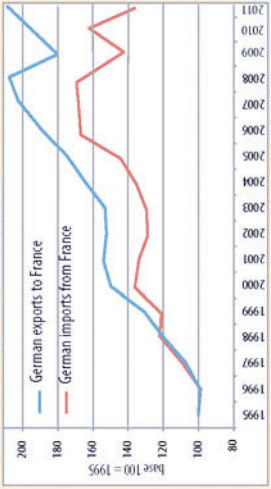
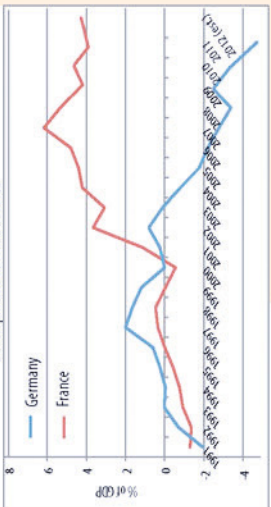
## Proportion within intra-Community Trade



## France's position in German trade



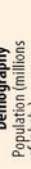
## Evolution of the Franco-German Balance of Trade



## Employment rate (%)



## GDP/cap. (euros in PPP)



## GDP (billions of €)



## Demography (millions of inhab.)



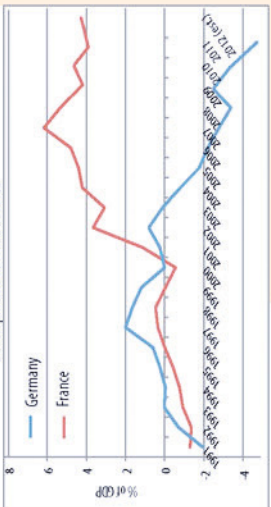
## Developments in Trade Balance



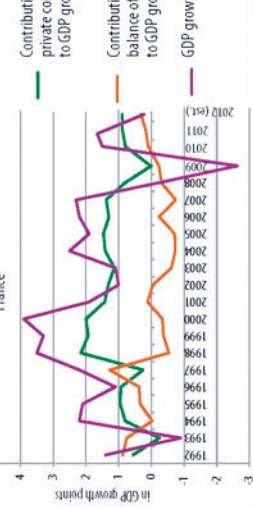
## Evolution of the Franco-German Balance of Trade



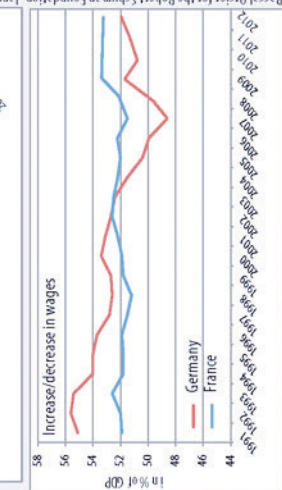
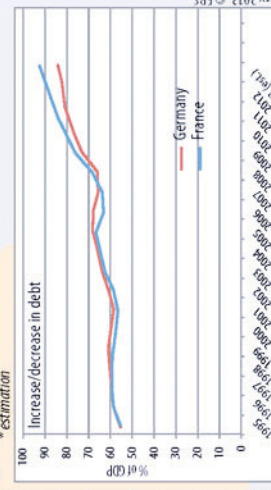
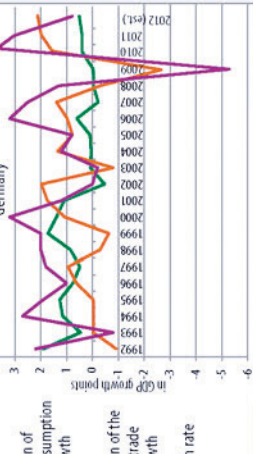
## Evolution of the Franco-German Balance of Trade



## France



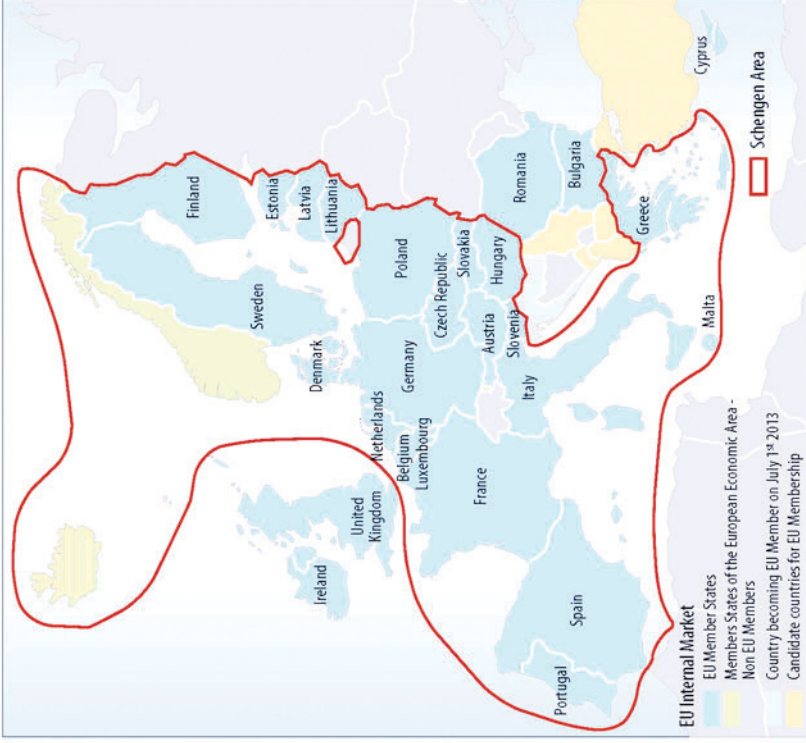
## Germany



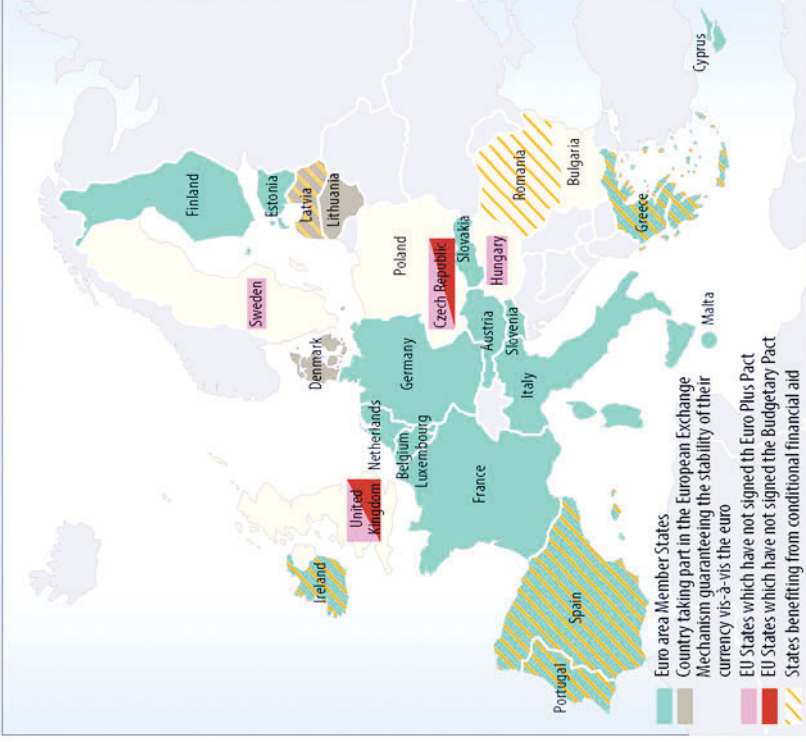
Pascal Orlitzky for the Robert Schuman Foundation, January 2013, ©FRS.

# A Differentiated European Union

Europe as an area of free trade and the circulation of people



Economic and Monetary Union



# Enhanced Cooperation Agreements

## European Economic Area (EEA)

The European Economic Area extends the EU's internal market to the Member States of the European Free Trade Agreement except for Switzerland. These States enjoy the free movement of goods, people, services and capital and have to implement the matching rules (except for those which affect the political sphere, agricultural policy and fisheries, likewise their trade policy towards third countries). They also take part in certain EU programmes in the area of research, education, environment and cohesion.

## Schengen Area

The Schengen Area includes the States applying the principle of the free movement of people in virtue of which any individual who has entered one of the participating States can cross the borders of the other countries without being controlled. A State cannot re-introduce border controls unless there is a breach of public order or national security and after consultation with the other States in the Schengen Area.

## European Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM)

The European Exchange Rate Mechanism pegs the euro to the currencies in certain EU countries thereby controlling fluctuations in the exchange rates. Entry into the euro zone is conditioned by participation in this mechanism for at least two years and by the respect of a limited fluctuation margin of 2.25% more or less.

## Euro Pact Plus

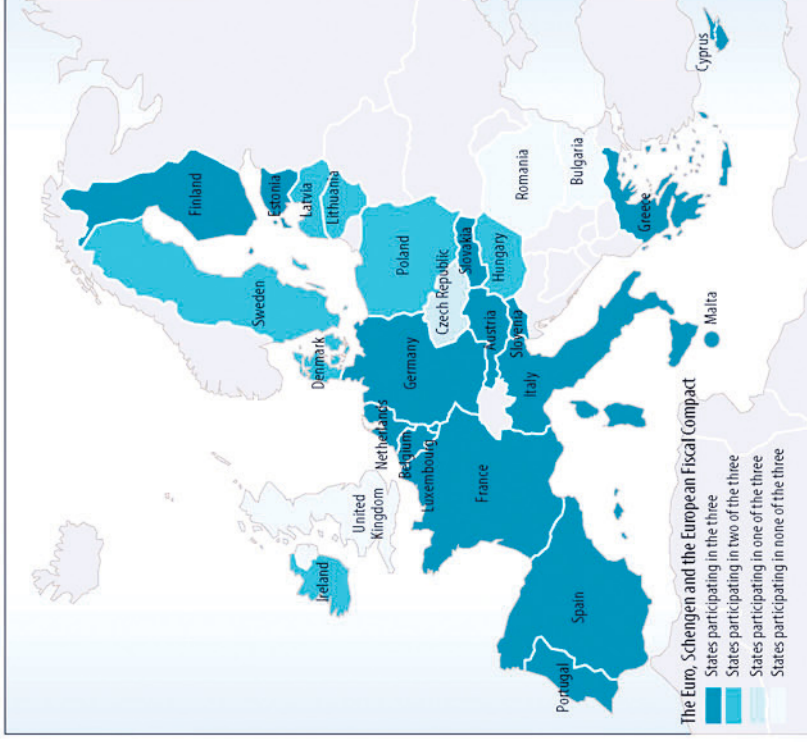
The signatories of the Euro Plus Pact have committed to adopting real measures that aim to increase competitiveness and foster economic convergence.

## Budgetary Compact

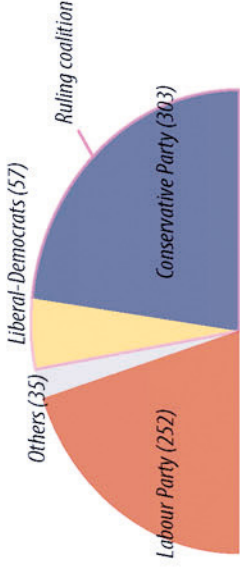
The Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance within the European Economic and Monetary Union (often called the "Budgetary Compact") controls the structural deficit of the Signatory States - once the public deficit has been corrected, economic variations and the deduction of one-off, temporary measures do not have to exceed 0.5% of the GDP, except in exceptional circumstances, for example during a serious economic recession.

Status:	Enhanced Cooperation Agreements			Tax on Financial Transactions Procedure on-going (request lodged on 28th September 2012)
	Divorce In force since 2010	EU Unitary Patent Adoption on-going - implementation planned for 2014		
	<i>Participating States</i>			
Austria				
Belgium				
Bulgaria				
Cyprus				
Czech Republic				
Denmark				
Estonia				
Finland				
France				
Germany				
Greece				
Hungary				
Ireland				
Italy				
Latvia				
Lithuania				
Luxembourg				
Malta				
Netherlands				
Poland				
Portugal				
Romania				
Slovakia				
Slovenia				
Spain				
Sweden				
United Kingdom				
Number of participants	15	25		11

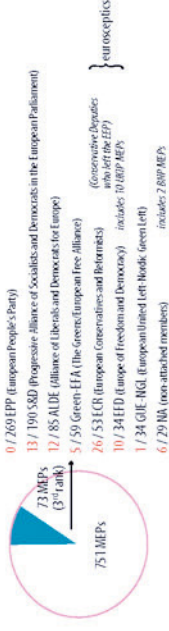
# The UK in Europe, the UK and Europe (1)



Composition of the House of Commons (elected in 2010) in 2012



## UK MEPs in the European Parliament



UKIP: *United Kingdom Independence Party*, demanding the withdrawal of the UK from the EU  
 BNP: *British National Party*, nationalist party

\* also the Chart of Fundamental Rights for UK in 2007

# The UK in Europe, the UK and Europe (2)

## The Weight of the UK in the EU

Share of population      Share of GDP      Contribution to EU budget

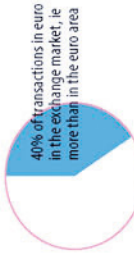


## Share of the EU in the UK trade

Imports      Exports



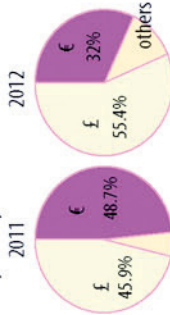
## The City, first European financial centre



## The UK contribution to the EU budget (2011)

received from the EU: €6,570 millions  
 Paid to the EU: €13,825 millions\*  
 Net operational budgetary balance: -€5,565 millions  
 → The UK is a net contributor

## Breakdown of exchanges made, by currency



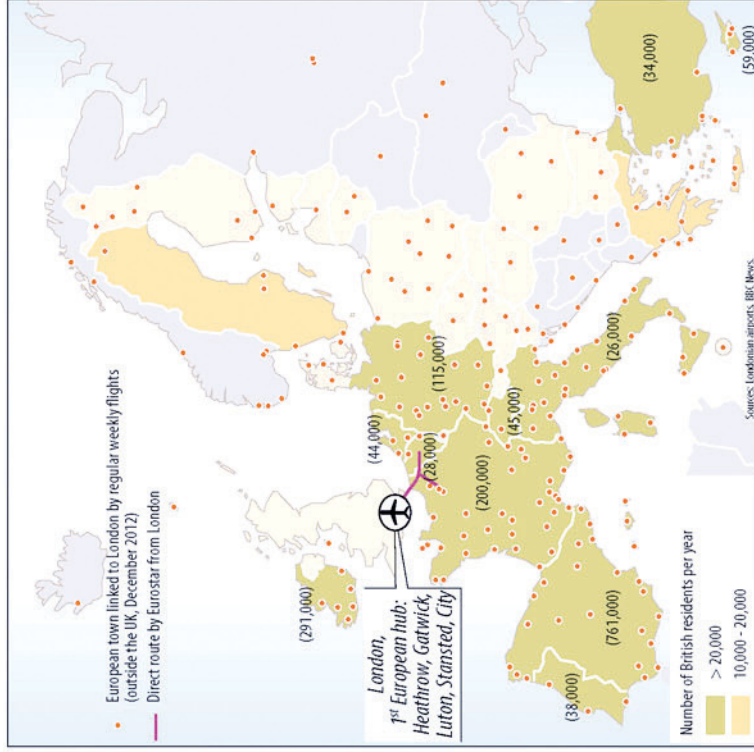
## The "rebate" or "UK Cheque" received by the UK, since 1985

€3.5 billion per year, of whose  
 1 billion supported by France,  
 700 million by Italy,  
 500 million by Spain,  
 200 million by Germany,  
 182 million by Poland...

Source: Compiled by the Robert Schuman Foundation.

\* taking account of the "rebate".

## British Mobility in Europe

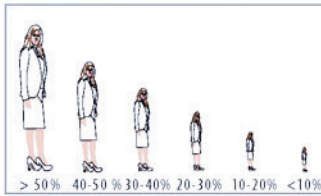
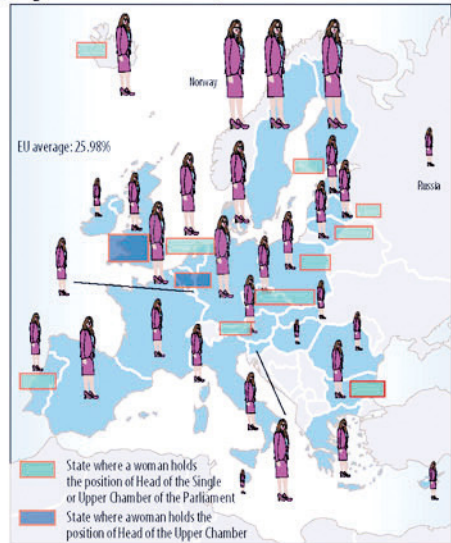


# Women's Europe on 1<sup>st</sup> January 2013

## Share of Women in Governments\*

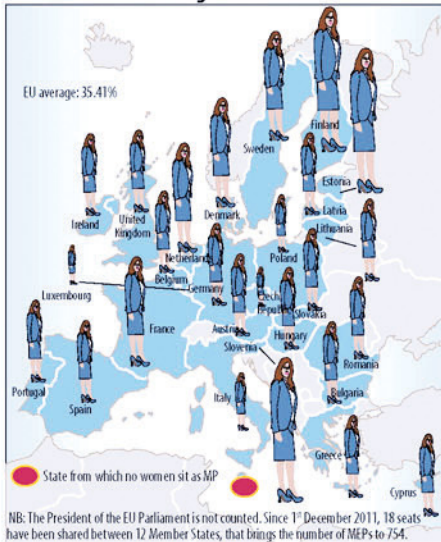


## Share of Women in National Parliaments (Single or Lower Chamber)



Non-EU States average:  
 Women in Governments: 25.49%  
 Women in Parliaments: 23.47%  
 Women involved in decision making in the biggest companies: 8.97%

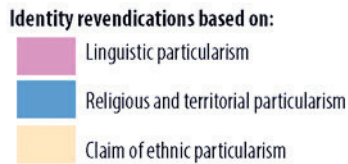
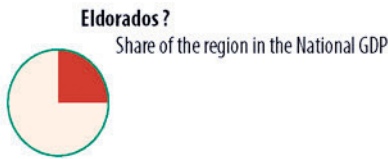
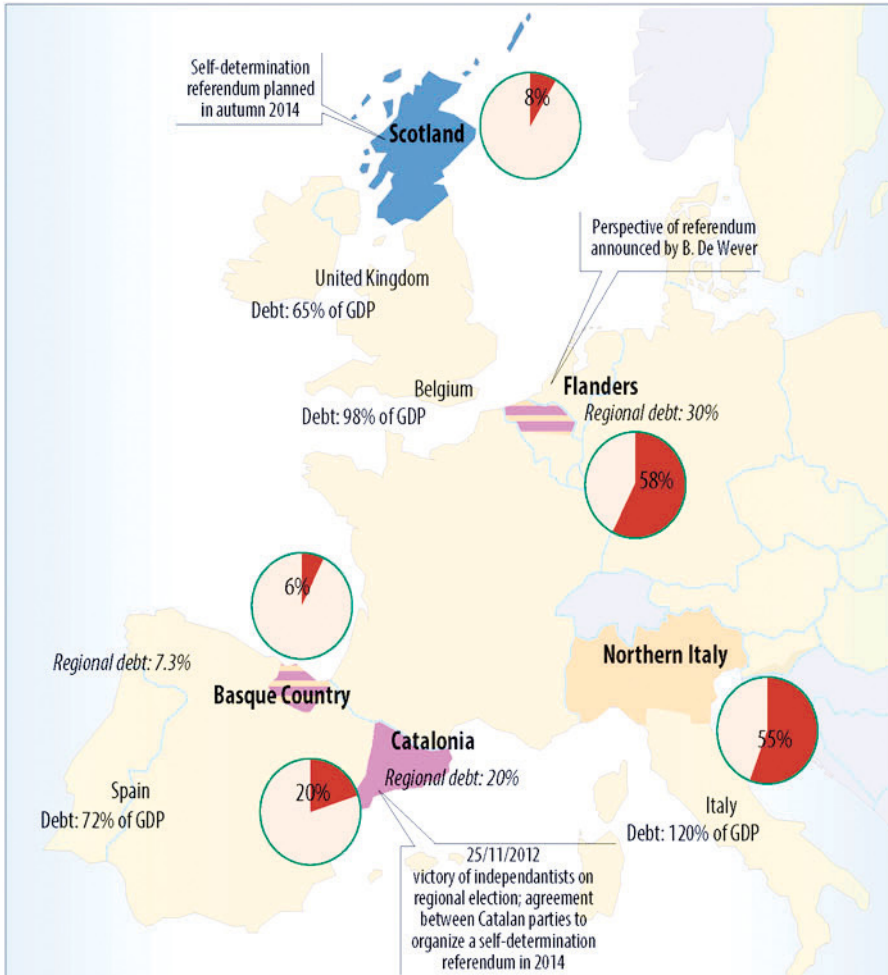
## Share of Women amongst MEPs



## Share of Women involved in decision making in the biggest companies (floatated in the stock exchange)



# Peripheral Nationalism in Europe

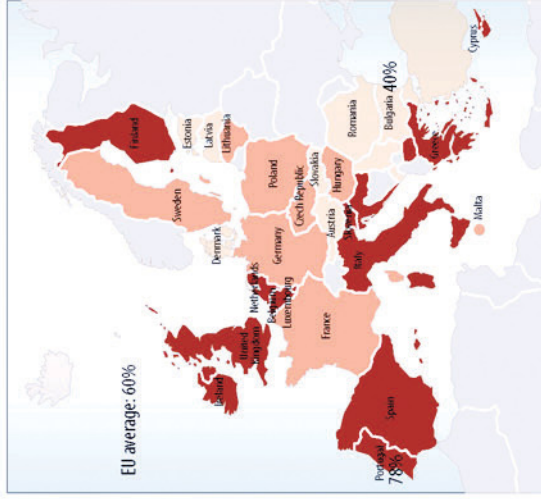


This map does not pretend to cover the entire issue of regionalism in Europe. It is a close up of cases mentioned specifically by Magali Balent in her article on the European Union and the challenges of national populism.

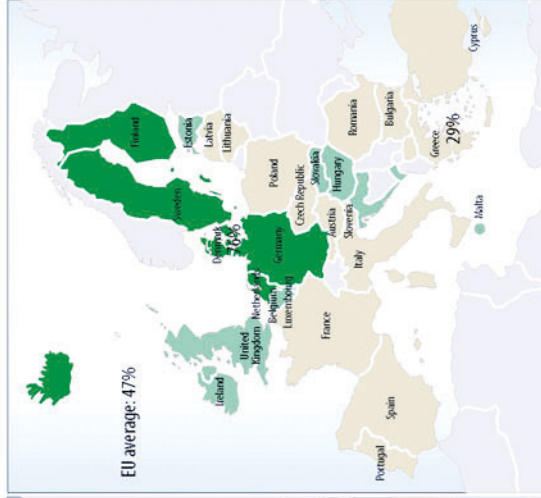


# European Public Opinion and the Crisis

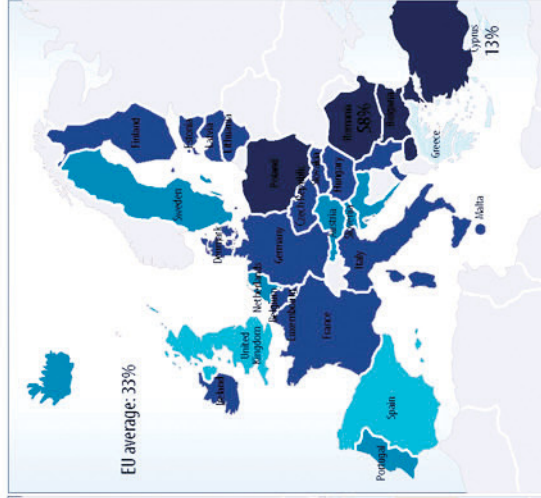
## Assessment of the effects of the crisis on employment



## Assessment of the perception of globalisation



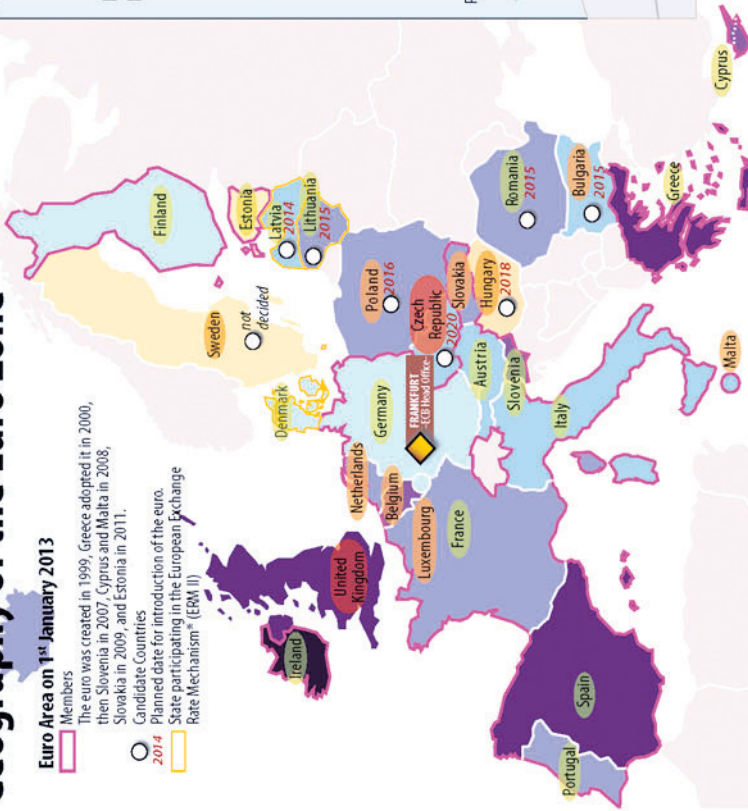
## EU effectiveness in fighting the crisis



# Geography of the Euro Zone

## Euro Area on 1<sup>st</sup> January 2013

- Members
- The euro was created in 1999, Greece adopted it in 2000, then Slovenia in 2007, Cyprus and Malta in 2008, Slovakia in 2009, and Estonia in 2011.
- Candidate Countries
- Planned date for introduction of the euro.
- State participating in the European Exchange Rate Mechanism\* (ERM II)



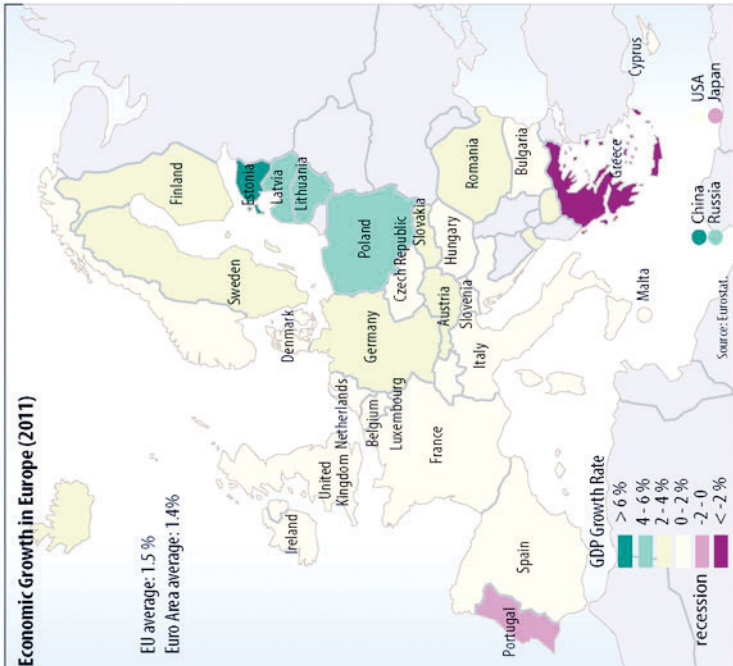
## European Fiscal Compact (Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance)

- situation on 1<sup>st</sup> January 2013
- Non-signatory Countries (2)
- Signatory Countries which have not ratified the Treaty yet (9)
- Countries which ratified the Treaty (16)

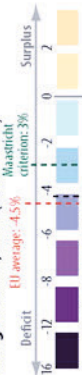
Sources: Robert Schuman Foundation (<http://www.robert-schuman.eu>), EU portal (<http://europa.eu>) and European Commission ([http://ec.europa.eu/economy\\_finance](http://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance)).

## Economic Growth in Europe (2011)

EU average: 1.5 %  
Euro Area average: 1.4 %

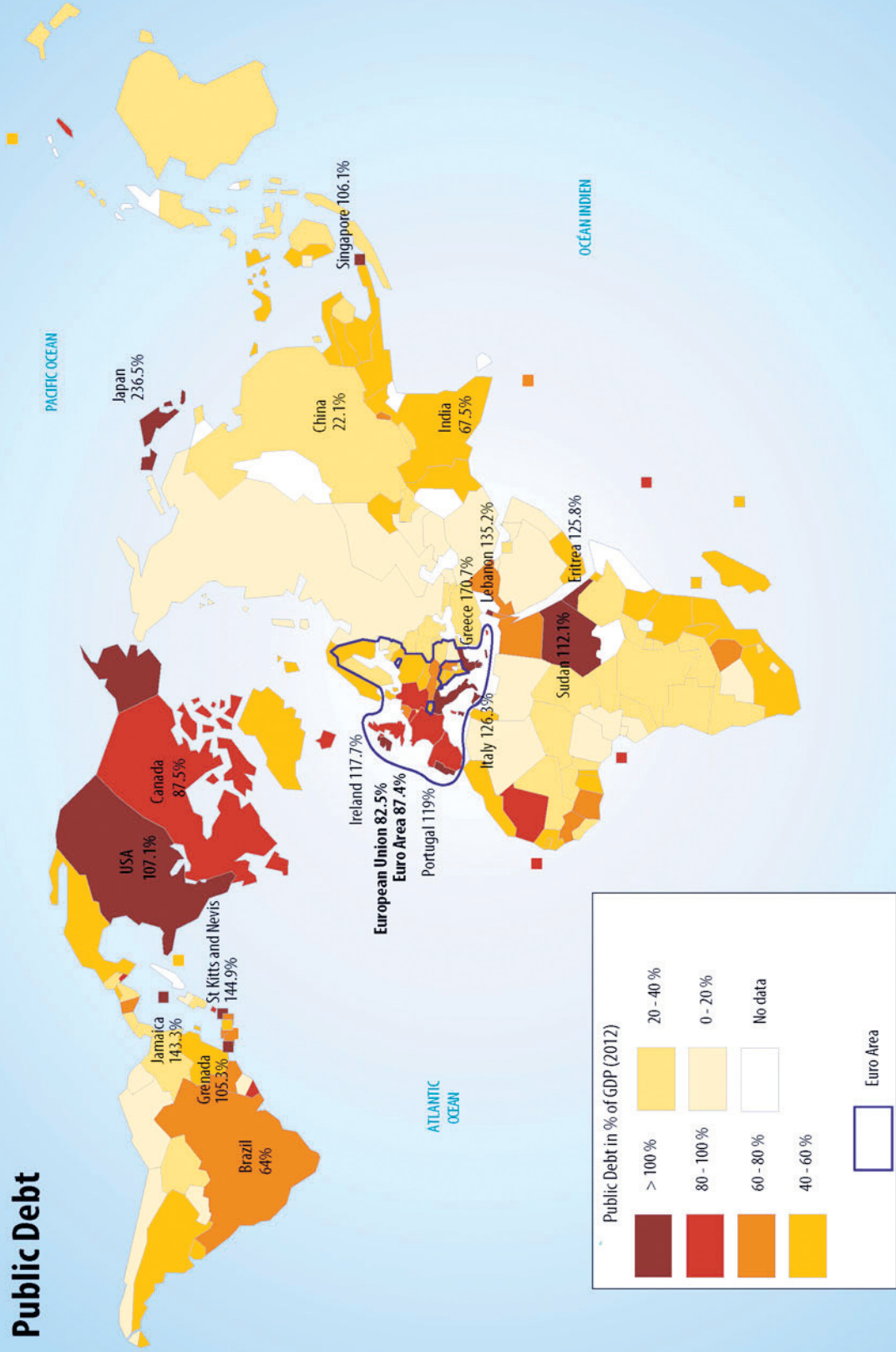


## Budget deficit, 2011 (in % of GDP)



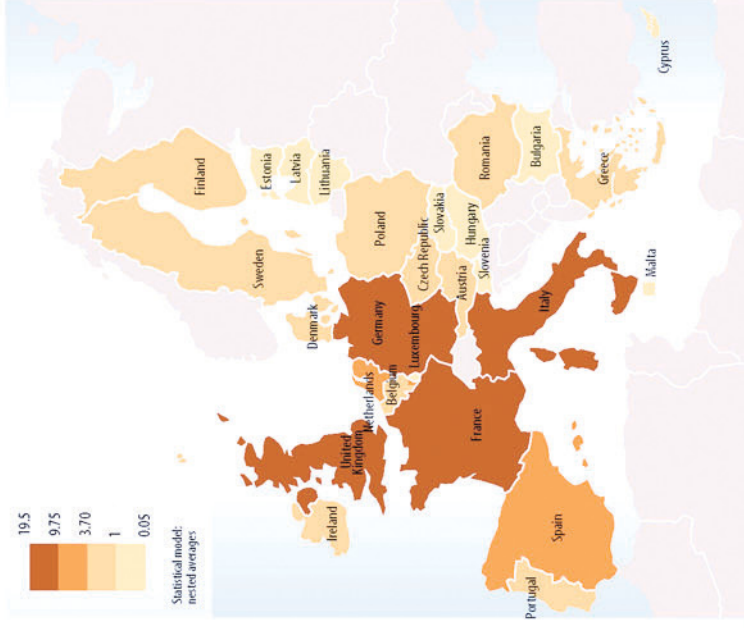
\*Apart from respecting the convergence criteria defined by the Maastricht Treaty any candidate State to the euro zone has to take part in the ERM II for two years. During this time the national currency can only fluctuate against the euro within a range of 15% more or less. Denmark, although not obliged to adopt the euro, decided to take part in 1999 by adopting a tighter margin (2.25%). Lithuania entered into the ERM in 2004, Latvia in 2005.

# Public Debt



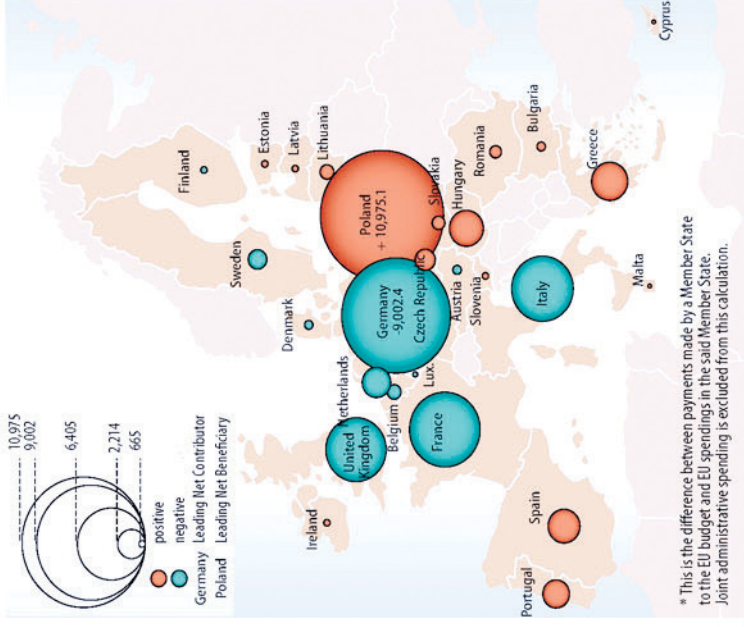
# EU Budget, 2012

Member States' Contribution to Community Budget, 2011 (in %)



Source: EU porta (<http://europa.eu/>).

Net operational budgetary balance\*, 2011 (in millions of euros)

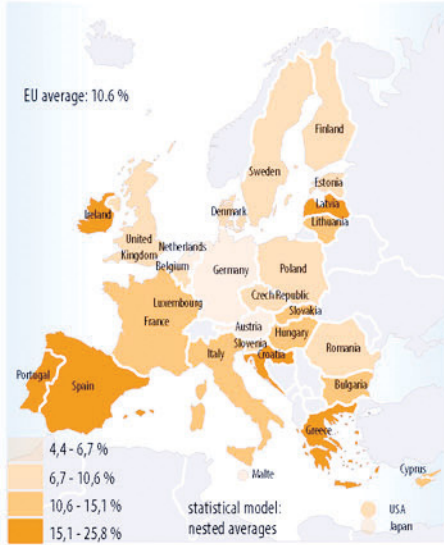


\* This is the difference between payments made by a Member State to the EU budget and EU spendings in the said Member State. Joint administrative spending is excluded from this calculation.

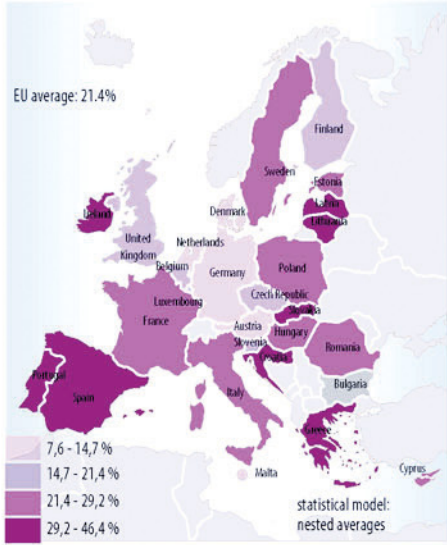
Pascal Order for the Robert Schuman Foundation, January 2013, © FR5.

# Unemployment and Activity in the EU Member States

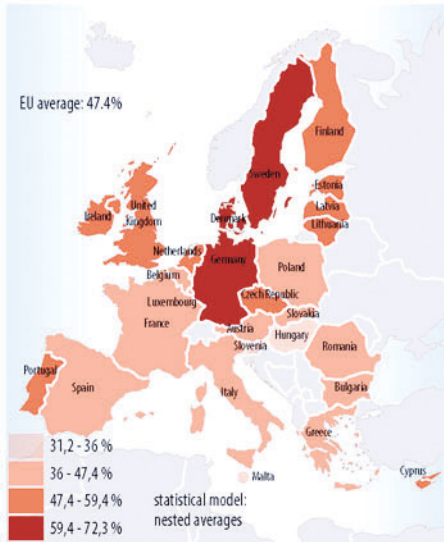
Unemployment Rate (2012)



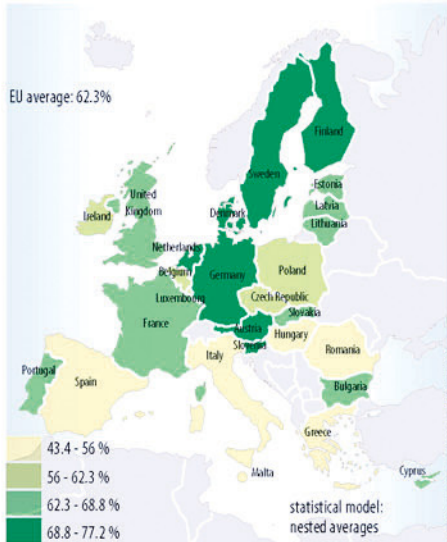
Unemployment rate of the 15-24 year olds (2011)



Employment of the 55-64 year olds (2011)

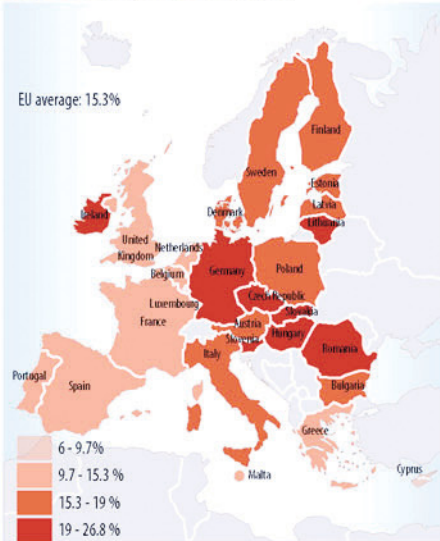


Women's Employment Rate (2011)



# Industry in the EU Member States

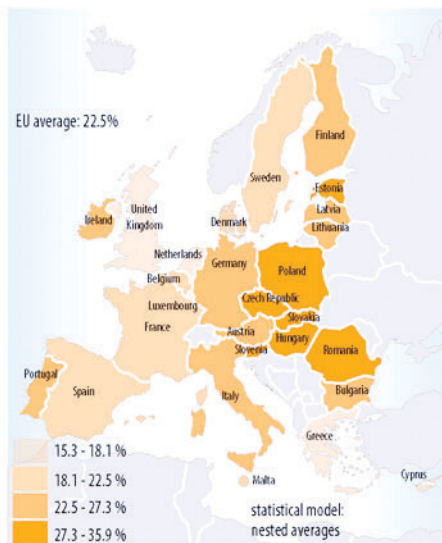
Share of industry in the GDP (2012)



Share of industry in the GDP  
Development 1995 - 2012

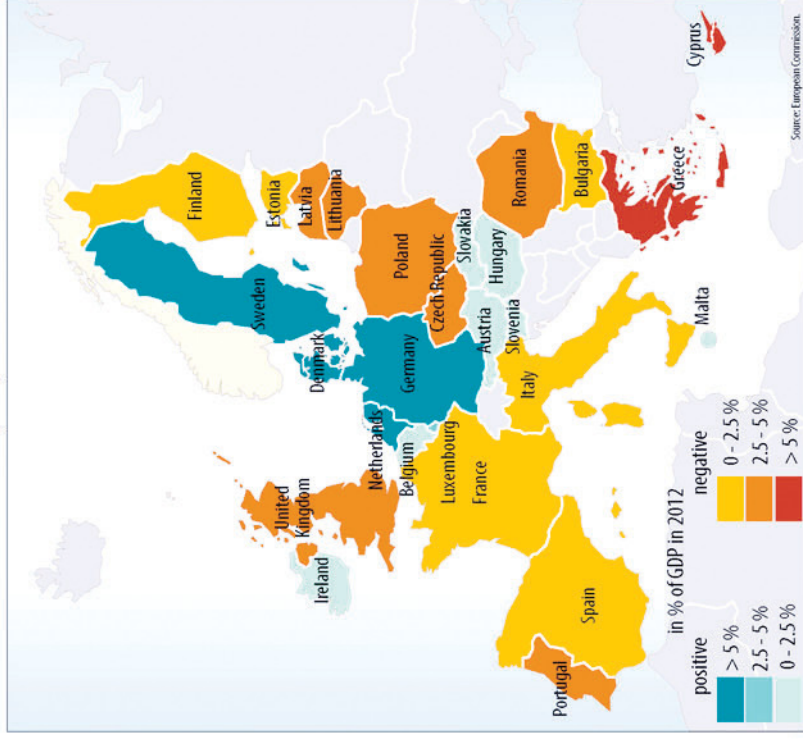


Share of industry in employment (2012)

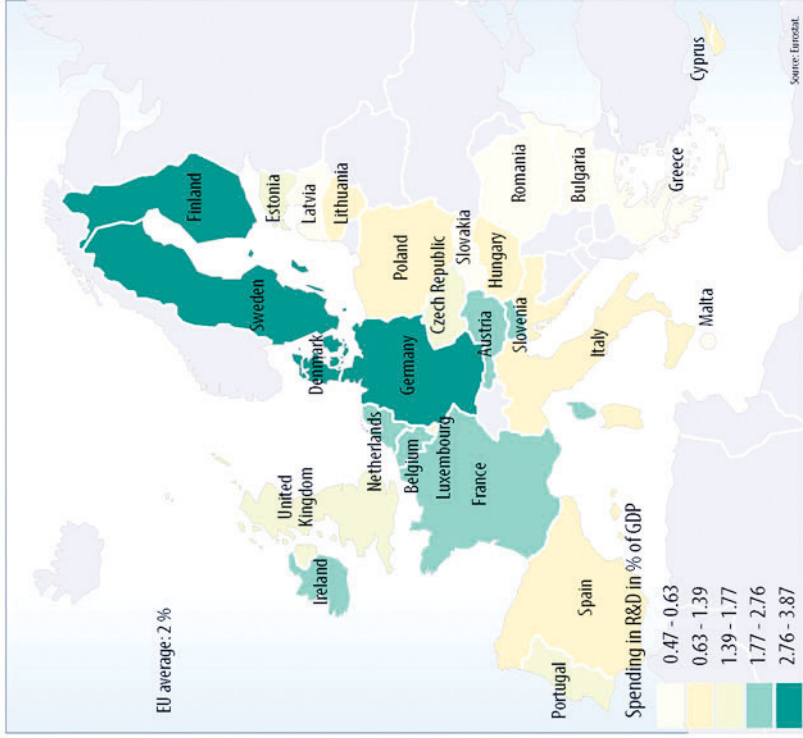


# Current Account in % of the GDP and Investments in R&D in Europe (2012)

Current Account in % of the GDP (2012)

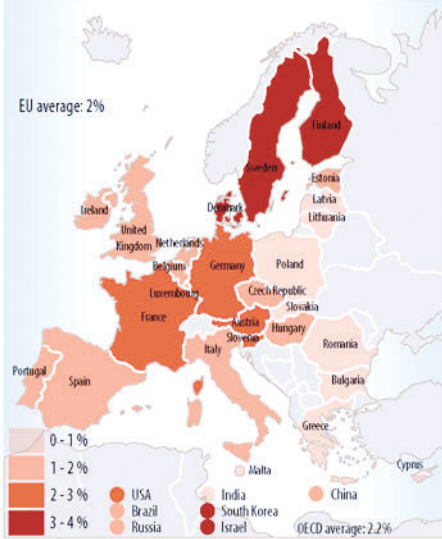


Investments in R&D (2011)

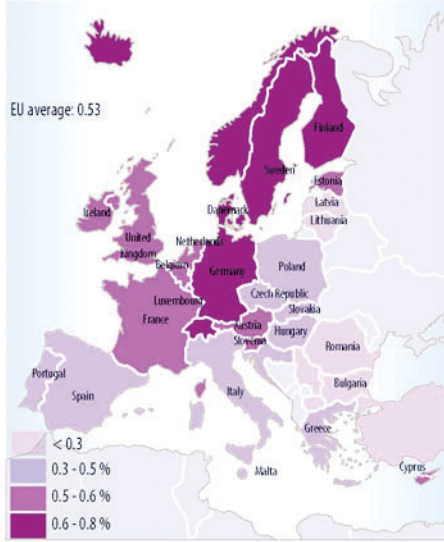


# Research and Innovation in the European Union

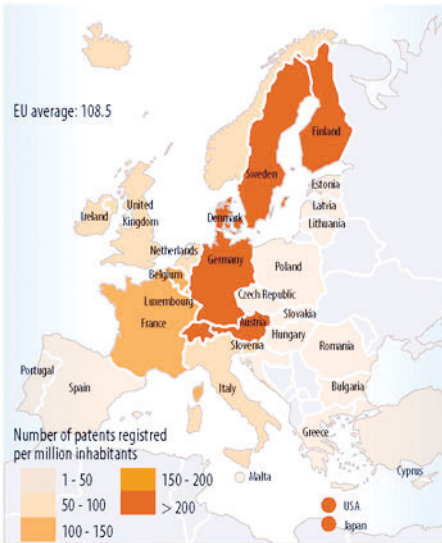
Share of spending on research and innovation in % of GDP (2010)



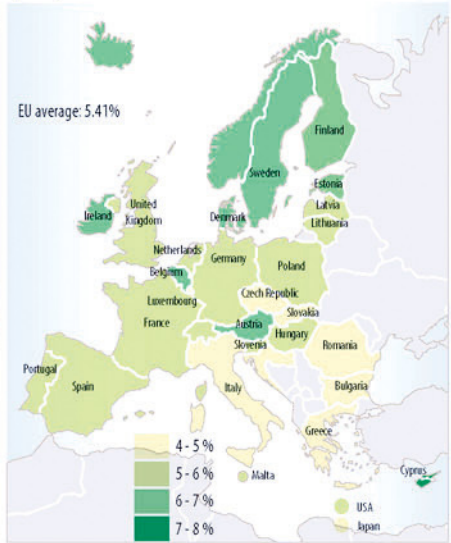
Summary Innovation Indicator (2011)



Patents (2010)



Public spending in education in % of GDP (2009)



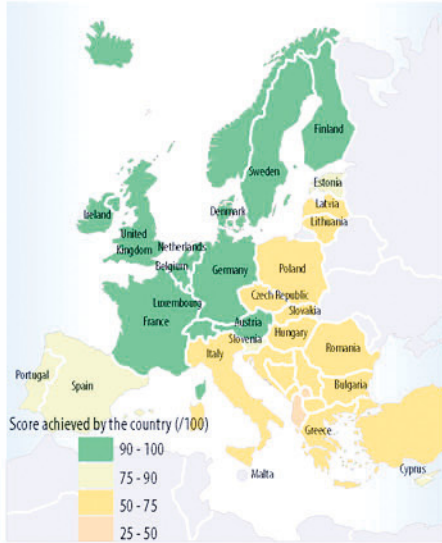
Pascal Oriat for the Robert Schuman Foundation, January 2013, © HES.



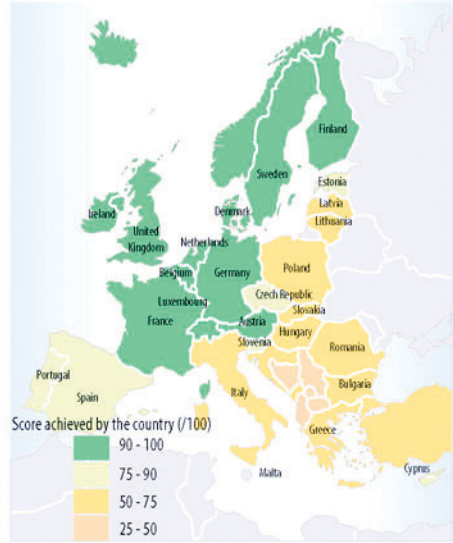
# Competitiveness and Governance

## Governance Indicators (2011)

### Control of Corruption



### Rule of Law

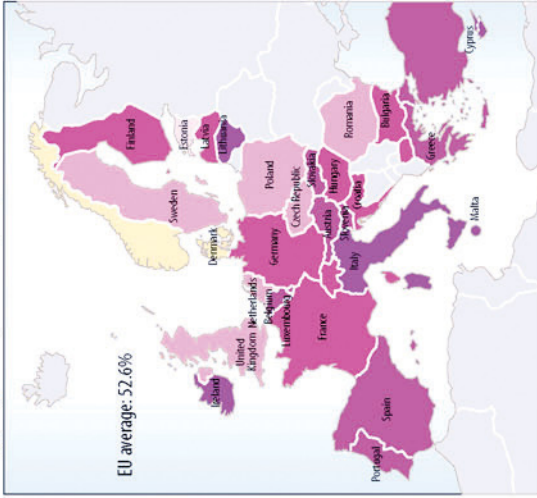


### Government effectiveness

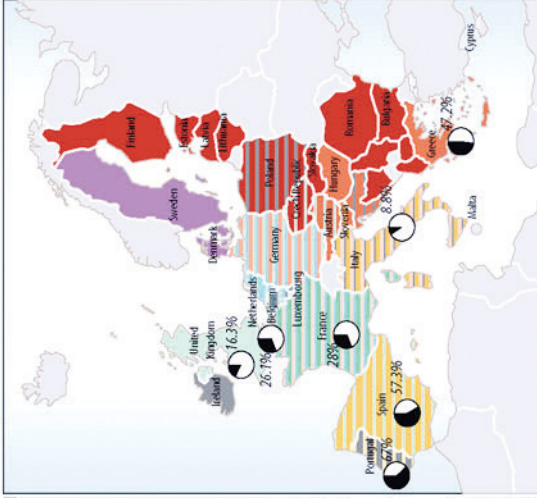


# The Energy Issue in Europe (1)

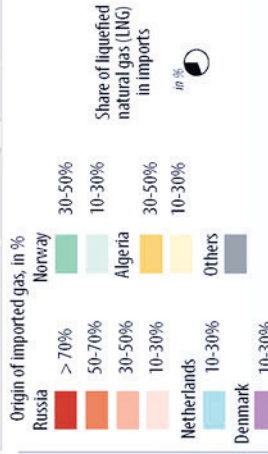
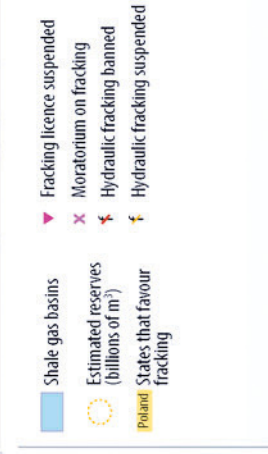
Energy Import Dependence (2010)



Gas imports



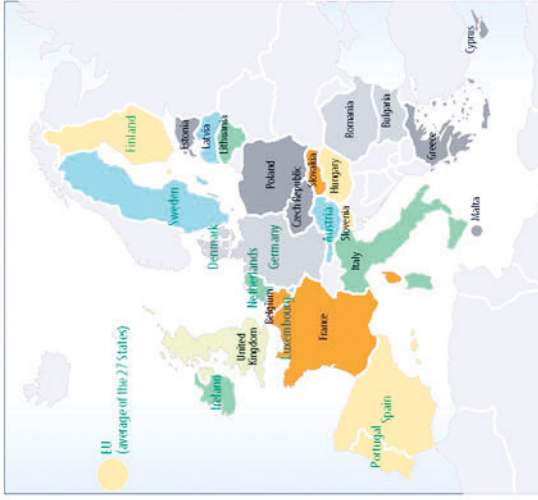
Shale gas in Europe



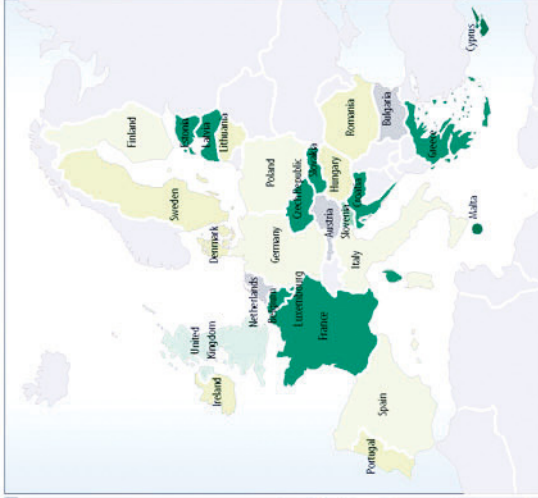
Sources: Eurostat, BP World Energy Review 2011.

# The Energy Issue in Europe (2)

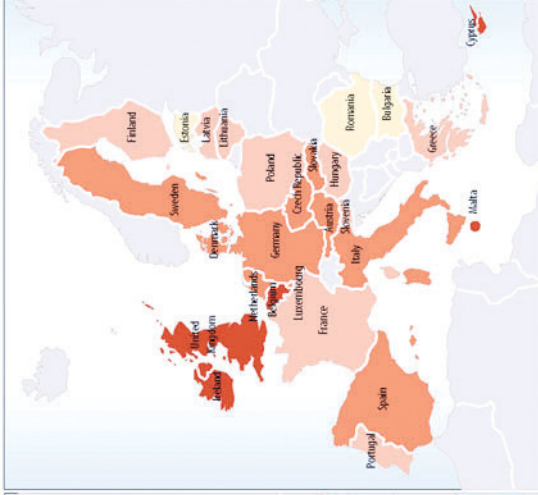
National profiles in electricity production (2011)



Opening of Markets

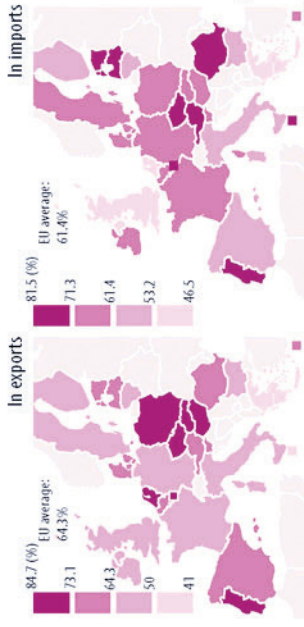


Price of electricity in €/KwH for households (2011)

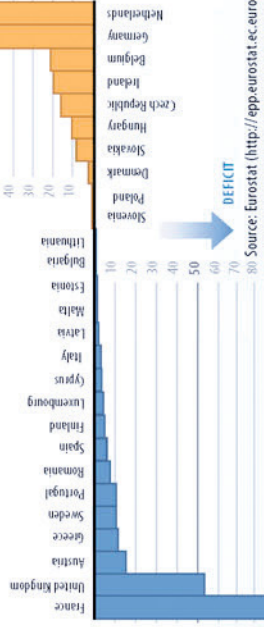


# Intra-Community Trade, 2011

## Share of intra-community trade

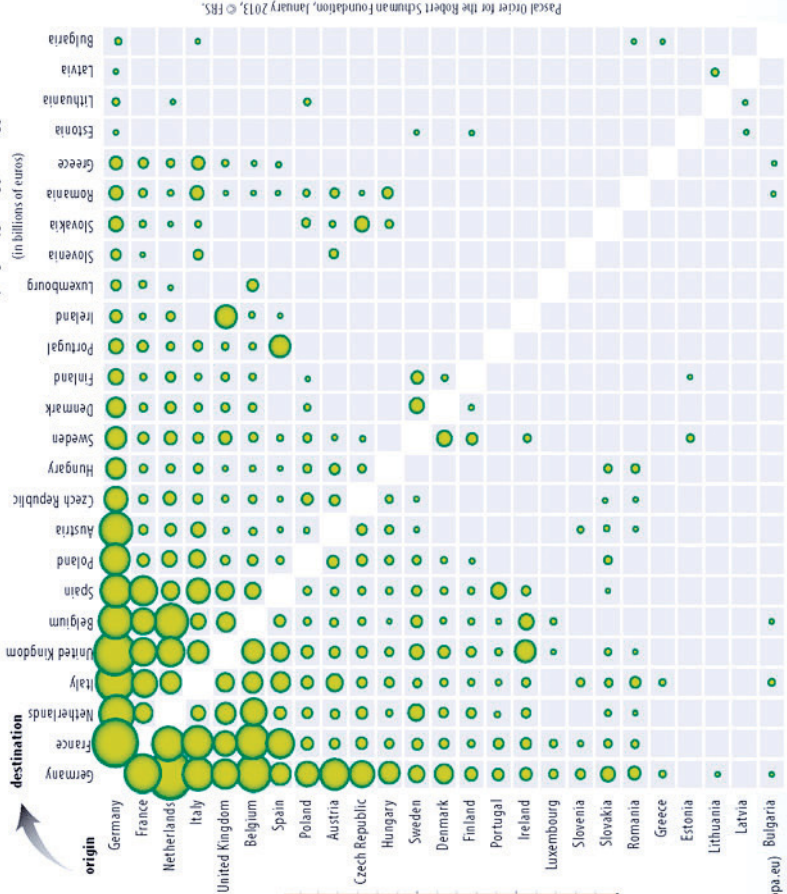


## Trade balance with EU countries (in billions of euros)

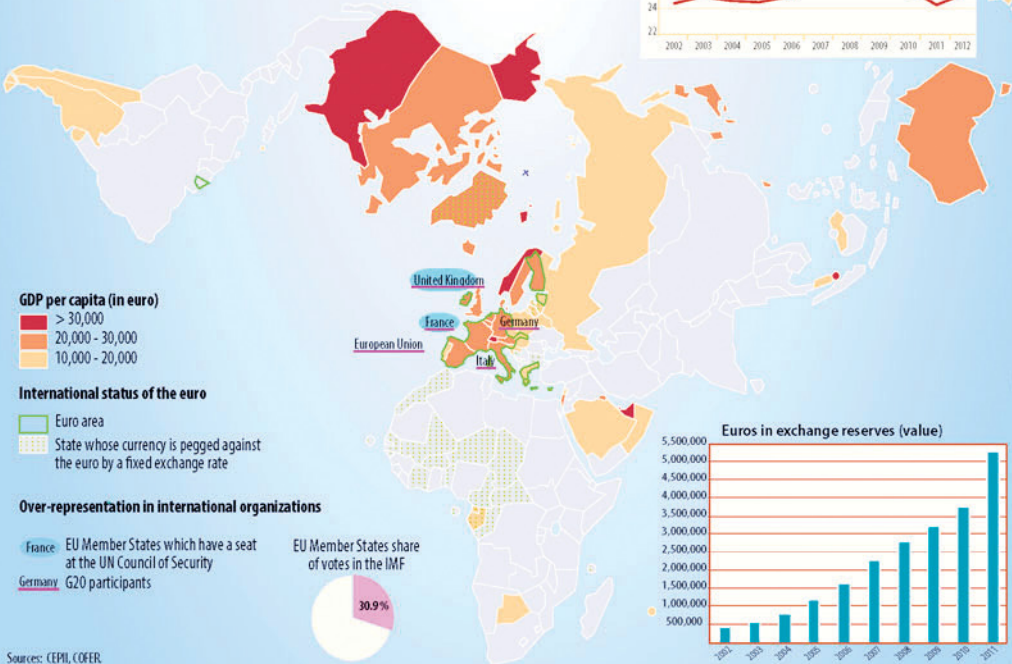
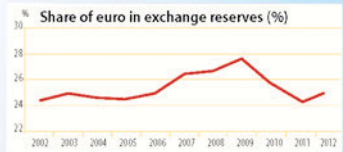
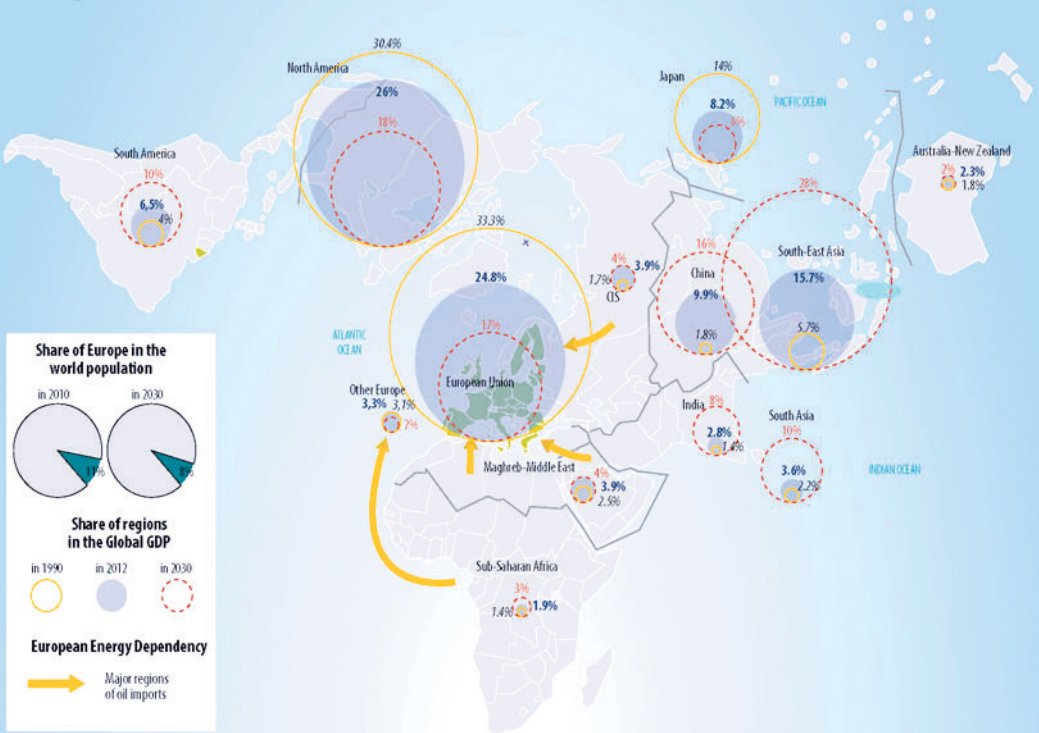


## Principal Intra-Community Trade flows

Only the largest trade flows (over 1 billion euros) are represented here. Malta only rises beyond this total in terms of its imports from Italy.



# Europe and Globalisation: risks and assets



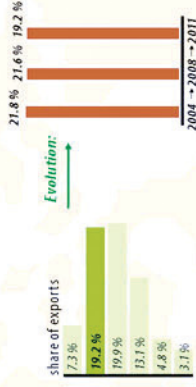
# The USA and the EU: economy and demography

## Trade in goods, major partners, 2010

### USA



### European Union



EU imports from the USA (2011)

€184.1 billion

EU exports to the USA (2011)

€260.5 billion

GDP, in billions of euros, 2011

USA 10,822.4

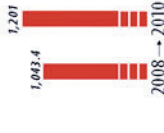
European Union 12,506.7

## Foreign Direct Investments (billions of euros)

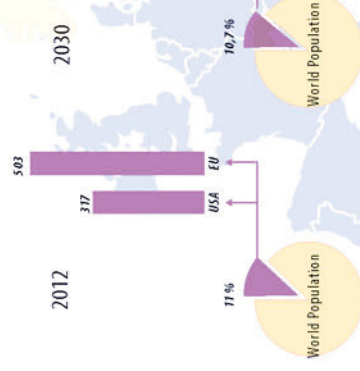
Flow of US FDI in the EU



Stock of European FDI in the USA

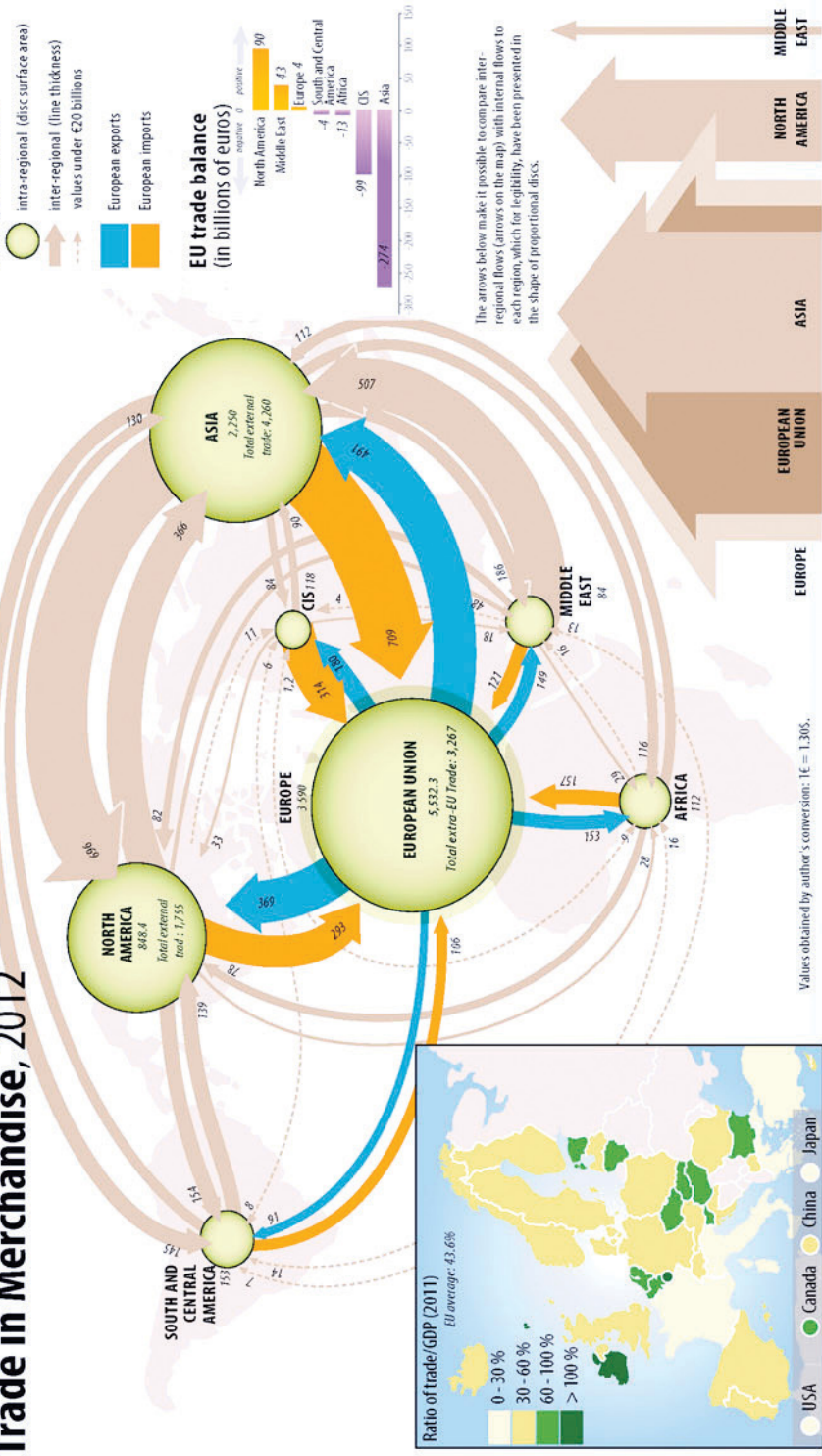


## Demography (millions of inhabitants)



Sources: compiled by the Robert Schuman Foundation (<http://www.robert-schuman.eu/>); eurostat; IMF ([www.imf.org/](http://www.imf.org/)); GD Trade ([http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2006/september/tradoc\\_113465.pdf](http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2006/september/tradoc_113465.pdf)); UNDP.

# The EU and World Trade in Globalisation: Trade in Merchandise, 2012

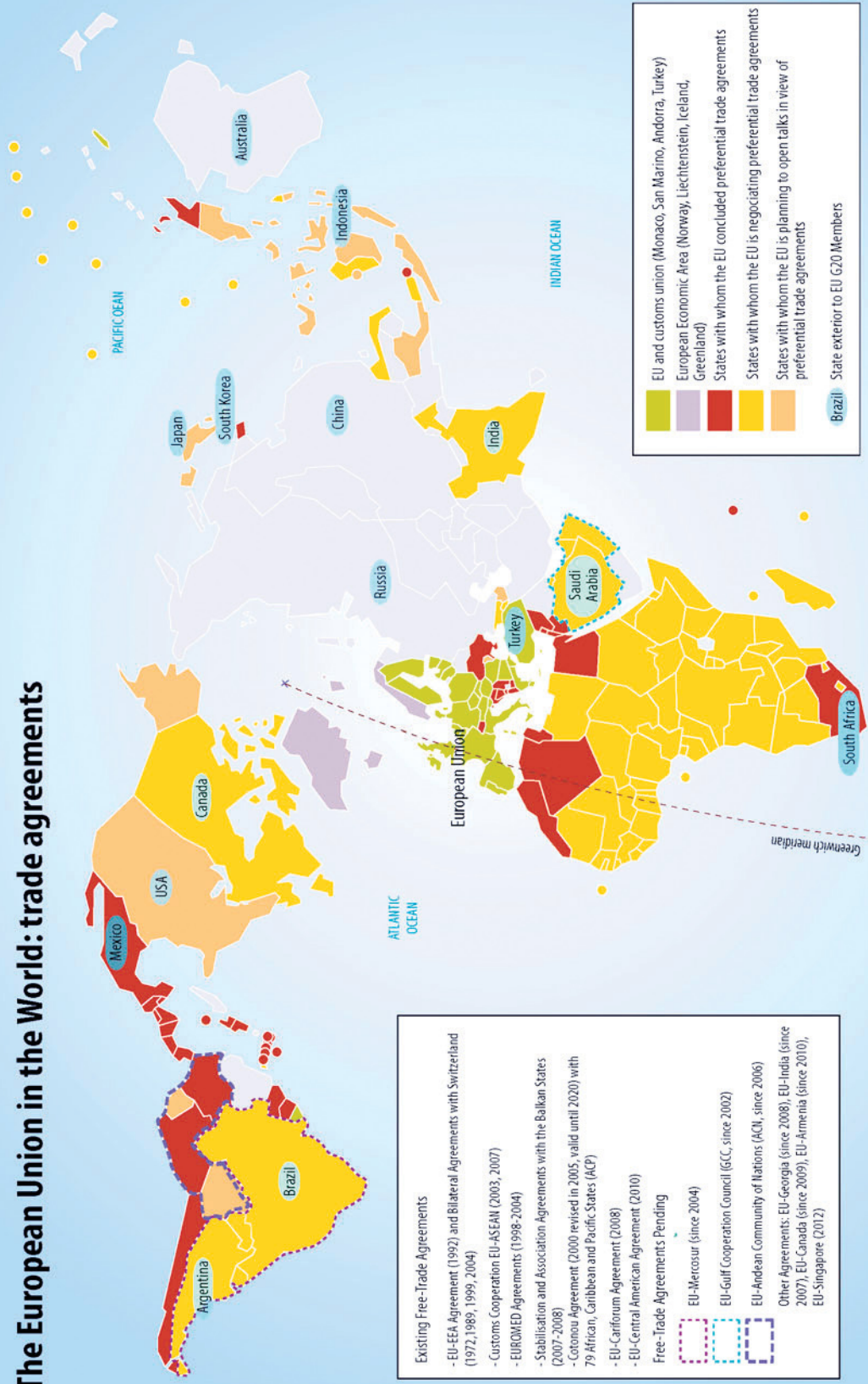


Values obtained by author's conversion: 1€ = 1.30\$.

Sources: World Trade Organization (WTO), International Trade Statistics 2011 (www.wto.org), Eurostat.

Passcal Orler for the Robert Schuman Foundation, January 2013, © RFS.

# The European Union in the World: trade agreements














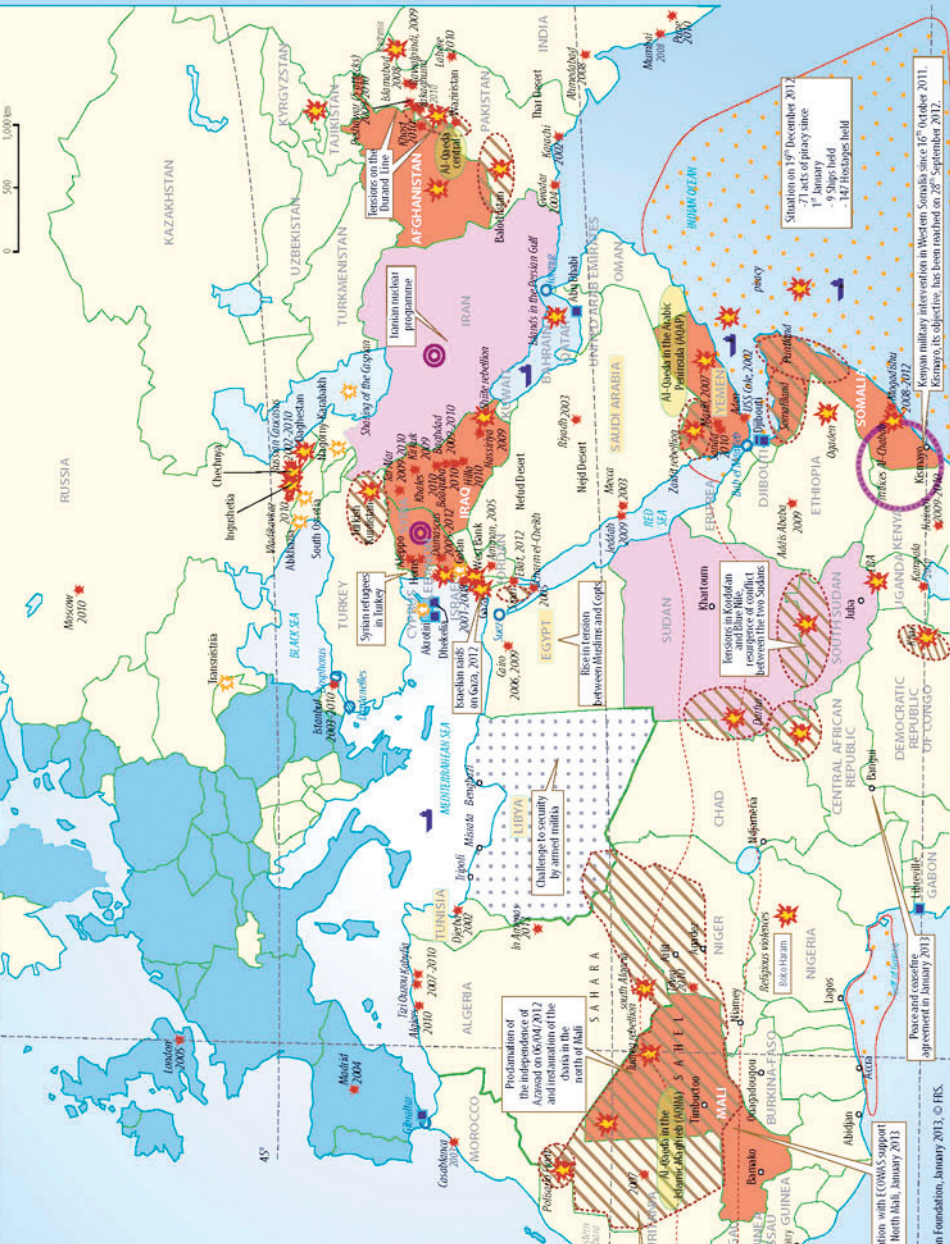
- Existing Free-Trade Agreements**
- EU-EEA Agreement (1992) and Bilateral Agreements with Switzerland (1972, 1989, 1999, 2004)
  - Customs Cooperation EU-ASEAN (2003, 2007)
  - EUROMED Agreements (1998-2004)
  - Stabilisation and Association Agreements with the Balkan States (2007-2008)
  - Cotonou Agreement (2000 revised in 2005, valid until 2020) with 79 African, Caribbean and Pacific States (ACP)
  - EU-Cariforum Agreement (2008)
  - EU-Central American Agreement (2010)
- Free-Trade Agreements Pending**
- EU-Mercosur (since 2004)
  - EU-Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC, since 2002)
  - EU-Andean Community of Nations (ACN, since 2006)
- Other Agreements:** EU-Georgia (since 2008), EU-India (since 2007), EU-Canada (since 2009), EU-Armenia (since 2010), EU-Singapore (2012)

- EU and customs union (Monaco, San Marino, Andorra, Turkey)
- European Economic Area (Norway, Liechtenstein, Iceland, Greenland)
- States with whom the EU concluded preferential trade agreements
- States with whom the EU is negotiating preferential trade agreements
- States with whom the EU is planning to open talks in view of preferential trade agreements
- State exterior to EU G20 Members



# Critical regions and zones of interest

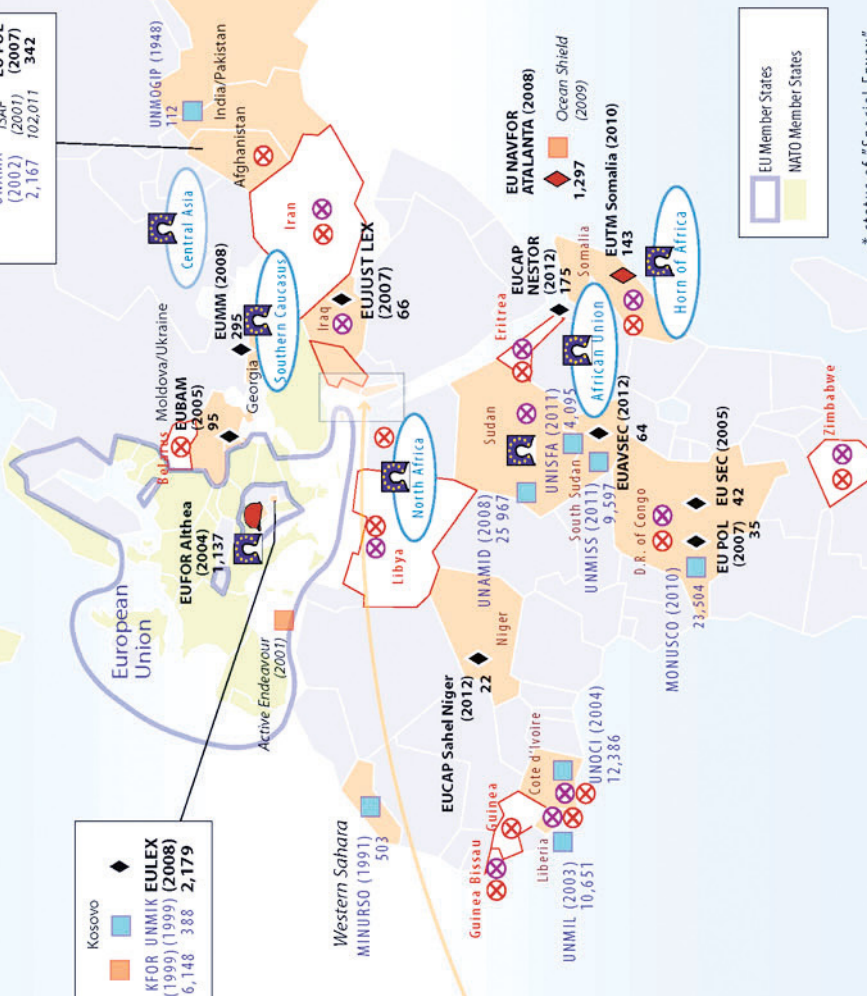
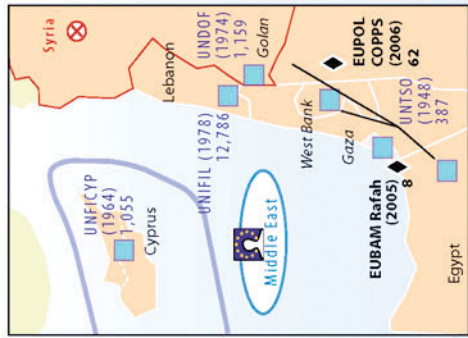
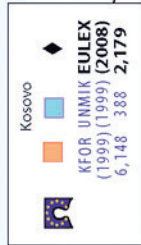
-  End of the crisis and transition
-  State experiencing serious armed conflict
-  States regarded as destabilizing
-  Sectors subject to piracy
-  Al-Qaeda's area of activity
-  Zones not under control; sieges by guerrillas or paramilitary groups
-  Political transition and succession issues
-  LIBYA
-  Political/Humanitarian crisis
-  Tensions/Political contestation
-  Closed Border
-  Rebellion
-  Frozen conflict
-  Major attacks
-  Strategic points
-  Military base
-  Presence of Western fleets



Map: Michael Foucher, design: Pascal Trorer, for the Robert Schuman Foundation, January 2013, © IHS.

# World Security: European Union intervention and participation

Situation on 1<sup>st</sup> December 2012



Ongoing external operations

- within the context of ESDP (European Security and Defence Policy)
- with the UN
- with NATO

Number of persons involved are given under the name of the mission

State or region involved in the deployment of a mission

Special EU representative

States under UN sanctions (embargo on weapons, travel bans, assets freeze)

States under EU sanctions

Violation of Human rights

Violation of democracy

Political repression

Support to terrorism or armed groups

Violation of embargo on weapons

Threat to peace and stability

UN

EU Member States

NATO Member States

\* status of "Special Envoy"

Legend:

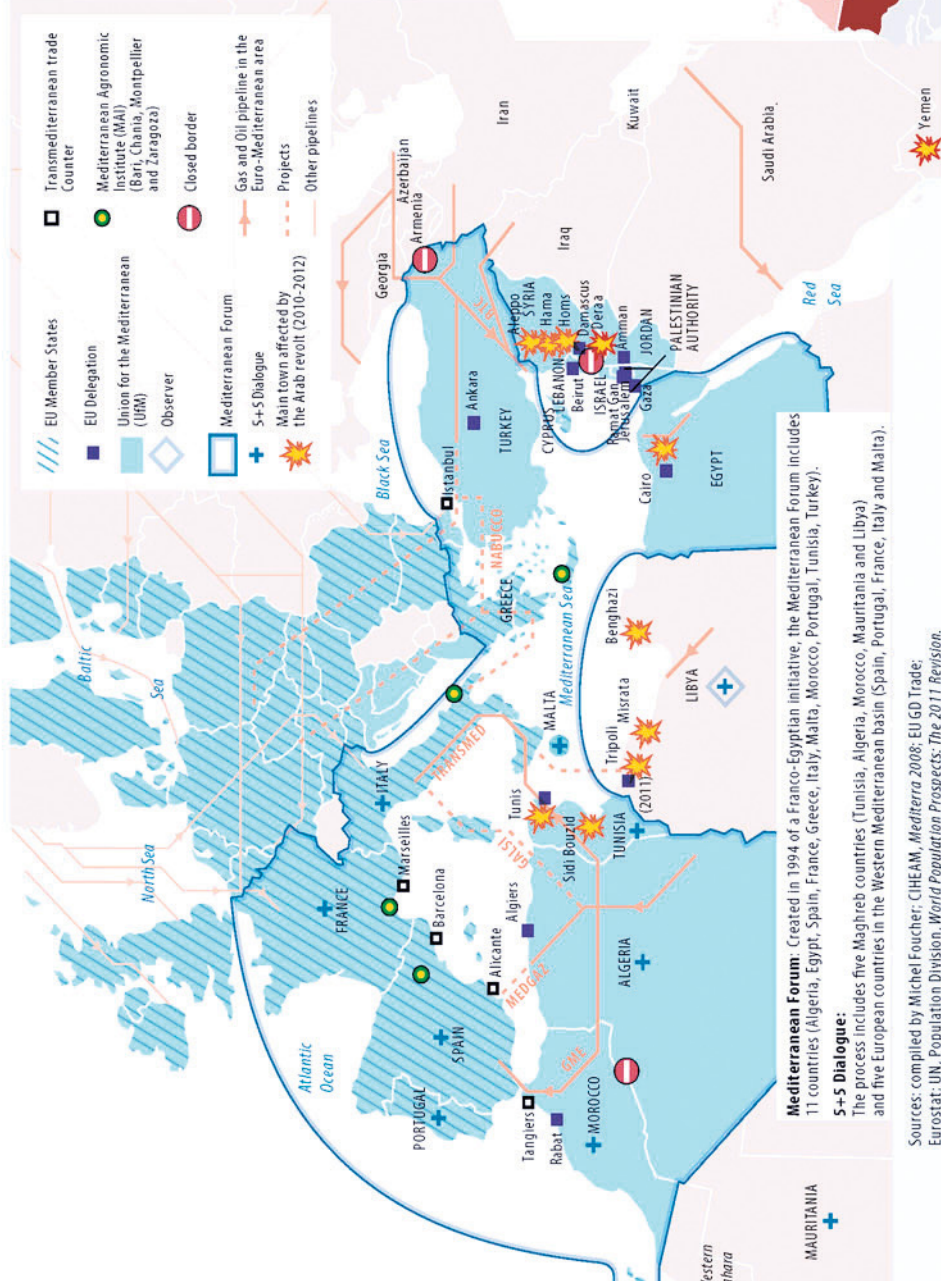
- Orange diamond: military
- Blue diamond: civilian
- Blue square: with the UN
- Blue square: with NATO
- Blue square: State or region involved in the deployment of a mission
- Blue square: Special EU representative
- Red square: States under UN sanctions (embargo on weapons, travel bans, assets freeze)
- Red square: States under EU sanctions
- Red square: Violation of Human rights
- Red square: Violation of democracy
- Red square: Political repression
- Red square: Support to terrorism or armed groups
- Red square: Violation of embargo on weapons
- Red square: Threat to peace and stability
- Blue square: UN
- Blue square: EU Member States
- Blue square: NATO Member States

References:

- UN: www.un.org, NATO: www.nato.int, European External Action Service: www.eeas.europa.eu
- UNFICYP (1964): Cyprus
- UNIFIL (1978): Lebanon
- UNDUF (1974): Golan
- UNTSO (1948): West Bank, Gaza
- EUPOL COPPS (2006): West Bank, Gaza
- UNTSO (1948): 387
- EUBAM Rafah (2005): 8
- UNMIS (2005): 102,011
- UNMOGIP (1948): 112
- India/Pakistan
- UNAMA (2002): 2,167
- ISAF (2001): 102,011
- EU POL (2007): 342
- Afghanistan
- UNAMA (2002): 2,167
- ISAF (2001): 102,011
- EU POL (2007): 342
- Active Endeavour (2001)
- EUFOR Althea (2004): 1,137
- Bosnia
- Moldova/Ukraine
- EUBAM (2005): 95
- Georgia
- Southern Caucasus
- EUMM (2008): 295
- Iran
- EUJUST LEX (2007): 66
- Libya
- North Africa
- UNAMID (2008): 25,967
- Niger
- EUCAP Sahel Niger (2012): 22
- Guinea Bissau
- Liberia
- UNMIL (2003): 10,651
- Cote d'Ivoire
- UNOCI (2004): 12,386
- South Sudan
- UNISFA (2011): 4,095
- Sudan
- EUCAP NESTOR (2012): 175
- Eritrea
- African Union
- EU NAVFOR ATALANTA (2008): 1,297
- Ocean Shield (2009)
- Somalia
- EUTM Somalia (2010): 143
- Horn of Africa
- Zimbabwe
- MONUSCO (2010): 23,504
- D.R. of Congo
- EUAVSEC (2012): 64
- EU POL EU SEC (2005): 35
- EU POL (2007): 42
- UNMIS (2005): 102,011
- UNMOGIP (1948): 112
- India/Pakistan
- UNAMA (2002): 2,167
- ISAF (2001): 102,011
- EU POL (2007): 342

Sources: Council of the European Union (www.consilium.europa.eu), UN (www.un.org), NATO (www.nato.int), European External Action Service (www.eeas.europa.eu).

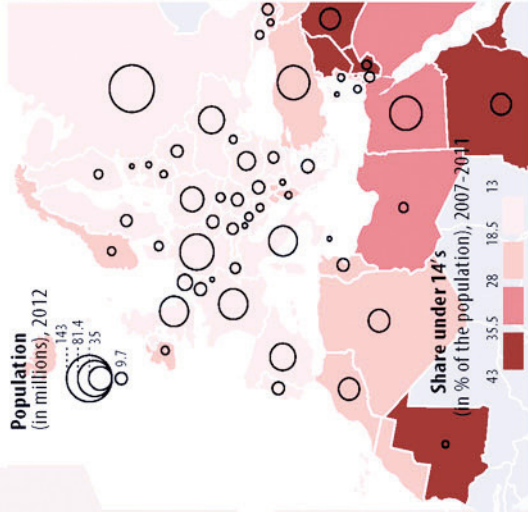
# The EU and the Arab Revolutions



## EU share in trade of southern and eastern Mediterranean countries, 2011 (in %)



## Population (in millions), 2012



Sources: compiled by Michel Foucher: CIHEAM, *Mediterra 2008*; EUGD Trade; Eurostat; UN, Population Division, *World Population Prospects: The 2011 Revision*.