

## Briefing

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Who are the new EU Commissioners?

18 November 2004

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***"The original orientation of the Commission, the open, free-trading, liberal economic orientation that Mr Borroso gave the team at the outset, that remains intact, that hasn't been dismantled, it hasn't been redirected, it's still there."*** Peter Mandelson (World At One, 8 November 2004)

### Main points

- The new European Commission was due to take office on November 1, but this was delayed following the threat of a no vote from the European Parliament. The Commission has now been approved by 449 votes to 149, with many on the left opposing, as well as 41% of the Socialist Group of MEPs abstaining.
- **A right-wing Commission:** The new Commission is the most right-wing since Britain joined the EEC in 1973. Less than a quarter – six of twenty five – of the Commissioners come from parties affiliated to the Socialist group in the European Parliament. The Commission is dominated by centre-right Liberals and Conservatives who between them easily make up a clear majority.
- **A privatising Commission:** The Commission is dominated by supporters of privatisation. The holders of the key portfolios are overwhelmingly committed to deeper EU integration, and they are largely neo-liberals politicians committed to driving forward a free market agenda. Neelie Kroes and Charlie McCreevy led privatisation programmes in their respective member states.
- **An environmentally unfriendly Commission:** The new Commission is weak on environmental issues: Satu Hassi, Finnish Green MEP and Vice-President of the Environment Committee said, "The new Commission intends to downgrade environmental protection. In his responses to questions from MEPs, [Commissioner-designate] Stavros Dimas demonstrated a worrying lack of environmental commitment and vision."
- **A tainted Commission:** The new Commission is tainted by financial scandal: several Commissioners have been involved in financial scandals to varying degrees, including French Commissioner Jacques Barrot, who received an eight month suspended sentence for illegal party financing in 2000.

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# **José Manuel Durão Barroso**

Portugal

President of the Commission

SPD (EPP-ED – Conservatives)

*José Manuel Durão Barroso was not the first choice of most EU states for the position of President, but he is relatively popular in the European Parliament. Barroso is a member of the Social Democrats in Portugal – the party of the centre-right. He is an economic liberal who has emphasises "sound" finances, even if that means harsh spending cuts.*

## **Background:**

Born: 23 March 1956

2002 – 2004: Prime Minister of Portugal  
1999 – 2004: President of the Social Democrat Party  
1992 – 1995: Minister of Foreign Affairs  
1987 – 1992: Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation  
1985 – 1987: Secretary of State of Home Affairs  
1978 – 1985: Academic – Lisbon, Geneva & Georgetown Universities.

## **Further information:**

- In the 2002 Portuguese general election, Barroso campaigned hard for tax-cuts, but when he became Prime Minister he made an embarrassing u-turn, raising VAT in order to cut the country's budget deficit in line with the rules of the now defunct Stability Pact. Barroso was attacked by the Socialists, who said, "We cannot afford to sacrifice our future for the sake of blind adherence to a set of quantitative criteria." (*FT*, 7 October 2003).
- When Barroso's appointment was announced, outgoing PES President, Enrique Baron Crespo, said, "In terms of economics, [he] has proved his conservatism in his country and is very right-wing". (*Le Monde*, 29 June 2004).
- In 2003, Barroso organised, hosted and took part in the Azores summit which preceded the war on Iraq and which was designed to lend credibility to the US-led Coalition.
- Upon his appointment as President of the European Commission, the *Wall Street Journal* called on Barroso to "remember his free market roots" when he moves across to take the Brussels job. (*Wall Street Journal Europe*, 30 June 2004).

## **Benita Ferrero-Waldner**

Austria

Commissioner for External Relations and European Neighbourhood Policy  
People's Party (EPP-ED Conservatives)

*Benita Ferrero-Waldner is a controversial figure in Austria and the EU after she fronted the defence of her party's coalition with Jorg Haider's Freedom Party in 2000. However, she also has a formidable background in private business and is a respected diplomat.*

### **Background:**

Born: 5 September 1948

2000 – 2004: Austrian Foreign Minister  
1995 – 2000: Secretary of State in Austrian Foreign Ministry  
1994 – 1995: Head of Protocol at United Nations  
1984 – 1994: Austrian Foreign Affairs Service  
1981 – 1983: German private sector, Management Assistant, Gerns & Gahler  
1978 – 1981: Sales Manager for Europe, P. Kaufmann Inc., Germany  
1972 – 1978: Worked for Gerns & Gahler GmbH, Freilassing  
1971 – 1972: Worked for Paul Kiefel GmbH, Freilassing

### **Further information:**

- Just four months before being appointed Austria's European Commissioner, she was defeated in an election for President of Austria by the Socialist candidate Heinz Fischer. As the candidate of the right, she received backing, not only from her own ÖVP, but also the personal endorsement of right-wing extremist Jorg Haider.
- During the presidential election campaign, Ms Ferrero-Waldner made several campaign appearances with Mr Haider, which included receiving a gift of a pig for good luck from Haider in his home province of Carinthia. (BBC online, 25 April 2004).
- She is a supporter of the EU having a seat on the United Nations Security Council saying that foreign policy integration would, in the long term, "logically lead to the EU being represented at the Security Council." (Commission Hearing, 5 October 2004).

## **Louis Michel**

Belgium

Commissioner for Development and Humanitarian Aid

Liberal (ALDE – Liberals)

*Louis Michel is a relatively uncontroversial figure, although he is a leading proponent of a European military capability. He is seen as a safe pair of hands in Belgium, and is well liked within his party, having been an activist since his student days.*

### **Background:**

Born: 2 September 1947

1999 – 2004: Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister  
1992 – 1995: President of the PRL parliamentary group  
1978 – 1999: Member of the Parliament (House of Representatives)  
1968 – 1978: Taught English and German at state school in Jodoigne

### **Further information:**

- Louis Michel was one of the leading figures in European opposition to the war on Iraq but is in favour of a high level of military spending, through the EU. He has said, "We can say that the embryo of a European defence is underway and that it's an irreversible process".
- Michel told the European Parliament that he would like to see more joint aid policies for the EU. He said, "This harmonisation is not just about increasing the level of European integration, it is vital to making aid more effective and reducing the cost and complexity of the management of external aid by our partners."
- His office was investigated following a visa scandal in which it emerged that the Belgian embassy in Sofia had corruptly provided visas into the Schengen area to people-trafficking gangs. He was accused of trying to protect guilty officials during the Belgian Presidency in 2001. (*Telegraph*, 6 September 2001).

# Markos Kyprianou

Cyprus

Commissioner for Health and Consumers Protection

Democratic Party (ALDE – Liberals)

*Markos Kyprianou, the son of former Cypriot president Spyros Kyprianou, is a previous Minister of Finance and former lawyer.*

## **Background:**

Born: 22 January 1960

2003 – 2004: Minister of Finance  
1991 – 2003: Member of Parliament  
1986 – 1991: Municipal councillor for Nicosia  
1985 – 2003: Lawyer

## **Further information:**

- Following his first European Parliamentary hearing in April of this year, Terry Wynn MEP, chair of the Budgets Committee, and Diemut Theato MEP, chair of the Budgetary Control Committee, wrote a letter saying that they supported his candidacy, but that “he could not, however, be described as a heavyweight candidate.”
- He told his hearing that he supported an EU-wide ban on smoking in public places, and hoped it would be in place by the end of his five-year term. “European citizens merit full protection from smoking, especially in the workplace and other public spaces,” he said. “I have no problem taking on the tobacco industry.”
- His legal background is seen as being an asset in a brief with a strong legal dimension.

# Vladimír Špidla

Czech Republic

Commissioner for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities

Socialist (PES – Socialists)

*Vladimír Špidla is a social democrat, with several years of experience in government. He is still relatively young, and although he comes to the job because of a stinging electoral defeat, he is expected to perform adequately in the new Commission team.*

## **Background:**

Born: 22 April 1951

2002 – 2004: Prime Minister

1998 – 2002: First Deputy Prime Minister

1996 – 1998: Member of the Chamber of Deputies

1991 – 1996: Director of a local Job Centre

1976 – 1991: Archaeologist and preserver of historical monuments

## **Further information:**

- Under Vladimír Špidla's Prime Ministership, the Czech Republic sent troops to support George W Bush's war in Iraq. Even today it is listed as part of Bush's "coalition of the willing".
- He is also in favour of increased European defence integration with NATO as a key part of it. He recently said, "the EU has already decided on the formation of European defence, to bring together its capabilities, and has already taken part in specific missions under its own flag ... the North Atlantic Alliance remains the basis for the security of its members." (Speech to Royal Institute for International Relations in Brussels, 10 December 2003).
- Špidla was ousted from office earlier this year after a poor showing in the European elections, when his party took just 9 percent of the vote.

# Mariann Fischer Boel

Denmark

Commissioner for Agriculture and Rural Development

Venstre (ALDE – Liberals)

*Mariann Fischer Boel was the Danish government's second choice for the Commission posting. However, she has wide support for the Agriculture post, given that she has been Denmark's Minister for the last three years, but concern has been expressed over her outspoken support for GM crops.*

## **Background:**

Born: 15 April 1943

2001 – 2004: Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries  
1990 – 2004: Member of the Danish Parliament, the Folketing  
1982 – 1990: Member of the Munkebo Municipal Council  
1967 – 1971: Finance Manager of Export Company

## **Further information:**

- Mariann Fischer Boel ran into controversy before even having taken her up position. She was criticised for taking the position of Agriculture Commissioner despite the fact that she owns a farm which receives over €60,000 each year. Article 213 of the Nice Treaty says that, "the Members of the Commission may not, during their term of office, engage in any other occupation, whether gainful or not", and goes on to say that only Commissioners whose "independence is beyond doubt" should be chosen for the post.
- Reform of the Common Agriculture Policy is a crucial area but Pia Gjellerup the leader of the Social Democrats in the Danish Parliament has raised doubts that Fischer Boel will deliver reform. He said, "We find it troubling that Mariann Fischer Boel does not have a very clear position on the phase-out of agriculture subsidies, which is going to be a defining issue in the EU. She's been a real double-talker, all talk and no action". (*Copenhagen Post*, 5 August 2004).
- Fischer Boel has been an active supporter of Genetically Modified (GM) crops. In an interview before she took over as President of the European Council on Agricultural issues, she said, "I would eat food that contained GM ingredients. I do not believe that it is dangerous" and added, "If we want to help the peoples of the Third World, GM seeds will be necessary". (*The Grocer* magazine, 9 August 2002).

## **Siim Kallas**

Estonia

Commissioner for Administrative Affairs, Audit and Anti-Fraud

Liberal (ALDE – Liberals)

*Siim Kallas is an economic liberaliser and a keen supporter of European integration. He has been personally supportive of privatisation and of reducing taxation to some of the lowest levels in Europe.*

### **Background:**

Born: 2 October 1948

2003 – 2004: Member of Parliament  
2002 – 2003: Prime Minister of the Republic of Estonia  
1999 – 2002: Minister of Finance of the Republic of Estonia  
1995 – 1999: MP and member of the Defence Committee of the Parliament  
1995 – 1996: Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Estonia  
1991 – 1995: President of the Bank of Estonia  
1989 – 1991: Chairman of the Estonian Central Association of Trade Unions  
1986 – 1989: Deputy Editor of Estonian daily newspaper "Rahva Hää!"  
1979 – 1986: Director of the Estonian Central Board of Savings Banks  
1975 – 1979: Finance Ministry of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic

### **Further information:**

- In 1998 Kallas was investigated over allegations of corruption while President of the Bank of Estonia, was tried but cleared of abuse of authority, falsifying documents and attempted embezzlement.
- He bragged to the right-wing US think tank, the Heritage Foundation, that his government had engaged in a "rapid privatisation" programme, and that they had introduced a flat tax. (27 March 1996).
- During his Parliamentary confirmation hearings he emphasised his pro-integration views saying, "Political integration is among the most important and further efforts should be made so that Europe really does speak with one voice in world affairs."
- He went on to say, "The Commission should remain the engine of integration ... Any attempt to weaken the Commission is against the principles and success of the European integration". (Commissioner-designates confirmation hearings, 2004).

## **Olli Rehn**

Finland

Commissioner for Enlargement

Centre Party (ALDE – Liberals)

*Olli Rehn is a former economics advisor to the Finnish prime minister and he is well regarded as a competent political operator. His major test will come with the smooth handling of negotiations over Turkey's entry to the EU.*

### **Background:**

Born: 31 March 1962

|              |   |
|--------------|---|
| 2004:        | Member of the European Commission, responsible for Enterprise |
| 2003 - 2004: | Economic Policy Adviser to the Prime Minister of Finland      |
| 2002 – 2003: | Professor of Political Science, University of Helsinki        |
| 1998 – 2002: | Head of Cabinet, the European Commission                      |
| 1996 – 1997: | Chairman of the Football League of Finland                    |
| 1995 – 1996: | Member of the European Parliament                             |
| 1992 – 1993: | Special Adviser to the Prime Minister of Finland              |
| 1991 – 1995: | Member of the Parliament of Finland                           |
| 1988 – 1994: | Member of the City Council of Helsinki                        |
| 1988 – 1994: | Deputy Chairman of the Centre Party of Finland                |
| 1987 – 1989: | Chairman of the Centre Party Youth of Finland                 |

### **Further information:**

- In his hearing Rehn, who is due to become the enlargement commissioner, suggested that because of public concerns about the free movement of workers from Turkey, there should be "considerable transition periods as well as a permanent safeguard clause" if large numbers of Turks want to migrate.
- Rehn is a strong supporter of a common foreign policy for the EU. During his nomination hearing he said, "The Constitutional Treaty is a major step forward in the long-term evolution of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). CFSP 'is inevitably a process, to be achieved by encouraging convergence and mutual solidarity'. The solidarity clause, the crisis management capabilities, the enhanced defence cooperation and the rapid".
- Rehn is an avid football fan, and has played for the Finnish Parliamentary team, and the European Commission's team in competitions.

# Jacques Barrot

France

Vice President and Commissioner for Transport

UMP (EPP-ED - Conservatives)

*Jacques Barrot's appointment as Commissioner caused a storm in France, with many blaming Chirac for putting petty party interests in front of national pride, leading to France getting what is seen as a minor Commission role. Barrot is a capable bureaucrat though, and will seek to use his position to consolidate the current centre-right policy on Transport in the EU.*

## Background:

Born: 3 February 1937

|              |                                       |
|--------------|---------------------------------------|
| 2000 – 2004: | Commissioner for regional policy      |
| 1995 – 1997: | Minister of work and social affairs   |
| 1979 – 1981: | Minister of Health and Social Affairs |
| 1978 – 1979: | Minister of Commerce                  |
| 1974 – 1978: | Secretary of State for Housing        |
| 1967 – 2004: | Member of Parliament for Haute-Loire  |

## Further information:

- In 2000, Barrot was given an 8 month suspended sentence for corruption following his conviction for illegal party financing and banned from office for two years. His conviction was overturned by Presidential amnesty.
- He also defended former Prime Minister Alain Juppé, over his conviction for illegal party financing. He said, "It's inconceivable that France be deprived of a leader like Alain Juppé, recognised in France and in the world for his qualities as a statesman." (Statement reported in *Guardian*, 30 January 2004).
- Barrot was first elected under de Gaulle's presidency and held the parliamentary seat of Haute-Loire from 1967 to 2004. Prior to that the seat was held by his father and grandfather before him.
- He opposed Jacques Chirac's decision to veto any UN resolution authorising war on Iraq, warning against "unnecessary antagonism" with the USA.

# Günther Verheugen

Germany

Vice President and Commissioner for Enterprise and Industry

Social Democrat Party (PES – Socialists)

*As EU Commissioner for Enlargement, Günther Verheugen has been responsible for managing the entry of 10 new countries into the EU, which was completed in May 2004. He has never previously held an economic post.*

## **Background:**

Born: 28 April 1944

|               |  |
|---------------|--|
| 1999 to date: | European Commissioner                                    |
| 1998 – 1999:  | Minister of State for Foreign Affairs                    |
| 1993 – 1995:  | Federal Manager of the SPD                               |
| 1990 – 1999:  | Chairman, Radio Broadcasting Council of Deutsche Welle   |
| 1987 – 1989:  | Editor of the SPD newspaper “Vorwärts”                   |
| 1983 – 1999:  | Member of the German Parliament, the Bundestag           |
| 1983 – 1998:  | Member of the Bundestag Foreign Affairs Committee        |
| 1978 – 1992:  | General Secretary of the Free Democratic Party           |
| 1969 – 1974:  | Head of Public Relations at the Ministry of the Interior |

## **Further information:**

- When interviewed for his appointment by MEPs, Mr Verheugen said, “I don't think that lower corporate taxes in the new EU member states are a crucial incentive for the relocation of businesses.” (quoted on BBC online, 30 September 2004).
- He went on to say that for him, environmental concerns were less important than economic growth as the EU implements its Lisbon Economic Agenda, “It is my firm belief that a competitive and innovative economy remains a key prerequisite for effectively tackling environmental concerns.”
- He has no record of holding an economic position prior to holding this important European post.

## **Stavros Dimas**

Greece

Commissioner for Environment

New Democracy (EPP-ED – Conservatives)

*Stavros Dimas is a former Wall Street and World Bank lawyer who helped bring the centre-right back to power in Greece after years of domination by the Socialist Party. Having studied and worked in the US, he is a well-known Atlanticist.*

### **Background:**

Born: 20 April 1944

1977 – 2004: Member of the Greek Parliament  
1990 – 1991: Minister of Industry, Energy and Technology  
1989 – 1990: Minister of Agriculture  
1980 – 1981: Minister of Trade  
1977 – 1980: Deputy Minister of Economic Coordination  
1975 – 1977: Deputy Governor, Hellenic Industrial Development Bank  
1970 – 1975: World Bank, Washington DC  
1969 – 1970: Wall Street Law Firm Sullivan & Cromwell

### **Further information:**

- Satu Hassi, the Finnish Green MEP who serves as vice president of the Environment Committee said after the nomination meeting, "Today's hearing has confirmed our fears that the new commission intends to downgrade environmental protection. Dimas demonstrated a worrying lack of environmental commitment and vision."
- Guardian journalist John Vidal wrote, "If the European Commission really wanted to signal that it didn't give a monkey's about the environment then it would probably choose as its new environment commissioner an old, rightwing free-marketeer lawyer who used to work for the World Bank and had responsibility for Africa in the bad old 1970s. Impossible? Not in the slightest. Welcome Stavros Dimas, 62, Greek economist, Wall Street banker, and conservative lawyer. The fragile hopes of Europe's mountains, rivers, climate and forests rest on you."
- Dimas told his nomination hearing that he was baffled by the view that Genetically Modified Organisms (GMOs) are harmful, and alluded to studies which he said showed GMOs are harmless.
- He was one of the three Commissioners judged "incompetent" by Europe's Greens when announcing their decision to vote against the new Commission.

## László Kovács

Hungary

Commissioner for Taxation and Customs Union

Socialist Party (PES – Socialists)

*László Kovács is a long-established figure in Hungarian politics who has survived the transition from Communism to liberal democracy. A supporter of the war in Iraq, and on the record as supporting nuclear energy, he had his "professional competence" questioned by the European Parliament's energy committee. He was subsequently moved to the tax portfolio in President-Designate Barroso's reshuffle.*

### Background:

Born: 3 July 1939

|               |   |
|---------------|---|
| 2002 – 2003:  | Minister for Foreign Affairs                                |
| 1998 to date: | Chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party                   |
| 1990 to date: | Member of Parliament (re-elected in 1994, 1998 and 2002)    |
| 1995:         | Chairman-in-Office of OSCE                                  |
| 1994 – 1998:  | Minister for Foreign Affairs                                |
| 1993 – 1994:  | Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Parliament |
| 1989 – 1990:  | State Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs          |
| 1986 – 1989:  | Deputy Foreign Minister                                     |
| 1975 – 1986:  | Senior official in the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party   |

### Further information:

- He actively supported the war on Iraq; as Minister for Foreign Affairs he spoke in favour of President Bush's Iraq policy and his Government sent troops to Iraq. He has gone on record to say that, "Hungarians shall stay in Iraq as long as there is a need for this." (Hungarian Foreign Ministry statement, 21 April 2004).
- Kovács was moved from his original post of Energy Commissioner due to allegations of incompetence from MEPs. The European Parliament's energy committee wrote to the President of the Parliament, saying, "most members of the Committee were not convinced by his professional competence in the energy field nor his aptitude to assume the high office he has been proposed for".
- Following Jose Manuel Barroso's decision to delay the European Parliament's vote on the new Commission, there was speculation that conservative MEPs would demand the removal of Mr Kovács in return for the departure of Rocco Buttiglione. However, he was shuffled out of energy and moved to the sensitive taxation portfolio.

# Charlie McCreevy

Ireland

Commissioner for Internal Market and Services

Fianna Fail (UEN Conservatives)

*Charlie McCreevy trained as a Chartered Accountant before entering politics and was the Finance Minister in the Fianna Fail government of Bertie Ahern from 1997 to 2004. He is unpopular on the left of Irish politics for his privatisation record with opponents claiming he has failed to tackle economic inequality.*

## Background:

Born: September 1949

1997 – 2004: Minister for Finance  
1993 – 1994: Minister for Tourism and Trade  
1992 – 1993: Minister for Social Welfare  
1979 – 1985: Member of Kildare County Council  
1977: Elected to Dáil Eireann for the Kildare Constituency

## Further information:

- Irish Labour Party MEP Proinsias de Rossa criticised McCreevy's appointment as a Commissioner, saying, "In Ireland, McCreevy has presided over the worst housing crisis, health crisis and growing inequality for a generation, at a time of massive wealth creation. He is a right-winger who believes in incentives – tax breaks and hand outs for the wealthy and a kick in the arse for the poor". (derossa.com, 21 July 2004).
- He recently restated his commitment as a Commissioner to see the implementation of the draft Directorate on Services, which the European Trade Union Confederation said, "could lead to a downward spiral of deregulation with Member States competing against one another." (etuc.org/en, 25 May 2004).
- He was accused by the Irish Green party of "cooking the books" in the 2002 budget to shift spending into 2003 to win the election. This resulted in a massive 33 percent increase in spending in January 2003 compared to the previous January.
- He undertook a major round of privatisation of the Irish public sector, initiating dozens of Public Private Partnerships, which lock the private sector into Irish public services for generations.

## **Franco Frattini**

Italy

Vice President and Commissioner for Justice, Freedom and Security

Forza Italia (EPP-ED – Conservatives)

*Franco Frattini will be less controversial than the previous Italian Commissioner-Designate Rocco Buttiglione. However, many people will be concerned at Mr Frattini's role in drafting a law to allow Silvio Berlusconi to keep his huge media interests while remaining Prime Minister.*

### **Background:**

Born: 14 March 1957

2002 – Present: Minister of Foreign Affairs  
1997 – 2000: Rome City Councillor  
1995 – 1996: Minister for Civil Service and Regional Affairs  
1993 – 1994: Deputy Secretary-General, Cabinet  
1990 – 1991: Legal Adviser to Deputy Prime Minister  
1986 – 1990: Legal Adviser to Treasury  
1984 – State Advocate, Attorney General's Office  
1981 – 1984: State Prosecutor

### **Further information:**

- Mr Frattini was a key supporter of George Bush's war in Iraq. In April 2003, as Italian Foreign Minister, Mr Frattini personally authorised the sending of 3,000 personnel to Iraq despite huge public opposition to the war in Italy.
- He was the main force behind legislation to amend Italy's media ownership rules. The Italian opposition condemned the bill, which ensured that it would not be illegal for Prime Minister Berlusconi to own multiple media outlets while remaining prime minister. The bill was described as so bad by the Italian opposition that they sought to hold a referendum for its repeal – when it came to the final vote in Parliament, the opposition boycotted the vote. "With this law, democracy has taken a dangerous turn. It doesn't defend liberty or democracy," said Luciano Violante of the main opposition Left Democrats.
- One of the most pro-European members of the Berlusconi administration, he worked hard to get agreement on the text of the European Constitution during the Italian Presidency. He also wrote in a recent article, "Europe can only be viable if it is united and capable of speaking with a single voice," (from BBC website profile).

## **Andris Piebalgs**

Latvia

Commissioner for Energy

Latvia's Way (ALDE – Liberals)

*Andris Piebalgs is considered an uncontroversial choice to replace Ingrida Udre as Latvian Commissioner, after the latter failed to clear up allegations of illegal party financing. Piebalgs, a career diplomat who has been working under the previous Latvian Commissioner, Sandra Kalniete, was also his country's EU envoy during accession negotiations.*

### **Background:**

Born: 17 September 1957

2004 – Present: Head of Cabinet, Commissioner Kalniete  
2003 – 2004: Deputy Latvian Foreign Minister  
1998 – 2003: Ambassador to the EU  
1995 – 1997: Ambassador to Estonia  
1994 – 1995: Minister of Finance  
1990 – 1993: Minister of Education  
1988 – 1990: Ministry of Education  
1980 – 1988: Teacher, headmaster, Valmiera

### **Further information:**

- Piebalgs's domestic party, the liberal Latvia's Way, currently has no representation in the Latvian Parliament following the Latvian general election October 2002.
- Piebalgs resigned as finance minister in 1995 shortly after the collapse of Latvia's largest bank, the Baltija Banka. The bank collapsed due to a combination of incompetence and corruption which led to fraud charges being levelled at two of the directors. Following that, a number of other banks were declared insolvent, including the Depozitu Banka and the Centra Banka, both of whom the Baltija bank had intended to merge with to create the Union Baltic Bank.
- In his parliamentary hearing, Piebalgs expressed his support for the EU bid to host the world's first thermonuclear reactor, ITER. "Thermonuclear fusion is a goal where we can make a real breakthrough," he said, adding, "We should also find greater finance from the EU budget." Tax payers in EU member states are already paying for 40 percent of the €4.77billion budget of the Constitution.

## **Dalia Grybauskaitė**

Lithuania

Commissioner for Financial Programming and Budget

Non-affiliated

*Dalia Grybauskaitė is extraordinarily uncontroversial as a candidate for the Commission. She has been careful to tread an uncontentious line in her nomination hearings, and has emphasised her lack of political affiliation.*

### **Background:**

Born: 1 March 1956

2001 – 2004: Minister of Finance of the Republic of Lithuania;  
2000 – 2001: Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Lithuania;  
1999 – 2000: Deputy Minister of Finance of the Republic of Lithuania;  
1996 – 1999: Plenipotentiary Minister at the Lithuanian Embassy in the USA;  
1994 – 1995: Extraordinary Envoy & Plenipotentiary Minister, Mission to EU  
1991 – 1994: Senior official, Ministry of International Economic Relations  
1991: Program Director, Prime Minister's Office;  
1990 – 1991: Head of Department, Institute of Economics;

### **Further information:**

- Grybauskaitė is strong supporter of increased European integration. At her Commissioner-designate hearings in July she said, "All these goals cannot be achieved without further integration in the fields of freedom, security, justice and other areas. Although it is clear that some fields of responsibility will remain the competence of Member States". (Commissioner-designates confirmation hearings, July 2004).
- Grybauskaite is a highly-trained diplomat and academic. She has studied at Leningrad, Moscow and Georgetown universities, and represented Lithuania in the US and to the EU.
- In her nomination hearing, Grybauskaitė implied she would back plans to change the current funding system for the EU – which would lead to the UK's budget rebate being scrapped. She said, "As regards excessive budgetary imbalances, it is generally recognised that the current system needs to be changed. The cost of enlargement needs to be fairly shared and the existence of excessive budgetary burdens in relation to the relative prosperity of any Member State risks undermining unity of purpose within the Union."

## **Viviane Reding**

Luxembourg

Commissioner for Information Society and Media

Christian Social Party (EPP-ED Conservatives)

*Viviane Reding is considered a safe pair of hands for the Commission. Coming from the centre-right she is generally in favour of a more liberal broadcasting system.*

### **Background:**

Born: 27 April 1951

1999 – 2004: Commissioner for education and culture  
1989 – 1999: Member of the European Parliament  
1986 – 1998: President, Luxembourg Union of Journalists  
1979 – 1989: Member of the Luxembourg Parliament  
1978 – 1979: Journalist at Luxemburger Wort

### **Further information:**

- Viviane Reding made clear her commitment to a free European market as Information and Media Commissioner saying that she would ensure “that the application of the rules on competition are carried out at a European level, which ensures that the structure of the market and effective functioning, is necessary, in the interest of the consumer.”
- She has pushed for deregulation of the television sector including regulations governing the amount of advertising permitted. She said, “The Directive currently lays down very detailed rules on when, in which programmes and for how long advertising is permitted. The question we will have to answer is ‘will these rules remain effective, necessary and proportionate?’ By that, I mean, in plain language, are such detailed rules still justified in a world where the ‘zapper’ rules? Could we not dispense with quantitative restrictions? Could not many of the objectives underpinning the current rules be achieved by self-regulation?”
- As Education Commissioner in the Prodi Commission, she promoted a Public Private Partnership on e-learning including companies such as, 3Com, Accenture, Apple, BT, Cisco, Digitalbrain, IBM, Intel, Line Communications, NIIT, Nokia, Online Courseware Factory, Sanoma WSOY, Sun Microsystems and Vivendi Universal Publishing.

## **Joe Borg**

Malta

Commissioner for Fisheries and Maritime Affairs

Maltese Nationalist Party (EPP-ED – Conservatives)

*Joe Borg is a socially conservative centre-right politician from Malta, who will probably not set Brussels alight during his term in office. He is seen as a safe pair of hands by Commission President-designate Barroso, but could come in for criticism from some over his tough views on abortion.*

### **Background:**

Born: 5 March 1952

1999 – 2004: Minister of Foreign Affairs  
1997: International Secretary, Nationalist Party  
1996 – 1998: Shadow Minister for Industry  
1995 – 2004: Member of the House of Representatives  
1992 – 1995: Director, Board of Directors, Central Bank of Malta

### **Further information:**

- Joe Borg was a leading proponent of European integration in Malta. As Nationalist foreign minister, he was responsible for overseeing Maltese accession to the EU. The referendum for EU membership was the closest-fought of the ten accession states.
- Borg lobbied for a European protocol to ensure that the EU would not legalise abortion in Malta.
- He is still a staunch opponent of abortion despite holding a brief in the International Development Directorate General. He recently said, "We have to recognise that where abortion is legal there should not be any promotion of the practice as a method for family planning, but also recognise and respect those states where abortion is illegal."

## **Neelie Kroes**

The Netherlands

Commissioner for Competition

VVD (ALDE – Liberals)

*Neelie Kroes is one of the more controversial figures in the proposed Commission team, with a background on the boards of many multi-nationals, and with a record of privatisation when in government. She is likely to be closely scrutinised for conflicts of interest.*

### **Background:**

Born: 19 July 1941

1991 – 2000: President, Nyenrode University  
1989 – 1991: Advisor to the EU Commissioner for Transport  
1982 – 1989: Cabinet Minister for Transport  
1977 – 1981: Vice Minister for Transport  
1971 – 1977: Member of the Dutch Parliament  
1965 – 1971: Assistant Professor of Transport Economics, Erasmus University

### **Further information:**

- Neelie Kroes has a strong record of liberalising and privatising public services from her time in government, including overseeing the partial privatisation of the Dutch postal service in 1980.
- The appointment of Ms Kroes as competition commissioner has been widely criticised as she has been on the boards of many big European companies, including Lucent Technologies Inc, Royal P&O, Nedlloyd NV, MMO2 plc and Volvo AB.
- The European Parliament expressed concern over Kroes' conflicts of interest in her nomination hearings. Pervenche Beres, the chair of the Economic and Monetary affairs committee of the European Parliament wrote to Jose Manuel Barroso saying that the committee, "were to some degree disappointed with her performance at the hearing, finding her grasp of certain specific subjects to be insufficient".
- The Green Group in the European Parliament cited Ms Kroes' conflict of interest as one of the reasons that they refused to support the new European Commission.

## **Danuta Hübner**

Poland

Vice-President and Commissioner for Regional Policy

Non-affiliated

*Danuta Hübner is a non-party affiliated former member of the Polish Government. She is seen as a leading Polish pro-European, and as such will be a leading advocate for the EU, in the tricky Polish referendum on the European Constitution.*

### **Background:**

Born: 8 April 1948

2001 – 2003: Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs  
1998 – 2000: Deputy Executive Secretary, UN Economic Commission for Europe  
1997 – 1998: Minister in the Chancellery of the President of the Republic  
1996 – 1997: Minister responsible for European integration  
1994 – 1996: Under-Secretary of State, Ministry of Industry and Trade  
1991 – 1994: Deputy Director, Institute for Development and Strategic Studies.  
1988 – 1990: Fulbright scholar at the University of California

### **Further information:**

- As a member of the Polish Government, Danuta Hüber was a supporter of President Bush on Iraq.
- She has stated that she believes that the European Commission should pre-empt the ratification of the European Constitution by starting to implement areas of it such as the European External Action Service. She said, "Where innovations brought by the Constitution require implementing measures based on a proposal of the Commission, it should not await the entry into force of the Constitution to start the necessary preparatory work."
- A strong supporter of the EU's Lisbon Agenda to modernise and liberalise the European economy by 2010, she lamented the lack of progress in many member states at implementing the agenda and said, "The lack of political will from Member States to advance quickly with some urgent reforms is closely related to insufficient ownership of the Strategy at national level."

## **Jan Figel**

Slovakia

Commissioner for Education, Training, Culture & Multilingualism

Christian-Democrat Party (EPP-ED – Conservatives)

*Jan Figel is one of the few incoming Commissioners who has no Cabinet-level experience but he has been an active diplomat and party apparatchik since 1990. He is a respected academic but struggled through his nominee hearings.*

### **Background:**

Born: 20 January 1960

2000 – 2004: Deputy Chairman of KDH for foreign policy  
1998 – 2003: Chief Negotiator for negotiations on EU accession  
1998 – 2002: State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
1994 – 1998: Deputy Chairman of KDH for Foreign Policy  
1994: Studied at Georgetown University, Washington D.C., USA  
1992 – 1998: Member of Parliament  
1983 – 1992: Research and Development scientist in power electronics

### **Further information:**

- Jan Figel is an uncontroversial figure, but he raised eyebrows at his nominee hearing by backing the current cap on the EU's budget, despite the President-designate being on record calling for the budget to be increased. Figel said, Budgetary discipline is necessary and unavoidable both at the national and the European level.
- He also used his nominee hearings to raise the prospect of a "European Qualifications Framework for the recognition of qualifications, diplomas and competencies based on common reference levels and certification principles and on the quality assurance instruments". This is a project Figel says he will promote during his tenure.
- Figel struggled during his nomination hearing, and the chair of the Culture Committee wrote to the Commission President-designate saying that he had not been clear enough on issues associated with the Lisbon Agenda and the European social model.

# Janez Potočnik

Slovenia

Commissioner for Science and Research

Non-affiliated

*Janez Potočnik is a competent technocrat who, although technically non-affiliated, has been linked with the liberal ALDE group. He sailed through his nomination process and was received warmly by the European Parliament committee who questioned him.*

## **Background:**

Born: 22 March 1958

2002 – 2004: Minister for European Affairs  
2001 – 2002: Minister Councillor at the Prime Minister's Cabinet  
1993 – 2001: Director, Institute of Macroeconomic Analysis and Development  
1998: Head of Negotiating Team for EU Accession  
1988 – 1993: Senior Researcher, Institute for Economic Research  
1984 – 1987: Assistant Director, Institute of Macroeconomic Analysis  
1983 – 1984: Economic Analyst, former SDK (APP) Agency, Kranj

## **Further information:**

- The EU has set an ambitious goal of spending 3 percent of GDP on research, and Potočnik used his nomination hearing to support strongly this aim.
- Controversially, he also told his nomination hearing that he was “determined to uphold resolutely” the ITER experimental nuclear fusion reactor project which the EU is hoping to host.

# Joaquín Almunia

Spain

Commissioner for Economic and Monetary Affairs

PSOE (PES – Socialists)

*Joaquín Almunia is a veteran Spanish Socialist politician, holding office under Felipe González. From the mainstream of European Social Democracy, he led the Spanish Socialists to a resounding defeat in the 2000 elections. He has a chequered past following his defence of former Interior Minister, José Barrionuevo, who was convicted of state terrorism-related charges.*

## Background

Born: 17 June 1948

|              |  |
|--------------|--|
| 2000:        | PSOE candidate for Prime Minister                      |
| 1997 – 2000: | General Secretary (leader) of the PSOE                 |
| 1994 – 1997: | Spokesperson of the Socialist Parliamentary Group      |
| 1986 – 1991: | Minister of Public Administration                      |
| 1982 – 1986: | Minister of Employment and Social Security             |
| 1979 – 2004: | Member of the Spanish Parliament                       |
| 1976 – 1979: | Chief economist of the Unión General del Trabajo (UGT) |

## Further information:

- In 1998, Almunia, despite being leader of the Socialists (PSOE), was defeated in an open vote of Socialist Party members to be the Socialist candidate for Prime Minister by Josep Borrell. When Borrell later stood down following a financial scandal, Almunia took the PSOE to its worst electoral defeat since the 1970s.
- During his tenure as Minister for Employment and Social Security, unemployment soared to an unprecedented 22 percent.
- As parliamentary spokesperson for the Socialist Party, he defended José Barrionuevo, convicted in a Spanish court of terrorism offences through the anti-ETA group, GAL. As recently as 2001, he said: "Only to those who have hate as their motto could it appear normal that a person such as Barrionuevo should be in prison for doing what he did as Minister of the Interior, which was to put great courage into the struggle against ETA."

# Margot Wallström

Sweden

Commissioner for Environment

Social Democratic Workers Party (PES – Socialists)

*Margot Wallström has been a popular Commissioner for the Environment, consistently standing up to the industry lobbyists despite a regular lack of support from the rest of Commission. Wallström is regularly talked of being the next Swedish Prime Minister but is not on good terms with the current Prime Minister. The Commission President hopes that Wallström, who is media-savvy, will be able to promote a softer image of the EU than previously.*

## Background:

Born: 28 September 1954

|              |  |
|--------------|--|
| 1999:        | Member of the European Commission, Environment |
| 1996 – 1998: | Minister of Social Affairs                     |
| 1994 – 1996: | Minister of Culture                            |
| 1993 – 1994: | CEO, TV Värmland (Regional Television Network) |
| 1988 – 1991: | Minister of Civil Affairs                      |
| 1986 – 1987: | Senior Accountant, Alfa Savings bank, Karlstad |
| 1979 – 1985: | Member of Parliament                           |
| 1977 – 1979: | Accountant, Alfa Savings Bank, Karlstad        |
| 1974 – 1977: | Chair, Swedish Social Democratic Youth League  |

## Further information:

- Earlier this year, she co-wrote a book called *The people's Europe or Why is it so hard to love the EU?* which aimed to develop a programme for reconnecting voters with the EU. Göran Färm, her co-author, was a Swedish MEP voted out earlier this year when social democrat voters backed Eurosceptic Anna Hedh over him.
- When Sweden decisively rejected the euro in 2003, Wallström suggested that it was because of Swedes' "mistrust of the EU".
- As Environment Commissioner, she was behind moves to put the threshold for GM seeds' presence in other products at 0.3 percent. This actually reduced standards in some member states; environmental campaigners had argued for a threshold of 0.1 percent.

## **Peter Mandelson**

United Kingdom  
Commissioner for Trade  
Labour (PES – Socialists)

*Peter Mandelson is a controversial appointment, and certainly the most unpopular socialist Commissioner among labour movements in the EU. While he is clearly an excellent media operator, Mandelson will take to Brussels the fact that he has been forced to twice resign from Government over questions of probity and has a track record of backing free-market solutions in government.*

### **Background:**

Born: 21 October 1953

|              |   |
|--------------|---|
| 1999 – 2001: | Secretary of State for Northern Ireland   |
| 1998:        | Secretary of State for Trade and Industry |
| 1997 – 1998: | Minister without Portfolio                |
| 1992 – 2004: | Member of Parliament for Hartlepool       |
| 1985 – 1990: | Director of Communications, Labour Party  |
| 1982 – 1985: | Producer, London Weekend Television       |
| 1979 – 1982: | Researcher, TUC                           |

### **Further information:**

- Mandelson is well known for his free market views on economic reform. Last year he said that, "Europe has not reached carried far enough the economic and social reforms necessary to create the dynamism, growth and full employment to meet the challenge of globalisation. These reforms are based on the liberalisation of the market and free competition as initial vehicles to guarantee an acceleration of industrial transformation" (*El País*, 10 December 2003).
- Mandelson has been attacked for his fervent promotion of early UK membership of the euro. Bill Morris, the then General Secretary of the T&G, wrote to the *Independent* saying, "Has Mr Mandelson forgotten the impact of the growth and stability pact on the German economy? Perhaps he can tell me why the euro has not helped public services in Germany, where the government is now planning to cut public spending by £35.8bn by 2006?" (*Independent* 29 January 2003).
- Mandelson is perhaps best known for his now infamous resignations from cabinet. In 1998 he resigned as Secretary of State for Trade over an undeclared load, and in 2001 he resigned over the impression that he had unfairly helped two businessmen obtain UK passports when they were under investigation for corruption.

| <b>Candidate</b>          | <b>Country</b> | <b>Domestic Party</b>           | <b>European affiliation</b> |
|---------------------------|----------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| José Manuel Durão Barroso | PORTUGAL       | Social Democratic Party         | EPP-ED - Conservatives      |
| Benita Ferrero-Waldner    | AUSTRIA        | Austrian People's Party (ÖVP)   | EPP-ED - Conservatives      |
| Louis Michel              | BELGIUM        | Mouvement Réformateur (Liberal) | ALDE - Liberals             |
| Markos Kyprianou          | CYPRUS         | Democratic Party (DIKO)         | ALDE - Liberals             |
| Vladimir Spidla           | CZECH REPUBLIC | Social Democratic Party (CSSD)  | PES - Socialists            |
| Mariann Fischer Boel      | DENMARK        | Venstre                         | ALDE - Liberals             |
| Siim Kallas               | ESTONIA        | Reform Party                    | ALDE - Liberals             |
| Olli Rehn                 | FINLAND        | Centre Party                    | ALDE - Liberals             |
| Jacques Barrot            | FRANCE         | UMP                             | EPP-ED - Conservatives      |
| Günther Verheugen         | GERMANY        | SPD                             | PES - Socialists            |
| Stavros Dimas             | GREECE         | New Democracy                   | EPP-ED - Conservatives      |
| László Kovács             | HUNGARY        | Socialist Party                 | PES - Socialists            |
| Charlie McCreevy          | IRELAND        | Fianna Fáil                     | UEN - Conservatives         |
| Franco Frattini           | ITALY          | Forza Italia                    | EPP-ED - Conservatives      |
| Andris Piebalgs           | LATVIA         | Latvia's Way                    | ALDE - Liberals             |
| Dalia Grybauskaitė        | LITHUANIA      | No party affiliation            | Non-affiliated              |
| Viviane Reding            | LUXEMBOURG     | Christian Social Party          | EPP-ED - Conservatives      |
| Joe Borg                  | MALTA          | Nationalist Party               | EPP-ED - Conservatives      |
| Neelie Kroes              | NETHERLANDS    | VVD                             | ALDE - Liberals             |
| Danuta Hübner             | POLAND         | No party affiliation            | Non-affiliated              |
| Jan Figel                 | SLOVAKIA       | Christian-Democrat Party        | EPP-ED - Conservatives      |
| Janez Potocnik            | SLOVENIA       | No party affiliation            | Non-affiliated              |
| Joaquín Almunia           | SPAIN          | Socialist Party                 | PES - Socialists            |
| Margot Wallström          | SWEDEN         | Social Democratic Party         | PES - Socialists            |
| Peter Mandelson           | UK             | Labour                          | PES - Socialists            |

## Party make up of Commission

|   |         |     |
|---|---------|-----|
| United Left                                   | ---     |     |
| Party of European Socialists                  | 24% (6) | 24% |
| Greens  | ---     |     |
| <hr/>   |         |     |
| Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe | 28% (7) | 28% |
| <hr/>   |         |     |
| European People's Party / European Democrats  | 28% (8) |     |
| Union for a Europe of Nations                 | 4% (1)  | 32% |
| <hr/>   |         |     |
| Non-aligned                                   | 12% (3) | 12% |

|  |  |  |   |   |   |   |   |
|--|--|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| <b>JENKINS</b> 1977-1980   | <b>THORN</b> 1981-1984   | <b>DELORS I</b> 1985-1988  | <b>DELORS II</b> 1989-1992  | <b>DELORS III</b> 1993-1994   | <b>SANTER</b> 1995-1999   | <b>PRODI</b> 2000-2004  | <b>Barroso</b> 2004-  |
| <b>Socialist-38%</b><br>Cheysson (Fra)<br>Davignon (Bel)<br>Giolitti (Ita)<br><i>Jenkins (UK)</i><br>Vredeling (Net) | <b>Socialist-50%</b><br>Cheysson (Fra)<br>Contogeorgis (Gre)<br>Dalsager (Den)<br>Davignon (Bel)<br>Giolitti (Ita)<br>Narjes (Ger)<br>Richard (UK) | <b>Socialist-43%</b><br><i>Delors (Fra)</i><br>Cheysson (Fra)<br>Clinton Davis (UK)<br>Narjes (Ger)<br>Ripa di Meana (Ita)<br>Varfis (Gre) | <b>Socialist-41%</b><br>Marin (Spa)<br><i>Delors (Fra)</i><br>Dondelinger (Lux)<br>Millan (UK)<br>Papandrea (Gre)<br>Ripa di Meana (Ita)<br>Van Miert (Bel) | <b>Socialist-29%</b><br>Millan (UK)<br><i>Delors (Fra)</i><br>Marin (Spa)<br>Ruberti (Ita)<br>Van Miert (Bel) | <b>Socialist-45%</b><br>Bjerregaard (Den)<br>Cresson (Fra)<br>Gradin (Swe)<br>Kinnock (UK)<br>Liikanen (Fin)<br>Marin (Spa)<br>Papoutsis (Gre)<br>Van Miert (Bel)<br>Wulf-Mathies (Ger) | <b>Socialist-50%</b><br>Busquin (Bel)<br>Diamantopoulou (Gre)<br>Kinnock (UK)<br>Lamy (Fra)<br>Liikanen (Fin)<br>Nielsen (Den)<br>Solbes Mira (Spa)<br>Verheugen (Ger)<br>Vitorino (Por)<br>Wallstrom (Swe) | <b>Socialist 24%</b><br>Peter Mandelson (UK)<br>Margot Wallström (Swe)<br>Joaquin Almunia (Sp)<br>László Kovács (Hun)<br>Vladimir Spidla (Cze)<br>Günther Verheugen (Ger)                 |
|  |  |  |   |   |   | <b>Green-5%</b><br>Schreyer (Ger)   | <b>Green – 0%</b>   |
| <b>Liberal-15%</b><br>Brunner (Ger)<br>Gundelack (Den)   | <b>Liberal-7%</b><br><i>Thorn (Lux)</i>  | <b>Liberal-14%</b><br>Christophersen (Den)<br>De Clercq (Bel)  | <b>Liberal-18%</b><br>Bangemann (Ger)<br>Cardoso e Cunha (Por)<br>Christophersen (Den)  | <b>Liberal-18%</b><br>Bangemann (Ger)<br>Christophersen (Den)<br>Deus Pinheiro (Por)                          | <b>Liberal-10%</b><br>Bangemann (Ger)<br>Bonino (Ita)   | <b>Liberal-10%</b><br>Blokestein (Net)<br><i>Prodi (Ita)</i>  | <b>Liberal – 28%</b><br>Louis Michel (Bel)<br>Markos Kyprianou (Cyp)<br>Mariann Fischer Boel (Den)<br>Siim Kallas (Est)<br>Olli Rehn (Fin)<br>Neelie Kroes (Net)<br>Andris Piebalgs (Lat) |
| <b>EPP-31%</b><br>Burke (Ire)<br>Haferkamp (Ger)<br>Natali (Ita)<br>Vouel (Lux)                                      | <b>EPP-21%</b><br>Andriessen (Net)<br>Haferkamp (Ger)<br>Natali (Ita)  | <b>EPP-43%</b><br>Andriessen (Net)<br>Cockfield (UK)<br>Mosar (Luz)<br>Natali (Ita)  | <b>EPP-35%</b><br>Andriessen (Net)<br>Brittan (UK)<br>Matutes (Spa)<br>Pandolfi (Ita)   | <b>EPP-47%</b><br>Brittan (UK)<br>Matutes (Spa)<br>Paleokrassas (Gre)<br>Schmidhuber                          | <b>EPP-30%</b><br>Brittan (UK)<br>Deus Pinheiro (Por)<br>Fischler (Aus)<br>Oreja (Spa)  | <b>EPP-30%</b><br>Barnier (Fra)<br>de Palacio (Spa)<br>Fischler (Aus)<br>Monti (Ita)<br>Patten (UK)   | <b>EPP-ED – 28%</b><br>José Manuel Durão Barroso (Por)<br>Benita Ferrero-Waldner (Aus)<br>Jacques Barrot  |

|  |   |                                       |  |  |  |   |   |
|--|---|---------------------------------------|--|--|--|---|---|
|  |   | Pfeiffer (Ger)<br>Sutherland<br>(Ire) | Schmidhuber<br>(Ger)<br>Schrivener<br>(Fra)      | (Ger)<br>Schrivener<br>(Fra)<br>Steichen (Lux)<br>Van den Broek<br>(Net)<br>Vanni<br>d'Archirafi (Ita) | <i>Santer (Lux)</i><br>Van den Broek<br>(Net)                                | Reding (Lux)                              | (Fra)<br>Stavros Dimas<br>(Gre)<br>Viviane Reding<br>(Lux)<br>Franco Frattini<br>(Ita)<br>Joe Borg (Mal)<br>Jan Figel (Svk) |
| <b>Other Right-<br/>15%</b><br>Ortoli (Fra)<br>Tugendhart (UK) | <b>Other Right-<br/>21%</b><br>O'Kenedy (Ire)<br>Ortoli (Fra)<br>Tugendhart<br>(UK) | <b>Other Right-<br/>0%</b>            | <b>Other Right-<br/>6%</b><br>MacSharry<br>(Ire) | <b>Other Right-<br/>6%</b><br>Flynn (Ire)  | <b>Other Right-<br/>15%</b><br>Flynn (Ire)<br>de Silguy (Fra)<br>Monti (Ita) | <b>Other Right-<br/>5%</b><br>Byrne (Ire) | <b>Other Right –<br/>4%</b><br>Charlie McCreevy<br>(Ire)  |
|  |   |                                       |  |  |  |   | <b>Non-aligned</b><br>Danuta Hübner<br>(Pol)<br>Janez Potocnik<br>(Slo)<br>Dalia Grybauskaite<br>(Lit)                      |

**Sources: How to Choose the European Executive: A Counterfactual Analysis, 1979-1999. Simon Hix et al and the European Commission**