

Exmo. Senhor Deputado Luís Capoulas Santos Presidente da Comissão de Assuntos Europeus

Data

29-06-2022

ASSUNTO: Relatório Sobre a Resolução legislativa P9 TA(2022)0129

Para os devidos efeitos, junto se envia o relatório sobre a Resolução legislativa <u>P9 TA(2022)0129</u> - Eleição dos deputados ao Parlamento Europeu por sufrágio universal direto - Resolução legislativa do Parlamento Europeu, de 3 de maio de 2022, sobre a proposta de regulamento do Conselho relativo à eleição dos deputados ao Parlamento Europeu por sufrágio universal direto, que revoga a Decisão (76/787/CECA, CEE, Euratom) do Conselho e o Ato relativo à eleição dos deputados ao Parlamento Europeu por sufrágio universal direto anexo a essa decisão (2020/2220(INL) – 2022/0902(APP)), que foi aprovado com os votos a favor dos GP's do PS, PSD, CH, IL, PCP e BE, abstenção da DURP do PAN, e ausência do DURP do L, na reunião de 29 de junho de 2022 da Comissão de Assuntos Constitucionais, Direitos, Liberdades e Garantias.

Com os melhores cumprimentos,

O Presidente da Comissão, (Fernando Negrão)



Parecer da Comissão de Assuntos Constitucionais, Direitos, Liberdades e Garantias

Relator: Deputado Pedro Delgado Alves

Resolução Legislativa do Parlamento Europeu sobre eleição dos Deputados

ao Parlamento Europeu de 3 de maio de 2022



ÍNDICE

I – NOTA PRELIMINAR

II – DO OBJETO, CONTEÚDO E MOTIVAÇÃO DA INICIATIVA

III - CONCLUSÕES

IV - ANEXOS



I – NOTA PRELIMINAR

Nos termos do artigo 1.º-A e dos n.ºs 1 e 2 do artigo 2.º da Lei n.º 43/2006, de 25 de agosto, alterada pela Lei n.º 21/2012, de 17 de maio, que regula o acompanhamento, apreciação e pronúncia pela Assembleia da República no âmbito do processo de construção da União Europeia, a Resolução Legislativa do Parlamento Europeu, de 3 de maio de 2022, sobre a proposta de regulamento do Conselho relativo à eleição dos deputados ao Parlamento Europeu por sufrágio universal direto, que revoga a Decisão (76/787/CECA, CEE, EURATOM) do Conselho e o Ato relativo à eleição dos deputados ao Parlamento Europeu por sufrágio universal direto anexo a essa decisão (2020/2220(INL) – 2022/0902(APP)) foi remetida pela Comissão de Assuntos Europeus à Comissão de Assuntos Constitucionais, Direitos, Liberdades e Garantias a 14 de junho de 2022, para que esta, atento o facto de o seu objeto estar integrado na competência legislativa reservada absoluta parlamentar, emita pronúncia com vista a integrar a resposta da Assembleia da República ao pedido do Governo.

O Governo remeteu, nos termos previstos no n.º 2 do artigo 2.º da Lei n.º 43/2006, de 25 de agosto, informação contendo um resumo da proposta, enfatizando os apestos inovadores que lhe subjazem.



II – DO OBJETO, CONTEÚDO E MOTIVAÇÃO DA INICIATIVA

1. Enquadramento da iniciativa

1.1. Antecedentes históricos

O ponto de partida mais remoto da evolução que culmina na apresentação do proposta de regulamento sob análise é a própria opção transformadora, datada de 1976 (mas respaldando-se numa possibilidade incluída nos tratados desde 1957), de determinar a eleição por sufrágio universal e direto dos deputados ao Parlamento Europeu, iniciando um processo (ainda modesto nessa data) de democratização das instituições das então comunidades europeias. É precisamente o ato aprovado nesse ano (com alterações ditadas pela passagem do tempo e, em particular, pelas sucessivas alterações dos Tratados) que tem disciplinado a eleição dos parlamentares europeus¹, que agora se pretende revogar através da presente iniciativa, introduzindo várias e profundas alterações ao seu conteúdo.

Sublinhe-se ainda que, adicionalmente, e com vista a proceder à harmonização de matérias conexas, a Diretiva 93/109/CE do Conselho, estabeleceu o sistema de exercício de voto e de elegibilidade nas eleições para o Parlamento Europeu dos cidadãos da União residentes num Estado-membro do qual não tenham nacionalidade, e o Regulamento (UE/Euratom) n.º 1141/2014, do Parlamento Europeu e do Conselho estabeleceu regras sobre o estatuto e financiamento dos partidos políticos europeus e das fundações políticas europeias.

¹ O ato foi alterado em 1993, pela Decisão 93/81/Euratom, CECA, CEE e, em 2002, pela Decisão 2002/772/CE, Euratom, para além daquelas decorrentes dos Tratados de Adesão da República Helénica, em 1979, do Reino de Espanha e da República Portuguesa, em 1985, e do Reino da Noruega, da República da Áustria e da República da Finlândia, em 1994, bem como do Tratado de Amesterdão, em 1995.



No entanto, é com o Tratado de Lisboa que é introduzida uma profunda alteração da previsão da matéria nos Tratados. Em primeiro lugar, o artigo 14.º do Tratado da União Europeia determina uma alteração simbólica de redação na norma relativa à composição e natureza do Parlamento Europeu (ou de maior significado jurídico-político, caso a evolução da sua interpretação assim o confirmar) estabelecendo que o Parlamento deve ser composto por representantes dos cidadãos da União, e não dos povos dos Estados membros, como até aí determinava o artigo 189.º do Tratado CE².

Em segundo lugar, é definido um procedimento legislativo próprio para a aprovação das regras uniformes para a eleição por sufrágio universal direto dos deputados ao Parlamento Europeu, com intervenção do Parlamento, Conselho e Estados membros. Nos termos do artigo 223.º do Tratado sobre o Funcionamento da União Europeia (TFUE), "o Conselho, deliberando **por unanimidade** de acordo com um processo legislativo especial e após aprovação do Parlamento Europeu, que se pronuncia por maioria dos membros que o compõem, estabelece as disposições necessárias. Essas disposições entram em vigor após a sua aprovação pelos Estados-Membros, em conformidade com as respetivas normas constitucionais". É precisamente este o procedimento no quadro inicial do qual surge a presente iniciativa para parecer.

Finalmente, e ainda com relevo para a presente iniciativa, o Tratado da União Europeia passa a determinar no n.º 7 do seu artigo 17.º de forma expressa que o processo de designação do Presidente da Comissão Europeia pressupõe que seja tido em conta o resultado das eleições para o Parlamento Europeu antes da deliberação por maioria qualificada pelo Conselho Europeu a propor um candidato ao cargo, o que igualmente é sublinhado com elemento que pode influenciar o desenho do regime jurídico da eleição dos deputados ao Parlamento Europeu.

² O Parlamento Europeu, composto por representantes dos povos dos Estados reunidos na Comunidade, exerce os poderes que lhe são atribuídos pelo presente Tratado (artigo 189.º do TCE, na versão adotada pelo Tratado de Nice).



Neste novo contexto posterior ao Tratado de Lisboa, têm sido inúmeras as reflexões em sede parlamentar europeia sobre a necessidade de revisão das disposições que regulam a eleição do Parlamento, entre meras recomendações e propostas de atos jurídicos. Destacam-se os seguintes, desde a entrada em vigor do Tratado:

- Resolução do Parlamento Europeu de 22 de novembro de 2012 sobre as eleições para o Parlamento Europeu de 2014;
- Resolução do Parlamento Europeu de 13 de março de 2013, sobre a composição do Parlamento Europeu;
- Resolução do Parlamento Europeu de 4 de julho de 2013 sobre a melhoria da organização das eleições para o Parlamento Europeu em 2014;
- Resolução do Parlamento Europeu de 11 de novembro de 2015 sobra a reforma da lei eleitoral da União Europeia;
- Resolução do Parlamento Europeu de 7 de fevereiro de 2018, sobre a composição do Parlamento Europeu;
- Resolução do Parlamento Europeu de 26 de novembro de 2020, intitulada "Balanço das Eleições europeias".

É ainda merecedor de especial referência o processo, ainda formalmente pendente, de revisão do quadro jurídico enquadrado do sistema eleitoral para o Parlamento Europeu que culminou na aprovação da Decisão (EU, Euratom) 2018/994, do Conselho, de 13 de julho de 2018, que altera o Ato relativo à eleição dos membros do Parlamento Europeu por sufrágio universal direto, anexo à Decisão 76/787/CECA. A referida Decisão (que se anexa ao presente parecer) propõe-se alterar os seguintes aspetos do procedimento eleitoral:



- Expressa introdução de formulação idêntica à que consta do Tratado da União, a que já aludimos, dando nota de que os deputados representarem doravante "os cidadãos da União";
- Densificação das regras sobre limiares mínimos de voto (cláusulas-barreia) na conversão de votos em mandatos, que passam a obrigatórias em círculos que elejam mais de 35 deputados;
- Harmonização do prazo de apresentação de candidaturas nos vários Estados-membros;
- Possibilidade de o boletim de voto ostentar cumulativamente o logotipo do partido político europeu no qual as formações nacionais estão filiadas;
- Previsão da possibilidade de voto antecipado, por correspondência e por meios eletrónicos ou pela internet, com obrigatoriedade de adoção de medidas que assegurem fiabilidade do resultado, segredo de voto e proteção dos dados pessoais;
- Introdução da obrigação de adoção de sanções eficazes, proporcionais e dissuasoras da dupla votação;
- Introdução da possibilidade de participação de cidadãos residentes em países terceiros (extra-UE) na eleição para o Parlamento Europeu;



 Obrigatoriedade de indicação de uma autoridade de contacto nacional para intercâmbio de dados e previsão de procedimentos de articulação para efeitos de estabilização dos cadernos eleitorais.

Conforme se dá nota no relatório solicitado pelo Comité de Assuntos Constitucionais (AFCO) do Parlamento Europeu, *Europeanising the elections of the European Parliament*, (que se anexa ao presente parecer e que desenvolve aprofundadamente a evolução do recente debate eleitoral), o processo de ratificação pelos Estados membros não estava ainda concluído na presente data, em junho de 2022 (faltando concluir os seus processos a Alemanha, Chipre e Espanha), não permitindo, consequentemente, a entrada em vigor da nova regulamentação.

Sem prejuízo da análise dos processos de ratificação dos demais Estados-membros constantes do referido relatório, é de alguma utilidade deixar uma breve nota sobre o procedimento no que respeita a Portugal, e em particular na fase em que decorreu na Assembleia da República.

No que respeita à posição portuguesa no Conselho, foi exarada na ata uma declaração com o seguinte teor: "Portugal declara que o sentido do seu voto tem como pressuposto que a cláusula barreira estabelecida pelo artigo 3.° não é obrigatoriamente aplicável a Portugal porque, no atual quadro da distribuição de lugares no PE, dispõe de menos de 35 deputados. Contudo, caso a distribuição de lugares no PE venha a alterar-se, a Constituição da República Portuguesa não permitirá a aplicação de uma cláusula barreira, como a estabelecida pelo artigo 3.°, que limite a conversão dos votos em mandatos através de uma percentagem mínima."



Posteriormente, já no quadro do processo de ratificação, a Decisão foi aprovada pela Resolução da Assembleia da República n.º 307/2018, de 16 de novembro, que teve origem na Proposta de Resolução n.º 74/XIII/3.ª (Governo), discutida e votada em plenário 26 de outubro de 2018 (com os votos a favor de PSD e PS e votos contra de BE, CDS, PCP, PEV e PAN).

Anexa-se ao presente relatório o parecer emitido na Comissão de Negócios Estrangeiros, comissão à qual baixo a iniciativa (evidenciando, de resto, uma previsão insuficiente deste procedimento legislativo especial entre as normas legais e regimentais disciplinadoras da intervenção da Assembleia da República, porquanto se afiguraria desejável que tivessem tido intervenção da Comissão de Assuntos Europeus e a Comissão de Assuntos, Constitucionais, Direitos, Liberdades e Garantias, atento o caráter claramente conexo com o processo de integração europeia, por um lado, e a matéria objeto da iniciativa [eleição do Parlamento Europeu], por outro).

1.2. <u>Objetivos a prosseguir pela iniciativa</u>

Para além dos objetivos de aprofundamento da participação democrática e da valorização do papel do Parlamento Europeu no quadro institucional da União Europeia que decorre do exposto quanto à evolução histórica da matéria, a exposição de motivos da iniciativa aponta ainda para outros objetivos a prosseguir pela revisão do quadro normativo de eleição do Parlamento Europeu, a saber:

 Assegurar a harmonização das disposições eleitorais dos Estadosmembros em domínio chave como a idade de voto, data das eleições, requisitos em termos de círculos eleitorais, candidatos e partidos e respetivo financiamento), seguindo a recomendação 16 do painel de cidadãos europeus da Conferência sobre o Futuro da Europa;



- Assegurar a participação eleitoral das pessoas com deficiência, • atendendo ao disposto no relatório de informação do Comité Económico e Social Europeu sobre o direito efetivo das pessoas com deficiência a votar nas eleições para o Parlamento Europeu³ e no parecer adicional sobre a necessidade de garantir o direito efetivo das pessoas com deficiência a votar nas eleições para o Parlamento Europeu⁴, na Convenção das Nações Unidas sobre os Direitos das Pessoas com Deficiência (CNUDPD)⁵, e na Comunicação da Comissão, de 3 de março de 2021, intitulada «Uma União da Igualdade: Estratégia sobre Direitos Pessoas com Deficiência 2021-2030» os das (COM(2021)0101);
- Promover a igualdade de género na participação política, tendo em conta o plano de ação para parlamentos sensíveis à dimensão de género da União Interparlamentar (UIP);
- Introduzir listas transnacionais como forma de reforço das medidas promotoras de um debate político transeuropeu, na linha das sugestões formuladas, entre outros, no Relatório sobre Ideias dos Jovens (2021), no Terceiro Relatório Intercalar da plataforma digital bilingue da Conferência sobre o Futuro da Europa, no acordo político intercalar "Our priorities for Europeans" de 2022 entre as lideranças dos grupos PPE, S&D e Renew Europe

³ Aprovado na sua sessão plenária de 20 de março de 2019

⁴ Aprovado em 2 de dezembro de 2020

⁵ Ratificada pela UE em 2010, bem como por todos os Estados-Membros



- Consagrar a figura do candidato cabeça de lista (Spitzenkandidat) à Presidência da Comissão Europeia, retomando no regulamento matéria que foi objeto de compromisso político na eleição de 2014, mas não prosseguida em 2019, e que se traduzia na indicação preferencial pelo Conselho do candidato indicado como cabeça de lista (Spitzenkandidat) pelo maior grupo parlamentar no Parlamento Europeu, algo resultante também do referido acordo "Our priorities for Europe";
- Assegurar representação de minorias nacionais e linguísticas sem acesso ao Parlamento no quadro dos atuais sistemas eleitorais, com recurso eventual a assentos reservados ou outras modalidades de garantia de representação;
- Previsão de limiares eleitorais obrigatórios (cláusulas barreira), com determinação dos seus mínimos e máximos, para potenciar a não fragmentação do Parlamento, aprofundando a mera faculdade hoje constante do regulamento, e transformando-a em elemento vinculativo para círculos eleitorais que elejam mais de 35 deputados ao Parlamento Europeu;
- Alargamento das possibilidades de votação antecipada, por correspondência e pela internet, de forma a alargar a participação eleitoral e a reduzir a abstenção elevada que se regista, por comparação com outros atos eleitorais.



2. Aspetos relevantes do conteúdo

2.1. Síntese da estrutura da proposta

A iniciativa não se apresenta estruturada em Capítulos ou outra forma de organização sistemática interna, coligindo os vários temas identificados na exposição de motivos de forma algo desordenada e incluindo matérias nesta sede que, em rigor, se reportariam ao Estatuto dos Deputados ao Parlamento Europeu (a regular em procedimento legislativo de natureza diferente nos termos do artigo 223.º TFUE). Como se evidencia da comparação dos articulados, a iniciativa sob análise vai muito mais longe nas matéria abrangidas do que o quadro normativo atualmente em vigor, bem como do projeto destinado à sua revisão, a já referida Decisão (UE, Euratom) 2018/994.

Artigo 1.º - Objeto

Artigo 2.º - Definições

Artigo 3.º - Disposições nacionais

Artigo 4.º - Direito de voto

Artigo 5.º - Direito de elegibilidade

Artigo 6.º - Exercício do direito de voto

Artigo 7.º - Acessibilidade

Artigo 8.º - Voto por correspondência

Artigo 9.º - Criação dos cadernos eleitorais nacionais e dos cadernos eleitorais europeus

Artigo 10.º - Princípios para a seleção dos candidatos

Artigo 11.º - Apresentação das listas de candidatos

Artigo 12.º - Sistema eleitoral



Artigo 13.º - Limiar eleitoral

Artigo 14.º - Círculos eleitorais nacionais

Artigo 15.º - Círculo eleitoral à escala da União

Artigo 16.º - Financiamento das campanhas eleitorais das entidades eleitorais europeias

Artigo 17.º - Disposições comuns relacionadas com campanhas eleitorais

Artigo 18.º - Autoridades de contacto

Artigo 19.º - Dia das eleições

Artigo 20.º - Determinação e publicação dos resultados das eleições

Artigo 21.º - Legislatura e mandato parlamentares

- Artigo 22.º Convocação do Parlamento
- Artigo 23.º Verificação de poderes
- Artigo 24.º Incompatibilidades
- Artigo 25.º Atividades parlamentares externas
- Artigo 26.º Voto pessoal e independente
- Artigo 27.º Abertura de vagas
- Artigo 28.º Autoridade Eleitoral Europeia
- Artigo 29.º Procedimento de comité
- Artigo 30.º Revogação
- Artigo 31.º Cláusula de reexame
- Artigo 32.º Entrada em vigor



Caso viesse a ser aprovado, passariam, pois, a ser disciplinadas diretamente por normas europeias vinculativas (ou com pouca margem de flexibilidade para os Estados membros) a fixação da idade de voto, as condições de acessibilidade, o regime do voto por correspondência, a elaboração de cadernos eleitorais, a forma de seleção dos candidatos, os prazos para apresentação das listas, a existência de lista transnacional para eleição de 28 deputados, regras comuns de campanha eleitoral, o dia das eleições, a forma de publicitação dos resultados, passando ainda a existir uma Autoridade Eleitoral Europeia. Ademais, acresceriam mais matérias sobre o funcionamento interno inicial do Parlamento e sobre estatuto dos Deputados (que em rigor, não deveriam constar deste ato legislativo, nos termos do artigo 223.º do TFUE).

2.2. Análise da proposta e da sua compatibilidade com direito nacional

Expostas as inovações a introduzir, cumpre uma análise de mérito relativamente às principais alterações, bem como ao seu impacto e compatibilidade com o Direito Constitucional da República Portuguesa, a tradição eleitoral nacional e a exequibilidade prática das novas matérias harmonizadas.

a) Idade de voto aos 16 anos (artigo 4.º)

Ainda que salvaguarde o direito interno dos Estados membros que consagram o direito de voto em idade superior (17 ou 18 anos), não se configurando por isso um problema de constitucionalidade, a opção de introduzir como regra harmonizada a descida da idade de voto para os 16 anos força uma solução que não tem o mesmo grau de debate e adesão em todos os Estados membros.

b) Acessibilidade de pessoas com deficiência (artigo 7.º)

Não suscitam dificuldades jurídica ou de implementação as normas introduzidas neste domínio, uma vez que elas resultam já do trabalho de



reforma em curso pela administração eleitoral e pela legislação eleitoral portuguesas. No entanto, são de tal forma específicas da administração eleitoral, que podem também suscitar dúvidas quanto à adequação de uma intervenção harmonizadora e centralizadora por parte da União.

c) Voto por correspondência (artigo 8.º)

O debate em torno do voto postal não é alheio às preocupações da República Portuguesa, encontrando-se em curso uma reflexão detalhada sobre como melhorar a participação eleitoral dos cidadãos residentes no estrangeiro. Consequentemente, as soluções a implementar nessa sede poderiam ser objeto de aplicação ao quadro das eleições para os Deputados ao Parlamento Europeu, sendo que, em relação aos residentes em países da UE, a premência do tema diminui substancialmente perante a possibilidade de aí participarem eleitoralmente, havendo normativos claros para evitar o duplo voto (que a presente iniciativa procura aprimorar). No entanto, é conjeturável a vontade do cidadão Português pretender concorrer para a eleição dos deputados que representarão o círculo eleitoral correspondente a Portugal, sendo nessa sede a questão relevante.

Neste ponto, aquilo que a proposta gera de maiores dificuldades acaba por prender-se com a indicação de que a contagem dos votos tem de ocorrer no dia da eleição, atentas as conhecidas dificuldades com o tráfego postal.

d) Voto por procuração (artigo 8.º)

Ainda que se trate de mera faculdade não obrigatória, a medida colide frontalmente com a garantia de voto pessoal consagrada no texto constitucional.



e) Voto pela internet (artigo 8.º)

A possibilidade de voto pela internet, admitia como possibilidade na proposta, afigura-se como não reunindo ainda as condições de fidedignidade de transmissão da informação necessárias a preservar a veracidade do ato eleitoral. Acresce que é igualmente muito problemática a conceção de um sistema sólido no que respeita à garantia da pessoalidade do voto.

f) Cadernos eleitorais (artigo 9.º)

O intuito de uniformizar os prazos para criação dos cadernos eleitorais em cada Estado membro suscitariam a necessidade de uma adaptação profunda do modelo em vigor em Portugal. Por um lado, porque a proposta admitiria a sua correção até ao dia das eleições, ao arrepio da solução nacional que prevê a inalterabilidade nos 15 dias anteriores. Por outro lado, o modelo nacional aponta para a suspensão das inscrições no caderno nos 60 dias anteriores, pelo que um prazo de 14 semanas (98 dias) como o da proposta implicaria a diminuição dos cidadãos que poderiam participar no ato eleitoral, por disporem de prazo mais curto para a inscrição.

g) Apresentação de listas (artigo 11.º)

O prazo uniformizado previsto na proposta (12 semanas antes da eleição) implicaria alteração ao modelo nacional, e acarreta também uma mudança da legislação nacional, ao arrepio de práticas consolidadas e da própria harmonia interna com a restante legislação eleitoral (para os órgãos de soberania, das autarquias locais ou regiões autónomas). É, também nesta sede, emblemático de uma ingerência num domínio de direito nacional em que não se vislumbra facilmente a vantagem da uniformização.



h) Listas transnacionais (artigo 12.º e 15.º e Anexo I)

A introdução de listas transnacionais, com eleição de 28 deputados em círculo à escala da União com recurso a duplo voto, suscita reservas de ordem jurídica e política. Não obstante a proposta sustentar a sua compatibilidade com os tratados, ela surge construída ao arrepio da lógica de eleições de dimensão nacional, não se vislumbrando elemento histórico em sentido diverso. Ademais, podem colocar em risco a lógica da proporcionalidade degressiva da representação nacional, ao aditarem potenciais Deputados ao número que caberia a cada Estado membro nos termos da fórmula resultante do artigo 14.º do Tratado. Ademais, colocaria um problema no contexto de futuras adesões, quando a margem atualmente resultante da saída dos deputados britânicos após o Brexit se desvanecer e o limite de 751 deputados estiver em risco de ser atingido.

No plano da igualdade da representação, a ideia de listas transnacionais introduz ainda uma diferente legitimidade aos eleitos neste contexto, parecendo apontar para um diferente nexo com os eleitores (potenciado, aliás, pela existência de duplo voto e do convite que está subjacente a diferentes juízos na escolha dos candidatos).

Por outro lado, a fórmula desenhada para assegurar, através de categorias de Estados que devem integrar distintos grupos na composição de cada lista, não só se afigura manifestamente artificial, como não obvia aos riscos de aumento da presença eleitoral de países de maior dimensão (que poderiam também aproximar-se por esta via do limite máximo de deputados previsto no Tratado) ou distorcer a proporcionalidade se coubessem aos países de menor cuja presença no Parlamento dimensão, já assenta na referida proporcionalidade degressiva (e logo imperfeita). De facto, a estratificação de Estados-membros em três escalões em função da população com previsão de alternância dos vários escalões na composição das listas, acarreta prejuízo para os países de mais pequena ou média dimensão, sendo notoriamente o caso de Portugal, apenas o sétimo maior entre os 10 países integrados no



segundo escalão, tendo de disputar com seis países médios de dimensão superior um lugar eventualmente elegível.

Ademais, a previsão de um modelo de duplo voto, inspirado noutros sistemas eleitorais continentais, mas sem tradição em Portugal, é igualmente fator de menor clareza no debate e campanha, atenta a provável diferente composição das forças políticas que se apresentarão a votos, e acarretando um risco elevado de aparecimento de ruído onde se pretendia antes criar um espaço de opinião pública e debate à escala europeia ou, pelo menos, uma dificuldade significativa de motivar o interesse dos eleitores pelo plano europeu e pelos candidatos transnacionais.

Acrescente-se que as listas transnacionais representam o elemento que maior rejeição motivou na deliberação tomada no Parlamento Europeu entre os deputados eleitos por Portugal. Apesar de a posição dos respetivos grupos políticos europeus (S&D e GUE) ser favorável, 7 Deputados do Partido Socialista e os Deputados do Bloco de Esquerda e do Partido Comunista Português votaram contra a introdução de listas transnacionais. Os Deputados do PSD e do CDS-PP, em linha com a posição do PPE, rejeitaram também as listas transnacionais. Votaram favoravelmente uma Deputada do Partido Socialista e o Deputado eleito pelo PAN, agora independente, que integra o Grupo Europeu dos Verdes.

i) Campanha eleitoral (artigo 17.º)

Nesta sede são igualmente significativos os desvios face ao padrão nacional, implicando a adoção de alterações legislativas, criando regimes discrepantes com outros atos eleitorais internos e quebrando práticas enraizadas e com mais de quatro de décadas de familiarização por parte de eleitores, candidatos e agentes da administração eleitoral. Senão vejamos:

A previsão de 8 semanas de campanha corresponde a um modelo de alargamento substancial dos 12 dias constantes da lei nacional, o que



acarretará questões ao nível da sua articulação com o financiamento previsto para a campanha, para a dispensa dos candidatos das sua funções profissionais, ou da definição de limitações à propaganda e cobertura noticiosa que conhecem prazos distintos, para referir apenas alguns exemplos.

Por outro lado, prevê-se um regime dito de "reflexão", que não corresponde ao conceito da lei portuguesa de suspensão de atividades de campanha na véspera da eleição, mas tão somente de inibição de recolha de informação junto dos eleitores do seu sentido de voto. Não é claro se deverá haver outras limitações de campanha ou atividade política nesse dia.

j) Dia da eleição (artigo 19.º)

A opção de instituição de um dia único em toda a União para realização do ato eleitoral é manifestamente desajustada, quer no que se reporta ao respeito pelas tradições eleitorais nacionais e à organização das administrações eleitorais, quer no que respeita a eficácia de combate à abstenção, especialmente nos casos, de ocorrência provável, de o dia 9 de maio ser um dia útil.

A opção é tanto mais incompreensível quanto a maioria esmagadora dos Estados membros, com exceções pontuais, realiza as suas eleições ao domingo. Ao invés de se uniformizar escolhendo o máximo denominador comum, opta-se por uma data simbólica que acarreta dificuldades logísticas a um número relevante de Estados.

A legislação eleitoral portuguesa formulou uma opção clara por realizar o ato eleitoral em domingo ou dia feriado (realidade esta, aliás, que não se verifica há décadas, privilegiando-se o domingo), de forma a assegurar maior disponibilidade dos eleitores para a participação, mobilização de voluntários para as mesas, acesso a espaços de estabelecimentos educativos para a instalação das secções de voto, disponibilidade dos funcionários autárquicos fora do quadro das suas atividades quotidianas, entre vários outros fatores.



Também a determinação de fecho das urnas à mesma hora local (21h00) contraria as práticas nacionais, num quadro dificultado pela harmonização de vários fusos horários e de maior dificuldade de mobilização de membros para as mesas (como a experiência da legislação eleitora extraordinária da COVID demonstrou).

Provavelmente ciente deste óbices, o projeto procura minimizá-los e aponta para a faculdade de os Estados-membros decretarem um feriado nacional, prerrogativa que seguramente já lhes assiste e que não dependerá da generosidade de um ato jurídico da União Europeia...

k) Autoridade eleitoral europeia (artigo 28.º)

Finalmente, a criação de uma autoridade eleitoral europeia afigura-se desnecessária e potencialmente limitadora de prerrogativas constitucionais soberanas numa matéria determinante como é a eleitoral. Não se afigura compatível com as exigências de subsidiariedade ou proporcionalidade que devem estar reunidas perante um ato jurídico da União, sendo a coordenação do que respeitar às listas transnacionais fundamento manifestamente insuficiente para criação de nova estrutura em choque de competência com as autoridades eleitorais nacionais.

I) Disposições "cavaleiras" (artigos 21.º a 27.º)

Conforme já foi referido, as normas sobre estatuto dos deputados ou funcionamento inicial do Parlamento (verificação de mandatos e instalação) não devem ter lugar neste ato jurídico, mas antes naquele a que alude o n.º 2 do artigo 223.º do TFUE ("O Parlamento Europeu, por meio de regulamentos adotados por iniciativa própria de acordo com um processo legislativo especial, estabelecerá o estatuto e as condições gerais de exercício das funções dos seus membros, após parecer da Comissão e mediante aprovação do Conselho.")



3. Base jurídica

A base jurídica invocada pela proposta é, conforme referido *supra*, o artigo 223.º do Tratado sobre o Funcionamento da União Europeia e o processo legislativo especial que consagra, e nos termos do qual compete ao Conselho, deliberando por unanimidade e após aprovação do Parlamento Europeu, (que se pronuncia por maioria) estabelecer as disposições necessárias para a eleição do Parlamento Europeu. As disposições carecem ainda, para entrar em vigor, de aprovação pelos Estados-Membros, em conformidade com as respetivas normas constitucionais.

Tratando-se de matéria claramente inserida no quadro do Direito da União e do seu funcionamento institucional, pode justificar-se alguma reflexão interna na Assembleia da República quanto à adequação das disposições legais e regimentais enquadradoras da sua aprovação – no passado, foi a matéria tramitada na Comissão dos Negócios Estrangeiros e Comunidades Portuguesas, assumindo-se como a aprovação de uma convenção internacional ao abrigo da alínea i) do artigo 161.º, no entanto é de ponderar se não se trata antes de uma matéria a submeter ao regime da alínea n) do mesmo artigo (ainda que tal opção possa implicar uma revisão da Lei n.º 43/2006, de 25 de agosto).



4. Princípios da Subsidiariedade e da Proporcionalidade

Ainda que não cumpra necessária e obrigatoriamente nesta sede de emissão de pronúncia para efeitos do n.º 2 do artigo 2.º da Lei n.º 43/2006, de 25 de agosto, tomar posição sobre o cumprimento pela proposta em análise dos princípios da subsidiariedade e da proporcionalidade, tendo em conta a especialidade do procedimento do artigo 223.º do TFUE e a necessária aprovação pela Assembleia da proposta, pode, a título conclusivo, extrair-se da análise de especialidade da iniciativa em presença que, para além das objeções de substância, a mesma enferma também, em diversos aspetos em que invade a esfera decisória do direito eleitoral nacional, de uma vício de violação do princípio da subsidiariedade, por apontar no sentido de uma clara ultrapassagem da escala de intervenção desejável para a União, mesmo se da eleição de deputados ao Parlamento Europeu se trata.

A diversidade de culturas e tradições constitucionais, eleitorais e políticas dos Estados membros depõe mesmo no sentido da difícil harmonização de regras eleitorais com esta escala, sendo essa uma zona de verdadeira salvaguarda principal do funcionamento do seu sistema político, só excecionalmente aberta a intervenção da União.

Ademais, no que respeita à proporcionalidade, muitas das soluções apresentadas dificilmente passam no crivo da necessidade e da adequação, ora não se vislumbrando um problema à escala da União que convoque a harmonização de tantas disposições de direito eleitoral interno que regem a eleição dos deputados a eleger no círculo eleitoral de âmbito nacional, ora a eficácia das propostas para a realização dos fins pretendidos de maior participação é mesmo contraproducente – veja-se o caso da data única para a eleição ou os riscos decorrentes do funcionamento artificial das listas transnacionais.

Acrescente-se ainda que, perante a impossibilidade de ratificação das propostas mais modestas e menos ambiciosas apresentadas em 2018 (a Decisão 2018/994, do Conselho), a opção do Parlamento Europeu não foi a de refletir sobre onde se excedera nos seus objetivos, indo ao encontro das reservas nacionais, mas antes o de seguir em frente, federalizando onde a mera harmonização falhara.



III - CONCLUSÕES

Em face do exposto, a Comissão de Assuntos Constitucionais, Direitos, Liberdades e Garantias conclui o seguinte, remetendo a sua pronúncia à Comissão de Assuntos Europeus para os efeitos previstos no artigo 2.º da Lei n.º 43/2006, de 25 de agosto:

- A presente iniciativa pretende relançar o debate sobre a revisão das regras eleitorais comuns para o Parlamento Europeu, substituindo o Ato relativo à eleição dos membros do Parlamento Europeu por sufrágio universal direto, anexo à Decisão 76/787/CECA;
- 2. Contudo, a proposta consagra inúmeras soluções normativas contrárias à tradição e prática eleitoral nacionais portuguesas, sem que se vislumbre uma necessidade ou vantagem na sua adoção para o aprofundamento da democracia europeia, antes de identificando riscos de sentido inverso. Ainda que nalguns casos comportem exceções que acautelam as disposições constitucionais internas, é particularmente digna de nota a inclusão de matérias sobre a consagração de idade de voto aos 16 anos (artigo 4.º), o voto por procuração ou pela internet (artigo 8.º), as regras sobre cadernos eleitorais (artigo 9.º), a forma e prazos de apresentação de listas (artigo 11.º), as regras sobre o decurso da campanha eleitoral (artigo 17.º), a fixação de dia único da eleição em toda a União (artigo 19.º) e a previsão de uma autoridade eleitoral europeia (artigo 28.º)
- 3. Em particular, a opção pela consagração de listas transnacionais (artigos 12.º e 15.º e Anexo I) a eleger em círculo eleitoral à escala da União com recurso a duplo voto, para além de incorrer em sério risco de violação das disposições do Tratado da União Europeia relativas à composição e eleição do Parlamento Europeu, introduzem um mecanismo artificial e que distorcerá a distribuição



proporcional de mandatos e o peso de cada Estado membro na representação parlamentar;

- Face ao exposto, é consequentemente de concluir também (e para lá dos impactos negativos das opções substantivas no direito eleitoral interno) pela violação dos princípios da subsidiariedade e necessidade;
- 5. Nesse sentido, o parecer da Comissão de Assuntos Constitucionais, Direitos, Liberdades e Garantias é no sentido de que a Comissão de Assuntos Europeus deva diligenciar no sentido de apresentação de resolução ao plenário da Assembleia da República indicando uma proposta de voto desfavorável ao Governo da República Portuguesa para efeitos da submissão da matéria, nestes termos, ao Conselho.

Palácio de S. Bento, 29 de junho de 2022

O Deputado Relator

(Pedro Delgado Alves)

O Presidente da Comissão

(Fernando Negrão)



IV – ANEXOS

- 1) Decisão (UE, Euratom) 2018-994
- 2) Relatório solicitado pela Comissão AFCO do Parlamento Europeu Europeanising Elections of the EU Parliament
- 3) Parecer da CNECP relativo à ratificação da Decisão 2018-994

I

(Atos legislativos)

DECISÕES

DECISÃO (UE, Euratom) 2018/994 DO CONSELHO

de 13 de julho de 2018

que altera o Ato relativo à eleição dos membros do Parlamento Europeu por sufrágio universal direto, anexo à Decisão 76/787/CECA, CEE, Euratom do Conselho de 20 de setembro de 1976

O CONSELHO DA UNIÃO EUROPEIA,

Tendo em conta o Tratado sobre o Funcionamento da União Europeia, nomeadamente o artigo 223.º, n.º 1,

Tendo em conta o Tratado que institui a Comunidade Europeia da Energia Atómica, nomeadamente o artigo 106.º-A, n.º 1.

Tendo em conta a proposta do Parlamento Europeu,

Após transmissão do projeto de ato legislativo aos parlamentos nacionais,

Tendo em conta a aprovação do Parlamento Europeu (1),

Deliberando de acordo com um processo legislativo especial,

Considerando o seguinte:

- O Ato relativo à eleição dos membros do Parlamento Europeu por sufrágio universal direto (2) («Ato Eleitoral») (1)anexo à Decisão 76/787/CECA, CEE, Euratom do Conselho (3) entrou em vigor em 1 de julho de 1978 e foi subsequentemente alterado pela Decisão 2002/772/CE, Euratom (4).
- (2) Deverão ser feitas uma série de alterações ao Ato Eleitoral.
- Como consequência da entrada em vigor do Tratado de Lisboa em 1 de dezembro de 2009, o Conselho (3) estabelece as disposições necessárias para a eleição dos membros do Parlamento Europeu por sufrágio universal direto de acordo com um processo legislativo especial.
- A transparência do processo eleitoral e o acesso a informações fidedignas são importantes para aumentar (4) a consciência política europeia e para garantir uma forte participação eleitoral, sendo desejável que os cidadãos da União sejam informados com a devida antecedência sobre os candidatos que se apresentam às eleições para o Parlamento Europeu e sobre a filiação dos partidos políticos nacionais num partido político europeu.
- A fim de incentivar a participação dos eleitores nas eleições para o Parlamento Europeu e tirar pleno partido das (5) possibilidades oferecidas pela evolução tecnológica, os Estados-Membros poderão prever, nomeadamente, a possibilidade de voto prévio, voto por correspondência, por meios eletrónicos e pela Internet, garantindo simultaneamente a fiabilidade do resultado, o segredo de voto e a proteção dos dados pessoais, em conformidade com o direito da União aplicável.
- (6) Os cidadãos da União têm o direito de participar na sua vida democrática, em especial votando ou apresentando-se como candidatos às eleições para o Parlamento Europeu.

Aprovação de 4 de julho de 2018 (ainda não publicada no Jornal Oficial).

JO L 278 de 8.10.1976, p. 5.

 ⁽¹⁾ Decisão 76/787/CECA, CEE, Euratom do Conselho, de 20 de setembro de 1976 (JO L 278 de 8.10.1976, p. 1).
 (4) Decisão 2002/772/CE, Euratom do Conselho, de 25 de junho e 23 de setembro de 2002 que altera o Ato relativo à eleição dos representantes ao Parlamento Europeu por sufrágio universal direto, anexo à Decisão 76/787/CECA, CEE, Euratom (JO L 283 de 21.10.2002, p. 1).

- (7) Os Estados-Membros são incentivados a tomar as medidas necessárias para permitir que os seus nacionais que residam em países terceiros votem nas eleições para o Parlamento Europeu.
- (8) Por conseguinte, o Ato Eleitoral deverá ser alterado em conformidade,

ADOTOU A PRESENTE DECISÃO:

Artigo 1.º

O Ato Eleitoral é alterado da seguinte forma:

1) O artigo 1.º é substituído pelo seguinte:

«Artigo 1.º

1. Em cada Estado-Membro, os deputados do Parlamento Europeu são eleitos enquanto representantes dos cidadãos da União por escrutínio, de listas ou de voto único transferível, de tipo proporcional.

2. Os Estados-Membros podem autorizar o escrutínio por lista com voto preferencial, segundo as regras que adotarem.

3. A eleição processa-se por sufrágio universal direto, livre e secreto.»;

2) O artigo 3.º é substituído pelo seguinte:

«Artigo 3.º

1. Os Estados-Membros podem prever um limiar mínimo para a atribuição de mandatos. A nível nacional, esse limiar não pode ser superior a 5 % dos votos válidos expressos.

2. Os Estados-Membros que utilizam o sistema de listas estabelecem um limiar mínimo para a atribuição de mandatos nos círculos eleitorais com mais de 35 mandatos. Este limiar não pode ser inferior a 2 % nem superior a 5 % dos votos válidos expressos no círculo eleitoral em causa, inclusivamente nos Estados-Membros com um único círculo eleitoral.

3. Os Estados-Membros tomam as medidas necessárias para cumprir a obrigação prevista no n.º 2 o mais tardar a tempo das eleições para o Parlamento Europeu que se seguirem às primeiras que tenham lugar após a entrada em vigor da Decisão (UE, Euratom) 2018/994 (*).

- (*) Decisão (UE, Euratom) 2018/994 do Conselho, de 13 de julho de 2018, que altera o Ato relativo à eleição dos membros do Parlamento Europeu por sufrágio universal direto, anexo à Decisão 76/787/CECA, CEE Euratom do Conselho de 20 de setembro de 1976 (JO L 178 de 16.7.2018, p. 1).»;
- 3) São inseridos os seguintes artigos:

«Artigo 3.º-A

Se as disposições nacionais estabelecerem um prazo para a apresentação de candidaturas à eleição para o Parlamento Europeu, esse prazo deve ser, no mínimo, de três semanas antes da data fixada pelo Estado-Membro em causa, nos termos do artigo 10.º, n.º 1, para a realização das eleições para o Parlamento Europeu.

Artigo 3.º-B

Os Estados-Membros podem autorizar que os boletins de voto ostentem o nome ou o logótipo do partido político europeu em que o partido político nacional ou o candidato individual está filiado.»;

4) É inserido o seguinte artigo:

«Artigo 4.º-A

Nas eleições para o Parlamento Europeu, os Estados-Membros podem prever a possibilidade de votar antecipadamente, votar por correspondência e votar por meios eletrónicos ou pela Internet. Se o fizerem, adotam as medidas suficientes para garantir, em particular, a fiabilidade do resultado, o segredo de voto e a proteção dos dados pessoais, em conformidade com o direito da União aplicável.»;

5) O artigo 9.º é substituído pelo seguinte:

«Artigo 9.º

1. Para a eleição de deputados ao Parlamento Europeu, a cada eleitor só é permitido votar uma vez.

2. Os Estados-Membros tomam as medidas necessárias para garantir que a dupla votação nas eleições para o Parlamento Europeu seja alvo de sanções eficazes, proporcionadas e dissuasivas.»;

6) São inseridos os seguintes artigos:

PT

«Artigo 9.º-A

Em conformidade com os respetivos procedimentos eleitorais nacionais, os Estados-Membros podem tomar as medidas necessárias para permitir que os seus cidadãos que residam em países terceiros votem nas eleições para o Parlamento Europeu.

Artigo 9.º-B

1. Cada Estado-Membro designa uma autoridade de contacto responsável pelo intercâmbio de dados sobre os eleitores e os candidatos com as suas homólogas de outros Estados-Membros.

2. Sem prejuízo das disposições estabelecidas a nível nacional sobre a inscrição dos eleitores nos cadernos eleitorais e a apresentação de candidaturas, e em conformidade com a legislação da União aplicável em matéria de proteção de dados pessoais, a autoridade a que se refere o n.º 1 começa a transmitir às suas homólogas, o mais tardar seis semanas antes do primeiro dia do período eleitoral referido no artigo 10.º, n.º 1, os dados indicados na Diretiva 93/109/CE do Conselho (*) relativos a cidadãos da União que estejam inscritos nos cadernos eleitorais ou tenham apresentado a sua candidatura num Estado-Membro de que não são nacionais.

Artigo 2.º

1. A presente decisão está sujeita à aprovação pelos Estados-Membros, de acordo com os seus respetivos requisitos constitucionais. Os Estados-Membros notificam o Secretariado-Geral do Conselho da conclusão dos procedimentos necessários para o efeito.

2. A presente decisão entra em vigor no primeiro dia após a receção da última notificação a que se refere o n.º 1 (1).

Feito em Bruxelas, em 13 de julho de 2018.

Pelo Conselho O Presidente H. LÖGER

^(*) Diretiva 93/109/CE do Conselho, de 6 de dezembro de 1993, que estabelece o sistema de exercício do direito de voto e de elegibilidade nas eleições para o Parlamento Europeu dos cidadãos da União residentes num Estado-Membro de que não tenham a nacionalidade (JO L 329 de 30.12.1993, p. 34).».

 ⁽¹⁾ A data de entrada em vigor da presente decisão é publicada no Jornal Oficial da União Europeia por intermédio do Secretariado-Geral do Conselho.

STUDY Requested by the AFCO committee



Europeanising the elections of the European Parliament

Outlook on the implementation of Council Decision 2018/994 and harmonisation of national rules on European elections





Policy Department for Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs Directorate-General for Internal Policies PE 694.199 - June 2021

Europeanising the elections of the European Parliament

Outlook on the implementation of Council Decision 2018/994 and harmonisation of national rules on European elections

Abstract

This study, commissioned by the European Parliament's Policy Department for Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs at the request of the AFCO Committee, looks into the main obstacles to unifying and modernising European elections in different Member States. It gives an overview of the implementation of Council Decision 2018/994 and highlights, in particular, the importance of the standardisation and harmonisation of electoral ballots as a means to properly inform voters and strengthen the European party system. As a more general remark, the study concludes that the European and national political parties should further strengthen their relationship, a vital element of the European political system that can increase the transnational nature of European elections. This document was requested by the European Parliament's Committee on Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs.

AUTHORS

Lorenzo CICCHI, Robert Schuman Centrefor Advanced Studies, European University Institute

ADMINISTRATOR RESPONSIBLE

Eeva PAVY

EDITORIAL ASSISTANT

Fabienne VAN DER ELST

LINGUISTIC VERSIONS Original: EN

ABOUT THE EDITOR

Policy departments provide in-house and external expertise to support EP committees and other parliamentary bodies in shaping legislation and exercising democratic scrutiny over EU internal policies.

To contact the Policy Department or to subscribe for updates, please write to: Policy Department for Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs European Parliament B-1047 Brussels Email: poldep-citizens@europarl.europa.eu

Manuscript completed in June 2021 © European Union, 2021

This document is available on the internet at: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/supporting-analyses

DISCLAIMER AND COPYRIGHT

The opinions expressed in this document are the sole responsibility of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position of the European Parliament. Reproduction and translation for non-commercial purposes are authorised, provided the source is acknowledged and the European Parliament is given prior notice and senta copy.

© Cover image used under licence from Adobe Stock.com

CONTENTS

LIS.	T OF /	ABBREVIATIONS	5		
LIS.	T OF I	FIGURES	6		
LIS.	T OF 1	TABLES	6		
EXE	EXECUTIVE SUMMARY 7				
1.	INTRODUCTION				
	1.1.	Research design	9		
	1.2.	The European Parliament elections	9		
		1.2.1. From a non-elected assembly to transnational constituency and the birth of <i>Spitzenkandidaten</i> procedure	the 10		
		1.2.2. Latest developments: the Hübner-Leinen proposal, Brexit, and the demise of <i>Spitzenkandidaten</i> procedure	the 11		
2.	COUNCIL DECISION 994/2018 OF 13 JULY 2018				
	2.1.	Measures that Member States may implement	16		
		2.1.1. Preferential voting	16		
		2.1.2. Maximum threshold not exceeding 5%	18		
		2.1.3. 'Europeanised' ballot papers	19		
		2.1.4. Absentee voting and voting rights of EU citizens residing in third countries	24		
	2.2.	Measures that Member States shall implement	26		
		2.2.1. Proportional representation and direct universal suffrage	27		
		2.2.2. Threshold between 2% and 5% for bigger Member States	27		
		2.2.3. Three weeks' deadline for submission of candidacies	28		
		2.2.4. Double voting prevention and data exchange	29		
3.	тне	RATIFICATION STATUS OF COUNCIL DECISION 994/2018 OF 13 JULY 2018	34		
	3.1.	Countries that have ratified	35		
		3.1.1. Before the 2019 European elections	36		
		3.1.2. After the 2019 European elections	41		
	3.2.	Countries that have not yet ratified	43		
		3.2.1. Cyprus, Germany and Spain	43		
	3.3.	Conclusions and suggestions on how to move ahead	47		
REF	EREN	CES	51		

ANNEX 5		
Country experts	53	
Electoral systems and ballots	55	
Electoral ballot samples from 2019 European elections	57	
Austria	57	
Belgium	58	
Bulgaria	59	
Croatia	60	
Cyprus	61	
Czech Republic	62	
Denmark	63	
Estonia	64	
Finland	64	
France	65	
Germany	66	
Greece	67	
Hungary	67	
Ireland	68	
Italy	69	
Latvia	70	
Lithuania	71	
Luxembourg	72	
Malta	73	
Netherlands	74	
Poland	75	
Portugal	76	
Romania	77	
Slovakia	78	
Slovenia	79	
Spain	80	
Sweden	81	

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AECR	Alliance for European Conservatives and Reformists
AFCO	Committee on Constitutional Affairs of the European Parliament
ALDE Group	Group of the Alliance of Liberal and Democrats for Europe
ALDE Party	Alliance of Liberal and Democrats for Europe Party
DiEM25	Democracy in Europe Movement 2025
ECR	European Conservatives and Reformists Party
EDP	European Democratic Party
EGP	European Green Party
EPG	Party Group in the European Parliament
EPPGs	Political Groups in the European Parliament
EPP Group	Group of the European People's Party in the European Parliament
EPP Party	European People's Party
EuPP	European Political Party
G/EFA	The Greens/European Free Alliance Group in the European Parliament
GUE/NGL	European United Left/Nordic Green Left
MEPs	Members of the European Parliament
MS	Member State
PES	Party of European Socialists
PEL	Party of the European Left
S&D Group	Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 : Post-Brexit reapportionment of seats in the European Parliament	13
Figure 2 : Electoral thresholds across MS electoral systems	19
Figure 3 : Europeanisation of electoral ballots by country, 2014 and 2019	24
Figure 4 : Deadline for registration before European elections (in days), 2019	29

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 : Differences between the EP Resolution 2015 and the Council Decision 2018	15
Table 2 : Overview of preferential voting across MS	17
Table 3 : Europeanisation of electoral ballots by actor, 2014 and 2019	20
Table 4 : Summary of Europeanisation of electoral ballots, 2014 and 2019	23
Table 5 : Absentee and from third country voting possibilities in MS	25
Table 6 : Explicit thresholds of MS with more than 35 seats (nationwide)	27
Table 7 : Sanctions for double voting	30
Table 8 : Electoral authority and data exchange prior to elections (6 weeks)	32
Table 9 : Ratification status of Council Decision 994/2018	34
Table 10 : Compulsory measures compliance, by non-ratifying MS	43
Table 11 : Overall Europeanisation of electoral laws	48
Table 12 : Country experts involved in the study for data collection by MS	53
Table 13 : Electoral systems and ballots key elements, by MS	55

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study analyses the main obstacles to unifying, 'Europeanising', and modernising European elections. It examines, in particular, which Member States (MS) have not been willing or able to ratify Council Decision 2018/994, and why. It is based on short reports on the ratification status of Council Decision 2018/994 and data collection at party and country level, performed by 26 country experts contacted and coordinated by the author.

The initial articles of Council Decision 994/2018 (concerning, in particular, proportional representation and universal suffrage) are uncontroversial. Beyond these articles, the decision contains a number of provisions that MS are either invited or requested to implement:

- Measures that MS may implement: A threshold not exceeding 5%; ballot papers showing names and logos of the European political parties (EuPPs) to which national parties are affiliated; absentee (electronic, postal or advance) voting; the possibility of voting from third countries outside the EU;
- *Measures that MS shall implement:* A threshold between 2% and 5% for MS with constituencies over 35 seats; a three-week deadline for candidacies; prohibiting double voting through appropriate sanctions; establishing a contact authority for data exchange on voters/candidates; exchanging data no later than six weeks before elections.

To date (June 2021), three Member States have not yet ratified Council Decision 2018/994; these areCyprus, Germany and Spain. Further two Member States, namely Romania and the Czech Republic, did so only after the European elections in 2019.

In **Cyprus**, the initiated legislative procedure entailed the automatic registration of Cypriots with double nationality living abroad, which could have triggered both practical costs of a higher number of electors and delicate political balance, with the majority of Turkish Cypriots potentially shifting the balance in favour of the traditional opposition party, the Progressive Party of Working People (AKEL).

In **Germany**, the Constitutional Court has repeatedly ruled the electoral threshold in elections to the European Parliament unconstitutional. Re-introducing an electoral threshold, therefore, would require parliamentary majorities qualified to amend the Constitution. Germany's own federal elections law was modified in October 2020, with the votes of the governing majority (CDU/CSU, SPD). Several opposition parties (the FDP, the Left, the Greens) have appealed against the new federal elections law to the Constitutional Court. Thus, keeping the ratification process of Council Decision 2018/994 away from the current controversies surrounding the federal elections law (with new elections in September 2021) is crucial for the success of the process, which will hopefully be reconsidered in the course of the new legislature.

In **Spain**, too, the complexity of ratification seems to be attributable to problems associated, in particular, with establishing a formal electoral threshold, which might prevent smaller political parties from electing MEPs. Given Brexit, Spain will have more elected MEPs in the 2024 European elections. This will further increase the proportional representation of smaller parties in terms of elected MEPs. However, adopting a formal electoral threshold may be particularly problematic for a political system as fragmented as the Spanish one, which is particularly noticeable in European Parliament elections.

As already mentioned, the Europeanisation of electoral ballots is not obligatory but only suggested in the Council Decision 2018/994. Nevertheless, this standardisation and harmonisation deserves special attention, as it is fundamental to properly inform voters and strengthen the European party system: First, it is unequivocally the most underdeveloped, even considering a 'minimal' definition of Europeanisation. Ballot design across Europe shows an extremely wide variety of formats and voting procedures, only partially linked to different electoral arrangements, and not all are compatible with such provision. Secondly, it shows an opposite trend between 2014 and 2019, where there has been some backsliding (more countries with Europeanised ballots, but a lower presence of EuPPs *vis-à-vis* other non-recognized European transnational associations; fewer MEPs elected). This dynamic is strictly intertwined with the demise of the *Spitzenkandidaten* system.

Apart from the ratification of Council Decision 994/2018, European and national political parties should further strengthen their relationship, a vital element of the European political system that can increase the general transnational nature of European elections (not only of European ballots). The actual level of Europeanisation depends less on rules and more on the general climate around the election. In this regard, a reinvigoration of the *Spitzenkandidaten* procedure would also be tremendously beneficial.

Finally, other formal elements overlooked by the Council Decision, such as lowering the voting age, creating a transnational constituency or promoting gender equality, should be kept on the agenda to further reform European electoral law.

1. INTRODUCTION

The European Parliament (EP, Parliament) has repeatedly voiced its concern on the lack of a uniform procedure for European elections and consequently put forward proposals to modernise the 1976 Electoral Act. These efforts culminated in Council Decision (EU, Euratom) 2018/994 of 13 July 2018 amending the Act concerning the election of the members of the European Parliament by direct universal suffrage, annexed to Decision 76/787/ECSC, EEC, Euratom of 20 September 1976¹.

This study aims to provide some empirical evidence that could enhance the ongoing process of European electoral law reform. It is structured as follows: the introductory chapter describes the study's research design and provides a brief historical overview of European elections; the second chapter focuses on the key elements of Council Decision 2018/994, and the third chapter investigates the ratification status in all Member States (MS) and concludes with some country-specific recommendations.

1.1. Research design

The rationale of this paper is to analyse the European electoral law reform process and provide empirical evidence on the main obstacles to unifying, 'Europeanising', and modernising European elections. In order to do so, it systematically investigates all articles of Council Decision 2018/994, assessing each MS's compliance status. Then, it examines why not all MS have been willing and/or able to ratify the Council decision, detailing how the ratification process has unfolded in each country. Finally, the last chapter offers stakeholders policy recommendations to break the stalemate specifically tailored to MS in which ratification has proved particularly difficult.

This study is based on short country reports on the ratification status of Council Decision 2018/994. Data have been collected by 26 country experts (approximately one per country, recruited and coordinated by the author)² at both party and country level.

1.2. The European Parliament elections

To draw a comprehensive picture of the current state of European electoral law reform, it is useful first to provide a brief historical overview of the development of European elections and electoral change.

¹ OJL 178, 16.7.2018, p. 1. Available at: <u>EUR-Lex - 32018D0994 - EN - EUR-Lex (europa.eu)</u>.

² The complete list of country experts can be found in the appendix. The author is also grateful to Enrico Calossi for his useful suggestions on the conceptualization of the overall research design.

1.2.1. From a non-elected assembly to transnational constituency and the birth of the *Spitzenkandidaten* procedure

The history of European elections, and before that of the European Parliament itself, has been one of constant change. In 1958, its members – chosen by national executives to take part in what was then simply called the 'Common Assembly' – sat for the first time according to their political affinity rather than nationality. Then, in 1979, the first direct EP elections were held after the adoption of the 1976 Electoral Act. This was a watershed moment, as was 'co-legislator' status acquired after the Lisbon Treaty in 2009. These milestones mark one of the most remarkable democratic developments in Europe—namely, the gradual empowerment of the European Parliament, the only directly-elected supranational legislative chamber in the world (Cicchi 2016, p. 15).

Despite these advances, much of the EU's so-called 'democratic deficit' (on this, see, among others, Reif and 1980; Majone 1998; Schmitt and Thomassen 1999; Moravcsik 2002; Hix 2008) concern Parliament, and the way its members (MEPs) are elected. The first issue is the extremely low turnout in European elections. The second is the absence of a truly European electoral campaign allowing citizens to cast their vote based on European-wide issues, instead of 27 (formerly 28) 'second-order national elections'. Finally, there is no truly uniform procedure across Europe to elect MEPs.

Common rules have been a continuing ambition of architects of European unification. The 1992 Maastricht Treaty made an explicit call for the adoption of harmonised electoral rules for the election of MEPs. Despite this, only in 2002 were provisions established for EU-wide adoption of proportional representation for European elections, with Council Decision of 25 June 2002 and 23 September 2002 amending the Act concerning the election of the representatives of the European Parliament by direct universal suffrage.³ This, however, was somehow 'posthumous' since the United Kingdom, at that time the last MS to establish a majoritarian system on the European level, had already (unilaterally) switched from a first-past-the-postto a closed-list proportional representation system for the 1999 EP election. In any case, Parliament has kept expressing its preoccupation about the absence of a uniform procedure for European elections, and consequently put forward further proposals to modernise the 1976 Electoral Act.

The 2009 Lisbon Treaty – which drew on the previous Constitutional Treaty – introduced a fundamental modification that represented a major step forward in the evolution of Parliament. It stated that Parliament is to be 'composed of representatives of the Union's citizens' (Article 14(2) TEU), instead of 'representatives of the peoples of the States brought together in the Community' (Article 189 TEC, as amended by the Nice Treaty). In this framework, the liberal MEP Andrew Duff presented a report at the beginning of the seventh legislature calling on MS to convene formally to introduce fundamental improvements in the way MEPs are elected. Among the envisaged changes, creating a pan-European constituency to elect 25 MEPs on transnational lists proved to be the most controversial (Donatelli 2015). The aim is to fill some EP seats through a truly European voting process. According to Pukelsheim (2018), the key elements of the transnational list proposal are the following:

• The whole of the European Union is taken as a single constituency;

³ 2002/772/EC, Euratom: Council Decision of 25 June 2002 and 23 September 2002 amending the Act concerning the election of the representatives of the European Parliament by direct universal suffrage, annexed to Decision 76/787/ECSC, EEC, Euratom. Available at <u>https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=CELEX:32002D0772</u>.

- European PPs campaign at Union level, each of them presenting a list of nominees to the Union electorate;
- Citizens have two votes, one vote cast in the way that citizens are accustomed to in their MS, and the other vote cast for a party's transnational list of nominees.

Despite the hopes of Mr. Duff and of the main supporters in Parliament, however, the report (redrafted in numerous different versions) proved to be insufficient to win the reluctance to electoral change. After a lengthy discussion in the Constitutional Affairs Committee (AFCO), the Duff report encountered a strong resistance of consistent parts of the main political groups which joined the already opposed Eurosceptic groups, and the proposal was blocked. Therefore, the debate on the report was first postponed and then referred back to the committee in July 2011. In spring 2012, the report was ultimately stopped by the Conference of Presidents of the EP, despite another reformulation by the AFCO committee (Donatelli 2015).

The so-called *Spitzenkandidaten* process has been another fundamental development of the European electoral system. European elections giving European citizens the opportunity not only to elect the Members of the European Parliament but also to decide who leads the European Commission (Commission) has always been a goal of the Parliament. In late 2013 and early 2014, after first establishing internal procedures for their selection, five EuPPs appointed their main candidates for the Commission president.⁴ Parliament ran the 2014 election campaign under the slogan 'this time it's different', and the lead candidates appeared in numerous televised debates, interviews and rallies, although their notoriety varied substantially across MS. In the European elections, the European People's Party (EPP) became the largest group in Parliament, and consequently its *Spitzenkandidat*, Jean-Claude Juncker, was elected as the President of the Commission (Tilindyte 2019).

1.2.2. Latest developments: the Hübner-Leinen proposal, Brexit, and the demise of the *Spitzenkandidaten* procedure

On 11 November 2015, Parliament adopted a resolution based on the legislative initiative report prepared by the AFCOCommittee on the amendment of the Act of 20 September 1976 concerning the election of the Members of the European Parliament by direct universal suffrage. The rapporteurs were Danuta Maria Hübner (EPP, Poland) and Jo Leinen (S&D, Germany). The legislative initiative was aimed at amending the EU electoral law in order to improve the citizens' participation in the election process and bring MEPs closer to European citizens. In particular, the proposal included the following changes to the 1976 Electoral Act:

- Visibility of European political parties: Ballot papers used in the European elections should give equal visibility to the names and logos of national parties and the European political parties to which they are affiliated.
- Introduction of a deadline of 12 weeks before the elections for the nomination of candidates/establishment of lists at national level.
- Introduction of a mandatory threshold for bigger EU-countries, ranging between 3 % and 5 % for the allocation of seats in single constituency Member States and constituencies comprising

⁴ Jean-Claude Juncker for the European People's Party, Martin Schulz for the Party of European Socialists, Guy Verhofstadt for the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats, Ska Keller and José Bové for the European Green Party, and Alexis Tsipras for the European Left.

more than 26 seats. The 2002 Council Decision, amending the 1976 Act, authorises Member States to establish thresholds of up to 5 %. Fourteen Member States have set such thresholds by law. Yet, in two decisions (2011 and 2014), the German Constitutional Court declared the country's existing thresholds for EU elections (5 %, then 3 %) to be unconstitutional.

- Introduction of a right to vote in European elections for all EU citizens living outside the EU. To avoid double-voting (by people with more than one citizenship or by EU citizens living abroad), Parliament wants EU countries to exchange data on voters.
- Introduction of electronic and internet voting possibilities, as well as postal voting.
- Introduction of a common deadline of 12 weeks for the nomination of lead candidates by the European political parties: European elections should be fought with formally endorsed, EU-wide lead candidates ('Spitzenkandidaten') for the Commission presidency.
- Creation of a cross-border joint European constituency, in which lists are headed by each political family's nominee for the post of president of the Commission.⁵

Since the resolution excluded the most controversial proposal (i.e., establishing a transnational constituency to elect some of the MEPs), it gathered a vast support, and on 11 November 2015, passed the plenary with a large majority.

Brexit represented a potential reinvigoration of the transnational constituency idea. The report by Hübner and Silva Pereira (2018)⁶ contemplated the implementation of transnational lists by allocating the seats vacated after Brexit. However, several AFCO members expressed their deep concern that, since the home states of the deputies thus elected are uncertain and unpredictable, transnational lists threaten to upset the allocation of seats between the MS (Pukelsheim 2018). Brexit lasted much longer than expected, with the UK ultimately participating in the 2019 European elections (only for British MEPs to vacate the EP less than a year later). However, the vacated seats were partly reassigned to other MS and partly eliminated, with the total composition of the EP shrinking from 751 to 705 seats, as shown in Figure 1 below.

⁵ Please see in more detail European Parliament website, available at: <u>Reform of the electoral law of the EU | Legislative train</u> <u>schedule | European Parliament (europa.eu).</u>

⁶ Report of 26.1.2018 on the composition of the European Parliament. 2017/2054(INL) – 2017/0900(NLE), Committee on Constitutional Affairs, Rapporteurs: Danuta Maria Hübner and Pedro Silva Pereira. Available at: <u>https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/A-8-2018-0007_EN.html.</u>

751	Total	705	
73	United kingdom	0 ~	
6 *****	Malta	••••• 6	-
6 *****	Luxembourg	••••• 6	-
6 *****	Cyprus	••••• 6	-
6 ******	Estonia	•••••7	+
8 • • • • • • • •	Slovenia	•••••8	
8	Latvia	•••••8	1
11	Lithuania	***************************************	-
11	Croatia	••••••12	+
11	Ireland	••••••13	+
13 **********	Finland	••••••14	+
13 *********	Slovakia	••••••14	+
13 *********	Denmark	•••••••14	+
17************	Bulgaria	••••••17	
18 *********************	Austria		+
20 *********************	Sweden		+
21	Portugal		
21	Hungary	21	
21	Greece		
21 ************************************	Belgium Czech Republic	21	
	The Netherlands		+
32	Romania		+
51	Poland	52	+
54	Spain	59	+
73	Italy		+
74	France		+
96	Germany	96	
		96	

Figure 1: Post-Brexit reapportionment of seats in the European Parliament

Source: European Parliament (2020)

The 2015 parliament's proposals were partly accepted and incorporated into the Council Decision 2018/994 of 13 July 2018, except for the proposals on a joint constituency and the *Spitzenkandidaten* process. Also, a number of the remaining provisions have been incorporated with changes that vary from slight to substantial.

Council Decision 994/2018 will enter into force only after all MS have approved it following their respective constitutional procedures.⁷ Not all MS ratified the text in time for the 2019 elections – some ratified it after 2019, and others, notably Germany, have not ratified it at all. Therefore, the ratification

⁷ As provided by Article 223 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU).

process is still ongoing. The following paragraph discusses the specific indications of Council Decision 994/2018, as well as the changes between it and the 'predecessor' European Parliament resolution of 11 November 2015.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the story of the 2019 *Spitzenkandidaten* process differed substantially from that of four years earlier. Despite the substantial impact on the political and institutional landscape of the EU – which has increased the visibility of the election of the commission president for European citizens – the process was discarded in 2019. The EPP resulted again as the most significant force in the parliament. However, Ursula von der Leyen was chosen to lead the new Commission. Von der Leyen is a former German defence minister under Angela Merkel and was chosen ahead of the EPP's *Spitzenkandidat* Manfred Weber,⁸ who many viewed to be an overly low-profile candidate. This was indeed a step backwards, in the direction of a less transparent and less inclusive decision-making process made behind closed doors, and some Eurosceptics perceived the interinstitutional quarrel over the issue as 'another EU weakness' (Fotopoulos 2019). In terms of media coverage, the salience of the *Spitzenkandidaten* process in 2014 was relevantly high, despite certain country- and media-specific variations. However, in 2019, the press coverage dropped off by almost half (Fotopoulos and Morganti 2020).

⁸ The other candidates were Frans Timmermans for the PES, Ska Keller and Bas Eickhout for the European Green Party, Guy Verhofstadt with Margrethe Vestager for ALDE, Jan Zahradil for European Conservatives and Reformists, and Nico Cué with Violeta Tomić for the European Left.

2. COUNCIL DECISION 994/2018 OF 13 JULY 2018

The 2015 European Parliament proposal formed part of the 'legislative train'⁹ of the package entitled, *A Union of Democratic Change*, and was completed through the adoption of the Council Decision 994/2018. However, as discussed above and already acknowledged by the literature (lvan 2021), only (some of) the milder proposals of this report were retained, such as those concerning electronic and postal voting, the limits for electoral thresholds, a three-week deadline before elections to establish party lists (the lowest common denominator, as opposed to the 12-week deadline proposed in the initial report). Table 1 below offers a preliminary summary of the differences of the main provisions between the 2015 proposal and the Council Decision of 2018.

	EP Resolution 2015	Council Decision 2018
Deadlines	12 weeks	3 weeks
Thresholds	Between 3% and 5% for constituencies > 26 seats	Between 2% and 5% for constituencies > 35 seats
Internet, postal and advanced voting	Compulsory	Optional
Europeanised electoral ballots	Compulsory	Optional
Spitzenkandidaten	Compulsory	Absent
Transnational constituency	Absent	Absent

Table 1 : Differences between the EP Resolution 2015 and the Council Decision 2018

Source: Author's own compilation.

Council Decision 994/2018 is composed of two articles. The first article replaces several articles of the 1976 Electoral Act (Articles 1, 3, 9) and introduces several new articles (3a, 3b, 4a, 9a, 9b). The second article simply establishes that the decision shall be subject to approval by the MS in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements, that the Member States shall notify the General Secretariat of the European Council after the completion of the procedures necessary for that purpose, and that the decision shall enter into force on the first day after the last notification has been received.

It is also important to note that Council Decision 994/2018 establishes several provisions using the terms *may* and *shall*. In the first case, MS are encouraged to adopt such measures; in the latter, they are (upon ratification by all MS of the Council Decision) required to do so. The following paragraphs discuss them in further detail.

⁹ The political priorities of the Commission are, on the initiative of Parliament, presented using the railway metaphor. This practice started with the six priorities of the Von der Leyen Commission and was later extended to discuss proposals under the previous Juncker Commission. The Juncker Commission's ten 'destinations' included the above-mentioned *A Union of Democratic Change* package, of which the *Reform of the Electoral Law of the EU* was one of the 'coaches' that arrived.

2.1. Measures that Member States *may* implement

The measures suggested by Council Decision 994/2018, in the order in which they appear in the decision, are as follows:

- Preferential list system;
- A minimum threshold for the allocation of seats not exceeding 5% of votes;
- Ballot papers displaying the name or logo of the European Political Party (EuPP) with which the list or candidate is affiliated;
- The possibility of advance, postal and electronic voting;
- Necessary measures to allow citizens residing in third countries to vote in European elections.

These measures are listed and briefly discussed in detail below, both in relation to their actual implementation and potential controversy.

2.1.1. Preferential voting

The replaced Article 1(2) of the 1976 Electoral Act states that 'Member States may authorize voting based on a preferential list system in accordance with the procedure they adopt'. This article's wording is unchanged from the 2002 Council Decision and therefore poses no questions.

In any case, the article is non-controversial for two reasons. First, it is not compulsory. Second, most MS – in total 21, including Malta and Ireland, with their Single Transferable Voting (STV) systems – already use preferential voting. Yet, they do so with a wide variety of different features concerning the number of preferences that can be expressed by the voter, compulsory or optional preferences, and methods to express such preferences. Table 3 below summarizes these details, excluding the six countries¹⁰ where a closed-list system is used instead.

¹⁰ These are France, Germany, Hungary, Portugal, Romania, and Spain.

Country name	Type of proportional representation	Number of preferences the voter can express	Optional or compulsory preference for individual candidates	Method by which the voter's preference is expressed
Austria	Preferential voting	One preference	Optional	Write in the name of, or a number corresponding to, the preferred candidate
Belgium	Preferential voting	Preferences up to the total number of candidates for each list (19)	Optional	Blacken the circle corresponding to the preferred candidate(s)
Bulgaria	Preferential voting	One preference	Optional	Make a cross on the number corresponding to the preferred candidate
Croatia	Preferential voting	One preference	Optional	Circle out the number corresponding to the preferred candidate
Cyprus	Preferential voting	Up to two preferences	Optional	Make a cross in square corresponding to the preferred candidate(s)
Czech Republic	Preferential voting	Up to two preferences	Optional	Circle out the number corresponding to the preferred candidate(s)
Denmark	Preferential voting	One preference	Optional	Make a cross in the square corresponding to the preferred candidate
Estonia	Preferential voting	One preference	Compulsory	Write in the number corresponding to the preferred candidate
Finland	Preferential voting	One preference	Compulsory	Write in the name of the preferred candidate
Greece	Preferential voting	Up to four preferences	Optional	Make a cross on the name of the preferred candidate(s)
Ireland	STV	Preferences up to the total number of candidates in each constituency (17, 19, 23)	Compulsory	Order candidates from the most to the least preferred by writing in progressive numbers
Italy	Preferential voting	Up to three preferences	Optional	Write in the name of the preferred candidate(s)
Latvia	Preferential voting	Up to 16 between positive and negative preferences	Optional	Write a + next to the endorsed candidate(s) or cross out the opposed candidate(s)
Lithuania	Preferential voting	Up to five preferences	Optional	Write in the number corresponding to the preferred candidate(s)
Luxembourg	Preferential voting	Up to six preferences in total (and each candidate can receive up to two preferences)	Optional	Make a cross in one or both squares corresponding to the preferred candidate(s)
Malta	STV	Preferences up to the total number of candidates (41)	Compulsory	Order candidates by writing in progressive numbers
Netherlands	Preferential voting	One preference	Compulsory	Make a cross in the circle corresponding to the preferred candidate

Table 2 : Overview of preferential voting across MS

IPOL | Policy Department for Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs

Poland	Preferential voting	One preference	Compulsory	Make a cross in the square corresponding to the preferred candidate
Slovakia	Preferential voting	Up to two preferences	Optional	Circle out the number corresponding to the preferred candidate(s)
Slovenia	Preferential voting	One preference	Optional	Circle out the number corresponding to the preferred candidate
Sweden	Preferential voting	One preference	Optional	Make a cross in the square corresponding to the preferred candidate

Source: Author's own compilation.

Concerning electoral ballots, it is worth noting the extreme diversity of ballot types used across Europe, which is (partially) linked to the different procedures designed for the casting of votes (and preferences, where this is entailed). For instance, in Greece and Spain, the voter picks one party-specific ballot and puts it in an envelope, while in Germany, the voter can only make one cross on a very long black and white ballot. Meanwhile, in Ireland, voters can order all candidates on a coloured ballot, where even the occupation and photo of the candidate is available. In Romania, voters use a stamp to imprint their mark on the chosen list, while in Italy, voters cross out the party's logo. This diversity poses a potential challenge to genuine uniformity in European elections, and the usually very longstanding national traditions of ballot design are hard to change. More information on the ballot structures, together with a sample of the ballots used in the 2019 European elections for each MS, can be found in the appendix.

2.1.2. Maximum threshold not exceeding 5%

The replaced Article 3(1) of the 1976 Electoral Act states that MS may set a minimum threshold for the allocation of seats. At the national level, this threshold may not exceed 5% of valid votes cast. As with the proposed preferential voting, the 5% figure poses no problems either; in addition to the non-compulsory nature of this provision, no MS currently has electoral thresholds above 5%. Figure 1 below summarizes the thresholds employed by MS in the 2019 European elections.



Figure 2: Electoral thresholds across MS electoral systems

Source: Adapted from Sabbati, Sgueo and Dobreva (2019).

Nine countries have a 5% electoral threshold; three have a 4% threshold; Greece's is 3%, and Cyprus' is 1.8%. The remaining thirteen¹¹ (including Germany, which proves to be the most problematic case, as discussed in the following paragraphs) have none. Of these 13, the case of Belgium is peculiar: The German-speaking electoral college has no threshold. However – and in contrast to what Sabbati, Sgueo and Dobreva (2019) indicate – the Dutch-speaking and French-speaking electoral colleges both have a 5% threshold.

2.1.3. 'Europeanised' ballot papers

The new Article 3b provided for in Council Decision 994/2018 allows MS to 'display, on ballot papers... the name or logo of the EuPP to which the national party or individual candidate is affiliated'. Bearing in mind that this is not a compulsory requirement, several considerations have to be made. First of all, the text refers only to EuPPs, while additional EU-relevant actors may be present (and actually have been) on ballots across Europe. For example, Political Groups in the European Parliament (EPPGs), often referred to simply as European Party Groups, can appear on ballots. EPPGs emerged first in the history of Parliament; the EuPPs came later as 'emanations' of their parliamentary counterparts. Following Bardi's suggestion (2005) to apply Katz and Mair's (1993) theory of the three faces of party organisation in analysing party politics at the European level (see also Calossi 2011), we can say that, at the national level, the party in central office usually precedes the party in public office (i.e., political parties compete, elect members, and then form parliamentary groups).¹² However, in the European party system, this relationship is reversed, and – most importantly – the organisational balance of power is shifted towards the EPPGs, as demonstrated by specific studies (for instance, Cicchi and Calossi 2019).

¹¹ In fact, the number was 14, including the UK, which participated in the 2019 European elections. However, as explained in the introductory section, this study does not take the UK into consideration as it is completely irrelevant for the purpose of the analysis.

¹² The third face is the so-called 'party on the ground', represented by grassroot activities in the national context, and in the application of this theory at the EU-level, the national parties themselves.

Secondly, other non-formally recognized European transnational movements and organisations such as, most recently, DiEM25 or Volt can appear on ballots. Third, a reference to *Spitzenkandidaten* is also possible. This, however, is almost always absent from party ballots (see table 4).

Table 4 below shows the Europeanisation of electoral ballots for both the 2014 and 2019 elections to capture if there is an upward or downward trend in this regard. These tables consider only the individual parties that have at least one European reference in their logo or text on the electoral ballot, not if such European links or references have been present elsewhere during the electoral campaign (e.g., in the manifesto, on posters, or other political communication sources, etc.). In other words, it captures only the formal Europeanisation of electoral ballots, disregarding other, broader aspects. As for case selection, only parties who received more than 1.0% of valid votes or elected at least one MEP are taken into consideration, for a total N=253 (2014) and N=264 (2019). Table 3 summarizes the degree of Europeanisation by country according to these criteria.

Country	Party/list name Elected EuPP MEPs		EPPG	Other non- recognized trans. ass.	Spitzen- kandidaten				
2014 European elections									
Netherlands	Democrats 66 (D66)	4	ALDE Party						
Slovenia	Civic List and the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe	0	ALDE Party						
Italy	New Centre-Right–UDC	3	EPP						
Netherlands	Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA)	5	EPP						
Slovenia	New Slovenia–Christian Democrats and Slovenian People's Party	2	EPP						
Greece	Olive Tree – Democratic Alignment	2	PES	S&D					
France	Socialist Party–Left Radical Party	13	PES						
Italy	Democratic Party	31	PES						
Netherlands	Labour Party (PvdA)	3	PES						
Slovenia	Social Democrats and Party of European Socialists	1	PES						
France	Left Front	4	PEL						
Slovenia	Coalition of the United Left	0	PEL						
Ireland	Fianna Fáil (Soldiers of Destiny)	1		ALDE Group					
Ireland	Independents Collectively	3		ALDE Group					

Table 3 : Europeanisation of electoral ballots by actor, 2014 and 2019

Europeanising the elections of the European Parliament

Ireland	Fine Gael (Family of the Irish)	4		EPP Group		
Ireland	Labour	0		S&D		
Ireland	Green Party	0		G/EFA		
Italy	The Other Europe with Tsipras	3				Alexis Tsipras
Total	Europeanised parties: 18 (7.51%)	79	EuPP: 12 (4.74%)	EPPG: 6 (2.37%)	Other: 0 (0.00%)	Spitz: 1 (0.40%)
	2019	9 Europea	nelections			
Luxembourg	Alternative Democratic Reform Party	0	AECR			
Italy	(+) Europe-Italy in Commune- European Democratic Party Italy	0	EDP			
Italy	European Green Party	0	EGP			
Netherlands	Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA)	4	EPP			
Netherlands	Labour Party (PvdA)	6	PES			
Greece	Movement for Change	2	PES			
Italy	Democratic Party	19	PES			
Italy	The Left	0	PEL	GUE/NGL		
Austria	KPÖ Plus-European Left, Open List	0	PEL			
Luxembourg	The Left (Déi Lénk)	0	PEL			
Slovenia	The Left (Levica)	0	PEL			
Ireland	Fianna Fáil (Soldiers of Destiny	2		ALDE Group		
Romania	Alliance of Liberals and Democrats	0		ALDE Group		
Ireland	Sinn Féin (We Ourselves)	1		GUE/NGL		
Ireland	Fine Gael (Family of the Irish)	5		EPP Group		
Ireland	Labour	0		S&D		
Ireland	Green Party	2		G/EFA		
France	Citizens' list European Spring (DiEM25)	0			DiEM25	
Greece	European Realistic Disobedience Front	0			DiEM25	

Germany	Volt Germany	1			Volt	
Luxembourg	Volt Europa	0			Volt	
Netherlands	Volt Netherlands	0			Volt	
Total	Europeanised parties: 22 (8.33%) +4	42 (-37)	EuPP: 11 (4.17%) –1	EPPG: 7 (2.65%) +1	Other: 5 (1.89%) +5	Spitz: 0 (0.00%) –1

Source: Author's own compilation.

It is interesting to notice that in both 2014 and 2019, the most prominent European-level actors on electoral ballots are the EuPPs, in line with the recommendations of the new Article 3b (12 cases in 2014 and 11 cases in 2019).

However, this is where the 'good news' ends. First of all, the degree of Europeanisation of electoral ballots is still remarkably low. In both the 2014 and 2019 EP elections, only around 4% of relevant political parties showed textual or visual references to EuPPs on the electoral ballots; this percentage rises to 7–8% if we consider the second 'face' of party organisation—namely, EPPGs, *Spitzenkandidaten* or other transnational associations. Nevertheless, these figures are strikingly low.

Second, if investigated more closely, the apparent increase of Europeanisation between 2014 and 2019 (from 7.51% to 8.33%) is, in fact, a downward trend. Combined, EuPP and EPPG references remained stable between 2014 and 2019 (for a total of 18). However, the total number of parties was higher in 2019 than in 2014. Therefore the ratio is lower, albeit marginally. In fact, the increase of overall Europeanisation is almost completely due to the presence on electoral ballots of references to DiEM25 and Volt, two pan-European movements not officially recognized as EuPPs. DiEM25 received more than 1% in France and Greece, while Volt did so in Luxembourg and the Netherlands. However, none of them elected an MEP, while – paradoxically – Volt Germany elected one, despite the 0.67% nationwide result, helped by the conspicuous German delegation of MEPs and the absence of an electoral threshold in Germany. The reference to *Spitzenkandidaten*, present in 2014 only in one list above 1% ('The Other Europe with Tsipras', in Italy), disappeared completely, in line with the unfortunate end of this practice for the 2019 European elections.¹³

Moreover, if we consider how many MEPs were elected from parties whose logos and text had a European reference, the figure also shrinks between 2014 and 2019 (i.e., from 79 to 42). In other words, the Europeanised parties on ballots have become more peripheral in the electoral results – not considering, of course, the actual affiliation of such parties to EuPPs, or which EPPG their MEPs end up joining. The purpose of the analysis is to assess the Europeanisation of electoral ballots per se, not other dynamics of the European party system.

One final consideration comes from analysing which European families have been most prominent in the last two European elections. If in 2014 the Socialist family (PES and S&D group) was indeed the most

¹³ More of the smaller parties across Europe had some of these European references. Such was the case for the Italian pro-European liberals who constituted the 'European Choice' electoral list for the 2014 election. The ballot had the ALDE Party and Guy Verhofstadt's name on the logo. However, they performed extremely poorly, receiving only 0.72% of valid votes and therefore failing to elect an MEP.

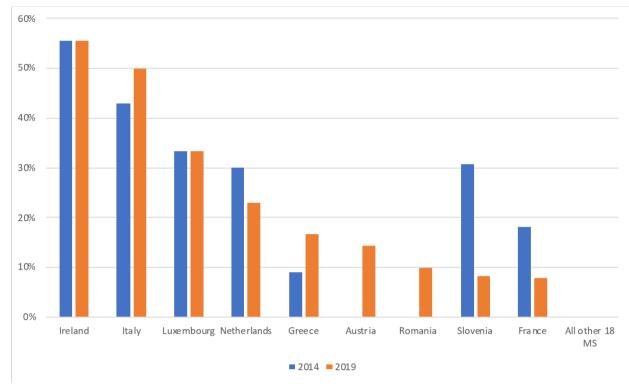
represented (seven references), in 2019 the most prominent was the Radical left family (PEL and GUE/NGL, five references in 2019 compared to two in 2014), with the Socialists falling behind (four references). The European People's Party also shrunk substantially, from four to two references. Table 4 below summarizes these considerations by making the 2014–2019 comparison more explicit.

		2014 (N = 253)		20	2019 (N = 264)	
	AECR	0	0,00%	1	0,38%	
	ALDE Party	2	0,79%	0	0,00%	
	EDP	0	0,00%	1	0,38%	
	EGP	0	0,00%	1	0,38%	
EuPP	EPP	3	1,19%	1	0,38%	
	PES	5	1,98%	3	1,14%	
	PEL	2	0,79%	4	1,52%	
	Total EuPP	12	4,74%	11	4,17%	- 0,58 %
	ALDE Group	2	0,79%	2	0,76%	
	EPP Group	1	0,40%	1	0,38%	
	G/EFA	1	0,40%	1	0,38%	
EPG	GUE/NGL	0	0,00%	2	0,76%	
	S&D	2	0,79%	1	0,38%	
	Total EPG	6	2,37%	7	2,65%	0,28%
	DiEM25	0	0,00%	2	0,76%	
Other	VOLT	0	0,00%	3	1,14%	
	Total Other	0	0,00%	5	1,89%	1,89%
	Tsipras	1	0,40%	0	0,00%	
Spitz.	Total Spitz.	1	0,40%	0	0,00%	- 0,40 %
	Total EU overall	19	7,51%	23	8,71%	1,20%
	Total MEPs	79	10,52%	42	5,96%	- 4,56 %

Table 4 : Summary of Europeanisation of electoral ballots, 2014 and 2019

Source: Author's own compilation.

Interesting insights also come from the analysis of the degree of Europeanisation of electoral ballots among the MS, as shown in Figure 3 below.





Like Table 4, Figure 3 shows that Europeanisation is generally very low. Only Ireland and Italy have around half of the parties with European references on the ballot. This actually depends more on the ballot design, which in these two countries is traditionally highly informative. If we look at country differences, we can see that Austria and Romania actually became (slightly) Europeanised in 2019 for the first time. Hence, the overall number of Europeanised MS did rise between 2014 and 2019.

Nevertheless, others, such as Slovenia and France, saw ballot Europeanisation decline. Even considering a generous, 'minimal' definition of Europeanisation (i.e., at least one party with European references on the ballot), only seven MS in 2014 and nine in 2019 were Europeanised. The remaining 18 – some two-thirds of the total- – had no European reference at all on ballots.

2.1.4. Absentee voting and voting rights of EU citizens residing in third countries

The new Article 4a of Council Decision 994/2018 refers to the possibility for MS to set up several absentee voting methods, allowing EU citizens who cannot be physically present in polling places on election day(s) to cast their vote, nonetheless. Article 4a refers, specifically, to 'advanced, postal and internet voting'. Postal voting is, in fact, one type of advanced voting, as the elector usually sends their vote by post before election day. Other forms of advanced voting currently in use in MS are *proxy voting* (an elector who cannot attend in person delegates a trusted person to cast a vote on their behalf) or *embassy voting* (casting one's vote in person at a special polling place setup at the embassy of their country of citizenship, in their country of residence).

Source: Author's own compilation.

The new Article 9a, instead, states that MS may take the measures necessary to allow citizens residing in third countries (i.e., outside the EU) to vote in EP elections. Table 5 below summarizes the current situation of European MS concerning these voting possibilities.

Country	Postal voting	Voting at embassy	Proxy voting	lnternet voting (e- voting)	Voting from outside the EU
Belgium	√	\checkmark	\checkmark		\checkmark
Netherlands	√	\checkmark	\checkmark		\checkmark
Estonia	√	\checkmark		\checkmark	\checkmark
Austria	\checkmark	\checkmark			\checkmark
Denmark	√	\checkmark			\checkmark
Finland	√	\checkmark			\checkmark
Hungary	\checkmark	\checkmark			\checkmark
Latvia	\checkmark	\checkmark			\checkmark
Lithuania	\checkmark	\checkmark			\checkmark
Slovenia	\checkmark	\checkmark			\checkmark
Spain	\checkmark	\checkmark			\checkmark
Sweden	\checkmark	\checkmark			\checkmark
Germany	\checkmark				\checkmark
Luxembourg	\checkmark				\checkmark
France		\checkmark	\checkmark		\checkmark
Croatia		\checkmark			\checkmark
Cyprus		\checkmark			\checkmark
Poland		\checkmark			\checkmark
Portugal		\checkmark			\checkmark
Romania		\checkmark			\checkmark
Bulgaria		\checkmark			

Table 5 : Absentee and from third country voting possibilities in MS

IPOL | Policy Department for Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs

Greece		\checkmark			
Italy		\checkmark			
Czech Republic					
Ireland					
Malta					
Slovakia					
Total	14	21	3	1	20

Source: Adapted from Sabbati, Sgueo and Dobreva (2019).

As can be seen, the situation remains far from homogenous, even as every MS provide for at least one possibility for absentee voting. The 'champions' of absentee voting are Belgium, the Netherlands and Estonia, which allow citizens to choose from three different methods to cast a ballot (beyond the traditional method of in-person voting at a polling place). Belgium and the Netherlands allow voters to select from postal, embassy and proxy voting; Estonia, in addition, allows internet voting (the only country in Europe to do so) in keeping with its 'e-Estonia' program aimed at developing a digital society.

All in all, 23 countries provide for one or more possibilities for absentee voting, with embassy voting being the most diffused option (21 countries) over postal voting (14 countries). France, in addition to Belgium and the Netherlands, also provides for proxy voting but without the possibility of postal voting, a practice that was allowed in the past but has been, for the moment, abandoned due to malpractice (Lupiáñez-Villanueva and Devaux 2018). Only four countries (the Czech Republic, Ireland, Malta, and Slovakia) allow no absentee voting. In addition to these, three countries do allow embassy voting, but only for citizens residing within the EU and not in third countries (Bulgaria, Greece, and Italy).

2.2. Measures that Member States shall implement

The measures for which Council Decision 994/2018 expresses an obligation (*shall* implement), according to the order on which they appear in the decision, are as follows:

- Members of the European Parliament elected based on proportional representation, using the list system or the STV, through free and secret elections based on direct universal suffrage;
- Minimum 2% threshold for constituencies comprising more than 35 seats (including nationwide, single constituencies);
- Deadline for submission of candidacies at least three weeks before the date, fixed by the MS, for holding European elections;
- Implementation of necessary measures to prevent double voting;

• Designating a contact authority responsible for exchanging data on mobile voters or candidates with its counterparts in other MS.

The measures that MS are requested to implement are listed and briefly discussed below, both concerning their actual implementation and potential controversy.

2.2.1. Proportional representation and direct universal suffrage

The replaced Article 1(1) states that 'In each Member State, members of the European Parliament shall be elected as representatives of the citizens of the Union based on proportional representation, using the list system or the single transferable vote'. The replaced Article 1(3) states that 'Elections shall be by direct universal suffrage and shall be free and secret'.

As for Article 1(2) already discussed in the previous paragraph, this part of the 2018 Council Decision is completely unproblematic and uncontroversial, as all MS use proportional representation, be it closed-list proportional representation or STV. In fact, the only small difference between the 1976 Electoral Act as amended by the 2002 Council Decision and the 2018 Council Decision changes concerns the denomination of MEPs. The 2002 text states that 'members of the European Parliament shall be elected on the basis of (...)', while the 2018 Decision provides, in addition, that 'members of the European Parliament shall be elected *as representatives of the Union* on the basis of (...)' (emphasis added by the Author). This addition is relevant and meaningful in principle, but it does not imply any substantial change to be implemented.

2.2.2. Threshold between 2% and 5% for bigger Member States

The replaced Article 3(2) states that 'Member States in which the list system is used shall set a minimum threshold for the allocation of seats for constituencies which comprise more than 35 seats. This threshold shall not be lower than 2 per cent, and shall not exceed 5 per cent, of the valid votes cast in the constituency concerned, including a single-constituency Member State'. Table 6 below shows the current threshold for those MS electing more than 35 MEPs.

Country name	Total number of MEPs (after Brexit)	Total number of constituencies	Presence of explicit threshold	If yes, threshold %
Germany	96	1	No	
France	79	1	Yes	5%
Italy	76	5	Yes	4%
Spain	59	1	No	
Poland	52	13	Yes	5%

Table 6 : Explicit thresholds of MS with more than 35 seats (nationwide)

Source: Author's own compilation.

Italy and Poland do not fall under the category identified by Article 3(2), as their sub-national constituencies elect fewer than 35 seats. In the Italian case (5 constituencies), the number of seats ranges between 8 and 20,¹⁴ and in the Polish case – whose 52 seats are split between a remarkable 13 constituencies – it is between 2 and 7. In addition to this, both countries do have an explicit threshold (4% and 5%, respectively). It is worth mentioning that the combination of a high number of constituencies and a relatively low number of seats in Poland leads to a strong disproportional effect. However, the implicit threshold (Gallagher and Mitchell 2005) has not exceeded the 5% provided for in Article 3(2).¹⁵ In any case, Article 3(2) only refers to formal, explicit thresholds and not any mechanical effects of a given MS's electoral system. With its nationwide, single constituency electing 79 MEPs, France is also in line with Article 3(2) due to its threshold of 5%.

Spain and Germany, however, are not in line with Article 3(2). Both elect more than 35 MEPs (59 and 96, respectively, after Brexit), have a single, nationwide constituency, ¹⁶ and have no threshold. This is crucial because, as we will see in the next section, neither of these countries have ratified Council Decision 2018/994.

2.2.3. Three weeks' deadline for submission of candidacies

The new Article 3a states that 'where national provisions set a deadline for the submission of candidacies for election to the European Parliament, that deadline shall be at least three weeks before the date fixed by the relevant Member State'.

As already noted in the first section, this is a rather short timeframe and definitely not as ambitious as the 2015 EP proposal, which aimed at 12 weeks (Ivan 2021). Figure 6 below summarizes the deadlines by country, ordered from the longest timeframe to the shortest.

¹⁴ Specifically, 8 seats for the Islands constituency; 15 for both the Central and North-Eastern constituencies; 18 for the Southern constituency; and 20 for the North-Western constituency.

¹⁵ In 2019, the largest party excluded from the seat assignment was the 'Confederation for Liberty and Independence' (Konfederacja Wolność i Niepodległość) with 4.55% of the votes cast. The smallest party with MEPs elected was 'Spring' (Wiosna) with 6.06% of the votes cast.

¹⁶ Constituencies of merely administrative interest or distributive relevance within a party list exist in Germany: 16 constituencies, only in the case of the CDU/CSU.

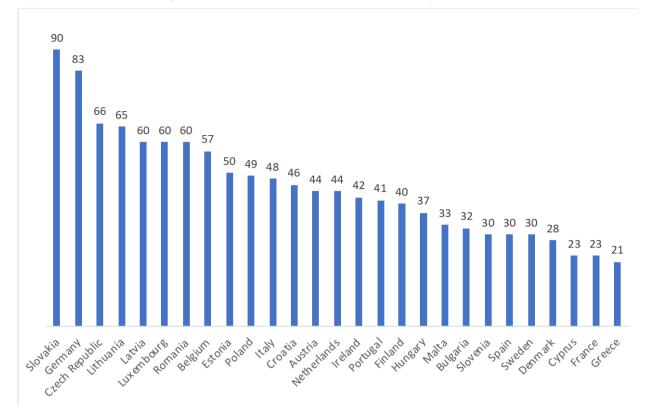


Figure 4: Deadline for registration before European elections (in days), 2019

As can be seen, all MS are compliant with this article. There is, however, a substantial variance, from Slovakia's three months and Germany's 11 weeks to Cyprus, France and Greece, which are close to the established limit (23, 23 and 21 days, respectively).

The case of Greece, in particular, could require some changes to national law, which currently provides a deadline of 12 days after the elections are officially called (Article 3 of Law 4255/2014, in combination with Article 10 of Law 4239/2014). In practice, this could result in a 16–22-day term for the submission of candidacies for election to the European Parliament. In the European elections of 2014 and 2019, the actual terms were 21 and 20 days, respectively. However, according to the 2018 legal instrument ratifying the council decision, it is advised to officially call European elections at least 34 days before to avoid any conflict with the minimum three-week term for the submission of candidacies. In any case, neither this practice – nor a change in the national law to ensure it is operable – do not seem at all problematic. Finally, it is worth noting that Bulgaria's deadline of 32 days refers to candidates, while lists have an earlier deadline (45 days). Similarly, Denmark envisages a 28-day pre-election deadline for candidates, but new lists have to registerfurther in advance – namely, 56 days before the elections.

2.2.4. Double voting prevention and data exchange

The replaced Article 9 states that no person may vote more than once in any election for MEPs and that MS shall take the necessary measures to ensure that double voting in elections to the European Parliament is subject to *effective, proportionate* and *dissuasive* penalties. Most countries (24 in total) have such measures in place, as Table 7 below shows. Only Hungary, Latvia and Spain are not compliant (in the latter two, there is an explicit reference in the electoral law to the prohibition of double voting,

Source: Author's own compilation.

but with no corresponding sanction). However, this is not likely to be an issue. All penal codes envisage some kind of sanction for fraudulent behaviour in voting, so to extend this to double voting in European elections is a relatively straightforward legislative procedure. Finally, it is worth noting that there is a relatively high variance in the severity of these sanctions, from a fine of between €33 and €100 in Slovakia to a maximum sentence of 5 years imprisonment of Germany.

Country	Double voting prevention measures (penalty)	Min–max penalty for double voting
Austria	Yes	Fine of up to €218 and, if irrecoverable, to imprisonment for up to 2 weeks
Belgium	Yes	Imprisonment of between 1 month and 1 year and a fine of €1,820–70,000
Bulgaria	Yes	Probation and a fine of BGN500–2,000 (approx.€250–1,000)
Croatia	Yes	Imprisonment from 6 months to 5 years
Cyprus	Yes	Imprisonment not exceeding 6 months and/or a fine not exceeding CYP450 (approx.€720)
Czech Republic	Yes	Fine up to CZK10,000 (approx. €385)
Denmark	Yes	Fine
Estonia	Yes	Fine of €1,300, or detention
Finland	Yes	Fine, or imprisonment for up to 1 year
France	Yes	1 year imprisonment and a fine of €15,000
Germany	Yes	Fine, or imprisonment for up to 5 years
Greece	Yes	Imprisonment of at least 3 months up to 5 years and deprivation of any public office of between 1 and 5 years
Ireland	Yes	n/a
Italy	Yes	Imprisonment of 1–3 years, and a fine of €51–258
Lithuania	Yes	Fine of €140–300; if committed repeatedly, between €300 and €860
Luxembourg	Yes	8 to 15 days imprisonment and a fine of €251–2,000
Malta	Yes	Fine up to the equivalent of ML 1,000, and a maximum of 6 months imprisonment
Netherlands	Yes	Up to 4,350€ fee and a maximum imprisonment of 1 month
Poland	Yes	Fine up to 5,000 PLN (approx. 1,000€)

Table 7 : Sanctions for double voting

Portugal	Yes	1 year of imprisonment, plus the payment of an amount corresponding to a 50 day-fine (the final amount is at the discretion of the court)
Romania	Yes	Impediment of electoral/candidacy rights and additional sanctions
Slovakia	Yes	Fine of between €33 and €100
Slovenia	Yes	Fine or up to 1 year of imprisonment
Sweden	Yes	Fine, or imprisonment
Hungary	No	n/a
Latvia	No	n/a ¹⁷
Spain	No	n/a ¹⁸

Source: Author's own compilation.

The new Article 9b states that each Member State shall designate a contact authority responsible for exchanging data on voters and candidates with its counterparts in the other MS and that this authority shall begin transmitting to those counterparts, no later than six weeks before election day (or the first day of the electoral period data concerning Union citizens who, in a Member State of which they are not nationals, have been entered on the electoral roll or are standing as candidates.

In this regard, most countries are compliant with these two provisions. As can be seen from Table 7 below, all MS do have a designated authority. In most cases, it is the interior ministry; in other cases, another ministry (e.g., foreign affairs, or some specific 'non-traditional' ministries such as the ministry of digital affairs); in others, a dedicated authority for electoral matters (electoral commission, central electoral committee etc.).

Article 41(3) of the European Elections Act 2004 provides that multiple votes are not counted. However, no penalty is specified.

¹⁸ Article 210(2) of Ley Organica 13/94 specifies that no one can vote more than once in EP elections. However, no penalty is specified.

Table 8 : Electoral authority and data exchange prior to elections (6 weeks)

Country	Data exchange contact authority	Authority	Rules for exchanging data on time (six weeks before)
Austria	Yes	Federal Ministry of the Interior	Yes
Belgium	Yes	Ministry of Internal Affairs	Yes
Croatia	Yes	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Yes
Czech Republic	Yes	Ministry of the Interior	Yes
Denmark	Yes	Ministry of the Interior and Housing – Election Unit	Yes
Finland	Yes	Digital and Population Data Services Agency	Yes
France	Yes	National Institute for Statistics (INSEE)	Yes
Greece	Yes	Ministry of Interior-Directorate of Elections	Yes
Ireland	Yes	Electoral Commission	Yes
Italy	Yes	Ministry of the Interior	Yes
Latvia	Yes	Central Election Commission	Yes
Lithuania	Yes	Central Electoral Commission	Yes
Luxembourg	Yes	Government	Yes
Malta	Yes	Electoral Commission	Yes
Netherlands	Yes	Ministry of the Interior	Yes
Portugal	Yes	National Election Commission	Yes
Romania	Yes	Permanent Electoral Authority (PEA)	Yes
Slovakia	Yes	Ministry of Interior	Yes
Spain	Yes	Central Electoral Committee	Yes
Sweden	Yes	Election Authority	Yes
Bulgaria	Yes	Central Election Commission	No
Cyprus	Yes	Ministry of the Interior	No
Estonia	Yes	State Electoral Office	No
Germany	Yes	Federal Election Management Body	No

Hungary	Yes	National Election Office	No
Poland	Yes	Minister of Digital Affairs	No
Slovenia	Yes	National Electoral Commission	No

Source: Author's own compilation.

In fact, seven MS have not implemented the request in Council Decision 994/2018 to have these authorities exchange data on time: Bulgaria, Cyprus, Estonia, Germany, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia. However, in the case of ratification in all MS, this measure – like prohibiting double voting – is not expected to pose challenges in its implementation.

3. THE RATIFICATION STATUS OF COUNCIL DECISION 994/2018 OF 13 JULY 2018

The Council Decision of 13 July 2018 will enter into force only after all MS have approved it in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements (Article 223 TFEU). As mentioned, not all MS were able to ratify the decision in time for the 2019 elections. Indeed, the ratification process continues. Table 6 summarizes the ratification status in June 2021. It begins with countries that have ratified (in chronological order) and then lists MS that not to date ratified it.

Council Decision 2018/994 of 13 July Country name Date of ratification 2018 ratification status Sweden Ratified February 2018 Ratified 19 Denmark October 2018 Ratified October 2018 Greece Ratified 20 Bulgaria November 2018 Ratified Latvia November 2018 Ratified November 2018 Portugal Austria Ratified December 2018 Finland Ratified December 2018 Hungary Ratified December 2018 Lithuania Ratified December 2018 Netherlands Ratified December 2018 Slovenia Ratified December 2018 Croatia Ratified January 2019 Ratified France February 2019

Table 9 : Ratification status of Council Decision 994/2018

¹⁹ The date refers to Denmark's notification of the General Secretariat of the European Council via a letter from the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was sent on 22 October 2018 and delivered on 29 October 2018. It does not refer to ratification by the Danish Parliament.

²⁰ In Bulgaria, the ratification of the Council decision was inserted into the Law for the Budget of the National Health Insurance Fund for 2019.

Italy	Ratified	February 2019
Luxembourg	Ratified	February 2019
Malta	Ratified	February 2019
Poland	Ratified ²¹	February 2019
Slovakia	Ratified	February 2019
Belgium	Ratified	March 2019
Ireland	Ratified	March 2019
Romania	Ratified	June 2019
Czech Republic	Ratified	June 2020
Estonia	Ratified	n/a 22
Cyprus, Germany, Spain	Not yet ratified	n/a

Source: Author's own compilation.

As can be seen, between February 2018 and June 2020, 24 MS ratified the decision. Two of them (Romania and the Czech Republic) ratified it after the 2019 European elections. Only' three MS (Cyprus, Germany, and Spain) have not ratified or approved the decision yet.

3.1. Countries that have ratified

Sweden started the ratification process in February 2018, and a large number of other MS (11) followed suit up to the end of 2018 (between October and December). All other MS that ratified or approved it, except Romania and the Czech Republic, managed to do so before May 2019. Romania ratified only a few days after the 2019 European elections. In the next paragraph, the ratification process of each MS is briefly discussed in chronological order.

²¹ The consent-for-ratification bill was passed by the parliament on the 26 February 2019, signed by the president on the 18 March 2019, and entered into force on the 10 April 2019. However, the ratification itself was never published in the Journal of Laws and hence has never officially entered into force.

²² In the case of Estonia, the country expert was unable to trace the exact ratification date. See next paragraph for more details.

3.1.1. Before the 2019 European elections

Sweden ratified Council Decision 994/2018 by executive order on 21 February 2019. No changes to Swedish law were necessary to implement the decision²³. The decision was not deemed to be of 'significant importance', a phrase with a particular legal meaning in this context (i.e., it does not substantially alter existing agreements). For these reasons, the decision did not require parliamentary review or approval. As stated above, no changes were necessary for Swedish law to be made consistent with the decision. While some of the measures allowed under Council Decision 994/2018 are not currently established by law in Sweden (e.g., electronic voting, European party/group symbols on ballots), existing laws and regulations had already implemented all nondiscretionary aspects of the decision.

Denmark notified the General Secretariat of the European Council of the completion of the required approval mechanism in late October 2018, meaning Denmark has approved the decision. No formal requirements mentioned in the Council Decision 2018/944 triggered changes in Danish electoral legislation since all the required changes had already been implemented.²⁴ The Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs notified the General Secretariat of the Council through a letter dated 22 October 2018, which was received on 29 October 2018.

Greece ratified Council Decision 2018/994 of 13 July 2018 on 31 October 2018 through an act of parliament. The act entered into force on 12 November 2018 as Law 4573/2018.²⁵

In **Bulgaria**, the electoral code has been amended several times since 13 July 2018. However, none of these amendments referred explicitly to Council Decision 2018/994. Yet, one may read a reference to the decision in the Additional Provisions section of the latest officially amended version of the electoral law, where in § 8, p. 3 the text reads that the law (i.e., the code) 'ensures the implementation of Decision 2018/994...'. It is specified that this paragraph was the result of a legal change published in Issue 102 of the State Gazette in 2018²⁶. The issue in question does, in fact, mention that Council Decision 2018/994 was implemented in the newly adopted (in November 2018) Law for the Budget of the National Health Insurance Fund for 2019, in § 42 p. 1, of this law, with no clear connection to the preceding or following text²⁷. In this rather indirect way, the Council Decision can be considered formally (in terms of explicit reference in legislative texts) adopted in Bulgaria.

Latvia's parliament ratified Council Decision 2018/994 of 13 July 2018 on 21 November 2018 in a bill entitled 'Decision 2018/994 of the Council of the European Union of 13 July 2018 amending the Act concerning the election of the representatives of the European Parliament by direct universal suffrage annexed to Council Decision 76/787 / ECSC, EEC, Euratom of 20 September 1976'.²⁸

²³ See Lag (1995:374) om val till Europaparlamentet Svensk författningssamling 1995:1995:374 t.o.m. SFS 1996:306 -<u>Riksdagen</u>.

See kom (2018) 0636 (oversigt): Forslag til Europa-Parlamentets og Rådets förordningom ændring af forordning (EU, Euratom) nr. 1141/2014 for så vidt angår en kontrolprocedure vedrørende overtrædelse af reglerne om beskyttelse af personoplysninger i forbindelse med valg til Europa-Parlamentet Et bidrag fra Europa-Kommissionen til ledernes møde i Salzburg den 19.-20. september 2018 / Folketingets EU-Oplysning.

²⁵ See <u>https://www.e-nomothesia.gr/kat-bouli-bouleutes/ekloges/nomos-4573-2018-phek-189a-12-11-2018.html.</u>

 ²⁶ See Election Code of the Republic of Bulgaria, <u>https://www.cik.bg/upload/146300/Election+code+25012021.pdf.</u>
 ²⁷ See State Gazette of the Republic of Bulgaria, 102/2018.

https://dv.parliament.bg/DVWeb/showMaterialDV.jsp?idMat=132509.

²⁸ See decision text: <u>http://tap.mk.gov.lv/mk/tap/?pid=40465421</u>, and Latvian Parliament's considerations: <u>https://www.vestnesis.lv/op/2018/232.3</u>.

In **Portugal**, on 16 November 2018, the parliament issued Resolução da Assembleia da República nº 307/2018 ratifying 'Council Decision (EU, EURATOM) 2018/994 of 13 July 2018, annexed to Council Decision 76/787/ECSC, EEC, Euratom of 20 September 1976'.²⁹ The president of the republic subsequently ratified the parliament's approved text, with publication on the same date.³⁰

On 21 November 2018, **Austria** introduced a bill titled 'Council Decision (EU, EURATOM) 2018/994 of 13 July 2018 amending the Act concerning the election of the members of the European Parliament by direct universal suffrage, annexed to Council Decision 76/787/ESC, EEC, Euratom of 20 September 1976' to the Austrian National Council. Following a report from the Constitutional Committee of 6 December 2018, the national council approved the decision on 13 December 2018. The Federal Council approved Council Decision 2018/994 on 20 December 2018, and it has been in force since then.³¹

Finland has ratified Council Decision 2018/994 of 13 July 2018. No problems were encountered, as government proposal HE 163/2018 vp was approved as bill 1224/2018 on 19 December 2018³².

In **Hungary**, the parliament voted into law amendments to Act CXIII of 2003 on the Election of Members of the European Parliament on 12 December 2018³³. The new regulation stipulates that the new law was 'required by Council Decision (EU, Euratom) 2018/994 of 13 July 2018 amending the Act concerning the election of the members of the European Parliament' to facilitate the enfranchisement of citizens residing in third countries *vis-à-vis* elections to the European Parliament. Fidesz MPs supported amendments to the bill, while the opposition MPs abstained from voting. The amendments lift the residence requirements on Hungarian citizens living outside the European Union for European Parliament elections. In order to vote, non-resident Hungarian citizens are required to register. To make it possible for non-resident Hungarians to cast their votes in European elections, the amended legislation introduced postal voting. To ensure that non-resident voters gettheir ballot papers in time, the same law also changed the registration deadline of parties running in the election from 34 to 37 days before the election.

In **Lithuania**, on 20 December 2018, the parliament introduced an act to ratify Council Decision (EU, EURATOM) 2018/994 of 13 July 2018 amending the Act concerning the election of the members of the European Parliament by direct universal suffrage, annexed to Council Decision 76/787/ECSC, EEC, Euratom of 20 September 1976. The act entered into force on 29 December 2018.³⁴

Regarding the **Netherlands,** the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs put the council decision forward for the 'tacit approval' of both houses in a letter dated 5 November 2018 and received on 6 November 2018.³⁵ The parliament could require the treaty change be subject to their explicit approval if at least 15 members of the Senate or at least 30 members of the House of Representatives communicated an

For the current electoral law, see https://likumi.lv/ta/id/84185-eiropas-parlamenta-velesanu-likums.

²⁹ See <u>Resolução da Assembleia da República n.º 307/2018 (lexlink.eu)</u>.

³⁰ See <u>https://dre.pt/home/-/dre/116997462/details/maximized</u>.

³¹ See <u>RIS - Europawahlordnung - Bundesrecht konsolidiert, Fassung vom 26.05.2021 (bka.qv.at)</u>.

³² See Laki edustajien valitsemisesta Euroopan Parlamenttiinyleisillä välittömillä vaaleilla annetun säädöksen muuttamisesta tehdyn neuvoston päätöksen voimaan saattamisesta 1224/2018 - Säädökset alkuperäisinä - FINLEX [®].

³³ See <u>Hungary_Act_election_members_European_Parliament_2003_en.pdf(legislationline.org)</u>.

³⁴ See <u>https://e-seimas.lrs.lt/portal/legalAct/lt/TAD/b86406d2052611e98a758703636ea610?jfwid=66gfwxfmq</u>.

³⁵ Letter of the Dutch minister of Foreign Affairs to both chambers of Parliament regarding the Council Decision of 13 July 2018, 5 November 2018, Official Publications, Dutch government website: https://zoek.officielebekendmakingen.nl/kst-35076-1.html.

instruction to this effect before 6 December 2018. As this did not happen, parliament's approval was assumed, and the Dutch government then formally ratified the decision on 12 December 2018.³⁶

In **Slovenia**, Council Decision 2018/994 of 13 July 2018 was approved by the Slovenian government on 20 December 2018.³⁷

Croatia notified the General Secretariat of the Council of the completion of the required approval at the beginning of 2019, meaning Croatia has approved the Decision. No formal requirements mentioned in the Council Decision 2018/944 triggered changes in Croatia's electoral legislation since all the requirements had already been implemented. The Croatian Ministry of Public Administration notified the General Secretariat of the Council through a letter dated 8 January 2019, which was duly noted in the Council's register.³⁸

In **France**, the government introduced a law (LOI n°2019-131) on 25 February 2019 to ratify Coundi Decision 2018/994³⁹. This law comprises a single article authorising the modification of the 76/787/CECA, CEE, Euratom decision of 1976 through the 2018/994 (EU, Euratom) decision. In the parliamentary report tied to the ratification of the council decision, the French National Assembly endorsed the effort to harmonise voting procedures for European elections among the MS despite the different national constraints⁴⁰. The report highlights the need to reduce the fragmentation of voting procedures across the EU to 'remobilize' voters for European elections. The report lists the constraints that are impossible to harmonise (the date of the election, the date of proclamation of the results, the type of electoral system), but also the dispositions in French law that are considered desirable at the EU level (such as gender quotas). The French National Assembly considers Council Decision 2018/994 as a 'minimal' agreement, where common criteria are not restrictive. Putting it bluntly, the parliamentary report states that this text has a rather modest ambition. Therefore, for France, which already enforces all restrictive criteria, it will have a rather limited impact.

In **Italy**, the parliament debated Council Decision 2018/994 through joint sessions of the constitutional affairs committee (I) and the committee of the European Union policies (XIV) of the Senate and at the Chamber of Deputies. The joint committee sessions expressed unanimous votes in favour of adopting the council decision in the Senate on 13 February 2019 and on February 14 2019, in the Chamber of Deputies. The final documents stated that the ratification of Council Decision 2018/994 would not require any modification to Italian law, considering that the provisions contained therein had already been met in the current national legislation. The parliament thus ruled that the government should

³⁶ Treaty ratification status of the Council Decision of 13 July 2018 amending the Act concerning the election of the members of the European Parliament by direct universal suffrage, annexed to Council Decision 76/787/ECSC, EEC, Euratom of 20 September 1976, Treaty Database, Dutch government website: <u>https://verdragenbank.overheid.nl/en/Treaty/Details/013603.html</u>.

³⁷ Approval document: <u>https://imss.dz-rs.si/IMiS/ImisAdmin.nsf/ImisnetAgent?OpenAgent&2&DZ-MSS-01/ee3062fa1d8cfd9b611bc5d1effe5e1840ecf8a7018a081c12cf1949af33f577.</u>

³⁸ Email exchange with the Permanent Representation of the Republic of Croatia to the European Union, who provided a copy of the approval letter sent to the General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union.

³⁹ See LOI n° 2019-131 du 25 février 2019 autorisant l'approbation de la décision (UE, EURATOM) 2018/994 du Conseil du 13 juillet 2018 modifiant l'acte portant élection des membres du Parlement européen au suffrage universel direct, annexé à la décision 76/787/CECA, CEE, Euratom du Conseil du 20 septembre 1976 (1) - Légifrance (legifrance.gouv.fr).

⁴⁰ Rapport fait au nom de la Commission des Affaires Étrangères sur le projet de loi autorisant l'approbation de la décision (UE, EURATOM) 2018/994 du Conseil du 13 juillet 2018 modifiant l'act portant élection des membres du Parlement européen au suffrage universel direct, annexé à la décision 76/787/CECA, CEE, Euratom du Conseil du 20 Septembre 1976 – Assemblée Nationale Rapport n°1462.

notify the European Council of its decision, as per Article 11(3) (Simplified procedures for amending the rules of the Treaties) of the European Delegation Law n. 234 of 24 December 2012, regulating methods and procedures concerning Italian participation in the EU legislative process⁴¹.

In **Luxembourg**, Council Decision 2018/994 was ratified by law on 8 February 2019 (Loi du 8 février 2019 portant modification de l'article 295 de la loi électorale modifiée du 18 février 2003)⁴². The ratification of the decision was unproblematic in Luxembourg, as most dispositions were already included in the country's electoral law. However, Luxembourg did not opt to introduce party logos on the ballot, as the council decision allowed, to maintain consistent ballots across elections. Reviewing the bill, the Luxemburgish highest administrative court stated, 'It is to be noted that the new dispositions introduced on the electoral act by the Council Decision EU, Euratom 2018/994 include requirements that the legislation of MS should implement. Since the electoral law (of Luxembourg) already satisfies all of these requirements, no additional modification of the Luxemburgish electoral law is necessary.⁴³

In **Malta**, the Council Decision of 13 July 2018 was ratified through the adoption of the European Parliament Elections Act Amendment Order on 18 January 2019. While the country's 2003 European Parliament Elections Act was already broadly in line with most of the Council Decision's instructions, the few clarifications proposed in the 2019 Order will not come into force until "the last notification by the Member States of the completion of their respective approval procedures is received by the General Secretariat of the Council." ⁴⁴

Regarding **Poland**, the consent-for-ratification bill was passed by the parliament on 26 February 2019⁴⁵. It was signed by the president on 18 March 2019 and entered into force on 10 April 2019⁴⁶. However, the ratification itself was never published in the Journal of Laws and consequently never entered into force. The consent-for-ratification bill passed with little or no controversy. Proposed by the prime minister, it received positive recommendations from two parliamentary committees and parliamentary legislative offices. The vote on the bill was near-unanimous, with 422 votes in favour and only one against⁴⁷. This was primarily because –as detailed in the prime minister's motion introducing the consent-for-ratification bill to the parliament – 'All the regulations introduced by the Council Decision are entirely coherent with current Polish law and produce no need to amend it'.

Further, Poland's National Electoral Commission expressed an opinion within this legislative process stating that 'Implementing it [the Council Decision] would not require amending the electoral code,

⁴¹ See Commissioni Riunite (I e XIV) - Resoconto di giovedì 14 febbraio 2019: ESAME DI DECISIONI DEL CONSIGLIO DELL'UNIONE EUROPEA AI SENSI DELL'ARTICOLO 11 DELLA LEGGE N. 234 DEL 2012: <u>http://documenti.camera.it/leg18/resoconti/commissioni/bollettini/xhtml/2019/02/14/0114/leg.18.bol0143.data201902</u> <u>14.com0114.html</u>, and Legislatura 18^a - Commissioni 1° e 14° riunite - Resoconto sommario n. 2 del 13/02/2019: <u>http://www.senato.it/japp/bgt/showdoc/print/18/SommComm/0/1099456/doc_dc</u>.

⁴² See Loi du 8 février 2019 portant modification de l'article 295 de la loi électorale modifiée du 18 février 2003. - Legilux (public.lu)/.

⁴³ Avis du Conseil d'Etat, Projet de loi portant modification de l'article 295 de la loi électorale modifiée du 18 février 2003, p.2.

⁴⁴ European Parliament Elections Act (Amendment) Order, Legal Notice 8 of 2019, Government Gazette of Malta No. 20/120, 18 January 2019: <u>https://legislation.mt/eli/ln/2019/8/eng</u>.

⁴⁵ The consent-for-ratification bill (10.404.2019). See <u>https://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU20190000566</u>.

⁴⁶ Timeline form the Polish Parliament website. See <u>https://www.sejm.gov.pl/Sejm8.nsf/PrzebiegProc.xsp?nr=3177</u>.

Voting results: <u>https://www.sejm.gov.pl/Sejm8.nsf/agent.xsp?symbol=glosowania&nrkadencji=8&nrposiedzenia=77&nrglosowania=12</u> <u>6</u>.

which already allows, for example, for postal voting for disabled voters or fines for voters participating more than once in the same elections⁷⁴⁸. By the time the consent-for-ratification bill has entered into force on 10 April 2019, it was already clear that not all MS would ratify it in term for it to come into force before the European elections at the end of May 2019. As much was confirmed in a letter sent on 27 March 2019 by Luminita Odobescu, Romania's permanent representative to the EU and then chair of the Permanent Representatives Committee of the Council of the European Union to Antonio Tajani, then President of the European Parliament, informing him that 'Council Decision 2018/994 (...) will not enter into force ahead of 2019 EP elections'⁴⁹. Keeping in mind that the Council Decision would not enter into force before the 2019 European elections and that Polish electoral law is already coherent in most parts with the decision, the Polish authorities were hesitant about how to proceed. Poland's President finally signed the ratification document in July 2019, however seeing the hesitance of some other Member States he decided to withhold the publication of the ratification document ⁵⁰. Therefore, it has never entered into force. However, the consent-for-ratification bill was never politically controversial or legally challenging and was accepted across the political spectrum. Should all the other MS ratify the decision, Poland will likely complete the final remaining step in its ratification procedure.

In **Slovakia**, the Interior Ministry submitted a proposal for approval of Council Decision 2018/994 of 13 July 2018 at a meeting of the executive on 20 February 2019. The Government of the Slovak Republic issued Resolution No. 66 of 20 February 2019, formally approving the decision. Subsequently, on the 1st of March 2019, the foreign ministry requested that the decision be published in the official gazette and the relevant measures related to the decision's entry into force be implemented.⁵¹

In **Belgium**, Council Decision 2018/994 was ratified by the federal parliament on 19 March 2019. ⁵² According to the parliamentary discussion, the ratification did not encounter significant difficulties since the relevant legislation had already been amended in 2016 in a way that largely conformed to the requirements under the 2018 decision. ⁵³

⁴⁸ Quotes from the Prime Minister`s Motion introducing the consent-for-ratification bill to the Parliament: <u>https://orka.sejm.gov.pl/Druki8ka.nsf/0/CFF42348ECF8769CC125839200416D5D/%24File/3177.pdf</u>.

⁴⁹ The letter can be accessed here (sent on 27th of March 2019): https://www.eerstekamer.nl/bijlage/20190401/bijlage_bij_brief_inwerkingtreding/document3/f=/vkxajif1mdik.pdf.

⁵⁰ Information not published in official journals – obtained during telephone interviews with the Legal and Treaty Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland and the Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland.

⁵¹ Act on the conditions for the exercise of the right to vote and on the amendment of certain laws (Electoral Code 180/2014): <u>https://www.slov-lex.sk/pravne-predpisy/SK/ZZ/2014/180/20210101</u>, and Exploratory memorandum to act 180/2014: <u>https://www.nrsr.sk/web/Dynamic/DocumentPreview.aspx?DocID=387287</u>.

⁵² Wet houdende instemming met het Besluit 2018/994 van de Raad van 13 juli 2018 tot wijziging van de Akte betreffende de verkiezing van de leden van het Europees Parlement door middel van rechtstreekse algemene verkiezingen, gehecht aan Besluit 76/787/EGKS: <u>https://www.ejustice.just.fgov.be/cgi/article_body.pl?language=nl&caller=summary&pub_date=19-05-</u> 07&numac=2019011305.

⁵³ Wetsontwerp houdende instemming met het Besluit (EU, Euratom) 2018/994 van de Raad van 13 juli 2018 tot wijziging van de Akte betreffende de verkiezing van de leden van het Europees Parlement door middel van rechtstreekse algemene verkiezingen, gehecht aan Besluit 76/787/EGKS, EEG, Euratom van de Raad van 20 september 1976, en tot wijziging van de wet van 23 maart 1989 betreffende de verkiezing van het Europees Parlement (3495/1-3): https://www.dekamer.be/doc/pcri/pdf/54/ip272.pdf#search=%22besluit%2076/787/egks%20%2055k,54k%20%3Cin%3 E%20keywords%22.

In **Ireland**, the European Parliament Elections (Amendment) Bill No 7 of 2019 came into force to '[implement] certain requirements set out in Council Decision (EU Euratom) 2018/994')⁵⁴. These relate to the extension of the polling day order from not less than 50 to not less than 60 days before polling day, which also covers the minimum three-week deadline for receipt of nominations. Candidates are also allowed to publicize the EuPP to which they are affiliated.

In the case of **Estonia**, the country expert was unable to trace the exact date of the ratification of Council Decision 2018/994, and if this happened through parliamentary ratification or tacit approval. However, multiple sources⁵⁵ indicate that the current list of MS that have not yet ratified or approved Council Decision 2018/994 is limited to Cyprus, Germany and Spain. Therefore, Estonia is considered to have ratified/approved it. In addition to this, Estonia is currently compliant to all compulsory measures provided for in Council Decision 994/2018. It can be argued that resistance might surface in regards to the Europeanization of electoral ballots, since the two major competitor parties – the Reform Party (Reformierakond) and the Centre Party (Keskerakond) – belong to the same European party, ALDE. Thus, including the affiliated European party name on the candidate list would communicate a message to the voters that the two parties might prefer to avoid (i.e., that they are electorally aligned). Also, since the European elections treat the whole country as a single electoral district, there is comparatively more focus on the individual traits of the candidates in EP campaigns. Furthermore, Estonian election ballots have always been very economical in their design. No visual elements (e.g., logos) are allowed on the electoral lists, and the ballot only features a box for the voter to write the candidate number in.⁵⁶ In any case, as explained before, these are suggested measures, not compulsory ones.

3.1.2. After the 2019 European elections

As explained before, Romania and the Czech Republic ratified the Council Decision after the European elections 2019. In Romania, an attempt was made to pass legislation in time but failed a few days before the elections in June. In the Czech Republic, ratification occurred exactly one year after the elections (June 2020).

Romania started the process of ratification of the Council Decision 2018/994 when the government submitted a bill on 7 January 2019⁵⁷. The process was concluded five months later, with the publication of Law no. 113 of 7 June 2019. In the government's official note, the parliament was asked to ratify the council decision under an emergency procedure (Article 76(3) of the Constitution of Romania)⁵⁸. As there was a parliamentary recess in January 2019, the legislative procedure took place on 4 February 2019, when the project was presented to the Permanent Bureau of the Chamber of Deputies. The Commission for Public Administration and Spatial Planning and the Legal, Discipline and Immunities

⁵⁴ See European Parliament Elections (Amendment) Act 2019 – No. 7 of 2019 – Houses of the Oireachtas.

⁵⁵ Background fiche of the General Secretariat of the Council (updated on 13 December 2020); email exchange with the Permanent Representation of the Republic of Croatia to the European Union; speech by Ms. Danuta Hübner, MEP, during the AFCO hearing that took place on 13th April 2021, available at https://multimedia.europarl.europa.eu/fr/committee-onconstitutional-affairs_20210413-1345-COMMITTEE-AFCO_vd

⁵⁶ The European Parliament Election Act: <u>https://www.riigiteataja.ee/en/eli/513012020006/consolide</u>, and the Statute of the State Electoral Office: <u>https://www.riigikogu.ee/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Riigi-valimisteenistuse-</u> p%C3%B5him%C3%A4%C3%A4rus-1.pdf.

⁵⁷ Text available at: <u>http://www.cdep.ro/caseta/2019/02/08/pl19001_gv.pdf</u>.

⁵⁸ English version available at <u>https://www.presidency.ro/en/the-constitution-of-romania</u>.

Commission of the Chamber of Deputies published a joint report favouring ratification. On 25 March 2019, tacit approval by the Chamber of Deputies was noted. Article 75(2) of the Constitution of Romania provides that the Chamber of Deputies, as the first notified chamber, must adopt or reject proposals for the ratification of treaties or international agreements within 45 days. With this deadline met, the government proposal was adopted without any debate. In the Senate, the project received a favourable opinion from the Committee on European Affairs, the Committee on Legal Affairs, Appointments, Discipline, Immunities and Validations, and the Committee on Public Administration. As such, ratification was approved on 6 May 2019 with 91 votes in favour, zero votes against, and zero abstentions, 20 days before the date set for the European elections. The law was sent to the president for promulgation on 20 May 2019. On 7 June 2019, shortly after election day, the president of Romania promulgated Law no. 113/2019⁵⁹.

The **Czech Republic** transposed the Council Decision of 13 July 2018 into the Czech electoral law by amending its European Parliament Election Law in June 2020. According to the explanatory memorandum submitted together with the amendment, only Article 9 of the council decision was necessary to implement as the effective law already satisfied all other requirements stated in the decision. In particular, Article 3 does not concern the Czech Republic as it applies only to MS with 35 and more mandates. Also, the requirement to submit candidate lists at least three weeks before the election did not have to be implemented as Czech law requires parties to submit their candidate lists 66 days before the election. The Czech Republic also satisfied the requirement to specify a contact authority for exchanging data on voters and candidates with other MS⁶⁰.

Therefore, the changes essentially implemented sanctions against voting in the election to the European Parliament more than once. For this purpose, the amendment stipulated financial sanctions and a process of enforcement for the case that anyone would register in voter registers in more than one Member State or that anyone would vote more than once. In contrast to Article 9, which was implemented into Czech law, the articles that suggested further options to implement (such as Article 3b, 4a and 9a) were left to a 'future political decision'. These suggestions are related to displaying the name or logo of the EuPP to which the national political parties are affiliated and providing the possibility of advance, postal, or electronic voting.

According to the explanatory memorandum, the position of the Czech Republic is that informing voters about national political parties' affiliation to EuPPs is an internal affair of the Czech political parties. In addition, the logos of political parties are not displayed on ballots in any elections as the form of the ballot includes only the name of the political party and the list of candidates, including their position on the ballot, name, age, citizenship, occupation, place of residence, and political party membership. The structure of the ballot, however, gives some leeway to political parties. For instance, the occupation listed on the ballot is not vetted by authorities. Despite that, Jan Zahradil chose not to indicate on the ballot that he was the European Conservatives and Reformists' *Spitzenkandidat* in 2019, although nothing prevented him from doing that⁶¹.

Regarding the possibility of advance, postal, electronic or internet voting, the Czech Republic currently does not allow such an option in any election, despite some proposals to implement postal (and

⁵⁹ Text available at: <u>http://legislatie.just.ro/Public/DetaliiDocument/214892</u>.

⁶⁰ See European Elections Amendment Act, No. 336.

⁶¹ See <u>Electoral ballots blueprint</u>.

advance) voting ⁶². Therefore, it is likely that postal voting for national elections will be implemented alongside postal voting in European elections. In addition, the amendment has not improved the situation of Czech citizens residing in third countries to vote in European elections. In contrast to elections for the lower chamber of the Czech parliament, it is not possible to vote in elections to the European Parliament by casting a vote at Czech embassies. The only option available for Czech citizens residing in third countries is to obtain a voter card from an embassy and cast a vote in the Czech Republic. The inability to cast a vote at an embassy was challenged at the Czech Constitutional Court, but the court upheld the current law⁶³.

3.2. Countries that have not yet ratified

Three countries have not to date (June 2021) ratified Council Decision 994/2018. As stated above, these are Cyprus, Germany and Spain. Before moving on to the discussion of the reasons behind the failure to ratify (or the absence of any initiative to do so), Table 7 below summarizes the current situation of these three MS regarding the compulsory measures set forth by Council Decision 994/2018.

Country	Threshold 2–5% for > 35 seat constituencies	Three-week deadline for candidacies	Prohibiting double voting	Designated contact authority	Data exchange no later than six weeks
Cyprus	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	
Germany		\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	
Spain		\checkmark		\checkmark	\checkmark

Table 10 : Compulsory measures compliance, by non-ratifying MS

Source: Author's own compilation.

As can be seen, Cyprus currently does not comply with one measure – namely, data exchange on candidates between electoral authorities no later than six weeks before the election. Instead, both Germany and Spain are short on implementing the threshold between 2 and 5%. Also, Spain has not prohibited double voting, and Germany has not enacted the six-week deadline for data exchange between electoral authorities.

3.2.1. Cyprus, Germany and Spain

In Cyprus, the issue concerns the specific legislation initiated to ratify Council Decision 994/2018, which entailed both practical and politically sensitive issues. A new ratification procedure, with a different and less problematic corresponding legislation, is possible. However, the type of political issue at stake

⁶² See e.g. <u>Election Governance Bill</u>.

⁶³ See <u>Constitutional Court Decision 17/19</u>.

(Turkish Cypriots living abroad) is particularly heated, and therefore political inertia may be hard to overcome.

In the cases of Spain and Germany, above all, the problem is linked to the electoral threshold. As explained in the paragraphs below, both MS can ratify Council Decision 994/2018, but on the condition of a legislative initiative rendered more complicated by political instability (in Spain) or the qualified majorities to overcome constitutionality problems (Germany).

Cyprus has attempted but failed to transpose Council Decision 994/2018.⁶⁴ On 1 February 2019, parliament adopted a law intending to transpose the decision, but the President of the Republic referred the law back to parliament for reconsideration, ⁶⁵ citing the following grounds:⁶⁶

- The law entailed the risk of a double vote by persons with dual nationality, especially children born to parents where one is a Cypriot, and the other is a Union national;
- Automatic registration would enable the inclusion of Cypriots living abroad on the electoral roll, which would infringe the principle that only persons with their habitual residence in Cyprus should be entitled to vote;
- The virtual expansion of the electoral roll, which it is estimated would increase the abstention in percentages beyond 70%, would leave an adverse mark on other electoral contests;
- The state budget would be burdened with an amount above €200,000 to cover the operational costs of the additional polling stations and the printing of an additional 100,000 ballots.

The referral was not grounded on issues of non-compatibility with the Constitution but on practical difficulties in its implementation, arguing that there was not sufficient time for the interior ministry to prepare to safeguard the validity of the procedure. During the parliamentary session of 25 February 2019, which debated the presidential referral of this law, the representative of the Attorney General told parliamentarians that, given that the law transposed Council Decision 2018/994 in its entirety if parliament decided to accept the president's referral, it would have to adopt a new law that would avoid the provisions that the government disagreed with. If it failed to do so, the government would seek to declare the law unconstitutional and refer it to the Supreme Court to decide. The Attorney General's representative pointed outthat Council Decision 994/2018 had not yet entered into force, as not all MS of the European Union had yet adopted it and suggested that the harmonising provisions of the referred law would remain inactive until the decision entered into force.

Parliament endorsed the president's referral of the law with 30 votes in favour, 5 against and 17 abstentions. As the 2019 European elections was due in a couple of months, parliament did not table a new bill, as suggested by the Attorney General's representative, because there was not sufficient time to process new legislation in time before the 2019 European elections.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Cyprus, Law on the election of members of the European Parliament: <u>(Ο περί της Εκλογής των Μελών του Ευρωπαϊκού</u> Κοινοβουλίου Νόμος του 2004), 2004-2018.

⁶⁵ Under Article 51(1) of the Cypriot Constitution, the president can return any law to parliament for reconsideration.

⁶⁶ Cyprus, Parliamentary Committee on Internal Affairs (2019), Report of the Parliamentary Committee of Internal Affairs on the referred law 'Law on the election of members of the European Council (Amendment) of 2019 ("<u>Εκθεση</u> της Κοινοβουλευτικής Επιτροπής Εσωτερικών για τον αναπεμφθέντα νόμο «Ο περί της Εκλογής των Μελών του Ευρωπαϊκού Κοινοβουλίου (Τροποποιητικός) Νόμος του 2019»), 27 February 2019.

⁶⁷ Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation (2019), Parliament accepted the referral of the law for the euroelections. See (<u>Η βουλή</u> <u>αποδέχθηκε την αναπομπή του νόμου για τις ευρωεκλογές</u>), 1 March 2019.

The law initially adopted by parliament on 1 February 2019 contained provisions that might allow significant participation of Turkish Cypriots in the elections, as they would acquire an automatic right to vote. This, in turn, according to the government, might impede the smooth voting procedure at electoral centres. The government initially presented the draft of this law, but during parliamentary discussions, an amendment was introduced extending automatic registration to all citizens with an identity card and a recorded address in the state archives. This would mean that the same conditions would apply for the registration of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots on the electoral roll so as to compile a single electoral roll for all voters who are citizens of the republic and who have the right to vote in European elections. Before this amendment, the automatic right to vote was restricted only to those residing in the areas controlled by the republic, which would essentially mean Greek Cypriots. According to the Archives Department, the new regulation would lead to more than 102,000 citizens becoming automatically registered on the electoral roll, some of whom may even be deceased, which would require the creation of at least 100 additional electoral centres within a very short period.

Although there was arguably little time for the government to respond to the anticipated massive influx of Turkish Cypriot voters at the 2019 European elections, no steps have been taken since to organise the automatic registration of voters. The automatic registration of Turkish Cypriots on the electoral roll would most likely shift the balance in favour of the main opposition party AKEL, to which the Turkish Cypriot community maintains historical links and affiliations.

Germany has not yet ratified Council Decision 2018/994, and there is no active ratification process. Before the 2019 European elections, Germany's governing parties examined the legal options for ratifying the decision and a ratification law was reportedly drafted by Germany's interior ministry on behalf of the Bundestag, Germany's federal parliament⁶⁸. However, no ratification ultimately took place.

The stringent requirements to ratify introducing an electoral threshold have been a key procedural obstacle. The German Constitutional Court has repeatedly ruled the electoral threshold in elections to the European Parliament unconstitutional (e.g. in 2011 and 2014).⁶⁹ Accordingly, re-introducing an electoral threshold in the German European Elections Law requires parliamentary majorities sufficiently large to amend the Constitution⁷⁰. This involves a two-thirds majority in both the Bundestag and the Bundesrat, the legislative body representing Germany's federated states at the federal level⁷¹.

The timing of Council Decision 2018/994 has been the second key obstacle to ratification, exacerbating the first problem. The German Greens – which voted in 2013 to introduce a 3% threshold – rejected

⁶⁸ <u>https://www.stuttgarter-zeitung.de/inhalt.groko-will-sperrklausel-zwei-prozent-huerde-fuerseu-parlament-soll-kommen.52b53dd8-8e04-4f3f-b6ea-ad4fc07cc083.html.</u>

 ⁶⁹ - Ruling by Second Senate of German Constitutional Court of 9 November 2011 ruling the five percent threshold unconstitutional for elections to the European Parliament - 2 BvC 4/10 -, Rn. 1-160. See https://www.bundesverfassungsgericht.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/2011/11/cs2011109 2bvc000410.pdf? blob=bublicationFile&v=1.
 Ruling by Second Senate of German Constitutional Court of 26 February 2014 ruling the three percent threshold

 ⁻ Ruing by Second Senate of German Constitutional Court of 26 February 2014 ruing the three percent threshold unconstitutional for elections to the European Parliament - 2 BvE 2/13 -, Rn. 1-116. See
 <u>https://www.bundesverfassungsgericht.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/2014/02/es20140226_2bve000213.pdf?</u> blob= publicationFile&v=1.

⁷⁰ Report by Scientific Service of German Bundestag of 3 August 2018 – WD 3 – 3000 – 285/18. See <u>https://www.bundestag.de/resource/blob/573144/25e4bd8a0693d044b7f6d4ab151b7de0/WD-3-285-18-pdf-data.pdf</u>.

⁷¹ This is specified in Article 23 Paragraph 1 and Article 79 Paragraphs 2 and 3 of the German Basic Law. See <u>https://www.bundestag.de/qq</u>.

moves to ratify before the 2019 European elections. The Greens argued that introducing the threshold before the 2019 European elections would contravene the Council of Europe Venice Commission's recommendations on democratic elections since it would mean changing the electoral law in the year preceding the relevant elections.⁷² Given the Greens' participation in a number of state governments in Germany, passing the law through the Bundesrat with the required two-thirds majority against them was seen as unachievable. Consequently, Council Decision 2018/994 was not ratified before the 2019 European elections. Since then, no further formal attempt to ratify the decision has been forthcoming.

There is currently sufficient time until the next European elections for Germany to ratify the Council Decision without breaking the Venice Commission recommendations. Thus, undertaking the ratification process now might draw support from parties that opposed ratification before the 2019 European elections.

Germany will hold federal parliamentary elections in September 2021. With a busy parliamentary calendar, time is running out to ratify Council Decision 2018/994 before the elections. Germany's own federal elections law was modified in October 2020, with the votes of the governing majority (the CDU/CSU, and SPD). Several opposition parties (the FDP, the Left, and the Greens) have appealed to the Constitutional Court against the new federal elections law⁷³. Overall, keeping the process of ratifying Council Decision 2018/994 away from the controversies surrounding the federal elections law is important for the success of the process.

Concerning **Spain**, the parliament is yet to ratify Council Decision 2018/994 of 13 July 2018. Nevertheless, many of its provisions have already integrated into the Spanish General Electoral Regime Law (Ley Organica del Régimen Electoral General, 5/1985). Article 1(1) of Council Decision 2018/994 is already enshrined in Article 216 and Article 220 of the Spanish General Electoral Regime Law, establishing a closed-list system with proportional representation as the electoral system for European Parliament elections.⁷⁴ Paragraph 3 of the same article is also guaranteed by the Spanish General Electoral Regime Law.⁷⁵

The crucial pending modification to the current Electoral Regime Law concerns the establishment of a minimum threshold for the allocation of seats. In the last election, Spain elected a total of 54 seats to the European Parliament, with 5 additional seats allocated following Brexit. Since Spain has a single constituency, this requires that Article 3 of Council Decision 2018/994 be implemented to enforce a minimum threshold ranging from 2 to 5 per cent of the votes in time for the 2024 European Parliament election. Article 3a of the decision is already regulated by Article 47(1) of the General Electoral Regime Law.

Regarding Article 3b of Council Decision 2018/994, the current legislation does not clearly specify that the display, on ballot papers, of the name or logo of the EuPP to which the national political party or individual candidate is affiliated is allowed. According to Paragraph 2 of Article 221 of the General

⁷² <u>https://www.euractiv.com/section/eu-elections-2019/news/european-elections-german-government-wants-threshold-for-fringe-parties/.</u>

⁷³ <u>https://www.tagesschau.de/inland/klage-wahlrechtsreform-101.html</u>.

⁷⁴ Ley Organica 13/1994: <u>http://www.juntaelectoralcentral.es/cs/jec/documentos/LOREG 04 BOE LO 13-1994.pdf</u>.

⁷⁵ Law on Elections to the European Parliament: <u>http://www.juntaelectoralcentral.es/cs/jec/documentos/LOREG_01_BOE_LO_1-1987.pdf</u>.

Electoral Regime Law, the ballots should contain the name, abbreviation and logo of the party, federation, coalition, or group of candidates presenting the candidacy.

Postal voting (Article 4a of Council Decision 2018/994) is already allowed under articles in Section 10 of the General Electoral Regime Law, unlike electronic or internet voting. Article 9 of the Council Decision, prohibiting multiple voting in the European elections, has been enforced through the changes to the General Electoral Regime Law implemented by the Ley Organica 13/1994, but it does not clearly specify a penalty for double voting. The aspects contained in Article 9a, allowing citizens residing in third countries to vote in elections to the European Parliament, are also enacted under the current electoral law. At the moment, voting rights also extend to Spanish citizens residing in non-EU countries.

From a legal point of view, no major obstacles are foreseeable concerning the ratification of Council Decision 2018/994 in Spain. The process appears, thus, to hinge mostly on the legislative initiative of the Spanish parliament. However, the process is more delicate from a political perspective. The likely most contentious aspect concerns establishing an electoral threshold, which implies that smaller political parties may be prevented from electing MEPs. Assuming the implementation of the minimum 2% threshold, one of the parties that managed to elect an MEP in the 2014 election would not have been able in 2019. Had the maximum 5% threshold been adopted, six of the MEPs elected in 2014 from a total of four parties would have instead been three MEPs from a total of two parties. Given Brexit, Spain will have more elected MEPs in the 2024 European elections. This will further increase the proportional representation of smaller parties in terms of elected MEPs. Therefore, adopting a formal electoral threshold may be particularly problematic for a political system as fragmented as the Spanish one, which is particularly noticeable in European elections. Although the electoral threshold will benefit the major political parties, which could facilitate its parliamentary approval, it can be argued that the absence of a clear majority in parliament, the potential impacts of the threshold for the junior coalition partners (not to mention the remaining parties in parliament), and the relative political instability could present obstacles to an expeditious process.

3.3. Conclusions and suggestions on how to move ahead

The path to Europeanisation of national electoral rules concerning the election of MEPs is generally quite advanced. Table 12 summarizes all measures (both compulsory and suggested) of Council Decision 2018/994, its ratification status, and the overall compliance percentage over these nine measures. This indicator has to be taken *cum grano salis* because it bundles together both binding and non-binding measures, and obviously, some are more important than others. In any case, it gives a simple and easy-to-read overview of the progress made across Europe, with five MS being completely Europeanised in this regard (Austria, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Romania) and tenmore ticking all except one box.

		Con	npulsory m	easures ('sh	all')		Sug	ggested me	easures ('ma	ay')	
MS	Council Decision 994/2018 ratified	2–5% threshold for > 35 seats constituencies	3 weeks deadline for candidacies	Double voting prevention	Designated contact authority	Data exchange not later than 6 weeks	Threshold not exceeding 5%	Europeanised ballot paper (minimal)	At least one possibility of absentee voting	Voting from third countries	Overall Europeanisation
Austria	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	100%
France	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	100%
Luxembourg	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	100%
Netherlands	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	100%
Romania	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	100%
Belgium	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	Х	\checkmark	\checkmark	89%
Croatia	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	Х	\checkmark	\checkmark	89%
Denmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	Х	\checkmark	\checkmark	89%
Finland	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	Х	\checkmark	\checkmark	89%
Greece	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	Х	89%
Italy	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	Х	89%
Lithuania	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	Х	\checkmark	\checkmark	89%
Portugal	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	Х	\checkmark	\checkmark	89%
Slovenia	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	Х	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	89%
Sweden	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	Х	\checkmark	\checkmark	89%
Cyprus	Х	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	Х	\checkmark	Х	\checkmark	\checkmark	78%
Estonia	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	Х	\checkmark	Х	\checkmark	\checkmark	78%
Ireland	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	Х	Х	78%
Latvia	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	Х	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	Х	\checkmark	\checkmark	78%
Poland	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	Х	\checkmark	Х	\checkmark	\checkmark	78%

Table 11 : Overall Europeanisation of electoral laws

Bulgaria	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	Х	\checkmark	Х	\checkmark	Х	67%
Czech Republic	\checkmark	Х	Х	Х	67%						
Germany	Х	Х	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	Х	\checkmark	Х	\checkmark	\checkmark	67%
Hungary	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	Х	\checkmark	Х	\checkmark	Х	\checkmark	\checkmark	67%
Malta	\checkmark	Х	Х	Х	67%						
Slovakia	\checkmark	Х	Х	Х	67%						
Spain	Х	Х	\checkmark	Х	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	Х	\checkmark	\checkmark	67%
Total √	22	25	27	24	27	20	27	9	23	20	n/a

Source: Author's own compilation.

As explained in detail in the previous paragraphs, regarding the binding measures, only Spain and Germany lack a threshold between 2 and 5% as requested (which is the most problematic aspect). Additionally, the three-week deadline is respected by all MS, even though the variance is very high (from 90 days in Slovakia to 21 in Greece). Furthermore, all MS have a designated authority to exchange data on the active and passive electorate, even though seven MS are not compliant with the requirement that exchange occurs six weeks in advance of elections, as required by the Council Decision. Finally, only three MS (Latvia, Hungary and Spain) lack appropriate sanctions for double voting. Here as well, the variance in compliant MS is remarkable (from a fine of \in 33–100 \in in Slovakia to a maximum sentence of five years imprisonment in Germany).

Regarding the non-binding measures, firstly, no MS has a threshold exceeding 5%. Second, only four (the Czech Republic, Ireland, Malta and Slovakia) do not guarantee at least one type of absentee voting. Third, when it comes to voting from third countries, the situation is slightly worse, with seven MS not providing this possibility. Fourth and most importantly, the Europeanisation of electoral ballots, even under the 'minimal' definition, is extremely low. The vast majority of MS – 18, to be precise- – still have purely national ballots.⁷⁶

In light of the evidence collected and the analysis performed, several recommendations can be addressed to the various stakeholders involved, both at the national and EU levels, particularly the European Parliament and its Members. For Cyprus, the government should be reassured that the measures around which there is hesitancy are non-binding and therefore, Council Decision 994/2018 can be ratified with few consequences.

Instead, Germany is the critical juncture of the whole process of ratification due to the Constitutional Court's role in having deemed electoral thresholds unconstitutional on several occasions. In Germany, all involved stakeholders should monitor political developments closely and lobby the 'new' governing

⁷⁶ As explained in previous paragraphs, at least one party scoring more than 1% in the European elections or electing any MEP with at least one European reference on the ballot.

parties to bring ratification onto the agenda in the window of opportunity after the elections in September 2021 through 2023 (to avoid Venice Commission problems). Particular attention should be paid to the Greens, reassuring them that their representation would not be at risk even with a 2% electoral threshold.

Spain is similarly problematic, however, despite the (relative) instability of the political situation, in our view, the most appropriate moment for ratification is with the current government, led by the Socialists (before the next elections in 2023), a generally pro-integration party. In any case, resolving the stalemate in Germany would most probably lead Spain to follow through.

Apart from the ratification of Council Decision 994/2018, another key element lies in the relationship between what in this study has been referred to as the *party on the ground* and the *party in central office* at the EU level – namely, EuPPs and national parties (Bardi 2006). European and national political parties should further strengthen their relationship, a vital element of the European political system that *can* increase the general transnational nature of EP elections (not only of European ballots). As the empirical evidence (especially in the 2014–2019 party-level comparison) of this study has shown, the actual level of Europeanisation depends less on electoral rules and more on the general climate around the elections, and *spillover* effects may arise between countries once a positive trend emerges. Also, a reinvigoration of the *Spitzenkandidaten* procedure would, in this regard, be crucial.

Ultimately, what is necessary as a baseline condition is that MS share a certain degree of homogeneity in the electoral process for electing MEPs, and one may argue that this is the case already. What becomes key now is that European elections are fought *on truly European issues* and not used as midterm elections for domestic politics. And this does not depend on a threshold or a ballot format but on creating a true European party system (at the EU level) and political initiatives to increase citizens' political awareness of European issues (at the MS level). Finally, other formal elements ignored by Council Decision 2018/994 – such as lowering the voting age, bringing back to the discussion the creation of a transnational constituency, or promoting gender equality – should be kept on the agenda for further reform of European electoral law.

REFERENCES

- Bardi, Luciano (2005). "Parties and party system in the European Union" in Luther K. R. and Muller-Rommel F., *Political Parties in the new Europe: Political and Analytical Challenges,* Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp 293-322.
- Calossi, Enrico (2011). Organizzazione e funzioni degli Europartiti. Il caso di Sinistra Europea, Pisa: Edizioni PLUS. ISBN 978-88-8492-773-6.
- Calossi, Enrico and Lorenzo Cicchi (2019). "European Parliament Political Groups and European Political Parties: development and relationship between two faces of the EU political system", in Giusti, Serena (ed.) "Idee per l'Europa", *Quaderni del Circolo Rosselli* n. 2/2019, anno XXXIX, fascicolo 135, pp. 15-31, ISBN 978-88-6995-568-6.
- Cicchi, Lorenzo (2016). Is Euro-voting truly supranational? National affiliation and political group membership in the European Parliament, Pisa University Press, Pisa. ISBN 978-886741-7049.
- Donatelli, Lorenzo (2015). A Pan-European District for the European Elections? The Rise and Fall of the Duff Proposal for the Electoral Reform of the European Parliament. Bruges Political Research Papers 44/2015. [Policy Paper].
- Fotopoulos, Stergios (2019). "What sort of changes did the *Spitzenkandidat* process bring to the quality of the EU's democracy?", *European View*, Volume 18, Issue 2, October 2019, Pages 194-202.
- Fotopoulos, Stergios and Luciano Morganti (2020). "The Influence of the Spitzenkandidat Process on the Role of the European Political Parties", *L'Europe en Formation*, 2020/1 (n° 390), p. 17-34. DOI:10.3917/eufor.390.0017. available at: <u>https://www.cairn.info/revue-l-europe-en-formation-2020-1-page-17.htm</u>.
- Gallagher, Michael and Paul Mitchell (Eds.) (2005). *The politics of electoral systems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hix, Simon (2008). *What's wrong with the European Union and how to fix it*, Polity, London, UK. ISBN 9780745642048.
- Ivan, Ruxandra (2021). "Electoral Engineering for a European Demos: Building European Identity through Elections", in "2019 European Elections The EU Party Democracy and the Challenge of National Populism", in Carp, Radu and Cristina Matiuţa, International Studies in Sociology and Social Anthropology, Volume: 134, E-Book ISBN: 9789004435148, Publisher: Brill.
- Katz, Richard S. and Peter Mair (1993). "The Evolution of Party Organizations in Europe: Three Faces of Party Organization", *American Review of Politics* 14: 593–617.
- Lupiáñez-Villanueva, Francisco and Axelle Devaux (2018). Study on the Benefits and Drawbacks of Remote Voting, European Commission Directorate-General for Justice and Consumers, Directorate D: Equality and Union citizenship, ISBN: 978-92-79-97406-9.
- Majone, Giandomenico (1998). "Europe's 'Democratic Deficit': the Question of Standards", *European Law Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 5-28.
- Moravcsik, Andrew (2002). "In Defence of the 'Democratic Deficit': Reassessing Legitimacy in the European Union", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, volume 40, number 4, pp. 603-624.

- Pukelsheim, Friedrich (2018). "Compositional Proportionality among European Political Parties at European Parliament Elections", *Central European Political Studies Review*, Volume XX, Issue 1, pp. 1–15.
- Reif, Karlheinz and Hermann Schmitt (1980). "Nine Second-Order National Elections: A Conceptual Framework for the Analysis of European Election Results", *European Journal of Political Research* 8(1), pp. 3-44.
- Sokolska, Ina (2020). "The Maastricht and Amsterdam Treaties. Fact Sheets on the European Union - 2020", European Parliament factsheet, available online at: https://www.europarl.europa.eu/ftu/pdf/en/FTU 1.3.4.pdf.
- Sabbati, Giulio, Gianluca Sgueo and Alina Dobreva (2019). "At a glance: 2019 European elections: National rules", European Parliament Members' Research Service PE 623.556, available online at: <u>https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2018/623556/EPRS_ATA(2018)623556_E_N.pdf.</u>
- Schmitt, Hermann and Jacques Thomassen (eds) (1999). *Political Representation and Legitimacy in the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tilindyte, Laura (2019). "Rules on political groups in the EP", European Parliament Members' Research Service PE 637.956, available online at: <u>https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2019/637956/EPRS_BRI(2019)637956_EN.</u> <u>pdf.</u>

ANNEX

Country experts

Table 12 : Country experts involved in the study for data collection by MS

Country	Expert
Austria	Carsten Wegscheider Doctoral researcher, University of Salzburg
Belgium	Siemen Van Den Broecke Doctoral researcher, European University Institute
Bulgaria	Boris Popivanov Assistant Professor, Sofia University
Croatia	Dejan Stjepanovic Lecturer ,University of Dundee
Cyprus	Corina Demetriou Researcher, Symfiliosi NGO
Czech Republic	Michael Skvrnak Doctoral Researcher, Czech Academy of Sciences
Denmark	Kasper Møller Hansen Assistant Professor, University of Copenhagen
Estonia	Mari-Liis Jakobson Associate Professor, University of Tallinn
Finland	Johanna Peltoniemi Post-doctoral researcher, University of Helsinki
France, Luxembourg	Elie Michel Post-doctoral Researcher, SciencesPo Paris
Germany	Johannes Rothe Doctoral researcher, European University Institute
Greece	Panagiotis Koustenis Adjunct Assistant Professor, University of the Peloponnese
Hungary	Szabolcs Pogonyi Associate Professor, Central European University
Ireland	Nathan John Board Doctoral researcher, University College COrk
Italy	Guido Tintori Research Associate, FIERI (International and European Forum on Migration Research)

Latvia	Rūta Liepina Assistant Professor, Maastricht University
Lithuania	Kristina Ivanauskaitė-Pettinari Civil Servant, Central Electoral Commission
Malta, Netherlands	Rutger Birnie Doctoral researcher, European University Institute
Poland	Tymoteusz Kraski Doctoral researcher, University of Amsterdam
Portugal, Spain	Frederico Ferreira da Silva Post-doctoral Researcher, University of Lausanne
Romania	Sorina Cristina Soare Associate Researcher, University of Florence Vladimir Adrian Costea Post-doctoral Researcher, University of Bucharest
Slovakia	Jana Kazaz Legal Advocacy Officer, International Press Institute
Slovenia	Jaka Kukavica Doctoral researcher, European University Institute
Sweden	Oskar Hultin-Bäckersten Doctoral researcher, University of Uppsala

Source: Author's own compilation.

Electoral systems and ballots

Table 13 : Electoral systems and ballots key elements, by MS

Country name	Type of proportional represent.	Number of preferences the voter can express	Ballot format	Main voting sign or instrument	Method of party or list voting	Optional or compulsory preference for individual candidates	Method of expressing candidate preference	Ballot visuals (logos/text/p hotos)	Ballot printed in colour or black and white
Austria	Preferential voting	One preference	Single informative ballot	Cross	Make a cross in the circle corresponding to the chosen list	Optional	Write down the name of, or number corresponding to, the preferred candidate	Text	B&W
Belgium	Preferential voting	Preferences up to the total number of candidates for each list (19)	Single informative ballot	Dot	Blacken the circle corresponding to the chosen list	Optional	Blacken the circle corresponding to the preferred candidate(s)	Text	B&W
Bulgaria	Preferential voting	One preference	Single informative ballot	Cross	Make a cross on the number corresponding to the chosen list	Optional	Make a cross in the square corresponding to the preferred candidate	Text	B&W
Croatia	Preferential voting	One preference	Single informative ballot	Circle	Circle out the number corresponding to the chosen list	Optional	Grcle out the number corresponding to the preferred candidate	Text	B&W
Cyprus	Preferential voting	Up to two preferences	Single informative ballot	Cross	Make a cross in the rectangle corresponding to the chosen list	Optional	Make a cross in the square corresponding to the preferred candidate(s)	Logos and text	B&W
Czech Republic	Preferential voting	Up to two preferences	Multiple list- specific ballots	Envelope	Place the chosen list- specific ballot in an envelope	Optional	Gircle out the number corresponding to the preferred candidate(s)	Text	B&W
Denmark	Preferential voting	One preference	Single informative ballot	Cross	Make a cross in the square corresponding to the chosen list	Optional	Make a cross in the square corresponding to the preferred candidate	Text	B&W
Estonia	Preferential voting	One preference	Single blank ballot	Number	n/a	Compulsory	Write down the number corresponding to the preferred candidate	Text	Colour
Finland	Preferential voting	One preference	Single blank ballot	Name	n/a	Compulsory	Write down the name of the preferred candidate	Text	B&W
France	Closed lists	n/a	Multiple list- specific ballots	Envelope	Place the chosen list- specific ballot in an envelope	n/a	n/a	Logos and text	Colour
Germany	Closed lists	n/a	Single informative ballot	Cross	Make a cross in the circle corresponding to the chosen list	n/a	n/a	Text	B&W
Greece	Preferential voting	Up to four preferences	Multiple list- specific ballots	Envelope	Place the chosen list- specific ballot in an envelope	Optional	Make a cross on the name of the preferred candidate(s)	Logos and text	B&W
Hungary	Closed lists	n/a	Single informative ballot	Cross	Make a cross in the circle corresponding to the chosen list	n/a	n/a	Logos and text	B&W

IPOL | Policy Department for Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs

Ireland	STV	Preferences up to the total number of candidates in each constituency (17, 19, 23)	Single informative ballot	Candidates ordering	r/a	Compulsory	Order the candidates from most to least preferred, writing down progressive numbers	Logos, text, and photos of candidates	Colour
Italy	Preferential voting	Up to three preferences	Single informative ballot	Cross	Make a cross on the logo of the chosen list	Optional	Write down the name of the preferred candidate(s)	Logos	Colour
Latvia	Preferential voting	Up to 16, between positive and negative preferences	Multiple list- specific ballots	Envelope	Place the chosen list- specific ballot in an envelope	Optional	Write a + next to the endorsed candidate(s) or cross out the opposed candidate(s)	Text	B&W
Lithuania	Preferential voting	Up to five preferences	Single informative ballot	Cross	Make a cross in the circle corresponding to the chosen list	Optional	Write down the number corresponding to the preferred candidate(s)	Text	Colour
Luxembourg	Preferential voting	Up to six preferences in total (and each candidate can receive up to two preferences)	Single informative ballot	Cross	Make a cross in the circle corresponding to the chosen list	Optional	Make a cross in one or both squares corresponding to the preferred candidate(s)	Text	B&W
Malta	STV	Preferences up to the total number of candidates (41)	Single informative ballot	Candidates ordering	n/a	Compulsory	Order candidates writing down progressive numbers	Logos, text and photos of candidates	Colour
Netherlands	Preferential voting	One preference	Single informative ballot	Cross	n/a	Compulsory	Make a cross in the circle corresponding to the preferred candidate	Text	B&W
Poland	Preferential voting	One preference	Single informative ballot	Cross	n/a	Compulsory	Make a cross in the square corresponding to the preferred candidate	Logos and text	B&W
Portugal	Closed lists	n/a	Single informative ballot	Cross	Make a cross in the square corresponding to the chosen list	n/a	n/a	Logos and text	B&W
Romania	Closed lists	n/a		Stamp	Imprint the official stamp on the chosen list	n/a	n/a	Logos and text	B&W
Slovakia	Preferential voting	Up to two preferences	Multiple list- specific ballots	Envelope	Place the chosen list- specific ballot in an envelope	Optional	Circle out the number corresponding to the preferred candidate (s)	Logos and text	B&W
Slovenia	Preferential voting	One preference	Single informative ballot	Circle	Circle out the number corresponding to the chosen list	Optional	Gircle out the number corresponding to the preferred candidate	Logos and text	Colour
Spain	Closed lists	n/a	Multiple list- specific ballots	Envelope	Place the chosen list- specific ballot in an envelope	n/a	n/a	Logos and text	B&W
Sweden	Preferential voting	One preference	Multiple list- specific ballots	Envelope	Place the chosen list- specific ballot in an envelope	Optional	Make a cross in the square corresponding to the preferred candidate	Logos and text	Colour

Source: Author's own compilation.

Electoral ballot samples from 2019 European elections

Austria

Austrian electoral ballot from 2019 European elections. Source: <u>https://www.bmi.gv.at/412/Europawahlen/Europawahl 2019/start.aspx</u> No copyright limitations indicated.

Amtlicher Stimmzettel

für die

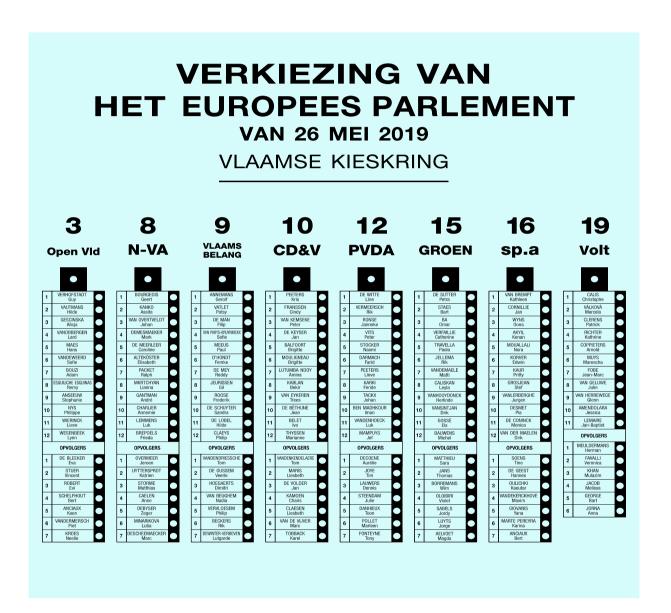
Wahl der österreichischen Mitglieder des Europäischen Parlaments

Liste Nr.	Für die gewählte Partei im Kreis ein X einsetzen!	Kurz- bezeichnung	Bezeichnung eines Bewerbers oder einer Bewerberin (Name und/ oder Reihungsnummer) Burch den Wähler oder durch die Wählerin
1		ÖVP	Österreichische Volksparte
2		SPÖ	oznatemokratname Partendisterreichs
3	\bigcirc	FPČ	Freheitliche Partei Överreichs (FPÖ) – Die Freiheitlichen
4		BR UM2	Die Grünen – Grüne Alternative
5		NEOS	NEOS – Das Neue Europa
6		KPÖ	KPÖ Plus – European Left, of ene Liste
7		EUROPA	EUROPA Jetzt – Initiative Johannes Voggenhuber

am 26. Mai 2019

Belgium

Belgian electoral ballot from 2019 European elections. Source: <u>https://verkiezingen2019.belgium.be/nl/stembiljetten?el=EU</u> No copyright limitations indicated.



Bulgaria

Bulgarian electoral ballot from 2019 European elections. Source: <u>https://www.kai-friederike.de/materialien/EP2019/ballots/BG_ballot.jpeg</u> No copyright limitations indicated.

хх район ххххх 2009.* * * *	ЕЙСКИЯ ПАРЛАМЕНТ ОТ
хх район ххххх избори за членове на европе република бълга	ЕЙСКИЯ ПАРЛАМЕНТ ОТ
1 ПАТРИОТИ ЗА ВАЛЕРИ СИМЕОНОВ (нфсб и средна европейска класа)	Предпочитание / преференция за кандидат
2 ПЪТ НА МЛАДИТЕ (НДСВ и НОВОТО ВРЕМЕ)	(101) (102) (103)
3 ЛПТ ВМРО – БЪЛГАРСКО НАЦИОНАЛНО ДВИЖЕНИЕ	104 105 106

		GLA	GLASAČKI LISTIĆ	ZA
DA DEMORRACUE - ABECEDA	2. AKCUA WARRY AN	3. AUTOHIOMA HEMETIKA STRAMKA PRAMA - AHEEP	4. DEMONSTRAT PERSONANO - ZADREBAČKA STRANKA - DPS	*
ALELAS	5. ANTE RUBERA	1. DRAŽEN KELENINEC	 DARIO DRIGHUČIĆ 	4.3
A VRDOLLAK, pref.	2. SANJA SLAVIC 3. MARIO LOZANČIĆ	 NAN LOZO NANKA POLIĆ, pref. 	 STEFICA KRAMARIC, doLingagr. TATJANA ALAJANJA, magnov. 	N .
VIR KONEONY, prof.	4. DARJAN BUKOVIĆ	4. DAMIR JAKELJIČ	4. ZELJKA PETRIS-KUKOVAČEC, dpl.ier.	4
KA MALESEVIC-STILIN, dpl.oec. IN MR ANCHORD and	 IRIS CARGONUA TICIC INANA MAI ARIC 	 MRO MATUEVIC MR AN BRIDE A 	 DAVORIN HORVATINEC, mag ged. MARIO DAMANIC man inn mooil. 	4 4
MUCOLL ING.	7. MARJANA BOTIC	7. MARINA KRALIK-UREMOVIC, prof.	7. VLADIMR PEULIC del ligistro.	1.1
VIEWD	8. TOMISLAV MAMIO	8. DARKO KOVAČIĆ	 NENAD GAZDEK, mag oec. 	
VARTIC, dpling	9. SANJA FRANKOLA	9. STJEPAN KAPOLI	 JOSP GAUC, dpt ing el. 	ő
SENDUAREVIC	TO. VJENDSLAV RUBEŠA	10. VLADIMIR KONDERSKO	19. JASNA FUIPOVIĆ VRČKOVIĆ, 646.	10. 1
VIR PAVLETIC, dipling.	11. ANDREJ BRIŠČIK	11. DENIS SESELJ	11. MATLA MARCIUS	11. 2
THE DEMONSTRATING MAYER	40 stream and a stream and a stream and a	and resonance of the second second second second	12 NATIONAL AN STATUS AN	-

ABCCC

STRANKA S

	22	
	- 6	
	8	
	- Z	
	152	

.

24

23

DCUALIBITICSA

22

NACIONAL NEVATINA	18. RAVEZ ZA PROBURINE - SP	19. виколиских некотако - вен	20. DIGCLALENDOROGIERA MATULA INTRATEC - ENO INTRATEC DISCOLAR STRANCA URBRAND ORIGONALTI-INS STRANES ORIGONALTI-INS INTRATEC ORIGONALTI-INS INTRATEC ORIGONALTI-INS INTRATEC ORIGONALTI-INS
SPAROVIC	1. IVAN PERNAR	1. SURUA MEHANETI	1. NEVEN MMICA
0	2. VLADINIRA PALFI	2. FADIL HRUSTIC	2. BILJANA BORZAN
VIELEAN	3. HRVOUE RUNTIC	3. NAZIF MEMEDI	3. JOZO RADOS
IRALA	4. DAMIR TRIVACIÓ	4. ŽELJKO BALOG	4. NAN JAKOVOIC
JEDOVIC	5. MIHAELA VARGA	S. ANKA DALIPOVSKI	5. TONINO PICULA
ETRICHC	8. IVAN SINCIC	6. VELIHUSENI	4. OLEG VALIALD
EC.	7. NEWSI KRUPIĆ	7. IDRIZ RIZVANOVIĆ	7. VIŠNJA FORTUNA
Suro	B. MAN LUC	B. KEMAL SECIO	 SANDRA PETROVIC JAKOVINA
DTICA	 INGRID RUNTIC 	9. STEVO GJURDJEVIČ	9. MARIN VUCIC
SMOKVINA	10. SVETLAVA BLAZEVIC	10. NEDAT BAJRANI	59. KAROLINA LEAKOVIČ
DERIO .	11. DUŠAN CVETANOVIČ	55. ISANET MANANUT	11. MILORAD PUPOVAG

6	14.1	Call States	2
AL THE	Ş	9	
Y	man	-	



NAPUTAK O NAČINU GLASOVANJA

a samo jedne sku listu glasuje tako da zao Glasuje se samo za jednu kandidacijsku listu Birač za kandidacijsku li Želi li birač jednoj kandi broj ispred imena i prezi

samo jedne u sliste za koju j

Croatia

IZBOR ČLANICA/ČLANOVA U EUROPSKI PARLAMENT IZ REPUBLIKE HRVATSKE

WKA ZENA - DSZ WEZAPOSLEMIH - H

Croatian electoral ballot from 2019 European elections. Source: https://www.kai-friederike.de/EP2019 ballots.html. No copyright limitations indicated.

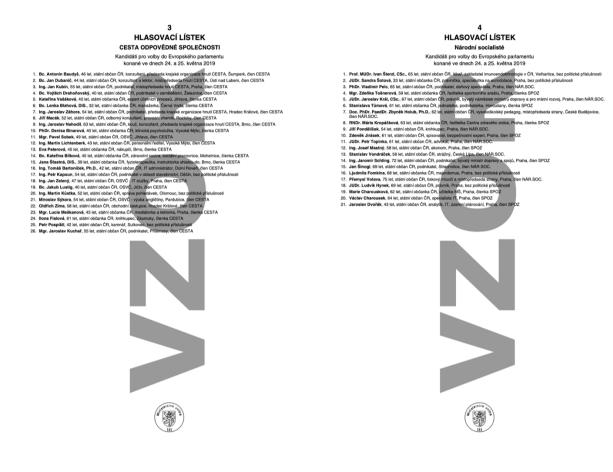
Cyprus

Cypriot electoral ballot from 2019 European elections. Source: <u>https://www.kai-friederike.de/materialien/EP2019/ballots/CY_ballot.jpea</u> No copyright limitations indicated.



Czech Republic

Sample of Czech electoral ballots from 2019 European elections. Source: <u>https://www.mvcr.cz/clanek/volby-do-evropskeho-parlamentu-2019.aspx</u> No copyright limitations indicated.



Denmark

Danish electoral ballot from 2019 European elections. Source: <u>https://valg.im.dk/media/18446/stemmeseddel-uden-skaeremaerker-epv2019.pdf</u> No copyright limitations indicated.

Betegnelse for opstillingskreds

Europa-Parlamentsvalget 2019

Sæt X i rubrikken til venstre for et partinavn eller et kandidatnavn. Sæt kun ét X på stemmesedlen. Du må <u>like</u> udfylde rubrikken med andet end et X, da din stemmeseddel så bliver ugyldig. Du kan få byttet din stemmeseddel, hvis du skriver forkert. □ A. Socialdemokratiet Jeppe Kofod Christel Schald Niels Fuglsang Jakob Thiemann Mette Poulsen Lasse Holm Grønning Anders Baun Sørensen stel Schalde B. Radikale Venstre Frederik Aagaar Frederik Aagaar Kristian Krirk Mai Jannie Valentin I Poul Emegård Ole Lynggaard J Kim Pagels Peter Miltersen S Maria Mejse Moi Nadeem Farcoq Anton Ebsen D. K3 Morten Helveg Karen Melchio Pilip Tarning-, Sissel van Run Alexander Bjor David Munis Z4 Mathias von Je Eva Borchorst I Amaje Sogaard Camilla Kampn stian Kirk Mailand Kim Pagels Peter Miltersen Sø Maria Mejse Morte Nadeem Farooq Mathias von Jessen Eva Borchorst Mejnertz Amaje Søgaard Niejsen C. Det Konservative Folkeparti C. Det Ko Perrile Weiss Al Amile Meiss Jens Kindberg Kuzma Pavlov Jensen Charlotte Libach Lasse Bork Schmidt Louisa Schennemann B Anders Guldhammer Inge Cark Dino Selir Jane Chri Jakob Se Dina Myn Thomas Henrik Mi Jakob Sejergaard Dina Myrup Raabjerg Thomas von Jessen Henrik Mielke Ravn Torsten Nielsen Louisa Schønnemann Bøttkjær Anders Guldhammer 🗆 F. SF – Socialistisk Folkeparti F. SF - So Aragrete Auken Karsten Honge Peter Westermann Krat Narie Peter-Vlansen Kratte Bile Troek Stru Schmidt Rikke Laurtsen Jens Rane Hojck Annemette Schanberg John Luces Zukunft Inger Staahl Jensen Allan Norré Pedersen Gl Öccan Bo Vesterfund Rune Froding Anita Lundgren Fischer 🗆 I. Liberal Alliance Kenny Olsen Lene Foged Rigge Nørmark Karen Westergaard Nielse Charlotte Bie Metter Ande Bo R Mick Henri Anders Burlund Bo Ritterbusch Mick Keller □ N. Folkebevægelsen mod EU Rina Ronja Kari Lave K. Broch Ole Nors Nielsen Karina Rohr Søre Susanna Dyre-Gr Christian Juhl Jesper Bræmer Erik Bach Thorkil Sohn Age Staun Jargen Gren Jargen Gren Mette Langdal Niets Jargen Baek Pa Garsten Rasrussen Penille Grumme Hedvig Vestergaard Jean Thierry Hasan Daher 🗆 O. Dansk Folkeparti Peter Kof Anders V Pia Adels René Dar Gitte Bun Finn Rudaizky Tina-Mia Erikser Tobias Weische Lone Langballe Charlotte Houga nders Vis UV. Venstre, Danmarks Liberale Parti Linea So Lide Gm Va Bergur I 🗆 Ø. Enhedslisten – De Rød-Grønne Nikolaj Vilu Eva Flyvhol Eva Enokse Jakob Neru Sabrina Lou Torsten Rin Freis I vnæs Inger V akob Nerup Maja Albre abrina Louise Ch orsten Ringgaard bias C**l**aus Jeppe Studtmund 🗆 Å. Alternativet Esben Ingerslev Pavia Jacobsen Borge Sejersen Sommer Jørn Grønkjær mus Nordqvist arin Rohr Gen lan Kristofferser usan Kjeldgaard

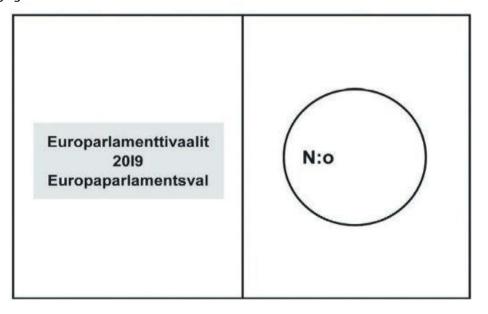
Estonia

Estonian electoral ballot from 2019 European elections. Source: <u>https://www.kai-friederike.de/materialien/EP2019/ballots/EE_ballot.jpeg</u> No copyright limitations indicated.



Finland

Finnish electoral ballot from 2019 European elections. Source: <u>https://www.kai-friederike.de/materialien/EP2019/ballots/FI_ballot.jpeg</u> No copyright limitations indicated.



France

Samples of French electoral ballots from 2019 European elections. Source: <u>http://www.ardeche.gouv.fr/bulletins-de-vote-valides-par-la-commission-a8859.html</u> No copyright limitations indicated.



Germany

German electoral ballot from 2019 European elections (Land Baden-Württemberg). Source: <u>https://www.europawahl-bw.de/fileadmin/europawahl-bw/2019/musterstimmzettel_europawahl_2019.pdf.</u> No copyright limitations indicated.

Stimmzettel

ür die Wahl de	ettel er Abgeordneten des	Sie haben 1 Stimme	Ø
Europäischen	Parlaments am 26. Mai 2 n-Württemberg	019	Bitte hi
	-	on Deutschlands	ankreuz
	Christlich Demokratische Uni – Liste für des Lend Beden-Württe sammt, Gelannen Die Volken, Wergerter (Beten) Viman Schanzneger of matchen an der Berei	Indexage 4. Apartony Replending, Determined Tankenhoff J. March Opperf. Replending on the Internet Annual View Determination B. Anna Research, Production, Trading in Strategies B. Anna Research, Traditional Annual Science (Science) (Science) B. Science Prefer, Laboration de International Annual Annual S. Science Research, Academic de International Annual Annual Science Research, Academic de International Annual Annual Science Research (Science) (Science) (Science) (Science) (Science Research) (Science) (Scie	0
0 600	Sozialdemokratische Partei D	b head Pail, University of Geschlanding, Henningen 10 Sinia Erbeite, Assemente der Geschlähleitung, Henningen Deutschlands	-
Dr. Katwine Barley, Mith. Jo Date Bullmann, Protitiveitane Maria Naichi, Fachtstream, 1 Jans Geiter, Mith Essan (W Delais Barthantt, Bostology	- Generational Carlie For alle Lande - Scheekh (RP)	 Bernel Lange, Mill?: Respired (W) Ingol Epged. Mill?: Anolary (Wr) In Content Endert Printeen Granupa. Wetter (Bur) (WV) Dateman Endert?, Printeen Granupa. Sectorylationderstein, Berlin (HE) Simon Dies, Mill? Mill: Research Enderter, Cheminethick (P): 	0
GRÖNE Francisk Kaller, MOCF, Bert Deen Goegeld, Wintschaftson Themas Resetter, Dati - Pult Rendurt Billboler, MOP, B Dr. Hannan Steameen, Trefe	BUNDNIS JU/DIE GRUNEN	er – 6. Starts Heading, Soldware, Rad Zwenner, Pell, 5. Fox Connection, Neuropei, Handrook, Berley, (SE) 5. Fox Langesstapper, Formular primary setting (SK), Neurower (N), 3. Discour Early, Concelland Street, Machinese (SN), 3. Discour Early, Street, Street	0
ArD	Alternative für Deutschland		
Ford, Or. Jong Meetham, risc Duide Reill, Statger, Essen (Dr. Maximilan Krah, Rachts Lans Berg, Mill, BW, Holdeb Berntand Zismalak, Oberstein	erwant, Dreaden (SR) erg (BW) draart a. D. Ministen (BV)	 S. Dis Constanctor Feed, Politiker, Strattin (SE) S. Dis Constanting Comparison (Comparison (Comparison)) S. Buller, S. Bardhell, C. Argenson, S. Discher, S. Laten, 1981 S. Discher, S. Barnen, D. Dis, Annualy, S. Bartz, Dis, Youngen, (DV) D. Prof. Stratt, Stratter, Strater, Stratter, Stratter, Stratter, Stratter, Stratter, Stratt	С
5 FDP Microla Beer, Fachtsanweillen, Sweng Halte, PR-Manapelin Andreas Gillek, Chrong Mich Moritz Eibreet, Mid, NW, La Jan-Christigen Gelipe, Mit.	Freie Demokratische Partei - Geneteanne Liste für alle Lände Tratisch zu Man (HE) Instandung (HE) singen (HE) genfül (Revenut) (NW) 81. Schwen (HE)	K. *	С
5 DIE LINKE	DIE LINKE - Gemeinsame Liste für alle Lände Ikvissenschafte, Bette (III) maxensin, Dissessort (IW) re (IN) Voltakrassensthafter, Zeithere (III) in (III)		С
	FREIE WÄHLER - Comeinsame Liste für alle Lände Wilters (51) doweinstatt (#1)		С
PIRATEN	Protection of the control of the con	to the Teterine, Calo Acceleration Count Action Review de American Review (Calo Calo Calo Calo Calo Calo Calo Calo	С
Dr Franz Josef Schmitt, wa	Marbelle, Berler (HE) A PARTEL MENSCH UMWELT TO		
Martin Buschmann, Mittelst Noter Gabel, Pultikesser Patrice Kapietz, påt. Sache Gastat Ramona Puth Libk, Dr. Jessica Frank, Hochschu	PARTEI MENSCH UMWELT TI Gemeinsame Late für alle Lände unträctivnt Neu Wanstor (N) caster, Greisvald (M) greiftit, Keiter-Schaftrom BW/ Turragentite, Verbeid (Wk) darette, Turragentite, Verbeid (Wk) darette, Verb	er = 0. Sonia Else Lähning, terkativalus/hav, Resuech am Planei (DM) 7. Heimur WBUT, Fi-Franzonranagar, Berlin (BC) 8. Holg Source Laber, Anders (In Sectore 1997) 9. Nove Mitteller, Medizingustation, Chrogen (B) 10. Source Sander, Heinzheiderlicher (2014), Wagestall (MM) 10. Source Sander, Heinzheiderlicher (2014), Wagestall (MM)	С
O ODP	Ökologisch-Demokratische P - Genelissame Liste für alle Lände El Munten (FY) - Menningen (FY) - Leong (SV w. Bernenzt, Geringen (BW)	Yantai s. Koker Belanedi, DocFristanest, Hantoog (HH) 1. Las Beanner, Exclangeations for Adoutivery America (HD) 1. Second Bean S. Angue Bean Media, parts: Escladore, Happing Media 3. Angue Bean Media, Media, Subargent (HE) 3. Angue Bean Media, Media, Subargent (HE)	С
1 NPD Lide Valgt, Diel Politologe, Roome Zasawk, Diel Politologe, Prancia Rieffing, substatisti- Setastian Behmidlike, Kode Secola Ratestiller, Imer Ja	Nationaldemokratische Parte	I Deutschlands M - C. Ante Mestell, Kohn, Läster (M) 7. Ante Mestell, Kohn, Läster (M) 8. Ante Mest, Antopan, Mah (M) 8. Mah Mest, Extease: Komister (M) 10. Karl Mestell, Faulter (M) 10. Karl Mestell, Karl (M) 10. Karl (M)	С
O DIA DADTES	Partei für Arbeit, Rechtsstaat,	10 Karel Hausschill, Fragnit, Humburg (HH) Tierschutz, Elitenförderung und basisdemokratische Initiative f -	_
Martin Sannaharn, MdEP, B Nico Sannarall, Sata Kor, Dar Una Barrier, Satatisatisater Remot Krieg, Psychology, S Fred, Stabala, Davidation, S	ettin (BE) mitsaaborutkaalmat, Kamburg (AKB) n. m Maladeensoon, Hamburg (AM) loo-Bato Aleinteeg (MMA) G. G. J. Janesensoon (MMA)	 Lotas Speer, Student, Mancheller (KW) Disabeth Bernsen, Verwahrungszegestellte, Hannover (KI) Divrice Extenses, Verwahrungszegestellte, Hannover (KI) Divrice Extenses, Verwahrungszegestellte, Hannover (KI) Andersz Kellet, Gesandheito- und Kinderitszrivespfleger, Heimstedt (KI) Disabet (KK), Franker (KK) 	С
3 FAMILIE Heimut Gesking, Braamter, K Mers Gesking, Student der I Oliver Pratz, Ersteine, Berlein Gaas Weil, Fandner, Arnabe Schaftur Hemming, Student	Familien-Partei Deutschlands – Genetinsame Liste für alle Länds sanlertingsdinsteller. (MV) det det det g (MM) der Hichtiessenschaft, Beleind (MM)	 E. Michael Berstewicki, Staufmann Str. Sankannerunhauter, Mancheim (MM) T. Bundas Mallanatti, ZhiSaropotehin ne kan kowerto, Lensane (IM) Stauter Wielder, Christian K. Stankan, Stauter (IM) Stauter Wielder, Christian, Stankan, Stauter (IM) Stauter Wielder, Christian, Stankan, Stauter (IM) Stanker Michael, Stankan, Stankan, Stankan, Stauter (IM) 	С
4 Volksabstimm	ing Ab jetztDemokratie durch v	olksabstimmung - Politik für die Menschen	-
Dr. Hermut Fleck, Dol-Rout Davis Plantike, Olevistentria Angelika Geerligs, Santative Genund Wegner, Diol-Basis 5 BP	genier, Dei-Wittebattengenier, Segburg (WW) et s. D., Buna (WW) en, Beurkether Seesched (NBI) genier, Bergen (NM) Bavernsbartei	6. Monita Removalmenti, Cames- und Zoniga-Fachweikarten, Mach (WW) 7. Wickeel Zialan, Gestlehertikev, Cohnei (WM) 8. Ners Austria-Zien, Scollundersaufmann, Sanki Auguste (WW) 9. Ernat Peter Ramonkowski, Konsten: Mach (WM)	С
Horion Weber, Argestellter, Hornut Josef Featurel, Brain Georg Webb, Electrorigento Uwo Georg Hartmater, Scho Nac-Over Haler, Dozert in do	Genetissans Liste für alle Lände Ind Anne (ff) kontractive, Franker (Ff) Künnes (81) er beinintersverter, Ritzeger (87) er secharmentidlen, Praze (87) Marxistisch-Leninistische Pa Genetissene Link (fra de Lände	er = 6. Pairs Kaza, Ringelmann, Sachintornaliserni R., Chan (89) 7. Angala Remark Bettike, Dayl Stacourgi, MYH, Kalavani (KY) 8. Humar Kellisetti, Sacari Saciari, MY 9. Roman Gelenelletter, Robert J. Mark MYH 10. Anada Star, Rushimittar (Kalavini, 1971) 10. Anada Star, Rushimittar (Kalavini, 1971)	С
6 MLPD Lisa Gateria, Michanickia Peter Wessferming, Roth Triba Maßik, Arbeite, Duk Arreis Blain, Op. Lantwell Tel Schermacher, Seven	Marxistisch-Leninistische Pa - Cemeinsens Lebe für alle Linde avat, finn (M) avat, finn (M) kraft (M) kraft (M) kraft (K) inter (H)	rtei Deutschlands 	С
TOKP Def Rems, Verlichsungel und Kreymann, Duckerter, Perre Elibert, Augusteller, John Ratte, Dip, Verlauger Jachter Eigen, Westanger	Gemeinsame Liste für alle Lände	and all and stategers relationships (strategies and strategies) and all and all and all and all and all all all all all all all all all al	С
Jachter Biger, Werkungen 18 SGP Christigh Vanderine, Frysk Unith Report, Festivitier, 5 Martiner Area, Jacobit Der Ware, Statist, Seiter Der Ware, Statist, Seiter	Sozialistische Gleichheitspart	ten, Viertia Internationale #- 6. Flation Descenae - Auto, Sutteen alue, Dualing MM, 7. Satisfy an Epitematicae International International International International International International	C
9 TIERSCHUTZ	Nert Aktion Partei für Tierschutz -	DAS CRIGINAL	
Dennar Schwarz, Dpl. Pac Onntre Brill, Handenkauffe Noter Lichey, 17 Milarteiter Water Remaxes, Rentrat.	Andrew (Mar) an, Latherstadt Scieber (ST) r. Disselater (MR) Desentation (MR)	Concerns Driver, Section, Dossentari (MM) Sectif Gale, Acutediate, Dossentari (MM) Sectif Gale, Acutediate, Dossentari (MM) Price Ivera Linear (Marchesteri e de Dessentariones, Dossentari (MM) U Use Dessentari (MM)	С
Just Frees, Recencer of the Internet States	Allianz für Menschernrechte, - Gene fahre Lint in die Linde and, Tatinander Mehren Gilt Statisticher der Mittel Statisticher der Mittel Statisticher der Mittel Statisticher der Statisticher der Statisticher der Mittel Statisticher der Statisticher der Mittel Statisticher der Statisticher der Statisticher der Mittel Statisticher der Statisticher der Statistiche	Constructions Construction	С
21 Bündnis C Ane Dericks, MOC Tan A Kall Reeper, Honorotton Andres Wall, settertation Moto Schiltestard, Biro Di, Faire Sietus, Aut Bri	Building C* Constention Deur - Gemeinsame Liste für alm Lände (WL 1997) - Statistical Statistical (PP)	Harrisonna M. – C. Taip Bost, Lautinifinangerlatine, Hel (21) 7: Som Pills, Produktionanger, Köregelaum (21) 8: Hermen: Balanskang, Instalingung, Bal (som (Vi))	С
22 BIG Halai Yildiz, Diternstviertel Nin von Berginte, Recitarie Tente All, Facharit für Alge- tionet Misselsogie, Cipi, -ing- Cala Olevid, Wirtschartante	Burning (fer) Burning für immeritiger (gen Burning für immeritiger (gen Burning für immeritiger (gen berde berde berde berde berde berde berde berde berde berde berde berde (gen) were, Berk (gen) were Berk (gen)	To Reace Units Program Programming Control (PP) of Control And Article Article Articles (Control (PP)) Control And Article Article Articles (PP) Control Milling Optimizing (PP) Control Milling Optimizing (PP)) Control Milling Optimizing (PP)) Control Milling Control (PP))	~

24 DIE DIREKTEI	Demokratie DIREKTI - Gemeinsame Liste für alle Länder	•	-
Christian Reesbeck, Promotione 2 Lukas Knecht, Student, Erlurt (1 Silver Vegel, Studente, Erlurt (1 Silve Birkanfeld, Gyrouastikiefo Leven Birkanfeld, Gyrouastikiefo Leven Birkanfeld, Gyrouastikiefo Leven Birkanfeld, Student, Erlurt (1)	studieni, Erlurt (151) 19) 19: Gera (151) 19: Gera (151)	6. Michael Hack-Rock, County, Congrig (201) 7. Lukon Hanger, Scholm, Erhort (14)	C
25	Demokratie in Europa - DIEM21		
1. Isaanis Vansufakis , Wrtschufte Dannis Plateck , Generen, We 3. Sneks Hanut , Philosoph, Berli 4. Banca Praetoriat , Startup Goal 5. Japan Finiselden , Politiewaan	alizanschaftler, Santo (M2) in (Ostenanst) (ARC) A. Berlin (M2) Anthete, Benler (M2)	Regne Destect, Econterns, Landes in dar PEG2 (MP) Minna Weedt, Antonis, Regnanottis, Langui (20) Kitsche Ader Kommunikation will Balindepitationpertor. Manden (KY) K. Jonne Brezenicka, Josefen Martelenis, Berler (KE) Tomas Beitestein, Russien, Mandematere (PG)	С
26 III. Weg	DER DRITTE WEG		
 Kaus Armstroff, Electrice: West Matthias Flacher, softwarelong, Troy Gentlach, Kosthatree, Ester B. Dirrie Armstroff, Fossprole, W. Adam Bender, Dersamogene 	kettul (RP) Angemände (BE) elektbal (RP) Nariket, Nender (RP)	 Ros SMMer. Main: Lacianes, Pauer (SR) Distatan Ubistan, inscrimentary Exhibition - Dargenesid (SY) Lacian Devakanes, Malacia, Scionardor (SY) Lacia Devak, antimitiong, Obmataness (BE) Lacian Devak, antimitiong, Chematerian (BE) Lacian Devak, antimitiong, Chematerian (BE) 	C
27 Die Grauen	Die Grauen - Für alle Generatio	nen	-
Michael Sallada, Fahrleiner, Berle Muna Pastel, Austrahiltenin, Berl Merin Pable, Rammer, Hannesen Worlgang Rühlesann, Ferniner, 1 Thuman Pashalta, seitertaläning	n (80) (n (80)	 Disais Robala, Ruthatpers, Berler (H) Galova Billar, and Andre Rudhingeacounteristic, Barl Berlas (H) Gunnish Pinder, Kolzha un Groundwittensenst, Barlin (K) Winglung Table, Gold and Automatomatamente. Namburg (H) Winglung United, School and Automatomatamente. Namburg (H) Winglung United, School and Automatomatamente. Namburg (H) Winglung United, School and Automatomatamente. Namburg (H) 	C
28 DIE RECHTE	DIE RECHTE - Partei für Volksa	sbstimmung, Souveränität und Heimatschutz	
Unuis Haverbeth-Wetret, pkd. Sven Skada, Uchwarz Ergener, Onistan Wersk, Taxifahrer, Par Dester Riefling Balance, Schöber Discher Riefling Balance, Schöber	Mitarhadiami, Vodisi (MW) Dissenter'' (NW) (den (MV) (N) (https://doi.org/10.0000	Constan Makaal Soft Hartse, Gewettensid (WW) Same Kraidig, Dipl. Joint, Contribuid (WW) Sense Kraidig, Dipl. Joint, Contribuid (WW) Schedge Research (Contribution), Research (RW) Schedge Research (Research (Research (WW))	C
29 DIE VIOLETTEN	Die Violetten		1.555
 Jochert-Frank Kalmbacher, Kra Erene Sancia Garcia, Verwahung Soka Röder, Juristin, München Günter Land, Pechtamouit, Mün Materi Schemitz, Heiterprinteren Materi Schemitz, Heiterprinteren Materia Schemitz, Heit	Die Violetten - Gemeinseme Late für alle Länder- songetalle, Regestung (R7) (81) sien (87) Gleinauer (NR) Gleinauer (NR)	6. Sentaro Nierman, Opt-Advensition, Firsbehaltbruck (BY) 7. Antres Nierbek, Sentargsbejeter, Sci-b-Per, Berlin (BC) 8. David Willer, Eestimaties Genoty (FP) 9. Kale Schüter, Salentine, Chartbouse (VW)	C
30 LIEBE	Europäische Partei LIEBE	mand a sec as a	
 Sergey Samaerfahili, Untervetori Anatolij Miedenhaus, Berahistoff Volennis, Niedenhaus, Berahistoff , Haleva Sasajee, Encehandetak , Haleva Sasajee, Encehandetak , Oras Po, Barwardhiau, Panerbo 	Europäische Partei LIEBE – Geneinsame Liste für alle Länder hörz, Sian OM hörz, Sian OM str. und kraisesplagen, Bien (MA) nitsa, Betrug (MK) n (MA)	 Intra Nederbase, zninned, Facharquestelle, dr. Ausistenz, Bal Wannenberg (WW) Maggerb Reflexane, Alauyofayare, Bankvid (WM) Sergity Reflexane, Reports, Antonio (HM) Margerb Nethanen, Rechtschlandpiller, Hantwag (HM) Obsequed Waterbase, Litera, Occumentagua (HM) Obsequed Water, Litera, Occumentagua (HM) 	С
31 DIE FRAUEN	- Gemeinsame Liste für alle Länder	EN	
 Marget Skiller, Wendo-Traverin Kann Peschas, Känstlern, Politi Norsanin Thata-Paltaer, Opt. 4 Waltraud Purger, Studenttin And tabla Nance Castern, Kind 	, Frankfurf am Main (HE) ologib, Schwarmshott (HE) g. MataBildtmiundia, Eromes (HE) H., Schlarsse (BY) Hryffegent, Schalbonterie, Felbach (HM)	 Sprick Weiner Versellungsspracht, Burlin (KE) Or Michael Binder, Biotoph, Minchen (KY) Contri Mercell, Angeballen, Kunstert an Minch (HE) Achteal Walter, Hagehalten, Wildzung (B1) Statum Contelli, Kultigeptin, Binto (BE) 	С
32 Graue Panther	Graue Panther		
 Dr. Unich Wieske, settst. Kastn 2 Georg Scheltz, Restner, Gerobit 3 Kast-Insist Prings, Josensist, Eri 4 Karle Laise Beier, seltst. Eriste 9. Peter Cayluk, Bearner, Ereiterz 	urin, Geschäftsführen, Düsseldorf (NW) Hilm (FP) Helariz (NW) (rfr, Naufrauten (RW) (NW)	6. Ana Mastenikika, apoha Bertim, Eseine (WK) 7. Joenne Alteniter, Fal-Piepelotopo, Henting (SJ) 8. Anne Eliteen, Ratinete, Wegtere (WK) 9. Tenena Barti, Reimer, Lakejaburg (MK) 10. Erick Folder Walder, Vergebaufmann, Betreisent I. R., Lakeigsburg (WK)	С
33	LKR - Bernd Lucke und die Lib - Gemeinsame Liste für alle Länder	eral-Konservativen Reformer	-
 Prof. Dr. Bernd Lacks, Perfectors Dr. Patar Raidsh, sellipt. Dipl. Ast 1. Ultrice Schlitt, Lehrerin, Harr (B) 4. Dr. Stegman Schlitt, Winger, Für 5. Hans Schoolz, Rentiner, Mitriche 	LKR - Bernd Lucke und die Lib - Gemeinsene Liste für alle Linder für Visientcattenke, Wisse (Lihe) (N) (man, Minster (DY) (N) (N) (N) (N) (N) (N) (N) (N	6. Prof. Dr. Holger Edihelm, Linoverstättigenhesson, Dissandorf (MM) 7. Bernhurz Waget, Studiererd a. D., Loasterk (M) 6. Kalturine Males, Ollar Volkeenine (Loassa (Br) 8. Excelative Materialer, Nature (201) 10. Sevenene Waltern, Nature (201) 10. Sevenene Waltern, Nature (201)	C
34 MENSCHLICHE	VELT Monschliche Weit - für d	as Wohl und Glücklichsein aller	÷0.
 Cafter Actask, DiplKaufmann, E. 2. Gendara Starkforst, Angestalitis Dominis Lazz, Physiker, Borlin J. 4. Calil Aligile, Angestalitar, Borlin 5. Dr. Sobura Krassa, Chemikeris, S. 	schborn (HE) k Vogt (HM) EE (HT)	E. Sania Adhak, Angestellter, Barlin (RE) 7. Sylvia Mastewski, etn. Aropastellis, Kornst-Alarchingen (NII) 8. Onistien Scheniel, Vervaltungsangestelliter, Borranteven (VE)	С
35 NL	Neue Liberale – Die Soziallibera - Geneinsame Liste für alls Länder	elen	-
 Orristoph Pyrik, solbstatlindig, G. Christian Bathlie, Vice Priss, Cor I tablet Wiest, Juristin, Hamburg I Daritand Bathelen, filtricthours Manufa Bathel Cortificient Internet Manufa Bathel Cortifi	Neue Liberate – Die Sozialliber - Genesinsame Liste für alle Länder Nissekort (Mil) p. Ommateritine, Frankfurt an Maie (HE) 341 (Deritisater (HE) Ökologische Linke	6. Jörg-Peter Bayer, Inser Journaliss, Kassel (HE) 7. Marti Tüllinsen, Geschlänfährer, Beitz (MI) 8. Ektor Schulz, Perspektivicooch, Berlin (B2)	С
36 ÖkoLinX	Ökologische Linke		
 Jata Differth, Actoris, Scening Doothea Becker, Activitatin, D. S. Nactive Zienes, Account for Homa Graine Vorball, Statestin Victor Phill, Necturaryall, Fran 	Ökologische Linke – Gensinaams Liete für alle Länder (rankt en Miki (HE) ster (20) ster an Man (HE) der Kamageographic Fraktut an Maki (HE) tet an Maki (HE) Partei der Humanisten	 Kathire Plazm Thi Hopen, Raturepossiblerin, Kalle (Sanko (ST)) Kane Stephe, Carlenbachthirthern, Nilachen (ST) Schertisch (Presented), Grahe-Songers, Hunchenge (WN) Schertisch (Presented), Grahe-Songers, Hunchenge (WN) Schertisch (Presented), Grahe-Songers, Hunchengers, Bernau bei Banin (BD) Vastaat Haper, Schurgsnetwert, Berlin (B) 	С
			-
1. Roten Thiedesen, Studen, No. 2. Solvente Sandelihier, Forschun 3. Jan-Daniel Skeinkaupter, Studen 4. Danias Schmidt, Linterschmatt 5. Tartaer Philmans, Laten Erland	na (RP) geassistentin (Psychologie), Essen (WW) 6, Remisurg (HK)	6. Dustin Neblacker, Studient, Berlie (BE) 7. Andin Vellienz, Gesunstheits- und Konkenpfleger, Bergloch Statbach (NW)	С
38 PARTEL FÜR DIE	TIERE PARTEI FÜR DIE TIERE	DEUTSCHLAND	
 Give Bechteld, DigiMirachelto 2. Carden Moldar, Vantelgereiden 3. Ann Figure, stoot, gesrüfte Ret 4. Luckelg Reiser, DigiIng, Elektri 5. Colone Poeszas, CMO, Head of 	Develop Jammin (H) THERE - Commissions Lists for alle australi (H), Attribut (M) trappendistrict, Lat J. 6, Papella (H) trappendistrict, Lat J. 6, Papella (H) tr		C
39 Gesundheitsfors	thung Partei für Gesundheitsfo - Gomeinsame Liste für alle		-
 Felix Werth, Birvetzsrezzkatter, Dr. Nadre Sand, Biochemikerin, Georg Jangemann, Schulagnal Peter Lange, Sachteamerter Ver Georg Biedentotte, Rentrer, Other 	Berlin (BE) Serlin (BE) w, Barlin (BE) walating, Kronstagen (SPI) wbach an Main (HE)	6. Johns Experision Exclanguembra, Reith (BY) 7. Peter Schigel, Restruct, Reith (BY) 8. GL Lieffing, encourt-spools), Multistructureiur, Gara (TH) 8. Starrer Kilder, Ammer, Mikedong (BY) 10. Karf-Frank Heller, Unternet, Mannaher, Garan (M)	C
40 Volt	Volt Deutschland		-
1. Damias Freiherr von Exeselag 2. Maria-Isabelle Heill, Rechtanse	er, Benter, Borlis (BE) Hin, Munthern (BY) r, Bore (NW) Nor, Wastherneitt an der Weinstsalle (HP)	6. Carolino Flokk, Ustonohnolin, Springe (M) 7. Aufons Maak, wax. Aregunstör: Cabligue (M) 6. Karanti Elako, Cabligue (Karotto (Algania) (EV) 6. Karanti Elakor-Lakoga, Partonia, Watawascheller, Nama (MP) 10. Kana Mallanetaka, Amatama, Karaburg (M)	C

BW - Backer-Mintstratery, B1 - Soyver, B2 - Secle, B6 - Standarburg, H9 - Tannene, H1 - Hanhurg, H2 - Heasen, M1 - Mackinstorp Vorpinneren, M1 - Nedersachen, WW - Montmain-Westlam, K9 - Stantons-Protz, S1 - Sacharo, S1 - Sacharo, Antot, S4 - Schienerg-External, T4 - Thoragen

(note: the German ballot is composed of a single, long, rectangular paper sheet. Here it has been divided into two rectangles to fit the page)

Greece

Samples of Greek electoral ballots from 2019 European elections.

Source: <u>https://magnesianews.gr/slider/evroekloges-klidose-sto-916-i-diafora-nd-syriza-sti-magnisia.html</u> No copyright limitations indicated.



Hungary

Hungarian electoral ballot from 2019 European elections.

Source: <u>https://kozigazgatas.ujbuda.hu/sites/default/files/category_header_files/ep_szavazolap-08-</u> <u>420x203_altalanos_1.pdf</u>

No copyright limitations indicated.



Ireland

Irish electoral ballot from 2019 European elections (constituency: Dublin). Source: <u>https://www.kai-friederike.de/materialien/EP2019/ballots/IE_ballot.jpeg</u> No copyright limitations indicated.

[75] 31

PART 4

FORM OF BALLOT PAPER (Front of Paper)

TREORACHA

- Scríobh an figiúr 1 sa bhosca le hais an chéad iarrthóra is rogha leat, scríobh an figiúr 2 sa bhosca le hais an dara hiarrthóir is rogha leat, agus mar sin de.
- Fill an páipéar ionas nach bhfeicfear do vóta. Taispeáin cúl an pháipéir don oifigeach ceannais, agus cuir sa bhosca ballóide é.

INSTRUCTIONS

- Write 1 in the box beside the candidate of your first choice, write 2 in the box beside the candidate of your second choice, and so on.
- Fold the paper to conceal your vote. Show the back of the paper to the presiding officer and put it in the ballot box.

DOYLE – URBAN PARTY - European People's Party MARY DOYLE of 10 High Street, Knockmore,	Emblem	Photograph	
Nurse. Liosta Ionad UP Replacement List			5
LYNCH JANE ELLEN LYNCH of 12 Main Street, Ardstown, Shopkeeper. Liosta Ionad JEL Replacement List		Photograph	
MURPHY – DEMOCRATS – Group of European Democrats PATRICK MURPHY of 12 Main Street, Ballyduff, Carpenter. Liosta Ionad DEM Replacement List	Emblem	Photograph	
Ó BRIAIN — CUMÁNN NA SAORÁNACH SÉAMUS Ó BRIAIN as 10 An tSráid Ard, Carn Mór, Oide Scoile. Liosta Ionad CS Replacement List	Emblem	Photograph	
O'BRIEN – NON-PARTY EAMONN O'BRIEN of 22 Wellclose Place, Knockbeg, Butcher. Liosta Ionad EOB Replacement List			
O'BRIEN – YOUNG IRELAND – Liberal Group ORLA O'BRIEN of 102 Eaton Brae, Cahermore, Solicitor. Liosta Ionad YI Replacement List	Emblem		
O'CONNOR — NATIONAL LEAGUE CAROLINE O'CONNOR of 7 Green Street, Carnmore, Engineer. Liosta Ionad NL Replacement List	Emblem	Photograph	

Italy

Italian electoral ballot from 2019 European elections (constituency: Central Italy). Source: <u>https://www.europarl.europa.eu/italy</u> No copyright limitations indicated.



Latvia

Samples of Latvian electoral ballots from 2019 European elections. Source: <u>https://www.kai-friederike.de/EP2019 ballots.html</u> No copyright limitations indicated.

EIROPAS PARLAMENTA VÊLÊŠANAS 2019. gada 25. maijā	2019. gaua 201	
Jaunā Saskaņa	"Latvijas Krievu	
1. Juris Žuravļovs 2. Jānis Kuzins	1. Tatjana Žda 2. Andrejs Ma	anoka
 EIROPAS PARLAMENTA VĒLĒŠA gada 25. maijā 	È EIROP/ 2019. g	AS PARLAMENTA VĒLĒŠANAS 🚽 -
6 "Saskaņa" sociāldemokrātisk 7		lā apvienība "Visu Latvijai!"- nei un Brīvībai/LNNK"
 I. Nils Ušakovs 2. Andris Ameriks 3. Boriss Ciloviš 	EIROPAS PARLAMENTA VĒLĒŠANAS 2019. gada 25. maijā	4 •
4. Regina Loomal	Zaļo un Zemnieku savienība	}
5. Valērijs Kononovs 6. Ausma Cimdiņa 7. Jānis Krišāns 8. Zenta Tretjaka	1. Dana Reizniece-Ozola 2. Raimonds Bergmanis 3. Ringolds Arnītis	

Lithuania

Lithuanian electoral ballot from 2019 European elections.

Source: <u>https://www.vrk.lt/documents/10180/670977/Easy+to+read+2019+05+26.pdf/cf1f7cee-d36c-4aed-ad56-1fc2504e9eb3</u>

No copyright limitations indicated.

	VAVAVAVAV	VAVAVAVAVAVAVANAN	AVAVAVAN
\otimes	ŽYMĖJIMO PAVYZD	YS	Rinkimų komisijos antspaudo vieta
PAŻYMĖ	KITETIK VIENĄ SĄRI	AŠĄ, UŽ KURĮ BALSUOJATE	Biuletenis privalo būti antspauduotas
()1	VISUOMENINIS RINKIMŲ KOMITETAS "PREZIDENTO ROLANDO PAKSO IUDĖJIMAS"	1. Rolandas PARSAS 2. Rimas ANDRINS 3. Vidmantas STANIUUS 4. Algimantas RAŠČIUS 6. Dobilas SINKEVRČIUS 7. Nina ŠESTERNIKOVA 8. Juate ŠMICKIENE 9. Rimantas KEKYS 1	S. Romas JANKAUSKAS 10. Lina BAKANAITE
	LIETUVOS VALSTIEČIŲ IR ŽALIŲJŲ SĄJUNGA	 Brenis ROPE 2, Ramondus Santinas MARCIULIONIS 3, Linas KONTRIMAS 4, Laina MOG TOMILINAS 7, Daninas GALŽIVISMAS 8, Storys IMELIUMAS 9, Jenna IMMUTIS 10, Minchoug SMRNICKAS 13, Verpilija PODENS 14, Johanda SMDITIENE 13, Aneydas NERROSIUS 16, Ita, Launas STACEVIČIUS 19, Anta RUBILIENE 20, Meringa TRINSKIENE 21, Laimate MARKI 14, Launas STACEVIČIUS 19, Anta RUBILIENE 20, Meringa TRINSKIENE 21, Laimate MARKI 	pas BASTAKIS 11. Rista MILIUTE 12. Rober Jonas VILIONIS 17. Tatiana BABRAUSKIEN
03	LIETUVOS ŽALIŲJŲ PARTIJA	 Remigijus LAPINSKAS 2. Mečys LAURINKUS 3. leva BUORAITE 4. Vytautas NEXROŠIUS 6. Marija TAMKEVIČIUTE 7. Saukas Vytas PKSRYS 8. Edmandas GREIMAS 9. traga LAURUS 11. Jauna KORABLOVIENE 12. Nindaogas GALJAUSKAS 13. Jisrate MAZEIKYTE 14. Linda 16. Austeja JONAITYTE 17. Golda MAZGELIS 18. Lina ORANITINE 19. Sigitas MECELICA 	5, Laurynas OKOEKIS IONE 10, Albinas ANCIUS
	LIETUVOS SOCIALDEMOKRATŲ PARTIJA	 Wilja BLINKEWCIOTE 2, Roza BUDDERGYTE 3, Anzaz OLEKAS 4, Anius SABATAUSKAS 7, Ramina POPOTIENE 8, Vitalijos MITDOFANONG 9, Bintle VESATE 10, Arrune DOCORDA 13, Modesta PETRAUSKAITE 14, Anitana JODAUGA 15, Antanas VALIONIS 16, Sigitas DO 18, Visidas RUSYS 19, Viadores RADENLIS 20, Viada ALERNAVSCENE 21, Jupinias SARIAU 	 Algindas RASLANAS 12. Dovide SAKALI BILINSKAS 17. Margarita JANKAUSKAITE
0 5	TĖVYNĖS SĄJUNGA-LIETUVOS KRIKŠČIONYS DEMOKRATAI	 Liadas MAZPUIS 2, Andrina KUBLIUS 3, Radnile MORKÜNNITE-MIKULENIEME 4, Rasa JUKNE AMUŠMUSKAS 7, Laima Lucija ANDENKEME 8, Kestuta MASUULS 9, Jungis AAUMA 10, Emanue STARKEVICUS 13, Vija ALEBIANTE ARRAMINIEME 14, Emantas Jones DMOVS 15, Girtare SKA MANCOAS 16, Saulua PECLIDIMAS 19, Girtare MARKEVICUTE 20, Deratas JMMAXISAS 21, 	iis ZINGERIS 11, Staays SEDBARAS 12, Kary ISTE 16, Andrus KUPCINSKAS 17, Andrius Paulius LUKSEVICIUS 22, Andrius VYSMAUSH
	VISUOMENINIS RINKIMŲ KOMITETAS "LEMIAMAS ŠUOLIS"	 Paulius KUNČINAS 2. Marius PAREŠČIUS 3. Gitana NEVERIENE 4. Nerijus STRIKULYS 5. 6. Mindaugas KUKLIERIUS 7. Vima URBUTE 8. Karolis ALEKNIVIČIUS 9. Paulė BALTRUŠA 11. Adomas SABULIS 12. Antanas UUKOŠEVIČIUS 	Ramuné Vilija ZABULIENÉ ITYTE 10. Derius MESKAITIS
01	LIETUVOS CENTRO PARTIJA	 Antanai GUDGA 2, Aracia PUTERIS 3, Arrolgana Angunta NRIVEANA 4, Wingnaga SWIGEN 7, Nata ANDHUSKUYELINE 8, Nanas KUNDA 75, 9, Nagatas SKREMY 10, Cores KEVSENE SAL DEGREM 13, Damaré BLAZYIE BANDERNE 14, Januar JUDKIYUKUS 15, Nama KEVSEND XIA 18, Alfonsar VILDZUMAS 19, Mindaugas KREWEUS 20, Anastasija Monja ZAKAITE 21, Editu 	FONIENE 11. Jolanta ŠČIGLINŠKIENE 12. Valen 6. Asta KANČAUSKAITE 17. Jonas MATULEVIČ
()8	VALDEMARO TOMAŠEVSKIO BLOKAS" – KRIKŠČIONIŠKŲ ŠEIMŲ SĄJUNGOS IR RUSŲ ALJANSO KOALICIJA	 Valdemar TOMAS EVSRI 2. Inna ROZOVA 3. Akarja REKST 4. Zdzelav PALEVIC 5. Rita TA 7. Romadda POSEVICIALA 8. Zbignes (EDNISKI) 9. Vladimir VLASOV 10. Janolav NANK 12. Cesion OSEVICI 13. Antra KUMALEVSKALA 19. Data GAURYTE 20. Albert NARVOIS 27 	IVIC 11. Tamara SUKLINA (AILOV 16. Robert KOMAROVSKI 1. Tadeud ANDŽEJEVSKI 22. Andrius ŠARĖ:
0,	DARBO PARTIJA	 Wikter USPASKICH 2. Ukgiligas UKNA 3. Valentinas MAZURONIS 4. Loninas VITKAUSKAL 6. Lanisa BMITRILEVA 7. Ieva KAČINSKATE- UKRONIENE 8. Autos GEDVILAS 9. Marinas VEI UKSUL 12. Orga PODOLSKENE 13. Danisa ULKOKA 14. Ena BANEL 15. Sandas JAKSTEINI ZABLACKIENE 18. Ameta GRUPNIK 19. Raminta GUDOMITE 20. Raja KRUPENINA 21. Vy 	JČKA 10. Vaida GIRAITYTE 11. Sergej 16. Vidmantas KRIKŠTAPONIS 17. Rena tis KISIELIUS 22. Antanas MAKAREVIČIUS
()10.	VISUOMENINIS RINKIMŲ KOMITETAS "STIPRI LIETUVA VIENINGOJE EUROPOJE"	AXXAMINIOUSIAN 6. Bernardas SHI RUVSKIS 7. Annas SUUSKUS 8. Geneveria KRISAUSIK 10. Binrydas ZMGVIIIS 11. Junjis MIKALM 12. Ričardas PLESIKAI TIS 13. Raimundas PAL 15. Marganta STARKEVICIOTE	ENE 9. Almantas RAZUKAS JUKAS 14. Gytenis RIMKEVIČIUS
	LIETUVOS SOCIALDEMOKRATŲ DARBO PARTIJA	 Gediminas KIRGLAS 2, Andrias PALIONIS 3, Juozas BERNATONIS 4, Andrias SEDZIDIS 2 7, Rimanis SALASEVICIOTE 8, Rimantas SINKEVICUS 9, Janas PINSKUS 10, Evaluas GUISTAS 103, Junta VISUORAS 14, ALINA GOLOENE 12, Antrias SKARDUS 16, Regina RADVILLES 18, Nigmantas MATULEVICUS 19, Valdas UKOŠEVICUS 20, Autimas MIKONAVIČUS 21. 	. Restutis DAUKŠYS 6, Irena ŠIAULIENE 11. Jolanta GEDVILIENE 12. Neris GERMA IE 17. Eduardas ŠABLINSKAS Žydrūnas PLYTNIKAS
() 12	VISUOMENINIS RINKIMŲ KOMITETAS "VYTAUTAS RADŽVILAS: Susigrąžinkime valstybęi"	 Vytautus KADŽVILAS 2. Junga KARČIAUSKAITE-LAGO 3. Arbitas SWITONUS 4. Fausta LUT 7. Rata CERATIENÉ 8. Legie-MRIONCIDENÉ 9. Audrys KARALIUS 10. Elegies DEZDUSKIS DU 12. Vytautus BUDINIKAS 13. Marias MARKUCAS 14. Danias Patteria PAUSKIS 15. Intern VA 17. Galina STAŠKEVIČIDTE 18. Reputis DUBNIKAS 19. Keptudis JARAŠIONAS 20. Aldona A 	ENAS 5. Dovilas PETKUS 6. Romas PAKALA ONYS 11. Algirdas ENDRIUKAITIS SILIAUSKIENE 16. Daina TAMOŠAITYTE
013	VISUOMENINI <mark>s rinkimų komitetas</mark> "Aušros maldeikienės traukinys"	1. Autra MALDEINIENE 2. Rata ZEMAITE 3. Alina ANDIKONOVA 4. Giednius ALASEVIČIUS 5 6. Aiste PIKSKYTE 7. Laurynas SEDVYDIS 8. Konstantin RUBEKIN 9. Julija KAMINSKAITE	R. RITA BALTADUONYTÉ-LEONIENE
	LIETUVOS LAISVĖS SĄJUNGA (LIBERALAI)	 Artisras ZUOKAS 2. Algis CAPLIKAS 3. Regimantas OUPAILA 4. Kestutis NENIUS 5. Rais GORECH-MICKIEWICZ 7. Jolanta BENDULINE 8. Vytauta TARAILE 9. Ignas REPCYS 10.0. 11. Gentares (BETAUTAS 12. Aukari NERAMANDKOS 13. vytautas XASETA 14. Aukaria SLUM 16. Darius KUDIRKA 17. Kestatis BAGONAS 18. Linas KARPAUSKAS 19. Darinus WARNAS 2. 	Gintautas BABRAVICIUS CHTIČ 15. Olegas BERIOZOVAS 20. Dalia ŠTRAUPAITE 21. Žavinas ŠILGALI
016	LIETUVOS RESPUBLIKOS LIBERALŲ Sąjūdis	 Petras AUSTREVIČIUS 2. Viklorija CMILYTE-NIELSEN 3. Eugenijas GENTVILAS 4. Annina 6. Martynas NAGEVIČIUS 7. Audionė BALNIONIEME 8. Davis JUODELIEME 9. Vykautas DAVI 11. Autora RUSKYS 12. tapidija PAPEČIXY 51. Johrnas BARANDANS 14. Narinis KAPOČUJS 16. Birute STATKEVIČIENE 17. Nerijas GALVANAUSKAS 18. Žilvinas GALIMOVAS 19. Kęsta 	ALEVICIUS 10. Marius GURSKAS 15. Karolis STASIUKĖNAS tis STANKEVIČIUS 20. Exelina PAULAVIČIE
017	PARTIJA TVARKA IR TEISINGUMAS	 Remiglias ZEMAITATITS Z. Vyzautas RAMBLEV/CIUS 3. Kestutis BMTNEVICIUS 4. Andrus J. 7. Martynas GEDVILAS 8. Viadus BENDAMIVICUS 9. Robertas BAITRIDIMS 10. Jointa WHICHD BABULIV. 13. Rinardias PERUARISKAS 14. Neurisia MOCIUS 15. Vytatatas IUCOIS 16. Lina 18. Statys VAINAUSKAS 19. Rimantas PASAKINSKAS 20. Audrene BERESNEVICIENE 21. Albit 19. Statys VAINAUSKAS 19. Rimantas PASAKINSKAS 20. Audrene BERESNEVICIENE 21. Albit 19. Statys VAINAUSKAS 19. Rimantas PASAKINSKAS 20. Audrene BERESNEVICIENE 21. Albit 19. Statys VAINAUSKAS 19. Rimantas PASAKINSKAS 20. Audrene BERESNEVICIENE 21. Albit 19. Statys VAINAUSKAS 19. Rimantas PASAKINSKAS 20. Audrene BERESNEVICIENE 21. Albit 19. Statys VAINAUSKAS 19. Rimantas PASAKINSKAS 20. Audrene BERESNEVICIENE 21. Albit 19. Statys VAINAUSKAS 19. Rimantas PASAKINSKAS 20. Audrene BERESNEVICIENE 21. Albit 19. Statys VAINAUSKAS 19. Rimantas PASAKINSKAS 20. Audrene BERESNEVICIENE 21. Albit 19. Statys VAINAUSKAS 19. Rimantas PASAKINSKAS 20. Audrene BERESNEVICIENE 21. Albit 19. Statys VAINAUSKAS 19. Rimantas PASAKINSKAS 20. Audrene BERESNEVICIENE 21. Albit 19. Statys VAINAUSKAS 19. Rimantas PASAKINSKAS 20. Audrene BERESNEVICIENE 21. Albit 19. Statys VAINAUSKAS 19. RIMANTAS 19. RIMANTAS	INE 11. Vidmantas KARABINAS 12. Svetlar SUKYTĖ-KORSAKĖ 17. Rolandas GURAUSKI
PIRMUMO BALSAI		Siuos langelius aiškiai įrašyk numerius iš to sąrašo, už kur Kandidatų pavardžių nerašyk	j balsavote.

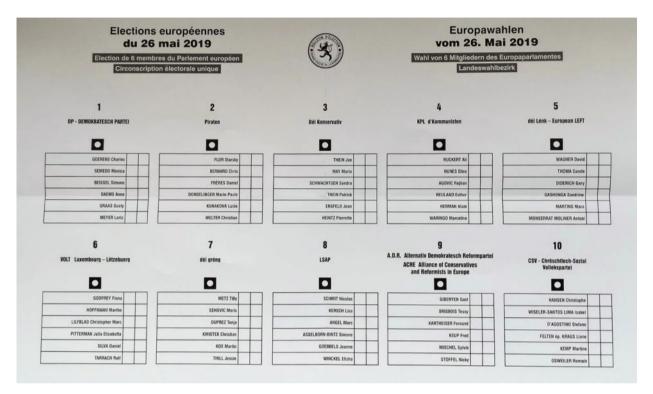
Luxembourg

Luxembourgish electoral ballot from 2019 European elections.

Source:

https://fr.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fichier:European Parliament election 2019 in Luxembourg, Ballot pap er.jpg

No copyright limitations indicated.



Malta

Maltese electoral ballot from 2019 European elections. Source: received as pdf directly by the Maltese Electoral Office. No copyright limitations indicated.



Netherlands

Dutch electoral ballot from 2019 European elections. Source: <u>https://www.go-rtv.nl/stembiljet-van-a4-tje-het-kan</u>. No copyright limitations indicated.

	16 vor mehotiese	
	S1	
	14 Forences forences	
	13 De Conneres	
	12 DRMK	
	11 AZDRLUNY	
i 2019	01	
STEMBILJET voor de verkiezing van de leden van het Europees Parlement op 23 mei 2019	ament to state likely	
Parlement	Ber Nacor	
uropees	7 Demonstrat	
i van het E	6 Factor	
n de leder	5 Brouthman, nave	
ezing va	4 8	
de verki	a second and the second	
JET voor	2 Construction Construction	
STEMBIL	Kandidatenigaren 1 Deserveren et	Image: Section of the section of t

Poland

Polish electoral ballot from 2019 European elections. Source: <u>https://www.kai-friederike.de/materialien/EP2019/ballots/PL_ballot.jpeg</u> No copyright limitations indicated.

Okręg wyborczy nr				
	KARTA DO GŁOSOWANIA			
(tymbol graficary lemites sybercarge) w wyborach do Parlamentu Europejskiego w dniur.				
LISTY KANDY	DATÓW NA POSŁÓW DO PARLAMENTU E	EUROPEJSKIEGO		
Lista nr	Lista nr	Lista nr		
(nazwa lub skrót nazwy komiletu wyborczego)	(nazwa lub skrót nazwy komiletu wyborczego)	(nazwa lub skrót nazwy komitełu wyborczego)		
01	01	01		
02	02	02		
03	03	03		
04	04	04		
05	05	05		
06	06	06		
07	07	07		
08	08	08		
09	09	09		
10	10	10		
Lista nr	Lista nr	Lista nr		
(nazwa lub skról nazwy komitetu wyborczego)	(nazwa lub skrót nazwy komitetu wyborczego)	(nazwa lub skrót nazwy komitetu wyborszego)		
01 🗍	01	01 🗔		
02	02 <u> </u>	02		
03	03	03		
04 []	04	04		
05	05	05		
06	06	06		
07	07	07		
08	08	08		
09	09	09		
10	10	10		
Lista nr	Lista nr	Lista nr		
_				
01	01	01		
02	02	02		
03	03	03		
04	04	04		
05	05	05		
06	06	06		
07	07	07		
08	08	08		
09	09	09		
10		10		
Informacja 1. Znajdž listę kandydatów, na którą chces 2. Postaw znak "X" w kratce przy nazwisku 3. Jeżeli postawisz znak "X" na więcej niż j 4. Znak "X" to co najmniej dwie linie przeci	wybranego kandydata wyłącznie na tej liście. iednej liście kandydatów, Twój głos będzie niewa	ažny.		

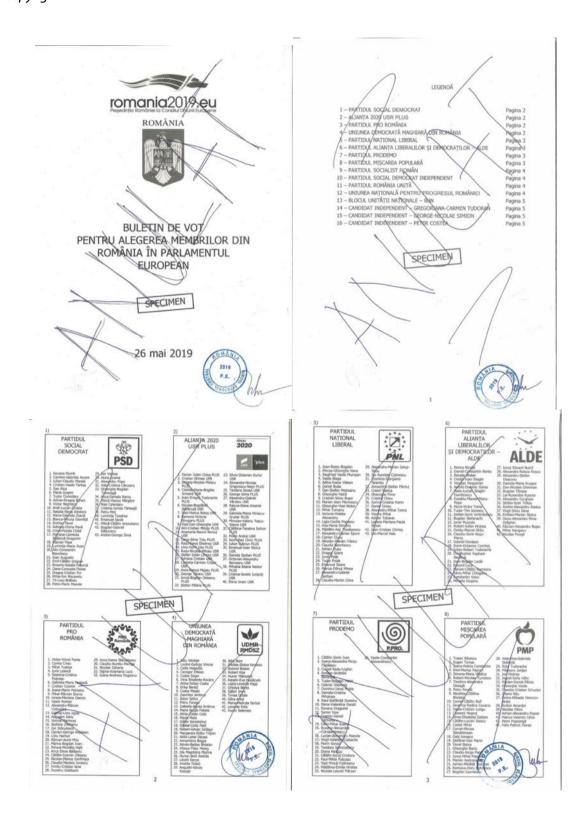
Portugal

Portuguese electoral ballot from 2019 European elections. Source: <u>https://www.cne.pt/sites/default/files/dl/2019 pe especime boletim voto.pdf</u> No copyright limitations indicated.

ELEIÇÃO PARA O PARLAN	MENTO EUROPEU		
Partido Comunista dos Trabalhadores Portugueses	PCTP/MRPP	A REAL	
Partido Democrático Republicano	PDR	**	
PESSOAS-ANIMAIS-NATUREZA	PAN	Ť	
Partido Socialista	PS	0	
Aliança	A	ALIANÇA	
Partido Nacional Renovador	PNR	PNR	
Nós, Cidadãos!	NC	nos	
Partido Trabalhista Português	РТР	P	
Partido Social Democrata	PPD/PSD	Ĺ	
Bloco de Esquerda	B.E.	*	
Iniciativa Liberal	IL	i	
Movimento Alternativa Socialista	MAS	MAS	
CDS - Partido Popular	CDS-PP	, 9 *	
Partido Unido dos Reformados e Pensionistas	PURP	PURP	
BASTA!	PPM.PPV/CDC	2 ×	
LIVRE	L	-	
CDU - Coligação Democrática Unitária	PCP-PEV	<u>ي</u>	

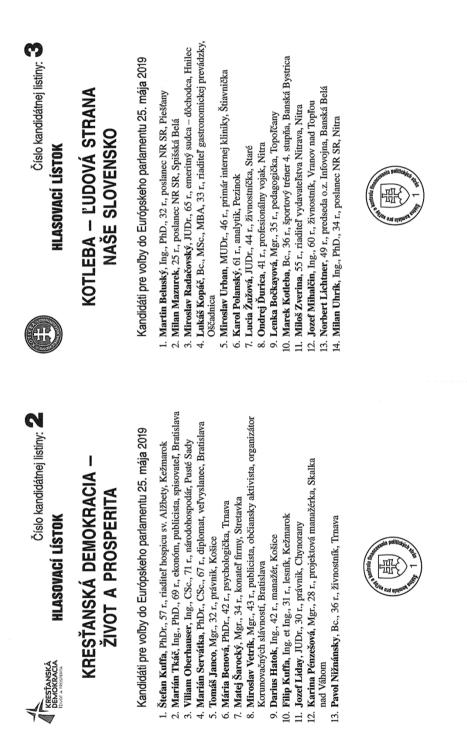
Romania

Sample pages of Romanian electoral ballot from 2019 European elections. Source: the Permanent Electoral Authority's Facebook profile, available at: <u>https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?set=a.2221248454627578&type=3</u> No copyright limitations indicated.



Slovakia

Sample of Slovak electoral ballots from 2019 European elections. Source: received as pdf directly from the Ministry of Interior, from the director of the department for elections, referendums and political parties. No copyright limitations indicated.



Slovenia

Slovenian electoral ballot from 2019 European elections. Source: <u>https://spletnicasopis.eu/2019/05/09/kaksna-bo-alasovnica-na-evropskih-volitvah/</u> No copyright limitations indicated.

GLASOVNICA

ZA VOLITVE POSLANK IN POSLANCEV IZ REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE V EVROPSKI PARLAMENT 26. MAJA 2019

Na

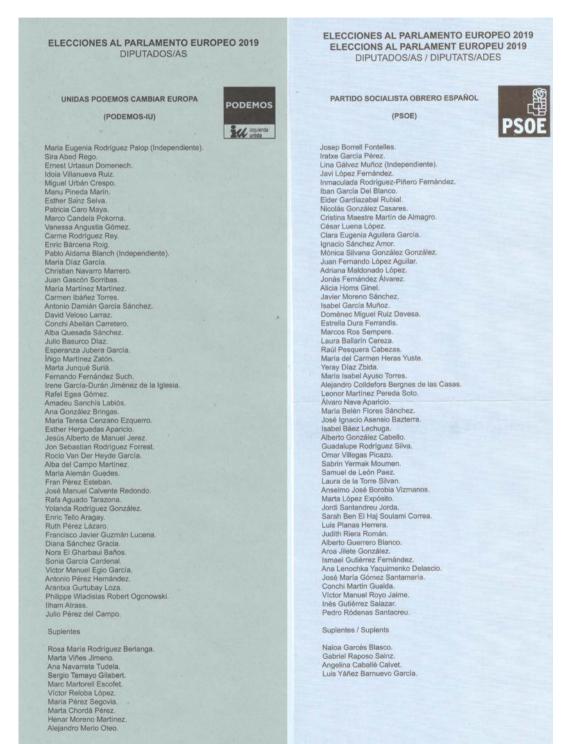
and the second	i glas). Ta glas se odda tako, da se pred imenom in priimkom obkrozi zaporedno stev	
	prednost pred ostalimi s te liste (preferenčni	
Glasuje se za eno listo kandidatk in kandidatov. Za listo se glasuje tako, ua se opkrozi zaporenila stevnika listo.	Na licei, sa kataro ia olakoval/a. lahko volivka oziroma volivoc označi enega kandidata/kandidatko. ki mu/ii daje	
Navodilo:		

	2.	3.	4	5.	6,	7.
ЗМС воблива воблива змс. селта	CIBANUE ZEDINIENA SLOVENIJA	ZELEN SLOVENUE	DOBRA DRZANA DD DOBRA DRZANA	SNS slovenska nacionalna stranka - sns	POVEŽIMO SE	LISTA MARJANA ŠARCA
1. Gregor PERIČ	1. Andrej ŠIŠKO	1. Gorazd PRETNAR	1. Peter GOLOB	1. Zmago JELINČIČ PLEMENITI	1. Urša (Urška) ZGOJZNIK	1. Irena JOVEVA
2. Helena CVIKL	2. Anica BIDAR	2. Nada PAVŠER	2. Natalija TRIPKOVIĆ	2. Tomaž KRAJNC	2. Boštjan TAVČAR	2. Klemen GROŚELJ
3. Janja SLUGA	3. Joško JORAS	3. Mirko BRNIČ JAGER	3. Smiljan MEKICAR	3. Jernej AHČIN	3. Josip ROTAR	3. Edis RUJOVIĆ
4. Miha REBOLJ		4. Katarina DEA ŽETKO	4. Mateja ČADEŽ	4. Alenka JELENOVIČ	4. Marjana ŠKALIČ	4. Tina HEFERLE
5. Branislav RAJIĆ		5. Dragan DJUKIĆ	5. Igor GOBEC	5. Marija ŽUPEVC	5. Domen SAVIČ	5. Jasna RUŽICKI
6. Bojana CVAHTE		6. Ines DEŽELAK	6. Simona LESKOVEC	6. Andrej DOČINSKI	6. Karel SROT	6. Luka KOČEVAR
7. Vesna UGRINOVSKI		7. Gregor HORVATIĆ	7. Tilen MAJNARDI	7. Katarina ŽUNKO	7. Nermina SIMONČIĆ	7. Justina ERČULJ
8. Aleš PRJON		8. Zorica ŠKORC	8. Urška MAKOVEC	8. Ivana BENDRA	8. Petra GREINER	8. Rudi SPRUK
8.	.6	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.
	SDS SOS STRANKA DEMOKATISTICA STRANKA - 503 STRANKA - 503 STRANKA - 503		SD SOCIALIN DEMOKRATI - SD	EuropeanLEFT	ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο	
1. Ljudmila NOVAK	1. Milan ZVER	1. Bernard BRŚČIČ	1. Tanja FAJON	1. Violeta TOMIĆ	1. Igor SOLTES	1. Angelika MLINAR
2. Jožef HORVAT	2. Romana TOMC	2. Lucija ŠIKOVEC UŠAJ	2. Matjaž NEMEC	2. Aleksander Sašo SLAČEK BRLEK	2. Damjan STANONIK	2. Jernej PAVLIĆ
3. Lojze PETERLE	3. Patricija ŠULIN	3. Norma Marija KOROŠEC	3. Dominika ŠVARC PIPAN	3. Ana ŠTROMAJER	3. Tereza NOVAK	3. Olga BELEC
4. Iva DIMIC	4. Franc BOGOVIĆ	4. Marko OBLAK	4. Milan BRGLEZ	4. Danijel REBOLJ	4. Zdenka GAJZER	4. Andrej RAJH
5. Mojca ERJAVEC	5. Franc KANGLER		5. Neva GRAŠIČ	5. Urška LIPOVŽ	5. Vitomir MAVRIČ	5. Dorde BERAK
6. Katja BERK BEVC	6. Alenka FORTE		6. Franc HOČEVAR	6. Lovro CENTRIH	6. Maja SUŠEC	6. Mateja ZUPAN
7. Franci DEMŠAR	7. Davorin KOPŠE		7. Ljubica JELUŠIČ	7. Alma REKIĆ	7. Peter BORSIC	7. Andrej ŠUŠMELJ
8. Žiga TURK	8. Alja DOMJAN		8. Aleksander JEVŠEK	8. Luka MESEC	8. Vesna DRAGAN	8. Nina MAUHLER

Spain

Samples of Spanish electoral ballots from 2019 European elections Sources: <u>https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:PSOE Europeas 2019 CV.png</u> <u>https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:PODEMOS-IU (elecciones al Parlamento Europeo 2019 -</u> <u>Madrid).jpg</u>

No copyright limitations indicated.



Sweden

Sample of Swedish electoral ballot from 2019 European elections. Source: <u>https://www.kai-friederike.de/materialien/EP2019/ballots/SE_ballot.jpeg</u> No copyright limitations indicated.



HELA LANDET 1150-17239 This study, commissioned by the European Parliament's Policy Department for Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs at the request of the AFCO Committee, looks into the main obstacles to unifying and modernising European elections in different Member States. It gives an overview of the implementation of Council Decision 2018/994 and highlights, in particular, the importance of the standardisation and harmonisation of electoral ballots as a means to properly inform voters and strengthen the European party system. As a more general remark, the study concludes that the European and national political parties should further strengthen their relationship, a vital element of the European political system that can increase the transnational nature of European elections.

PE 694.199

IP-C-AFCO-IC-2020-13

Print	ISBN 978-92-846-8143-3	doi: 10.2861/616851	QA-05-21-164-EN-C
PDF	ISBN 978-92-846-8137-2	doi: 10.2861/903206	QA-05-21-164-EN-N



ASSEMBLEIA DA REPÚBLICA

Comissão de Negócios Estrangeiros e Comunidades Portuguesas

Exmo. Senhor Presidente da Assembleia da República Dr. Eduardo Ferro Rodrigues

Of. n.º 92| CNECP | 2018 NU | 616797

26-10-2018

Assunto: Parecer sobre a Proposta de Resolução n.º 74/XIII/3.ª

Junto se envia a Vossa Excelência, para os devidos efeitos, o Parecer da Proposta de Resolução n.º 74/XIII/3ª que "Aprova a Decisão (UE, Euratom) 2018/994 do Conselho de 13 de julho de 2018 que altera o Ato relativo à eleição dos membros do Parlamento Europeu por sufrágio universal direto, anexo à Decisão 76/787/CECA, CEE, Euratom do Conselho de 20 de setembro de 1976", aprovado na reunião da Comissão de Negócios Estrangeiros e Comunidades Portuguesas de 26 de outubro de 2018, com os votos favoráveis dos Deputados dos Grupos Parlamentares do PSD, PS, BE, CDS-PP e PCP.

Com os melhores cumprimentos,

O Presidente da Comissão

(Sérgio Sousa Pinto



Parecer

Autor: Carlos Alberto

Gonçalves

Proposta de Resolução n.º 74/XIII/3.ª

Aprovar a Decisão (UE, Euratom) 2018/994, do Conselho, de 13 de julho de 2018, que altera o Ato relativo à eleição dos membros do Parlamento Europeu por sufrágio universal direto, anexo à Decisão 76/787/CECA, CEE, Euratom do Conselho, de 20 de setembro de 1976



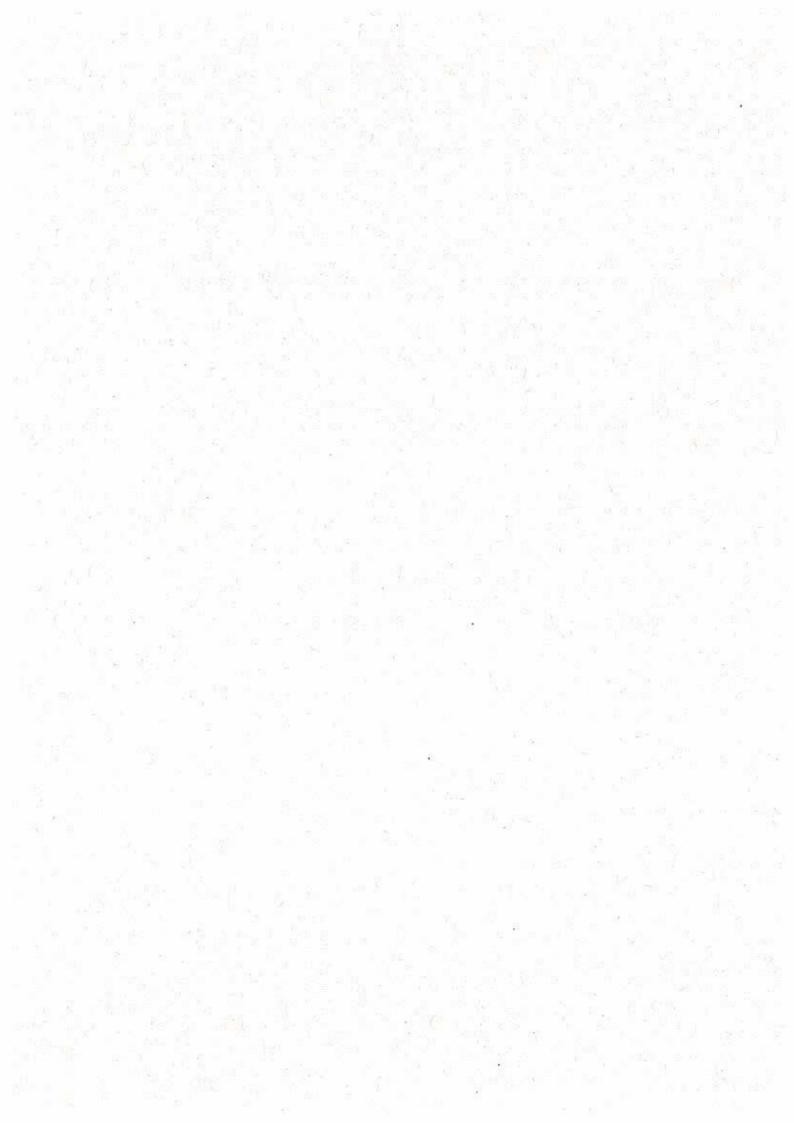
ŵ

ÍNDICE

PARTE I - CONSIDERANDOS

PARTE II - OPINIÃO DO DEPUTADO AUTOR DO PARECER

PARTE III - CONCLUSÕES





PARTE I – CONSIDERANDOS

1.1. NOTA PRÉVIA

O Governo tomou a iniciativa de apresentar à Assembleia da República, em 17 de setembro de 2018, a **Proposta de Resolução n.º 72/XIII/3.ª** que pretende aprovar a Decisão (UE, Euratom) 2018/994, do Conselho, de 13 de julho de 2018, que altera o Ato relativo à eleição dos membros do Parlamento Europeu por sufrágio universal direto, anexo à Decisão 76/787/CECA, CEE, Euratom do Conselho, de 20 de setembro de 1976.

Esta apresentação foi efectuada ao abrigo do disposto na alínea d) do n.º 1 do artigo 197.º da Constituição da República Portuguesa e do artigo 198.º do Regimento da Assembleia da República.

Por despacho de Sua Excelência, o Presidente da Assembleia da República, de 17 de setembro de 2018, a iniciativa vertente baixou, para emissão do respectivo parecer, à Comissão dos Negócios Estrangeiros e Comunidades Portuguesas considerada a Comissão competente para tal.

1.2. ÂMBITO DA INICIATIVA

A presente Proposta de Resolução refere na sua exposição de motivos que com o intuito de aumentar a consciência política europeia e garantir uma forte participação eleitoral ao Parlamento Europeu, em 13 de julho de 2018 o Conselho da UE, deliberando por unanimidade de acordo com o processo legislativo especial e após aprovação do Parlamento Europeu em 4 de julho, adotou a Decisão (UE, Euratom) 2018/994 do Conselho, de 13 de julho de 2018, que altera o Ato relativo à eleição dos membros do Parlamento Europeu por sufrágio universal direto, anexo à Decisão 76/787/CECA, CEE, Euratom do Conselho, de 20 de setembro de 1976.



Salienta o Governo que, entre outros aspetos, a referida Decisão vem introduzir um prazo mínimo de 3 semanas para a apresentação de candidaturas à eleição do Parlamento Europeu; estabelecer que a dupla votação deve ser alvo de medidas eficazes, proporcionadas e dissuasivas; incentivar os Estados-membros a tomarem as medidas necessárias para permitir o voto dos seus nacionais residentes em países terceiros; prever a designação de uma autoridade nacional de contacto responsável pelo intercâmbio de dados com outros Estados-membros sobre eleitores e candidatos.

Ora, considera o Governo que ss leis eleitorais portuguesas já cumprem integralmente as disposições obrigatórias que a Decisão veio estabelecer.

Dessa forma, Portugal apresentou uma Declaração unilateral, segundo a qual o sentido do seu voto teve como pressuposto que a cláusula barreira estabelecida pelo artigo 3.º não é obrigatoriamente aplicável a Portugal porque, no atual quadro da distribuição de lugares no Parlamento Europeu, dispõe de menos de 35 deputados.

Mais declarou que, caso a distribuição de lugares no Parlamento Europeu venha a alterar-se, a Constituição da República Portuguesa não permitirá a aplicação de uma cláusula barreira, como a estabelecida pelo artigo 3.º, que limite a conversão dos votos em mandatos através de uma percentagem mínima.

A Decisão 2018/994 foi adotada por unanimidade pelo Conselho de Ministros da UE a 6 de julho de 2018. A sua entrada em vigor está sujeita à aprovação por todos os Estadosmembros de acordo com os respetivos requisitos constitucionais (artigo 2.º da Decisão 2018/994). O processo para aprovação desta Decisão deverá estar concluído a tempo das próximas eleições para o Parlamento Europeu, que estão já marcadas para 23 a 26 de maio de 2019.



1.3. ANÁLISE DA INICIATIVA

As alterações que se introduzem por esta decisão no Ato Eleitoral europeu são justificadas porque a transparência do processo eleitoral e o acesso a informações fidedignas são importantes para aumentar a consciência política europeia e para garantir uma forte participação eleitoral, sendo desejável que os cidadãos da União sejam informados com a devida antecedência sobre os candidatos que se apresentam às eleições para o Parlamento Europeu e sobre a filiação dos partidos políticos nacionais num partido político europeu.

Ao mesmo tempo e como forma de incentivar a participação dos eleitores nas eleições para o Parlamento Europeu e tirar pleno partido das possibilidades oferecidas pela evolução tecnológica, os Estados-Membros poderão prever, nomeadamente, a possibilidade de voto prévio, voto por correspondência, por meios eletrónicos e pela Internet, garantindo simultaneamente a fiabilidade do resultado, o segredo de voto e a proteção dos dados pessoais, em conformidade com o direito da União aplicável.

Para o Conselho Europeu os cidadãos da União têm o direito de participar na sua vida democrática, em especial votando ou apresentando-se como candidatos às eleições para o Parlamento Europeu e os Estados-Membros são incentivados a tomar as medidas necessárias para permitir que os seus nacionais que residam em países terceiros votem nas eleições para o Parlamento Europeu.

Tal como foi salientado anteriormente, a referida Decisão vem introduzir um prazo mínimo de 3 semanas para a apresentação de candidaturas à eleição do Parlamento Europeu; estabelecer que a dupla votação deve ser alvo de medidas eficazes, proporcionadas e dissuasivas; incentivar os Estados-membros a tomarem as medidas necessárias para permitir o voto dos seus nacionais residentes em países terceiros; prever a designação de uma autoridade nacional de contacto responsável pelo intercâmbio de dados com outros Estados-membros sobre eleitores e candidatos.



PARTE II - OPINIÃO DO DEPUTADO AUTOR DO PARECER

Esta Decisão do Conselho Europeu é importante para incentivar a participação dos eleitores nas eleições para o Parlamento Europeu, nomeadamente através de novos mecanismos de voto como voto prévio, voto por correspondência, por meios eletrónicos e pela Internet.

Para Portugal, país de emigração, com importantes comunidades em países europeus, estas são medidas importantes e que podem, efetivamente, contribuir para aumentar as taxas de participação eleitoral.

As próximas eleições europeias são fundamentais para a União Europeia num momento em que os debates se centram em torno das questões migratórias e dos próprios fundamentos da União.

Importa, pois, que os cidadãos europeus participem, de forma consciente e informada, de modo a garantir o futuro da Europa como espaço de liberdade, segurança e respeito pelos direitos do Homem.

PARTE III – CONCLUSÕES

 O Governo tomou a iniciativa de apresentar à Assembleia da República a Proposta de Resolução n.º 74/XIII/3.ª – "Aprovar a Decisão (UE, Euratom) 2018/994, do Conselho, de 13 de julho de 2018, que altera o Ato relativo à eleição dos membros do Parlamento Europeu por sufrágio universal direto, anexo à Decisão 76/787/CECA, CEE, Euratom do Conselho, de 20 de setembro de 1976".



2. Nestes termos, a Comissão de Negócios Estrangeiros e Comunidades Portuguesas é de Parecer que a Proposta de Resolução n.º 74/XIII/3.ª que visa aprovar a Decisão (UE, Euratom) 2018/994, do Conselho, de 13 de julho de 2018, que altera o Ato relativo à eleição dos membros do Parlamento Europeu por sufrágio universal direto, anexo à Decisão 76/787/CECA, CEE, Euratom do Conselho, de 20 de setembro de 1976, está em condições de ser votada no Plenário da Assembleia da República.

Palácio de S. Bento, 16 de outubro de 2018

O Deputado autor do Parecer

(Carlos Alberto Gonçalves)

REL^I O Presidente da Comissão

Rede Filze Gomes Some

(Sérgio Sousa Pinto)