



## DIGITAL AGENDA IN EUROPE

By Dominique Lazanski

The internet is changing our world, creating a new engine for economic growth. The European Commission’s Digital Agenda is an attempt to keep up, but more work needs to be done if they want to bring an information revolution to the continent.

A recent McKinsey report cited the importance of the internet for economic growth and prosperity. In the report entitled “Internet matters: The net’s sweeping impact on growth, jobs, and prosperity”, several statistics stood out among the findings. The internet accounted for 21% of GDP growth in the last five years in mature countries like the UK and Germany as well as the US and Canada. For every 1 job lost because of the internet, 2.6 jobs were created. And productivity for small to medium business is up 10% thanks to the internet.

These statistics are stunning. The importance of being online is more significant than ever. The ability to communicate globally, to engage in transactions and to find information is instantaneous and incredible. And as a by-product, being on the internet means the growth of small businesses, increased employment and economic prosperity.

So how can we in Europe gain the most from the internet? How can we ensure that member states of the European Union grow and prosper in what are still the early stages of the age of the internet?

The European Commission announced the Digital Agenda for Europe just over a year ago in conjunction with the Europe 2020 Strategy. As one of the flagship initiatives of that strategy, the Digital Agenda aims to:

*“... deliver sustainable economic and social benefits from a digital single market based on fast and ultra fast internet and interoperable applications.”*

On June 16th and 17th, the European Commission convened the first Digital Agenda



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Assembly. The purpose of the two-day conference was to discuss or rather “check in” on the progress that is being made on the Digital Agenda for Europe.

The challenges are immense when thinking about how to fulfill this ambition. The Digital Agenda names seven of the “most significant obstacles” impeding the creation of a single digital market and standing in the way of innovation and growth.

The seven obstacles are:

1. Fragmented digital markets;
2. Lack of interoperability;
3. Rising cybercrime and low trust of networks;
4. Lack of investment in networks;
5. Insufficient research and innovation efforts;
6. Lack of digital literacy and skills;
7. Missed opportunities in addressing societal challenges.

The Digital Assembly revisited these issues and concluded that while progress is being made, single digital market with a competitive market place and cross border collaboration works and works well. The scope of the Digital Agenda is ambitious and widespread. From online privacy to copyright to broadband penetration and ICT interoperability the Digital Agenda touches upon just about every aspect of life online in Europe.

There are several high priority items that the European Commission is working on for the Digital Agenda but that are still not moving

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fast enough. First, Europe needs high-speed broadband – both fixed and mobile. There is no doubt that access to broadband facilitates access to the internet, websites, information and commerce. This should be – and is – a top priority throughout Europe.

Second, copyright law flexibility is of the utmost importance. The ability to share, sell and reuse intellectual property in the form of music, film, research and more is essential. The Hargreaves review in the UK found that current law is not fit for the growth of the internet and global markets. And among the recommendations in the review is the creation of a global rights exchange that, if done correctly, could improve copyright reuse issues. Changes to copyright law to ensure ease of use and would impact the ability to open up even more data than we see today. More open data is key to starting new businesses, improving government services, demonstrating transparency and building trust.

Third, privacy and the ability to develop privacy solutions throughout the EU are important. Businesses need to lead with solutions and those should come in the form of agreed upon standards that will deliver excellent customer service in the form of new and better technologies for privacy.

Innovation in technology will beget new ways to protect personal privacy – both online and with personal data. The cloud is in its infancy, but it is one new technology that will allow for greater data protection on the internet.

*“As a by-product, being on the internet means the growth of small businesses, increased employment and economic prosperity.”*

In order to ensure that these high priorities happen along with all of the other items on the Digital Agenda, the European Commission should promote a stronger environment in which technology, innovation, and investment can take place. This means that when the European Commission revisits the Data Protection directive or develops new digital directives they should not focus on a particular technology or activity, but they should be general in their scope.

The “cookie directive” in which users must opt-in to the use of tracking on a website, should not focus on the use of the cookie itself, but should look more generally at privacy on websites. Technology like cookies may very well be replaced in the next few years rendering the directive obsolete.

More importantly, though, the European Union and the European Commission should ensure incentives for innovation, research, and growth. This should come in the form of tax incentives like tax reduction or favourable tax rates for new businesses, SMEs, and larger companies. All play their part in finding new ideas and adding to the digital economy. Furthermore, access to credit or capital is absolutely essential. Borrowing or financing new companies, research, or non-profits should be easier than it currently is. And finally, market deregulation across the EU could, in combination with the other recommendations, spur on new entrants or new ideas.

I have only touched upon a few of the many challenges facing the Digital Agenda and few ideas for solutions. In a speech at the Digital Agenda Assembly, Neelie Kroes, the EC vice president in charge of the Digital Agenda, said, “The internet will change our world. It is already doing so ... ICT is the instrument to achieve economic growth, prosperity, and happiness.” Let’s hope that the European Commission, businesses and individuals continue to make it happen.

**Dominique Lazanski is the technology policy analyst at the TaxPayers’ Alliance.**

## SN EVENT: IPRS, STANDARDS AND COMPETITION



The Stockholm Network partnered with *Managing Intellectual Property* Magazine and the Institute for Globalisation and International Regulation at Maastricht University Faculty of Law in organising a roundtable on: “Standardising the Standardisation Process? What next for IPRs Competition and Innovation?”

The roundtable took place at Maastricht University in the Netherlands.

The following expert speakers took part in the debate:

- **Dr Michael Fröhlich**, Research In Motion;
- **Dr Michel Goudelis**, European Patent Office;
- **Tomoko Miyamoto**, World Intellectual Property Organization;
- **James Nurton**, *Managing Intellectual Property* Magazine;
- **Marie D. Mesidor**, National Institute of Industrial Property (INPI) in Brazil;
- **Prof Anselm Kamperman Sanders**, Maastricht University;
- **Ruben Schellingerhout**, European Commission;
- **Dyebo Shabalala**, Maastricht University; and
- **Dr Meir Pugatch**, Stockholm Network and University of Haifa.

Key themes discussed at the round table included:

- The consumer’s interest in IPRs and standards;
- The industry’s perspective on IPRs and standards (proprietary and open);
- The institutional perspective on IPRs;
- The collaboration between IP bodies and standard setting organizations (SSOs);
- Promoting competition and innovation in a new world of standards; and
- The implication of standards on the patenting process and the patent system in general.

To view the video of the presentations, please visit: <http://tinyurl.com/StandardsEvent>

# DIRECTOR'S REPORT



The progress of technology is notoriously unpredictable. When asked why they decided to produce personal computers, having previously been sceptical that the idea would ever take off, IBM executives argued that "we realised that everything we'd assumed, everything we were so absolutely certain of, was suddenly being thrown into a cocked hat, and that we had to go out and organise ourselves to take advantage of a development we knew couldn't happen but which did happen".

This cautionary tale notwithstanding, one thing is certain: the digital economy is key to Europe's future. We need technological innovation if we are to realise Europe's potential and recapture some much-needed economic growth in the wake of the financial crisis, whose lingering effects are still having a major impact on the eurozone today.

Our opening article, by Dominique Lazanski, a veteran of Silicon Valley and now a technology policy expert at the Taxpayers' Alliance, asks therefore where Europe's digital agenda is

heading and questions whether it will lead us in the right direction.

On a related note, a recent Stockholm Network event, held in Maastricht with the partnership of Maastricht University and *Managing Intellectual Property* magazine, looked at the connection between standards, competition and innovation. In this issue we review the event but if you missed it and would like to see the full speeches, you can now access videos of the event via the standards page of our website.

In this issue, our spotlight also looks at the European Standardisation Process and asks how best to facilitate the optimum level of co-operation between companies and the wider marketplace for users.

Last but not least on this topic, we review the Second Annual Economic Ideas Forum, event that the Stockholm Network recently co-organised with the Centre for European Studies (CES) and Business for New Europe (BNE). This event featured four topical panels

comprised of senior politicians from the European Union institutions, national ministers and heads of state, top academics and influential stakeholders. In terms of other events, on our back cover we briefly feature the Reagan Centennial celebration events that the Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation organised in partnership with the Stockholm Network. The next issue of the Eye on Europe will feature this event in more detail.

In our think tank profiles, we take a look at the work of members, iFRAP in France and INESS in Slovakia. And as usual we have all the latest regular features with our section on "Who Governs Europe" and a review of Francis Fukuyama's latest book *The Origins of Political Order*: Fukuyama may have predicted the "end of history" but as for Europe's technological revolution, one could argue that we are still only at the beginning. Let's hope that the best is yet to come.

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

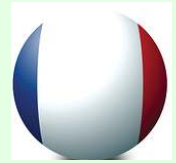


# THINK TANK PROFILE

## iFRAP FOUNDATION

Paris, France

<http://www.ifrap.org/>



In 1985, Bernard Zimmern created iFRAP (French Institute for Research on Public Administration and Politics) as a think-tank to counter bureaucracy and allow the development of businesses and the creation of jobs. In November 2009, iFRAP became the iFRAP "Foundation" (as opposed to Institute), as a form of official recognition by decree of the Prime Minister published in the *Journal Officiel*. Entirely dedicated to research on public policies, the iFRAP Foundation is wholly financed by the generosity of private donors; this allows the iFRAP team complete freedom of speech and expression in its choices of research and its reform proposals.

The iFRAP Foundation aims to produce studies and scientific research about the efficiency of public policies, specifically concerning employment, job creation and economic development. Our research is then used to inform and shape public opinion, offer new measures for improvement and to undertake all necessary actions to ensure the proposed measures are implemented by the government.

With an average of 3 appearances per week in the media, the iFRAP Foundation is the most solicited think-tank by the written press, as well as by radio and television programmes. Researchers at the Foundation also participate in conferences, in Parliamentary meetings, and regularly advise ministerial counsellors in charge of current reforms.

### Our method: Concrete Proposals

The iFRAP Foundation is composed of 15 or so researchers, half of whom are volunteers. Agnès Verdier-Molinié is iFRAP's director, and leads a team possessing varied skills in economics, finance, law, taxation and statistics. The research and studies produced by the Foundation are published every month in a review called *Société Civile*, edited by Sandrine Gorrieri. Among the latest research studies we highlight the following:

- "Education: State Schools are far more expensive than private ones". We found an additional cost for State schools of 1,951€ in primary education and 2,788€ in secondary education.
- "Omertà ou Open Data": an analysis of opacity in public administration and proposals to set up Open Data in France. In June 20, iFRAP Foundation published a manifesto called "Free Public Data", with the motto: "public data belong to everyone".
- "Jobs, France has fallen behind": comparison of jobs and firms creations in France with Germany, United Kingdom and United States.
- "Why we shall privatize?".



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***"iFRAP Foundation is the most solicited think-tank by the written press, as well as by radio and television programmes in France"***

Researchers of iFRAP Foundation also publish books to increase public awareness of public issues:

- *Les fonctionnaires contre l'Etat. Le grand sabotage* (Civil servants vs. State. The big sabotage), by Agnès Verdier-Molinié, February 2011.
- *La mondialisation va-t-elle nous tuer?* (Will Globalization kill us?), by Agnès Verdier-Molinié, 2008.
- *La dictature des syndicats*, (The dictatorships of the trade unions) by Bernard Zimmern, Albin Michel, 2003
- *Les profiteurs de l'État* (The profiteers of the State), by Bernard Zimmern, Plon, 2000.

### Our results

Since 1985, iFRAP has successfully managed to have several of its proposed measures passed into law:

- The creation of an evaluation committee for the control of public policy at the Assemblée Nationale.
- The end of the ANPE monopoly.
- An ISF deduction for investments made in small businesses.
- SCT, or companies with fiscal transparency.
- Opening up recruitment of public hospital directors to graduates of private institutions.
- A law requiring transparency in the financing of unions.

***Agnès Verdier-Molinié is director of iFRAP Foundation***

# THINK TANK PROFILE

## INSTITUTE OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STUDIES (INESS)

Bratislava, Slovakia

<http://www.iness.sk>



INESS, the Institute of Economic and Social Studies, began its activities in January 2006. As an independent think tank, INESS monitors the functioning and financing of the public sector, evaluates the effects of legislative changes on the economy and society and comments on current economic and social issues.

INESS' goal is to broaden public awareness of the principles of market mechanisms' functions and the effects of state interventions and their impact on society and everyday life. INESS' priority areas include taxation and contributions to the state budget, social system (including pensions), the public healthcare system, monetary policy, EU membership issues, government regulation and property rights.



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Since its inception in 2006, INESS has appeared over 2600 times in all major public and commercial Slovak print, broadcast and internet media. It has been the most frequently cited economic think tank in Slovakia for several consecutive years.

INESS conducts regular in-depth analyses in selected fields. Among them we would like to highlight the following:

- *Healthy Profit.* In this book, INESS contributes its arguments to the discussion of the legitimacy and importance of profit in healthcare.
- *Proposal for Resolving the Major Drawbacks of the Social System in Slovakia* was introduced in order to resolve the persisting fundamental drawbacks in the Slovak social system.
- *Savings and Sources in Public Finance* was a joint study prepared by INESS and two co-operating institutes and pointed out that there are still large reservations regarding public expenditure and its effectiveness and many others.

INESS also contributes to various domestic and international publications, e.g. annual reports on Slovak tax system for the yearbook *Taxation in Europe* published by the Institut de Recherches Économiques et Fiscales. INESS members regularly deliver lectures at international and local conferences and INESS also organizes its own conferences and discussion forums on current economic and social issues. For example a cycle of the international conferences entitled "Small government - good government", where recognized foreign and domestic politicians and experts discuss how to make state and its services cheaper and more efficient.

***"INESS has been the most frequently cited economic think tank in Slovakia for several consecutive years"***

Since December 2006 INESS has operated an internet project entitled "The Price of the State" (POS) at [www.eng.cenastatu.sk](http://www.eng.cenastatu.sk). The project was lauded as the best pro-market internet website at the Stockholm Network Golden Umbrella Think Tank Awards in 2007 and was also chosen as the winner of the 2008 and 2010 Templeton Freedom Award for excellence in promoting liberty given by The Atlas Economic Research Foundation. Video interview on POS was also published on Reason TV in January 2011. The design of this unique internet presentation followed the idea that educating the general public on "how much you really pay for services you believed were free" is the best way to increase public pressure on political representatives to restrain public expenditure. POS concentrates accurate and detailed information on the components of public finance. All data is displayed also in per capita and per worker forms so that the visitor can see the amount he or she pays for public services. Easy comprehension of the public finance system is enabled by a special set of educational and attractive interactive tools. Czech and Polish clones of the website have already been prepared in cooperation with local partners.

INESS is also active in the field of education. INESS' flagship educational event is the highly popular annual Seminar on Austrian Economics, a four-day event for selected elite Slovak university students with recognized domestic and foreign lecturers. Since 2007, INESS has been also organizing the six-day Liberty Camp every summer in cooperation with the American Language of Liberty Institute.

***Richard Durana is the director of INESS.***

# FEATURED EVENT: ECONOMIC IDEAS FORUM



The Stockholm Network partnered with the Centre for European Studies (CES) and Business for New Europe (BNE) in organising the Second Annual Economic Ideas Forum which took place in London on 25th and 26th May 2011.

The Forum began with a private dinner for panellists, dignitaries and selected guests on the 25th May. The dinner, which was attended by over 70 people, took place at the St. Stephen's Club in London with a keynote address given by David Smith, economics editor of *The Sunday Times*. On the 26th May, the Forum was opened by John Bruton, former Taoiseach of Ireland and chair of the EIF Organizational Committee, and was followed by a keynote speech by Wilfried Martens, president, Centre for European Studies; president, European People's Party; and former prime minister of Belgium. Following the networking lunch, there was a keynote addressed by Lord Inglewood, chairman of House of Lords Select Committee on Communications. The Forum was closed by Tomi Huhtanen, Centre for European Studies.

The Forum featured four panels comprised of senior politicians from the European Union institutions, national ministers and heads of state, top academics and influential stakeholders.



## Panel 1: Allies or Competitors? Cooperation Across the Atlantic – Reforming Financial Services

This panel dealt with the issue of financial regulation as well as the reform of the financial services with a special emphasis on the transatlantic aspect. The Panel agreed that one key element of success is to avoid financial protectorates and keep direct links between the United States and the European Union.

Panellists were: Roland Rudd, Business for New Europe (moderator); Mark Hoban MP, UK Treasury; Rt Hon Lord Brittan, UBS Investment Bank; Yves Mersch, Central Bank of Luxembourg; Peter Sutherland, Goldman-Sachs International; Jonathan Evans MP, Conservative Mainstream; and Julie Chon, Atlantic Council.



## Panel 2: The Economic and Political Impacts of the Arab Spring and the Japan Earthquake

This panel debated the issue of the global economy; it discussed the situation and plans for recovery of Japan after the earthquake; the Arab Spring and its consequences in the area and in the rest of the world; and also the enlargement of the European Union. The panel agreed that the policy agenda of the European Union is changing faster than before according to international developments. They also discussed the inter-disciplinary aspects of that: e.g environmental policy vis a vis security policy.

Panellists were: Tom Spencer, European Centre for Public Affairs (moderator) ; Keiichi Hayashi, Embassy of Japan in the UK; Baron Bernard Snoy et d'Oppuers, European League for Economic Cooperation; Graham Bishop, GrahamBishop.com; John Gummer, Lord Deben, chairman, Sancroft International Ltd.

## Panel 3: A Single Market for a Digital Europe?

This panel discussed two key concepts: the issue of digital citizenship and citizens' legal rights within that framework, and the progress of the digital economy as a means of restoring economic growth. The panel made the crucial point that the separation of the digital single market and the single market is rather artificial and that these two should be considered as a whole.

Panellists were: Helen Disney, Stockholm Network (moderator); Dominique Lazanski, The TaxPayers' Alliance; Antti Peltomäki, European Commission; Christofer Fjellner MEP; Eija-Riitta Korhola MEP and Erikki Omalu, DIGITALEUROPE.



## Panel 4: Saving the lost generation; Promoting job-creating growth

This panel debated whether the austerity measures being implemented in Europe were the best way to tackle the crisis. They discussed the international debt crisis and how to manage external economic shocks. Some panelists argued that the debt is not a technical question but a moral question; governments do take loans to manage their economies or to invest but it is morally wrong to postpone the loans to the next generation.

Panellists were: Roland Freudenstein, Centre for European Studies (moderator); John Bruton, former Taoiseach of Ireland; Maurice Thompson, Citi; Will Hutton, The Work Foundation; Antonio López-Istúriz White MEP, European People's Party; and Tom Clougherty, Adam Smith Institute.



# WHO GOVERNS EUROPE?

The last edition of “Who Governs Europe?” highlighted the effect of the financial crisis on elections in Europe. Since then, this trend has become much more pronounced with key elections in Cyprus, Estonia, Finland and Portugal, as well interesting developments in Germany, Greece, Italy, Latvia, the Netherlands and the UK.

Early elections in **Portugal** were always likely to be difficult for the incumbent José Sócrates, whose socialist government prompted an election after failing to pass necessary austerity measures imposed by the EU. Voters went to the polls frustrated with the economy but acutely aware that anything less than a majority victory for one party could concern markets further and prevent the passing of vital reforms.

In the end, the Social Democrat Party led by Pedro Passos Coelho increased their seat share from 81 to 108, whilst Sócrates' Socialists dropped from 97 seats to 74. To secure a majority, Coelho swiftly formed a pact with the third placed People's Party, which he declared could govern for four full years. Now both parties in coalition will attempt to realise the budget measures that come as conditions of a €78bn EU and IMF bailout.

**Greece**, another periphery country in trouble, is suffering from a deep political crisis that is threatening to bring down the government of George Papandreou. Papandreou's socialist government has already struggled to implement austerity measures that were needed as part of its €110bn loan received last year, and the pressure is set to intensify as a new bailout of €120bn is agreed by European leaders. Papandreou has already reshuffled his government and narrowly survived a confidence vote in the Greek parliament, but with public protests intensifying and much more stringent reforms needed it is likely that support for the prime minister, who has been in office for two years, will worsen.

Angela Merkel, Chancellor of **Germany**, is also suffering politically after a defeat in yet another regional election has further undermined her power to legislate. So far this year, the Chancellor's Christian Democrat Party and her coalition partner the Free Democrats have seen their vote drop in Bremen, Hamburg, Saxony-Anhalt, Rhineland-Palatinate and Baden-Württemberg, whilst upcoming elections in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern and Berlin are likely to go the same way. Most prominent in the campaigns was the issue of nuclear power, following a partial meltdown in Fukushima, Japan. This prompted the government to retreat on their decision to renew ageing German power plants, instead opting to phase nuclear power out altogether by 2022.



Local elections in **Italy** have also dealt a severe blow to prime minister Silvio Berlusconi who lost key regional positions, including the mayoralty of Milan, the centre of Italy's northern “industrial triangle”. An additional referendum on a series of policy initiatives also saw the electorate vote against the government, whilst a parliamentary confidence vote on the government's economic plans has provided only a narrow comfort. As defiant as ever, the prime minister has vowed to keep his coalition with the Northern League together until elections in 2013.

General elections in **Finland** saw the Centre Party, led by the prime minister Mari Kiviniemi, drop to fourth place and replaced as the biggest party by its coalition partners, the National Coalition Party, led by finance minister Jyrki Katainen. Perhaps most surprising, however, was the success of the True Finns, a Eurosceptic party led by Timo Soini, that campaigned strongly on opposition to EU bailouts to eurozone member states. Katainen was eventually tasked by parliament with forming a government coalition, which looks set to include six parties from across the political spectrum, although not the True Finns.

In a relatively unusual instance of incumbency success, the government of **Estonia** managed to win a decisive election that saw prime minister Andrus Ansip's Reform Party gain two seats and their coalition partners Pro Patria Res Publica Union, led by Mart Laar, gain four. Voters generally rewarded the government for their perceived handling of the economic crisis, whilst also successfully navigating Estonian entry into the eurozone, which it officially joined in January. Andrus Ansip becomes the first post-Soviet prime minister to serve a full term and also the first to win two consecutive general elections.

Parliamentary elections in **Cyprus** saw the governing left-wing Progressive Party of Working People (AKEL) fall to second place, at the expense of the conservative Democratic Rally, led by Nicos Anastasiades. Cyprus' presidential system means that the government of president Demetris Christofias is unlikely to be affected by the result, although both AKEL and its coalition partners, Democratic Party, have maintained their

parliamentary majority. Turnout for the election was 78%, which is surprisingly low given that voting is compulsory. Support for Christofias, whose term ends in 2013, is believed to still be strong although criticisms are mounting about his handling of the economy.

In **Latvia**, Andris Bērziņš, a member of the Union of Greens and Farmers, was elected president by the Latvian parliament, amid a backdrop of political scandal. The vote against the incumbent Valdis Zatlers was widely seen as a backlash for his decision to call a referendum, used for the first time under the powers given to him through the constitution, on an early dissolution of parliament. The independent Zatler's move to call a referendum was prompted by the Latvian parliament's decision to refuse to lift the immunity on Ainārs Šlesers, an opposition MP and former transport minister, who is accused of corruption. The referendum on the dissolution of the Latvian parliament takes place in late July.

A referendum in the **United Kingdom** strongly rejected the use of alternative vote in parliamentary elections, much to the chagrin of the junior coalition Liberal Democrat party, though not to the leading Conservative Party who campaigned against it. Parliamentary elections will continue to be decided through first-past-the-post.

Finally, in senate elections in **the Netherlands**, the centre-right coalition government, led by Mark Rutte, lost its majority in the Dutch upper house forcing it now to rely on a tiny conservative party, called the Reformed Political Party (SGP).

**Paul Healy is senior researcher of the Stockholm Network.**

## NEXT ELECTIONS IN EUROPE

Polish Parliament	October
Irish President	October
Bulgarian President	23 Oct
Danish Parliament	12 Nov

# WHO GOVERNS EUROPE?



**AUSTRIA**  
ÖSTERREICH

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



**BELGIUM**  
BELGIQUE / BELGIË

Head of State: King Albert II  
Head of Gov't: Yves Leteeme<sup>4</sup>  
Governing Party: Christian Democratic and Flemish with others<sup>4</sup>  
Elections<sup>1</sup>: Last - 2010, Next – 2014<sup>3</sup>



**BULGARIA**  
БЪЛГАРИЯ

Head of State: Georgi Parvanov  
Head of Gov't: Boyko Borisov  
Governing Party: Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria  
Elections<sup>1</sup>: Last - 2009, Next - 2013



**CYPRUS**  
ΚΥΠΡΟΣ / KIBRIS

Head of State: Dimitris Christofias  
Governing Party: Progressive Party of Working People  
Elections<sup>2</sup>: 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<sup>1</sup>: Last - 2010, Next - 2014



**DENMARK**  
DANMARK

Head of State: Queen Margrethe II  
Head of Gov't: Lars Løkke Rasmussen  
Governing Party: Venstre with Conservative People's Party  
Elections<sup>1</sup>: Last - 2007, Next – 2011<sup>3</sup>



**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<sup>1</sup>: Last - 2011, Next - 2015



**FINLAND**  
SUOMI

Head of State: Tarja Halonen  
Head of Gov't: Jyrki Katainen  
Governing Party: National Coalition Party with others  
Elections<sup>2</sup>: 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<sup>2</sup>: Last - 2007, Next - 2012



**GERMANY**  
DEUTSCHLAND

Head of State: Christian Wulff  
Head of Gov't: Angela Merkel  
Governing Party: Christian Democratic Union with Free Democratic Party  
Elections<sup>1</sup>: Last - 2009, Next – 2013<sup>3</sup>



**GREECE**  
ΕΛΛΑΔΑ

Head of State: Karolos Papoulias  
Head of Gov't: George Papandreou  
Governing Party: PASOK  
Elections<sup>1</sup>: Last - 2009, Next – 2014<sup>3</sup>



**HUNGARY**  
MAGYARORSZÁG

Head of State: László Sólyom  
Head of Gov't: Viktor Orbán  
Governing Party: Fidesz – Hungarian Civic Union  
Elections<sup>1</sup>: Last - 2010, Next – 2014



**IRELAND**  
ÉIRE

Head of State: Mary McAleese  
Head of Gov't: Edda Kenny  
Governing Party: Fine Gael with Labour Party  
Elections<sup>1</sup>: Last - 2011, Next – 2016<sup>3</sup>



**ITALY**  
ITALIA

Head of State: Giorgio Napolitano  
Head of Gov't: Silvio Berlusconi  
Governing Party: People of Freedom with Lega Nord  
Elections<sup>1</sup>: Last - 2008, Next – 2013<sup>3</sup>



**LATVIA**  
LATVIJA

Head of State: Andris Bērziņš  
Head of Gov't: Valdis Dombrovskis  
Governing Party: Unity Alliance with Union of Greens and Farmers  
Elections<sup>1</sup>: Last - 2010, Next – 2014



**LITHUANIA**  
LIETUVA

Head of State: Dalia Grybauskaitė  
Head of Gov't: Andrius Kubilius  
Governing Party: Homeland Union with National Resurrection Party and others  
Elections<sup>1</sup>: 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<sup>1</sup>: Last - 2009, Next – 2014



**MALTA**  
MALTA

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



**NETHERLANDS**  
NEDERLAND

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



**POLAND**  
POLSKA

Head of State: Bronisław Komorowski  
Head of Gov't: Donald Tusk  
Governing Party: Civic Platform with Polish People's Party  
Elections<sup>1</sup>: Last - 2007, Next – 2011



**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<sup>1</sup>: Last - 2011, Next – 2015<sup>3</sup>



**ROMANIA**  
ROMÂNIA

Head of State: Traian Băsescu  
Head of Gov't: Emil Boc  
Governing Party: Democratic Liberal Party with Democratic Union of Hungarians  
Elections<sup>1</sup>: 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<sup>1</sup>: Last - 2010, Next – 2014



**SLOVENIA**  
SLOVENIJA

Head of State: Danilo Türk  
Head of Gov't: Borut Pahor  
Governing Party: Social Democrats, Zares with others  
Elections<sup>1</sup>: Last - 2008, Next – 2012



**SPAIN**  
ESPAÑA

Head of State: King Juan Carlos I  
Head of Gov't: José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero  
Governing Party: Socialist Party  
Elections<sup>1</sup>: Last - 2008, Next – 2012<sup>3</sup>



**SWEDEN**  
SVERIGE

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



**UNITED KINGDOM**  
UNITED KINGDOM

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

<sup>1</sup> Parliamentary

<sup>2</sup> Presidential

<sup>3</sup> Latest possible

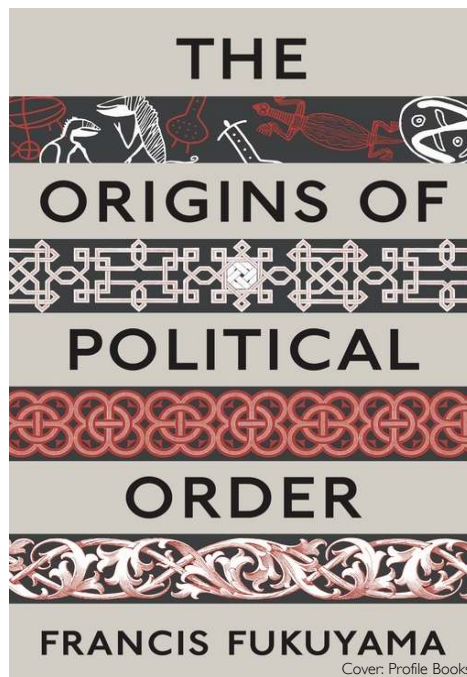
<sup>4</sup> Interim

## BOOK REVIEW

Francis Fukuyama's name has become synonymous with the publication in 1992 of his famous book *The End of History and the Last Man*. Fukuyama argued that the end of the Cold War and the onset of Western liberal democracy implied the end of humanity's sociocultural evolution and the ultimate form of human government.

He predicted that centuries might pass before all societies are on this same path of political development and that in the meantime one should expect an increased amount of conflicts in the world. In his most recent book *The Origins of Political Order* (Profile Books, 2011), volume one of a two-volume work, Fukuyama takes a different perspective and embarks upon a historical discussion of the process of political development. The book is seen as a report on political development from pre-human times up to the eve of the French and American revolutions.

*The Origins of Political Order* is largely based on his late mentor Samuel Huntington's 1968 book *Political Order in Changing Societies*. He recognizes the importance of Huntington's work in explaining the process and theories of political development, particularly when applying it to the Cold War era. However, Fukuyama believes the book lacks a solid foundation as it takes for granted human history and the existence of institutions such as the state, political parties, law and military organisations. Fukuyama argues that things that happened thousands of years ago may still exert influence over how politics is conducted today and can thus not be ignored when studying political development.



Fukuyama goes back to the origins of human society and finds that humans have always organised themselves in tight-knit groups, who will do anything for their relatives. He sees humans as social animals who do not require any social contract with each other. Fukuyama argues that the result became periodic violent conflicts. To overcome these dangers, societies saw the creation of states as a way to break hold of family disputes. This was a first step or pillar towards political order. Interestingly, using the region of Melanasia as an example of where tribal communities still dominate, he demonstrates that the establishment of a democratic state system does not suffice to create political order. Two additional pillars are needed: the rule of law and an accountable government.

States are thus strengthened by the rule of law and the presence of accountable governments, which limit political power and corruption. Fukuyama stipulates that Europe's and in particularly Denmark's successful growth, state power and accountability is rooted in the strong history of the rule of law. In countries where tribalism, despotism and religious discrimination have forceful roots, "getting to Denmark" will not be a fast process. He recognizes that modern technology may speed up the process but merely on the surface because without the three pillars, "barbaric" human nature still lingers underneath. Arguably, high levels of corruption and tribalism in Afghanistan is evidence of that.

So can any liberal democratic country fall back into a state of tribal conflict? Yes, says Fukuyama, political decay occurs when political systems fail to adjust to changing circumstances. The book gives an image of an unsentimental author. Fukuyama's bleakest message is that any political system that is undefended by the three pillars can essentially re-tribalise itself. The most unyielding enemy of all rulers becomes human nature.

In short, Fukuyama has accomplished, from an historical perspective, a work which draws attention to those attributes of a state that makes it a success and those forces that can mess it up, whilst not limiting his study of political development to "developing countries". It remains to be seen whether the second volume, covering the past two centuries, can suggest a way for durable political success for both developing and developed countries.

**Ingrid Sjogren 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.

### WOULD YOU LIKE TO JOIN THE STOCKHOLM NETWORK?

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Health Consumer Powerhouse  
[www.healthpowerhouse.com](http://www.healthpowerhouse.com)

Institut Économique Molinari  
[www.institutmolinari.org](http://www.institutmolinari.org)

Institute Thomas More  
[www.institut-thomas-more.org](http://www.institut-thomas-more.org)

LIBERA!  
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Liberal Flemish Students Organization  
[www.lvsv.be](http://www.lvsv.be)

Ludwig von Mises Institute Europe  
[www.vonmisesinstitute-europe.org](http://www.vonmisesinstitute-europe.org)

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[www.rothbard.be](http://www.rothbard.be)

Work for All  
[www.workforall.org](http://www.workforall.org)

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Center for Economic Development  
[www.ced.bg](http://www.ced.bg)

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[www.csd.bg](http://www.csd.bg)

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[www.cls-sofia.org](http://www.cls-sofia.org)

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Laissez-Faire Capitalism Institute "Atlas"  
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[www.obcinst.cz](http://www.obcinst.cz)

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[www.healthreform.cz](http://www.healthreform.cz)

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[www.ilol-think-tank.eu](http://www.ilol-think-tank.eu)

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[www.sme-union.cz](http://www.sme-union.cz)

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[www.coin.dk](http://www.coin.dk)

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Civil Society Institute  
[www.ifrap.org](http://www.ifrap.org)

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[www.fondapol.org](http://www.fondapol.org)

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[www.turgot.org](http://www.turgot.org)

Institute for Economic Studies Europe  
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[www.euro92.com](http://www.euro92.com)

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Council on Public Policy  
[www.council.uni-bayreuth.de](http://www.council.uni-bayreuth.de)

European Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow  
[www.cfact.eu](http://www.cfact.eu)

Hamburg Institute for International Economics  
[www.hwwi.org](http://www.hwwi.org)

Hayek-Gesellschaft  
[www.hayek.de](http://www.hayek.de)

Institute for Free Enterprise  
[www.iuf-berlin.de](http://www.iuf-berlin.de)

Institute for Innovation & Valuation in Healthcare  
[www.innoval-hc.com](http://www.innoval-hc.com)

New Social Market Economy Foundation  
[www.insm.de](http://www.insm.de)

Stiftung Marktwirtschaft  
[www.stiftung-marktwirtschaft.de](http://www.stiftung-marktwirtschaft.de)

Walter Eucken Institut  
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## GREECE

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[www.intertic.org](http://www.intertic.org)

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Riinvest Institute for Development Research  
[www.riinvestinstitute.org](http://www.riinvestinstitute.org)

## LITHUANIA

Lithuanian Free Market Institute  
[www.lrinka.lt](http://www.lrinka.lt)

## MACEDONIA

Association for Modern Economy  
[www.ame.org.mk](http://www.ame.org.mk)

Institute for Economic Strategies & International Affairs  
[www.oi.org.mk](http://www.oi.org.mk)

## MALTA

Competitive Malta  
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Centre for Political Thought  
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Instytut Globalizacji  
[www.globalizacja.org](http://www.globalizacja.org)

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Center for Institutional Analysis and Development  
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[www.institute.sk](http://www.institute.sk)

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Institute of Economic and Social Studies  
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Fundacion FAES  
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[www.ifuturo.org](http://www.ifuturo.org)

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Poder Limitado  
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Eudoxa  
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Timbro  
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Institut Constant de Rebecque  
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Liberales Institut  
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Association for Liberal Thinking  
[www.liberal.org.tr](http://www.liberal.org.tr)

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Business for New Europe  
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Centre for European Reform  
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Centre for Policy Studies  
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Centre of Research in Post-Communist Economies  
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Civitas  
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E.G. West Centre  
<http://research.ncl.ac.uk/egwest/>

Global Vision  
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Open Europe  
[www.openeurope.org.uk](http://www.openeurope.org.uk)

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Politeia  
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Reform  
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Reform Scotland  
[www.reformscotland.com](http://www.reformscotland.com)

Social Affairs Unit  
[www.socialaffairsunit.org.uk](http://www.socialaffairsunit.org.uk)

Stockholm Network  
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## RECENT SN PUBLICATION

### KEEPING MEDICINES SAFE - EXTENDED

by Paul Healy and Dr Meir Pugatch



The Stockholm Network Patient Safety Series puts patients' wellbeing and better quality of care at the heart of all our policy recommendations. This paper provides a complement to this with case studies of Egypt, Peru, Russia and Thailand. It concludes that the four countries studied in this paper all have flaws in how they regulate against substandard medicines reaching the market.

To download this publication, please visit:  
<http://tinyurl.com/KeepingMedicinesSafe-Extended>

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## FEATURED EVENT

### REAGAN CENTENNIAL CEREMONY

The Stockholm Network partnered with the Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation for a special Reagan Centennial celebration event which took place in London on 4th July 2011. On that day a new statue of President Reagan was unveiled in Grosvenor Square, London. Sculpted by acclaimed American artist Chas Fagan, the statue stands on the south side of the square with a piece of the Berlin Wall embedded next to a bronze plaque recognizing President Reagan's role in ending the Cold War.



A Centennial Banquet took place at the London Guildhall on the evening of Monday 4th July. Secretary Rice gave the keynote address and Foreign Secretary William Hague offered a response.

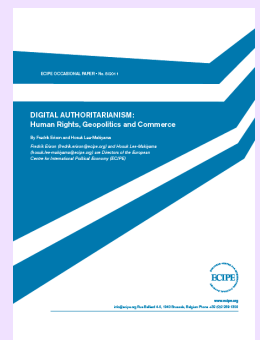
Photo: Courtesy Ronald Reagan Library

## FEATURED PUBLICATION

### DIGITAL AUTHORITARIANISM: HUMAN RIGHTS, GEOPOLITICS AND COMMERCE

by European Centre for International Political Economy (ECIPE)

This paper by ECIPE looks at online censorship and argues that it is about to take centre stage in the campaign to improve conditions for human rights, cyber security and commercial freedom of exchange on the Internet. It notes that online censorship may be a recent phenomenon, but it is spreading quickly, increasingly curtailing online exchange and transforming the use of censorship by governments.



To download this publication, please visit:  
<http://tinyurl.com/digital-authoritarianism>