

BRIEFING

THE SHAPE OF THE NEXT EUROPEAN COMMISSION

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Juncker's in – now the next phase of the top jobs race begins

Only one member of the next European Commission is known for certain – Jean-Claude Juncker. The former prime minister of Luxembourg, who led his country from 1995 to 2013, was comfortably elected as President by the European Parliament on Tuesday 15 July.

Juncker will now begin to construct his team. Following the European Council of 16 July – which failed to reach agreement on nominees for the other top jobs in the EU – the ball has been passed to the President-elect of the Commission to allocate portfolios. EU leaders will then reconvene on 30 August to select a High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy (in agreement with Juncker), the next President of the European Council, and the full-time President of the Eurogroup.



It had previously been thought that it would be crucial to name the High Representative before allocating portfolios, given the foreign policy chief's role as a Commission vice-president: a last-minute change – by giving one or other country the foreign policy portfolio instead of a role allocated by Juncker – could unravel everything. While there appears to be general agreement that the High Representative should be a Socialist, and others such as the French President, François Hollande, and Italy's Prime Minister, Matteo Renzi, believe it should be a woman (namely Federica Mogherini, Italy's Foreign Minister), all the posts are still up for discussion (and opposition to Mogherini's candidacy, based on her perceived 'softness' towards Russia, will probably harden in the light of escalating tension between the West and the Kremlin over Ukraine).

But it is the link between the top jobs that seems to be causing more complications, and member states seem to want to know what they are likely to get in the Commission before deciding to what extent they push for their own candidates for more senior roles. There is a danger of this situation becoming a chicken-and-egg scenario, however: Dutch Prime Minister Mark Rutte has hinted that his nomination may wait until the next summit, once he gets a better idea of whether one of his ministers could get a top job, or what other positions may be on offer.

Twelve men named so far – *cherchez la femme*

In addition to Jean-Claude Juncker, eleven nominees are known – all of whom are men.

However, it is probable that some of these names will not appear in the final Commission line-up as Juncker has pledged to improve the gender balance of the Commission from the nine members in the original Barroso II College. Current female commissioners have called for 'ten or more' women in the next College.

With this in mind, Juncker is likely to highlight that a team with fewer than ten women presents a severe risk of being rejected by the European Parliament (a point made clear by the President of the European Parliament, Martin Schulz, in his speech to EU leaders at the European Council meeting on Wednesday).

Juncker may well not restrict his call for female candidates to those countries yet to nominate – two or three of the eleven men already named may be jettisoned, perhaps as part of a deal for an improved portfolio.

Many EU leaders have backed the need for gender balance, but many also seem to regard it as someone else's problem, with the leaders who have nominated a candidate – including Germany's Angela Merkel – standing by their man. Even Hollande – who has worked for a better gender balance in the French government – seemed to suggest that he would stick by Pierre Moscovici, his expected but not-yet-finally-confirmed nominee, rather than put forward a woman.



Johannes Hahn • European Commissioner for Regional Policy

Austria • Austrian People's Party (ÖVP - EPP)

Hahn confirmed on Twitter on 1 July that he had been nominated once again by the Austrian government to be their candidate for commissioner. He was previously a minister with responsibility for research policy. The governing grand coalition has suggested he may return to the regional policy portfolio, although continuing in the same position is unusual.

Possible women replacements: Doris Bures (PES), Transport, Innovation and Technology Minister; Maria Fekter (EPP), finance minister 2011-2013; Ursula Plassnik (EPP), foreign minister 2004-2008



Neven Mimica • European Commissioner for Consumer Protection

Croatia • Social Democratic Party (SDP - PES)

Mimica is Croatia's first-ever commissioner, joining the College on the country's accession in 2013. He has long been expected to stay on into the next mandate, and his successful but dropped election to the European Parliament supported this. With Vytenis Andriukaitis (Lithuania) tipped for the health role, Mimica may be moved to another post if the health and consumer briefs are reunited again.

Possible women replacements: Vesna Pusic (ALDE), Foreign Minister; Milanka Opacic (PES), Social Welfare and Youth Minister



Andrus Ansip • MEP; Estonian prime minister 2005-2014

Estonia • Reform Party (RE - ALDE)

Ansip's nomination was unsurprising, as he had stood down from being prime minister to swap jobs with Siim Kallas (although the latter did not, in the end, become PM). He is thought to favour an economics portfolio, though Estonia's leading role in e-government matters might make him a strong candidate for the Digital Agenda role. As a former PM, he is likely to get a weighty brief.

Possible women replacements: Anne Sulling (ALDE), Foreign Trade and Entrepreneurship Minister; Laine Randjärv (ALDE), culture minister 2007-2011 and Vice-President of Estonian Parliament



Jyrki Katainen • European Commissioner for Economic Affairs and Monetary Policy, Finnish prime minister 2011-2014

Finland • National Coalition Party (Kokoomus - EPP)

Katainen was touted for senior EU roles in early 2014, so his nomination to replace Olli Rehn (now a vice-president of the European Parliament) was unsurprising. It is unknown whether he will carry on with the Economic Affairs and Monetary Policy portfolio after October, but it is thought less likely given Finland's hawkish approach on monetary policy and Juncker's recent comments suggesting the role should go to a Socialist. The trade portfolio, or another economic portfolio, may suit Katainen.

Possible women replacements: Henna Virkkunen (EPP), former local government minister 2011-2014 and current MEP; Jutta Urpilainen (PES), finance minister 2011-2014



Günther Oettinger • Vice-President of the European Commission for Energy
Germany • Christian Democrat Union (CDU - EPP)

Oettinger's nomination always hinged on the dynamics of Martin Schulz's candidacy for the Commission presidency. Schulz's return to the Parliament presidency was part of a deal that allowed the Chancellor, Angela Merkel, to bow to internal party pressure and appoint a CDU nominee. Germany is believed to prefer the energy portfolio, though ten years in such a key role would be unusual. He is likely to retain his vice-presidency role.

Possible women replacements: Ursula von der Leyen (EPP), Defence Minister; Johanna Wanka (EPP), Education and Research Minister



Phil Hogan • Minister for Environment, Community and Rural Government 2011-2014
Ireland • Fine Gael (EPP)

Hogan has been named as the candidate of Fine Gael, and a preference for the agriculture or trade portfolio has been specified. Hogan leaves behind domestic troubles, having been criticised over changes to water rates.

Possible women replacements: Mairead McGuinness (EPP), European Parliament Vice-President



Vytenis Andriukaitis • Minister for Health
Lithuania • Social Democratic Party (LSDP - PES)

Andriukaitis played an active role in securing new legislation on clinical trials and tobacco control during the Lithuanian Presidency. The Lithuanian Prime Minister, and Andriukaitis himself, have spoken of his suitability for the Health and Consumers portfolio. Due to the low priority usually granted to this portfolio, he may well get it.

Possible women replacements: Birute Vesaitė (PES), economy minister 2012-2013 is a possibility, but there is no really obvious female candidate



Valdis Dombrovskis • MEP; Latvian prime minister 2009-2013
Latvia • Unity (V - EPP)

Dombrovskis ran against Jean-Claude Juncker in the EPP lead candidate contest but dropped out the day before the vote, suggesting that he may have settled for another EU role. He was supported by the current Latvian government last month, though there have been no clear statements on preferred portfolio beyond the usual demand for a significant economic post.

Possible women replacements: Sandra Kalniete (EPP), foreign minister 2002-2004, agriculture commissioner 2004, current MEP; Solvita Aboltina (EPP), justice minister 2004- 2006 and President of the Latvian Parliament



Jean-Claude Juncker • Commission President-elect, Luxembourg prime minister 1995-2013
Luxembourg • Christian Social People's Party (CSV - EPP)

Juncker was elected by the European Parliament, thanks to a grand coalition of EPP, S&D and ALDE MEPs, on 15 July.



Karmenu Vella • Tourism Minister 2013-2014

Malta • Labour (PES)

Vella received approval from the Maltese Government in March this year. Vella's background as tourism minister is not insignificant, given that it is a major economic activity of Malta, but he is unlikely to secure a major portfolio given the seniority of other nominees.

Possible women replacements: Marie-Louise Coleiro Preca (PES), President of Malta – however, there is no really obvious female candidate



Maroš Šefcovic • Vice-President of the European Commission for Inter-Institutional Relations and Administration

Slovakia • Direction - Social Democracy (Smer-SD - PES)

Šefcovic was a career diplomat prior to becoming a commissioner. He is able and dependable, making his return to the Commission unsurprising. He may look to secure another vice-presidential position, but it seems unlikely that he will get a major policy brief given the greater political experience of other nominees from bigger countries.

Possible women replacements: Zuzana Zvolenska (PES), Health Minister



Jonathan Hill • Leader of the House of Lords 2013-2014

United Kingdom • Conservative Party (AECR)

Jonathan Hill (Lord Hill of Oareford) is the surprise nomination of the British Government, following speculation over more senior figures, such as former Health Secretary Andrew Lansley or outgoing Foreign Secretary William Hague, taking the role.

The British nomination is fraught with difficulties, needing to find someone that will be approved by the European Parliament but at the same satisfies the (almost insatiable) Euroscepticism of Conservative MEPs – and avoid a costly and possibly damaging by-election less than one year before the general election.

Hill, a former PR executive who has never held elected office, follows in the footsteps of Baroness Ashton, coming from the position of Leader of the House of Lords. The House of Lords often takes a more pragmatic view of the European Union than the House of Commons, and Hill is seen as affable but without strong views.

Hill worked with David Cameron in the Conservative Research Department in the 1990s and served as an advisor to John Major during the Maastricht negotiations in the early 1990s. He has already faced threats of rejection by the European Parliament, but is less Eurosceptic than some of the alternatives.

The UK seeks – and may get – an important economic portfolio, but this will be due to the country rather than the man, who is not considered a big-hitter.

Possible women replacements: Theresa Villiers (AECR), Northern Ireland Secretary; Sayeeda Warsi (AECR), Junior Foreign Office Minister; Caroline Spelman (AECR), former environment secretary

Other potential nominees – who will get the nod?

Belgium

- **Karel De Gucht** (ALDE; *European Commissioner for Trade*)
- **Elio Di Rupo** (PES; *outgoing Prime Minister*)
- **Marianne Thyssen** (EPP; *MEP and former CD&V party leader*)
- **Kris Peeters** (EPP; *outgoing Minister-President of Flanders*)
- **Didier Reynders** (ALDE; *Foreign Minister*)
- **Joëlle Milquet** (EPP; *Interior Minister*)

At present, the leading contender is Thyssen, although she is understood to be slightly reluctant to take the role. As a leading light in the EPP, and as a women, she would stand little difficulty in being approved and a good chance of

securing a good portfolio. A Francophone alternative would be Milquet, although her EPP-affiliated party is much weaker than its Flemish counterpart, the CD&V, to which Thyssen belongs. Peeters – another CD&V member, is the other main contender at this stage. Belgium’s current difficulties in forming federal and regional governments are causing delays in the appointment, but Di Rupo has stressed to other members of the government the importance of making a nomination as soon as possible to secure a good portfolio.

Bulgaria

- **Kristalina Georgieva** (EPP; *European Commissioner for Humanitarian Relief*)
- **Gergana Passy** (former *Europe minister*)
- **Nadezhda Neynski** (EPP; *former foreign minister*)
- **Kristian Vigenin** (PES; *outgoing foreign minister and former MEP, pictured right*)



Vigenin has emerged as the leading contender from a country where political difficulties are also complicating the nomination process. Georgieva is mooted as a possible contender for the High Representative role, but the role seems to be earmarked for a Socialist. Passy and Neynski are other women candidates who are also linked more closely to the right, but the outgoing Socialist government is likely to want to name one of its own, with Vigenin thought to be the most likely nominee.

Cyprus

- **Mario Karoyian** (EPP; *former Democratic Rally leader*)
- **Christos Stylianidis** (EPP; *MEP and former government spokesperson*)
- **Ioannis Kasoulidis** (EPP; *Foreign Minister*)

It seems unlikely that Cyprus will boost the number of women in the Commission team, with the party of the current commissioner, Androulla Vassiliou, out of office. Stylianidis is the frontrunner.

Czech Republic

- **Pavel Mertlík** (PES; *former finance minister*)
- **Pavel Telicka** (ALDE; *MEP and former European commissioner*)
- **Vera Jourová** (ALDE; *European Funds Minister*)
- **Stefan Fule** (PES; *European Commissioner for Enlargement*)
- **Petr Blizkovsky** (EPP; *official at Council of the European Union*)

Telicka, once the frontrunner, now seems to be out of the race. His ANO 2011 party, the junior coalition partner in Prague, is putting forward Vera Jourová, while the senior coalition partner, the Social Democrats, may ditch Mertlík and propose another term for Fule. Given the lack of women in Juncker’s team, Jourová may stand a better chance, although there are question marks over selecting a funding minister from a country with a poor record of managing EU aid, and the Social Democratic PM, Bohuslav Sobotka, said he did not like the idea of a minister leaving unfinished business. Blizkovsky is a diplomat who has been in Brussels for 14 years and would represent a more technocratic option to break the political deadlock.

Denmark

- **Morten Bødskov** (PES; *former justice minister*)
- **Mette Gjerskov** (PES, *former agriculture minister*)
- **Christine Antorini** (PES; *Education Minister*)

With Juncker taking the Commission presidency, two big-hitters – current Prime Minister Helle Thorning-Schmidt and former PM Anders Fogh Rasmussen – are out of the running. Former ministers Bødskov and Gjerskov (the latter now heads the Danish Parliament’s foreign affairs committee) are in the race, with Gjerskov’s gender providing an advantage given the absence of women. Antorini has recently been mooted for the post, too. Denmark seems one of the more likely sources of a female commissioner.

France

- **Pierre Moscovici** (*PES; former finance minister*)
- **Martine Aubry** (*PES; former social affairs minister*)
- **Élisabeth Guigou** (*PES; former Europe minister*)
- **Pervenche Berès** (*PES, MEP*)
- **Catherine Trautmann** (*PES; former MEP*)

Pierre Moscovici is the frontrunner for the nomination. He has cultivated links in the European Parliament (where he once served as an MEP) and with Juncker in the past few weeks, and after the European Council on 16 July François Hollande told journalists that ‘you know who our candidate is’, without mentioning Moscovici by name. Hollande seems determined that the former finance minister be installed as economic and monetary affairs commissioner. Nevertheless, there is a significant number of alternative female candidates if Hollande can be persuaded to translate his domestic efforts to increase the number of women in senior positions to making a contribution at EU level. Trautmann (who was removed from the top of a regional party list for the elections, and subsequently lost her seat as an MEP), Berès or Guigou are possible candidates. Aubry is thought to be a less likely contender given her political rivalry with Hollande.

Greece

- **Dora Bakoyannis** (*EPP; former foreign minister*)
- **Evangelos Venizelos** (*PES; Foreign Minister*)
- **Kostis Hatzidakis** (*EPP; Development and Competitiveness Minister*)

Given the poor showing by the centre-left in the European election in Greece, a candidate from the senior coalition partner, the centre-right New Democracy, seems more likely. Bakoyannis, who rejoined the party after leaving to form a centrist group, has long been a frontrunner and her nomination would be welcomed by Juncker in his quest to achieve a gender balance.

Hungary

- **Eniko Gyori** (*EPP; former Europe minister*)
- **Tibor Navracsics** (*EPP; Foreign Minister and Deputy Prime Minister*)
- **József Szájer** (*EPP; MEP*)

Navracsics is considered to be the frontrunner for the nomination, although his public run-ins with the Commission as justice minister over fundamental rights in Hungary may lead to difficulties in his parliamentary hearing. Szájer and particularly Gyori, both of whom have served in the European Parliament, may find the grilling easier to handle. Gyori, who impressed as Europe minister during Hungary’s difficult presidency of the Council in 2011, would also help Juncker improve his team’s gender balance.

Italy

- **Paolo De Castro** (*PES; MEP*)
- **Enzo Moavero Milanesi** (*former Europe minister*)
- **Emma Bonino** (*ALDE; former foreign minister and European commissioner*)
- **Federica Mogherini** (*PES; Foreign Minister*)

Mogherini (*pictured right*) is the leading contender from Italy and may be installed as High Representative (although some central and Eastern European governments have misgivings about the Italian government’s position on Russia). She may be a contender for a post in the Commission even if she does not secure the foreign affairs brief. Emma Bonino is another possible female candidate who lends experience from previous spells in the Commission. De Castro, a former chair of the Parliament’s agriculture committee, would appear well suited to the same brief in the Commission.



Netherlands

- **Neelie Kroes** (*ALDE; Vice-President of the Commission for the Digital Agenda*)
- **Frans Timmermans** (*PES; Foreign Minister*)
- **Jeroen Dijsselbloem** (*PES; Finance Minister*)
- **Liliane Ploumen** (*PES; Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation Minister*)
- **Lousewies van der Laan** (*Vice-President of ALDE*)

Kroes - although unlikely to be nominated - is not completely out of the running; however, the position is likely to revert to the Liberal VVD's coalition partner, Labour. Dijsselbloem and Timmermans are outside contenders for the Eurogroup presidency and High Representative positions respectively, but could be in line for other portfolios in the Commission. Ploumen is probably the leading female contender from Labour, while an outside bet is Van der Laan, from the social liberal D66 party, which won the European election and lends its backing to the government in The Hague. Given the delay in the nominations for the top jobs, Dutch PM Mark Rutte may decide to hold fire on a nomination while he waits to see if Timmermans in particular can land a more senior role.

Poland

- **Jan-Vincent Rostowski** (*EPP; former finance minister*)
- **Radoslaw Sikorski** (*EPP; Foreign Minister*)
- **Danuta Hübner** (*EPP; Chair of the European Parliament Committee on Constitutional Affairs*)

Sikorski is a contender for the Commission but probably only as High Representative - if he does not get that role, another contender could be Rostowski or Hübner, who was a commissioner from 2004 to 2010. She would help the gender balance and be seen as a safe pair of hands for an important portfolio.

Portugal

- **Vitor Gaspar** (*former finance minister*)
- **Paulo Portas** (*EPP; Deputy Prime Minister*)
- **Miguel Poiaras Maduro** (*EPP; Regional Development Minister*)
- **Maria Graca Carvalho** (*EPP; former science and education minister*)
- **Maria Luis Albuquerque** (*EPP; Finance Minister*)
- **Maria Joao Rodrigues** (*PES; MEP, academic and former Commission advisor*)



The two main Portuguese parties have held talks on possible candidates for the Commission but no name has yet emerged. Speculation surrounds Portas, from CDS-PP (a smaller centre-right party than the PSD party of the Prime Minister, Pedro Passos Coelho) or Poiaras Maduro, from PSD. The latter has a distinguished career on the European stage, despite being only 47, having been an advocate-general at the European Court of Justice from 2003 to 2009 and a lecturer on EU affairs. Graca Carvalho (*pictured right*) and Albuquerque are possible female candidates from the EPP, with Maria Joao Rodrigues, an academic, analyst and advisor who is now an MEP, an acceptable alternative from the centre-left.

Romania

- **Corina Cretu** (*PES; European Parliament vice-president*)
- **Titus Corlatean** (*PES; Foreign Minister*)
- **Rovana Plumb** (*PES; Labour and Social Protection Minister*)
- **Dacian Ciolos** (*EPP; European Commissioner for Agriculture*)

Ciolos is the leading contender and is thought to have the backing of the government for another stint as agriculture commissioner. However, other candidates for that position are emerging (such as Phil Hogan, Ireland's current nominee) and it is unusual for a commissioner to hold the same portfolio in consecutive terms. In addition, there are female contenders - such as Cretu (a potential Development Commissioner) and Plumb - from the governing Social Democrats who may be a better bet given the quest for a better gender balance.

Slovenia

- **Janez Potocnik** (*ALDE; Commissioner for the Environment*)
- **Alenka Bratušek** (*ALDE; outgoing Prime Minister*)
- **Anton Rop** (*PES; former prime minister*)
- **Igor Luksic** (*PES; former party leader*)

Political upheaval in Slovenia – where a six week-old party has just romped to victory in early elections – means anything is possible regarding the Commission nominee. The centrist / centre-left SMC party, which won the elections, would probably look favourably on a candidate from the same political persuasion, even from outside its own ranks. Potocnik stands a fair chance of continuing even though his party is now a minor one, but Bratušek, whose new party won only a handful of seats, is another good contender for a senior role as a former prime minister (and a woman).

Spain

- **Miguel Arias Cañete** (*EPP; MEP and former agriculture minister*)
- **Luis de Guindos Jurado** (*EPP; Economy and Competitiveness Minister*)
- **Ana Pastor** (*EPP; Health Minister*)
- **Pilar del Castillo** (*EPP; MEP and former culture minister*)

Cañete is all but confirmed as Spain's nominee, and is rumoured to be seeking the trade portfolio. However, chauvinistic remarks made during the European election campaign may present difficulties for him during a hearing in the European Parliament (where he now sits as an MEP). De Guindos seems more likely to head the Eurogroup, but if that bid fails, he could be in line to be a commissioner. Ana Pastor is probably the most likely female nominee, although Del Castillo would be a popular pick among MEPs. However, Cañete is still the clear frontrunner.

Sweden

- **Fredrik Reinfeldt** (*EPP; Prime Minister*)
- **Carl Bildt** (*EPP; Foreign Minister*)
- **Cecilia Malmström** (*ALDE; Commissioner for Home Affairs*)
- **Marita Ulvskog** (*PES; MEP and former deputy prime minister*)
- **Birgitta Ohlsson** (*ALDE; Europe Minister*)
- **Gunilla Karlsson** (*EPP; former development minister*)

In Sweden, the field is wide open, with elections due to take place in September. Reinfeldt and Bildt are possible but less likely contenders, as they may not want to jump ship just ahead of the poll. Any candidate is likely to be the result of a cross-party consensus given the approaching election, and there are rumours that Malmström, from the Liberal junior coalition partner, could stay on in a migration portfolio similar to her current role (although maintaining the same brief is rather unusual). Her party colleague Ohlsson is another female contender, as is Ulvskog from the opposition Social Democrats, which has a strong lead in the national polls. Sweden is one of the more likely countries to nominate a female commissioner – indeed, all Swedish commissioners since the country's accession in 1995 have been women.

Juncker's programme – a grand coalition-inspired plan

Jean-Claude Juncker launched his political guidelines for the next European Commission – ‘A New Start for Europe: My Agenda for Jobs, Growth, Fairness and Democratic Change’ – in the European Parliament on Tuesday 15 July, ahead of his election.

The document has the clear stamp of a grand coalition, with many elements designed to gather the support of the centre-left (even the order of ‘jobs’, then ‘growth’, in the title seems to nod to this consideration).

Introduction

In the introductory paragraphs, Juncker sets the scene: a backdrop of financial and economic crisis, and the tough decisions needed to avoid the worst. He then immediately notes the impact of the crisis on employment, before talking about growth and investment. It is clear that jobs are the priority.

He also notes how mistakes were made in dealing with the crisis: a lack of social fairness, and damage to democratic legitimacy. He points to how handling the crisis took Europe's attention away from future challenges – the main focus of a forward-looking document.

Juncker stresses the need for a new approach, to “rebuild bridges in Europe after the crisis [and] restore European citizens' confidence”. Highlighting the election campaign and mentioning the other lead candidates by name, he says that the process gives Europe an opportunity for a fresh start, and says that he wants to build consensus. The document does, indeed, have something for almost everyone, while maintaining a high level of political coherence.

At the end of the introduction, Juncker reverts to a phrase often used in his campaign and by his predecessor – “I want a European Union that is bigger and more ambitious on big things, and smaller and more modest on small things”.

1. A New Boost for Jobs, Growth and Investment

Juncker stresses the need for greater competitiveness and investment, but highlights that the ultimate goal is job creation. He pledges an “ambitious” jobs, growth and investment package within the first three months of his Commission.

While focusing on jobs (an important element for the centre-left) he makes clear that additional debt is not the answer, and that jobs are created by companies, not governments (both messages geared to centre-right audiences). He steers a middle way: better use of the EU budget, and of the European Investment Bank (whose capital should be increased, according to Juncker), to stimulate growth and private investment. Smarter investment, less regulation and more flexibility are needed, he says, adding that up to €300bn of additional public and private investment can be mobilised in the next three years.

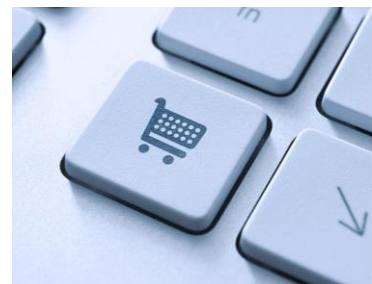
The investment should be focused on infrastructure (broadband, energy, transport), education and research, renewable energy and energy efficiency (bringing on board a Green demand). He calls for a broadening and acceleration of implementation of the Youth Guarantee Scheme, a key Socialist demand. However, he stands by the European Council statement of 27 June that the Stability and Growth Pact must be respected, with flexibility only according to the existing rules (a demand of the EPP and Liberals).

Finally, Juncker pledges to address the regulatory environment and cut red tape to support small and medium-sized enterprises. He says he will appoint a vice-president for better regulation to look at how to cut regulatory burdens at EU and national level.

2. A Connected Digital Single Market

Building on his election campaign themes, Juncker pledges to break down “national silos” in telecoms regulation, copyright, data protection, radio waves management, and competition law. His plan is consumer-oriented, talking about how people can access music, films and sports events without borders, and says that a connected digital single market can generate up to €250bn of growth up to the next five years, created new jobs for young people.

Implementation will come via “ambitious legislative steps” within the first six months of taking office, focusing on data protection, telecoms rules, copyright and online purchases. Digital skills are also a priority.



Juncker adds that ‘digital’ should be a horizontal policy: it will therefore presumably be the responsibility of many commissioners, and if a digital-specific portfolio is maintained, the holder of that post is likely to see their power and weight in debates in the Commission increased.

3. A Resilient Energy Union with a Forward-Looking Climate Change Policy

Juncker pledges a new European Energy Union (as demanded by many centre-right politicians, especially from central and Eastern Europe), with a pooling of resources, unification of infrastructure, and more clout in international negotiations. In a clear reference to Russia, he says that *“if the price for energy from the East becomes too expensive, either in commercial or in political terms, Europe should be able to switch very swiftly to other supply channels”* (our emphasis).

Juncker wants Europe to become a global leader in renewable energies as part of a responsible climate change policy and to power the industrial policy *“imperative”*, enhance energy efficiency with *binding* targets, and lead on climate change policy – all of which will have helped him secure some Green support in Tuesday’s vote.

4. A Deeper and Fairer Single Market with a Strengthened Industrial Base

The internal market in goods (including agricultural goods) and services needs to be completed, says Juncker. He also foresees greater banking integration and stricter controls (through the Single Supervisory Mechanism), greater efforts to tackle tax evasion and tax fraud (a key campaign theme for the Socialists’ lead candidate, Martin Schulz), swift adoption of rules on money laundering, and, in time, a ‘capital markets union’ to cut the cost of raising capital for SMEs and reduce dependence on bank lending.

Two themes that are prominent in this section are increasing industrial production – bringing its share of the economy from 16% to 20% by 2020 and focusing on areas of European global leadership (namely automotive, aeronautics, engineering, space, chemicals and pharmaceuticals industries) – and a strong defence of the free movement of workers. On the latter point, Juncker highlights that in the EU *“the same work at the same place should be remunerated in the same manner”* – addressing Socialist concerns on the posting of workers – while also saying that national authorities should have the right to *“fight abuse or fraudulent claims”*, a key demand of centre-right governing parties in Germany and the UK in particular.

5. A Deeper and Fairer Economic and Monetary Union



Juncker plans to continue with reform of economic and monetary union to help ensure a stable euro and greater convergence on economic, fiscal and labour policies in the eurozone. However, he adds in the first paragraph that action should be taken *“always with Europe’s social dimension in mind”*. He adds that the stability of the euro and public finances are as important as social fairness in making *“the necessary structural reforms”*. These reforms will include, in the first year of his mandate, reviews of the ‘six-pack’ and ‘two-pack’ legislation and proposals to improve the eurozone’s external representation.

Responding to criticisms on the left, Juncker says that the ‘troika’ needs to be more democratically legitimate and accountable, with parliamentary control at European and national parliaments. A ‘social impact assessment’ of reform programmes is needed, he says, while the final sentences could have been written by the Socialists themselves: *“The social effects of structural reforms need to be discussed in public, and the fight against poverty must be priority. I am a strong believer in the social market economy. It is not compatible with the social market economy that during a crisis, ship-owners and speculators become even richer, while pensioners can no longer support themselves.”*

6. A Reasonable and Balanced Free Trade Agreement with the U.S.

Juncker favours the adoption of the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP), saying that customs duties should be abolished and that mutual recognition of products or common standards can be achieved. However, he adds that he *“will not sacrifice Europe’s safety, health, social and data protection standards or our cultural diversity on the altar of free trade”* and seems to question the Investor-State Dispute Settlement (ISDS) procedure. Juncker also says he will insist on greater transparency in the process.

7. An Area of Justice and Fundamental Rights Based on Mutual Trust

The role of a commissioner with special responsibility for the Charter and Fundamental Rights and the Rule of Law will be created – a clear signal to some countries with whom the Commission has had run-ins in the past (such as Hungary) that Juncker plans to ensure that all member states adhere to the letter of the treaties and the spirit of European values. The same commissioner would have the responsibility of concluding the accession of the EU to the European Convention of Human Rights, possibly setting Juncker up for another run-in with David Cameron, whose Conservatives are looking to reassert British parliamentary sovereignty over Strasbourg's 'foreign judges' if they are re-elected in the UK in 2015.

Juncker states that he will also press the Council to end its resistance to the proposal for an anti-discrimination directive (a demand of the Liberals and other groups), seek to make progress on common data protection rules and “restore trust” with the United States after mass surveillance revelations, combat organised crime, human trafficking, smuggling and cybercrime, and seek gradual improvement in judicial cooperation.

8. Towards a New Policy on Migration

Citing recent tragic events in the Mediterranean and in Lampedusa, Juncker says that a strong common asylum policy is required and better legal migration mechanisms. A commissioner will be named with special responsibility for migration.

Border security is another major theme, and Juncker says that common asylum and migration policies “will only work if we can prevent an uncontrolled influx of illegal migrants”. He plans to increase the budget of Frontex, the EU's border management agency, and ensure that it is more nimble in responding to crises.



9. A Stronger Global Actor

Highlighting Ukraine and the Middle East, Juncker expresses dissatisfaction with the current state of Europe's 'common' foreign policy. Better anticipation, better and more aligned responses, and more effective action are all needed, combining foreign policy tools with development, trade, humanitarian action and the EU's neighbourhood policy.

To this end, holders of these four portfolios in the Commission will act with the High Representative and 'deputise' for him or her in the work of the College and on the international stage. In this area, we are perhaps seeing the first 'cluster' of commissioners, an often-suggested method to better manage a team of 28 commissioners. In what can be seen as a criticism of Catherine Ashton, Juncker says that her replacement as High Representative should “more fully play his/her role within the College of Commissioners” – possibly also pulling the External Action Service closer to the Commission.

In another veiled criticism of Ashton, and of Federica Mogherini, the Italian Foreign Minister who is one of the contenders to take the High Representative job, Juncker says that the next holder of the post “will have to be a **strong and experienced** player to combine national and European tools, and all the tools available in the Commission, in a more effective way than in the past” (our emphasis).

Juncker also says that Europe needs integrated defence capabilities to complement its 'soft power', calling on member states to pool capabilities and create synergies in procurement to avoid waste.

On enlargement, Juncker wants a pause: no further enlargement in the next five years (although talks will go on), while stepping up cooperation with Moldova and Ukraine in particular. He says “the Union and our citizens now need to digest the addition of 13 Member States in the past ten years. The EU needs to take a break from enlargement so that we can consolidate what has been achieved among the 28”.

10. A Union of Democratic Change

Juncker calls the *Spitzenkandidaten* process the first step in making the EU more democratic, but adds that partnership with the European Parliament is another vital element: “I want to have a political dialogue with you, not a *technocratic one*”, he says, pledging to send political representatives to trilogues (and calling on the Council to do the same).

He pledges a mandatory lobbying register covering the Commission, Parliament and Council, adding that the Commission will “lead by example”. Again, this promise addresses a concern of the Greens and a number of other

parliamentary groups. Also of particular interest to the Greens, the adoption of rules on genetically-modified organisms (GMOs) appears in the section on democracy, with Juncker stating that the legal obligation of the Commission to authorise the import and processing of new GMOs, even when a majority (but not a qualified majority) is opposed in the Council, needs to be changed. He adds that the Commission *“should be in a position to give the majority view of democratically elected governments at least the same weight as scientific advice, notably when it comes to the safety of the food we eat and the environment in which we live”*.

Finally, he looks to improve relations with national parliaments, notably when enforcing the principle of subsidiarity.

Conclusions

Interestingly, Juncker states that he will *“also be able to draw on”* the European Council’s ‘Strategic Agenda for the Union in Times of Change’, a rather lukewarm nod to the member states’ programme for the Commission which was seen by some EU leaders as a way of constraining a candidate for the Commission presidency whom they did not strongly back. Juncker also pledges to draw on the Parliament’s orientations in the months to come.

Juncker also puts the focus on the Commission-Parliament relationship, *“in cooperation with the member states”*, adding that priority-setting for a better, more focused Union *“will only work if it is done in partnership between the Union institutions and the Member States, in line with the Community method”*.

As a way of convincing his electorate, he seemed firmly to place the Parliament and Commission on one side and the Council as a partner (despite his decades of experience in the Council). We are, perhaps, seeing another phase in the ‘parliamentarisation’ of the European Commission.

He adds that he will defend the general European interest, and work with everyone, whether or not they participate in all aspects of the Union (such as the euro and Schengen). Juncker acknowledges the European Council’s recent conclusions on different speeds of integration. He also pledges to support deeper integration of the eurozone, while respecting the rights of those outside the single currency area.

On organisation of the Commission, he says it will be done in accordance with the ten priority areas. We could well see portfolio changes other than those explicitly stated in the document, and ‘clusters’ other than the one hinted at for external policy.

Juncker pledges a gender-balanced choice of *“leading personnel... both at political and administrative level”* (our emphasis), saying it is a ‘must’, not a luxury. On the administrative side, Juncker will be aware of the need to ensure strong female representation in senior positions, notably given the impending departure of Catherine Day as Secretary-General. In a clear warning to governments, he says that it should be *“self-evident to everybody, including to the leaders in all capitals of our Member States when it comes to their proposal for the choice of members of the next Commission. This is in itself a test for the commitment of the governments of Member States to a new, more democratic approach in times of change”* – the last three words a clear reference back to the leaders’ own strategic document.

