GRAND-DUCHY OF LUXEMBOURG

EARLY PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS
20 October 2013

OSCE/ODIHR NEEDS ASSESSMENT MISSION REPORT

3-5 September 2013

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I. INTRODUCTION

Following an invitation from the authorities of the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg to observe the upcoming 20 October 2013 early parliamentary elections, the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (OSCE/ODIHR) undertook a Needs Assessment Mission (NAM) from 3 to 5 September 2013. The NAM included Tatyana Bogussevich, OSCE/ODIHR Senior Election Adviser, and Lusine Badalyan, OSCE/ODIHR Election Adviser.

The purpose of the mission was to assess the pre-election environment and the preparations for the early parliamentary elections. Based on this assessment, the NAM was to recommend whether to deploy an OSCE/ODIHR election-related activity for the forthcoming elections, and if so, what type of activity best meets the identified needs. Meetings were held with officials from state institutions, the election administration, as well as with representatives of political parties, media, and civil society. A list of meetings is annexed to this report.

The OSCE/ODIHR would like to thank the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for their assistance and co-operation in organizing the visit. The OSCE/ODIHR would also like to thank all of its interlocutors for having taken the time to meet with the mission and sharing their views.

II. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

On 19 July, the Grand Duke of Luxembourg took a decision to dissolve the parliament as of 7 October and set the date of early parliamentary elections for 20 October, following a high-level affair alleging that the security service agency was tapping politicians and that Prime Minister Jean-Claude Juncker had failed to exercise proper control over the intelligence agency.

The upcoming early parliamentary elections were perceived as exceptional by a number of OSCE/ODIHR NAM interlocutors, due to the early dissolution of the parliament and the secret service affair, which are new to a traditionally stable and calm political scene in Luxembourg. Important topics for the upcoming campaign, according to OSCE/ODIHR NAM interlocutors, will be the economic crisis, an increase in unemployment and the issue of non-citizen residents who do not have the right to vote.

The 60-member parliament is elected through an open list proportional system in 4 constituencies. The electoral system in Luxembourg has special features, whereby voters have three methods of filling in the ballot, including the panachage (cross-party voting) and have as many votes as the number of mandates in the given constituency. The constituencies have differing populations and the electoral law defines the number of mandates in each constituency. Some OSCE/ODIHR NAM interlocutors expressed the opinion that the distribution of mandates does not reflect the migration of the population between the constituencies since the allocation of mandates took place and should be reviewed.

The electoral law regulates different aspects of the organization of parliamentary, local and European Parliament elections. The newly elected parliament is the only instance at which the
election results can be appealed. The electoral law provides for international election observation and contains detailed provisions on observer rights. Observers have access to all stages of the electoral process, including the right to get acquainted with protocols and complaints. However, the electoral law does not explicitly provide for citizen election observation.

A number of state institutions are involved in the organization and the conduct of elections. Election proceedings are conducted by a three-level structure of election boards mostly composed of judiciary representatives. The law provides a possibility for political parties contesting the elections to nominate representatives to election boards. All parties met with by the OSCE/ODIHR NAM stressed that they have full confidence in the professionalism of the election administration and the way elections are organized.

Voting in Luxembourg is compulsory and fines are envisaged for failure to participate in elections. The OSCE/ODIHR NAM was informed that in practice non-participation in elections is not prosecuted and no fines are applied. Voter lists are maintained by the municipalities, which are responsible to register changes of voters’ residence on an ongoing basis. Once elections have been called, voter lists are posted for public scrutiny for a period of a week. Voters abroad are entitled to vote and are required to file requests for postal ballots. The OSCE/ODIHR NAM was informed of an ongoing debate concerning the possibility of granting the right to vote in national elections to non-citizen residents of Luxembourg. OSCE/ODIHR NAM interlocutors expressed confidence in the process of voter registration and did not raise any concerns as regards the accuracy of voter lists.

Candidate lists can be put forward by political parties or groups of candidates. A candidate can be included in only one list in no more than one constituency. There is the possibility to register an individual candidate as a list. Nine candidate lists were registered on 21 August. All nine registered parties put forward lists in all four constituencies.

Political parties that run in all four constituencies and obtain at least two per cent of votes receive annual state funding. In addition, the state provides corresponding reimbursement of campaign-related spending to parties that put forward full lists in all four constituencies and gained at least one seat in the parliament. Parties are also entitled to receive membership fees and donations from natural persons; donations from legal entities and anonymous sources are prohibited. Parties are required to submit annual financial reports to the Court of Audit, which after scrutiny of the reports sends the results of verification to the parliament for further publication. OSCE/ODIHR NAM interlocutors expressed overall satisfaction with the degree of regulation of political party finances and the level of accountability and transparency ensured through the scrutiny by the Court of Audit. However, a few interlocutors noted that the requirement to report in-kind donations is not strictly abided by the political parties and some appeared uncertain as to what this provision covers.

The conduct of the election campaign is not regulated and largely relies on agreements between political parties. According to an agreement signed by five out of the nine parties contesting the elections, the official electoral campaign started on 13 September, when parties could start posting billboards and organizing meetings with voters. The parties also agreed to limit the paid advertisement in the media to 75,000 Euro.

The coverage of the electoral campaign by the media is not regulated by the law and its principles are agreed upon among the media and political parties in a process co-ordinated by the Ministry of State’s Information and Press Service. According to such an agreement concluded
for the upcoming elections, the electoral campaign in the media started five weeks before election day, 16 September, and finishes on 19 October. The agreement envisages the provision of free airtime and organization of roundtables with the participation of all nine parties. Luxembourg has a pluralistic media environment, with television and radio being considered the main sources of information. Most OSCE/ODIHR NAM interlocutors raised concerns regarding the print media’s political affiliations, which might create unequal conditions for contestants.

The OSCE/ODIHR NAM noted the confidence of all its interlocutors in the integrity of the electoral process and the professionalism and impartiality of the election administration. No significant concerns were expressed related to the respect for fundamental freedoms, transparency of the electoral process, candidate registration, and election day proceedings. However, interlocutors mentioned media coverage of the campaign, as well as political party and campaign finance as areas that could benefit from review. Most interlocutors indicated an interest in OSCE/ODIHR’s expertise in these areas and mentioned that the potential election-related activity and the subsequent recommendations could be of added value.

In other circumstances, the OSCE/ODIHR NAM would have recommended the deployment of an Election Assessment Mission, considering also that the OSCE/ODIHR has only previously deployed an election-related activity to Luxembourg in context of European Parliament elections. However, taking into consideration the human and financial resources already committed this year, the OSCE/ODIHR is not in a position to undertake such a mission for the 2013 early parliamentary elections. The OSCE/ODIHR, however, stands ready to assist Luxembourg in any future electoral reform, including a possible review of current electoral legislation.

III. FINDINGS

A. BACKGROUND AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

On 19 July 2013, the Grand Duke of Luxembourg took a decision to dissolve the parliament (Chamber of Deputies) as of 7 October and set the date of early parliamentary elections for 20 October. The decision was taken following a high-level affair alleging that the security service agency was tapping official meetings and politicians and that the Prime Minister Jean-Claude Juncker had failed to exercise proper control over the intelligence agency and inform the parliament about its operations. After parliamentary discussions of the security service affair, the Prime Minister announced his intention to resign; however, he has not resigned formally. The current government remains in power until the elections.

The Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg is a constitutional monarchy headed by a Grand Duke based on a parliamentary representative system. Legislative power is exercised both by the parliament and the government. Executive power is exercised by the government and the Grand Duke. The Prime Minister is usually the leader of the political party that won the most seats in the parliament.

Following the 2009 parliamentary elections, the Christian Social People’s Party (CSV) obtained 26 seats and formed a government with the Luxembourg Socialist Workers’ Party (LSAP) that got 13 mandates. The other four political parties represented in the parliament are the Democratic Party with 9 seats, the Greens that won 7 seats, the Alternative Democratic Reform Party (ADR) and the Left Party with 4 and 1 mandates, respectively. The CSV has led all but one
government since 1945 and Prime Minister Juncker, first elected in 1995, is the longest serving leader in the European Union.

The OSCE/ODIHR has not previously observed national elections in Luxembourg. It, however, undertook an election visit to Luxembourg in 2009 as part of the assessment of the European Parliament elections.

B. LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK AND ELECTORAL SYSTEM

The legal framework regulating the parliamentary elections primarily includes the Constitution (adopted in 1868 and last amended in 2011), a unified electoral law (adopted in 2003 and last amended in 2011), and a number of other regulations. The electoral law regulates different aspects of the organization of parliamentary, local and European Parliament elections. However, the law does not provide any level of regulation of the election campaign and its coverage in the media (see section on Campaign and Media).

According to the Constitution, the number of members of the parliament is 60, elected directly for five-year terms. Members of the parliament are elected by an open list proportional system in four constituencies: Centre, East, North, and South. The boundaries of constituencies correspond to those of geographic regions and administrative units. The constituencies have differing populations and the electoral law defines the number of mandates in each constituency: South has 23 mandates, Centre - 21 mandates, North - 9 mandates, and East – 7 mandates. Some OSCE/ODIHR NAM interlocutors expressed the opinion that the distribution of mandates does not reflect the migration of the population between the constituencies since the allocation of mandates took place and should be reviewed.

The electoral system in Luxembourg has special features, whereby voters have three methods of filling in the ballot and have as many votes as the number of mandates in the given constituency. The voter can cast a vote for a list as a whole; in that case all votes go for that party. The voter can also decide to vote preferentially by distributing his votes among candidates of choice in one candidate list and casting a maximum of two votes for any candidate. Alternatively, the voter may choose to cast his/her vote across candidate lists, splitting the votes among several parties (panachage). Each party is allocated a number of seats proportionally to the total number of votes cast for its candidates in that constituency. These seats are then allocated to that party's candidates in the order of votes that each candidate received.

Despite the complexity of the electoral system, most OSCE/ODIHR NAM interlocutors indicated that voters in Luxembourg like and understand the system of voting and use panachage very often. However, some interlocutors opined that more could be done to further educate voters. Political parties met with by the OSCE/ODIHR NAM mentioned that they prefer when voters cast their votes for entire candidate lists and usually do not encourage individual candidate campaigning.

The newly elected parliament is the only instance at which the election results can be appealed. Some political parties expressed the opinion that this practice should be changed and the election

1 The largest South constituency has 40 per cent of total population and the smallest East – 12 per cent of the population.
2 For instance, in the constituency South the voter has 23 votes that equals the number of mandates elected in that constituency, and if the voter decides to mark only a box for the party, all 23 votes go to that party list.
results should be appealable to a court. None of the OSCE/ODIHR NAM interlocutors could recall any formal complaint having ever been filed to challenge the election results.

The electoral law provides for international election observation and contains detailed provisions on the rights of international observers. Observers have access to all stages of the electoral process, including the right to get access protocols and complaints. However, the electoral law does not explicitly provide for citizen election observation. According to OSCE/ODIHR NAM interlocutors, due to a high degree of trust and confidence in the election administration and in the process, overall, there is no need or added value to citizen observation by non-governmental organizations.

C. ELECTION ADMINISTRATION

A number of state institutions are involved in the organization and the conduct of elections. The Ministry of State ensures overall co-ordination and is in charge of technical and organizational aspects, including the preparation of voting materials and documents facilitating the conduct of the electoral process. Municipalities are responsible, among other things, for the allocation of polling premises, distribution of invitations to vote, voter list compilation and update, and verification of eligibility for postal voting requests. In addition, a centralization office (bureau centralisateur) is established by the government for election day data and results collection and processing to ensure the publication of preliminary results on a designated website as they become available.

Election proceedings are conducted by a three-level structure of election boards, including 4 Constituency Electoral Offices (CEO; bureau principal de la circonscription), 106 Municipal Electoral Offices (MEO; bureau principal de la commune), and some 800 polling stations (PS; bureau de vote). The CEOs are chaired by the presidents of district tribunals, or the magistrates and judges in absence thereof, who appoint the electoral office’s six members and a secretary. MEO and PS chairpersons are appointed by the chairpersons of higher election boards from among the judges of the respective levels of courts or voters of corresponding municipalities. Chairpersons subsequently appoint their respective election boards’ members and secretaries.

The OSCE/ODIHR NAM was informed that the process of appointment of election officials was ongoing and was due to be completed by 30 September. The law does not stipulate explicit criteria for the appointment of election boards, the sole legal requirements being that people selected must be voters from the respective municipality and may not have family ties with candidates. The OSCE/ODIHR NAM was informed that since traditionally the same people are selected to work on election boards from one election to another, there was no perceived need to organize training for election board members and no such training is envisaged.

The law provides a possibility for political parties contesting the elections to nominate representatives (témoins) to election boards. Political parties that the OSCE/ODIHR NAM met with intend to use this possibility, although plan to nominate only a very few representatives. All parties stressed that they have full confidence in the professionalism of the election administration and the way elections are organized, hence do not see a need in additional oversight.

Notwithstanding the complexity of the electoral system and the voting method, according to OSCE/ODIHR NAM interlocutors, only limited voter education efforts are traditionally
undertaken by the state. This includes voting instructions that are sent to voters together with invitations to vote.

**D. Voter Registration**

The legislation grants the right to vote to citizens 18 years of age and older who enjoy civil and political rights. People sentenced to criminal punishment or for offences resulting in a court-ordered revocation of the right to vote, as well as people of full age under guardianship are not eligible to vote. The number of voters is about 200,000.

Voting in Luxembourg is compulsory and fines are envisaged for failure to participate in elections. The obligation to vote is waved for people over 75 years of age and those that are away from their locality on election day. The OSCE/ODIHR NAM was informed that in practice non-participation in elections is not prosecuted and no fines are applied.

Lists of voters are maintained by the municipalities, which are responsible to register changes of voters’ residence on an ongoing basis. Once elections have been called, voter lists are posted for public scrutiny for a period of a week. During this period, voters can address the respective municipal authorities with requests of changes to the data. Challenges related to undue inclusion, omission or deletion from voter lists can be filed with the administrative tribunal. OSCE/ODIHR NAM interlocutors expressed confidence in the process of voter registration and did not raise any concerns as regards the accuracy of voter lists.

Voters abroad are entitled to vote and are required to file requests for postal ballots with the municipality of the place of last residence in-country by 20 September. The municipality should send the materials for postal voting to voters by 30 September. Embassies and general consulates are responsible for providing information to potential voters abroad; voters are obliged to send their completed postal ballots for them to reach the respective PS by the closing of polls.

The OSCE/ODIHR NAM was informed of an ongoing debate concerning the possibility of granting the right to vote in national elections to non-citizen residents of Luxembourg. The matter was seen by a few political parties that the OSCE/ODIHR NAM met with as deserving consideration and was expected by many to feature in the electoral campaign. In this context, interlocutors also mentioned that in 2008 provisions were introduced into the legislation allowing dual citizenship and simplifying naturalization procedures. Authorities anticipate that these changes could to some extent address the issue of ineligibility of foreign residents to participate in elections due to lack of citizenship.

**E. Registration of Candidate Lists**

Candidate lists can be put forward by political parties or groups of candidates. The nomination of candidate lists should be supported either by 100 voters registered in the relevant constituency, or by a member of the parliament elected from that constituency or three municipal councillors elected in the municipalities of the relevant constituency. A candidate can be included in only one list in no more than one constituency. The lists should not contain more candidates than the number of mandates in the constituency. There is the possibility to register an individual candidate as a list.

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3 Interlocutors estimated that over 40 per cent of people residing in Luxembourg are non-citizens.
4 There is no formal registration requirement for political parties.
Candidate lists are registered by the respective CEO that should designate two days for parties to present their nominations. The deadline for the registration was 21 August. Nine political parties were registered. All nine registered parties have put forward lists in all four constituencies. There are no formal quota requirements for women’s representation, and only one of the parties met with by the OSCE/ODIHR NAM informed that it applies internal quota rules for women and youth representation in their candidate lists.

F. POLITICAL PARTY AND CAMPAIGN FINANCE

Political party financing is regulated primarily by the Law on the Financing of Political Parties and the electoral law, which contain provisions on state funding and campaign spending reimbursement, reporting by political parties, and oversight mechanisms. No formal limits are set on campaign spending, which is accounted for by political parties within general annual financial reporting.

Political parties which have put forward full candidate lists in all four constituencies in national elections and a full list in European Parliament elections and obtain at least two per cent of all the votes are entitled to receive annual state subventions. Parliamentary fractions of eligible parties receive supplementary state funding to cover their activities. In addition, for national elections, the state provides corresponding reimbursement of campaign-related spending to parties that put forward full lists in all four constituencies and gained at least one seat in the parliament, as well as costs of one postal campaign mailing to voters in a constituency to parties that gained at least five per cent of valid votes in that constituency.

The law provides that state subventions could amount up to 75 per cent of parties’ budgets. Parties are also entitled to receive membership fees and donations from individuals; donations from legal entities and anonymous sources are prohibited. Financial and in-kind donations exceeding 250 EUR and the identity of donors must be reported on by political parties in the framework of annual financial reports. The law requires parties to submit such reports, covering income and expenditure, accompanied with supporting documentation to the Court of Audit (Cour des comptes) by 1 July of each year. The Court of Audit submits its report on the results of the verification to the parliament by 31 December, which publishes it on its website.

OSCE/ODIHR NAM interlocutors expressed overall satisfaction with the degree of regulation of political party finances and the level of accountability and transparency ensured through the scrutiny by the Court of Audit. However, a few interlocutors noted that the requirement to report in-kind donations is not strictly abided by the political parties and some appeared uncertain as to what this provision covers. The president of the Court of Audit acknowledged the difficulty of identifying and tracking in-kind donations in the review of party accounts. Lack of criteria and mechanisms to identify in-kind donations has also been commented upon by the Group of States against Corruption (GRECO) of the Council of Europe. In its 2012 report on political party financing, while noting considerable progress achieved, GRECO concluded that there was a need to further refine political party and campaign finance regulation to ensure a satisfactory level of transparency.  

G. CAMPAIGN AND MEDIA

The conduct of the election campaign is not regulated and largely relies on agreements between political parties. The electoral law only stipulates that it is prohibited to give or offer voters money, food or drinks. The law also does not allow parties and candidates to visit voters at their homes during the electoral campaign.

Most OSCE/ODIHR NAM interlocutors mentioned that despite political stability in the country, the upcoming early parliamentary elections are exceptional for a number of reasons. First of all, that the elections are taking place earlier than planned and the secret service affair are new to a traditionally stable and calm political scene in Luxembourg. In addition, the number of parties contesting the elections has increased, due to the emergence of new political parties. Other important topics for the upcoming campaign mentioned were the economic crisis, an increase in unemployment and the issue of non-citizen residents who do not have the right to vote.

All parliamentary political parties, except the Left Party, signed an agreement that sets certain rules for campaigning. Three non-parliamentary parties chose not to join the agreement. According to that agreement, the official electoral campaign started on 13 September, when parties could start posting billboards and organizing meetings with voters. The parties also agreed to limit the paid advertisement in the media to 75,000 Euro.

There is a pluralistic media environment, and the main source of information is considered to be television and radio, followed by newspapers. Most OSCE/ODIHR NAM interlocutors raised concerns regarding the print media’s political affiliation that might create unequal conditions for contestants.

The main television (TV) channel is owned by a private company Radio Télévision Luxembourg (RTL). RTL has the contractual obligations of a public service broadcaster. There is also a public broadcast radio 100.7. The coverage of the electoral campaign by the media is not regulated by the law and is agreed among the media and political parties in a process co-ordinated by the Ministry of State’s Information and Press Service. According to that agreement, the electoral campaign in the media started five weeks before election day, 16 September, and finishes on 19 October. Each of the 9 candidate lists will have 14 minutes on RTL TV channel, RTL radio channel and radio 100.7, during which the spots prepared by parties will be aired free of charge. The duration of each spot should not exceed 45 seconds and the spots should be aired during primetime. In addition, the mentioned TV and radio stations should organize four roundtables with the participation of representatives of all nine candidate lists. The agreement contains a detailed timetable for the conduct of roundtables. RTL informed the OSCE/ODIHR NAM that it plans to organize a number of other election-related programs, debates, interviews, as well as to cover elections as part of its editorial coverage.

Virtually all print media have strong, publicly recognized party affiliation. The three main newspapers are Luxemburger Wort with a circulation of around 75,000 copies, Tagelblatt with a circulation of about 17,000, and Letzebuerger Journal around a circulation of 5,000.\(^6\) All newspapers receive substantial funding from the state.\(^7\)

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\(^6\) It is publicly acknowledged, both by parties and newspapers themselves that Luxemburger Wort supports CSV, Tagelblatt supports LSAP, and Letzebuerger Journal supports the Democratic Party.

\(^7\) According to the law on the promotion of print media to promote the diversity of opinions in the press, a system of annual state funding for newspapers was established. The funding is calculated based on the number of editorial pages of newspapers.
The OSCE/ODIHR NAM was informed that in June, the parliament voted in a law to establish a new Independent Audiovisual Authority of Luxembourg (ALIA); a regulatory authority for overseeing the broadcast media. Previously, three different institutions were involved in media regulation. The new authority will have the power to issue sanctions, such as warnings, fines or, ultimately, the withdrawal of local radio licences, as well as to suggest to the government whether to suspend or withdraw TV and radio licences.

IV. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

The OSCE/ODIHR NAM noted the confidence of all its interlocutors in the integrity of the electoral process and the professionalism and impartiality of the election administration. No significant concerns were expressed related to the respect for fundamental freedoms, transparency of the electoral process, candidate registration, and election day proceedings. However, interlocutors mentioned media coverage of the campaign, as well as political party and campaign finance as areas that could benefit from review. Most interlocutors indicated an interest in OSCE/ODIHR’s expertise in these areas and mentioned that the potential election-related activity and the subsequent recommendations could be of added value.

In other circumstances, the OSCE/ODIHR NAM would have recommended the deployment of an Election Assessment Mission, considering also that the OSCE/ODIHR has only previously deployed an election-related activity to Luxembourg in context of European Parliament elections. However, taking into consideration the human and financial resources already committed this year, the OSCE/ODIHR is not in a position to undertake such a mission for the 2013 early parliamentary elections. The OSCE/ODIHR, however, stands ready to assist Luxembourg in any future electoral reform, including a possible review of current electoral legislation.
ANNEX: LIST OF MEETINGS

Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Ambassador Hubert Wurth, Permanent Representative to the OSCE
Jean Olinger, Director of Political Affairs Department
Veronique Dockendorf, Deputy Director of Political Affairs Department
Anne Masotti, Deputy Director of Protocol Department
Armand Muno, Department of Political Affairs, Disarmament and Recruitment for Election Observation Missions

Ministry of State
Manuel Dillmann, Counselor, Head of Electoral Process Division
Carole Schmitz, Attaché, Assistant to Head of Electoral Process Division
Jeff Fettes, Head of Legal Department

Ministry of Interior
Christiane Loutsch-Jemming, Head of Legal Department
Tanya Kridel, Executive Adviser
Marc Leonard, Head Finances Department (Commune)

Information and Press Services of the Government
Guy Schuller, Head of Information and Press Department
Joe Spier, Assistant to Head of Information and Press Department

Court of Audits
Marc Gengler, President

Administrative Tribunal
Eliette Bauler, President of Administrative Tribunal, President of the ConEO

Alternative Democratic Reform Party (ADR)
Jean Schoos, President of the Party
Michèle RetterVice-President of the Party
Fernand Kartheiser, Member of the Parliament

Christian Social People’s Party (CSV)
Laurent Zeimer, Secretary General
Serge Conrad, Political Adviser

Democratic Party
Xavier Bettel, President of the Party, Mayor of Luxembourg City
Fernand Etgen, General Secretary, Member of the Parliament

The Left Party
Serge Urbany, Member of the Parliament
David Wagner, Spokesperson

Socialist Worker’s Party
Alex Bodry, President of the Parliamentary Faction
Lydia Mutsch, Member of the Parliament
Marc Thiltgen, Parliamentary Attaché

**RTL Television**
Steve Schmit, Program Director
Alain Rousseau, Chief Editor

**Radio 100.7**
Jean-Claude Franck, Journalist, member of the editorial board
Serge Kesseler, Journalist, member of the editorial board

**Luxemburger Wort Newspaper**
Danielle Schumacher, Journalist

**Alliance of the European Citizens’ Year**
Serge Kollwelter, Member of the Alliance, Member of the “League on Human Rights”
Sergio Ferreira, Member of the Alliance, Spokesperson of the Association for Support of Immigrant Workers
Giovanni Rastrelli, Member of the Alliance, Member of the “European Movement-Luxembourg”