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THE NEW EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT: A LOOK AHEAD



- THOUGHT LEADERSHIP

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More than 200 million EU citizens cast their votes between 23 and 26 May 2019 to choose the next cohort of MEPs. The new European Parliament is characterised by increased fragmentation and therefore a greater role for smaller parties.

This briefing provides an overview of the election results, explains what to expect in the years to come and considers how the new alignment of political groups will affect the EU's balance of power. The briefing also includes national perspectives from Bulgaria, France, Germany and the UK. In addition, we look at some of the key incoming and outgoing MEPs and present a timeline of upcoming institutional changes.

The election results

The 2019 elections marked the beginning of a new era: for the first time in the Parliament's 40-year history, the two major parties have lost their majority. The centreright European People's Party (EPP), though still the largest group, saw the greatest reduction in seats, with the centre-left Socialists and Democrats (S&D) losing a similar number of MEPs. Contrary to expectations, the biggest beneficiaries of this tectonic shift were not the populists of the far-right and the far-left. While Eurosceptic and anti-immigration groups continued to grow, they did not advance as much as many centrists had feared.

Instead, the elections' real winners were two distinctly pro-European movements: the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE) and the European Greens. ALDE, which has joined forces with French President Emmanuel Macron's La République en Marche party and rebranded as ALDE&R, increased its number of MEPs to a historic high. The Greens, strengthened by growing concerns about environmental issues, also saw remarkable gains across Europe. Both groups are expected to play a much more important role in the new Parliament as the EPP and S&D will now require their support to pass legislation. Crucially, the new political dynamics also affect other European institutions. With no majority between the two principal groups, ALDE&R may well be kingmakers for the coveted European Commission presidency.

The pro-European wave evidenced by the rise of ALDE&R and the Greens coincided with a sharp and unprecedented increase in voter engagement. Since the late 1970s, turnout for the European elections had steadily gone down, reaching a historic low of 43% in 2014. At 51%, this year's turnout might be a significant outlier – or it could show that, in an age of Brexit, nationalism and climate change, the EU may yet have something unique to offer.

What to expect from the 2019-2024 European Parliament

A more collaborative Parliament

With the two biggest groups – the EPP and S&D – having shed seats and lost their combined absolute majority, the duopoly of power has been broken with smaller groups hoping this will be to their advantage. The Liberals and Greens in particular are lining up to position themselves as kingmakers.

With fewer MEPs come fewer posts, so we can expect a broader political spread among committee chairs and leadership roles in the Parliament.

Everything from signing off on the new European Commission to approving the EU budget will require cross-party support meaning the Parliament will need to find new ways of working.

More work for lobbyists

For those seeking to influence the Parliament, it will be critical to work with MEPs from across the political spectrum. It will no longer be possible to rely on a stitch-up between the two largest parties to ensure legislation is passed.

The "Greta effect"

The Greens gained an additional 19 seats and did particularly well in Germany, France and Ireland, bringing their total to 74. Many observers are claiming this was driven by younger voters inspired by Greta Thunberg, the 16-year-old Swedish activist who set up the Fridays for Future demonstrations. It is also being interpreted as a call from younger voters for traditional parties to do more on the environment. In Germany in particular, more people under 44 voted for the Greens than for Angela Merkel's CDU/CSU alliance.

We should expect the Greens to seek a key committee chairmanship and to put their mark on Parliament's work across the whole range of policy areas, with sustainability inevitably featuring high up on Parliament's agenda.

More liberal or greener trade deals?

The Parliament has consistently sought to play a greater role in international trade agreements. The Commission treads a fine line between protecting its monopoly in negotiating trade deals and ensuring it keeps Parliament on side to avoid lastminute hiccoughs. Indeed, the Commission knows that trade and globalisation have little support among the public.

With ALDE&R having gained 36 seats bringing its total to 105 MEPs, we might expect the Parliament to be more open to trade deals, but this belies the fact that 21 of those additional 36 seats came from Emmanuel Macron's La Republique en Marche and France has taken a hard line on current trade negotiations (for example, in the negotiations with Australia, New Zealand and the south American bloc of Mercosur countries) but also on restarting trade talks with the United States. Not wishing to upset the all-important French farming lobby goes part-way to explaining this position.

The Greens can be relied upon to push for sustainability and environmental credentials to feature more prominently in future EU trade deals, something that current Trade Commissioner Cecilia Malmstrom has also pursued during her mandate. We can also expect the Greens to put pressure on the Commission to only negotiate deals with countries that have signed up to the Paris Agreement on climate change, which would rule out the United States.

It is not inconceivable that France's liberals and the Greens could coalesce around a position where trade deals impose tighter rules on third countries and in particular agriculture; for example, requiring compliance with the EU's environmental and sanitary rules. That would tick the environmental box while also conveniently satisfying Europe's farmers.

Brexit

A total of 751 MEPs were elected in these elections. When the UK withdraws from the EU, this will reduce to 705, with 46 of the 73 UK seats being freed up by Brexit. These may in future be allocated to new Member States following a possible EU enlargement. The remaining 27 UK seats will be shared out among 14 Member States which are currently under-represented in the European Parliament.

Next steps

MEPs will vote on a new President of the European Parliament to replace outgoing Antonio Tajani during their first plenary session at the start of July, and then they must decide whether to accept European leaders' nomination for the next President of the European Commission.

In 2014, EU leaders nominated Jean-Claude Juncker who also happened to be the EPP's lead candidate ("Spitzenkandidat") for Commission President. This time around, as there is no clear winner from the weekend's elections, the different political groups have failed to rally around a single candidate. Coupled with the split that has emerged between France's Emmanuel Macron and Germany's Angela Merkel, it is unlikely the EPP candidate, Manfred Weber, will end up in the Commission's top job. MEPs will not, however, give up on the Spitzenkandidat system without a fight and it will be up to Donald Tusk, European Council President, in the coming weeks to put forward a workable solution.

From August to October, the focus will shift to Member States' nominations for members of the next College of Commissioners, due to take over from the current College on 1 November 2019. The final two key posts to be determined in 2019 are the President of the European Council (replacing Donald Tusk, who has served the maximum two terms) and High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy (replacing Federica Mogherini), both of whom will assume office on 1 December 2019.

Political groups

There were nine political groups in the outgoing Parliament:

European People's Party (EPP)		
Incoming:		179
Outgoing:		216

The centre-right political group includes Member State heads of government Angela Merkel (Germany), Klaus Iohannis (Romania) and Leo Varadkar (Ireland). Hungary's right-wing Fidesz party, though within the EPP's parliamentary group, is currently excluded from EPP meetings and internal elections. No MEPs from the UK sit within the EPP following the Conservatives' withdrawal to form the ECR in 2009. Despite suffering heavy losses, the EPP remains the largest political group in the European Parliament. As of July 2019, it will no longer hold a parliamentary majority with the S&D group. The outgoing President of the European Council, President of the European Commission and President of the European Parliament were all put forward by the EPP. The group's Spitzenkandidat for the European Commission presidency, Manfred Weber, now faces an uphill battle to win sufficient support in the European Parliament.

Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats (S&D)

Incoming:	153
Outgoing:	185

The centre-left group includes Member State heads of government Pedro Sánchez (Spain) and Stefan Löfven (Sweden). Following the group's significant losses in the 2019 elections, its lead candidate for the European Commission presidency, Frans Timmermans, is unlikely to win the European Parliament's backing.

Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe + Renaissance + USR PLUS (ALDE&R)



Liberal-centrist and the political group most in favour of further EU integration. One of the clear winners of the 2019 elections, it is now the third largest group and is a strong pillar of the pro-EU section of the European Parliament. Contributing to the group's growth has been the decision by La République En Marche, French President Emmanuel Macron's party, to forge an alliance under a new, unconfirmed name. In the absence of an EPP/S&D majority, the enlarged group will play a significant role in the new parliament and may be particularly influential in the selection of the next European Commission President.

Greens–European Free Alliance (Greens–EFA)

Incoming:	69)
Outgoing:	52	

Left of centre and mainly comprising representatives of national Green parties, the group also includes MEPs from parties representing national and regional interests and independent MEPs. It focuses on promoting environmental issues and civil and human rights. Following a 'Green wave' that saw the group winning a significant number of seats across Europe, climate change is now firmly on the EU's political agenda. Along with ALDE&R, the Greens are set to gain considerable influence from the decline of the two established parties.

European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR) Incoming: 63 Outgoing: 77

Centre-right, broadly Eurosceptic and anti-federalist, the group was founded in 2009. In the outgoing Parliament, Poland and the UK both contributed 19 MEPs to the group. After sizeable losses for the UK's Conservatives, the Polish Law and Justice party is now by far the biggest member.

Europe of Nations and Freedom (ENF)

Incoming:		58	
Outgoing:		36	

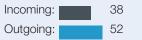
The Eurosceptic group, whose key members include Matteo Salvini's Northern League (Italy) and Marine Le Pen's *Rassemblement National* (France), gained a significant number of MEPs in the 2019 elections. The right-wing alliance is the sixth-largest group in the European Parliament.

Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy (EFDD)



Comprised mainly of right-wing and far-right members, EFDD is firmly Eurosceptic. Having gained 29 seats in the 2019 election, the Brexit Party is now the largest member of the group.

European United Left-Nordic Green Left (GUE-NGL)



The most left-wing of the official political groups, it is comprised of members from Socialist and Communist parties. It is broadly Eurosceptic.

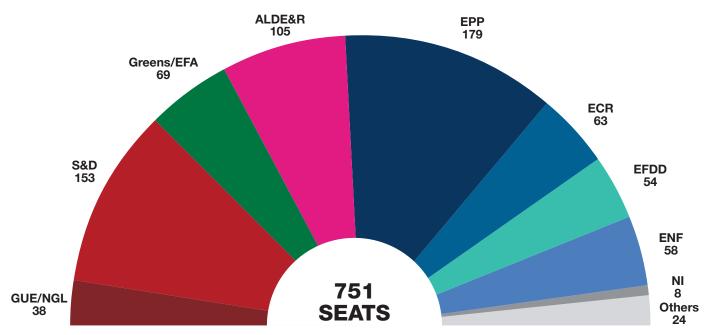
Non-attached Members

Incoming:	8
Outgoing:	20

Eight incoming MEPs are not currently allied to an existing political group. These include MEPs from the Greek ultranationalist Golden Dawn party and Hungary's far-right Jobbik party.

European Parliament 2019 - 2024

Provisional results



Political groups in the European Parliament



Since 2009, according to Parliament's rules of procedure, a political group shall consist of at least 25 Members elected in at least seven Member States.

Composition of the European Parliament based on available provisional or final national results published after voting has finished in all Member States, based on the structure of the outgoing Parliament.

Who's in, who's out?

Selected outgoing MEPs

- Jan Philipp Albrecht (Greens/EFA, Germany) Key member of the Civil Liberties Committee and remembered for his work as rapporteur on the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR), he stood down in July 2018.
- Elmar Brok (EPP, Germany) Long-standing Chair of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and longest-serving MEP. He was first elected in 1980, he was not included on the CDU list for the 2019 elections.
- **Dan Dalton** (ECR, UK) Member of the Committee on the Internal Market and Consumer Protection, he was not re-elected.
- **Paolo De Castro** (S&D, Italy) Former Chair of the Committee on Agriculture and Rural Development and former Italian Agriculture Minister, he did not stand in the 2019 elections.
- **Christofer Fjellner** (EPP, Sweden) Member of the Committee on International Trade, he did not stand in the 2019 elections.
- Sylvie Goulard (ALDE, France) Former ALDE Group Coordinator and Member of the Committee for Economic and Monetary Affairs, she stood down in May 2017 when she was appointed to Edouard Phillip's government.
- **Ingeborg Gräßle** (EPP, Germany) Former Chair of the Budgetary Control Committee, she was not re-elected.
- Kaja Kallas (ALDE, Estonia) Member of the Committee on Industry, Research and Energy, she stood down in September 2018 to enter national politics and is the leader of the Reform party in Estonia.
- **Syed Kamall** (ECR, UK) Head of the ECR group in the European Parliament and an MEP for London, he was not re-elected.
- **David Martin** (S&D, UK) The UK's longest serving MEP (35 years) and a key member of the International Trade Committee, he was not re-elected.
- Emma McClarkin (ECR, UK) Key member of the International Trade Committee and spokeswoman on international trade for the Conservative Party, she was not re-elected.
- Viviane Reding (EPP, Luxembourg) A former European Commissioner, she stood down in September 2018.
- Marietje Schaake (ALDE, NL) Known for her work on digital and technology issues, she was a vocal proponent of Europe's Digital Single Market; she stood down at the end of the Parliamentary term.

Selected incoming and returning MEPs

- Andrus Ansip (ALDE&R, Estonia) Current European Commissioner for Digital Single Market and Vice President of the European Commission, former Prime Minister of Estonia.
- Jordan Bardella (ENF, France) 23-year-old rising star of the far right.
- **Katarina Barley** (S&D, Germany) Current German Minister of Justice and Consumer Protection.
- **Thierry Baudet** (unconfirmed, NL) Founder of Dutch right-wing party *Forum for Demoracy.*
- Silvio Berlusconi (EPP, Italy) Former Prime Minister of Italy.
- Robert Biedroń (S&D, Poland) Polish LGBT activist and former mayor.
- Pascal Canfin (ALDE&R, France) Former French Minister for Development.
- Oriol Junqueras (EFA, Spain) Former Vice President of Catelonia.
- **Ska Keller** (Greens/EFA, Germany) Returning MEP who is *Spitzenkandidat* for the Greens.
- Bernd Lange (S&D, Germany) Returning MEP, former rapporteur for TTIP.
- Nathalie Loiseau (ALDE&R, France) Diplomat and former French Minister for European Affairs.



France

An unexpectedly close race with the *Rassemblement National* coming in on top

With turnout at just over 50%, Marine Le Pen's right-wing Eurosceptic party, recently rebranded as *Rassemblement National* (RN), topped the polls but did less well than expected.

From a total of 79 seats up for grabs, the RN, with its list led by Jordan Bardella, obtained 23% of the votes and secured 22 seats. The RN thus improved on its ascendency since 2014 and regained some momentum after its defeat in the second round of the Presidential elections in 2017.

Although "Frexit", France's withdrawal from the European Union, is no longer being promoted by the RN, its hostility to European integration and the EU institutions in particular is still strong. Its programme includes a proposal for the European Commission to become a simple secretariat for the European Council.

As before, the RN did well in the north, north-east and south-east regions, a geographic distribution not dissimilar to the second round of the 2017 Presidential election.

The RN is expected to join the European Alliance for People and Nations (EAPN), the new right-wing populist alliance to be formed by Italian Deputy Prime Minister Matteo Salvini, and should therefore benefit from being part of a strong Eurosceptic coalition.

Macron just lost out

The alliance between *La République en Marche* (LREM), the Party of French President Emmanuel Macron and the liberal MoDem party came second with 22% of the votes, winning 21 seats, just one seat fewer than the RN. LREM did well in the west, south-west, lle de France and Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes regions.

France is one of the countries that had to forego additional seats in the Parliament because of the UK's exit from the EU being delayed. The LREM list led by Nathalie Loiseau, former Minister of Foreign Affairs in the current Government, is expected to reach the same number of MEPs as the RN after the UK leaves the EU, i.e. 23 each.

The LREM will join the liberals as part of a new alliance bringing together MEPs from LREM, a new Romanian movement and the original ALDE group.

Go Green

Europe Ecologie Les Verts (EELV) obtained 13.5% of the votes, achieving third place and becoming the leading left-wing force in the French delegation. The greens will send 12 MEPs to the Parliament, and this will increase to 13 after the UK leaves the EU. According to a recent survey, EELV is the leading party among those under 34 years old (25% of 18-24-year olds, 28% of 25-34-year olds).

Traditional left and right collapse

Les Républicains and its allies were expected to obtain between 12 and 14% of the votes, but eventually only managed 8.5%. The list led by François-Xavier Bellamy came fourth, behind the RN, LREM and EELV. This is the worst score ever for the French right-wing in European elections. They will only have 8 MEPs, 12 fewer than in 2014.

La France Insoumise, a left-wing movement, won 6% of the vote and 6 seats. The media friendly Jean-Luc Mélenchon, who has a high profile in the national political scene, admitted it was a "very disappointing result."

The Socialist party also did badly but managed to exceed the 5% threshold that allows it to send five MEPs to the European Parliament (six post Brexit). That is down from 13 MEPs in the last Parliament.

Germany

CDU/CSU and SPD suffer massive drops

The major parties suffered a bitter defeat in these elections. Although the CDU/ CSU remains the largest party under Annegret Kramp-Karrenbauer's new leadership, they suffered a massive drop in votes winning only 29%, down 8% as compared with the last election. Out of the available 96 German MEPs, they will have 29 seats, five fewer than last time. Despite this being their worst result in a nationwide election ever, they will still be the largest delegation in the EPP group.

The SPD was hit even harder. They won just 16% of the votes, giving them 16 seats, 11 fewer than in the last Parliament.

Alliance 90/The Greens win

The situation is different for Alliance 90/ The Greens. They gained strong support among German voters with an election result of 20.5%. This is an improvement of almost 10% and will give them 21 seats (10 more than last time). The Greens have thus overtaken the SPD as the second strongest party in the German delegation, a clear sign that the electorate is demanding stronger action to protect the environment.

AfD gains seats, pro-European party (Volt) enters European Parliament

The Eurosceptic, right-wing party Alternative für Deutschland (AfD), which was first elected to the European Parliament in 2014, won 11% of the vote and secured 11 seats (up from one in the last Parliament). AfD positions itself as pro-EU but anti-Euro. The party gained strong support in eastern Germany and was the strongest force in the eastern federal states of Brandenburg (almost 20%) and Saxony (25%). AfD sits in the Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy group (EFDD), although there had been suggestions back in 2014 that they might sit with the UK Conservatives in the ECR Group.

Volt, a new pro-European party, managed to win a seat in the European Parliament at its first attempt. The satirical party *Die Partei* is represented again with two seats.

As in several other countries, voter turnout in Germany was up, topping 60% for the first time since the mid-1990s.

United Kingdom Out with the old

The UK election produced no clear winner, but it revealed two unequivocal losers: the main political parties. In a resounding defeat for a party that has been in opposition for nearly a decade, Labour halved its number of MEPs and took less than 14% of the popular vote. Perhaps even more astonishing was the Conservatives' result, the worst ever in a national election: with their vote share now in single digits (9%), the Tories' seats in the European Parliament went down from 19 to four.

No manifesto needed

By contrast, the Brexit Party, launched just four months before the elections, delivered a remarkable performance; securing 29 seats and 31% of the vote, Brexit Party leader Nigel Farage demonstrated the appeal of the party's one-word message. Though the precise meaning of Brexit has now been debated for three years, the party's name could not have been clearer: Farage stood for a 'No Deal' Brexit with no ifs, no buts, demanding the UK's immediate withdrawal from the EU "on WTO terms", and offered no other policies or details. His party came first in every region of England and Wales other than London.

Euroscepticism repackaged

But while the Brexit Party's success made for dramatic headlines, its electoral performance was largely attributable to the demise of the UK Independence Party (UKIP). In the 2014 European elections, Farage-led UKIP came top, with almost 27% of the popular vote. Five years later, Mr Farage's departure for the Brexit Party triggered an exodus of UKIP voters, reducing the party's share to just over 3%. Against this background, the Brexit Party's result is impressive, but it is not the spontaneous political earthquake that some have claimed. In fact, Mr Farage and his supporters built on an established strategy, a familiar issue and a loyal following. The Brexit Party's media-savvy campaign did the rest.

Divided we stand

The strength of a coherent message was also evident at the other end of the political spectrum, albeit in much more fragmented form. The Liberal Democrats, avowedly Europhile and the longeststanding supporters of a second referendum, presented a vote for their party as a vote against Brexit. The Lib Dems' consistent opposition to Brexit catapulted them into second place with 20% of the vote, their strongest ever showing. The Green Party, traditionally



less prominent in the UK than in many continental European countries, also capitalised on a decidedly pro-EU manifesto and increased its vote share by four percentage points to 12%. Newcomers Change UK, who had been similarly vocal about the need for another referendum, took 3% but failed to win any seats.

Déjà vu

The unprecedented popularity of those parties presents the establishment with an old choice: leave or remain. The Conservatives, though loudly professing their commitment to Brexit, have not been able to deliver it. Leave-supporting voters felt betrayed and joined Mr Farage's movement. On the other hand, Labour's Jeremy Corbyn, infamous for his "constructive ambiguity" on whether he supports a second referendum, seems to have lost the confidence of his party's large Europhile wing. To survive in modern Britain, both main parties may thus shift towards opposing extremes: a 'No Deal' Brexit for the Conservatives; a campaign to remain for Labour.

Soothing soothsaying

Despite this clear trend, however, the results need to be interpreted with caution. European Parliament elections are a notoriously unreliable guide to UK general elections, for several reasons. First, the British voting system for general elections disincentivises voting for smaller parties, which strongly reduces electoral fragmentation. Secondly, MEPs' direct impact is much less visible than that of their national counterparts. This encourages expressive voting as a means of signalling discontent. Finally, these elections were never meant to take place, and almost two thirds of the electorate did not participate. At 37%, turnout in the UK was slightly higher than in 2014 (32%), but it was still far below this year's European average of 51%.

Indeed, the European elections are a blunt forecasting tool – even for the binary question of leave vs. remain. When the results came in, commentators on both sides of the debate claimed victory for their cause. Supporters of a hard Brexit point to the Brexit Party's unparalleled vote share. Remainers, meanwhile, argue that all pro-EU parties taken together – including the Scottish and Welsh nationalists – add up to 39%, outweighing the Brexit Party's and UKIP's combined support.

In our briefing on the 2014 EP elections, we wrote: "An outside observer such as the German Chancellor Angela Merkel would be forgiven for concluding that Britain is potentially serious about the possibility of leaving the EU." Five years on, Mrs Merkel, the EU and the UK itself seem to be none the wiser.

Bulgaria — a view from a newer Member State

First electoral success for the pro-Europeans amid a conservative vote

GERB, the centre-right party that sits in the EPP, topped the polls in Bulgaria. GERB won 31% of the votes and managed to hold on to its six seats, out of the available 17 seats. These results confirmed ongoing support for GERB, the party of the current Prime Minister, Boyko Borisov, despite recent corruption allegations.

The Bulgarian Socialist Party (which sits in the S&D group) came second with 24% of the votes, and managed to increase its seats from three to five. This result is a success for the party, although its leaders had been claiming that they might top the polls. The Socialist Party is followed by the centre-right Movement for Rights and Freedoms (which will sit in the ALDE&R group) which goes down from four to three seats with 16% of the votes. The Bulgarian National Movement (which sits in the ECR group) secured 7% of the vote and succeeded in doubling its presence to two seats. The National Movement is part of the current Government in a coalition with GERB. While not strictly speaking a far-right movement, it has a strong nationalist programme.

The big story from a Bulgarian perspective is the success of the centre-right and pro-European alliance Democratic Bulgaria (EPP) that won a seat for the very first time, defying pre-election forecasts that predicted a result below the 5% threshold. Democratic Bulgaria is seen as the most pro-European party in Bulgaria; it also has a strong anti-corruption programme. Democratic Bulgaria is considered to be the most credible centre-right alternative to GERB and appeals especially to young voters. It also obtained the biggest share of the votes cast by Bulgarians living abroad, approximately 28%, around 6% more than the votes obtained abroad by GERB.

The turnout in Bulgaria was particularly low at 31%, far below the European average of almost 51%.

Anticipated timeline

27 May – late June	Negotiations take place to form political groups for the new parliamentary term
Throughout June	President of the European Council consults with Member States and the European Parliament on the next President of the European Commission
	President of the European Council will also lead the nomination process for the next President of the European Council, as well as appointing the next President of the European Central Bank and the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy
20-21 June	European Council summit – Member States expected to put forward a candidate to be the new European Commission President
24 June	Political groups announce their composition
2-4 July	First plenary session of the new European Parliament
	MEPs will elect their President and Vice-Presidents
	 Committee memberships will be established, reflecting the size of the official political groups in the European Parliament
15-18 July	Second plenary session of the new European Parliament
	Possible election of new European Commission President
Throughout August	Member States to put forward nominations for European Commissioners
August-September	New President-elect of the Commission to announce portfolio allocations among Commissioners- designate
September-October	Hearings of Commissioners-Designate before the European Parliamentary Committees in their prospective fields of responsibility
21-24 October / 25-28 November	Plenary sessions of the European Parliament. MEPs will vote on whether to approve the new College of Commissioners. They will vote on the College as a whole rather than for individual members
31 October	 Formal end of the current European Commission's term – it may be requested to stay on in a caretaker capacity if new College has not yet been approved
	Current term of European Central Bank presidency ends
	UK leaves the EU if no further extension is agreed
30 November	Current term of European Council presidency ends
1 November	New European Commission takes office (unless delayed)
	New European Central Bank President takes office
1 December	New President of the European Council takes office

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