EYE ON EUROPE

STOCKHOLM NETWORK CONNECTING THINK TANKS, CREATING IDEAS ISSUE TWENTY FIVE

HAS BRITAIN LOST INFLUENCE IN EUROPE?



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The UK's decision on 30th January 2012 to boycott the new EU fiscal pact now leaves Britain poorly positioned to defend its economic interests. It also weakens the ability of like-minded EU countries such as the Netherlands or the Central European states to resist the étatist tendencies of France and (to a lesser extent) Germany. The EU will become less economically liberal, to the detriment of all its member-states, including the United Kingdom.

The main purpose of the new "treaty on stability, co-ordination and governance in the Economic and Monetary Union" is to impose tough fiscal discipline on participating states. But it will have important second order effects. It creates, effectively, an inner core of EU member-states. And while this core will not have the *de jure* power to set tax and other economic policies for Member States not covered by the treaty - these decisions remain the prerogative of the EU-27 including the UK - in practice the core countries will seek to "precook" most such decision among themselves, only then consulting other countries (this explains why Poland and some other non-euro countries worked so hard to be included in the core). Countries outside of it will find their ability to set the EU's economic policy limited. Britain will fight an increasingly lonely battle to keep the EU economically liberal.

This is doubly a pity because it has many natural allies in the EU, such as Ireland or the Central European states. But the British "no" to the treaty now leaves them in a weaker position to resist France's statist tendencies and German federalist instincts, for two reasons.

First, while in the past, the economic liberals in the EU could count on London to fight their corner, their powerful ally will not have any influence on the economic policies of the core. In theory, the Central Europeans or Irish can veto any move they see as undermining their economic interests, such as tax harmonisation, which they regard as presenting a direct threat to their economic model built on low taxes and investor-friendly laws. In practice, smaller countries need the support of others to resist the pressure from the big countries. With Germany and France making clear that they indeed want to agree a common tax rate - and with the new treaty calling for "enhanced economic convergence" - the odds are stacked against those countries that, like the UK, desire to maintain healthy competition among the EU member-states' economic models.

Influence is a very strange thing. Everyone seems to want it, yet no one quite knows what it is. It can't be measured. So valuable is it, indeed, that sometimes people want to hoard it rather than expend it in pursuit of their own ends. For it seems - on occasion - to be a finite resource. So it should be used, at best, only sparingly.

But then, even when it's not used, it can still evaporate. Think of Tony Blair and George Bush in the run up to the Iraq War. We were repeatedly told that, in order to preserve "our influence at the top table in Washington", we should go along with whatever the Bush administration wanted. And so we did. But a Chatham House report published in 2006 found that, despite the military, political and financial sacrifices made by the UK, Mr Blair had been unable to influence the Bush administration in "any significant way" and that the invasion and the post-war debacle damaged the UK's global influence. So a policy designed to hoard our influence actually ended up damaging it.

In addition to the essential vagueness of the word, we should also recognise the concept of influence in foreign affairs is based on the idea that Britain is always working towards the same goal as our international "partners"; and that we can use our "influence" to tweak things a little more in our direction; to secure for this or that special interest of ours a few crumbs from the top table. Here (so we are led to believe), the finest servants of Her Majesty's Foreign and Commonwealth Office can, with effortless polish and charm, secure the best possible deal for Britain.

There is an alternative, of course. Just consider Mrs Thatcher's success in securing our rebate from the European Economic Community (as it

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Second, the UK's decision inadvertently weakened its allies further by vetoing attempts by the core to use the EU treaty to govern their club. This means that the rest of the member states will now agree new rules outside existing EU treaties and with a limited role for EU institutions. While the UK did allow the European Court of Justice to be used to enforce the provisions of the new treaty, the European Commission has been weakened. And the smaller member states like the European Commission (in which each country has one member) because it helps them balance the power of big member states such as Germany and France. Germany wanted to work through the EU institutions too but France prefers a new club, seeing it as a way to undo the 2004 enlargement and limit the influence of the pesky liberal new member states. The UK veto played into Nicolas Sarkozy's hands, and cemented the dominant role of Germany and France in the new fiscal union, to the alarm of the small countries. "We are being presented with decisions on which we have minimum influence", one Central European official told the author.

Inevitably, Britain's relations with its allies in the EU will suffer. The Czechs, who joined the UK in staying out of the treaty will presumably rejoice at not being alone but the rest rue London's decision, and the impact it will have on their ability to set economic policies. This will make it more difficult for London to "sell" its ideas to the rest of the EU. One theme that the UK government has strongly and rightly emphasised is the need for the EU to find new ways to reinvigorate growth. As long ago as 2010 it distributed a thoughtful paper suggesting, among other things, that the EU create a common digital market among the 27 to boost e-commerce. At a meeting of senior Central European officials and experts in late 2011, some think tank participants argued that governments in the region should join forces with London to support its drive to boost growth. But the idea of a joint initiative with Britain found few takers among officials present at the event. Privately, they say that Britain has become toxic by association; that any ideas which it sponsors will be resisted on principle, not on merit. For governments that share London's liberal view on the economy that is a depressing conclusion.

London has managed to "drive itself towards the edges of European politics", one Central European ambassador told the author. The remark was offered with regret, not glee. On social issues, taxation or the single market, the Visegrad countries are firmly in the UK, not Franco-German, camp. But they have little sympathy for David Cameron, who is seen as having brought the isolation on himself, and blamed for weakening common institutions and thus reducing the power of smaller states. The UK as well as its allies has lost out in the process.

Tomas Valasek is director of foreign policy at the Centre for European Reform.

then was) in the early 1980s. That hugely successful battle was fought not on the basis that we should use our influence to gently lead our European partners round to our way of thinking. No. It was won by confrontation, and a hard-headed determination to secure what was best for Britain regardless of the diplomatic cost to our "influence". In summit after summit, that even many of her colleagues found horrendously embarrassing, Mrs Thatcher insisted on a budget rebate for Britain, demanding in public that "we want our money back." Yes, the diplomats were excruciatingly embarrassed. Yes, the BBC, the Labour Party and the chattering classes were aghast at the loss of "influence" and British prestige. But "Never do things just because other people do them," Mrs Thatcher's father had told her, and she didn't. So after five years of arguing, Mrs Thatcher finally got her way at Fontainebleau in 1984 when she finally threatened to withhold Britain's contributions to the EEC budget altogether. As Nigel Lawson, who was her Chancellor at the time, told the House of Lords Select Committee: "it would never have happened if we had not made it clear that if we did not get satisfaction, we would withhold our contributions. I think it is widely known that we had a draft bill printed to give us the legal authority to withhold our contributions. Without that threat to withhold our contributions, to the extent of having the law officers produce a bill, we would not have got it."

As a result, Mrs Thatcher secured a rebate of two-thirds of Britain's net contribution to the EU - a rebate which stills exists today, although its value has diminished greatly as a result of Tony Blair's later concessions. And note that when Blair made his concessions in 2005, Peter Mandelson, then an EU trade commissioner, warned British ministers that they would be "serious losers" and would risk "diminished influence" if they fail to secure an agreement on the EU budget.

This surely leads to the conclusion that influence is a rather expensive and useless commodity. And that if influence means the ability to suggest a small change in something you don't believe in, it isn't really worth having at all. And so the question of whether or not Britain lost influence as a result of using our veto at the Council of Ministers meeting in December last year is the wrong question. It may be the case that the BBC, the Labour Party and the chattering classes, once again, all got upset by our perceived "loss of influence". But we should surely ask whether, by using the veto, Britain protected its national interests. And there the answer is quite clear. We did.

Tim Knox is director of the Centre for Policy Studies.


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DIRECTOR'S REPORT



Following the recent British veto on the EU fiscal pact, the UK and especially its prime minister, David Cameron, have been in the news both at home and abroad whether to praise or to condemn his decision. We have invited two of our member think tanks to give us their opinion. On the one hand, Tomas Valasek, from the Centre for European Reform, believes that Cameron's decision leaves "Britain poorly positioned to defend its economic interests". Tomas also argues that this decision weakens the ability of like-minded EU states to resist the statist positions of France and even Germany. On the other hand, Tim Knox, from the Centre for Policy Studies, questions the issue of "influence" and concentrates on the defence of national interests. Tim compares Cameron's decision with Mrs Thatcher's successful record of defending British national interests in the EU and believes that, on that basis, this veto has once again managed to protect them.

Following the trail of Margaret Thatcher, our usual book review section has been replaced this time by a review of the movie "The Iron Lady", a role masterly performed by Oscar-winning American actress Meryl Streep. Although relations between Britain and the EU are only touched upon very briefly in the movie, it is made clear that the British premier wanted to protect the sovereignty of Britain. Her convictions and determination to stand by tough decisions continue to divide opinions about her legacy today.

EU policies continue to feature in our IP programme, in particular, the controversial issue of a "two-speed Europe". Here we argue that in certain situations, like in the case of the EU patent, it may in fact be the only practical solution when disharmony is preventing progress.

In this issue, our spotlight looks at the Future of Healthcare. As the population of the OECD countries have a life expectancy of beyond 80 years of age, governments are faced with the question of how to modernise their healthcare systems to combine 21st century healthcare treatments with appropriate healthcare policies. The Stockholm Network is organising an event on this issue in Brussels on 28 March where a panel of healthcare innovators and experts will present us with a new vision of the future of healthcare and will discuss what Europe needs to do to make it a reality.

Looking to the future of the environment also, two of our researchers discuss the EU's recent activities in Durban where India and China - significantly - accepted a roadmap that could set up the basis for a global climate change treaty in 2015.

In our think tank profiles, meanwhile, we take a look at the work of the Brussels-based Libera!, and of the Centre for Political Thought, based in Krakow, Poland.

Most discussion of the EU these days, concerns the Eurozone crisis and, as a result, perhaps a perception not just that the UK's influence in Europe is waning but also that Europe's influence in the world is also on the decline. Yet, as some of the issues highlighted above show, what Europe does continues, at least for now, to have a strong impact on global public policy. As we struggle to get our finances back on track, let us not lose faith in the power of good public policy to continue to change things for the better.

Helen Disney is founder and chief executive of the Stockholm Network.

ENHANCED COOPERATION AND THE EU PATENT

There has long been a debate within the EU about whether enhanced cooperation, in which Member States are able to integrate at different levels and speeds, undermines the core principles of the Union. Yet, the EU patent shows that in certain situations a "two-speed Europe" may in fact be the only practical solution when disharmony is preventing progress.

Intellectual property rights are one of the few remaining trade barriers still present within Europe today. For decades now, European innovators seeking to trade across the Single Market have had to comply with different national patent processes in order to ensure that their creations are protected. The European Commission estimates that the overall average cost of this is €32,000 per innovation, compared to an average of just €1,850 in the United States. Language is central to this, as many of the high costs are attributed to translation fees incurred in order to submit patent applications in each national language.

An EU patent would instead require innovators to submit patent applications to a central European body in just one language, which would then provide protection across the Union. A problem arises of course when deciding in which of the EU's 23 official languages the patent can be submitted. In order to maximise the cost-savings of the reform, the Commission has decided to limit it to a trilingual system, i.e. English, French and German. In doing so, translation costs for patents would drop from €14,000 to €680 per patent and the total of cost of the EU patent is estimated at being on average around €6,200.

Among others, Italy and Spain have objected to the use of only English, French and German, requesting that their own respective languages be included and have refused to vote in favour of the proposals. It is at this point that, unless a consensus can be reached, EU processes tend to end and no further progress can be made.

Yet, Member States have now sought to use enhanced cooperation, first established by the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1999, allowing the 25 willing Member States to establish the EU


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patent by themselves. Enhanced cooperation is distinct from the EU opt-outs, which has been used previous to establish the European Monetary Union and the Schengen Agreement, and allows some Member States to work more closely together, while respecting the legal framework of the Union.

It is clear that the EU patent will provide a big help to innovators in Europe, which is significant as they most likely hold the key to improving competitiveness and sustaining economic growth in the EU. Of course, unanimity in reform is ideal but this should not come at the expense of diluting the proposal's intentions.

Paul Healy is senior researcher of the Stockholm Network.

FILM REVIEW: THE IRON LADY

Though Meryl Streep's depiction of Margaret Thatcher is picture-perfect, the creators of "The Iron Lady" seem to have been less concerned with the details of her rise to power and the major policies that define her. Instead, the movie focuses on an elderly and somewhat confused Mrs Thatcher as she attempts to remember important events in her political career.

The flashbacks provide a potted history that begins with Margaret Roberts, an underestimated grocer's daughter who attends Oxford University and is eventually elected MP for Finchley. Mrs Thatcher's brief showing as a low-level MP and then education minister is immediately followed by her campaign to become leader of the Conservative Party and prime minister, a trail marked with speeches and imagery reminiscent of "The King's Speech". Finally, once she becomes prime minister the radical policies of her government are only gently touched upon. Much of her time in office is played out amidst the backdrop of the miners' strike and the Falklands war. Her dealings with Ronald Reagan during the Cold war leading to the fall of the Berlin Wall are scarcely mentioned, despite their significant role in her premiership.

One of the most defining aspects of her tenacious political character, her view towards Europe, is also only briefly covered. She is, however, shown vigorously defending the integrity of the British pound and the sovereignty of Britain. In a speech given at a dinner party in her old age, the character of Mrs Thatcher is displayed citing the "evil" that western civilisation faces and states that they can never falter in their responses. It is here that the viewer can grasp a sense of her convictions and determination to stand by tough but necessary decisions, which continue to divide opinions about her legacy today.

Throughout the film, Meryl Streep succeeds at depicting Mrs Thatcher as implacable and unwilling to compromise, as iron-willed as the film's title suggests.


© Alex Bailey/Pathe Productions

Yet, many critics have suggested that the film portrays a "defanged, declawed, depoliticised" version of the controversial leader. In truth, "The Iron Lady" provides a very personal account of the rise, reign and decline of one of the most influential Britons of modern times.

Kelsey Wooddell is a research intern of the Stockholm Network.

THINK TANK PROFILES



LIBERA!

Brussels, Belgium

http://www.liberavzw.be/

Libera! is an independent non-partisan think tank in the Flemish region of Belgium fostering the values of a free society in general and the protection of private property rights in particular. The scope of its research and activism is not limited to the regional or national arena but also extends to the European and international level.

History and Intellectual Tradition

Although Libera! might look like a relatively new initiative – it was incorporated as a non-profit organisation under Belgian law in the spring of 2010 – it finds its origins in the broader classical-liberal tradition of Flanders.

Research on liberal-conservatism and classical-liberalism started with the institute Ludwig von Mises in the 1980s. Later on, in 1994, Nova Civitas was founded in the wake of the creation of a new classical-liberal political party in Belgium, the Flemish Liberal Democrats or VLD. Yet, from the outset, the think tank declared itself independent from any political party. This became obvious when Nova Civitas strongly criticised the far-reaching concessions the VLD made to the Walloon Socialists in the second government of prime minister, Guy Verhofstadt.

"Libera! fosters the values of a free society in general and of the protection of private property rights in particular"

In 2009, the directors of Nova Civitas decided to broaden the radius of its activities by putting more emphasis on study work and publications, instead of just public debates, and by attracting new members. After the merger with Cassandra, another liberal think tank, a new association was set up in 2010 under the new name Libera!.

Structure and key people

Libera! is governed by a Board of Directors and a General Assembly. A dedicated team of volunteers, external contractors and Fellows is responsible for all activities and publications, and conducts all research projects. It also has an academic advisory board and a board of patrons. The former consists of leading academics and journalists, and the latter of key people from the political sphere as well as the business community.

Prize for Liberty

The Prize for Liberty, sometimes referred to as the Liberty Award, is an annual award bestowed upon a person for propagating classical-liberalism and the values of a free society in his/her life and work.

From 2003 to 2009, the Prize for Liberty was awarded by Nova Civitas. Since 2010, recognition has been awarded by Libera! to Frits Bolkestein, former European Commissioner for the Internal Market in 2010 and to Theodore Dalrymple, conservative columnist and social critic in 2011.



Achievements and plans

Libera! has published several articles and organised various events on free market economics and EU affairs, with a special focus on the looming tax harmonisation in the EU, featuring lectures by former EU Commissioner Frits Bolkestein, amongst others.

A series of research papers and policy studies are in the pipeline for 2012, including reports on the implementation of the EU's Services Directive; on better regulation to reduce the costs of waiting for businesses; on the protection of property rights and the concept of regulatory takings; on the flaws of the social cohesion argument in policymaking; on welfare benefits and the unemployment trap; on trade unions and their government-backed monopolies; and on the destructive effects of multi-layer subsidy schemes.

Together with our annual flagship event, the award ceremony of the Prize for Liberty, Libera! has hosted public panel debates in the past few months on issues such as the end of the welfare state and the differences between state capitalism and free market economics. Issues to be discussed at our upcoming panel debates include central banking and inflation, liberalism and nationalism, and the need for strong judicial review to counter bad legislation. In the spring of 2012, the Belgian economist Johan Van Overtveldt will be honoured with this year's Prize for his book *The End of the Euro*.

Vincent De Roeck is secretary of Libera!

THINK TANK PROFILES

CENTER FOR POLITICAL THOUGHT (OMP)

Krakow, Poland

http://www.omp.org.pl



The Center for Political Thought is the leading Polish conservative think tank focusing on political philosophy, contemporary history and international relations. Our experts – leading Polish political scientists, sociologists, lawyers and philosophers – take part in the public debate concerning public policy in Poland and the main dilemmas of European policy and transatlantic relations.

Since its foundation in 1992, our Center, based in Krakow, has propagated the principles of politics that promote respect for personal freedom, religion and Polish cultural traditions. Since then we have organised over 100 scientific conferences, expert seminars and public debate. We have published over 160 books in Polish through a variety of series, such as the Library of Political Thought, and the Library of Polish Political Thought Classics. Their authors range from Polish to international scientists, political commentators and journalists.

The current main projects of the Center are based on the following topics:

1. The international situation in Europe – particularly in the context of the Eastern policy of the EU, transatlantic relations and global threats (www.usa-ue.pl);

2. The institutional structure of the EU and its possible future transformations, analysed from the viewpoint of preserving individual nation states' competences;

3. Relationships between the EU financial system and its competitiveness in the globalising world market on the one hand, and methods of shaping the EU policy in this field at the level of the EU institutions and cooperation of its individual member states, on the other (www.sporyokapitalizm.pl).

These projects will also address topics and questions such as:

a) *Political power in the EU: Formal and informal centres and decision-making mechanisms versus competences of individual nation states:*
   - distribution of competences between a nation state's centres of power and the EU institutions – formal solutions and practical decision-making mechanisms;
   - mechanisms used by the EU to enforce Member States to accept and apply EU law;
   - influence of bilateral cooperation between Member States on decision-making in the EU; and
   - influence of non-state subjects on EU policy – i.e. media, business, NGOs and informal interest groups


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b) *Financial crisis and the future of the EU (conservative perspective):*
   - Will the crisis cause the restriction of a state's role in the economy, or will it increase the temptation of state control?;
   - Is there one solution for the international crisis and what is the sense of coordinated effort against it?;
   - Will the economic and political interests of EU Member States prevail over general financial interest?; and
   - How to bring together the need to reform economies (especially in reducing expenditure and increasing competitiveness against non-European operators) with the social costs of the required changes?

"OMP has propagated the principles of politics that promote respect for personal freedom, religion and Polish cultural traditions"

To celebrate its 20th anniversary the Center will organise a series of conferences, including the international meetings "EU – what now? The Central European Perspective" and "The prospects for conservative parties in the European Union".

We will also organise numerous public debates including "Ageing Nations? Demography as a Political Problem for Europe"; "Does the EU promote or threaten the free market?"; and "Sexuality as political weapon". All these events aim to promote a conservative and free market-oriented vision of European and Polish policy and culture.

Dr Jacek Kloczkowski is vice-president of the Center for Political Thought

WHO GOVERNS EUROPE?

A turbulent period has seen numerous governments replaced throughout Europe. Some were ousted by the conventional ballot box, whilst others fell foul of political developments mostly related to the Eurozone crisis.



But first it's good to begin with some positive news from **Belgium**. After almost 18 months of negotiations, Elio di Rupo has finally been approved as prime minister, leading a six-party coalition. The pivotal factor in reaching the agreement was the Christian Democratic and Flemish Party's (CD&V) decision to enter a coalition without the New Flemish Alliance (N-VA), which topped the 2010 polls. Di Rupo's socialist government will need to hit the ground running, with almost half their term already expired and an N-VA opposition looking for greater powers for the Flemish region.

Another country where a new government has been appointed without the largest party in parliament is **Slovenia**, where Positive Slovenia were left out of the new five-party coalition government led by the Slovenian Democratic Party (SDS). The spotlight following the snap elections was on Positive Slovenia's leader Zoran Janković to put a coalition together, but in the end it was SDS's Janez Janša whom was able to muster the necessary support.

A new government was also elected in **Spain** as more than seven years of socialist leadership was brought to an end. As expected, Mariano Rajoy led his People's Party to gain an absolute majority in parliamentary elections, claiming 186 of the 350 seat Congress of Deputies. The incumbent Socialist Workers' Party, led by Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba dropped down to 111 seats, their worst showing for 30 years.

The economy was unsurprisingly at the top of the election agenda, in particular the extraordinarily high unemployment rate of 22% (more than 5 million people). Added to this, were continual fears about future economic growth and the government's inability to maintain budget deficit targets, especially in respect to spending by regional governments, to a level that is deemed sustainable by fellow Eurozone leaders and, perhaps more importantly, the financial markets.

Aside from elections, governments also changed hands as a result of political developments. Most prominently in **Italy**, three-time prime minister Silvio Berlusconi has potentially put an end to his extraordinary political career.

Berlusconi resigned as prime minister once it became apparent that he had lost his parliamentary majority, in particular the support of his coalition partners, the Lega Nord. His last act as prime minister was to ensure that austerity measures, forced by the EU, were passed by both houses of parliament.

Berlusconi's replacement is former European Commissioner and university president Mario Monti, who has established a technocratic government designed to steward Italy through the current economic crisis. In the government, Monti himself will serve as finance minister and the industry and infrastructure portfolios have been handed to Corrado Passera, chief executive of Italy's biggest retail bank.

Greece is now also home to a government led by a non-political appointee with the resignation of George Papandreou. The new leader is Lucas Papademos, an economist and former Greek central bank vice-president. Unlike Monti, Papademos has not formed a new technocratic team, instead taking over a national unity coalition agreed by the two main party leaders.

In **Romania**, the prime minister Emil Boc resigned following public protests against his government, in particular the perception of cronyism and corruption. Boc has been replaced by Mihai Răzvan Ungureanu, a former foreign minister, who vowed to continue reforms. Parliamentary elections are due in Romania towards the end of this year.

There have also been political disturbances in **Slovakia**, where the current government led by Iveta Radičová has forced fresh elections after they lost a vote of confidence. The new elections take place in early March and polls currently suggest that Slovakia's largest party, led by former prime minister Robert Fico, will win enough support to oust Radičová and govern again.

Presidential elections in **Bulgaria** have seen Rosen Plevneliev, of the ruling Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria party (GERB), become the next president. Plevneliev replaces the Socialist Georgi Parvanov, who has completed the second of a maximum possible two five-year terms.

There have also been presidential elections in the **Republic of Ireland** to replace Mary McAleese, who has reached the end of her second and final term. Former culture minister Michael Higgins, from the junior government coalition Labour Party, has become the ninth president obtaining almost 40% of the vote.

Fine Gael, the main governing party in the coalition had a poor showing in the election suggesting a reversal of fortunes of those that swept them to power, led by Taoiseach Enda Kenny, early this year. Their candidate Gay Mitchell finished fourth with just 6% of the vote, the party's worst showing in a presidential election. At a by-election in Dublin West, held following the death of former finance minister Brian Lenihan, Fine Gael also lost to the Labour Party.

And finally, in **Finland** the main governing party, the National Coalition Party, has claimed the presidency for the first time in more than 50 years after Sauli Niinistö defeated the Green candidate Pekka Haavisto in the second round. Niinistö received 63% of the vote and replaces the Social Democrat Tarja Kaarina Halonen, Finland's first female President, who has reached the end of her maximum two six-year terms.

Significantly, both second round candidates supported continued membership of the Eurozone in an election dominated by Finland's role in Europe, whilst the Eurosceptic party the True Finns were unable to build on their success in last year's parliamentary elections. Their candidate and party leader Timo Soini finished fourth and received just 9.4% of the vote, a far cry from the 19% and 39 seats they received in parliamentary elections last year. The former Social Democrat prime minister, Paavo Lipponen, finished a disappointing sixth with 6.7%.

For more information, please visit:
http://www.whogoverneurope.com

UPCOMING ELECTIONS:

Slovakian parliamentary	10 March
France presidential	22 April
Greek parliamentary	April (TBC)
France parliamentary	10 June

WHO GOVERNS EUROPE?

[1] Parliamentary
[2] Presidential
[3] Latest possible
[4] Interim

AUSTRIA
ÖSTERREICH

Head of State: Heinz Fischer
Head of Gov't: Werner Faymann
Governing Party: Social Democrats with People's Party
Elections[1]: Last - 2008, Next – 2013[3]

BELGIUM
BELGIQUE / BELGIË

Head of State: King Albert II
Head of Gov't: Elio Di Rupo
Governing Party: Socialist Party with others
Elections[1]: Last - 2010, Next – 2014[3]

BULGARIA
БЪЛГАРИЯ

Head of State: Rosen Plevneliev
Head of Gov't: Boyko Borisov
Governing Party: Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria
Elections[1]: Last - 2009, Next - 2013

CYPRUS
K'ΥΠΡΟΣ / KIBRIS

Head of State: Dimitris Christofias
Governing Party: Progressive Party of Working People
Elections[2]: Last - 2008, Next – 2013

CZECH REPUBLIC
ČESKÁ REPUBLIKA

Head of State: Václav Klaus
Head of Gov't: Petr Nečas
Governing Party: Civic Democratic Party with TOP09 and Public Affairs
Elections[1]: Last - 2010, Next - 2014

DENMARK
DANMARK

Head of State: Queen Margrethe II
Head of Gov't: Helle Thorning-Schmidt
Governing Party: Social Democrats with Social Liberal Party and others
Elections[1]: Last - 2011, Next – 2015[3]

ESTONIA
EESTI

Head of State: Toomas Hendrik Ilves
Head of Gov't: Andrus Ansip
Governing Party: Estonian Reform Party and Pro Patria Res Publica
Elections[1]: Last - 2011, Next - 2015

FINLAND
SUOMI

Head of State: Sauli Niinistö
Head of Gov't: Jyrki Katainen
Governing Party: National Coalition Party with others
Elections[2]: Last - 2011, Next - 2015

FRANCE
FRANCE

Head of State: Nicolas Sarkozy
Head of Gov't: François Fillon
Governing Party: Union for a Popular Movement with others
Elections[2]: Last - 2007, Next - 2012

GERMANY
DEUTSCHLAND

Head of State: Horst Seehofer[4]
Head of Gov't: Angela Merkel
Governing Party: Christian Democratic Union with Free Democratic Party
Elections[1]: Last - 2009, Next – 2013[3]

GREECE
ΕΛΛΑΔΑ

Head of State: Karolos Papoulias
Head of Gov't: Lucas Papademos
Governing Party: PASOK with New Democracy and others
Elections[1]: Last - 2009, Next – 2012

HUNGARY
MAGYARORSZÁG

Head of State: Pál Schmitt
Head of Gov't: Viktor Orbán
Governing Party: Fidesz – Hungarian Civic Union
Elections[1]: Last - 2010, Next – 2014

IRELAND
ÉIRE

Head of State: Michael Higgins
Head of Gov't: Enda Kenny
Governing Party: Fine Gael with Labour Party
Elections[1]: Last - 2011, Next – 2016[3]

ITALY
ITALIA

Head of State: Giorgio Napolitano
Head of Gov't: Mario Monti
Governing Party: Independent
Elections[1]: Last - 2008, Next – 2013[3]

LATVIA
LATVIJA

Head of State: Andris Bērziņš
Head of Gov't: Valdis Dombrovskis
Governing Party: Unity Alliance with Zatlers' Reform Party and others
Elections[1]: Last - 2011, Next – 2015

LITHUANIA
LIETUVA

Head of State: Dalia Grybauskaitė
Head of Gov't: Andrius Kubilius
Governing Party: Homeland Union with National Resurrection Party and others
Elections[1]: Last - 2008, Next – 2012

LUXEMBOURG
LUXEMBOURG

Head of State: Grand Duke Henri
Head of Gov't: Jean-Claude Juncker
Governing Party: Christian Social People's Party with Socialist Workers' Party
Elections[1]: Last - 2009, Next – 2014

MALTA
MALTA

Head of State: George Abela
Head of Gov't: Lawrence Gonzi
Governing Party: Nationalist Party
Elections[1]: Last - 2008, Next – 2013[3]

NETHERLANDS
NEDERLAND

Head of State: Queen Beatrix
Head of Gov't: Mark Rutte
Governing Party: People's Party and Christian Democratic Appeal
Elections[1]: Last - 2010, Next – 2014[3]

POLAND
POLSKA

Head of State: Bronisław Komorowski
Head of Gov't: Donald Tusk
Governing Party: Civic Platform with Polish Peasants' Party
Elections[1]: Last - 2011, Next – 2015

PORTUGAL
PORTUGAL

Head of State: Aníbal Cavaco Silva
Head of Gov't: Pedro Passos Coelho
Governing Party: Social Democratic Party and People's Party
Elections[1]: Last - 2011, Next – 2015[3]

ROMANIA
ROMÂNIA

Head of State: Traian Băsescu
Head of Gov't: Mihai-Răzvan Ungureanu
Governing Party: Democratic Liberal Party and Hungarian Democratic Union
Elections[1]: Last - 2008, Next – 2012

SLOVAKIA
SLOVENSKO

Head of State: Ivan Gašparovič
Head of Gov't: Iveta Radičová,
Governing Party: Slovak Democratic and Christian Union and others
Elections[1]: Last - 2010, Next – 2012

SLOVENIA
SLOVENIJA

Head of State: Danilo Türk
Head of Gov't: Janez Janša
Governing Party: Slovenian Democratic Party with others
Elections[1]: Last - 2011, Next – 2015

SPAIN
ESPAÑA

Head of State: King Juan Carlos I
Head of Gov't: Mariano Rajoy Brey
Governing Party: People's Party
Elections[1]: Last - 2011, Next – 2015

SWEDEN
SVERIGE

Head of State: King Carl XVI
Head of Gov't: Fredrik Reinfeldt
Governing Party: Alliance for Sweden
Elections[1]: Last - 2010, Next – 2014

UNITED KINGDOM
UNITED KINGDOM

Head of State: Queen Elizabeth II
Prime Minister: David Cameron
Party: Conservatives with Liberal Democrats
Elections[1]: Last - 2010, Next – 2015[3]

STOCKHOLM NETWORK SPOTLIGHT: THE FUTURE OF HEALTHCARE



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Healthcare systems today are more adept than ever at keeping patients healthier for longer. Since 1961, life expectancy at birth in the OECD has increased by over 11 years on average, which means that a person born in the OECD can now expect to live beyond 80 years of age.

The main cause of this has been the modernisation of healthcare, which has been driven by an explosion of medical advancements, and relatively peaceful societies that have allowed patients to take advantage of such progress.

Healthcare systems are now much more sophisticated creatures, which encourage the development of complex innovations. The evolution of research into molecular biology between the 1940s and 1960s showed just how rapidly progress can be made and the adoption of genetic engineering from the 1970s onwards has showcased how such progress can be translated into significant benefits to people's lives. Even on a global scale, more sophisticated healthcare systems were able to eradicate life-threatening diseases, such as small pox in the 1970s.

Yet, such successes have also created some problems of their own. Diseases that are greatly influenced by environmental factors, such as cancer and heart disease, have been compounded by the fact that people have been living longer and are more prone to develop such conditions in line with their ageing. Such diseases dominate the list of top ten causes of death in developed countries, whereas people in the developing world are more likely to die from infectious diseases, such as HIV-AIDS, diarrhoea and malaria.

Nonetheless, this is not to say that patients should now accept that later life diseases are an insurmountable consequence of society's progress in healthcare. In fact, patients can now reasonably demand even further advancements that allow more diseases to be overcome.

Fortunately for patients, medical innovation has not reached its end and the famous quote in 1899 by the US Office of Patents that "everything that can be invented has been invented" should teach us all not to lose faith about the potential for ingenuity in the future. If necessity is indeed the mother of invention then we should now ponder where medical innovation could lead us in the future.

More accessible healthcare

Modern consumer habits mean that today's patients are much more demanding of easy-to-access healthcare treatment. No longer are patients willing to accept long waiting lists for operations, time-consuming booking systems for family doctors or an inability to access medical opinion at the touch of a button. This inclination is not necessarily because patients are unacceptably insistent today but because they recognise that such obstacles are no longer necessary. More accessible healthcare systems in the future will inevitably need to make strides to accommodate this, for example by developing the field of eHealth, which has up to now been surprisingly slow in its uptake.

More personalised healthcare

If eHealth can be rolled out further then this would certainly fulfil another demand of patients: the desire for more personalised treatment. No longer do patients want to be treated as a homogenous mass, primarily because they have realised that medical evidence proves that they in fact are not all the same. Whilst one-size-fits-all healthcare can have its advantages in areas of public health, such as immunisation, the reality is that most diseases are much more complex. Yet whilst progress has been made in the West, many treatments are still being administered simply on the basis that the patient is human. This is why more research is now being now into personalised medicines, which are designed to tailor treatments towards specific subsets of a population.

More effective healthcare

Personalised medicine aims to create more effective medicines and reduce the side-effects for patients. Such benefits often drive medical innovation, as research is very often targeted towards filling gaps in treatment needs. In the future, therefore, it can be expected that even greater investment in research and development will generate further advances in the effectiveness of healthcare treatments.

More expensive healthcare

Yet the price that will surely be paid for more accessible, personalised and effective healthcare is likely to be larger healthcare budgets. Innovation, after all, does not come for free and developing more sophisticated treatments in new disease areas requires heavy incentives and investment. Such rises in health costs, however, are likely to further compound the notion that healthcare systems are currently unsustainable. We should therefore also think about how we can modernise these systems to combine 21st century healthcare treatments with 21st century healthcare policies.

Conclusion

It becomes increasingly obvious then that just as it has always done, healthcare is likely to change in the future. Whilst it is encouraging that such developments will be designed to keep people alive for longer, such progress will inevitably come at a cost. Smart policymakers should be looking to pre-empt changes in healthcare and aiming to install reforms that will better accommodate such changes.

The best way to prepare for more accessible, effective and personalised treatments would be to implement reforms now that make the current healthcare system more accessible, effective and personalised. To do this, patients need be empowered.

In financing healthcare, there needs to be a greater balance between private and public funding, allowing for more flexibility and choices. Furthermore, there needs to be a reform of the relationship between patients and their health services, which could really turn the emphasis towards what patients want. Last but not least, further competition in health services will increase the accountability of such services to patients.

Paul Healy is senior researcher of the Stockholm Network, which is hosting an event on the future of healthcare in Brussels on 28th March. For more information, please see the feature on the back page.

THE EU AND INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE TARGETS

At a recent climate conference in Durban, the EU was able to secure an agreement that it described as an "historic breakthrough in the fight against climate change". It acquired the consent of both China and India to a roadmap that would eventually lead to a global treaty in 2015. If all goes smoothly this will bind two of the world's largest carbon emitters, along with the rest of 193 signatory countries, to legally binding targets to reduce their CO2 emissions.

The EU has experience when it comes to this, given that it presently binds its 27 Member States to ambitious carbon reduction targets that must be met by 2020. When this agreement was reached, the European Commission President Jose Manual Barroso called it "a defining moment for the EU" and said that it would set the pace for reining in global warming. Negotiations in Durban suggest that the EU is attempting to maintain this momentum and extend it globally, to those states more central to the challenges posed by climate change. Yet, for the EU to successfully convince the rest of world of the benefits of international carbon targets, their regional strategy must prove effective.

The EU targets were first agreed in 2007 and are now formalised within the *Europe 2020* growth strategy. As an overall approach, *Europe 2020* looks to establish a smart, sustainable and inclusive economy. Aside from the climate targets, *Europe 2020* also establishes four other sets of ambitious objectives to be achieved by 2020, in employment, innovation, education and social inclusion.

The climate targets are fourfold. Firstly, Member States are obliged to reduce overall greenhouse gas emissions in the EU by 20%. To assist them in this, a second target requires the balance of renewable energy, as a portion of total energy consumption in the EU, to be increased to 20%. Furthermore, 20% is required to be saved in energy efficiency within the EU and finally the use of biofuels, as a part of total energy consumption in vehicles, is set at 10%.

None of these targets are in fact designed to act as goals for each country. Instead, individual targets allow the EU to reach an average that reflects the total goal. As a result, there is the potential for countries to trade any excess to those lagging behind. All targets that are set relate to energy levels in1990.


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The national targets differ greatly, with some countries, like Luxembourg and Malta, aiming for around 10% renewable energy balance by 2020 and others, like Sweden, aiming for 49%. At least ten Member States currently expect to have a surplus in 2020 compared to their binding target, the largest of which are Spain and Germany. At least five expect to have a deficit by 2020, most significantly Italy. Collectively, the EU is currently forecasted to exceed its 20% target by 0.3%.

Climate change policy clearly offers the EU an opportunity to set an example of how to rebalance energy needs with more sustainable sources. In addition, the robust structure of regional integration in Europe means that it is perfectly placed to monitor and enforce targets when set. However, the possibility of extending this internationally is much more problematic. Certainly it will be much tougher to manage emerging markets, such as China and India, which are rightly concerned about the effect that targets could have on economic growth.

Paul Healy is senior researcher and Kelsey Wooddell is a research intern of the Stockholm Network

ABOUT THE NETWORK

The Stockholm Network is a pan-European think tank and market-oriented network. It is a one-stop shop for organisations seeking to work with Europe's leading policymakers and thinkers. Today, the Stockholm Network brings together over 120 market-oriented think tanks from across Europe.

Combined, the think tanks in our network publish thousands of op-eds in the high quality European press, produce many hundreds of publications, and hold a wide range of conferences, seminars and meetings. As such, the Stockholm Network and its member organisations influence many millions of Europeans every year.

WHAT DO WE DO

We conduct pan-European research on, and create a wider audience for, market-oriented policy ideas in Europe. Our website contains a comprehensive directory of European free market think tanks and thinkers. We advertise forthcoming events (our own and those of partner organisations) and facilitate publication exchange and translation between think tanks. We also post regular news flashes and updates on European think tanks and their activities.

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www.vonmisesinstitute-europe.org
Murray Rothbard Instituut
www.rothbard.be
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www.workforall.org

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http://www.atlas-bg.eu

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GEORGIA
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www.nesg.net

GERMANY
Center for European Policy
www.cep.eu
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www.cfact.eu
Council on Public Policy
www.council.uni-bayreuth.de
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Hayek-Gesellschaft
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Walter Eucken Institut
www.eucken.de

GREECE
Hellenic Leadership Institute
http://hli.org.gr/site/

HUNGARY
Foundation for Market Economy
www.fme.hu

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www.oi.org.mk

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Center for Liberal-Democratic Studies
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www.institute.sk
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www.iness.sk
M.E.S.A. 10
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Institucion Futuro
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www.institutconstant.ch
Liberales Institut
www.libinst.ch

TURKEY
Association for Liberal Thinking
www.liberal.org.tr

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Politeia
www.politeia.co.uk
Reform
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www.socialaffairsunit.org.uk
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INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY

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SN EVENT

A NEW VISION FOR THE FUTURE OF HEALTHCARE

HEALTH+ WELFARE

The Stockholm Network is hosting a lunchtime event on the topic of innovation in healthcare. "A new vision for the future of healthcare" will take place on 28 March 2012 (12.45-2.30pm) in Brussels (Radisson Blu EU Hotel, Rue d'Idalie, 35 – 1050).

In this special event, we invite a range of healthcare innovators and experts to present to us a new vision of the healthcare future and to ask what Europe needs to do to make it a reality. The panel of speakers is:

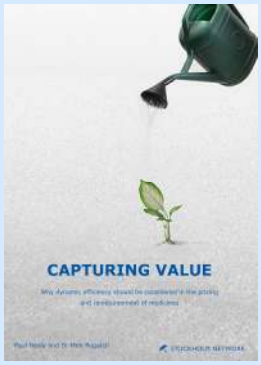
- Prof Paul Corrigan CBE – former senior health policy advisor to Tony Blair;
- Johan Hjertqvist – director of Health Consumer Powerhouse;
- Dr Alphonse Crespo, president of Medicine and Liberty; and
- Dr Richard Barker, author of *2030 The Future of Medicine: Avoiding a Medical Meltdown* and director of Centre for Accelerating Medical Innovations

The meeting will be chaired by Helen Disney, CEO and founder of the Stockholm Network.

For more information, please visit:
http://bit.ly/uOPou

SN PUBLICATION

CAPTURING VALUE: Why dynamic efficiency should be considered in the pricing and reimbursement of medicines



This paper looks at the concept of dynamic efficiency and studies how it could be used in the pricing and reimbursement of medicines. Healthcare payers are obliged to ensure that budgets are not pushed to their limit but by considering dynamic efficiency in their decision-making, policymakers would need not only to focus on the ability to make ends meet today or to balance budgets annually.

To view this publication, please visit:
http://bit.ly/wlLlat

FEATURED PUBLICATION

TURKEY, MIGRATION AND THE EU: Potentials, Challenges and Opportunities

Edited by S P Elitok and T Straubhaar, Hamburg Institute for International Economics



In the context of Turkey's accession to the EU, this book touches upon various aspects of the ongoing debate about the effects of Turkey's accession to the EU upon the migration flows and sheds light on various dimensions of current panorama, addresses policy implications as well as future challenges and opportunities.

To download this publication, please visit:
http://www.hwwi.org/publikationen/edition/edition-hwwi-band-5.html

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