

EuropeanVoice

# The Companion to the European Commission



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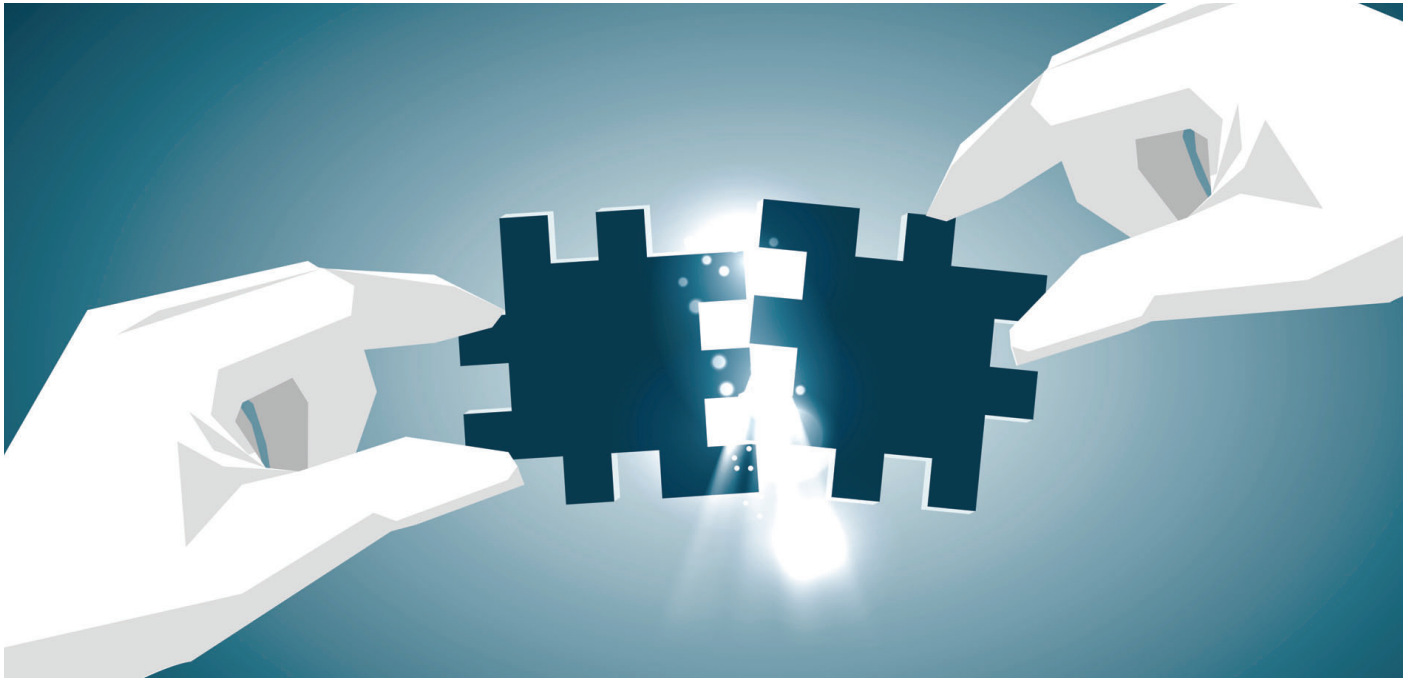
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## INTRODUCTION



The European Commission that began work on 1 November 2014 is an administration on trial. Its president, Jean-Claude Juncker, has promised an agenda of change – for the administration that he leads and for the European Union as a whole. The two are related: Juncker believes that reforms made to the Commission will have beneficial consequences for the work of the EU and therefore for how the EU is perceived in the wider world.

From the outset, Juncker has made changes to the structure of the European Commission – to the way commissioners are organised and to the departmental configurations. In doing so, he has sent ripples of unease through the community of EU-watchers who had grown familiar with old ways of doing things. One of the questions examined during the course of this Companion to the European Commission is

whether the changes that have been made are simply cosmetic or whether they will be of deep, lasting significance.

This publication has a twin purpose. It sets out to explain the new structures and to put them in context. It also provides an introduction to the people who will adorn those structures: the 28 European commissioners and their staff. We explain where they have come from and suggest what their priorities might be. The aim is to put some human faces on what is often derided as a faceless bureaucracy. We do so not because we want the Commission to be loved, but because we think it should be understood.

There has been much talk in recent years of how the European Commission has lost power relative to the other EU institutions – the European Parliament and the Council of Ministers. That is indeed the case, but the EU as a whole gained in power as a result of

the Lisbon treaty of 2009. Moreover, the Commission is still the biggest and most complex of the three main EU institutions. The commissioners and their various departments will continue to make an impact on EU policy.

The nature of such a volume is that it must be selective. If it were complete, it would be overweight and unread. This is a trimmer and more entertaining read, which still aspires to be useful. How long it remains so is in the lap of the gods, or perhaps Juncker. For the speed with which it becomes obsolete may be indicative of the success of Juncker's reforms – or their failure.

**Tim King**  
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Brussels, February 2015

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# Competitiveness Begins with Confidence



President Juncker is demonstrating decisive leadership in the design of the new Commission and by clearly differentiating many policy lines from the past.

**The key to success is in building confidence. That extends to business confidence too.**

Care must be taken not to simply talk competitiveness while undermining the industry we have. The EU must nurture a broad and balanced industrial base, especially its existing manufacturing industry, to sustain the European economy of the twenty first century.

Policies once set must not be systematically revisited and changed. That destroys investor confidence.

The EU must re-establish itself as a reliable location to invest, so that boardrooms in Europe and around the world extend existing manufacturing operations in the EU and inject new investment.

The simple truth is that business needs stable policy and legal certainty to invest with confidence. Do the right thing, please, Mr. President!

**GOOD LUCK TO THE JUNCKER COMMISSION.**

**INTERNATIONAL  PAPER**

International Paper Europe has reduced its greenhouse gas emissions by 73% since 1990. It is committing to reduce them a further 20% by 2020 (baseline 2010).

The Company is currently planting in Poland what will be one of Europe's largest woody biomass plantations providing carbon neutral energy for its manufacturing operations.

# Juncker moves the pieces

The European Commission began 2015 with various changes to departmental structure taking effect.

The changes were the result of a restructuring of Commission departments announced by Jean-Claude Juncker, the president of the Commission, before he took office, reflecting in particular his thinking on how the Commission should support the economy and regulate business.

The old directorate-general for the internal market and services (DG MARKT), and the old directorate-general for enterprise and industry (DG ENTR) were the two departments most affected by the changes.

From the former, the responsibility for regulating financial services was stripped out to create a stand-alone department: the new directorate-general for financial stability, financial services and capital markets union (DG FISMA). To it were added some units that were previously part of the directorate-general for economic and financial affairs.

The parts of the old DG MARKT that dealt with other economic sectors – focusing in particular on ensuring the free movement of goods and services as applied to those sectors – were transferred to the revamped DG Enterprise, which was renamed DG Growth (abbreviated to DG GROW). It also takes in the unit for health technology and cosmetics that was previously in the directorate-general for health and consumers (DG SANCO).

The unit dealing with copyright was moved from the internal market department to the department for communications networks, content and technology. The decision reflected the thinking that revising copyright rules for the digital age was a priority.

The elements of DG SANCO that dealt with consumer policy were transferred to the directorate-general for justice. DG



SANCO has therefore been reduced to the directorate-general for health and its abbreviation revised to DG SANTE.

One of the effects of the changes is that the departmental responsibilities are more closely aligned with those of particular European commissioners. So DG GROW’s mandate is now more closely aligned with

Elżbieta Bieńkowska, the European commissioner for internal market, industry, entrepreneurship and SMEs. DG FISMA’s mandate more closely matches the responsibilities of Jonathan Hill, the European commissioner for financial stability, financial services and capital markets union.

## Commission departments

- Agriculture and rural development (AGRI)
- Budget (BUDG)
- Climate action (CLIMA)
- Communication (COMM)
- Communications networks, content and technology (CNECT)
- Competition (COMP)
- Economic and financial affairs (ECFIN)
- Education and culture (EAC)
- Employment, social affairs and inclusion (EMPL)

- Energy (ENER)
- Environment (ENV)
- Eurostat (ESTAT)
- Financial stability, financial services and capital markets union (FISMA)
- Health and food safety (SANTE)
- Humanitarian aid and civil protection (ECHO)
- Human resources and security (HR)
- Informatics (DIGIT)
- Internal market, industry, entrepreneurship and SMEs (GROW)
- International co-operation and Development (DEVCO)
- Interpretation (SCIC)

- Joint research centre (JRC)
- Justice and consumers (JUST)
- Maritime affairs and fisheries (MARE)
- Migration and home affairs (HOME)
- Mobility and transport (MOVE)
- Neighbourhood and enlargement negotiations (NEAR)
- Regional and urban policy (REGIO)
- Research and innovation (RTD)
- Secretariat-general (SG)
- Service for foreign policy instruments (FPI)
- Taxation and customs union (TAXUD)
- Trade (TRADE)
- Translation (DGT)

# 3

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# Jean-Claude Juncker

President of the European Commission

**Country** Luxembourg  
**Born** Redange, Luxembourg, 9 December 1954  
**Political affiliation** EPP  
**Twitter** @JunckerEU



Jean-Claude Juncker has described the administration that he now heads as the “last-chance Commission” – one that has to restore trust in the European Union. If it fails, he implies, the credibility of the Commission will be lost forever.

The oddity is that this last-chance Commission is headed by a second-chance politician. Juncker’s political career looked to have reached the end of the line when, after 18 years as prime minister of Luxembourg, he was forced to call a general election in 2013 and his political opponents formed a coalition that kept his centre-right party out of government.

That defeat proved to be the launch-pad for another phase in his parallel career as a European Union politician. Despite the much talked-about misgivings of Angela Merkel, Germany’s chancellor, he became the candidate of the centre-right European People’s Party (EPP) for the presidency of the Commission, ie, the EPP went into the European Parliament elections saying that it wanted him to head the Commission. When the EPP emerged as the party with most seats in the European Parliament, his drive for the Commission presidency became unstoppable – whatever the objections of some members of the European Council (of whom David Cameron was the most vocal).

So, improbably, Juncker, who had been talked about as a possible European Commission president in 2004, when José Manuel Barroso was first nominated, and again in 2009 as a possible president of the European Council, when Herman Van Rompuy was chosen, became president of the Commission in 2014.

What made this second-coming all the more surprising was that Juncker had become a figure of declining authority on the European stage. Although he had been a constant presence on the EU scene for 25 years, his influence seemed to be waning in the second decade of the 21st century.

At the creation of the euro in 1999, meetings of the eurozone finance ministers – the Eurogroup – did not have formal decision-making powers. Eurogroup meetings were by definition informal –

because the countries outside the eurozone (particularly the United Kingdom) were reluctant to grant them greater status. However, it was always clear that the Eurogroup would matter (its importance was belatedly recognised in the EU’s Lisbon treaty, which granted it formal status) and in 2004 the Eurogroup decided its chairmanship should be made semi-permanent.

Juncker became the first president of the Eurogroup in part because, as well as being finance minister of Luxembourg, a position he had held since 1989, he was also prime minister – a position he had succeeded to in 1995 when Jacques Santer became president of the European Commission.

As the head of a government, he had access to the offices of other government leaders (inside and outside the EU) that other finance ministers would not have. So as prime minister, Juncker was a member of the European Council from 1995-2013. As finance minister, he was attending the Council of Ministers from 1989-2009, after which he was still attending meetings of the Eurogroup as its president until the beginning of 2013.

But as the eurozone went from credit-crunch to sovereign debt crisis to widespread recession, Juncker’s star was eclipsed, in part because responsibility for responding to events passed up to the European Council. The likes of Angela Merkel and Nicolas Sarkozy became the key figures – along with Jean-Claude Trichet, the president of the European Central Bank, and his successor Mario Draghi. In comparison, Juncker seemed – perhaps understandably – exhausted.

All this makes the resurrection of his European career, in the new incarnation of president of the European Commission, intriguing. Never before has an incoming Commission president had such a lengthy apprenticeship on the European stage. Never before has a Commission president had such a wealth of contacts across the

European Union’s member states and beyond.

But how does somebody so steeped in Europe’s past succeed in persuading voters that from now on things are different? Arguably Juncker ought to know Europe’s problems better than anyone, but does that mean that he has viable solutions?

At the outset of his Commission presidency, Juncker presented 10 strategic priorities that he planned to pursue – a far cry from the sprawling wish-list that have sometimes been espoused by incoming Commission presidents.

He also announced a change to the structure of the college of commissioners and presented his plans for re-organising the structure of Commission departments.

He has given the appearance of having a rediscovered sense of purpose. His admirers believe that his political awareness and his ability to forge compromises will give new purpose to the Commission that he heads. His doubters fear that he no longer has the energy or stamina to stay the course, and to stay engaged with the Commission’s work across such a broad front of policy portfolios.

Whether those doubts are allayed may depend on his ability to manage his team effectively. His appointment of Frans Timmermans as first vice-president was more than just politically astute (a balance of centre-right and centre-left). It also sent a strong signal that he was not embarking on a ‘look-at-me’ presidency. Modern politics – and the expansion of the EU to 28 states – seem to dictate that European Commission administrations should be quite centralised, but Juncker’s lengthy political experience may have made him readier to share the limelight with others. Quite apart from Timmermans and Federica Mogherini, three of his vice-presidents are ex-prime ministers. Juncker is ready to share the workload. What he will provide is an intimate knowledge of the EU and wisdom accumulated over many years.



## CV

- **2004-13**  
President of the Eurogroup
- 1995-2013**  
Prime minister of Luxembourg
- 1995-2013**  
Minister of state
- 1989-2009**  
Minister for finance
- 1989-99**  
Minister for labour
- 1984-89**  
Minister for labour, minister delegate for the budget
- 1982-84**  
State secretary for labour and social security
- 1974**  
Joined the CSV party

## Cabinet

- **Head of cabinet**  
**Martin Selmayr**
- **Deputy head of cabinet**  
**Clara Martinez Alberola**
- **Cabinet members**  
**Sandra Kramer**  
**Luc Tholoniati**  
**Paulina Dejmek-Hack**  
**Carlo Zadra**  
**Antoine Kasel**  
**Telmo Baltazar**  
**Pauline Rouch**  
**Léon Delvaux**  
**Richard Szostak**

## The cabinet

Juncker's private office is dominated by officials who worked for Viviane Reding when she was commissioner for three terms. Martin Selmayr was head of her private office when she was commissioner for justice, fundamental rights and citizenship. Other members of the office who worked for Reding include Richard Szostak, Paulina Dejmek-Hack, Telmo Baltazar, and Pauline Rouch. Clara Martinez-Alberola, a Spaniard who is deputy head of cabinet, used to work for José Manuel Barroso. Sandra Kramer, a Dutch official who is in charge of administrative issues, was in the Commission's justice department before joining Juncker's private office.

# Martin Selmayr

## Head of Juncker's cabinet

**Country** Germany  
**Born** Bonn, Germany,  
5 December 1970  
**Twitter** @MartinSelmayr



**M**artin Selmayr, who heads the private office of Jean-Claude Juncker, is already regarded as one of the most powerful people in the new administration. Indeed, people see his influence even when it is not there. Talked about in hushed tones, he is given almost mythical status, a latter-day Count Olivares to Philip IV of Spain, or Cardinal Richelieu to Louis XIII of France, or (perhaps less fantastically) Pascal Lamy to Jacques Delors.

Myth-making is part of Selmayr's art. He is a clever lawyer, who became a highly effective spin-doctor, and then a policy adviser with his hands on patronage. He has used all these skills to such good effect that he now has many loyal supporters and not a few bitter enemies.

He has worked for ten years in the Commission, but is still perceived by many as an outsider. He has not worked inside a Commission department. He has risen by making himself useful – even indispensable – to commissioners, and he has raised others after him.

Now aged 44, Selmayr is by background an academic lawyer. He studied at the Universities of Geneva and Passau, at King's College London, and at UCLA, Berkeley. He received a doctorate from Passau in 2001, with a thesis on the law of economic and monetary union. By then he had been working for the European Central Bank as legal counsel and then legal adviser.

In 2001, he joined Bertelsmann, the German media company, and became head of its Brussels office in 2003. He has long-established links with German Christian Democrats, notably Elmar Brok, a veteran MEP, who was retained by Bertelsmann.

In 2004 Selmayr passed a European Union recruitment competition for lawyers and joined the Commission in November of that year. He became spokesperson for Viviane Reding, who was about to embark on her second term as a European commissioner, with the portfolio of information society and media.

The portfolio included telecoms, and Selmayr's greatest public relations triumph was winning credit for his commissioner for legislation to cap roaming charges. Although the telecoms companies complained that it

was wealthy business-travellers who stood to gain most from the cap, at the expense of other telecoms consumers, Selmayr positioned Reding and the Commission as the consumers' champion. He clearly had a talent for massaging the message – he had a tendency to oversell his boss's achievements and journalists soon learned to double-check what he said in briefings.

But there was no doubting the strength of his bond with Reding. They were made for each other – neither was troubled by self-doubt – and when she was nominated for a third term as Luxembourg's European commissioner, he became head of her private office. It helped that Johannes Laitenberger, who had previously been head of Reding's office, had by then advanced to head the office of José Manuel Barroso, the Commission president.

Reding became commissioner for justice, fundamental rights and citizenship and was outspoken in her criticism of the Hungarian government's treatment of Roma, and clashed on similar issues with the French and Italian governments.

It was therefore a touch over-confident of Selmayr to develop plans for Reding to be the candidate of the European People's Party for the presidency of the Commission. Selmayr sought to raise her profile as a champion of fundamental rights and gender equality with bold policy initiatives, such as the EU's tough data protection rules and a bid to impose quotas on the number of women on company boards. It was beyond even his powers, but it did mean he was well-positioned to take up the lance for Jean-Claude Juncker, when a change of government in Luxembourg freed him to bid for the Commission presidency. He became campaign manager and was then appointed head of Juncker's office.

In turn, he has brought into the office of the Commission president and the spokesperson's service officials who had worked for him with Reding.

Few doubt Selmayr's energy or his ambition, which will go a long way to compensate for his lack of experience in the Commission. How successful he is in enforcing the wishes of his master may depend on who is chosen as the next secretary-general of the Commission.

# The chosen ones

From the moment that Jean-Claude Juncker announced that he was creating a tier of seven vice-presidents with greater powers than the remaining 20 commissioners, there were questions about what would make the vice-presidents different.

The Commission has had vice-presidents before – there were initially seven in the 2010-14 college, later increased to eight by the promotion of the commissioner for economic and monetary affairs – but apart from drawing a higher salary, it was hard to see what distinguished the vice-presidents from the others, not least because José Manuel Barroso assigned each commissioner a separate policy area.

Juncker changed all that by making vice-presidents responsible for particular teams of commissioners (see opposite page). So in practice the ordinary commissioners become answerable to the vice-presidents. In turn, the vice-presidents have responsibility for policy areas that overlap or overlay those of the ordinary commissioners.

So much for the theory. The question on many people's lips was how will it work in practice? How much power would the vice-presidents have if they had no control of individual Commission departments? How would the ordinary commissioners respond to vice-presidential oversight?

It did not take long (just one month) for the first clues and hints to emerge about the dynamics between commissioners and vice-presidents.

On 2 December 2014, three members of the Commission went to the European Parliament to appear before a joint meeting of the committees for economic and monetary affairs and employment and social affairs. The three were led by Valdis Dombrovskis, the vice-president for the euro and social dialogue, who was accompanied by Pierre Moscovici, the commissioner for economic and financial affairs, taxation and customs, and Marianne Thyssen, the commissioner for employment, social affairs, skills and labour mobility. Dombrovskis presented to MEPs the broad outlines of the Commission's approach with an overview of the economic situation as well as an explanation of the annual growth strategy, stressing the importance of structural reform and financial responsibility. Moscovici talked about the situation of individual member states and the Commission's assessment of their national budget plans, while Thyssen addressed employment issues and labour market reforms.



One of the important developments is that the Parliament is responding to the changed structure of the Commission with its own improvisations: in this case, a joint meeting of its committees.

One committee on its own could not encompass the breadth of Dombrovskis's responsibilities. Moscovici later addressed the economic and monetary affairs committee separately for a more specific discussion about national finances. The next day (3 December), the EU was represented at the EU-US energy council in Brussels by Federica Mogherini, the EU's foreign policy chief, Maroš Šefčovič, the Commission's vice-president for energy union, and Miguel Arias Cañete, the European commissioner for climate action and energy.

It is still not fully clear how the division of labour (and of status) will work out between Šefčovič and Cañete, though it was Cañete who went to Lima for international talks on climate change.

The gap between Mogherini and the other commissioners working on foreign policy – Johannes Hahn (neighbourhood policy and enlargement negotiations); Cecilia Malmström (trade); Neven Mimica (international co-operation and development); and Christos Stylianides (humanitarian aid and crisis management) – is much clearer. Mogherini is not just a Commission vice-president, but also the EU's high representative for foreign affairs and security policy, and that, along with the resources of the European External Action Service, gives her extra status.

In similar ways, Frans Timmermans – as first vice-president – has been given extra status. He is in charge of better regulation,

inter-institutional relations and rule of law. Both he and Kristalina Georgieva, the vice-president with responsibility for budget and human resources, have remit that run across all Commission departments.

On the other hand, it looks as if it will be harder for the more policy-specific vice-presidents to establish just how they are different from the commissioners beneath them (or alongside them?).

The most intriguing potential source of tension is between Günther Oettinger, who has embarked on his second term as Germany's European commissioner, but is not a vice-president, and Andrus Ansip, a former prime minister of Estonia. The former is the commissioner for the digital economy and society; the latter is now Commission vice-president for the digital single market.

When Juncker and Timmermans were drawing up the Commission's work programme for 2015, they convened a meeting of the vice-presidents, but the other 20 commissioners were not invited. It is here that, in theory at least, the vice-presidents have considerable power. They can promote – or, conversely, filter out – the projects of their commissioners.

This gives a clue as to what makes the vice-presidents different: they enjoy their special power at the discretion of the president. It is effectively his delegated power that makes them more important than the other 20. If he convenes a meeting with the vice-presidents, they have his ear, the others do not.

Logically, Juncker must refuse to allow the other commissioners to bypass their vice-presidents and to seek a direct line to him.

# Team players?

The President of the European Commission has named seven vice-presidents responsible for designated policy areas. The other 20 commissioners are arranged in project teams and are answerable to one or more vice-presidents.

Despite this obvious hierarchy, Jean-Claude Juncker has been at pains to stress that it is a college of equals. “In the new Commission, there are no first or second-class commissioners – there are team leaders and team players,” he said when he unveiled his line-up in September 2014. Juncker warned the commissioners to prepare themselves for a “new collaborative way of working”.

The vice-presidents “steer and coordinate” the work of other commissioners within “well-defined priority projects”.

Juncker has said that he is delegating to his vice-presidents the power to stop



members of their team from bringing a legislative proposal to the entire college.

He will also delegate to the vice-presidents the resources of his secretariat-general.

## Project team

**Better regulation, inter-institutional relations, the rule of law, the Charter of Fundamental Rights and sustainable development**

### Who is in charge?

Frans Timmermans

### Which commissioners are involved?

All of them

## Project team

**Budget and human resources**

### Who is in charge?

Kristalina Georgieva

### Which commissioners are involved?

All of them

## Project team

**A deeper and fairer Economic and Monetary Union**

### Who is in charge?

Valdis Dombrovskis (*the euro and social dialogue*)

### Which commissioners are involved?

Pierre Moscovici (*economic and financial affairs, taxation and customs*)

Marianne Thyssen (*employment, social affairs, skills and labour mobility*)

Jonathan Hill (*financial stability, financial services and capital markets union*)

Elżbieta Bieńkowska (*internal market, industry, entrepreneurship and SMEs*)

Tibor Navracsics (*education, culture, youth and sport*)

Corina Crețu (*regional policy*)

Věra Jourová (*justice, consumers and gender equality*)

## Project team

**A stronger global actor**

### Who is in charge?

Federica Mogherini (*high representative of the EU for foreign affairs and security policy*)

### Which commissioners are involved?

Johannes Hahn (*European neighbourhood policy and enlargement negotiations*)

Cecilia Malmström (*trade*)

Neven Mimica (*international co-operation and development*)

Christos Stylianides (*humanitarian aid and crisis management*)

## Project team

**A new boost for jobs, growth and investment**

### Who is in charge?

Jyrki Katainen (*vice-president for jobs, growth, investment and competitiveness*)

### Which commissioners are involved?

Günther Oettinger (*digital economy and society*)

Pierre Moscovici (*economic and financial affairs, taxation and customs*)

Jonathan Hill (*financial stability, financial services and capital markets union*)

Elżbieta Bieńkowska (*internal market, industry, entrepreneurship and SMEs*)

Marianne Thyssen (*employment, social affairs, skills and labour mobility*)

Corina Crețu (*regional policy*)

Miguel Arias Cañete (*climate action and energy*)

Violeta Bulc (*transport*)

## Project team

**A resilient energy union with a forward-looking climate change policy**

### Who is in charge?

Maroš Šefčovič (*energy union*)

### Which commissioners are involved?

Miguel Arias Cañete (*climate action and energy*)

Violeta Bulc (*transport*)

Elżbieta Bieńkowska (*internal market, industry, entrepreneurship and SMEs*)

Karmenu Vella (*environment, maritime affairs and fisheries*)

Corina Crețu (*regional policy*)

Phil Hogan (*agriculture and rural development*)

Carlos Moedas (*research, science and innovation*)

## Project team

**A digital single market**

### Who is in charge?

Andrus Ansip (*digital single market*)

### Which commissioners are involved?

Günther Oettinger (*digital economy and society*)

Elżbieta Bieńkowska (*internal market, industry, entrepreneurship and SMEs*)

Marianne Thyssen (*employment, social affairs, skills and labour mobility*)

Věra Jourová (*justice, consumers and gender equality*)

Pierre Moscovici (*economic and financial affairs, taxation and customs*)

Corina Crețu (*regional policy*)

Phil Hogan (*agriculture and rural development*)

## FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

# Frans Timmermans

Better regulation, inter-institutional relations, rule of law and charter of fundamental rights

**Country** The Netherlands  
**Born** Maastricht, 6 May 1961  
**Political affiliation** PES  
**Twitter** @TimmermansEU



The choice of Frans Timmermans as right-hand man to Jean-Claude Juncker, the president of the European Commission, is a dream come true for the enthusiastically pro-European Dutchman. Indeed, Timmermans, who as first vice-president is officially as well as informally Juncker's deputy, has a CV made to measure for a top post with an international organisation.

When he was appointed as the Netherlands' foreign affairs minister after the Dutch elections of 2012, diplomats said Timmermans was born for the job. He was well-informed, understood foreign policy like no other and had language skills which are matched by few others in the college of commissioners. What is more he had the ambition and drive to go further.

Then his popularity in the Netherlands received a boost – an unforeseen consequence of the MH17 plane crash in Ukraine in July 2014. Timmermans's emotional speech mourning the death of so many Dutch men and women at the UN Security Council did not go unnoticed abroad either – if nothing else, his impeccable English made him stand out. His ability to speak Russian – a legacy of his military service as an intelligence officer – has also continued to serve him well as tension along the EU's eastern border continues to mount.

Besides Russian, English and Dutch Timmermans speaks German, French and Italian – a range he was more than happy to put on display at his hearing as a commissioner-designate at the European Parliament. This drive to prove himself was applauded by the MEPs but seen as a weakness by some at home where it is considered unseemly to show off.

Born in the Dutch border-city of Maastricht, but growing up in nearby Heerlen, Timmermans attended primary school in nearby Belgium. He may have inherited some of his famously fiery temperament from his father, a policeman who later became a security officer at the Dutch foreign ministry, the job took him – and his son – all over Europe.

At university in Nijmegen and Nancy,

Timmermans studied French literature for pleasure and European law to find a job. Following a diplomatic career that took him to Moscow, he became a member of staff for a European commissioner, Hans van den Broek, then private secretary to his mentor, Max van der Stoep, the high commissioner for minorities at the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). He entered the Dutch parliament in 1998, becoming Labour's foreign-policy spokesman, but left when he joined the government as secretary of state for European affairs in 2007-10.

Timmermans can appear aloof – some say he is a "classic social democrat" rather than a man of the people. However, his widely visited Facebook page on which he regularly posts pictures of football matches, his visits to the Pinkpop festival and other events in his private life suggests he understands the need to connect.

The run-up to the 2012 general election in the Netherlands did not suggest a ministerial career would be inevitable for Timmermans – in fact, with his Labour Party attracting low support it appeared Timmermans's career had hit a wall. An attempt to be appointed governor of his native Limburg province failed, as did a bid to become the Council of Europe's commissioner for human-rights. But his time

was about to come.

Once ensconced in the European Commission, Timmermans was awarded an enlarged portfolio which included 'sustainable development', something S&D MEPs had demanded as a condition for their approval of Spain's nominee to be commissioner for energy and climate Miguel Arias Cañete.

Juncker, a long-time friend, assigned Timmermans the 'better regulation' portfolio in response to long-standing Dutch criticism of red-tape and excess EU legislation. Timmermans has a lot on his plate.

### Cabinet

- **Head of cabinet**  
**Ben Smulders**
- **Deputy head of cabinet**  
**Michelle Sutton**
- **Cabinet members**  
**Antoine Colombani**  
**Liene Balta**  
**Riccardo Maggi**  
**Bernd Martenczuk**  
**Alice Richard**  
**Maarten Smit**  
**Saar Van Bueren**  
**Sarah Nelen**

Timmermans' office is headed by Ben Smulders, a compatriot who was a principal legal adviser in the Commission's legal service. Timmermans' number two is Michelle Sutton, a British official who worked in the office of José Manuel Barroso. Other notable members of Timmermans' office include Antoine Colombani, a former competition department official who was spokesman for Joaquin Almunia when he was commissioner for competition, and Sarah Nelen, a Belgian who used to work for Herman Van Rompuy.

### CV

- **2012-14** Foreign minister
- 2010-12** Member of Dutch parliament
- 2007-10** European affairs minister
- 1998-2007** Member of Dutch parliament
- 1995-98** Private secretary to OSCE high commissioner for national minorities
- 1994-95** Assistant to European commissioner Hans van den Broek
- 1993-94** Deputy head of department for developmental aid
- 1990-93** Deputy secretary, Dutch embassy in Moscow
- 1997-90** Policy office, ministry of foreign affairs
- 1984-85** Postgraduate courses in European law and French literature, University of Nancy
- 1980-85** Degree in French language and literature, Radboud University, Nijmegen

## To cut or not to cut?



The unveiling of the European Commission's 2015 work programme was marred by a nasty fight with MEPs over the planned withdrawal of two proposals – one on air quality and another on waste – that had already started making their way through the legislative process. They were just two of 80 pieces of draft legislation in line to be axed.

The Commission was taken aback by the ferocity of the opposition to its plan. But for many MEPs the issue was symptomatic of a larger problem: the Commission's response to the surge in Euroscepticism across Europe, which is that citizens are unhappy at the EU 'meddling' in people's everyday lives.

Frans Timmermans, the first vice-president in charge of 'better regulation', has stressed that the EU should be big on the big things and small on the small things. But critics point out that there is a good reason for some small things being dealt with at a European level. They worry that a deregulatory response to the rise in the Eurosceptic vote does not address the real problem – a lack of acceptance by the public of the European project.

Sophie in 't Veld, a Dutch Liberal MEP, says the Commission is in danger of deregulation for deregulation's sake. "I believe in smart trimming, not taking a blunt axe to the base of the tree," she told Timmermans in December 2014. "The Commission should not throw the baby out with the bath-water by arbitrarily scrapping laws."

But Timmermans has sought to calm MEPs' fears by insisting that his agenda is

not to deregulate the EU. "Better regulation does not mean no regulation or deregulation," he told MEPs. "We are not compromising on the goals we want to attain, we are looking critically at the methods we want to use."

Eventually, the Commission executed a U-turn on its plan to withdraw and re-draft the air-quality proposal, saying that it would instead work with MEPs and member states to adjust the plan as part of the normal co-decision procedure. But it is sticking to its guns on the waste proposal (known as the 'circular economy package') and will put forward a new version in late 2015.

Beyond the concerns about deregulation, many in the Parliament and the Council of Ministers have disputed the Commission's prerogative to 'political discontinuity' – withdrawing proposals that have already been adopted and started the legislative process. Much of this battle is about institutional power. Withdrawing the proposals was seen as an affront to the other two institutions.

Many of the 80 pieces of legislation listed for withdrawal were chosen for reasons of obsolescence or redundancy, and their withdrawal was previewed by the 'refit' report issued in 2014 by José Manuel Barroso, the then president of the Commission. But 18 are being withdrawn because the Commission has deemed that no agreement is possible between member states, or between member states and MEPs. These include proposals for a directive on the taxing of motor vehicles that are moved from one country to another, a decision on the financing of

nuclear power stations, a directive on rates of excise duty for alcohol, and a directive on medicinal prices.

A proposed fund to compensate people who have suffered because of oil pollution damage in European waters is listed for withdrawal because "the impact assessment and relevant analysis are now out of date".

A proposed directive on taxation of energy products and electricity is listed for withdrawal because "Council negotiations have resulted in a draft compromise text that has fully denatured the substance of the Commission proposal".

Timmermans has indicated that Jean-Claude Juncker's Commission will be more aggressive about vetoing proposals if it thinks they have changed substantially during the legislative process.

Proposed new rules on the labelling of organic products will be withdrawn unless there is an agreement between MEPs and member states within six months. A directive on maternity leave will also be withdrawn if there is no agreement within six months, although the Commission says that it would replace the latter with a new proposal.

Over the course of 2015, MEPs will be watching closely for signs that the Commission intends to scale back legislation. If this is indeed the Commission's strategy, it is unlikely to make much difference to the Euroscepticism felt in some parts of Europe.

**See pages 24-26 for more on the Commission's work programme**

## VICE-PRESIDENT

# Federica Mogherini

High representative of the Union for foreign affairs and security policy

Country Italy  
Born Rome, 16 June 1973  
Political affiliation PES  
Twitter @FedericaMog



Even for a politician who has built a career around delivering grace under pressure, the intensity of the campaign levelled against Federica Mogherini ahead of her appointment to the EU's top diplomatic post would have been unsettling. The youngest foreign minister in Italy's republican history was attacked for her politics (too left-wing), her views on Ukraine (too pro-Russian), her CV (too thin) and even the writing style on her blog (too naïve).

Yet the onslaught of criticism did not discourage the 41-year-old, whose candidacy relied on Prime Minister Matteo Renzi's rock-solid belief that it was Italy's turn for a top European Union job. The Italians argued that opposition to Mogherini, coming largely from eastern and central European countries, was tactical rather than ideological. "It was about some member states using this as leverage to get a better deal for their own commissioners," an Italian diplomatic source said at the time.

Whatever the political machinations, Mogherini emerged with the plum position of High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and as a vice-president of the Commission. As things turned out, one of Mogherini's harshest critics, Poland, also secured a top EU role, when its prime minister, Donald Tusk, was appointed as president of the European Council.

The whispering campaign against Mogherini had centred on her apparent cosying up to Russian President Vladimir Putin during a state visit as Italian foreign minister, in which she ruled out a "military solution" to the Ukrainian crisis. The Poles and the Baltic states were dismayed by the prospect of EU policy towards an increasingly assertive Russia being set by an Italian with a track record of appeasing Moscow.

Even though Mogherini and Renzi ultimately won the day, since taking office Mogherini has been at pains to scupper the perception she is anything but a hard-liner on Russia. Her first announcement when in office was a strongly worded statement on Ukraine, in which she dismissed as "illegal and illegitimate" elections held in

separatist-controlled areas of the country. Yet even before Mogherini had a chance to settle into her new digs on the 11th floor of the Berlaymont building, Russia had come back to haunt her. A media report revealed the high representative's spokeswoman, Catherine Ray, was married to a partner in a Brussels public relations firm that lobbies for Russian state-owned gas company Gazprom. Mogherini's office was quick to shrug off the controversy, yet it was a reminder of what Mogherini has already said publicly: Russia is set to dominate her portfolio over the coming years.

While Mogherini supporters argue that her pro-Western credibility is beyond doubt, it is also true that her first political step was to sign up to the Italian Young Communist Federation in 1988, when she was a straight-A student from a middle-class background in Rome. The daughter of film director Flavio Mogherini, Federica went to a local high school with a focus on languages (she speaks French, English and some Spanish). She went on to complete a degree at Rome's Sapienza University, her thesis on Islam earning her top marks. Mogherini then became a party apparatchik, working for the Democratic Party (or its earlier post-communist incarnations) in a foreign-policy unit. It was at this time that she met her husband Matteo Rebesani, who was head of the international office of Walter Veltroni, then the mayor of Rome and a Democratic Party powerbroker. The

couple have two young daughters, Caterina and Marta.

Mogherini's rise through party ranks was swift and in 2008 she was elected to the Italian parliament. She remained factionally aligned with the PD's old guard and her relationship with Renzi was marred by some disparaging remarks about him made from Mogherini's Twitter account. Yet, in spite of the bad blood, Renzi wasted little time in awarding Mogherini the foreign ministry, only to back her all the way to Brussels a few months later.

### Cabinet

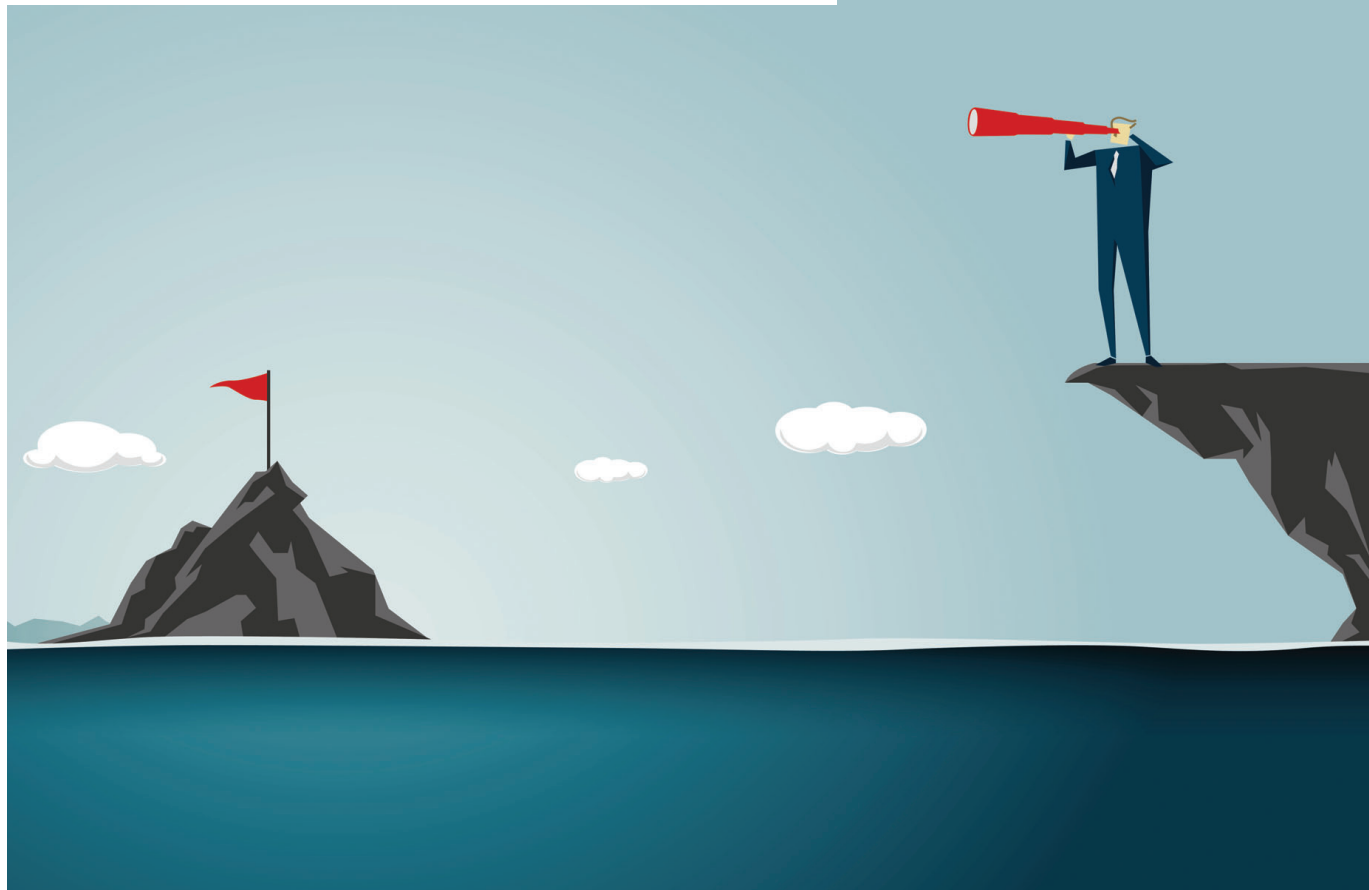
- **Head of cabinet**  
**Stefano Manservigi**
- **Deputy head of cabinet**  
**Oliver Rentschler**
- **Cabinet members**  
**Felix Fernandez-Shaw**  
**Fabrizia Panzetti**  
**Michael Curtis**  
**Peteris Ustubs**  
**Arianna Vannini**  
**Anna Vezyroglou**  
**Iwona Piorko**  
**Enrico Petrocelli**

Federica Mogherini has filled her cabinet with what she herself lacks: extensive experience of the EU's institutions. That is true, above all, of her chief of staff, Stefano Manservigi, a fellow Italian. Southern Europeans predominate, but northern (and, importantly, central and eastern) Europe is also represented. Mogherini came to prominence in a government that praised itself as being part of the Erasmus generation; her own cabinet is youthful with some of the younger members also bringing links to the European Parliament and the Italian parliament.

### CV

- **2014** Foreign minister and international co-operation minister
- 2013-14** Head of the Italian delegation to the NATO parliamentary assembly
- 2008-14** Member of parliament
- 2008-13** Member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe
- 2008-present** Member of the Italian Institute for Foreign Affairs
- 2007** Fellow of the German Marshall Fund for the United States
- 1994** Degree in political science from the University of Rome

## A focus on foreign policy



One of the most important developments during the last European Commission, Barroso II, was the establishment of the European External Action Service (EEAS). One of the big questions for Juncker I is whether some of the structural damage done during the last five years can be repaired and relations between the foreign policy structures of the Commission and the EEAS made more harmonious.

The creation of the EEAS outside the Commission involved the transfer of hundreds of staff out of the Commission's service into that of the EEAS, which was populated with a mix of ex-Commission officials, diplomats from the services of the member states, and officials previously employed in the secretariat of the Council of Ministers. In the process, divisions were created or widened between those now working in the EEAS and those who remained behind in the Commission.

Jean-Claude Juncker indicated his desire to narrow the gap between the EEAS and the Commission when he asked Federica Mogherini, the new high representative for foreign and security policy (who is also a vice-president of the Commission) to establish her main office in the Berlaymont, the Commission's headquarters. Her

predecessor, Catherine Ashton, had operated principally out of the EEAS's headquarters.

Arguably just as significant for the development of Commission-EEAS relations as the location of Mogherini's office is her choice of Stefano Manservigi to run that office. Manservigi, who is now her chef de cabinet, had been working in the EEAS – as the EU's ambassador to Turkey – but he was a recent arrival from the Commission, where he had variously been director-general for home affairs, director-general for development and head of the office of Romano Prodi, when he was Commission president. He has brought to Mogherini's office a knowledge of how the Commission works and a wealth of long-standing relationships that Ashton's private office did not have.

Manservigi will know that the EEAS will be stronger and work more efficiently if it can make greater use of the staff and resources of the Commission and co-ordinate its work with that of the foreign policy parts of the Commission. Mogherini, who was previously Italy's foreign minister, and who, as high representative for foreign and security policy, now chairs meetings of the EU's foreign ministers, will be well aware that the member states do not want the EEAS to

be swallowed up again by the Commission. The point of creating the EEAS as a hybrid institution, outside the Council and the Commission, was to achieve a balance. The role of Mogherini, as both vice-president of the Commission and high representative, is to embody that balance.

The parts of the Commission that work on foreign policy are many and varied. Arguably the most institutionally curious is the Foreign Policy Instrument Service. It is a vestige of the old directorate-general for external relations – a part that was not transferred into the EEAS because it deals with money and its budget remained with the Commission.

The FPI dispenses money to implement the policies of the EEAS through various budgetary instruments: the instrument for operations of the common foreign and security policy; the instrument contributing to stability and peace; the partnership instrument (which provides some means to spend on co-operation with middle-income and high-income countries that do not qualify for development aid). Together these add up to less than €1 billion a year, but that is money that the EEAS covets.

Continues on page 16

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Continued from page 15

(The budget of the EEAS is basically an administrative one – to pay for the people and buildings at the EEAS’s headquarters in Brussels and in the EU’s delegations abroad.) The staff of FPI are answerable directly to Mogherini, whereas the other Commission foreign policy departments answer to other European commissioners.

Those other departments are: the directorate-general for international co-operation and development (DG DEVCO), which is principally, but not exclusively, occupied with relations with low-income developing countries, most of them being members of the African, Caribbean and Pacific organisation. The EU’s budget for the ACP remains separate from the rest of the EU’s budget and the Commission must account separately for the ACP budget.

The directorate-general for humanitarian aid and civil protection (DG ECHO), which co-ordinates the EU’s response to emergencies. As an instrument of foreign policy, it is necessarily much less strategic than DG DEVCO but does some of the EU’s most visible work abroad.

The directorate-general for neighbourhood and enlargement negotiations (DG NEAR). To what was previously the directorate-general for enlargement has been added a directorate that was previously in DG DEVCO that handles relations with the countries of the neighbourhood, on the EU’s southern and eastern borders. That addition signals both the increasing importance of the neighbourhood and diminished expectations about any further admissions to EU membership in the short term.

The directorate-general for trade (DG TRADE) is one of the Commission’s most powerful departments, in part because it has acquired powers to act on behalf of the whole EU, in part because trade is so important to both domestic and foreign policy. Trade has long been an important instrument of foreign policy (witness the use of trade disputes in recent confrontations with Russia) and it is also now increasingly bound up with development policy.

Additionally, there are various significant parts of other Commission departments that have an international dimension: agriculture; maritime affairs and fisheries; environment; climate action; migration and home affairs; mobility and transport; energy; economic and monetary affairs; research and innovation.

Depending on the state of international negotiations (or international disputes), the foreign policy aspects of these policy departments will fluctuate, but overall it becomes obvious that coherent EU foreign policy depends on co-ordination of the Commission’s international work with that of the EEAS and the Council of Ministers.



One of the optimistic features of Juncker I is that the reorganisation of the European commissioners into teams offers a serious prospect of developing a team of commissioners working on aspects of foreign policy. If such teamwork becomes the norm across the whole Commission (see pages 10-11) there is a greater prospect of it being established in the field of foreign policy. In theory, that possibility existed in

the last Commission; in practice, Ashton did not make it happen. This time round, it seems more likely that Mogherini will make greater use of the likes of Johannes Hahn, Neven Mimica, Christos Stylianides and Cecilia Malmström. Just as importantly, Manservigi and Alain Le Roy, the incoming secretary-general of the EEAS, should be able to co-ordinate their work with Commission departments.



# Kristalina Georgieva

Budget and human resources

**Country** Bulgaria  
**Born** Sofia, 13 August 1953  
**Political affiliation** None  
**Twitter** @KGeorgievaEU

**K**ristalina Georgieva's career as a European commissioner began so suddenly that her then 89-year-old mother Minka learned the news from the television. The economist received a 3am phone-call from Bulgaria's prime minister, Boyko Borisov, and within hours she was on a plane from the United States to Europe. The sense of urgency was real. Bulgaria's first choice for the Commission in 2009, Rumiana Jeleva, had performed disastrously in her European Parliament hearing and the appointment of the new Commission had been put on hold until the country put forward another candidate. Georgieva, who at the time was vice-president of the World Bank, did not hesitate to accept the role. "I agreed to become a commissioner because the situation wasn't good for Bulgaria and there was a possibility of our reputation being hurt," she said.

Georgieva's 2014 promotion to one of the Commission's most important vice presidencies, overseeing the budget and human resources portfolio, was a reward for her success in the last Commission, when she was in charge of international co-operation, humanitarian aid and crisis response. She is today the most senior technocrat in the Commission, one of only two of the seven vice-presidents never to have served as a national minister.

Georgieva is the great-granddaughter of Ivan Karshovski, a 19th-century revolutionary considered to be one of the founding fathers of Bulgaria. While Georgieva grew up in a family with a proud history, her background was, in other respects, ordinary. Her mother ran a shop in Sofia, Bulgaria's capital, while her father was a construction engineer.

At university in Sofia, Georgieva made a name for herself as a budding economist. But she also used her time to write poetry, play the guitar (the Beatles were a favourite), cook and dance. She remained at the same university for 16 years, producing a work on economics that remains a standard textbook. She specialised, however, in environmental economics, writing her doctorate linking environmental protection policy and economic growth in the United States.

After the collapse of communism, Georgieva's academic career took her, as a

visiting scholar and professor, to the US, Europe and the Pacific. But she also developed a line as a consultant, bringing her into contact with the World Bank. That relationship turned into a 16-year career which took her around the world, running World Bank programmes. She also set up a Bulgarian folk dance group at the World Bank's headquarters in Washington DC.

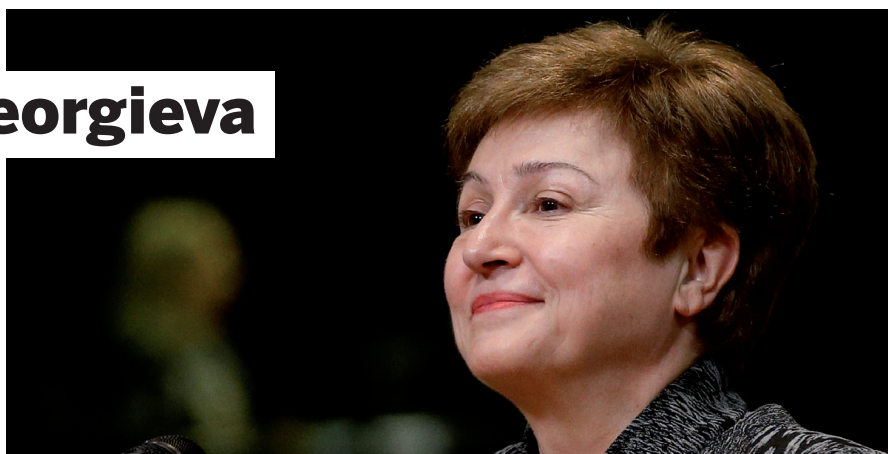
Georgieva seems to have left behind a consistently positive impression. Many described her as a woman who manages with an iron fist inside a velvet glove, someone of inexhaustible energy who can chafe at slow progress.

Despite her long absence from Bulgaria, Georgieva's voice has been heard in her home country. Her high profile prompted Borisov to consider her for the post of finance minister in 2009, but she chose instead to act as an adviser.

That association with Borisov might suggest her politics are centre-right. Ivan

## CV

- **2010-14** European commissioner for international co-operation, humanitarian aid and crisis response
- 2008-10** Vice-president and corporate Secretary of the World Bank
- 2007-08** World Bank director for strategy and sustainable development
- 2004-07** World Bank director for Russia
- 2000-04** World Bank director for environmental strategy
- 1983-99** Environmental economist, senior environmental economist, sector manager, sector director at the World Bank
- 1992** Consultant, Mercer Management Consulting
- 1987-88** Research fellow, London School of Economics and Political Science
- 1986** PhD in economics, University of National and World Economy
- 1977-93** Assistant professor/associate professor, University of National and World Economy
- 1976** Master's degree in political economy and sociology, University of National and World Economy



Kostov, a former prime minister and fellow student at university, says otherwise.

"Although she has very leftist beliefs, she is undoubtedly competent," says Kosov, who now leads the right-wing Democrats for a Strong Bulgaria. What interests Georgieva are solutions, rather than politics. "For me, a problem exists to be solved," she says.

A strong performance in her first term as a commissioner, and as someone with experience of managing €20 billion in World Bank programmes, should help Georgieva deal with the EU's regular, inter-institutional battles over the make-up of the budget which have now become her area of responsibility.

## Cabinet

- **Head of cabinet**  
Mariana Hristcheva
- **Deputy head of cabinet**  
Andreas Schwarz
- **Cabinet members**  
Elisabeth Werner  
Sophie Alexandrova  
Dimo Iliev  
Michael Jennings  
Angelina Gros-Tchorbadjiyska  
Daniel Giorev

Georgieva has chosen to retain fellow Bulgarian Mariana Hristcheva, her chief of staff in the Barroso II Commission. Andreas Schwarz, her deputy chief of staff from Germany, was previously a member of the cabinet of the budget commissioner from Poland, Janusz Lewandowski and his replacement, Jacek Dominik. Michael Jennings, previously the spokesperson for former research commissioner Máire Geoghegan-Quinn, is Georgieva's communications adviser.

## VICE-PRESIDENT

# Andrus Ansip

Digital single market

**Country** Estonia  
**Born** Tartu, 1 October 1956  
**Political affiliation** ALDE  
**Twitter** @Ansip\_EU



The 2014 resignation of Andrus Ansip marked the end of an era. Not only had he been the longest-serving prime minister in Estonia's history, he had also been the safe pair of hands who had shepherded the country through the crippling 2008-09 recession. Ansip had staked his career on beating the recession and the country had come out on top – even as the popularity of his right of centre Estonia Reform Party was in decline.

Yet Ansip's time at Estonia's helm during the crisis did not get off to a flying start. While a burgeoning budget deficit required wholesale slashing, the person the conservative Ansip relied on most – his finance minister, Ivari Padar – had become distracted. Padar was top of the Social Democrats' list for the European Parliament election and, detractors claimed, had lost focus. The tension between the two men erupted at a press conference, when they began bickering in front of astonished journalists.

For the usually unflappable Ansip, it was the last straw. He fired Padar and two other ministers (thereby losing his majority in the parliament), took much of Padar's work on himself and drafted drastic spending cuts.

It was a gamble, but one that eventually paid off: Estonia's quarterly gross domestic product grew by 2.6% in the last three months of 2009 (the best result in the EU, said Eurostat, the European Commission's statistical office). At a time when the euro was languishing, Estonian fiscal policy in 2009 – with low government debt and the EU's third smallest deficit – became something of a guidepost for less disciplined European countries.

Ansip had been leading the country since 2005, and whatever his achievements in fending off the recession, by 2014 his government was on the wane. Ansip realised he had reached the end of the line and that only a fresh face could reverse the party's fortunes at the 2015 elections.

Born, raised and educated in Tartu, a quintessential university town, Ansip abandoned his career in organic chemistry in the first years of Estonian independence, entering the world of business and banking. With his prodigious memory for numbers and a scientist's skill at hair-splitting

analysis, he would have felt at home in the financial sector. In English (his other foreign languages are Russian and German), Ansip is known to rattle off statistics like a walking almanac.

In 1998, Ansip was elected mayor of Tartu, Estonia's second-largest city. It was a post that helped him ascend the ranks of the centre-right Reform Party and, in 2004, he moved to Tallinn after being appointed economy minister (he spends his weekends in Tartu with his wife Anu, a gynaecologist, and the youngest of their three daughters).

Personality has played a role in Ansip's staying power. "Andrus is, in a certain way, a take-it-or-leave-it type of person," said Igor Grazin, a party colleague. "He usually doesn't have a secondary motive. Even people who don't like him generally support him, or at least respect him."

Ansip headed his party's list for the European elections last year and was later nominated as Estonia's commissioner by his successor as prime minister, the 35-year-old Taavi Rõivas. Given that Andrus comes from one of the most digitally connected countries in the world, where citizens can vote online and wi-fi is omnipresent, it is not difficult to understand why Jean-Claude Juncker appointed him to be vice-president for the digital single market.

## CV

- **2014** Elected as a member of the European Parliament
- 2014** Member of the Estonian parliament
- 2005-14** Prime minister
- 2004-05** Minister of economic affairs and communications
- 1998-2004** Mayor of Tartu
- 1994-95** Deputy head of Tartu department, North Estonian Bank
- 1993-94** Board member, Rahvapank
- 1992** Degree in business management, York University, Toronto
- 1983-86** Senior engineer, Institute of General and Molecular Pathology, Tartu State University
- 1979** Degree in organic chemistry, Tartu State University

The key question now is how Ansip shares this post with Günther Oettinger, the commissioner for the digital agenda. Ansip has not been one to share the spotlight in the past and already there has been the appearance of tension between the two men. Oettinger reportedly characterised Ansip as his 'assistant' during a closed-doors meeting in Berlin last year, implying that the role of vice-president – which on paper gives Ansip oversight of digital policy – was merely ceremonial.

Oettinger may be in for a shock: having guided Estonia through a difficult economic period, Ansip is unlikely to settle for being a wallflower in the coming term.

## Cabinet

- **Head of cabinet**  
Juhan Lepassaar
- **Deputy head of cabinet**  
Kamila Kloc
- **Cabinet members**  
Laure Chapuis  
Jörgen Gren  
Aare Järvan  
Hanna Hinrikus  
Jasmin Battista  
Jeremy Smith  
Maximilian Strotmann

Ansip's private office is headed by Juhan Lepassaar, a young Estonian who worked in the office of Siim Kallas, who served two terms as commissioner. There are former members of Kallas's private office working for Ansip, including Laure Chapuis, Max Strotmann and Hanna Hinrikus. One of the main players in the team is Jörgen Gren, a Swedish official who worked in the department for communications networks, content and technology and was the spokesman for the Swedish government when it held the presidency of the Council of Ministers in 2009.

## FEATURED CONTENT



# Software innovation: A growth solution for Europe

## A message from BSA | The Software Alliance

All around us, software is empowering us in ways that make our lives better. Enabling connectivity and communication on a global scale. Democratising information and education. Accelerating medical discovery and knowledge. Revolutionising design, manufacturing, construction, and transportation.

Software-enabled data innovation is clearly not just a tool for the technology sector. The companies we represent at BSA | The Software Alliance are creating tools that empower individuals and businesses across the European and global economies to do what they do better, faster, and in more innovative ways. From cloud computing to data analytics, software is changing the way organizations of every kind are solving problems, every day.

In fact, a recent poll shows how widespread and critical data innovation is in the modern economy. Nearly two-thirds of senior European executives said that data analytics are important to their

companies – not just to drive sales and revenue, but also to better serve their customers:

- 80% said data analytics are helping them to better serve customers.
- 58% said data analytics will help their companies to create jobs.
- And, data analytics are expected to help European businesses grow: 43% of senior executives said they expect more than 10% of their companies' growth to be related to data analytics within the next five years.

Data technologies, powered by software, are having a transformational impact on every sector of the European economy.

2015 will be a critical year for policies related to data and Europe's digital economy. Vice-president Andrus Ansip and his colleagues in the European Commission will oversee important decisions on big data, data protection, cybersecurity and digital trade which will determine the extent to which the data economy can continue to drive much-needed job creation and growth in Europe. We stand ready to work with the new

College of Commissioners to ensure the software industry continues to play a significant role in delivering on Europe's objectives for the data economy and the digital single market.

We also recognise that ensuring trust in data technologies is essential to realising the potential benefits. To that end, both government and industry have a role to play.

BSA and our member companies are leading in this area, developing privacy and security solutions that ensure the utmost protection for individuals' and businesses' data held here in Europe and abroad.

We're committed to helping to foster the right environment for software-powered innovation to grow and benefit European society and economy.

**For more information about BSA | The Software Alliance and our member companies, visit [www.bsa.org/EU](http://www.bsa.org/EU)**

**Follow us on Twitter: @BSANewsEU**

## VICE-PRESIDENT

# Maroš Šefčovič

### Energy union

**Country** Slovakia  
**Born** Bratislava, 24 July 1966  
**Political affiliation** PES  
**Twitter** @MarosSefcovic



**M**aroš Šefčovič's competence in his first term as a European commissioner made him a respected member of Jean-Claude Juncker's team. After being given the transport and space portfolio, and impressing the European Parliament's transport committee during his hearing, he was moved to the role of vice-president for energy union when Jean-Claude Juncker was forced to shuffle the pack after Alenka Bratušek's disastrous performance in front of MEPs.

The transport committee was so upset at the thought of losing Šefčovič that it wrote to Juncker asking that he be kept on. The committee did not get its way, and Šefčovič impressed in his second parliamentary hearing despite having just four days to swot up on EU energy policy. It helped that in the previous Commission his responsibilities included relations with the European Parliament.

Fate has repeatedly placed Šefčovič in dramatic situations and his rise is all the more remarkable because he comes from the wrong side of the tracks. His mother worked in the post office and his father was, he says, a tough and self-made man from a background devoid of privilege. But his parents had high expectations of their son, and he responded. He overcame his childhood shyness as his sporting talents emerged: he used to run the 100 metres in less than 11 seconds and still enjoys tennis, jogging and skiing.

He won such high grades in economics and journalism in his first undergraduate year in Bratislava that he was selected for fast-track training as a diplomat. Sent to Prague and then to Moscow, a new world opened up to him. At the prestigious State Institute of International Relations he studied the works of British and American politicians, learnt English and French, attended lectures from visiting Western professors and diplomats and had access to material about the events of 1968 that he was still unable to see when he returned to Czechoslovakia.

With a doctorate in law to his credit, he entered the ministry of foreign affairs as an adviser, and was selected for a scholarship at Stanford, where his teachers included Milton Friedman, Condoleezza Rice and

George Schultz. His first foreign posting was to Zimbabwe, followed by a promotion to Ottawa – at which point, as Czechoslovakia split, in 1993, he had to decide which foreign service he wanted to stay with.

He chose Slovakia ("the more adventurous option"), and within five years had risen to the position of director of the foreign minister's office. In 1998, he came to Brussels for a year as deputy head of his country's mission. After a brief spell as ambassador to Israel and another swift promotion in the foreign ministry, he returned to Brussels to head Slovakia's mission, and – when Slovakia at last joined the EU – as his country's permanent representative. In September 2009 he was appointed to the Commission as a stop-gap replacement for his departing compatriot Ján Figel', and spent three months in charge

of education and culture.

Educated among the elite in the dying years of the Soviet regime, he was a stagiaire in the foreign ministry in Prague during the Velvet Revolution. He was supposed, as a diplomat of a Soviet satellite, to be a member of the Communist Party, but the system collapsed before he received his membership card.

Šefčovič has, therefore, packed an awful lot into his life – he was born in 1966 – and has made a significant mark in the European Commission. Completion of the European Union's internal energy market is a priority of the Juncker Commission and Šefčovič could be just the man for the job.

### CV

- **2010-14** European commissioner for inter-institutional relations and administration
- 2009-10** European commissioner for education, training, culture and youth
- 2004-09** Slovakia's permanent representative to the EU
- 2003** Director-general of European affairs section, Slovak foreign ministry
- 2002** Director-general of bilateral co-operation section, Slovak foreign ministry
- 2000** PhD in international and European law, Comenius University
- 1999** Slovak ambassador to Israel
- 1998** Deputy head, Slovak mission to the EU
- 1996-98** Director and deputy director at the Slovak foreign minister's office
- 1992** Deputy chief of mission, Czech and Slovak embassy in Canada
- 1991-92** Official, Czech and Slovak embassy in Zimbabwe
- 1990** Adviser to the first deputy foreign minister, Czech and Slovak ministry of foreign affairs
- 1990** Doctorate in law, Comenius University, Bratislava

### Cabinet

- **Head of cabinet**  
Juraj Nociar
- **Deputy head of cabinet**  
Bernd Biervert
- **Cabinet members**  
Gabriela Kečkéšová  
Christian Linder  
Dagmara Maria Koska  
Peter Van Kemseke  
Manuel Szapiro  
L'ubomíra Hromková

Šefčovič has kept on the majority of his team from when he was vice-president for inter-institutional relations and administrative affairs. Juraj Nociar, continues as head of his private office. Bernd Biervert, a German who was his deputy in the permanent representation, continues as his deputy head. Other members of the previous team include Gabriela Kečkéšová, a Slovak, and Christian Linder, a German official.

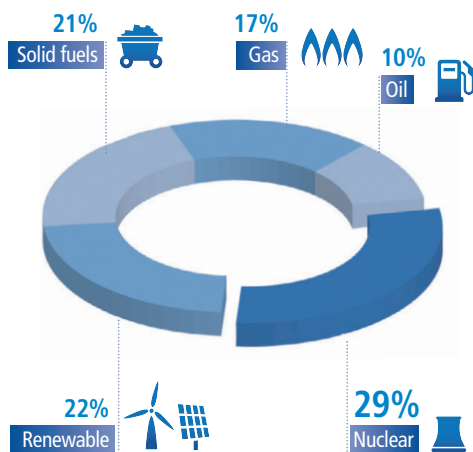
# NUCLEAR ENERGY PLAYS A VITAL ROLE IN BUILDING AN AFFORDABLE, SECURE AND LOW-CARBON FUTURE FOR EUROPE

European Union (EU) energy policies are generally driven by three objectives: combating climate change; competitiveness and security of energy supply. Nuclear energy is one of the main indigenous sources available to ensure Europe's transition to an independent, low-carbon and competitive energy mix. The technology, components and fuel needed for Europe's nuclear reactors can all be produced in the EU, helping to ensure security of supply.

*"In the past two decades, indigenous energy production in the European Union has steadily declined (...) It is however possible to slow down this trend in the medium term by further increasing the use of renewable energy, nuclear energy, as well as sustainable production of competitive fossil fuels where these options are chosen"*

European Commission Energy Security Strategy,  
28 May 2014

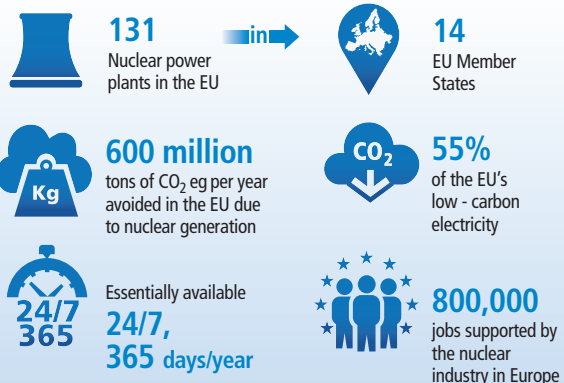
## EU's total primary energy production\*



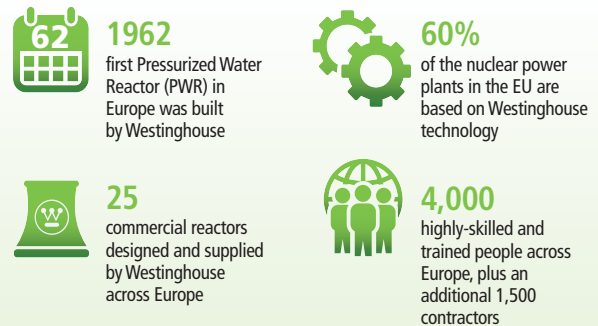
## About Westinghouse

Westinghouse Electric Company, a group company of Toshiba Corporation, is the world's pioneering nuclear energy company and is a leading supplier of nuclear plant products and technologies to utilities throughout the world. Westinghouse supplied the world's first pressurized water reactor in 1957 in Shippingport, Pa., U.S. Today, Westinghouse technology is the basis for approximately one-half of the world's operating nuclear plants, including more than 50 percent of those in Europe. AP1000® is a trademark of Westinghouse Electric Company LLC. All rights reserved.

## The nuclear industry in Europe



## Westinghouse in Europe



- 54 out of the 58 French reactors are based on Westinghouse licensed technology.
- 65 nuclear reactors in Europe are currently fuelled by Westinghouse (PWR – including VVER, BWR, AGR and Magnox).
- We have operations in 10 European countries.
- Our AP1000® reactor is the safest, most efficient and reliable design currently available in the worldwide marketplace.

\* Eurostat 2014



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## VICE-PRESIDENT

# Valdis Dombrovskis

The euro and social dialogue

**Country** Latvia  
**Born** Riga, 5 August 1971  
**Political affiliation** EPP  
**Twitter** @VDombrovskis



When Valdis Zatlers, Latvia's president, announced in 2009 that he was asking Valdis Dombrovskis to form the country's next government, no one even knew the whereabouts of the former finance minister and MEP. Then suddenly Dombrovskis appeared and bestowed upon journalists the day's second headline: if the next government did not overhaul its budget immediately, Latvia would go bankrupt.

The then 37-year-old was criticised for scaremongering, while lawyers were quick to point out that countries do not go bankrupt, they go into default. Yet others lauded Dombrovskis for refusing to sugar-coat the message: Latvia's economic outlook was dire and getting back into the black would be a "near-impossible" task.

As things turned out, Dombrovskis's style – bleak content, drab tone – did not undermine his nomination and he became the youngest politician to head up a government in the EU. The prime minister's centre-right coalition went on to slash spending while imposing a raft of austerity measures that would have made most European leaders baulk.

The story of Latvia's economic collapse is well known. Gross domestic product (GDP) plummeted, hitting rock bottom at the end of 2008. Yet by 2010 the economy had largely recovered, while today Latvia is outperforming most EU countries. GDP grew by 4.8% in 2013 and 4.2% in 2014, making Dombrovskis the poster-boy for austerity policies.

The Dombrovskis era came to an end in 2014 when the government resigned following the collapse of a supermarket roof in Riga, which killed 54 people. While direct responsibility for building standards lay with Riga's city council, Dombrovskis said he accepted "moral and political responsibility" for the disaster.

Yet Dombrovskis's reputation as a competent, tough-talking and at times colourless technocrat who had turned around a moribund economy emerged unscathed. His choice as European commissioner for the euro and social dialogue was seen as largely unremarkable and not even his unwavering support for austerity was enough to give him much grief

at his hearing before the European Parliament last year.

In a subdued – even boring – public appearance, the attacks by MEPs appeared to have little impact, with Dombrovskis's monotonous delivery betraying no emotion at all. The commissioner-designate was unwilling to reflect on the social impact of unemployment and poverty caused by his government's austerity measures, saying he did what he had to do to get Latvia through the crisis.

However, in his final statement Dombrovskis, who was an MEP between 2004 and 2009, sounded slightly more conciliatory. He acknowledged MEPs' questions about mistakes he had made, saying that Latvia still needed to make progress on dealing with income inequality, strengthening the judiciary and stepping up energy independence. "There are shortcomings that Latvia should address," he said.

If Dombrovskis sounds more like a crusty bureaucrat than a politician, there is a reason for it: he began his career with a four-year stint in Latvia's central bank, cranking out analysis on macroeconomic indicators. It was a job that would have bored most people to death, yet for the

mathematically-minded Dombrovskis it was a perfect match.

A physicist and economist by training, Dombrovskis is arguably the most private individual to have emerged from Latvian politics in recent years. Even his former party members confessed to not knowing much about him.

He is married with no children and when he is not crunching numbers he likes to play basketball and ski. Dombrovskis is reportedly meticulous and loves to engross himself in the minutiae of state finance, although one colleague said he could show up at a party equally prepared with a good joke and a poignant question on economic policy.

## CV

- 2014 Member of the European Parliament
- 2014 Member of the Latvian parliament
- 2011-present Founder and board member of Unity party
- 2009-14 Prime minister
- 2004-09 Member of the European Parliament
- 2002-04 Finance minister
- 2001-02 Chief economist, Bank of Latvia
- 2005-07 Master's degree in customs and tax administration, Riga Technical University
- 1993-96 Master's degree in physics, University of Latvia
- 1992-95 Degree in economics, Riga Technical University
- 1989-93 Degree in physics, University of Latvia

## Cabinet

- Head of cabinet  
Taneli Lahti
- Deputy head of cabinet  
Massimo Suardi
- Cabinet members  
Karolina Leib  
Jan Ceysens  
Raquel Lucas  
Elina Melngaile  
Gints Freimanis  
Žaneta Vegnere  
Rita Voine

Dombrovskis has recruited Taneli Lahti, a former member of the private office of Olli Rehn when he was commissioner for economic and monetary affairs and the euro, to head his team. His communications adviser is Žaneta Vegnere, a Latvian who used to work for the European People's Party group in the European Parliament.

# Jyrki Katainen

Jobs, growth, investment and competitiveness

Country Finland  
 Born Siilinjärvi, 14 October 1971  
 Political affiliation EPP  
 Twitter @jyrkikatainen



By becoming Finland's prime minister in 2011, Jyrki Katainen brought his centre-right National Coalition Party (NCP) in from a long period out in the cold. Over two decades had gone by since Finland's conservatives had last won a general election and the centre-left Social Democratic Party and the Centre Party had come to be seen as the natural parties of government.

Katainen's conservative renaissance did not come easily. The two months required to form a government were the country's most protracted political negotiations in a quarter of a century and Katainen ended up leading a six-party coalition which, in addition to the Social Democrats and centrists, included the Left Alliance, the Greens and the Swedish People's Party – a centrist group representing ethnic Swedes. Observers largely agree that Katainen displayed admirable patience and flexibility at the negotiating table, managing to get the ideologically disparate players to agree to a ground-breaking policy programme, called "An open, fair and bold Finland."

Katainen was born in Siilinjärvi, a town of 20,000 people, 400 kilometres north of Helsinki. The son of an aviation mechanic and a secretary at the municipal council, he embraced at a young age what he called the "four pillars" of conservative values: encouragement, education, tolerance, and caring. He was elected to the municipal council at the age of 22.

From there, his rise was inexorable, although at one time he considered leaving politics for the civil service. Instead, supporters persuaded him to seek a national stage and, in 1999, he was elected to parliament. It was another four years before Katainen, aged 32, sought the chairmanship of the NCP, which was in urgent need of a makeover.

The gambit paid off. In 2005 Katainen was elected one of the vice-chairmen of the European People's Party and, in 2007, he galvanised the NCP to a second-place finish in the national elections, just one seat behind the centrists. He was tasked with heading the finance ministry in the four-party government and in 2008 the *Financial Times* ranked him Europe's best finance minister.

Katainen made reform his signature theme, saying in 2011 that "the existing welfare state was designed for a very different Finland from the one that is emerging now". A quarter of a century ago there were approximately 100 taxpayers for every 50 non-taxpaying residents, he argued; by 2025, the ratio will be 100 to 70.

Once in the prime minister's seat, Katainen took swift action to consolidate the budget through spending cuts and tax hikes, before announcing more cutbacks. It was bitter medicine for the Finns, but Katainen, at the time the EU's youngest head of government, sought to administer it gently. "The Finnish people seem to respect the truth even though it is not pleasant," he told *European Voice*. "People are really worried about the debt."

By the summer of 2014 Katainen's time at the helm was drawing to a close. He let it be known that he was interested in a European role and his name was floated as a future president of the European Commission. In June 2014, when Finland's former commissioner Olli Rehn stepped down to become a member of the European Parliament, Katainen resigned as NCP chairman and Finnish prime minister. He

replaced Rehn as the European commissioner for economic and monetary affairs and the euro, and Finland re-nominated him for the following term, when he was awarded the job of vice-president for jobs, growth, investment and competitiveness.

Katainen comes with a reputation as a budget hawk, which makes some nervous. However, he has been keen to suggest that he also believes in growth and is prepared to countenance lateral thinking to bring it about. One of his main tasks will be the design and implementation of the EU's €315 billion investment fund.

## CV

- 2014 European commissioner for economic and monetary affairs and the euro
- 2011-14 Prime minister
- 2007-11 Finance minister and deputy prime minister
- 2006-12 Vice-president of the European People's Party
- 2004-14 President of National Coalition Party
- 2001-04 Vice-president of National Coalition Party
- 2001-04 First vice-president of the regional council of Northern Savonia
- 1999-2014 Member of the Finnish parliament
- 1998-2000 Vice-president of the youth section of the European People's Party
- 1998 Master's degree in social sciences, University of Tampere

## Cabinet

- Head of cabinet  
Juho Romakkaniemi
- Deputy head of cabinet  
Hilde Hardeman
- Cabinet members  
Edward Bannerman  
Miguel Gil Tertre  
Valerie Herzberg  
Heidi Jern  
Aura Salla  
Grzegorz Radziejewski

Jyrki Katainen brought the head of his private office when he was prime minister in Finland, Juho Romakkaniemi, to head up his team in Brussels. Other notable members include Hilde Hardeman, a Belgian historian and expert on Russia and Ukraine, as deputy head of office, Edward Bannerman, a former adviser to Catherine Ashton, and Valerie Herzberg, who used to work for Herman Van Rompuy.

# Change of direction



The first annual work programme unveiled by the Jean-Claude Juncker Commission was in many ways a departure from previous practice.

For starters, the programme distributed in December 2014 was much lighter than in previous years. It listed only 23 initiatives planned for 2015, compared to an average of 130 new initiatives each year under José Manuel Barroso, Juncker’s predecessor as Commission president.

The 2015 work programme also listed 80 pieces of proposed legislation for withdrawal. The average annual number under Barroso had been 30.

“We are breaking with the practice of listing everything for fear of being incomplete,” Frans Timmermans, the first vice-president of the Commission, told MEPs when unveiling the work programme. “Just because an issue is important doesn’t mean that the EU has to act on it.”

He stressed that the Commission did not include anything in the work programme that it did not think could be dealt with in 2015, breaking with the previous practice of listing all kinds of ideas but acting on only some of them. That, Timmermans explained, is why this year’s programme was so slimmed-down.

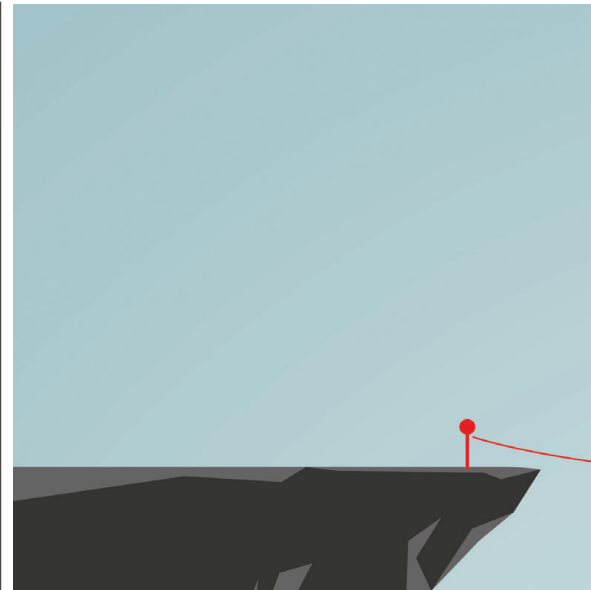
The draft identifies ten areas of focus for the Juncker Commission’s first year.

The new initiatives include a single market for capital (see right), a digital single market package (see page 26), an energy union communication (see page 26), a labour mobility package, a capital markets action plan, and a communication on a “renewed approach for corporate taxation in the single market in the light of global developments”.

- 1 A new boost for jobs, growth and investment
- 2 A connected digital single market
- 3 A resilient energy union with a forward-looking climate change policy
- 4 A deeper and fairer internal market with a strengthened industrial base
- 5 A deeper and fairer economic and monetary union
- 6 A reasonable and balanced free trade agreement with the United States
- 7 An area of justice and fundamental rights based on mutual trust
- 8 Working towards a new policy on migration
- 9 A stronger global actor
- 10 A union of democratic change

The Commission is also planning to put forward an agenda on migration and a review of the EU’s decision-making process on genetically-modified crops.

The programme also envisages a “European Agenda on Security to address threats to the EU’s internal security such as cross-border crime, cybercrime, terrorism, foreign fighters and radicalisation”. This agenda took on increased importance following the shootings in Paris in January 2015.



## Financial services

Creating a single market for capital is a major challenge that the European Commission of Jean-Claude Juncker has set itself. But Jonathan Hill, the European commissioner for financial stability, financial services and capital markets union, would also be kept very busy simply by the raft of financial service reforms introduced by the last Commission – completing, implementing and fine-tuning the work.

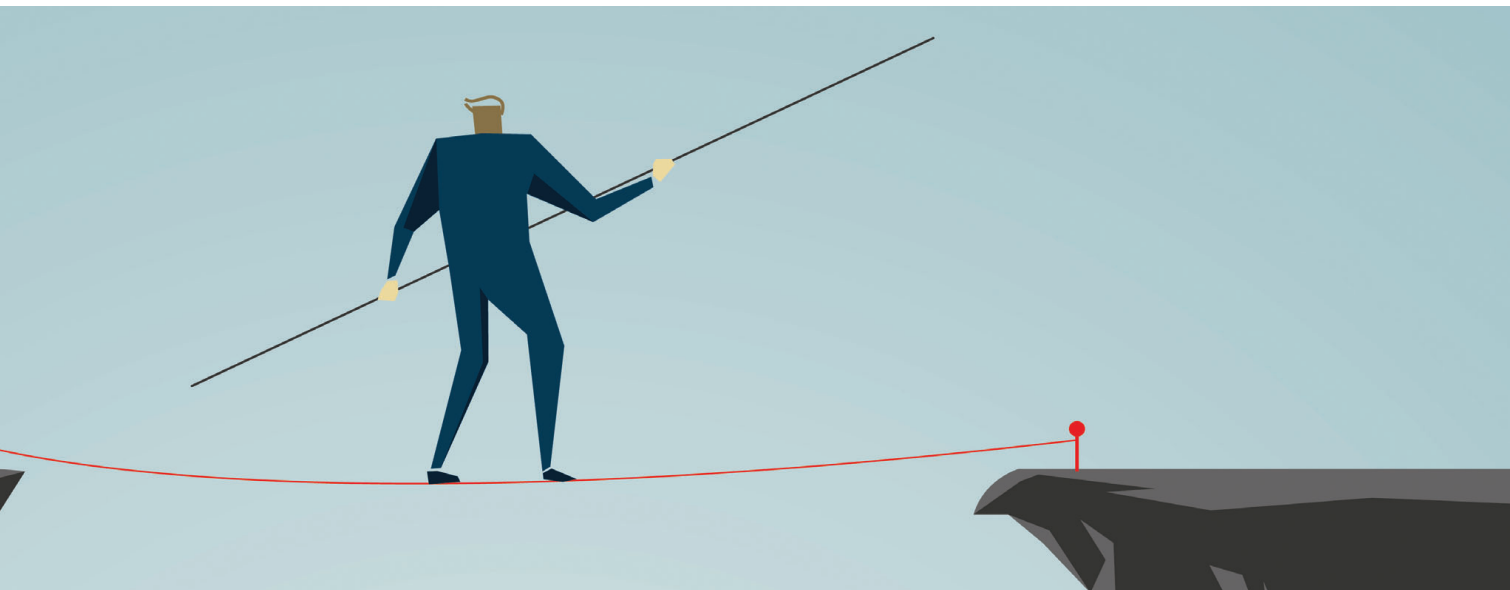
The main item hanging over from the Barroso Commission is a controversial proposal that could hand the European Central Bank the power to break up the European Union’s largest banks, specifically those considered ‘too-big-to-fail’. The draft legislation, as proposed, would also ban large global banks, which hold big consumer deposits, from engaging in so-called ‘proprietary trading’.

The proposal was presented in early 2014 as an essential complement to banking union, a vast regulatory project that brought the largest eurozone banks and many non-eurozone banks under one regulatory umbrella. Yet at the start of 2015, appetite for imposing further reforms on Europe’s banks was waning. Securing a strong deal will be a major challenge for Hill, and how he deals with that debate will be a significant test of his influence and ability.

Hill has also promised to conduct a deep analysis of the cumulative effect of recent financial reforms on the financial sector, with action promised if it proves overly burdensome. Some of that work could be done behind the scenes, since the new Commission must adopt some 400 implementing acts in the field of financial services.

The Barroso II Commission introduced the idea of a banking union. In his election campaign, Juncker promised to create a





capital markets union (CMU). There is widespread agreement that Europe's companies suffer from being too dependent on banks for their financing needs. A CMU would help diversify the source of funding. But if Juncker's diagnosis is correct, the idea is far from new: a genuine CMU would be remarkably similar to the single market for capital promised in Article 3 of the 1957 Treaty of Rome (now

incorporated into the EU treaty). The proposal has nonetheless generated plenty of interest from industry and MEPs. The Commission is likely to focus first on reforming the rules for securitisation and reducing the regulatory burden for SMEs looking to raise funding. Another idea being considered is to make it easier for pension and insurance funds to invest in infrastructure projects.

The Commission's plans will become clearer when it publishes an action plan in the autumn of 2015. This means that there will probably be little legislative debate on the CMU until the second half of Juncker's mandate.

**See page 26 for more on the 2015 work programme**



## HOW DO WE PREPARE YOUTH TODAY FOR JOBS TOMORROW?



### JA STUDENTS ARE

- ✓ LESS LIKELY TO DROP OUT OF SCHOOL
- ✓ LESS LIKELY TO BE UNEMPLOYED AFTER THEY GRADUATE
- ✓ MORE LIKELY TO START A BUSINESS LATER ON

### IN 2014 WE REACHED

<b>39</b> EUROPEAN COUNTRIES	<b>60,000</b> SCHOOLS	<b>3.2</b> MILLION STUDENTS
<b>140,000</b> TEACHERS	<b>165,000</b> BUSINESS VOLUNTEERS	

“ Every young person should have at least one practical entrepreneurial experience before they leave school. ”

Entrepreneurship 2020, European Commission

ja-ye.org   

Europe's largest entrepreneurship education network



### Energy union

One of the main priorities for the European Commission in 2015 will be completing the EU's 'energy union', an idea given added impetus by events in Ukraine during 2014. Jean-Claude Juncker indicated the importance that he attaches to this idea by making one of the Commission's vice-presidents – Maroš Šefčovič – responsible for energy union.

In 2011, member states committed themselves to completing implementation of the EU's internal energy market by the start of 2014. That deadline was missed – by a long way. At the end of last year, the Commission delivered a bleak assessment of the state of play. Today, Europe's 28 national energy markets are related, but not united. Member states have been slow to transpose and implement transparency and liberalisation rules. There are wide variations in energy prices, reflecting regulatory differences and imperfect market liquidity across national borders. Many doubt that the EU's new energy-market oversight body has a sufficiently clear remit.

In February, Šefčovič come up with a plan to get the EU's energy union back on track. It emphasises interconnectors between EU member states. But this will face some resistance from national energy companies, particularly in France where there are concerns about the effect of cheap renewable energy coming from Spain and Germany. Concerns about energy security – particularly disruption to supplies from Russia – might not be enough to overcome such national interests.

The Commission's strategy identifies five areas of focus: supply security, a competitive and completed internal energy market, moderation of demand, decarbonisation, and research and innovation.

### Digital single market

Any political leader in the European Union brave enough to argue against the need to create a single digital market can expect to be mocked as an old fuddy-duddy who wouldn't know his app from his elbow. Which is why opposition to breaking down those national barriers, which are costing the EU an estimated €250 billion of additional economic growth each year, tends to occur behind closed doors.

The political reality of the problem is no mystery. The EU's 28 national governments have a myriad of rules for telecoms, copyright, data protection – in short, everything that is likely to get in the way of tech-based start-ups. It means that the advantage of having a common market of 500 million people is lost on tech start-ups and anyone wanting to harness the internet's potential.

Part of the problem may be cultural, with European businesses and bankers often biased against small, nimble companies and the young people behind them. But the national governments' reluctance to pull down the barriers that prevent cross-border, tech-based investment is what this story is really about.

This is why the Commission's announcement that it will take steps to bring about a genuine digital single market is as ambitious as it is brave. In the list of priorities published shortly before Jean-Claude Juncker became the president of the Commission, he argued that EU citizens "should be subject to the same data protection and consumer rules, regardless of where their computer servers are based". These objectives are nothing new: the former commissioner for the digital agenda, Neelie Kroes, had banged on about these issues for five years. Yet Juncker's approach of chiselling away at resistance rather than confronting member states head-on may give him room to move, with changes to

data protection rules, simplifying consumer rules for online purchases and moves to make it easier for tech innovators to start their own company likely to be as good a way forward as any.

Juncker will be able to rely on a zealous digital convert at the heart of the Commission. Ann Mettler is a former outspoken critic of the EU's lack of progress on digital issues and she was appointed in December 2014 to head the European Commission's European Political Strategy Centre, Juncker's in-house think-tank.

Yet the Commission has its work cut out for it. According to figures compiled by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 67% of European companies have a website, but only 17% of them have taken an order over the internet. What this means is that business is failing to get a foothold in international online markets – leaving companies outside the EU to gain a competitive advantage.

# Vytenis Andriukaitis

## Health and food safety

Country	Lithuania
Born	Yakut, Russia, 9 August 1951
Political affiliation	PES
Twitter	@V_Andriukaitis

Vytenis Andriukaitis, the combative new European commissioner for health and food safety, is unlikely to be daunted by any criticism that comes his way as he attempts to reform the European Union's healthcare system: he has been through it all before at home in Lithuania. When Andriukaitis, a trauma and heart surgeon, became Lithuania's health minister in 2012, he hurled himself into a healthcare overhaul – an endeavour that was bound to make him enemies. A mere six months passed before lawmakers launched a no-confidence motion against him, claiming the minister was leading the sector to financial and moral ruin. Andriukaitis welcomed the move and even added his name to the list of signatures needed to trigger the procedure. For this life-long dissident, who had been hounded for half his adult life by the KGB, it was an opportunity to take the fight to his critics.

He survived the eventual vote just as he had survived Siberia, where he was born to parents exiled by Soviet authorities, and just as he later survived an arrest and harrying by the KGB. He was 25 when he was detained for dissident activities, having just graduated from medical school in Kaunas. The authorities "exiled" him to Ignalina in north-eastern Lithuania, near the site of an enormous nuclear power plant that was then under construction.

This internal exile only motivated Andriukaitis, who found time amid his surgical duties to nurture a new-found fondness for history. Though he wrote his diploma dissertation on the medical history of Vilnius in the 19th century, Andriukaitis would much later use his nose for history to combat historical revisionism and to remind Lithuanians of their nation's role in the Holocaust.

Andriukaitis, who is married and has three children, started supporting the leftist model of statecraft early in life. When the independence movement in the late 1980s began to gather momentum, he called for the restoration of the pre-Second World War Social Democratic Party of Lithuania. Over two decades of reform and market economics failed to dent Andriukaitis's leftist, egalitarian convictions. On becoming Lithuania's health minister, he vowed to

correct the innumerable wrongs that, to his mind, had led to a high mortality rate and robbed many citizens of their basic right to affordable healthcare.

"He has strong views and is not afraid to speak his mind, and this has caused him problems," said one veteran Lithuanian politician. Others confirm this intensiveness, to the extent that Andriukaitis often gets carried away and is reluctant to listen to anyone else. Supporters say this is merely a reflection of how passionate he is about his beliefs and that, as a speaker of Polish, Russian, German and English, he can be very engaging.

There can be no doubt that Andriukaitis has always been a fervent believer in Europe. In the years leading up to Lithuania's 2004 membership of the EU, he was chairman of the Lithuanian parliament's European affairs committee and laboured to ensure compliance with accession criteria and stir up grassroots support.

Now the 63-year-old Europhile is a member of the EU's powerful executive branch. Andriukaitis has outlined his

ultimate dream of creating a single space for healthcare services, particularly for mobile Europeans. Considering this is a marketplace with 500 million people and that healthcare remains a sovereign prerogative, this is an extremely ambitious dream.

A more attainable idea would be to improve the quality of healthcare in poorer member states, but for this to come about there will first have to be a system of information-sharing in place. This alone will put Andriukaitis's talents of persuasion to the test.

## CV

- **2014** Vice-president of the World Health Assembly
- 2012-14** Health minister
- 2008-14** Member of parliament
- 2001-04** Deputy speaker of the Lithuanian parliament
- 1999-2000** Leader of LSDP
- 1992-04** Member of parliament
- 1990-92** Signatory of Lithuania's act of independence
- 1989** Founder of Social Democratic Party of Lithuania (LSDP)
- 1984** Master's degree in history, Vilnius University
- 1975-93** Doctor and surgeon
- 1975** Medical degree, Kaunas Institute of Medicine

## Cabinet

- **Head of cabinet**  
Arūnas Vinčiūnas
- **Deputy head of cabinet**  
Nathalie Chaze
- **Cabinet members**  
Paula Duarte Gaspar  
Vilija Sysaitė  
Arūnas Ribokas  
Jurgis Gurstis  
Annika Nowak  
Marco Valletta

The head of Andriukaitis's private office is Arūnas Vinčiūnas, who was previously Lithuania's deputy permanent representative to the EU. His deputy is Nathalie Chaze, a French official from the Commission's health department who was head of unit for healthcare systems. Paula Duarte Gaspar, who is Portuguese, was previously in the office of Tonio Borg and John Dalli, the previous commissioners for health.

## COMMISSIONER

# Miguel Arias Cañete

Climate action and energy

**Country** Spain  
**Born** Madrid, 24 February 1950  
**Political affiliation** EPP  
**Twitter** @MAC\_Europa



Miguel Arias Cañete's road towards the European Commission was littered with controversy. His long and colourful career in politics, his bizarre macho comments about the difficulty of debating with women, his shareholdings in two petrol companies – it was all on display as increasingly belligerent MEPs clashed with the veteran Spanish politician's unbridled charisma during his confirmation hearings. Yet beneath the larger-than-life political figure lies a law lecturer's grasp of his dossiers and an unwavering European vocation.

Arias Cañete entered the European Parliament in 1986, the year Spain joined the European Economic Community. He was a Spanish senator at the time and was nominated to go to Brussels because he spoke several languages and had taught European law.

Arias Cañete, the youngest member of the Spanish centre-right delegation, rose quickly during his 13 years at the European Parliament. He was a prominent member of the agricultural committee from 1988-92, at a time when EU agricultural policy was undergoing major reform. He would also chair the fisheries committee and later chaired the regional policy committee.

That interest in both the food-chain and the countryside stayed with him throughout his subsequent political career. In 2000, José María Aznar, the first centre-right prime minister in Spain's EU-era, made Arias Cañete minister for agriculture, fisheries and food, a position he regained under the next centre-right premiership, that of Mariano Rajoy, which began in 2011.

Being minister for food in Spain is a particularly visible role, and one to which Arias Cañete's bonhomie was ideally suited. He is well remembered for eating steaks to reassure consumers that Spanish beef was safe despite the discovery of mad cow disease in Spain.

Arias Cañete's relative popularity among the electorate comes from him being perceived as *campechano*, or 'a good guy.' He enjoys eating and drinking, and champions the Jerez wine of his region. Arias Cañete used to drive racing cars and is known for his collection of classic cars. He describes tinkering with them over the weekend as his number one pastime.

In person, he is an animated story-teller

with a gruff, easy laugh. Yet his charisma masks a sharp intellect.

His knowledge of EU agricultural policy and negotiations made him an obvious choice as agriculture minister, an important dossier in Spain, which is the EU's second largest recipient of agricultural funds. Yet accusations of conflict of interest have dogged much of Cañete's political career because of the way in which his political interests have overlapped with his family's business interests, in particular in the agricultural sector.

It was his and his family's shareholdings in two petrol storage firms that sparked indignation among MEPs from the centre-left and the Greens during his confirmation hearing at the Parliament.

Arias Cañete's judgment also came up short during the election campaign for May's European Parliament elections. Following a debate with Elena Valenciano, a centre-left MEP, that the head of the centre-right's list was widely perceived to have lost, Cañete said on morning television: "Debating with a woman is complicated. If you show intellectual superiority or corner her, you are a macho."

## CV

- **2014** Elected as a member of the European Parliament
- 2011-14** Agriculture, food and environment minister
- 2008-11** President of the joint committee of the European Union, Spanish congress
- 2004-08** Executive secretary for economic and employment affairs, People's Party
- 2004-08** Representative for Cádiz, Spanish congress
- 2000-04** Agriculture, fisheries and food minister
- 1999-2000** State attorney
- 1994** Town councillor, Jerez de la Frontera
- 1986-99** Member of the European Parliament
- 1982-86** Member of regional parliament of Andalusia
- 1979-82** Professor in civil law, University of Jerez de la Frontera
- 1975-82** State attorney
- 1971** Law degree, Complutense University of Madrid

The comments spurred international headlines and Arias Cañete quickly apologised.

That does not mean that he will not be a successful commissioner for energy. Skills that were valued in the Spanish cabinet have already begun to shine through in Brussels, where he is backed by a competent team. "Most people who were critical of his nomination are rather pleasantly surprised," says Gerben-Jan Gerbrandy, a Dutch liberal MEP who travelled to Lima with several MEPs and Arias Cañete for the 2014 United Nations climate summit. He says that Arias Cañete made member states feel valued in the negotiations, has "a very charming style" and can "be tough when needed".

## Cabinet

- **Head of cabinet**  
**Cristina Lobillo Borrero**
- **Deputy head of cabinet**  
**Pierre Schellekens**
- **Cabinet members**  
**Yvon Slingenberg**  
**Isaac Valero Ladron**  
**Silvia Bartolini**  
**Gonzalo de Mendoza Asensi**  
**Joachim Balke**  
**Alexandra Marten Carrascosa**

Arias Cañete has a healthy national and gender mix in his cabinet. Cristina Lobillo Borrero from Spain, his chef de cabinet, previously served as head of unit in the Commission's trade department. Senior adviser Yvon Slingenberg, from the Netherlands, previously served as head of unit for ETS implementation. Isaac Verlo Ladron, previously the spokesperson for Connie Hedegaard, the commissioner for climate action, is Cañete's communications adviser.



Dear Commissioner Arias Cañete,

We wish you every success in your role as European Commissioner for Climate Action and Energy. Eurogas welcomes this Commission's increased focus on energy related issues and we firmly support the concept of an energy union.

A more integrated approach that encompasses gas and renewable sources, energy efficiency measures, as well as research, development and the demonstration of low-carbon energy technologies can only benefit Europe and its citizens. To ensure security of supply and competitive prices, and to drive Europe's economic growth, trigger investment and increase employment, such an energy union would need to focus on these three priorities:

- **Energy Market Integration** – A well-functioning and coordinated European market supported by the necessary cross-border infrastructure.
- **Cooperation** – Stronger regional cooperation and solidarity among Member States in implementing energy policy, delivered through commercial agreements and made easier by cross-border energy trade.
- **Diversification** – Increased diversification of sources and routes, reaping the benefits of both indigenous production and imports.

At Eurogas we passionately believe that gas has a vital role to play in helping Europe meet its challenges now and in the future.

In **power generation**, gas is a competitive, secure and flexible partner for variable renewables. Gas as a fuel for **heating** offers a means to unlock major energy efficiency savings, especially in combination with renewables, by upgrading home and industry heating appliances to modern, affordable and efficient systems that are now readily available.

In **transport**, gas can reduce carbon dioxide emissions, nitrogen oxides and particulates in road, rail, inland waterways and maritime transport. Available technology and the increasing network of filling stations make gas a viable alternative to traditional fuels with great benefits to air quality and the climate.

Eurogas is fully committed to help shape an energy union that makes Europe's energy more secure, more affordable and more sustainable.

Gertjan Lankhorst,  
President of Eurogas

## COMMISSIONER

# Dimitris Avramopoulos

Migration, home affairs and citizenship

**Country** Greece  
**Born** Athens, 6 June 1953  
**Political affiliation** EPP  
**Twitter** @Avramopoulos



If there had been any lingering doubts about the political sensitivity of the portfolio awaiting Dimitris Avramopoulos, the centre-right Greek politician's parliamentary hearing last September should have put them to rest. As MEPs attempted to turn up the heat on the dapper former mayor of Athens, the three distinct policy areas of security, legal migration, and asylum-seekers quickly became a scrambled mess.

While Avramopoulos arguably added to the confusion with some policy freelancing about the right to seek asylum at European embassies, he also appeared to be outlining what the unwieldy portfolio of migration, home affairs and citizenship policy desperately needs: a narrative. "Those knocking at our door are not potential terrorists – they are people fleeing dangers that they know better than us and they ask for our solidarity," he told MEPs.

Avramopoulos accepts that he has his work cut out if he wants the migration policy objectives outlined by Jean-Claude Juncker to see the light of day. In particular, he needs to proceed with the planned root-and-branch reform of the EU's embryonic legal migration agreements at a time when the conversation over migration is being clouded by issues of security and a growing asylum-seeker emergency in the Mediterranean.

Avramopoulos was born in Athens but spent his early years close to his mother's home town in Arcadia. The family moved to Athens where, as a high school student, Avramopoulos says he suffered a life-changing failure. His first attempt to pass the exams to get into university was unsuccessful – prompting him to reassess his life. He then worked full-time while studying for university at night. His day-job was with the Australian embassy, where one of his daily tasks was to collect the diplomatic mailbag from the airport. This is where Avramopoulos learned to speak English and he has been told he still has a slight Australian inflection.

Avramopoulos's 13-year diplomatic career was that of a man in a hurry. After years of service he was hand-picked to become a special adviser on foreign policy for Costas Mitsotakis, the leader of the centre-right New Democracy party. Avramopoulos says

that throughout his career, he has never over-thought any decision. "Instinct, in my eyes, is that power which protects you from logic," he says.

It was gut-instinct that led him to quit his job at the ministry, get himself elected to parliament and, in 1994, stand for the office of Athens mayor. Avramopoulos was re-elected with a landslide majority in 1998 – his second term gave him the political clout to launch the campaign to bring the Olympic Games to Athens. As an urbane, multilingual former diplomat (he speaks French, English and Italian) he became a high profile ambassador for the city.

Avramopoulos's post-mayoral career proved somewhat more controversial. In 2001 he left New Democracy to form his own party, only to return a year later – reinforcing a reputation for not forging lasting alliances. In 2009, he harboured hopes of becoming New Democracy's leader, but was ultimately forced to back Antonis Samaras. Yet as minister in successive national governments, Avramopoulos navigated Greece's protracted economic and political crises effectively, becoming defence minister in 2011 and foreign minister in 2012

## CV

- **2013-14** Defence minister
- 2012-13** Foreign minister
- 2011-12** Defence minister
- 2010-present** Vice-president of New Democracy party
- 2006-09** Health and social solidarity minister
- 2004-06** Tourism minister
- 2000-01** President of the Greek Free Citizens Movement Party
- 1997-2002** Member of the Committee of the Regions
- 1995-2002** Mayor of Athens
- 1993** Director of the cabinet of Costas Mitsotakis, then Greece's prime minister
- 1980-1993** Greek diplomatic service
- 1979-80** Postgraduate studies in international organisation, Boston University in Brussels
- 1978** Degree in public law and political science, Athens University

(before returning to defence).

His appointment as European commissioner may be the crowning achievement of a long career – unless, of course, he finds something to top it. Chatter out of Athens shortly after the electoral victory of the far-left Syriza party in January suggested Avramopoulos was being considered for the role of Greek president. The idea of a centre-right politician being appointed to a key role with the support of a far-left leader would, if nothing else, be in keeping with Avramopoulos's political credo. "Democracy is the political art of synthesis," he says. "It should give concrete results by putting together different ideologies."

## Cabinet

- **Head of cabinet**  
Diane Schmitt
- **Deputy head of cabinet**  
Polykarpos Adamidis
- **Cabinet members**  
Kostas Sasmatzoglou  
Sofia Asteriadi  
Olivier Bergeau  
Ilias Papastamatiou  
Chrissa Mela  
Carine Cloot  
Eleni Romaidou

Head of cabinet Diane Schmitt, from Luxembourg, has spent most of her career in the Commission. Deputy chief of cabinet Polykarpos Adamidis is a legal expert from Greece who was director-general of national defence policy in the country's Ministry of Defence. Kostas Sasmatzoglou, the communications adviser, served as the EPP's spokesman and head of the press department in 2004-14. Sofia Asteriadi, the cabinet's expert from Greece, was the assistant to Stavros Lambrinidis, a former vice-president of the European Parliament.

# Elżbieta Bieńkowska

Internal market, industry,  
entrepreneurship and SMEs

**Country** Poland  
**Born** Katowice, 4 February 1964  
**Political affiliation** EPP  
**Twitter** @E\_Bienkowska



At the age of 29, with a master's degree in Iranian studies from Kraków's Jagiellonian University and two small children at home, Elżbieta Bieńkowska sat the entrance exam for Poland's National School of Public Administration. She passed, but was eventually turned down when the selection committee wondered how she could combine a career with family life. The next year she was back, and when committee members repeated their concerns she asked them if they were putting the same question to male candidates. They backed down.

It was the start of a stellar career in Poland's public service – a career that continues to define Bieńkowska's identity as European commissioner for internal market, industry, entrepreneurship and SMEs. As she has often stressed, she sees herself not as a politician, but a technocrat, yet few civil servants could boast Bieńkowska's popularity and public recognition. After she was promoted in a 2013 government reshuffle, the Polish edition of *Newsweek* ran a cover story crowning her "Elżbieta I".

Bieńkowska has indeed brought something of the wonkish bureaucrat to her political career – for example, when she was minister for regional development in 2007-13 she developed a reputation as an effective and meticulous manager of European Union funds. Then, despite her professed dislike for the limelight and party politics, Donald Tusk – then Poland's prime minister, now the president of the European Council – placed Bieńkowska at the centre of the political cut and thrust by elevating her to the role of deputy prime minister. Tusk saw Bieńkowska as an asset for the government and his party, Civic Platform, as it strove to improve its poor poll ratings.

Whatever Bieńkowska's achievements, gender politics may also have played a part in Tusk's decision to name her to join the college of European commissioners. The man Tusk had hoped would become the EU's foreign policy chief, Radek Sikorski, at the time Poland's foreign minister, had caused concern among member states over his strong anti-Russian rhetoric. The nomination of a woman then gave Poland

its best chance of securing a high-profile portfolio, after Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker promised to reward countries that put forward female candidates.

Juncker also wanted high-profile nominees and Bieńkowska was certainly that in Poland. She had been in charge of Poland's infrastructure and development super-ministry, formed from a departmental merger announced in a 2013 reshuffle. With 1,600 employees and nine deputy ministers, it was Poland's second-largest department after the ministry of finance. As minister for regional development she was also in the public eye, given that Poland has the largest allocation of EU funds of any member state.

"Over the past six years Bieńkowska has accumulated considerable political experience without making any major mistakes on policy," said Wawrzyniec Smoczyński, director of think-tank Polityka Insight, last year. "With over-exposed male politicians, it is often the opposite."

Yet Bieńkowska's reputation as the ultimate policy wrangler and manager of funds was hard-earned. Her first public service job saw her work in the regional administration in Katowice, in her native Upper Silesia, where she rose to head the department responsible for managing EU funds. In 2007, she was summoned to Warsaw and offered the position of minister of regional development as what was initially meant to be a temporary position to

sort out the pension system.

In Warsaw, Bieńkowska soon gained a reputation as an effective manager. "Colleagues do not implement her decisions because she tells them to, but because they are genuinely convinced of their validity," says Konrad Niklewicz, a Civic Platform adviser who served as deputy minister of regional development under Bieńkowska.

However, there is little to suggest Bieńkowska's public persona as a grey civil servant has much sway over her private life. She enjoys attending rock concerts and reportedly once stayed out until 2am, ahead of a 4.30am flight to attend an important meeting in Brussels.

## Cabinet

- **Head of cabinet**  
Tomasz Husak
- **Deputy head of cabinet**  
Kristian Hedberg
- **Cabinet members**  
Carsten Bermig  
Justyna Morek  
Fabrice Comptour  
Jakub Cebula  
Agnieszka Drzewoska

Bieńkowska's office is headed by Tomasz Husak who was Poland's deputy permanent representative to the EU. Her deputy is Kristian Hedberg, a Swede who used to be head of unit in the Commission's transport department dealing with land transport.

## CV

- **2013-14** Deputy prime minister and infrastructure and development minister
- **2007-13** Regional development minister
- **1999-2007** Director of regional development office for Silesia region
- **1999** MBA, Warsaw School of Economics
- **1996** Post-graduate diploma from Polish National School of Public Administration
- **1988** Master's degree in oriental philology, Jagiellonian University, Kraków

## COMMISSIONER

# Violeta Bulc

Transport

**Country** Slovenia  
**Born** Ljubljana, 24 January 1964  
**Political affiliation** ALDE  
**Twitter** @Bulc\_EU

When the European Parliament rejected Alenka Bratušek, the former Slovenian prime minister who had nominated herself to take up a seat in the college of European commissioners, many in the small Alpine country hoped that the job would go to a capital-P politician who could steer clear of controversy. What they got instead was Violeta Bulc, a trained shaman who teaches fire-walking, holds a black belt in taekwondo and had entered politics less than a month earlier.

At first glance, Slovenian Prime Minister Miro Cerar appeared to be thumbing his nose at both the Parliament and the Commission, whose president, Jean-Claude Juncker, had asked member states to nominate high-profile politicians to his executive. But as Bulc began to meet EU policymakers it became clear that her background as a telecoms entrepreneur from outside politics would be an asset and there would be no repeat of Bratušek's train-wreck of a parliamentary hearing.

Yet in Ljubljana little was known about Bulc, other than that she had briefly been deputy prime minister in the unorthodox Cerar government that had taken office in September.

"After the hysteria surrounding the Bratušek bid, the public and the media were caught off-guard by Bulc's nomination," says Andrej Lavtar, a former assistant in the European Parliament now working in Slovenian politics. "But they quickly discovered her new-age background", he says – and that gave the story a new narrative.

Bulc was under no illusion that she was the most popular choice for the appointment. The main groups in the European Parliament had been urging Cerar to put forward one of their own – Slovenian centre-left MEP Tanja Fajon. But Bulc would not be cowed, telling *European Voice* that she "didn't feel any warnings from my subconscious" and accepted Cerar's appointment "on the spot".

Bulc's unconventional and non-political background is not atypical of the government formed by Cerar, a college professor who came out of nowhere to win 36% of the votes in last July's general



election. He had been part of a network of citizens from all walks of life – businesspeople, academics, journalists – who met regularly to discuss the future of the country. When Bratušek called a snap election, Cerar's supporters saw an opportunity to put their ideas into practice – and seized it.

Bulc's worldview is heavily influenced by time spent in the Bay area of California. Born in 1964 in Slovenia, which was at that time part of Yugoslavia, she became one of the first group of students to enroll in a new computer science course in Ljubljana. Her interest in IT came in handy after her studies when her then-husband was transferred to Silicon Valley. Bulc worked in the early 1990s for DHL Systems, analysing the performance of wide area networks and eventually obtaining a master's degree from a local university.

Bulc had expected her Commission appointment to be as vice-president for energy union, the post that had been assigned to Bratušek. However, Juncker decided to switch her to the transport portfolio and allocated the vice-presidency to the more experienced Maroš Šefčovič – taking some of the heat out of Bulc's confirmation hearing. As for Bulc's new-age quirkiness, the media interest did not

resonate in her parliamentary hearing, with fire-walking barely rating a mention.

Yet Bulc's professional background would have made the digital agenda portfolio a better fit. When she returned to Slovenia in 1994, shortly after the country gained independence, she worked at Telekom Slovenia, helping to set up the country's first competitive telecoms market before setting up her own telecoms firm, Telemach, in 1999. However, political realities dictated that her portfolio would be transport and, despite her lack of experience in the sector, she says she is excited by the prospect. "It's network logic, connectivity, service layers, unbundling – like we were doing in telecoms," she says.

### Cabinet

- **Head of cabinet**  
Marjeta Jager
- **Deputy head of cabinet**  
Désirée Oen
- **Cabinet members**  
Matej Zakonjšek  
Damijana Pondelek  
Nikolaus Von Peter  
Jocelyn Fajardo  
Andreja Kodrin  
Natasa Vidovic

Bulc's private office is headed by Marjeta Jager, a Slovenian who was a director in the transport department. Her deputy is Désirée Oen, a Belgian who was deputy to Siim Kallas and who used to work for the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats group in the European Parliament.

### CV

- **2014** Deputy prime minister; development, strategic projects and cohesion minister
- 2013-14** Chief of the Program Committee, SMC Party
- 2000-14** CEO of Vibacom Ltd
- 1999-2000** Vice-president of Telemach
- 1997-99** Director of carrier business, Telekom Slovenia
- 1997-99** Manager of institutional traffic, Telekom Slovenia
- 1991-94** Expert for wide area networks performance analyses, DHL
- 1991** Master's degree in information technology, Golden Gate University, San Francisco
- 1988** Degree in computer science and informatics, University of Ljubljana



# Corina Crețu

## Regional policy

Country	Romania
Born	Bucharest, 24 June 1967
Political affiliation	PES
Twitter	@CorinaCretuEU

Corina Crețu's path to the post of Romania's European commissioner began in the unlikely corridors of the Holocaust Museum in Washington, DC. Sent as a journalist to cover a visit to the United States by Romania's president, Ion Iliescu, she managed to collar US President Bill Clinton. Brushing off the concerns of his bodyguards, Clinton leaned towards her tape recorder to declare, in effect, that Romania's hopes of integration with the West were in good hands.

In Romania, the comment dominated the papers and the airwaves, for this was 1993 and Romania had yet to apply for European Union membership. Crețu returned to her normal beat – political and social reporting – in Bucharest, basking in her modest fame and the pleasures of a job she would, she says, have done for free. But then bad luck struck for a second time. The first time, aged 14, she had lost an eye, ending her competitive basketball career. This time, aged 26, Crețu was hit by a car and spent months in hospital. It was at this point that Iliescu's office turned to her, asking for her help with media work.

Crețu's close identification with Iliescu was soon clear. A journalist recalls her as being "kind, ready to help in resolving technical problems, but somehow I always had the feeling she exceeded her job description in 'guarding the president's back'". Crețu is certainly adept at identifying the messages that need countering: in 2012, when asked to identify the main quality of Romania's new prime minister, Victor Ponta, she said "honesty" – precisely the quality others said Ponta most lacked.

Romanians commonly describe her as a good communicator, and she also proved good at building bridges within the fractious socialists. She played multiple roles for Iliescu. She was his scribe (in his media team), then his voice (as his spokeswoman) and then his ghostwriter (for his memoirs), as well as one-time campaign manager. A US diplomat additionally described her as Iliescu's adviser, a notion scoffed at by Romanians: Iliescu is not a man easily advised, they laugh.

Crețu parted ways with Iliescu, by then 74 and out of the presidency, when the socialists, anxious for more women, asked



her to stand as a senator in Bucharest. But while being a woman helped her enter the senate in 2004, it might not have helped her progress, because Romania's parliament was and remains crushingly male: in 2012, just 11.5% of members in the two chambers were women.

When she realised that Romanians could join the European Parliament as observers even before the country's accession, she seized the opportunity. One reason, she says, was that she hankered after a more international dimension to her work (though she was on the foreign-affairs committee).

While an early arrival in the Parliament, she was eclipsed by older compatriots after Romania's accession in 2007. Still, Crețu was one of the few Romanians to secure a good post, as deputy chairwoman of the development committee.

By last May, Crețu was top of the Romanian socialists' list in the European Parliament elections. The party's overwhelming victory put her in a good position to become a vice-president of the Parliament – which she did. In other countries, she would also have been seen as

the probable next European commissioner. Most Romanians, though, thought Dacian Cioloș, a technocrat nominated by the right, would remain as agriculture commissioner. But Jean-Claude Juncker, the Commission's president, urgently needed another woman.

Crețu mobilised herself to learn about her dossier – regional policy – before the parliamentary hearings. She emerged well. Crețu needs pressure, says one of many former aides; comfort and spontaneity are her enemies. In her portfolio she is focusing on the EU's poorer, frequently rural areas. She is emphasising the need for short, clear messages. She needs to manage expectations in Romania and, elsewhere, to counter criticisms of the EU's spending.

## CV

- **2014** Vice-president of the European Parliament
- **2011-present** Vice-president of the Social Democratic Party
- **2008-10** Board member, parliamentary network on the World Bank
- **2007-14** Member of the European Parliament
- **2005-06** Vice-president of the Social Democratic Party
- **2004-05** Senator, Romanian parliament
- **2000** Member of the chamber of deputies, Romanian parliament
- **2000-04** Presidential adviser, spokesperson for the Romanian president, head of the public communication department
- **1993-96** Spokespersons office of the Romanian president
- **1990-93** Journalist
- **1989-90** Economist
- **1985** Degree in economic planning and cybernetics, Academy of Economic Studies, Bucharest

## Cabinet

- **Head of cabinet**  
Mikel Landabaso
- **Deputy head of cabinet**  
Gabriel Onaca
- **Cabinet members**  
Ioana Rus  
Dragoș Bucurenci  
Jan Mikołaj Dzieciotowski  
Tomáš Nejdl  
Mathieu Fichter  
Ioannis Latoudis

Corina Crețu came to office as (more or less) a newcomer to regional policy. Her team, by contrast, is packed with people who have made their careers in regional development, particularly her Spanish chef de cabinet, Mikel Landabaso, a Commission specialist in this area since 1990. Her cabinet is, otherwise, drawn mainly from newer member states. Romanians, naturally, feature prominently, reinforcing Crețu's links to the government and to the socialist party.

# THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION 2014-19



**Jean-Claude Juncker**  
President



**Frans Timmermans**  
First vice-president:  
Better regulation, inter-  
institutional relations, rule of  
law and charter of  
fundamental rights



**Federica Mogherini**  
Vice-president and  
High representative of the  
Union for foreign affairs and  
security policy



**Kristalina Georgieva**  
Vice-president:  
Budget and human resources



**Vytenis Andriukaitis**  
Health and food safety



**Miguel Arias Cañete**  
Climate action  
and energy



**Dimitris Avramopoulos**  
Migration, home affairs  
and citizenship



**Elżbieta Bieńkowska**  
Internal market,  
industry,  
entrepreneurship  
and SMEs



**Violeta Bluc**  
Transport



**Cecilia Malmström**  
Trade



**Neven Mimica**  
International  
co-operation and  
development



**Carlos Moedas**  
Research, science and  
innovation



**Pierre Moscovici**  
Economic and financial  
affairs, taxation  
and customs



**Tibor Navracsics**  
Education, culture,  
youth and sport



**Andrus Ansip**  
Vice-president:  
Digital single market



**Maroš Šefčovič**  
Vice-president:  
Energy union



**Valdis Dombrovskis**  
Vice-president:  
The euro and  
social dialogue



**Jyrki Katainen**  
Vice-president:  
Jobs, growth, investment and  
competitiveness



**Corina Crețu**  
Regional policy



**Johannes Hahn**  
European  
neighbourhood policy  
and enlargement  
negotiations



**Jonathan Hill**  
Financial stability,  
financial services and  
capital markets union



**Phil Hogan**  
Agriculture and  
rural development



**Věra Jourová**  
Justice, consumers and  
gender equality



**Günther Oettinger**  
Digital economy  
and society



**Christos Stylianides**  
Humanitarian aid and  
crisis management



**Marianne Thyssen**  
Employment, social  
affairs, skills and  
labour mobility



**Karmenu Vella**  
Environment, maritime  
affairs and fisheries



**Margrethe Vestager**  
Competition

## COMMISSIONER

# Johannes Hahn

European neighbourhood policy  
and enlargement negotiations

**Country** Austria  
**Born** Vienna, 2 December 1957  
**Political affiliation** EPP  
**Twitter** @JHahnEU



Johannes Hahn has made a success of being low-key. He was an unexpected choice as Austria's member of the college of European commissioners in 2009 (he is only the third Austrian commissioner) but impressed enough while in charge of regional policy to be re-nominated.

There were concerns about his suitability for the role he now has, as the commissioner for relations with the European Union's neighbours and would-be members. At his parliamentary hearing, Hahn himself highlighted the principal question-mark about his suitability: he lacks "diplomatic" experience, he acknowledged.

He added: "I don't want to be a bull in a china shop." But he gave an accomplished performance before the European Parliament's foreign-affairs committee, having clearly studied the main issues and some of the footnotes about the 16 countries in the EU's neighbourhood and the eight countries seeking membership of the EU.

Once confirmed in the role, Hahn said that the Commission intends over the next five years to adopt a "very pragmatic approach" to would-be members of the EU, and that he wanted to bring some of his experience from business and from his five years as commissioner for regional policy into his new role.

Hahn never expected, let alone planned, to become a European commissioner. But it was no accident that his party, the conservative Austrian People's Party (ÖVP), turned to Hahn, given his staunch pro-European credentials. In the 1980s, he drafted the first European manifesto of the ÖVP's youth wing, where he was deputy leader. Hahn adopted a decidedly pro-European position at a time when many within the party had doubts about Austria's accession to the EU.

Hahn is that rare breed of politician who does not feel a constant need to talk. He weighs his words carefully and is happy to remain silent if he believes he has said what needs to be said. People who know him well describe him as very sensitive

At university, Hahn discovered that philosophy suited him far better than law. His whole outlook on life changed soon after, however, when, aged 22, he was

diagnosed with cancer. "If you are confronted with death, your priorities change," says Hahn.

The illness left Hahn a serene man. That equanimity has turned out to be an asset. He made his way in politics without striving doggedly for the positions he won, in local and regional government and as the ÖVP's regional head. "I have never aspired to any post 100%, to avoid disappointment if things did not work out the way I expected," he says.

A lack of political calculation may help explain his decision to work, from 1997 to 2003, for a gambling business, of which he became chief executive.

Hahn's lack of pushiness is appreciated by fellow politicians. But critics say he lacks decisiveness, pointing, for instance, to his tenure as minister for science and research. University officials praised him for engaging in open dialogue when, on three separate occasions, students launched major protest campaigns calling for free, unlimited access to university education and for a bigger budget. Others contend that, in one instance, his long refusal to talk to students who had staged a sit-in at Vienna University allowed the dispute to fester.

In his new role, Hahn will have to become a diplomat; the EU's approach to the neighbourhood cannot simply be technocratic. The easy manner in which he handled the foreign-affairs committee suggested the former municipal politician will achieve the transition. But a hearing before the European Parliament is small beer compared to the burning, and frequently explosive, problems that await him.

## CV

- **2010-14** European commissioner for regional policy
- **2007-10** Science and research minister
- **2003-07** Member of Vienna regional government
- **1997-2003** Board member, then CEO, Novomatic AG
- **1996-2003** Member of Vienna regional parliament
- **1992-97** Executive director, People's Party
- **1987-89** Secretary-general, Austrian Managers Association
- **1987** Doctorate in philosophy, University of Vienna

## Cabinet

- **Head of cabinet**  
Michael Karnitschnig
- **Deputy head of cabinet**  
Emma Udwin
- **Cabinet members**  
Hanna Jahns  
Kyriacos Charalambous  
Colin Scicluna  
Christine Grau  
David Müller

Michael Karnitschnig, an Austrian who worked in the private office of José Manuel Barroso, is head of Hahn's private office. Karnitschnig, who comes from the Austrian foreign ministry, used to advise Barroso on foreign relations. Hahn's deputy is Emma Udwin, a Briton who worked for him when he was commissioner for regional policy and before that for Benita Ferrero-Waldner, Hahn's predecessor as Austria's European commissioner.

# Jonathan Hill

Financial stability, financial services and capital markets union

Country United Kingdom  
Born London, 24 July 1960  
Political affiliation ECR  
Twitter @JHillEU



When Lord Hill of Oareford was revealed as the UK's choice for European commissioner in July 2014, the reaction in Brussels came in two forms. The first was the question: "Lord Who?" The second was the observation that, as the appointment of a conservative government, he would have to be Eurosceptic.

While the latter claim was quickly put to rest by those who knew him, the 'Lord Who?' quip did not appear to bother Jonathan Hill at all. A former ministerial colleague says he "absolutely does not seek the limelight" and, as a result, he is "consistently underestimated."

Even before British Prime Minister David Cameron took the unprecedented step of voting against Jean-Claude Juncker's Commission presidency, it was assumed that he would send a high-profile former cabinet minister to the Commission. Yet to the astonishment of many, when Juncker unveiled his college line-up it was the unflashy Hill who had hit the bullseye: commissioner for financial stability, financial services and capital markets union. The appointment places Hill at the centre of policy affecting the financial hub of the City of London – something that would have been well received at 10 Downing Street.

Hill studied history at Cambridge and was persuaded to start a PhD. But he felt unsuited to academic life and returned to London in 1983, working in a bar, for banker Jacob Rothschild and as an editor in a publishing house.

Still restless, Hill was told by a friend who had worked at the Conservative research department to apply for a job with the party's internal think-tank and, in 1985, his political career began. He moved to the employment department as an adviser, followed by three years at the departments of industry and health before he quit to work in the private sector. Two years later he rejoined the government, this time at the prime minister's office – first in its policy unit, then as political secretary for the prime minister, John Major.

Hill left government in 1994 and, with the exception of stints advising Major during crises in 1995 and 1997, he stayed in the private sector for 16 years. He and John

Eisenhammer, a former journalist, formed a communications, advisory and lobbying firm in 1998. So successful was Quiller Consultancy that, within a decade, the partners sold up to PR firm Huntsworth for €13 million and Hill was looking forward to spending more time with his wife and children.

It did not happen. In May 2010, the newly elected Cameron asked Hill to join his coalition. He wanted a reforming but consensus-building schools minister to steer legislation through the House of Lords, the UK's upper house of parliament. Hill jumped at the chance and did such a good job that, in January 2013, Cameron chose Hill as leader of the House of Lords, a role in which he thrived.

When it came time to find his commissioner, Cameron considered the political advantages of several candidates. But, in the end, he decided that there was one thing he needed – a fixer – and one thing he did not need – a by-election. Hill, who as a lord could be replaced by appointment, was the stand-out choice.

Since landing the job, Hill has impressed with his open-mindedness toward policy options as well as his political antennae. It was those antennae rather than ignorance that prompted his diplomatic evasion of a question about 'eurobonds' at his first hearing before MEPs – a politically sensitive issue outside his remit. He knows these hot

political questions will keep coming but understands that his five-year term will be judged not on these ideological dividing-lines but on its success in weaning the EU's private sector off excessive reliance on bank finance and in creating sustainable jobs.

After a much smoother second hearing before MEPs, the big challenge for Hill will be to unpick national rules that guarantee and protect capital markets, without draining a future capital markets union of the confidence that it will need to operate effectively. For all this to be done in time for it to have any meaningful impact on Europe's current economic woes may be even more of a challenge.

## Cabinet

- Head of cabinet**  
Matthew Baldwin
- Deputy head of cabinet**  
Nathalie de Basaldúa
- Cabinet members**  
Denzil Davidson  
Chantal Hughes  
Sebastian Kuck  
Mette Tofdal Grolleman  
Lee Foulger

Hill's private office is headed by Matthew Baldwin, a British official who was previously director in the Commission's transport department dealing with aviation and international issues and was earlier number two in the cabinet of Pascal Lamy. Nathalie de Basaldúa, who was head of unit for financial stability in the internal market department and before that head of unit for auditing, has previously been in the cabinet of Charlie McCreevy. Denzil Davidson was an adviser to the UK's foreign minister. Hill's communications adviser, Chantal Hughes, who has joint British and French nationality, was Michel Barnier's spokesperson when he was commissioner for the internal market and services.

## CV

- 2013-14** Leader of the House of Lords and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster
- 2010-13** Under-secretary of state for education
- 1998-2010** Director, Quiller Consultants
- 1994-98** Senior consultant, Bell Pottinger Communications
- 1992-94** Political secretary to Prime Minister John Major
- 1991-92** Government policy unit
- 1986-89** Special adviser to Kenneth Clarke MP
- 1985-86** Conservative Party research department
- 1982** Master's degree in history, Trinity College, Cambridge

## COMMISSIONER

# Phil Hogan

Agriculture and rural development

**Country** Ireland  
**Born** Kilkenny, 4 July 1960  
**Political affiliation** EPP  
**Twitter** @PhilHoganEU

Few politicians set a job at the European Commission as their long-term goal. But Phil Hogan, the European commissioner for agriculture and rural development, is a rare exception. As long ago as the formation of Enda Kenny's Fine Gael-led Irish coalition government in 2011, 'Big Phil' – he clocks in at 1.96 metres in his socks – put his marker down for the commissionership.

By the time Kenny had to make a nomination, Hogan's departure from Dublin was desirable. For four years, Hogan had fronted the government's most controversial proposals – water charges and taxes on households and property. His role was as the hard face of the government in imposing water charges, which have triggered some of the largest street demonstrations in Irish history.

Hogan is known for throwing himself into whatever he does and would have committed himself with gusto to any portfolio assigned to him by Jean-Claude Juncker. That Juncker chose agriculture and rural development for Hogan guaranteed his single-minded attention.

Hogan, 54, was born and raised on the family farm in rural Kilkenny in south-east Ireland and briefly ran the business after graduating from university. He joined Kilkenny County Council at 22, became its chairman at 25 and helped set up the local branch of Young Fine Gael.

An unsuccessful bid for a parliamentary seat in 1987 was swiftly followed by election to the senate. Two years later, Hogan was elected to the lower house (*Dáil Éireann*) for Carlow Kilkenny and was appointed to a string of frontbench jobs as spokesman on the food industry, consumer affairs, and on regional affairs and European development.

Early on, he developed a reputation inside the parliamentary party for loyalty to the leader. At the time that leader was John Bruton, who was prime minister in 1994-97 and went on to head the European Commission's delegation in Washington, DC. Hogan later showed the same allegiance to Kenny. After Bruton won the 1994 election, Hogan took a junior ministerial post in the department of finance but was in situ for less than two months.

Despite losing his government job, Hogan's reward for his loyalty and obvious political



talents was a promotion to the chairmanship of the Fine Gael parliamentary party at the age of 35. His six years in this job were his political education, in which he learned not just about the party leadership but its organisation and roots.

After Kenny became Fine Gael leader in 2002, Hogan became his right-hand man and the architect of the party's rebuilding. He knew all the branch chairs and councillors, and was always on the look-out for talented candidates. This diligently accumulated knowledge bore fruit at the 2004 European and local elections. Having done so much to repair the party, Hogan was unhappy at being removed as national organiser. But he continued to stand by Kenny. Nine months later, Kenny appointed Hogan minister for the environment, community and local government.

In July 2011, Hogan set out plans for a €100 annual "household charge" to take effect from 2012 and then be replaced by a full property tax. Hogan then announced the creation of a new utility, Irish Water, to oversee the installation of meters and prepare for the introduction of water charges

## CV

- **2011-14** Environment, community and local government minister
- 2010-11** National director of elections for Fine Gael
- 2002-07** Director of organisation for Fine Gael
- 1998** Chairman of Kilkenny County Council
- 1995-2001** Chairman of the Fine Gael parliamentary group
- 1994-1995** Minister of state at the department of finance
- 1989** Elected of lower house of parliament
- 1987-89** Member of upper house of parliament
- 1985** Chairman of Kilkenny County Council
- 1983** Founded Hogan Campion auctioneers
- 1981-83** Managed the family farm
- 1981** Degree in economics and geography, University College Cork

– the first local taxes to be introduced since 1977.

Hogan developed a reputation as a climate-change sceptic after he abandoned legislation introduced in the dying days of the last government by the Green Party – a reputation Hogan has always denied.

Highly rated inside the Irish government, Hogan's image with the public is less favourable, as a result of the taxes and charges he introduced. But his ability to focus on a dossier, a sympathy for farmers, a willingness to navigate bureaucracies and meet political needs while sticking to an unpopular line are all virtues in his new role.

## Cabinet

- **Head of cabinet**  
Peter Power
- **Deputy head of cabinet**  
Elisabetta Siracusa
- **Cabinet members**  
Dermot Ryan  
Shane Sutherland  
Tom Tynan  
Cristina Rueda-Catry  
Carl-Christian Buhr  
Kevin Keary

Five out of the eight cabinet members are Irish, including Hogan's chef-de-cabinet Peter Power, who worked for Chris Patten and Peter Mandelson. The two women are Italian Elisabetta Siracusa, the deputy chef, and Spaniard Cristina Rueda-Catry. The cabinet includes communications adviser Dermot Ryan, a civil servant from Ireland's agriculture department who was an attaché at Ireland's permanent representation to the EU. Tom Tynan previously worked as an adviser to Ivan Yates, when he was Ireland's minister of agriculture. Shane Sutherland previously served in the cabinets of Charlie McCreevy and Máire Geoghegan-Quinn.



# PESTICIDES AND SUSTAINABLE AGRICULTURE



## Health

Our Safe and Sustainable Use Initiative contributes to safeguarding farmer health and protecting the environment



## Biodiversity

We work with partners to promote resource-efficient agriculture for the benefit of harvests and biodiversity



## Water

Working together with key European stakeholders we're helping to keep pesticides out of water



## Food

We actively address consumer concerns about pesticide residues; Europe's food has never been safer or healthier



Pesticides play a vital role in ensuring agricultural productivity and competitiveness. But our industry does a lot more than just help farmers put healthy, high-quality and affordable food on European tables. With projects in four thematic areas – Food, Water, Health and Biodiversity – we promote and encourage the safe and sustainable use of our technology in countries across Europe. Through innovation, agricultural productivity can help deliver benefits to society while protecting the environment, safeguarding health and promoting biodiversity.

The EU needs regulatory policies that foster rather than discourage this innovative spirit. Find out how Europe can ensure its place as a world leader in innovation and economic, social and environmental security: [www.visionforeurope.eu](http://www.visionforeurope.eu)



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[www.facebook.com/cropprotection](https://www.facebook.com/cropprotection)

## COMMISSIONER

# Věra Jourová

Justice, consumers and gender equality

**Country** Czech Republic  
**Born** Třebíč, 18 August 1964  
**Political affiliation** ALDE  
**Twitter** @VeraJourova



Czech coalition governments have a record of choosing European commissioners in slow and messy ways and producing candidates with a previously low profile. In 2009, Štefan Füle, a career diplomat with brief ministerial experience, emerged from the coalition's battles to take a post the Czechs were glad to have – as commissioner for enlargement and the neighbourhood policy. In last year's battle, the victor was a technocrat with brief ministerial experience, Věra Jourová.

This time, though, the Czechs did not get a post they coveted. The disappointment was aggravated because the Czech government had offered a candidate seemingly tailor-made to meet their needs and those of the Commission. The Commission's president, Jean-Claude Juncker, needed more women and the Czechs indeed had put forward a female candidate. The reward the Czechs wanted was the regional policy dossier, and they tried to make Juncker's choice easy: Jourová has spent most of her life working on local and regional issues, first in local government and latterly as minister for regional development for eight months.

Instead, the regional portfolio went to someone with no experience of regional development, Romania's Corina Crețu. Jourová's compensation was a messy new dossier, as commissioner for justice, consumers and gender equality. This portfolio pushes Jourová out of her comfort zone and puts her into the tricky position of answering to three of the Commission's seven vice-presidents.

While this looks very much like a second-tier position, Jourová's responsibilities include some of the most politically sensitive in the Commission. Jourová is charged with handling reform of the EU's data-protection rules and negotiations on the EU's controversial data-protection agreement with the United States. It is, therefore, plausible that Jourová will emerge as one of the most prominent commissioners – or it may simply be that her bosses will take the driving seat.

In this tricky position, Jourová's success may hinge on her ability to navigate the EU's institutions, her personality, her goals and the support she can generate.

Jourová's career has not given her much

public exposure – before becoming a minister in 2014, her most high profile role had been as deputy minister for regional development for 15 months in 2004-06 – and she remains a relatively unknown quantity. She does, though, have plenty of EU experience, which she gained by managing EU money at home and by working as a consultant on EU-funded projects beyond Czech borders, ranging from Romania (she speaks some Romanian) to Belarus.

She is also described as personable, attentive to detail and driven. Some speculate her drive is fuelled by her experience of Czech injustice. In 2006, she was detained for a month on suspicion of corruption. She was exonerated in 2008 and, in 2014, won damages of about €98,500. In the meantime, she had gained a degree in law and entered politics for a new party that portrays itself as an anti-establishment and anti-corruption movement.

In practice, the party, ANO, remains the lengthened shadow of its founder, Andrej Babiš, a billionaire businessman and media magnate. Still, some in Prague describe Jourová – the party's deputy leader until joining the Commission – as independently minded and relatively assertive.

She is a person with energy, but it is not yet clear how she will use it. Support within

the Commission may also prove critical, as her natural bases of political support are weak. In the Council of Ministers, the Czechs are handicapped by their initial decision to opt out of the European charter of fundamental rights and they have relatively small stakes in her portfolio. In the European Parliament, ANO is still a newcomer, and the European group to which it belongs – the liberals – is small.

Jourová is faced with many challenges, has limited support behind her and will have to rely heavily on own abilities. But it would be a mistake to underrate her.

### Cabinet

- **Head of cabinet**  
Renate Nikolay
- **Deputy head of cabinet**  
Daniel Braun
- **Cabinet members**  
Isabelle Pérignon  
Eduard Hulicius  
Kevin O'Connell  
Simona Constantin  
Monika Ladmanova

Fittingly, gender equality rules in Věra Jourová's cabinet, with four women in her seven-member team. Two members usefully combine substantial experience in Commission cabinets with passports from big EU states: Renate Nikolay, a German who heads the cabinet, and Isabelle Pérignon of France. She has chosen three Czechs with links to important constituencies – the Czech government, the European Parliament, and civil society – with a previous colleague, Daniel Braun, as deputy chief of staff.

### CV

- **2014** Regional development minister
- **2012** Law degree, Charles University
- **2006-13** Managing director, Primavera Consulting Ltd
- **2006-11** Consultancy work in the western Balkans
- **2003-06** Deputy regional development minister
- **2001-03** Head of regional development department, Vysočina region
- **1995-2000** Secretary and spokesperson for Třebíč Municipal Office
- **1991** Master's degree in cultural theory, Charles University, Prague



# Cecilia Malmström

## Trade

**Country** Sweden  
**Born** Stockholm, 16 May 1968  
**Political affiliation** ALDE  
**Twitter** @MalmstromEU



If Cecilia Malmström is daunted by the prospect of having to finalise one of the most far-reaching and politically sensitive trade deals in world history, she was giving little away at her confirmation hearing late last year. While the Swedish liberal came across as a committed free-marketeer, her calm demeanour and matter-of-fact analysis of the rocky road ahead earned her kudos among members of the European Parliament.

The polished performance also marked a stark departure from both the substance and style of her predecessor as trade commissioner. As the backlash against aspects of the proposed trade deal between the European Union and the United States rapidly intensified in 2014, Karel De Gucht appeared on occasion slow to grasp the job's political imperatives.

It was a mistake Malmström appeared determined to avoid. She happily acknowledged concerns over a controversial arbitration mechanism that was to be built in to the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP). Referring to the investor-state dispute settlement mechanism (ISDS) as "toxic," Malmström even suggested the legal framework under which corporations could take legal action against governments may be scrapped altogether. "Will it stay in [TTIP]?" Malmström said at her hearing. "I don't know. Maybe not. But it is too early to judge..."

The future of the ISDS is now unclear – the valuable investment component of TTIP is unlikely to get off the drawing-board without an arbitration mechanism. But Malmström's readiness to put the issue on the table while also offering MEPs some soul-searching on the negotiations' lack of transparency was enough to signal a new mindset on trade.

Then again, the pros and cons of TTIP had all been aired before and Malmström's strong CV in Europe made her as qualified a candidate as any to move the deal forward. She is a former MEP, a former Swedish minister for Europe, and was fronting the hearings on the back of a widely praised term as the European commissioner for home affairs. She is also an effective, multilingual communicator – something that will come in handy when time comes to sell

TTIP to an often sceptical electorate. In particular, the 46-year-old Malmström's strong connection with French culture will be an asset, with French politicians often flag-bearers for European concerns over TTIP's fine-print. Malmström lived in France between the ages of nine and 12 when her father worked there for a Swedish engineering company SKF. She returned to France when she was 19 to study literature at the Sorbonne University in Paris.

After returning to her native Gothenburg, Malmström worked as a psychiatric nurse, a teacher and a university researcher before completing her PhD in political science in 1998. Her thesis was, unsurprisingly, on Europe: regional parties in western Europe, focusing on Catalonia and northern Italy. By this time, her political career within the Liberal People's Party had taken off. In 1999, she was elected to the European Parliament on the coat-tails of the popular environmental and food safety activist Marit Paulsen. Malmström took to the Parliament like a duck to water. Networking came naturally to the MEP, who is often described as sociable, cheerful, energetic and with a sense of humour.

Perhaps the only thing Malmström is more passionate about than Europe is penguins. She collects them in almost any

form: soft toys, plastic figures, toothbrushes, chess games and more. Her twin children, a boy and a girl, join in and her husband Mikael stoically tolerates the bird invasion.

She explains her slightly eccentric fascination with penguins by observing that they manage to brave a bitterly cold climate in a barren landscape while being very social, loyal and monogamous. "But most of all, they seem to have so much fun when they go belly-sliding down the ice," she says.

## Cabinet

- **Head of cabinet**  
Maria Åsensius
- **Deputy head of cabinet**  
Miguel Ceballos Barón
- **Cabinet members**  
Christian Burgsmüller  
Nele Eichhorn  
Cecile Billaux  
Jon Nyman  
Joakim Larsson  
Jolana Mungengová  
Catrine Norrgård

Maria Åsenius, a former state secretary for EU affairs in Sweden who was head of Malmström's office when she was commissioner for home affairs, has stayed on. Malmström's deputy, Miguel Ceballos Barón, was an adviser to Catherine Ashton when she was the EU's foreign policy chief on EU-Asia relations and trade issues. He also worked in the economics department of the Commission's trade department.

## CV

- **2010-14** European commissioner for home affairs
- 2007-10** Vice-president of Folkpartiet
- 2001-10** Member of Folkpartiet (Swedish Liberal Party) executive
- 1999-2006** Member of the European Parliament
- 1999-2001** Member of Västra Götaland regional council
- 1998-99** Senior lecturer, Gothenburg University
- 1998** PhD in political science, Gothenburg University
- 1994-98** Vice-chair of Gothenburg Municipal Immigration Committee
- 1991-94** Lay assessor at Gothenburg City Court

## Behind-the-scenes power

The secretariat-general of the European Commission is its central nervous system. Others might less charitably describe it as the central intelligence agency – and would accuse it of spying on the policy departments.

Such antagonism is a feature of many organisations: the central core is unloved by those on the periphery, who resent its powers of control. But the organisation could not function without that centre: it is the secretariat-general that co-ordinates relations with other EU institutions and the outside world; it co-ordinates Commission work, to ensure that what is supposed to be done is executed; it arbitrates between policy departments when they cannot agree.

These are enduring functions, expressed in different forms over the years as management thinking changes. For instance, nowadays the secretariat-general draws up the Commission's work programme; it co-ordinates the reviews of impact assessments for proposed legislation; it compiles a synthesis report from the annual activity reports of each Commission director-general; it looks after the Commission's transparency register (run jointly, with the European Parliament) and it polices the code of conduct for commissioners.

But the start of the Juncker Commission has created a fresh challenge for the secretariat-general, one that will test its current structure and resources. Juncker named seven vice-presidents and to most of them he assigned overarching policy responsibilities. So, for example, Andrus Ansip became vice-president for the digital single market, with seven commissioners reporting to him on a range of different aspects of the digital economy (see pages 10-11). But what Juncker did not do was give the vice-presidents the resources of their own departments, such as are enjoyed by those commissioners reporting to Ansip. Instead, he said that the secretariat-general would provide the necessary back-up and would assign resources.

Since then, the Commission leadership has let it be known that it intends to move 80 officials to the secretariat-general to meet this increased workload. The staff will be moved from other departments. These re-assignments come on top of a Commission commitment to reduce staff numbers by 1% per year.

What is not yet clear is whether the system of vice-presidencies that Juncker has introduced will take root. It is arguably the most important innovation in the



CATHERINE DAY AND JEAN-CLAUDE JUNCKER

organisation of the Commission since the admission of ten new member states in 2004 but there is no guarantee of success. Whether it succeeds or not will depend a lot on the secretariat-general's ability to secure the position of those vice-presidents. If the secretariat-general cannot do so, then Juncker's theoretical hierarchy may be eroded in practice.

Much will also depend on who becomes the next secretary-general. Catherine Day has held the post since November 2005, but is expected to retire in the first half of this year, having seen in the new regime. Juncker and Martin Selmayr, the head of his private office, will know the importance of their choice. Day became indispensable to José Manuel Barroso's administration, to the extent that the guidelines on rotating

senior managers were ignored in her case and she has held the post for more than nine years. Juncker and Selmayr will similarly need a secretary-general who can work the Commission machinery so as to deliver on their wishes.

Luis Romero Requena, currently the head of the Commission's legal service, must be considered one of the front-runners. Michel Servoz, the director-general for employment, is also talked about. Alexander Italianer, the director-general for competition, is another contender, having previously – like Servoz – been a deputy secretary-general. His caution might count against him, however, with Juncker and Selmayr preferring someone more adventurous. Their style is to conjure up surprises.

# Neven Mimica

International co-operation  
and development

**Country** Croatia  
**Born** Split, 12 October 1953  
**Political affiliation** PES  
**Twitter** @MimicaEU

Croatia's Prime Minister Zoran Milanović surprised no one when he nominated Neven Mimica as his country's first European commissioner in 2013 – after all, the 59-year-old had been at the heart of Croatia's efforts to join the European Union for longer than any of his fellow countrymen. In 2001, Mimica had been the chief negotiator on the stabilisation and association agreement (SAA), the first contractual step towards EU membership.

As EU integration minister, Mimica presided over Croatia's application for candidacy in 2003. Finally, as a deputy prime minister whose portfolio included Europe, he saw Croatia enter the EU in 2013.

Mimica's appointment says a lot about Milanović's commitment to the EU agenda – by sending him to Brussels, Milanović was depriving himself of a trusted collaborator. In Croatia's political landscape, Mimica was never a party animal and can be better described as a technocrat with policy expertise in the areas of public administration and trade. And, while remaining loyal to Milanović and his Social Democratic Party (SDP), Mimica is widely seen as autonomous, with his authority rooted in his expertise and integrity rather than in a party power base.

Yet his technocratic public persona comes at a cost. A 2012 poll found that a third of Croats had either never heard of, or were barely familiar with, Mimica's name. Of those who knew him, an almost equal percentage of the opposition and the governing SDP voters approved of his work. This is perhaps not surprising for a man who has held important yet often technical roles since graduating from Zagreb University as a foreign trade economist.

The *Daily Mail*, a British newspaper, greeted Mimica's appointment as commissioner as a case of a former communist apparatchik now "telling us all what to do". It is true that in the late 1970s and through the 1980s, Mimica – a son of primary-school teachers – worked in positions available only to party members. None, though, was a leading ideological job; rather, they were positions requiring expertise for which party membership



served as a sort of basic security clearance.

After university, the multilingual Mimica first worked for Astra, an export-import entity charged with handling key trade deals for the state. He was then a government specialist on trade and foreign relations and, between 1987 and 1991, he was a trade diplomat in Yugoslavia's embassy in Egypt.

The most controversial period of Mimica's life was the post-independence decade of autocratic rule by President Franjo Tuđman. Mimica served the Tuđman regime largely in expert roles with little political reach: he was a government trade specialist who served stints as a diplomat in Cairo and Ankara, before taking his first nominally political role in 1997, as assistant minister for foreign economic relations. After Tuđman's death in 1999, Mimica remained in demand. In a universe populated by forceful nationalists and early capitalists intent on the plunder of public property, Mimica featured in no public controversy.

Mimica led talks with the European Commission on trade issues affecting Croatian exports and jobs, while also taking on a role as regional advocate. He argued that Croatia's EU integration would be complete only once the whole of the

Balkans was in the EU and pledging that, once a member, Croatia would never use a bilateral issue to block a neighbour's progress.

While the image of the boring technocrat is not easy to shake, Mimica's interlocutors regularly describe him as serious, convincing and credible.

Though ambitious, Mimica is free from any delusions about his own political appeal. He is also cautious. In 2009, he was frequently mentioned as a potential candidate for his country's presidency, yet he decided to withdraw, reportedly after concluding that he lacked the required public profile. A successful stint in Brussels as the most visible Croat in Europe could yet change that.

## Cabinet

- **Head of cabinet**  
Nils Behrndt
- **Deputy head of cabinet**  
Irena Andrassy
- **Cabinet members**  
Maud Arnould  
Maria-Myrto Kanellopoulou  
Denis Čajo  
Paolo Berizzi  
Ivan Prusina

Mimica's head of office is Nils Behrndt, a German official who did the same job when Mimica was responsible for consumer policy. Behrndt is a pharmaceuticals expert who used to be in the enterprise and industry department. Maud Arnold, a French official, worked in the private office of Andris Piebalgs when he was commissioner for development.

## CV

- **2013-14** European commissioner for consumer policy
- 2011-13** Deputy prime minister for internal, foreign and European policy
- 2008-11** Deputy speaker of parliament; chair of European Integration Committee
- 2004-08** Member of parliament
- 2001-03** European integration minister
- 1997-2001** Assistant minister, then deputy minister, for the economy, and chief negotiator in talks with World Trade Organization
- 1987-97** Diplomat for Yugoslavia, then Croatia
- 1987** Master's degree in economics, University of Zagreb
- 1983-87** Assistant chairman of committee for foreign relations
- 1978-83** Member of, then adviser to, committee for foreign relations
- 1977-78** Import-export clerk, Astra

## COMMISSIONER

# Carlos Moedas

Research, science and innovation

**Country** Portugal  
**Born** Beja, 10 August 1970  
**Political affiliation** EPP  
**Twitter** @Moedas



As a former investment banker with Goldman Sachs, Carlos Moedas knows how to sell. That skill was evident in September 2014 during his hearing to become European commissioner for research, science and innovation, when the Portuguese politician sold a European Union narrative to die for.

Moedas opened the session with an emotive account of his European trajectory: from his childhood in a poor region transformed as a result of EU solidarity funds to his wedding in Paris and the birth of two of his three children in London. He spoke in Portuguese, English and French, which he learnt as one of the first Portuguese students to undertake an Erasmus exchange, which in his case took him to Paris.

That emblematic European path through life earned Moedas warm applause at the end of the hearing. The only real naysayers seemed to be Portuguese MEPs from the left and hard-left, who denounced him in harsh terms.

They recalled his role in implementing the tough austerity conditions attached to the €78 billion bail-out given to Portugal in 2011. Indeed, at the time Moedas was the minister in Pedro Passos Coelho's centre-right government with responsibility for negotiating and implementing the bail-out. But while that was seen as a black-mark against his name by some politicians, he presented the experience as good preparation for managing and administering the EU's research budget, which totals some €80bn for 2014-20.

The European Commission of president Jean-Claude Juncker has said that the money must go further than it has in the past, in particular by making more loans and investments rather than allocating outright grants. The commissioner must also ensure that the EU's money goes to the right projects to kick-start a European economy that is increasingly falling behind in terms of innovation and research.

Moedas appears remarkably well-equipped to tackle both of those points. He holds an MBA from Harvard Business School and studied engineering at the prestigious French university École Nationale des Ponts

et Chaussées. He has first-hand experience of complex financial engineering, having worked at Goldman Sachs and for Deutsche Bank, where he helped create Eurohypo, a €200bn real estate monster. He also set up a 'business angel' fund in Portugal to invest in start-ups.

Moedas, the son of a communist journalist and a seamstress, came to politics late via António Borges, a Goldman Sachs vice-president who was well-connected in Portugal's centre-right Social Democrat Party. In 2010, Moedas became chief economic adviser to Passos Coelho, at the time the new leader of Portugal's centre-right opposition. Passos Coelho, a former youth president, management consultant and an arch-free-marketeer, was elected the following year.

Moedas played a crucial role in implementing the international bailout that the new government negotiated. Portugal broke up cosy oligopolies in the telecoms and energy sectors and introduced labour reforms that helped boost exports. But it also privatised some health services, which

proved controversial, and failed to reduce an unemployment rate that has hovered around 15% since the 2008 crisis.

Despite the huge pressure on the Commission to boost growth in the EU, Moedas's current job is unlikely to prove as controversial as his last.

### Cabinet

- **Head of cabinet**  
António Vicente
- **Deputy head of cabinet**  
Giulia Del Brenna
- **Cabinet members**  
Maria Da Graça Carvahlo  
Vygandas Jankunas  
Alfredo Sousa  
José Mendes Bota  
Eveline Lecoq

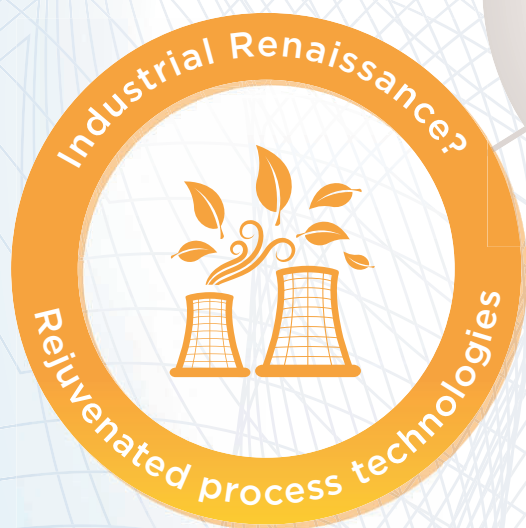
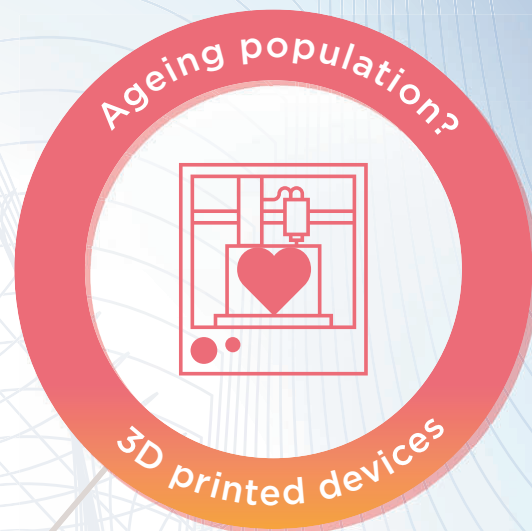
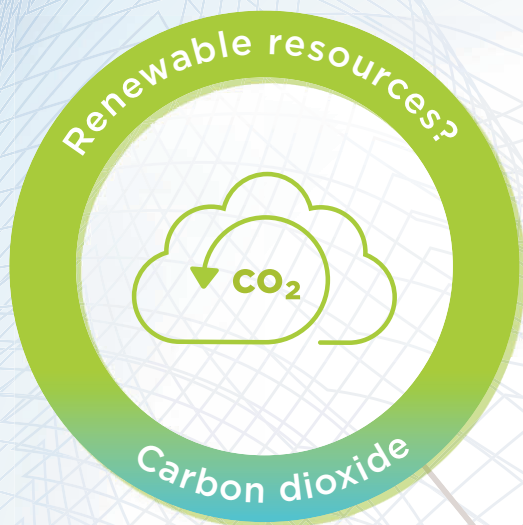
António Vicente, head of cabinet, worked as chief of staff to Moedas when he was Portugal's secretary of state in 2011-14. Moedas's deputy head of cabinet, Giulia Del Brenna, an Italian, has been working for the European Commission since 1996. Her experience has been mainly in pharmaceuticals. An interesting addition to the team is former centre-left MEP Maria da Graça Carvalho (2009-14) who was a member of the European Parliament's committee on industry, research and energy. She was a minister for science and higher education twice (2002-04, when José Manuel Barroso was Portugal's prime minister, and 2004-05) but will now work as Moedas's senior adviser.

### CV

- **2011-14** Secretary of state to the prime minister
- 2011** Member of parliament
- 2010-11** Senior economic adviser to the Social Democratic Party
- 2008-11** Founded and worked at Crimson Investment Management
- 2004-08** Managing director and board member of Aguirre Newman
- 2002-04** Consultant, Deutsche Bank and Eurohypo Investment Bank
- 2000-02** Investment banking associate, Goldman Sachs
- 1998-2000** MBA, Harvard Business School
- 1993-98** Engineer and project manager, Suez Group
- 1988-93** Degree in civil engineering, Instituto Superior Técnico de Lisboa



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## COMMISSIONER

# Pierre Moscovici

Economic and financial affairs, taxation and customs

**Country** France  
**Born** Paris, 16 September 1957  
**Political affiliation** PES  
**Twitter** @pierreмосcовici



The last two questions at the hearing of Pierre Moscovici, the French commissioner-designate for economic and financial affairs, taxation and customs union, summed up how the whole process had gone. Gunnar Hökmark, a Swedish centre-right MEP, noted that when Moscovici was France's finance minister he had increased public spending and lowered the retirement age. "Are you today a different Moscovici?" The next question, from Dutch Liberal MEP Sophie in 't Veld, began with these damning words: "It is not about you being French, but about your political convictions..."

Moscovici's track record as France's finance minister from 2012-14, when the country needed an extension from the European Commission to comply with European Union budget rules, will hang over Moscovici's time as commissioner. However, if the MEPs had hoped to force Moscovici to recant his big-government approach they were disappointed. "France has not broken the rules," he said. "Everything was done within the rules." He also refused to turn his back on his time as finance minister, responding to Hökmark that he had no mixed loyalties and that as commissioner he would apply "only the rules, nothing but the rules".

That commitment to the growth and stability pact, which places a rigid cap on public spending at 3% of gross domestic product, would have been anathema to the young Moscovici, who until the age of 27 was a member of the Revolutionary Communist League, led by the Trotskyist Alain Krivine.

He took his first steps towards the French Socialist party in 1986, under the influence of Dominique Strauss Kahn, his economics professor at the École Normale d'Administration (ENA). That political relationship lasted up until 2011, with Moscovici backing Strauss Kahn's bid to be the Socialist candidate for France's presidential elections until the latter was accused (and later acquitted) of rape.

Yet during the 1990s Moscovici was more closely associated with another titan of the Socialist Party: Lionel Jospin, France's prime minister from 1997-2002. He had stood behind Jospin as he tried to distance the party from a wave of scandals that had engulfed it during François Mitterand's

presidency in the late 1980s. Jospin rewarded Moscovici by making him his European affairs minister in 1997, when Moscovici resigned from the European Parliament to win a seat in the national parliament representing a constituency in the Franche-Comté in the east of France.

The two were close. Moscovici was, for example, one of only two government ministers to be invited to Jospin's 60th birthday party. But the relationship suffered in 2006 when Moscovici backed Strauss Kahn over his former boss to be the Socialist Party's presidential candidate.

Those familiar with Moscovici and his career will not have been surprised by his opening phrase at his European Parliament hearing: "Europe is the great epic of our century." Indeed, Moscovici has always had a particular passion for Europe and has been a staunch defender of the European project.

Moscovici, a fluent English-speaker, went on to serve as an MEP for a second time, becoming vice-president of the European Parliament from 2004-07 and president of France's European Movement.

Moscovici comes from a family of immigrant intellectuals: his mother was

### CV

- 2014 Member of National Assembly
- 2012-14 Economy and finance minister
- 2008-14 City councillor, Valentigney
- 2008-12 President of the Pays de Montbéliard Agglomération
- 2007-12 Member of National Assembly
- 2004-07 Member of the European Parliament
- 2002-04 Member of the court of auditors
- 1998-2004 Member of Franche-Comté regional council
- 1997-2000 Minister-delegate with responsibility for European affairs
- 1994-2002 Member of general council, Doubs department
- 1994-97 Member of the European Parliament
- 1984-88 Member of the court of auditors
- 1982-84 Ecole Nationale d'Administration
- 1978 Master's degree in economics and political science, Sciences Po

psychoanalyst while his father was a well-known social psychologist and founder of France's Green movement. Moscovici's ascension through the ranks of the Parisian ruling elite is a textbook example of how to succeed in French politics. He graduated from ENA four years after François Hollande, France's president; some three decades later he led Hollande's election campaign and became his economy and finance minister.

Like other such technocrats, unmarried Moscovici has a reputation for being brainy and aloof. While that may not matter so much among Brussels' eurocratic elites, his nationality and ties with the profligacy of the French state may well weigh him down.

### Cabinet

- **Head of cabinet**  
Olivier Bailly
- **Deputy head of cabinet**  
Reinhard Felke
- **Cabinet members**  
Maria Elena Scoppio  
Simon O'Connor  
Fabien Dell  
Ioana Diaconescu  
Chloé Dessaint  
Malgorzata Iskra

Moscovici's head of cabinet, Olivier Bailly, joined the Commission in 2001, and within four years was assistant to Catherine Day, the Commission's secretary-general. He became one of the Commission's most recognisable faces in 2010 when he was made a senior spokesperson for the second Barroso Commission. The deputy head of cabinet is Reinhard Felke, a German who has been at the Commission since 2000, mostly in the department for economic and financial affairs. He was a director for economic and monetary affairs, a subject that will dominate Moscovici's time as commissioner.

# Tibor Navracsics

Education, culture, youth and sport

**Country** Hungary  
**Born** Veszprém, 13 June 1966  
**Political affiliation** EPP  
**Twitter** @TNavracsicsEU



Tibor Navracsics was rewarded for his loyalty to Viktor Orbán, Hungary's prime minister, by being nominated as European commissioner. But it was that same loyalty that led to him facing an uncomfortable time in his confirmation hearing before the European Parliament.

Hungary has had more run-ins with the European Union and Europe's human rights watchdogs than any other EU state in recent years. Navracsics has been a leading light in Hungary's ruling centre-right Fidesz party; and, until the past year or so, he was Orbán's right-hand man as the chief of staff, the justice minister and latterly the foreign minister and deputy prime minister.

Navracsics had a swift rise through the ranks of the Fidesz party, which he joined in 1994. He was brought into the party to help identify the causes of the party's unexpected rout in the 1994 elections. When Orbán took office in 1998, the young political scientist became the prime minister's press chief. After Fidesz unexpectedly lost the 2002 elections, his unflappable, methodical style made him the natural choice to analyse the causes of Fidesz's defeat, and Orbán made him his chief of staff. When Fidesz once again lost, unexpectedly, to a resurgent Socialist Party in 2006, he was made head of Fidesz's parliamentary group, becoming the face of the party during its increasingly rancorous campaign against Ferenc Gyurcsány's Socialist government.

"In 2006, I was the only one who wanted the job," he recalls of the moment of gloom for a party that had, once again, snatched defeat from the jaws of victory. That willingness to step into the breach turned Navracsics from a backroom player into a politician with a national profile.

The son of a teacher and a librarian, Navracsics was born in the western city of Veszprém in 1966.

A self-professed moderate, he attributes a carefully cultivated non-confrontational style and his belief in a "civic Hungary with a strong middle class and market economy" to the influence of his staid but pretty hometown, an ancient and prosperous city near the shores of Lake

Balaton. "Western Hungary has always been less radical than the east," he says.

It was while studying law in Budapest in the late 1980s that he first came into contact with Orbán and Fidesz. "It was partly a generational thing, and that they were from the provinces too. They were the most appealing party for me at the time," he says. "But they were doing very well without me, and I didn't think I had anything extra to bring to the table."

Already a politics junkie, he busied himself sampling the many new political groupings that were emerging during the "exciting time of the regime change". Acquaintances from that era remember him leafleting enthusiastically for a Trotskyite cell, though he says it was just one of many different political groupings at the time.

He was briefly a judge, but soon returned to teach political science in Budapest, spending a year at the UK's University of Sussex in what he describes as a formative encounter with Anglo-Saxon political thinking.

He is widely regarded as a well-briefed technocrat, able to prepare himself for a meeting during a short car journey. His excellent English and businesslike tones

have made him popular abroad – but he showed a more pugnacious side as parliamentary leader, with many of the attacks on Gyurcsány absurdly personal and bitter.

## Cabinet

- Head of cabinet**  
Jonathan Hill
- Deputy head of cabinet**  
Adrienn Király
- Cabinet members**  
Christine Mai  
Patricia Reilly  
Rodrigo Ballester  
Anna Georgina Isola  
Tamás Szokira  
Szabolcs Horváth

Navracsics's head of office is Jonathan Hill, a British official who was deputy head of office to Androulla Vassiliou when she was commissioner for education, culture, youth and sport. Navracsics's deputy is Adrienn Király, a Hungarian official who used to work in the Commission's justice department. Patricia Reilly, an Irish official, used to work in the office of Máire Geoghegan-Quinn, the commissioner for research, innovation and science.

## CV

- 2014** Foreign affairs and trade minister
- 2010-14** Deputy prime minister, public administration and justice minister
- 2006-10** Member of parliament
- 1998-2002** Head of department, prime minister's office
- 1999** Associate professor, ELTE
- 1999** Doctorate in political science
- 1997-2000** Secretary-general, Hungarian Political Science Association
- 1997-99** Senior lecturer, faculty of law and political science, ELTE
- 1990** Law degree, Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE), Budapest

## COMMISSIONER

# Günther Oettinger

Digital economy and society

**Country** Germany  
**Born** Stuttgart, 15 October 1953  
**Political affiliation** EPP  
**Twitter** @GOettingerEU



When Günther Oettinger's October 2014 parliamentary hearing made international headlines, it was for all the wrong reasons. The German politician, who had previously described himself as "not happy, but satisfied" to receive the digital agenda portfolio, scoffed at celebrities who had been "dumb" enough to allow nude photos of themselves to appear online.

It was a tone-deaf comment, but also one which revealed a misunderstanding of what had happened. The Hollywood actors concerned had not posted photographs of themselves online but had had their iCloud accounts hacked, and Oettinger's struggle to get his head around what was the big technological talking-point of the day dismayed those expecting him to take a stand on internet security.

So it was that while Oettinger was able to limp through the hearing, his appointment pleased no-one. Advocates of digital rights and intellectual property advocates were unhappy that a key role in formulating digital policy had gone to someone from Germany, a country which had resisted expanding access to online content. Meanwhile the German media thought the post was unimportant and one which did not reflect Germany's leading economic position in the European Union.

Missteps in the confirmation hearing simply added to the sense that this was a portfolio misfit. The 61-year-old Oettinger, who had been commissioner for energy in the second Barroso Commission, was then derided in German and British media when, while defending his suitability for the job, he asserted that he used the internet every day (it seemed unlikely).

Many in the energy sector would have preferred to see Oettinger, who had been commissioner for energy in the second Barroso Commission, become the vice-president for energy. Indeed this was also believed to be the ambition of Oettinger himself. However, for Jean-Claude Juncker, the president of the Commission, to award a vice-presidency to Germany and not to France or the UK could have proven politically unpalatable.

Yet Oettinger had been a steady performer as energy commissioner, deftly

handling difficult negotiations with the EU's partners and acting as a industry-friendly check on the more ambitious climate-change policies put forward by then commissioner for climate action, Connie Hedegaard. It is worth remembering that Oettinger's 2009 appointment as energy commissioner had also been greeted with little enthusiasm. On that occasion, his public standing had been undermined by the discovery that he had been Chancellor Angela Merkel's third choice for the role.

At the time, Oettinger had spent his entire life in his home state of Baden-Württemberg and it had been suggested that Merkel's decision to send him to Brussels was her way of getting rid of a political rival. Other criticisms came from outside Oettinger's and Merkel's camp. "Who is he?", asked Guy Verhofstadt, now the leader of the Liberal (ALDE) group in the European Parliament.

The attacks by rivals were perhaps predictable, but the more general lack of respect for Oettinger might seem peculiar to outsiders. Oettinger is, after all, a man who, as minister-president of Baden-Württemberg in 2005-09, presided over a land more populous than Sweden and one of Germany's most economically important *Länder*.

Part of the dismissive attitude is regional prejudice. Despite its wealth, the heavy regional accent of Baden-Württemberg, Schwäbisch, leaves many struggling to avoid being dismissed as bumpkins. However, Oettinger's public persona has not helped

him: he has never looked at ease on occasions that most regional politicians would savour.

In his first term as a commissioner, Oettinger did little to dispel the impression of being cold and aloof. He was never a favourite among the Brussels press pack and was prone to gaffes and an appearance of irritability. But he was always viewed as highly competent and result-oriented, showing an impressive command of all questions related to energy. While digital issues may not have been his forte at the October hearing, Oettinger may yet again surprise those who underestimate him.

### Cabinet

- **Head of cabinet**  
Michael Hager
- **Deputy head of cabinet**  
Eric Mamer
- **Cabinet members**  
Bodo Lehmann  
Paula Pinho  
Markus Schulte  
Marlene Holzner  
Anna Herold

Oettinger has kept on many of the members of his private office from his term as Commissioner for energy including Michael Hager, a German who continues as head of office, and Eric Mamer, a French official formerly in the Commission's budget department, who continues as Oettinger's deputy. Bodo Lehmann (German), Paula Pinho (Portuguese) and Markus Schulte (German) were previously in Oettinger's team. Marlene Holzner, his communications adviser, was Oettinger's spokesperson during his first term.

### CV

- **2010-14** European commissioner for energy
- **2005-10** Minister-president of Baden-Württemberg
- **1984-2010** Member of the state parliament of Baden-Württemberg
- **1984-2005** Lawyer
- **1980-84** Town councillor, Ditzingen
- **1971-82** Law degree, Tübingen University



# Christos Stylianides

Humanitarian aid and crisis management

**Country** Cyprus  
**Born** Nicosia, 26 June 1958  
**Political affiliation** EPP  
**Twitter** @StylianidesEU



The importance of the role of European commissioner for humanitarian aid and crisis management hinges on one important factor: the scale of the crisis, or crises, that need to be tackled.

And there was no easy start for Christos Stylianides. National leaders named him the EU's Ebola co-ordinator, as the disease spread at an alarming rate across west Africa. One of his first tasks after taking office was to visit the three countries most affected by Ebola – Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone. "Ebola should be addressed like a mega natural disaster – it is like a typhoon in slow motion," he told the members of the European Parliament's development committee. "It is also a threat to global security... behind the worrying statistics of [its] devastating spread ... are real human lives, people and communities that will also need psychosocial assistance after recovery."

In the battle against the virus, aides say his priority will be getting more medical professionals to the frontlines to deal with the pandemic.

Stylianides was certainly not daunted by the task ahead of him. That the former dental surgeon had also tasted crisis in his native Cyprus – witnessing, first hand, Greek and Turkish Cypriots caught up in the war – reinforced his conviction that he was the right man for the post. At his hearing before the Parliament, he said: "I know what it means to be in a conflict situation, to have no shelter, to be without the basic needs, to live in fear and be stripped of your dignity."

The son of a shopkeeper, Stylianides grew up in Nicosia's old walled city. He had a front-row view of the strife that would erupt in 1974 when, in response to a coup intended to unite the island with Greece, Turkey sent in troops. Overnight, hundreds of thousands were turned into refugees; Stylianides's home was close to the UN-patrolled Green Line, which to this day bisects the capital.

Mild-mannered Stylianides trained and worked as a dental surgeon before going into politics. Although liberal by inclination, his political career has always been with the centre-right Democratic Rally party, DISY, on

the grounds that it takes a more conciliatory approach to reuniting Cyprus.

From 1998-99 and, again, from 2013-14 he served as government spokesman, gaining a reputation as a moderate and a pragmatist.

Stylianides is also seen a risk-taker. Aides speak of his pioneering role in social rights: despite the deeply conservative views of most of his compatriots, the politician has been a champion of equality for homosexuals, participating in the island's first gay pride parade earlier this year.

A hardcore Europeanist, he advocated Cyprus's accession to the European Union as far back as the mid-1990s, when he co-founded the Movement for Political Modernisation and Reform. Similarly, he supported the controversial United Nations-brokered blueprint for Cyprus known as the Annan plan, which called for an end to the island's division and for reunification of its two feuding communities in a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation – in a referendum in 2004, the plan was accepted by a majority of Turkish Cypriots but overwhelmingly rejected by Stylianides's fellow Greeks Cypriots.

Stylianides told MEPs that he also wanted to concentrate on the crises that, ignored and forgotten, were out of the news: "I

want to be the spokesman of the most vulnerable, the voice of the voiceless. The EU must not arrive with too little, too late. Not even once!"

## Cabinet

- Head of cabinet**  
Themis Christophidou
- Deputy head of cabinet**  
Kim Eling
- Cabinet members**  
Sohial Luka  
Davinia Wood (maternity leave, replaced by Caterine Ebah-Moussa)  
Myrto Zambarta  
Mathieu Briens  
Zacharias Giakoumis

Stylianides's private office is headed by Themis Christophidou from Greece, who served as deputy head of cabinet for then fisheries commissioner Maria Damanaki. Christophidou has a long experience within the European Commission. She was working in Brussels before Cyprus joined the European Union. Before working for Damanaki, Christophidou had also served as deputy head of cabinet for Androulla Vassiliou, Cyprus's previous commissioner. Kim Eling, formerly deputy chef for Kristalina Georgieva, will serve as deputy chef for Stylianides. He previously served as deputy head of cabinet for Georgieva when she was commissioner for humanitarian aid. He was in charge of Central and Western Africa, as well as relations with the US and Canada.

## CV

- 2014** Elected as a member of the European Parliament
- 2013-14** Government spokesperson
- 2011-13** Vice-chairman of the foreign and European affairs committee
- 2011-13** Member of the bureau of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly
- 2006-13** Member of the Cyprus House of Representatives
- 2006-11** Member of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly
- 1998-99** Government spokesman
- 1984** Degree in dental surgery

## COMMISSIONER

# Marianne Thyssen

Employment, social affairs, skills and labour mobility

**Country** Belgium  
**Born** Sint-Gillis-Waas, 24 July 1956  
**Political affiliation** EPP  
**Twitter** @mariannethyssen



As the European commissioner for employment, social affairs, skills and labour mobility, Marianne Thyssen is charged with getting more European citizens into work and increasing career opportunities. In some respects, she is eminently qualified: she has worked hard to get where she is now and has blazed a trail for women in Belgian public life. Yet her career also demonstrates the importance of chance. For her, opportunities were created by a mix of accident and luck, seasoned with a well-developed sense of duty.

It was former president of the European Council (2009-14), Herman Van Rompuy, who persuaded Thyssen to embark on a political career and to put herself forward as a candidate for the European Parliament for the 1989 elections.

Thyssen, who was born in eastern Flanders, came from outside the world of politics: her family owned a bakery and she was director of the research and advisory section of Unizo, which represents small businesses and the self-employed. She harboured no ambition to go into frontline politics and her colleagues had a hard time persuading her to make the leap. At the time, she says, she had “the best job in the world”.

Thyssen did not get elected in the 1989 contest, but became an MEP two years later when she took the place of Karel Pinxten, who had moved to the Belgian senate. What was unforeseeable then was that she would remain an MEP for the next 23 years, leaving only when she was nominated for the European Commission.

Belgium’s choice of a European commissioner became caught up in the struggle to form a national government – a general election had been held on 25 May, the same day as the elections to the European Parliament. To the surprise of some, her CD&V party chose to secure the post of commissioner for Thyssen instead of taking the prime ministerial job.

What made her nomination easier was that in the Parliament she enjoyed support that crosses party boundaries. She has none of the big-ego abrasiveness that was a feature of her predecessors in the Commission – Karel De Gucht and Louis

Michel. Whether in Flemish or European politics, party colleagues and opponents alike are – without exception – positive about her.

While an MEP, she also exercised a second mandate in local politics, which the Belgian political system permits in theory and the proximity of the European Parliament permits in practice. She was a member of the municipal council of Oud Heverlee, just to the south of Leuven, but relinquished some of her local duties in the last years of her time as an MEP – in part to allow her to work on important dossiers in the Parliament’s economic and monetary affairs committee.

Additionally, in 2008 senior figures in the CD&V had asked Thyssen to take over the position of chairing the party. She had never made a secret of her preference for European rather than national politics, seeing Europe as her “natural environment,” yet she took up the national responsibility as grateful recognition that “the party has allowed me to stay in Europe for such a long time”.

Party leadership was no easy task following many political crises and falling support for her party. Thyssen, who stepped down from the post in 2010, characterises

her time as party chair as “the most stressful period” of her life, though she said she would do it again if asked to.

Although many in Belgian politics were disappointed that Thyssen was assigned only the employment and social affairs portfolio, her own reaction was that “she could not have wished for a better post”. Hers is a serious dossier and her staff can be sure that she will work hard to master its technicalities.

### Cabinet

- **Head of cabinet**  
**Stefaan Hermans**
- **Deputy head of cabinet**  
**Ruth Paserman**
- **Cabinet members**  
**Baudouin Baudru**  
**Inge Bernaerts**  
**Vasiliki Kokkori**  
**Julie Anne Fionda**  
**Luk Vanmaercke**  
**Raf de Backer**  
**Jonathan Stabenow**

Thyssen’s cabinet is led by Stefaan Hermans, a Belgian and a former head of unit in the department for research and innovation. Her deputy chef de cabinet, is Ruth Paserman, an Italian with an extensive track record in the Commission, which she joined in 1996. Paserman joined a commissioner’s cabinet for the first time in 2009 when she worked for Antonio Tajani in the department for industry and entrepreneurship. She left in 2011 to become head of unit for industry and enterprise. Among Thyssen’s seven other cabinet members are four Belgians, including her current communications adviser Luk Vanmaercke. Her personal assistant, Raf De Backer, has worked with her for the past fifteen years.

### CV

- **2008-10** Leader of the CD&V (Flemish Christian Democrats)
- **2004-09** First vice-president of the European People’s Party group in the European Parliament
- **2001-08** First Alderman, Oud-Heverlee
- **1999-2014** Head of the Belgian delegation of the European People’s Party group in the European Parliament
- **1999-2014** Member of the European Parliament
- **1995-2008** Municipal councillor, Oud-Heverlee
- **1991** Acting secretary-general, Unizo
- **1988-91** Director of research department, Unizo (Belgian SME organisation)
- **1979-80** Research assistant, faculty of law, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven
- **1979** Master’s degree in law, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven



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## COMMISSIONER

# Karmenu Vella

Environment, maritime affairs  
and fisheries

Country Malta  
Born Żurrieq, 19 June 1950  
Political affiliation PES  
Twitter @KarmenuVella



Nicknames have a special significance in Malta. Whether a badge of individual respect (or notoriety), a man's *laqam* will often tell you more about him than his entire CV.

Karmenu Vella has had many titles in his 40-year political and business career: minister for public works, industry, tourism, the economy; chairman of the Corinthia Group of companies; shadow minister for finance, to name but a few. But to many in Malta he is known simply as “The Guy”: a nickname that goes back to his early campaigning days, when he was regarded as atypically urbane and well-groomed for a representative of a blue-collar workers’ party.

The appellation reflects a quality that set Vella apart when he stood for parliament for the Labour Party in 1976, then in his mid-20s. Often at odds with the militant Maltese socialism of the time, he projected an image of affable bonhomie. Likewise, his television appearances over four decades of electioneering have earned him a reputation as a soft-spoken, almost docile interlocutor – far more at home in his native Maltese than in English or Italian, though he speaks all three.

Time has also endowed Vella with a certain venerability in Maltese politics. When he vacated his parliamentary seat in 2014 he was one of only two MPs who had served uninterruptedly for 38 years. But Vella’s ascendancy in Maltese politics cannot be attributed to mere charisma. It is widely acknowledged that his enormous grassroots popularity would not have been possible without the special relationship he forged in the late 1960s with former prime minister Dom Mintoff.

In those early days, Vella was “the Guy” who accompanied Mintoff wherever he went. This earned Vella another, less flattering nickname: “Mintoff’s pet”. Ironically, however, Vella would in later years be credited with a lead role in the post-1992 transformation of the Labour Party.

This collision between ‘Old’ and ‘New’ Labour proved a defining moment for the party, which emerged ‘purged’, so to speak, of many faces from the old guard. Not Vella, however: he retained his prominence, in

government and opposition.

Vella has been assigned sensitive cabinet posts in every Labour administration since 1981. But it was in tourism that he left the most lasting impression. Tourism accounts for 14% of Malta’s GDP. Most would concede that it was under Vella’s management that the strategic importance of this sector was first given the concerted government attention many felt it deserved.

For much the same reasons, however, not everyone sings Vella’s praises. Vella’s own direct interests in the sector have raised eyebrows. In 2001, while shadow tourism minister, Vella was appointed executive chairman of Corinthia Hotels International, Malta’s largest hotel chain.

Tourism may be a speciality, but Vella has no experience in the areas that he is now responsible for as a European commissioner. That did not go unnoticed in his hearing before the European Parliament, where there were concerns about giving the environment portfolio to someone from a country that has a spring bird-hunting season.

Efforts have also consistently been made to resurrect Vella’s connections with Mintoff’s Labour government of the 1980s – a political administration that has since

been found guilty of human rights violations. As *The Times of Malta* put it last year: “There were allegations against the government over political thuggery, tax evasion and corruption.” Vella has not been implicated in any such allegations; and even his political opponents concede in private that he is a difficult man to dislike. In a country that routinely throws up political heroes and villains, “The Guy” does not quite fit into either role.

### Cabinet

- **Head of cabinet**  
Patrick Costello
- **Deputy head of cabinet**  
Gabriella Pace
- **Cabinet members**  
Jürgen Müller  
Aurore Maillet  
András Inotai  
Andrew Bianco  
Lanfranco Fanti  
Antonina Rousseva  
Brian Synnott

Costello was deputy to the chair of the EU’s Political and Security Committee, a group of member states’ ambassadors dealing with security issues, in 2011-14 and deputy head of unit in the Commission’s external relations department in 2009-11. He worked for Margot Wallström, the commissioner for communication and inter-institutional relations, in 2007-09 and for Josep Borrell, European Parliament president, in 2004-06. The office’s deputy head of cabinet is Gabriella Pace, a Maltese who worked with the European Central Bank from 2009 as a senior lawyer.

### CV

- **2013-14** Tourism and aviation minister
- 2010-13** Chairman of Orange Travel Group
- 2008-13** Co-ordinator of the Labour Party parliamentary group
- 2008-10** Executive chairman of Mediterranean Construction Company
- 2001-07** Executive chairman of Corinthia Hotels International
- 2000** Master’s degree in tourism management, Sheffield Hallam University
- 1996-98** Tourism minister
- 1984-87** Industry minister
- 1981-83** Public works minister
- 1976-2014** Member of parliament
- 1973-81** Architect
- 1973** Degree in architecture and civil engineering

# Margrethe Vestager

## Competition

Country	Denmark
Born	Glostrup, 13 April 1968
Political affiliation	ALDE
Twitter	@vestager



Much has been made of the parallels between Danish politician Margrethe Vestager and the fictional female prime minister of Denmark in the cult TV series *Borgen*. Vestager has even revealed that an actor researching the programme followed her around to get a feel for the life of a high-profile female politician in the midst of Denmark's often evolving coalition politics.

Which is why, shortly after Vestager was awarded the influential competition portfolio in the Jean-Claude Juncker Commission, TV buffs delved into their DVD box sets to take another look at episode 12 of *Borgen*, set in and around the seat of Danish government, Copenhagen's Christiansborg Palace.

The episode is called "In Brussels, no one can hear you scream" and it tells of a ruthless move by the prime minister to rid herself of a rival by awarding him the role of commissioner – the implication being that the EU is where political careers go to die. It was a case of art-imitating-life-imitating-art, although Vestager was not the prime minister, but the rival being sent to political Siberia.

Vestager was Denmark's minister for economic affairs and the interior from 2011 until her resignation late in 2014. As the leader of the centrist Radikale Venstre (Radical Left) party, she was one of only two Danish ministers who had any experience of government before 2011 when the three-party centre-left coalition came to power, under social democrat Prime Minister Helle Thorning-Schmidt.

After appointing Vestager to the Commission, Thorning-Schmidt had kind words for her deputy, who had played such a large part in setting Denmark's economic course. "I will miss Margrethe, with whom I have had a good working relationship," Thorning-Schmidt said. Yet the relationship between the two politicians was reportedly frosty, with Vestager's strong vision casting a shadow over the at-times-troubled leadership of Thorning-Schmidt.

In real life there appears little to suggest that Brussels will be the kiss of death for Vestager's career. Unleashing an arguably unrivalled charm offensive during her hearing before the European Parliament's

economic affairs committee, the 46-year-old economist vowed to be a tireless campaigner for competition – and not just because it makes good business sense. "Competition policy is neither bureaucracy nor technicalities," she said. "It is [about] values – and these I have found in the European Parliament."

MEPs appeared comfortable both with Vestager's mastery of the brief and her commitment to defend her independence from the big end of town. "I will listen to everyone – from the largest multinationals to the representatives of small firms," Vestager said. "But the analysis of my staff, and my own judgement, will not be swayed by anyone."

Vestager was born just outside Copenhagen but grew up in rural Ølgod with parents who were both Lutheran pastors. Both were card-carrying members of Radikale Venstre – a socially progressive but economically dry party that Vestager's great-great grandfather helped to found. She joined at a young age, standing for parliament when she was just 20 (without success), and becoming national chairwoman after leaving university in 1993 at the age of 25.

In 1998, at the age of 29, Vestager became minister for education and ecclesiastical affairs, a position that put her in charge of the Danish state church –

making her, in effect, her parents' boss. Elections in 2001 removed the party from government but finally gave Vestager a seat in parliament. In 2007 she took over the party's reins and under her leadership it gained its 'Radical' image as the party of the cultural elite.

Vestager was known for running and walking her dog around her Copenhagen neighbourhood, and she preferred her bike to the ministerial car service. Her personal life has none of the messiness of her fictional counterpart on *Borgen*: she is married to academic Thomas Jensen and they have three daughters: Maria, Rebecca and Ella.

## Cabinet

- **Head of cabinet**  
Ditte Juul-Jørgensen
- **Deputy head of cabinet**  
Linsey McCallum
- **Cabinet members**  
Søren Schønberg  
Astrid Cousin  
Friedrich Wenzel Bulst  
Claes Bengtsson  
Christina Holm-Eiberg  
Mette Dyrskjøt  
Thomas George

Linsey McCallum, a British lawyer who has been at the Commission for 21 years, is the deputy head of cabinet and was a contemporary of Juul Jørgensen at the College of Europe. Previously a director in the directorate-general for competition, McCallum is a veteran of antitrust cases in the technology sector, which should prove useful. Vestager's Danish head of cabinet, Ditte Juul-Jørgensen, was a director in the Commission's department for trade. Senior adviser Søren Schønberg was in the cabinet of Cecilia Malmström when she was commissioner for home affairs.

## CV

- **2011-14** Economic affairs and interior minister
- 2007-14** Leader of Radikale Venstre
- 2001-14** Member of parliament
- 2000-01** Education minister
- 1998-2000** Education and ecclesiastical affairs minister
- 1997-98** Head of secretariat, Agency for Financial Management and Administrative Affairs
- 1995-97** Special consultant, Agency for Financial Management and Administrative Affairs
- 1993-95** Head of section, Finance Ministry
- 1993** Master of science in economics, University of Copenhagen

# Hitting targets

The European Commission's gender balance – or lack of it – had the dubious honour of being the controversy which cast a shadow over Jean-Claude Juncker's presidency even before the Luxembourg politician had officially taken office. Juncker had wanted to appoint at least as many female commissioners as his predecessor José Manuel Barroso, who counted nine women among his 27 (subsequently 28) commissioners during his second mandate (2009-14). Juncker was even subjected to a '10 or more' campaign – a social media meme featuring photos of outgoing female commissioners holding both hands up in a 10-finger salute.

It was not to be. In spite of a promise to offer female commissioners' more prestigious portfolios, most member states put forward male candidates and Juncker was only able to match Barroso's nine when Poland eventually selected Elżbieta Bieńkowska. Instead, Juncker set a more ambitious – and perhaps more realistic – target to improve female representation in the ranks of the Commission's middle and senior management – in short, in the ranks of the officials rather than those nominated by politicians. As outlined in his mission letter to Kristalina Georgieva, the commissioner for budget and human resources, Juncker had set the target of 40% female representation for senior and middle management staff in his term. The Commission president also asked Georgieva to "pay particular attention to gender equality in the recruitment process and throughout the career path".

The Barroso II Commission had worked on an 'equal opportunity strategy' from 2010-14 to increase the number of female staff for three management areas in which women were under-represented. By the end of 2014, women were to make up 25% of senior management posts, meaning that a third of appointments to replace those leaving for retirement should be women. Additionally, Barroso wanted women to make up 30% of middle-management and 43% of non-management administrator posts.

It was a concerted effort on the part of the Commission which saw those targets met in February 2014. Commission research revealed that job flexibility was an important factor in encouraging women civil servants to take on greater responsibilities. An attempt was also made to create a work environment in which "men and women are offered the best chances of contributing fully to the success of the organisation".

The latest figures show that almost 28% of the Commission's senior managers were



Commission staff by age and gender

AGE	FEMALE		MALE	
21 - 22	1	100.0%		
23 - 24	4	66.7%	2	33.3%
24 - 26	25	61.0%	16	39.0%
27 - 28	83	62.4%	50	37.6%
29 - 30	194	70.5%	81	29.5%
31 - 32	342	66.7%	171	33.3%
33 - 34	637	65.5%	336	34.5%
35 - 36	958	64.5%	527	35.5%
37 - 38	1,016	62.5%	610	37.5%
39 - 40	930	57.1%	700	42.9%
41 - 42	865	57.7%	635	42.3%
43 - 44	879	54.6%	730	45.4%
45 - 46	959	53.8%	822	46.2%
47 - 48	965	51.8%	898	48.2%
49 - 50	895	50.5%	877	49.5%
51 - 52	864	49.9%	868	50.1%
53 - 54	816	46.8%	929	53.2%
55 - 56	667	43.6%	863	56.4%
57 - 58	547	41.0%	788	59.0%
59 - 60	389	38.2%	629	61.8%
61 - 62	243	37.3%	408	62.7%
63 - 64	141	35.3%	258	64.7%
65 - 66	12	31.6%	26	68.4%
67 - 68			1	100.0%

Source: European Commission

women, who also made up 30% of middle management positions and 43% of non-management positions. All this adds up to significant progress over the past 20 years: in 1995 women made up a mere 4% of senior management roles, 10% of middle management positions and almost 24% of non-management staff.

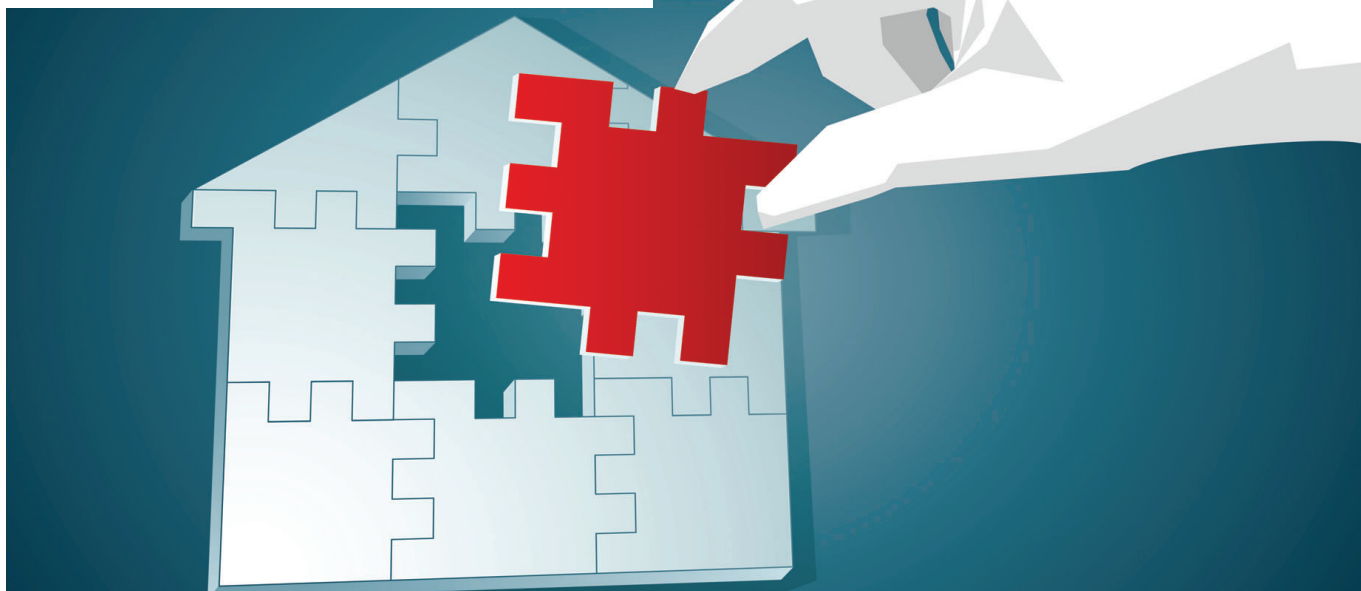
Yet Juncker is now aiming for more and set the 40% target for all three management categories. As things stand, of the 13,517 officials working at the Commission on 1 January, 42.2% are female.

Yet there is another staffing discrepancy which may prove harder to address: national representation. If broken down by country of origin, the Commission's staff is not particularly representative, particularly as staff regulations state clearly that recruitment and appointments are to be

made on the "broadest possible geographical basis" from nationals of all EU member states. Recruitment is underpinned by a complex formula, which takes into account a country's total population, its number of seats in parliament and its weight in the Council of Ministers.

The regulations also say that no post can be set aside for nationals from a given member state and that competence relevant to the function should be the main selection criterion. There was an exception to this rule: the transition period after EU enlargement, in which compulsory recruitment targets were set and specific posts could be reserved for the nationals from new member-states in a bid to boost their numbers. Croatia, which joined the EU in 2013, was to benefit from this form of positive discrimination until mid-2018.

## Where in the world



**M**ost of the Commission's 34,000 officials are based in Brussels, working in more than 70 buildings. Most of these buildings are located around the European quarter near Schuman roundabout although the Commission does have offices in Evere, eastern Brussels on the way to NATO, and Beaulieu in south-eastern Brussels.

The location of Commission departments has been overhauled recently as a result of reorganisations decided by Jean-Claude Juncker when he became president of the Commission. For an up-to-date directory of the addresses of Commission departments check the Commission directory <http://europa.eu/whoiswho/public/index.cfm?lang=en>

There are also 3,900 Commission officials working in Luxembourg. Commission offices in Luxembourg include Eurostat, the EU's statistical service, and parts of the health, translation, IT and payments departments. Commission staff in Luxembourg are likely to move buildings soon because of work at some of the Commission offices.

**A list of all the Commission's buildings in Brussels can be found here:**

[http://ec.europa.eu/oib/buildings\\_en.cfm](http://ec.europa.eu/oib/buildings_en.cfm)

**A list of all the Commission's buildings in Luxembourg can be found here:**

[http://ec.europa.eu/oil/batiments\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/oil/batiments_en.htm)

**The Commission also has representations in each of the 28 EU member states. A list of the representations can be found here:**

[http://ec.europa.eu/represent\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/represent_en.htm)

**Commission staff also work in the EU's delegations to third countries and international organisations which are headed by a member of the European External Action Service.**

**A full list of the EU's delegations can be found here:**  
[http://www.eeas.europa.eu/delegations/index\\_en.htm](http://www.eeas.europa.eu/delegations/index_en.htm)

## Useful links

**Webpage of Jean-Claude Juncker, president of the Commission:**

[http://ec.europa.eu/commission/2014-2019/president\\_en](http://ec.europa.eu/commission/2014-2019/president_en)

**The commissioners' webpages:**

[http://ec.europa.eu/commission/2014-2019\\_en](http://ec.europa.eu/commission/2014-2019_en)

**Official Journal:**

<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/oj/direct-access.html>

**Transparency register:**

<http://ec.europa.eu/transparencyregister/public/homePage.do>

**EU who is who:**

<http://europa.eu/whoiswho/public/>

**Centralised page of departments and services:**

[http://ec.europa.eu/about/ds\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/about/ds_en.htm)

**Executive agencies:**

[http://europa.eu/about-eu/agencies/index\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/about-eu/agencies/index_en.htm)

**Historical archives:**

[http://ec.europa.eu/historical\\_archives/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/historical_archives/index_en.htm)

**Audio-visual and photo service:**

<http://ec.europa.eu/avservices/photo/>

**CVs' of the Commission's directors-general, deputy directors-general and equivalent senior management officials:**

[http://ec.europa.eu/civil\\_service/about/who/dg\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/civil_service/about/who/dg_en.htm)

# European commissioners: what they earn

## President

Jean-Claude Juncker  
Annual salary: €306,655



## High representative for foreign affairs and security policy

Federica Mogherini  
Annual salary: €288,877



■ The salaries of European commissioners are set at 112.5% of the pay of an official at grade A16, step 3 (see facing page). The president of the European Commission is paid 138% of this grade and the vice-president 125%. The high representative, who is also a vice-president of the Commission, is paid 130%.

## Vice-presidents

Annual salary: €277,767



## Commissioners

Annual salary: €249,990



On joining the Commission, a commissioner is entitled to an installation allowance of two months' salary.

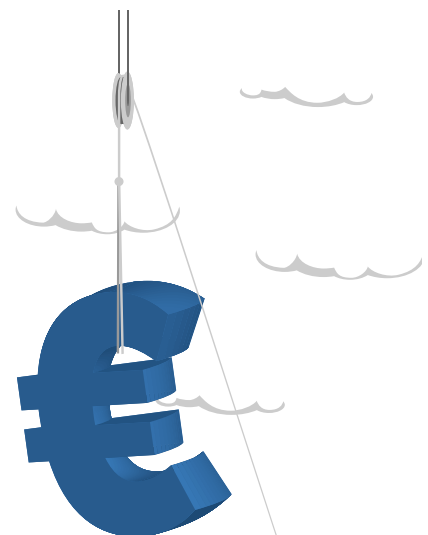
While in office commissioners receive a residence allowance of 15% of their basic salary and a monthly allowance for representative expenses (€1,418 for the president, €911 for vice-presidents and €608 for other commissioners).

Travel and removal costs are also reimbursed.

Salaries are subject to EU tax (8%-45%) and a solidarity levy of 7%.

On leaving the Commission, commissioners are entitled to a resettlement allowance of one month's basic salary and a three-year transitional allowance of 40%-65% of their salary, which is reduced if they take up new, paid activities.

Commissioners can draw their pensions from 65. The pension may not exceed 70% of the final basic salary. It is calculated at 4.275% of the basic salary for every full year in office.





## European Commission salaries (January 2015)

Grade	Step				
	1	2	3	4	5
16	17 054.40	17 771.05	18 517.81		
15	15 073.24	15 706.64	16 366.65	16 822.00	17 054.40
14	13 322.22	13 882.04	14 465.38	14 867.83	15 073.24
13	11 774.62	12 269.40	12 784.98	13 140.68	13 322.22
12	10 406.80	10 844.10	11 299.79	11 614.16	11 774.62
11	9 197.87	9 584.37	9 987.12	10 264.98	10 406.80
10	8 129.38	8 470.99	8 826.95	9 072.53	9 197.87
9	7 185.01	7 486.94	7 801.55	8 018.60	8 129.38
8	6 350.35	6 617.20	6 895.26	7 087.10	7 185.01
7	5 612.65	5 848.50	6 094.26	6 263.81	6 350.35
6	4 960.64	5 169.10	5 386.31	5 536.16	5 612.65
5	4 384.38	4 568.62	4 760.60	4 893.04	4 960.64
4	3 875.06	4 037.89	4 207.57	4 324.63	4 384.38
3	3 424.90	3 568.82	3 718.79	3 822.25	3 875.06
2	3 027.04	3 154.24	3 286.79	3 378.23	3 424.90
1	2 675.40	2 787.82	2 904.97	2 985.79	3 027.04

Assistants can be employed at grades 1-11, secretaries and clerks at grades 1-6 and administrators at grades 5-16. The entry-level grade for Commission officials working on policy is AD5. Assistants can become administrators if they undergo training and pass exams relating to administrators' tasks.

Each grade has five seniority steps. Officials move up one step about every two years until they advance to the next grade. Administrators can reach grade AD12 through such promotion alone.

For senior management roles, directors have to be at least AD14 while directors-general, the most senior officials in the Commission, are AD15 or AD16. Middle managers in the Commission at head of unit level have to be at least AD9. Advisers - officials working directly for directors-general - are at least AD13.

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**Donald Tusk**  
President of the  
European Council

**Jean-Claude Juncker**  
President of the  
European Commission

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