

Luxembourg

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Introduction

The main events of 2013 were the resignation in July of the CSV-LSAP government after a series of affairs affecting the intelligence service (SREL) for which Prime Minister Juncker was politically accountable, and the formation of a new coalition excluding the Christian Social People's Party (CSV) despite the latter having remained by far the largest party of the country at the early elections held in October. As the Liberal Party was the main winner of these elections, which were only the third early elections in Luxembourg's postwar political history, its young leader and mayor of Luxembourg city Xavier Bettel became the new Prime Minister, heading a coalition comprising the Socialists and, for their first governmental participation at the national level, the Greens.

Election report

In early 2013, politics in Luxembourg was dominated by a succession of 'affairs' that began in 2012 (Dumont et al. 2013: 156). These affairs strongly hampered people's trust in the largest party of the country, the CSV, continuously at the helm of government since 1979, and to a lesser extent its junior coalition partner, the LSAP. Leading figures of the CSV were involved in the hearings of the special parliamentary committee of inquiry set up in December 2012 on the illegal activities of the state intelligence services, the *Service de Renseignements de l'Etat Luxembourgeois* (SREL), and those of the trial regarding the 'Bommeleeër affair' (an unsolved case of a series of bombings in the mid-1980s). Prime Minister Jean-Claude Juncker was heard three times by the parliamentary committee of inquiry (which met no fewer than 47 times in six months) in order to understand how the state intelligence services under his responsibility had become so dysfunctional and to justify why he had not taken measures or at least informed the regulatory parliamentary committee in charge of checking this service. According to the press, those malfunctions were known by the Prime Minister, but no measure was taken to stop them. Pressure on the leading figures of the government was also high in the *Bommeleeër* case because of the presumed interference of the former Minister of Justice and current Minister of Finance, Luc Frieden, with the judicial treatment of the case in the early 2000s. According to press revelations he would have voluntarily obstructed the continuation of the judicial inquiry.

Potential breaches in the independence of powers by the executive with regard to both the legislature and the judiciary and the incapacity of sanctioning public agents in the small

Grand Duchy were among the problems mentioned by a severe evaluation report of the Group of States against corruption (GRECO) published in June.¹ A week before the adoption of this report, opposition parties had made a move in parliament: *Déi Gréng*'s Félix Braz introduced a motion aimed at withdrawing support to Frieden, while the leader of the DP Xavier Bettel mainly targeted Prime Minister Juncker for his role in the SREL affair and filed a more general motion calling for the resignation of the whole government.² Although the Socialist youth organisation called for Frieden's resignation, both motions were rejected by the majority MPs, therefore including those of the junior coalition party. But this apparent governmental solidarity in parliament would not survive the coming report of the parliamentary committee of inquiry on the SREL.

On 10 July, the report was presented to the Chamber of Deputies. This report had been adopted in committee without the votes of the CSV representatives as it mentioned several times that Juncker was politically accountable for the SREL's dysfunctional drift. During the debate in plenary, not only did the opposition insist on the accountability of the Prime Minister, but also the junior coalition partner LSAP presented a motion demanding the dissolution of the Chamber and the organization of elections within three months. Before any of the motions could be voted upon, Juncker closed the session by announcing that the government would resign the next day. He commented in the press that he had been betrayed by his coalition partner. This was followed by legal controversy regarding the acceptance of the government's resignation and the calling of early elections by the Grand Duke. Eventually, and despite the advice of the Council of State, the dissolution of parliament was postponed, allowing the government to remain in full power until 7 October – that is, 13 days before the early legislative elections called for on 20 October.

The electoral campaign

Despite having been in the limelight for these affairs, the CSV decided as soon as mid-July to focus its campaign again around Juncker under slogans such as '*Mir man Premier*' ('Together with the Prime Minister') and '*Stability for our Country*'. The Socialist Party opted for an incarnation of political renewal (despite having been in government since 2004 and the main coalition partner of the CSV before) by choosing Etienne Schneider, its recent and non-elected Minister of Economy (see Dumont et al. 2013: 152), as head of the list instead of Deputy Prime Minister Asselborn and by adopting the slogan '*Loscht op muer*' ('Desire for a New Day'). The LSAP expected to derive some benefits from having provoked the early election and to capitalise on its positive result in the recent local elections (see Dumont et al. 2012: 204). The DP, as leader of the opposition, perceived these elections as a unique opportunity to regain the seats in the parliament it had lost in 2004 after governing with the CSV and also focused on the future with the slogan '*Deng Stëmm fir d'Zukunft*' ('Your Voice for the Future'). The Liberals decided not to choose a single leader and instead highlighted its four constituency heads of list, one of whom was its popular young president and mayor of the capital city, Xavier Bettel. With the motto '*Méi Gréng. Méi Verantwortung*' ('More Green, More Responsibility'), the Greens aimed to promote their core policy issues: sustainable growth and respect for the environment. The sovereigntist ADR campaigned on themes that revolved around a critique of the political system by highlighting the merits of direct democracy (one of its slogan being 'more

referendums = more democracy’) and rejected the idea of an increase of taxes in general and of value-added tax (VAT) in particular to balance the budget.

Among the core socioeconomic issues of the short campaign was the wage indexation that had been modulated in 2012. Another one was a potential tax scheme reform (the previous major reform dated back to 1991). While the four major parties (CSV, LSAP, DP and *Déi Gréng*) agreed on a reform of the system towards individual rather than joint taxation for couples, there were disagreements on the question of corporate taxation and on the modification of the tax scaling. Unemployment was obviously also at the centre of attention, as it kept on increasing to reach 7 per cent in September. Other issues were also on the political campaign agenda, including extending voting rights to non-nationals for the national elections and, to a lesser extent, lowering the voting age to 16. According to an opinion poll early in the year, a slight majority of the Luxembourgish electorate favoured awarding non-nationals the right to vote for the Chamber of Deputies but support appeared to have vanished by the end of 2013. During the campaign the CSV, ADR and KPL hammered home their position against such a measure while the extension of voting rights to citizens aged 16 and over was defended by all parties except CSV and KPL.

The hypothesis of a tripartite coalition (DP-LSAP-*Déi Gréng*) excluding the CSV, often evoked but rarely mathematically possible, became conceivable because of the circumstances that had led to the downfall of the government and early elections. From the start, *Déi Gréng* and the Liberals that had formed the executive coalition at Luxembourg’s town hall in 2011 made no secret of their hopes of forming a coalition government without Juncker’s party. The Socialists, despite having been the CSV’s junior partner, also declared publicly that such a coalition could be envisioned. Opinion polls showed that a majority of the population (55 per cent) wanted a change of coalition – and among them the tripartite alternative excluding the CSV was the most frequently cited – while only 29 per cent preferred to keep the incumbent coalition.³ Despite these signs, Juncker, his party and a large part of the population (a majority still saw him as their preferred Prime Minister for the new government) did not seem to believe such a political revolution could happen due to the long-term entrenchment of the CSV in the state and government. Despite his decline in popularity, the CSV leader remained his party’s best prospect for taking the helm of the next government. This was also due to the absence of credible popular alternative figures and was despite renewed rumours of Juncker’s European ambitions regarding the Presidency of the Commission or the European Council.

Election results

The 20 October election for the Chamber of Deputies was only the third unscheduled election of Luxembourg’s history (the first occurred in 1959 and the second in 1968 – both had led to a change of coalition; see Dumont & De Winter 2000) and the first time national elections were not held simultaneously with the European elections since 1979.⁴ The CSV lost about 4 per cent of the national vote in comparison with 2009. This was to be expected, given the way the outgoing government fell and that the 2009 score had been a record high for the previous 50 years. With 34 per cent, the party also fared worse than in 2004 but did not go back to its low point in the 1990s (around 30 per cent). The leader himself saw his preferential votes fall by about 12,000 (this represents at least 6,000 fewer voters than in

2009 as each voter is entitled to give two votes at the most for any candidate) despite an increase of more than 6 per cent of valid votes cast in the constituency South, due to the increase in voting age population. The party's electoral fate was reflected in a loss of three seats (from 26 to 23 out of 60). In those terms the gap between the largest party and the second decreased by three units as the CSV's government partner, the Socialist Party (LSAP) managed to keep its 13 seats. The latter did so despite a loss of more than 2 per cent of the votes. Consequently LSAP failed to cross the 20 per cent bar, thus obtaining its worst postwar result, which may be due to the perception by the electorate of the dubious role the party had played as junior coalition party in the government's collapse.

The great winners of the election included the DP (Liberals), which had scored one of its worst results in 2009, but this time almost reached the same (adjusted) score as the Socialists and the same number of seats – namely an increase of 4 percentage points and four seats. DP's head of list Xavier Bettel gained 9,000 more preferential votes (at least 4,500 more voters) than in 2009 in his Centre constituency (one of the two large constituencies – the largest being the South – that experienced an increase of 7 per cent in valid votes). The Greens lost one seat, although they suffered more limited losses than the LSAP, allowing them to stay above the 10 per cent bar. The sovereigntist ADR lost yet another seat, while the radical left party (The Left) gained a second one, almost reaching 5 per cent of the votes. For its first appearance in a national contest, the Pirate Party scored about 3 per cent, but did not manage to get one of its candidates elected. Overall, as it already did back in 2009, the combined score of the small parties (here the two radical left parties and the two new ones on offer) almost doubled again – this time to over 10 per cent.

Cabinet report

On 21 October, the day after the election, Prime Minister Juncker offered the resignation of his government and according to custom the Grand Duke charged him with the execution of current and urgent matters until a new cabinet was formed. Later in the day, however, the leaders of the Liberal, Socialist and Green parties announced that they would start negotiations and received a mandate from their respective internal bodies on Monday night to do so. On 23 October, and against all odds, a non-political figure, George Ravarani, president of the Administrative Court, was appointed informateur by the Grand Duke. Awarding such a role to a politically neutral figure was presented as a way of gathering objective information on the convergences and divergences between the four main parties but was mainly intended to give time to the political actors after an election that led to the arithmetic possibility of leaving the largest party of the country out of government for the first time since 1979 and the announcement by the three other parties of their will to first consider negotiating such a formula. On 25 October, the Grand Duke appointed Xavier Bettel as formateur. After 14 plenary meetings, the three parties signed a coalition agreement on 29 November. On 3 December, the congresses of the three parties ratified this coalition agreement and on the next day the new government was sworn in by the Grand Duke. It therefore took one day less (45 days) to form this first ever Liberal-Socialist-Green coalition than to form the preceding government, which was a mere renewal of the previous (2004–2009) formula. On 10 December, Prime Minister Bettel read the governmental

Table 1. Elections to the *Chambre des députés* in Luxembourg in 2013

Party	Votes			Seats			
	N ^a	%	Change since 2009	N	%	N	Change since 2009
Date of election	20 October 2013						
Total seats	60						
Electorate	239,668						
Total votes cast	218,874						
Turnout	91.3%						
Total valid vote	204,011						
Share of valid votes	93.2%						
Christian Social People's Party/ <i>Chrëschtlech-Sozial Vollekspartei</i> (CSV)	69,472	34.1%	-4.0%	23	38.3%	-3	-5.0%
Luxembourg's Socialist Workers' Party/ <i>Lëtzebuenger Sozialistesch</i> <i>Arbechterpartei</i> (LSAP)	39,192	19.2%	-2.3%	13	21.7%	0	0.0%
Democratic Party/ <i>Demokratesch Partei</i> (DP)	38,915	19.1%	+4.1%	13	21.7%	+4	+6.7%
The Greens/ <i>Déi Gréng</i> (G)	21,043	10.3%	-1.4%	6	10.0%	-1	-1.7%
Democratic Reform Party/ <i>Alternativ</i> <i>Demokratesch Reformpartei</i> (ADR)	13,837	6.8%	-1.4%	3	5.0%	-1	-1.7%
The Left/ <i>Déi Lénk</i> (L)	9,111	4.5%	+1.2%	2	3.3%	+1	+1.6%
Pirate Party/ <i>Piratepartei</i> (PP)	6,032	3.0%	+3.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Party for Integral Democracy/ <i>Partei fir</i> <i>Integral Demokratie</i> (PID)	3,476	1.7%	+1.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Luxembourg Communist Party/ <i>Kommunistesch Partei Lëtzebuerg</i> (KPL)	2,932	1.4%	+0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Others	0	0.0%	-	0	0.0%	-	0.0%
Christian Social People's Party/ <i>Chrëschtlech-Sozial Vollekspartei</i> (CSV)	69,472	34.1%	-4.0%	23	38.3%	-3	-5.0%
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Democratic Party/ <i>Demokratesch Partei</i> (DP)	38,915	19.1%	+4.1%	13	21.7%	+4	+6.7%
The Greens/ <i>Déi Gréng</i> (G)	21,043	10.3%	-1.4%	6	10.0%	-1	-1.7%

Note: ^aThese are 'adjusted fictitious voters' figures, see Dumont and Poirier (2006: 1103) for the details of the method of computation of this measure allowing us to give a distribution of votes summing to the number of valid votes. The total number of non-adjusted fictitious voters was 187,822, indicating that at least 16,181 voters (204,011 minus 187,822) did not use all their votes. This proportion decreased compared to 2009 (7.9% instead of 9.2%).

Sources: Service information et presse du gouvernement luxembourgeois (2014); see also official results reports by constituency (www.elections.public.lu/fr/elections-legislatives/2013/resultats-officiels/index.html).

declaration in front of the Chamber of Deputies, which awarded its confidence by 32 votes to 28 at the end of the debate the day after. During this debate, Juncker estimated that 80 per cent of the new coalition programme was a follow-up of projects initiated by the preceding government or that were copied from the CSV's manifesto. Aside from this continuity, several opposition members denounced the lack of precision regarding the costs of the policies envisaged.

Measures aimed at democratic renewal figure prominently in the agreement signed by the new coalition partners: the first chapter of the document is dedicated to this topic. The government will aim at reforming the constitution and involving citizens in the process through consultations and referendums,⁵ promoting participatory democracy, alleviating the conditions for the acquisition of Luxembourg nationality, reforming the institution of the ombudsman, establishing codes of conduct (ministers, MPs, councillors of state, local councillors, civil servants), strengthening the power of parliament and reviewing the relation between the state and religious organisations (conventions, courses of religious instruction, national holidays, etc.). The government confirmed that in the difficult economic environment an increase of fiscal receipts was necessary, as well as making the control of government spending a priority. For this reason, the programme stated the intention to increase the VAT rate but also to keep its standard VAT rate the lowest in the EU (as mentioned above, there was no indication of the actual level of the increase). This increase would in part compensate for Luxembourg's VAT losses incurred from 2015 onwards by the EU legislation change of VAT rules in the electronic commerce sector. With the objective of enhancing social equity, the government indicated that it would revise the progressive income tax brackets and tax deductions available. A move from joint taxation of married couples to individual taxation would also be analysed. The coalition partners also confirmed that Luxembourg would not oppose extension to the scope of automatic exchange of information between tax authorities, but would insist on international norms in this area being adopted by all the major financial centres (this position was reasserted at the first EU summit attended by Bettel as Prime Minister in December). It was also confirmed that Luxembourg would remain out of the financial transaction tax (FTT) project, to be implemented within the EU 'enhanced cooperation' framework.

None of the DP ministers appointed had any ministerial experience (the latest governmental participation dated back to 1999–2004). A non-elected figure, Pierre Gramegna, who was head of the Chamber of Commerce of Luxembourg, was chosen as Finance Minister by the Liberal Party. During the cabinet formation negotiations a number of experts from the private sector and more specifically from the financial arena (Ernst and Young, banks and insurance) had been integrated into the Liberal Party's delegation. Although the latter were DP members, this visible move towards the involvement of non-elected experts was for some observers justified by a need to reassure international financial markets; not only, as in other countries, because of the crisis but also because of the nature of the new coalition, which excluded CSV experienced ministers and their established networks. Four of the LSAP ministers already figured in the preceding cabinet. A fifth one, Mars di Bartolomeo, took over the Presidency of the Chamber of Deputies. No minister in the Green ministerial delegation had any experience at that level given that the party entered a national executive for the first time in its history. The policy remits that Greens were awarded correspond to their core issues: sustainable development,

infrastructure and environment in particular, with two ministers and a secretary of state aimed at easing the relations between the minister(s) of this newcomer government party and the high civil service, and with local authorities as this secretary of state is one of the most longstanding Green mayors of the country. The Greens also received one of the core state authorities' portfolios, Justice, through which they will be involved in a number of societal and institutional reforms.

Parliament report

The October 2013 elections only caused a moderate level of volatility in seats in parliament (higher than in 2009, but smaller than in the preceding ones) but increased its fragmentation to the third highest level in Luxembourg's postwar history (1999 and 1974 having been, respectively, the first and second most fragmented parliaments).

Institutional changes

In February, the Chamber of Deputies ratified the Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union (TSCG) by a two-thirds majority vote,⁶ with 46 votes in favour (the two government parties, the Liberals and the independent MPs) against ten (the Greens, the sovereigntist ADR and the MP from the radical left *déi Lénk*).

In December, the Chamber of Deputies voted unanimously for a new revision of the 2003 electoral law.⁷ This reform, triggered by the need to transpose the Council Directive 2013/1/UE (regarding the eligibility rights for the European Parliament election of European citizens residing in a country of which they are not nationals) simplifies the procedure for becoming a candidate for the EP election. It also abolishes the residency condition of EU residents for exercising both voting rights (which were only allowed for residents who had been living in Luxembourg for at least two years) and eligibility rights (which were restricted to potential candidates having lived at least five years in Luxembourg). Provided that they register on the electoral lists by the end of February 2014, those EU residents were allowed to vote at the May 2014 EP election. Other provisions of the new legislation include greater flexibility for fixing the date of national elections (in case European elections are held in May) and formalising the prohibition of combining the offices of national MP and MEP.

Issues in national politics

As announced in December 2012 (Dumont et al. 2013: 155), Jean-Claude Juncker left the Presidency of the Eurogroup in January. During the same month, Claude Meisch, who had been party president of the Liberals since 2004, was succeeded by Xavier Bettel, mayor of Luxembourg city. In March, it was the turn of the ADR, which underwent a troublesome year in 2012 (see Dumont et al. 2013: 153), to elect a new president, Jean Schoos, after an interim of a few months by the historic leader Robert Mehlen. One of its dissidents (see

Table 2.1. Cabinet composition of Juncker Asselborn II in Luxembourg in 2013

Date of inception	29 July 2009					
Type of cabinet	Minimum Winning Coalition (MWC)					
Date of initial 2013 observation	1 January 2013					
Date of final 2013 observation	4 December 2013					
A. Party and gender composition of Juncker Asselborn II at initial 2013 observation, 01 January	Party seats in cabinet		Cabinet seats held by women		Party seats in parliament	
	N	%	N	% (of party seats)	N	%
Christian Social People's Party (CSV)	9	60.0%	3	33.3%	26	43.3%
Luxembourg's Socialist Workers' Party (LSAP)	6	40.0%	1	16.7%	13	21.7%
Totals	15	100.0%	4	26.7%	39	65.0%
B. Composition of Juncker Asselborn II cabinet at initial 2013 observation, 1 January						
See previous editions of the <i>Political Data Yearbook</i> or www.politicaldatayearbook.com						
C. Changes in composition of Juncker Asselborn II cabinet during 2013						
<p>Minister of Justice, Minister for the Civil Service and Administrative Reform, Minister for Higher Education and Research, Minister for Communications and Media, Minister for Religious Affairs/<i>Ministre de la Justice, Ministre de la Fonction publique et de la Réforme administrative, Ministre de l'Enseignement supérieur et de la Recherche, Ministre des Communications et des Médias, Ministre des Cultes</i>: François Biltgen (1958 male, CSV) resigned on 29 April; replaced on 30 April in the following manner: Octavie Modert (1966 female, CSV) replaced Biltgen as Minister of Justice/<i>Ministre de la Justice</i> and Minister for the Civil Service and Administrative Reform/<i>Ministre de la Fonction publique et de la Réforme administrative</i>, while also keeping her original portfolios as Minister for Culture/<i>Ministre de la Culture</i> and Minister for Administrative Simplification attached to the Prime Minister/<i>Ministre à la Simplification administrative auprès du Premier Ministre</i> (the position of Minister Delegate for the Civil Service and Administrative Reform/<i>Ministre déléguée à la Fonction publique et à la Réforme administrative</i> was eliminated in the process); Martine Hansen (1965 female, CSV) replaced Biltgen as Minister for Higher Education and Research/<i>Ministre de l'Enseignement supérieur et de la Recherche</i>; Luc Frieden (1963 male, CSV) replaced Biltgen as Minister for Communications and Media/<i>Ministre des Communications et des Médias</i> while also keeping his previous portfolio as Minister of Finance/<i>Ministre des Finances</i>; Jean-Claude Juncker (1954 male, CSV) replaced Biltgen as Minister for Religious Affairs/<i>Ministre des Cultes</i>, while also keeping his previous portfolios as Prime Minister, Minister of State, Minister for the Treasury/<i>Premier ministre, Ministre d'État, Ministre du Trésor</i></p> <p>Minister for Family Affairs and Integration, Minister for Development Cooperation and Humanitarian Affairs/<i>Ministre de la Famille et de l'Intégration, Ministre de la Coopération et de l'Action humanitaire</i>: Marie-Josée Jacobs (1950 female, CSV) resigned on 29 April 2013; replaced by Marc Spautz (1963 male, CSV) on 30 April 2013 with additional portfolios: Minister for Family Affairs and Integration, Minister for Development Cooperation and Humanitarian Affairs, Minister for Relations with Parliament/<i>Ministre de la Famille et de l'Intégration, Ministre de la Coopération et de l'Action humanitaire, Ministre aux Relations avec le Parlement</i>^a</p>						
D. Party and gender composition of Juncker Asselborn II at final 2013 observation, 4 December	Party seats in cabinet		Party seats in cabinet held by women		Party seats in parliament	
	N	%	N	% (of party seats)	N	%
Christian Social People's Party (CSV)	9	60.0%	3	33.3%	26	43.3%
Luxembourg's Socialist Workers' Party (LSAP)	6	40.0%	1	16.7%	13	21.7%
Totals	15	100.0%	4	26.7%	39	65.0%

Note: ^aIn this shift Octavie Modert took up a number of competencies left by her colleague François Biltgen, but her portfolio as Minister for Relations with Parliament was transferred to the newly appointed Marc Spautz who took over the remit of Marie-Josée Jacobs.

Source: Service information et presse du gouvernement luxembourgeois (2014). Note that this publication reports a change in ministerial personnel that occurred in 2014.

Table 2.2. Cabinet composition of Bettel-Schneider I in Luxembourg in 2013

Date of inception	4 December 2013					
Type of cabinet	Minimum Winning Coalition (MWC)					
Date of initial 2013 observation	4 December 2013					
Date of final 2013 observation	31 December 2013					
A. Party and gender composition of Bettel-Schneider I at initial 2013 observation, 4 December	Party seats in cabinet		Cabinet seats held by women		Party seats in parliament	
	N	%	N	% (of party seats)	N	%
Democratic Party (DP)	7	38.9%	2	28.6%	13	21.7%
Luxembourg's Socialist Workers' Party (LSAP)	7	38.9%	2	28.6%	13	21.7%
The Greens (G)	4	22.2%	1	25.0%	6	10.0%
Totals	18	100.0%	5	27.8%	32	53.3%
B. Composition of Bettel-Schneider I cabinet at initial 2013 observation, 4 December						
Prime Minister, Minister of State, Communications and Media, Minister for Religious Affairs/ <i>Premier ministre, ministre d'État, ministre des Communications et des Médias, ministre des Cultes</i> : Xavier Bettel (1973 male, DP)						
Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Economy, Minister for Internal Security, Minister of Defence/ <i>Vice-Premier ministre, ministre de l'Économie, ministre de la Sécurité intérieure, ministre de la Défense</i> : Etienne Schneider (1971 male, LSAP)						
Minister of Foreign and European Affairs, Minister of Immigration and Asylum/ <i>Ministre des Affaires étrangères, ministre de l'Immigration et de l'Asile</i> : Jean Asselborn (1949 male, LSAP)						
Minister of Justice/ <i>Ministre de la Justice</i> : Félix Braz (1966 male, <i>Déi Gréng</i>)						
Minister of Labour, Employment, and Social and Solidarity Economy/ <i>Ministre du Travail, de l'Emploi et de l'Economie sociale et solidaire</i> : Nicolas Schmit (1953 male, LSAP)						
Minister of Social Security, Minister for Development Cooperation and Humanitarian Affairs, Minister of Sport/ <i>Ministre de la Sécurité sociale, ministre de la Coopération et de l'Action humanitaire, ministre des Sports</i> : Romain Schneider (1962 male, LSAP)						
Minister for Sustainable Development and Infrastructure/ <i>Ministre du Développement durable et des Infrastructures</i> : François Bausch (1956 male, <i>Déi Gréng</i>)						
Minister of Agriculture, Viticulture and Consumer Protection, Minister for Relations with Parliament/ <i>Ministre de l'Agriculture, de la Viticulture et de la Protection des consommateurs, ministre aux Relations avec le Parlement</i> : Fernand Etgen (1957 male, DP)						
Minister for Culture, Minister for Housing/ <i>Ministre de la Culture, ministre du Logement</i> : Maggy Nagel (1957 female, DP)						
Minister of Finance/ <i>Ministre des Finances</i> : Pierre Gramegna (1958 male, DP)						
Minister of Health, Minister for Equal Opportunities/ <i>Ministre de la Santé, ministre de l'Égalité des chances</i> : Lydia Mutsch (1961 female, LSAP)						
Minister for Home Affairs, Minister for the Civil Service and Administrative Reform/ <i>Ministre de l'Intérieur, ministre de la Fonction publique et de la Réforme administrative</i> : Daniel Kersch (1961 male, LSAP)						
Minister of National Education, of Childhood and Youth, Minister of Higher Education and Research/ <i>Ministre de l'Éducation nationale, de l'Enfance et de la Jeunesse, ministre de l'Enseignement supérieur et de la Recherche</i> : Claude Meisch (1971 male, DP)						
Minister for Family and Integration, Minister for the Greater Region/ <i>Ministre de la Famille et de l'Intégration, ministre à la Grande Région</i> : Corinne Cahen (1973 female, DP)						
Minister of Environment/ <i>Ministre de l'Environnement</i> : Carole Dieschbourg (1977 female, <i>Déi Gréng</i>)						
Secretary of State for Sustainable Development and Infrastructure/ <i>Secrétaire d'État au Développement durable et aux Infrastructures</i> : Camille Gira (1958 male, <i>Déi Gréng</i>)						
Secretary of State of Economy, Secretary of State for Homeland Security, Secretary of State of Defence/ <i>Secrétaire d'État à l'Économie, Secrétaire d'État à la Sécurité intérieure, Secrétaire d'État à la Défense</i> : Francine Closener (1969 female, LSAP)						
Secretary of State of National Education, of Childhood and Youth, Secretary of State of Higher Education and Research/ <i>Secrétaire d'État à l'Éducation nationale, à l'Enfance et à la Jeunesse, Secrétaire d'État à l'Enseignement supérieur et à la Recherche</i> : André Bauler (1971 male, DP)						
C. Changes in composition of Bettel-Schneider I cabinet during 2013						
There were no changes in 2013						

Source: Service information et presse du gouvernement luxembourgeois (2014).

Table 3. Party and gender composition of the *Chambre des députés* in Luxembourg in 2013

Party	1 January 2013		31 December 2013	
	N	%	N	%
Democratic Party (DP)	9	15.0%	13	21.7%
Luxembourg's Socialist Workers' Party (LSAP)	13	21.7%	13	21.7%
Christian Social People's Party (CSV)	26	43.3%	23	38.3%
The Greens (G)	7	11.7%	6	10.0%
Democratic Reform Party (ADR)	3	5.0%	3	5.0%
The Left (L)	1	1.7%	2	3.3%
Independent ^a	1	1.7%	0	0.0%
Women	13	21.7%	17 ^b	28.3%
Totals	60	100.0%	60	100.0%

Notes: ^aOne ADR MP left the party and became independent. In 2013 he started the Party for Integral Democracy (PID) which got 1.7% of the votes and no seats.

^b14 female candidates were directly elected. Three of these became ministers. Six out of the 15 candidates called to become MP in replacement of newly appointed ministers were female.

Sources: Service information et presse du gouvernement luxembourgeois (2014); Inter-Parliamentary Union (www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif-arc.htm).

Table 4. Political party changes in Luxembourg in 2013

A. Party leadership changes in 2013

Democratic Party president Claude Meisch (1971 male, DP) was replaced by Xavier Bettel (1973 male, DP)

Democratic Reform Party president Robert Mehlen (1949 male, ADR) was replaced by Jean Schoos (1950 male, ADR)

Sources: www.dp.lu; www.adr.lu; and www.wort.lu.

Dumont et al. 2013: 157, Note 1), incumbent independent MP Jean Colombara, decided to create a new party at the end of June, before early elections had been called. His newly created *Partei für Integrale Demokratie* (Party for Integral Democracy) seeks a radical reform of the political system and a 'total democracy' in which the population would be consulted as often as possible through referendums. This newcomer party managed to find 60 candidates and run for elections with full lists in all four constituencies.

The 20 October early elections results and consequences in terms of coalition formation brought about changes at the local level, with the mayor positions of the two largest cities of the Grand Duchy changing hands: after having already been a long-term mayor in the past (1982–1999) for the Liberals and then vice-Prime Minister of Jean-Claude Juncker (1999–2004), Lydie Polfer took over the position of Prime Minister Xavier Bettel at the head of the capital city of Luxembourg, while in Esch-sur-Alzette, Lydia Mutsch, who became Minister of Health and Equal Opportunities for the LSAP, was replaced by Vera Spautz, a former MP who had resigned her position in 2012 in protest against a number of measures supported by the parliamentary majority of which she was part (Dumont et al. 2013: 153). The two largest cities are now headed by female politicians with experience at the national level.

Notes

1. [www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/greco/evaluations/round4/GrecoEval4\(2012\)9_Luxembourg_EN.pdf](http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/greco/evaluations/round4/GrecoEval4(2012)9_Luxembourg_EN.pdf)
2. In 2013, motions of confidence and no-confidence are still not institutionalised or regulated in Luxembourg (see also Dumont & De Winter 2003; Poirier 2014).
3. www.wort.lu/fr/luxembourg/politmonitor-jean-claude-juncker-devrait-etre-reelu-premier-ministre-52385bdbe4b04c22d3f7ebb4
4. In November, social elections were also held to select personnel delegations in all companies with more than 15 employees and the 60 members of the chamber of private sector wage earners which represents workers in a number of advisory councils and bodies and in Luxembourg's legislative process. As in 2008, only about 35 per cent of the 438,000 salaried, employed or retired workers, residing in Luxembourg or cross-border, cast a vote (see Dumont et al. 2009). The socialist trade union OGB-L managed to improve its 2008 result by gaining two more seats and reached 38 out of 60 in the chamber of wage earners.
5. A non-exhaustive list of four issues will be put to citizens' votes in 2015; this includes voting rights for non-nationals in national elections, the lowering of voting age to 16, the limitation of duration of government minister mandates and the financing of religious ministers
6. The Council of State had insisted on this special majority requirement but the Chamber was not compelled to follow this advice.
7. The most recent revisions date back to 2008 and 2011 (see Dumont et al. 2009: 1038; 2012: 202–204).

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