

Lithuania

ALGIS KRUPAVICIUS

Policy and Public Administration Institute, Kaunas University of Technology, Lithuania

Table 1. Results of local elections

Date of election:	27 February 2011	
Electorate:	2,637,733	
Total votes cast:	1,162,599 (44.08%)	
Total valid votes:	1,110,319 (95.50%)	
Party	Number and percentage of votes	Number and percentage of seats
<i>Lietuvos socialdemokratų partija</i> – Lithuanian Social Democratic Party	159,530 (14.37)	328 (21.49)
<i>Tėvynės sąjunga/Lietuvos krikščionys demokratai</i> – Homeland Union/Lithuanian Christian Democrats	141,010 (12.70)	249 (16.32)
<i>Darbo partija</i> – Labour Party	96,309 (8.67)	165 (10.81)
<i>Partija Tvarka ir teisingumas</i> – Party of Order and Justice	84,221 (7.59)	155 (10.16)
<i>Lietuvos lenkų rinkimų akcija ir Rusų aljansas</i> – Lithuanian Poles' Electoral Action and Russian Alliance	65,044 (5.86)	61 (4.00)
<i>Liberalų ir centro sąjunga</i> – Liberal and Centre Union	64,259 (5.79)	126 (8.26)
<i>Lietuvos valstiečių liaudininkų sąjunga</i> – Lithuanian Peasants' People Union	60,251 (5.43)	147 (9.63)
<i>Lietuvos Respublikos Liberalų sąjūdis</i> – Liberal Movement of Lithuanian Republic	56,812 (5.12)	98 (6.42)
Others	382,883 (34.48)	197 (12.91)
Total	1,110,319 (100.00)	1,526 (100.00)

The year 2011 was the best one for the ruling centre-right coalition since the parliamentary elections in 2008. Political life was relatively less intense, the country's popular President, Dalia Grybauskaitė, continued to support the cabinet and its policies, and the macroeconomic and financial landscape continued its slow improvements after its double-digit decline after the financial crisis.

Table 2. Cabinet composition of Kubilius II

For the composition of Kubilius II, see Krupavicius (2009: 1023).

Party	Number and percentage of parliamentary seats	Number and percentage of cabinet posts
<i>Tėvynės sąjunga/Lietuvos krikščionys demokratai</i> – Homeland Union/Lithuanian Christian Democrats	46 (64.8)	8 (53.3)
<i>Lietuvos Respublikos Liberalų sąjūdis</i> – Liberal Movement of Lithuanian Republic	12 (16.9)	3 (20.0)
<i>Liberalų ir centro sąjunga</i> – Liberal and Centre Union	13 (18.3)	4 (26.7)
<i>Changes during 2011:</i> Minister of Economy/ <i>Ūkio ministras</i> : Dainius Kreivys (1970 male, HU-LChD) <i>resigned</i> and was <i>replaced</i> by Rimantas Žylius (1973 male, Ind, but delegated by HU-LChD) on 17 March		

Table 3. Changes in the membership of the Seimas

No.	Party	Number of seats on 31 December 2010	Number of seats on 31 December 2011	Change in number of seats
1	<i>Tėvynės sąjunga/Lietuvos krikščionys demokratai</i> – Homeland Union/Lithuanian Christian Democrats	46 (32.6)	46 (32.9)	0
2	<i>Lietuvos socialdemokratų partija</i> – Lithuanian Social Democratic Party	25 (17.7)	23 (16.4)	–2
3	<i>Partija Tvarka ir teisingumas</i> – Party Order and Justice	18 (12.8)	17 (12.1)	–1
4	<i>Lietuvos Respublikos Liberalų sąjūdis</i> – Liberal Movement of Lithuanian Republic	13 (9.2)	12 (8.6)	–1
5	<i>Krikščionių partija</i> – Christian Party	9 (6.4)	8 (5.7)	–1
6	<i>Darbo partija</i> – Labour Party	10 (7.1)	10 (7.1)	0
7	<i>Liberalų ir centro sąjunga</i> – Liberal and Centre Union	13 (9.2)	13 (9.3)	0
8	Other parties and independents	7 (5.0)	11 (7.9)	+4
	Total	141	140	

Despite improvements, a number of social and economic problems remained on the agenda. One of the most serious was unemployment. The unemployment rate in 2011 stood at 15.4 per cent, down 2.4 percentage points from 2010, but still high in comparison to the 10 per cent average of the European Union. In some respects the situation of the labour force was actually worse than in the previous year. In 2011 the long-term unemployment rate increased by 0.6 percentage points to 8 per cent, more than half of whom were long-term unemployed. One of the most serious problems was youth unemployment, which increased slightly to 32 per cent.

Annual inflation reached 4.1 per cent according to Eurostat, which was higher than the eurozone average of 2.7 per cent but was still relatively low compared to Lithuania's 8.5 per cent before the 2008 crisis. Average net monthly earnings slowly started to increase, but remained about 3.5 per cent lower than in 2008. Following cuts, state pensions were worth about 8 percentage points less than in 2009.

In some areas of the economy Lithuania fared better. Although gross domestic product (GDP) per capita remained below its 2008 peak, its growth reached 5.9 per cent in 2011 and was one of the highest in the EU. Particularly important in the EU context was Lithuania's 7.4 per cent increase in industrial output. Increases in foreign trade continued to play an important factor in economic recovery. Exports increased by 22 per cent to reach 69.6 billion litas (€20 billion), surpassing the pre-crisis level of 2008. Imports also increased, however, causing the trade deficit to rise slightly to 8.6 per cent.

The government deficit decreased from 7.1 per cent of GDP in 2010 to 5 per cent in 2011. Overall, the indicators suggest that in 2011 the centre-right government was achieving its main economic and financial policy goals: sustainable fiscal policy, small deficits and restraints on the growth of debt. Yet despite positive changes in the macroeconomic environment, the majority of the population remained under economic pressure, as evidenced by a reduction in private consumption expenditure between 2008 and 2011.

Results of local elections

Among the most important political events of 2011 were the municipal elections held on 27 February. The short electoral campaign did not start until after the New Year and was relatively uneventful, with few new ideas and little programmatic discussion. Opposition parties offered rather formal criticisms of economic and social policies, while parties in power attempted to defend their austerity policies. Local campaigns focused primarily on discussions about the local economy and other nonpolitical issues. Although patterns

of party support across Lithuania's sixty municipalities were highly varied, a few stable political configurations did nevertheless emerge: voters in the largest cities tended as usual to give disproportionate support to centre-right conservative and liberal parties, whereas voters in rural areas tended to support the centre-left social democrats and peasant parties.

It is important to note that these local elections took place under different institutional conditions to previous years because amendments to the Law on Elections to Municipal Councils (adopted after prolonged discussion) allowed not only for nomination of candidates by parties (a provision which had endured since 1995), but also for self-nomination by any person who qualified as a voter in municipal elections and submitted a petition with the signatures of at least 10 per cent of the relevant voting population. As many as 23 political parties nominated candidates for the 2011 municipal elections, and more than 500 self-nominated candidates registered as well (more than 100 of whom registered in the capital city of Vilnius). However, the election results showed that few independent candidates were elected to municipal councils and well-known political parties continued to receive the bulk of votes.

Because they occurred only 18 months before the 2012 parliamentary election, the 2011 municipal elections were closely scrutinised for indications of future trends. As predicted, the opposition centre-left Lithuanian Social Democratic Party (LSDP) came first. The LSDP's vote share did not increase much, but it increased its seat share by 8 per cent from 302 in 2007 to 328 in 2011. Despite its overall success, the party failed to achieve victories in any of Lithuania's large cities except for Šiauliai.

The Homeland Union/Lithuanian Christian Democrats (HU-LChD) surprised many observers by coming second in the municipal elections, but their losses were significant compared to their first place position in the 2008 Seimas elections and the 2009 European elections. Two other important oppositional parties also lost support compared to the previous parliamentary elections: the Party of Order and Justice, which faced a significant drop, and the Labour Party, which performed slightly worse than in previous years but at least managed to improve its positions in the biggest cities. Other than the LSDP, the only major grouping to show a significant increase in support was the coalition of Lithuanian Poles' Electoral Action and Russian Alliance. Two liberal parties – the Liberal Movement of Lithuanian Republic and the Liberal and Centre Union – engaged in intensive competition for their shared electorate, and both finished with a vote share that differed little from the 2008 parliamentary elections. Since the Liberal and Centre Union had traditionally been stronger in local than in parliamentary elections, this represented a painful defeat, including a significant

drop in seats and the loss of the party's longstanding positions in Vilnius and Klaipėda.

Finally, it is interesting to note that in 2011 the share of women elected as municipal councilors rose to a record high of 23 per cent, while the average age of local council members reached a post-independence high of just over 50.

Changes in the cabinet

The four-party centre-right coalition led by the HU-LChD survived another year in power, but the number of coalition partners decreased to three in 2011 as the short-lived Nation's Resurrection Party disappeared from political stage only three years after its establishment in 2008.

The cabinet of Andrius Kubilius, which took office in 2008, began 2011 with controversies related to Dainius Kreivys, Minister of Economy, leading to Kreivys' resignation on 8 March. In early February, reports emerged in the national media about an alleged conflict of interest involved with Kreivys' awarding of EU structural funding worth 6 million litas (€1.74 million) to a firm in which Kreivys' mother owned 20 per cent of the shares. In addition, Kreivys was criticised by the media for providing incorrect information in his annual income declarations.

The case of Kreivys led to the first visible tensions between President Dalia Grybauskaitė and Prime Minister Kubilius. Kreivys was not only a protégé of Kubilius, but also quite a close personal friend. However, as the story began to develop, Grybauskaitė criticised Kreivys for not giving clear and sound evidence, while Kubilius tried to defend Dainius Kreivys. In mid-February, the President openly declared that she had lost trust in Kreivys and demanded his resignation, but the Lithuanian constitution does not permit the President to replace ministers without consent of the parliament. Soon it became clear that Kreivys' opponents included not only opposition parties and the President, but also some very influential politicians within his own party. Irena Degutienė, one of the most influential members of HU-LChD and the Chairperson of the parliament, publicly encouraged Kreivys to listen to the opinion of the head-of-state in this situation. Another highly influential politician, Vytautas Landsbergis, the former chair of the parliament and leader of the HU-LChD and current MEP and chairman of the party's political committee, also concluded that Kreivys' resignation was unavoidable. This meant that the Prime Minister was left almost alone in support of his Minister of Economy. On 8 March, the Chief Official of the Ethics Commission ruled that the minister had confused public and private interests. Kreivys rejected this and threatened to challenge

it in court, but the 'war of words' ended when he submitted his resignation letter.

The Prime Minister Kubilius proposed Rimantas Žylius, Deputy Minister, as the new Minister of Economy, and the HU-LChD supported his choice. Žylius worked as an advisor to Kubilius between 1997 and 2000, and immediately continued the economic policies of his predecessor. President Grybauskaitė also expressed no concerns about Žylius.

Following Kreivys' resignation, the opposition parties announced their plans to launch more no-confidence votes and thereby bring down the whole government. Lithuania's constitution states that if more than half of ministers have been replaced, the government has to ask the Seimas for a new mandate, and if the Seimas does not extend the government's mandate, the government has to resign. Spring 2011 was therefore a time of several parliamentary no-confidence votes against cabinet ministers. The relative success of the opposition parties in the municipal elections stimulated them to take a more adversarial stance against the ruling coalition, which had a fragile majority in parliament of only 72 seats out of 141. Every seat and minister counted, since five out of the 14 ministers had already been replaced since 2008. Although the cabinet had a reserve of additional ministerial replacements, in early spring 2011 Algirdas Butkevičius, a leader of the Social Democrats, declared that the opposition parties might even target the Prime Minister with an interpellation.

The spring session of parliament began with an interpellation against Arvydas Sekmokas, Minister of Energy, who had been under permanent attack by the parliamentary opposition almost from the moment of his appointment in 2009 because of doubts about the wisdom of the HU-LChD in creating a new Ministry of Energy in times of economic downturn. Semokas, however, had strong support from both the President and the Prime Minister. Moreover, just before the discussion of the interpellation in the Seimas, the President made an unexpected public statement, in which she expressed confidence in the Prime Minister Kubilius and indirectly supported Sekmokas by saying that there was no need to introduce any radical changes to the cabinet. On 10 March Sekmokas faced more than twenty interpellation's questions regarding nuclear power plants, a liquefied natural gas (LNG) terminal, Lithuania's relations with Gazprom and the implementation of energy policies which would increase Lithuania's independence in this area from Russian energy supplies. Sekmokas cited as one of his major achievements the establishment of a new, mainly state-run company, LESTO, created through a merger of the public limited liability electrical power distribution network companies (see Krupavicius 2010: 1072). Voting in the parliament was favourable to Sekmokas: only 53 MPs voted for interpellation, while 66 voted against it and nine abstained.

Next in line was Gediminas Kazlauskas, Minister of Environment, who had many times been criticised by the country's President, especially for delays in the renovation of residential housing, inefficient waste management programmes and failure to use EU funds. Kazlauskas, however, had strong support from the Nation's Resurrection Party, which had delegated him to this post after the 2008 Seimas elections. In an attempt to prevent the party from exiting the ruling coalition, Prime Minister Kubilius defended Kazlauskas, and on 29 March the interpellation received only 65 votes, six short of the number necessary for success.

These two unsuccessful interpellations helped to consolidate the ruling coalition and softened some of the tensions that had emerged between Grybauskaitė and Kubilius over the resignation of Kreivys. After seeing two failed interpellations, the opposition parties also decided to postpone their plans to challenge other ministers or seek a vote of no-confidence in the entire Kubilius cabinet. The parliamentary opposition accepted that the chances of overthrowing the Kubilius government were very limited for the time being and acknowledged that although the interpellations attracted the attention of the media and the voters and pushed the governing coalition into a defensive position, they also had the potential to damage the image of the opposition parties.

The Sekmokas and Kazlauskas victories in the Seimas countered the relatively poor performance of HU-LChD in the 2011 local elections and made it clear that the Kubilius government faced no obvious threats that would prevent its survival until the parliamentary elections scheduled for October 2012. In spring 2011, President Grybauskaitė expressed a belief that the current Prime Minister was likely to maintain his post till the end of the term. At the same time, public opinion remained highly unfavourable toward the Kubilius government. Prime Minister Kubilius himself continued to lead the list of most unpopular politicians, and in December 2011 he had the support of just 9.2 per cent of the population. Trust in the government also fell to single digits.

Changes in the parliament

One of most important developments in 2011 in the Seimas was the merger of Nation's Resurrection Party with the Liberal and Centre Union. Lasting only three years, the Nation's Resurrection Party is one of the shortest-lived parliamentary parties in contemporary Lithuania. The merger did not undermine the ruling coalition's narrow majority in parliament. The HU-LChD lost two MPs (Kazimieras Uoka and Gintaras Songaila) to the re-established

Lithuanian Nationalists' Union (the previous iteration of which had been swallowed by the HU-LChD in May 2008; see Krupavicius 2009: 1034), but two independent MPs (Mantas Varaška and Rokas Žilinskas) joined the HU-LCD faction in the Seimas and the overall size of the faction remained the same as in 2010.

In 2011, as usual, several new political parties emerged. On 20 March, the Lithuanian Greens Movement was founded in Vilnius and Juozas Dautartas, a well-known ecologist, led the new party. The Green movement was a rather strong social and political phenomenon in Lithuania in the early 1990s, but transitional post-communist policies removed green politics from the political agenda in later years. Only in recent years has ecological awareness once again started to increase. A clear sign that green politics has become more important in Lithuania was the decision of the Lithuanian Peasants' People Union to change its name to Lithuanian Peasants and Greens Union in early January 2012.

On 19 June the Nationalists' Faction within HU-LChD decided to break away and re-establish the Nationalists' Union. The party chose the highly symbolic date of 17 December, anniversary of the 1926 *coup d'état* by the military, supported by the Nationalists' Party, which replaced a legitimately elected left-wing government with the authoritarian regime of Antanas Smetona, which survived till the Soviet occupation in June 1940.

On 19 November in Trakai (the old historical capital of Lithuania), the mayor of Vilnius, Artūras Zuokas, announced the creation of a new party: 'Union, Yes'. One of at least three political parties to compete for the 'liberal' 10–15 per cent of the population, this party's main advantage lay not in a clear ideology, but in the name and charisma of its leader. The party also demonstrated its ability to attract attention with nonconventional ideas and effective use of media, as evidenced in the viral video of Zuokas driving an armoured military vehicle over a Mercedes-Benz S-Class that was blocking a bike lane (Walker 2011). Zuokas is one of the country's most controversial and attractive politicians. Elected mayor of Vilnius while in his early thirties, he served from 2000 to 2007; he was elected to parliament in 2008, but decided to give up his seat in 2009. In 2003, Zuokas was elected chair of the Liberal and Centre Union, but in 2010 he left the party after prolonged internal disagreements. Although Zuokas has been accused of corruption during his first term as mayor of Vilnius, he returned to city politics in 2011 with a newly established nongovernmental organisation called 'Yes' and, with the support of a video advertisement by English actor Jeremy Irons, received almost 18 per cent of votes which yielded 12 seats out of 51 on the Vilnius City Council and allowed Zuokas to return to the position of mayor.

Such new parties have limited chances for success even when they survive for quite long periods of time. The party New Union (Social Liberals), which was established in 1998 and was in power several times since 2000, received only 3.41 per cent of all votes in the 2011 municipal elections and on 9 July merged with the Labour Party.

Institutional changes

On April 15, Reinoldijus Šarkinas resigned as Chairman of the Board of the Lithuanian Bank after 15 years. To succeed Šarkinas, President Grybauskaitė named and secured parliamentary approval for Vitas Vasiliauskas, a 38 year-old lawyer who had served as Deputy Minister of Finance 2001–2004 when Grybauskaitė was Minister of Finance. In 2009, Vasiliauskas headed Grybauskaitė's electoral campaign, but after the elections he returned to his legal practice. He had no party affiliation, but was the President's protégé.

On 6 December the Seimas passed long-debated and highly controversial changes to party and political campaign funding proposed by President Grybauskaitė. These changes banned donations to political parties by private companies, which had in the past served as the source of the majority of party funds, and established stricter rules for individual donations: all donations must be made public, those donating more than 40 litas (€12) must declare their assets and incomes, and any cash donations exceeding 1,000 litas (€290) must take place by direct bank transfer. The changes left political parties dependent on two main funding sources: membership fees and state budget subsidies. Since membership fees represented only a small proportion of party incomes for all major parties, the new rules meant that political parties would become heavily dependent on subsidies from the state budget, especially in election years.

During a discussion on party and political campaign funding, Žydrūnas Plytnikas, the head of the Public Procurement Office, presented a report about donations to political parties to President Grybauskaitė. According to this report, private enterprises who donated to political parties in the six preceding years – a total of over 24 million litas (€7 million) – won about half of the public procurement contracts during the same period.

Finally, on 15 December the Seimas voted to change the Law on Elections to the Seimas by granting permission for persons who have been impeached from office to be elected to the parliament. This decision was a reaction to a ruling of the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) in the case of Rolandas Paksas,¹ a former President of Lithuania who was impeached in 2004 on

corruption charges. The ECHR declared that Lithuania's Constitutional Court violated the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms when it passed a disproportionate verdict that permanently and irreversibly banned Paksas from any state office that required a formal oath.

Issues in domestic politics

Energy policy played its usual major role in 2011. The major efforts of the ruling parties were directed towards establishing a market in electricity and the de-monopolisation of the sector. In November, more than twenty market participants were trading on the electricity exchange and more were registered to do so. Between January and October 2011, more than 70 per cent of the electric energy consumed in Lithuania was purchased via the electricity exchange.

A second major task was to establish alternatives to reduce Lithuania's dependence on Russian energy giant Gazprom for 100 per cent of its natural gas. In June, in line with EU law, the Seimas approved the new Law on Natural Gas, which created a legal basis for the establishment of a natural gas exchange and represented a serious step towards creation of a competitive gas market. In 2011 the parliament also approved plans to develop a liquefied natural gas terminal in Klaipėda and to construct a gas link between Lithuania and Poland – both of which created possibilities for importing gas from sources other than Russia. Lithuania's relations with the Gazprom remained tense, however, and unlike Estonia and Latvia, which received a price discount of around 15 per cent by agreeing to maintain gas purchases from Gazprom at 2007 levels, Lithuania's attempts to negotiate lower prices failed.

In mid-July plans for construction of the proposed Visaginas nuclear power plant moved forward with the selection of Japanese-American investor Hitachi-GE Nuclear Energy as strategic investor, and with agreement on the main terms and conditions of the Concession Agreement. Plans called for the plant to be completed by 2020 with an estimated development cost of up to 17.3 billion litas (€5 billion). However, in December, Poland announced that its state-run energy company PGE had ended its participation in the Visaginas project, and Lithuanian society, which had previously expressed favourable views toward nuclear energy, began to turn against the new nuclear power plant after the accident in Fukushima, Japan. Since the decisions made by the ruling parties in 2011 were far from final, the 2012 Seimas elections will hold the key to the future of the Visaginas plant.

At the same time, Lithuania was managing the closure of its Ignalina nuclear power plant and continuing negotiations with the EU on an agreement for financial support of the closure, estimated to cost 1.0–1.4 billion litas (€300–400 million). Officials in Brussels asked to reduce the amount allocated and offered to provide financial support for the closure only until 2017.

The year 2011 was also a challenging one for the financial and banking sector. On 16 November, as a bolt from the blue, came the decision of the government to nationalise AB Bankas Snoras, which held around one-tenth of the banking market and was the country's fifth largest bank by assets. The Bank of Lithuania stated that this decision was prompted by suspicions of large-scale criminal activities (including embezzlement and fraudulent accounting) and a heightened risk of insolvency that could harm the interests of the bank's depositors, creditors, customers and the general public. The Snoras Bank was controlled by the Russian millionaire Vladimir Antonov (68 per cent of shares) and the Lithuanian Raimondas Baranauskas (25 per cent). Both were in Great Britain when authorities made the decision to nationalise the bank and charge them with financial fraud, and both have since faced Lithuania's request for extradition. Since the Snoras Bank portfolio of loans constituted 3.6 billion litas (€1 billion) at the end of October 2011, the suspension of the bank's lending shrank the overall loan portfolio of the Lithuanian banking sector by 7.6 per cent.

On 24 November, the Bank of Lithuania revoked the licence of the Snoras Bank and declared the bank insolvent on the grounds of a report by FREAKLEY that the financial situation of the bank was even worse than expected. FREAKLEY's analysis of the Snoras Bank restructuring options further suggested an extremely high risk of failure even if the bank were to be completely restructured, and the Board of the Bank of Lithuania chose the option of a bankruptcy procedure for Snoras. Estimates suggest that the shutdown of Snoras decreased GDP growth of Lithuania by 0.5 percentage points in 2011. It also reduced general confidence in banks and deposits in some banks declined, but the financial consequences for individual depositors were limited by EU law which insured all deposits up to €100,000. Despite the Snoras collapse, the Lithuanian banking sector overall earned a profit of 1.1 billion litas (€300 million) in 2011 – an amount similar to its profits during the economic upswing in 2007 and a significant improvement over the sector's net losses in 2009 and 2010.

In 2011 Lithuania remained enthralled by the saga of Drąsius Kedys (see Krupavicius 2010: 1073–1074). In 2009 Drąsius Kedys publicly accused several people, including public officials, of paedophilia and child molestation. When two of those accused were shot by an unknown assailant in 2009, suspicion pointed to Kedys but he disappeared and was found dead under

mysterious circumstances in April 2010. After Kedys' death, his sister, Neringa Venckienė, herself a judge, continued an intense campaign against an alleged paedophile network operating at high levels in Lithuanian society. She frequently alleged that the Lithuanian legal system was 'on the side of paedophiles'. In May 2010 the matter intensified when courts settled a long-running child custody battle over Drąsius Kedys' six year-old daughter, by awarding custody to her mother, whom Kedys had accused of involvement in the paedophile network. Venckienė refused to accept the court's decision and held the girl in her family's house, surrounded by a small, but organised crowd of people who sustained a nonstop vigil for several months to prevent authorities from gaining entry. This cordon, combined with the support of Venckienė by some well-known politicians including former Seimas chair Vytautas Landsbergis, prevented government institutions from implementing the court order during 2011.

Relatives of Kedys initially organised a small group of protestors in the front of Prosecutors' Office in Kaunas and actively sought popular support for their efforts. As this support increased, relatives of Kedys created a nongovernmental organization named 'Drąsiaus kelias' ('The Way of Drąsius') and in August 2011 this organisation began to establish itself as a new political party with very clear ambitions to take part in the 2012 Seimas elections.

In 2011 Lithuania maintained its 4.8 point score in Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI), placing 50th among 183 countries in the index (in 2010, it ranked 48th among 178 countries). Nevertheless the Global Corruption Barometer 2010/2011 found that 77 per cent of respondents in Lithuania felt that the government's efforts to fight corruption were ineffective, while only 12 per cent felt those efforts to be effective. Even more discouraging was Lithuania's rank of 84th among 142 countries on Transparency International's survey of judicial independence from political and corporate interests.² In other areas, Lithuania occupied a better position, particularly on Transparency's Press Freedom Index, where it achieved a score of 4.0 points and a rank of 30th place among 179 countries.³

Notes

1. Paksas was elected to the European Parliament in 2009, but he was not able to stand for election to the Seimas.
2. On judicial independence, see www.transparency.org/country#LTU
3. The press freedom index is available online at: www.transparency.org/country#LTU

Sources and further information

Publications:

- Krupavicius, A. (2009). Lithuania. *European Journal of Political Research* 48(7–8): 1027–1042.
- Krupavicius, A. (2010). Lithuania. *European Journal of Political Research* 49(7–8): 1058–1075.
- Lithuanian Statistics Department (2012). *Lithuania in Figures 2012*. Vilnius: Lietuvos statistikos departamentas.

On the Internet:

- Department of Statistics: www.stat.gov.lt
- Financial data from Ministry of Finance: www.finmin.lt
- Lietuvos bankas – www.lbank.lt
- LiTnews*: www.litnews.lt
- Lithuania's defence and security policy: www.kam.lt
- Lithuanian Government: www.lrv.lt
- Lithuanian Parliament: www.lrs.lt
- Lithuanian President: www.president.lt
- Lithuania Tribune*: www.lithuaniatribune.com
- Social and economic data from Ministry of Economy: www.ukmin.lt
- Transparency International: www.transparency.org/research/cpi/overview
- Walker, S. (2011). Vilnius mayor Arturas Zuokas' crushing blow for illegal cycle-lane parkers. *The Independent*, 3 August. Available online at: www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/vilnius-mayor-arturas-zuokas-crushing-blow-for-illegal-cyclelane-parkers-2330880.html

Appendix. Abbreviations of party names

Abbreviation	Name of the party in English	Name of the party in Lithuanian
CP	Christian Party	<i>Krikščionių partija</i>
HU-LChD	Homeland Union/Lithuanian Christian Democrats	<i>Tėvynės sąjunga/Lietuvos krikščionys demokratai</i>
Yes	Political Party 'Union Yes'	<i>Politinė partija 'Sąjunga Taip'</i>
LCP	Lithuanian Centre Party	<i>Lietuvos centro partija</i>
LCU	Liberal and Centre Union	<i>Liberalų ir centro sąjunga</i>
LeP	Labourists' Party	<i>Leiboristų partija</i>
LGM	Political Party 'Lithuanian Greens Movement'	<i>Politinė partija 'Lietuvos žaliųjų sąjūdis'</i>
LM	Liberal Movement of Lithuanian Republic	<i>Lietuvos Respublikos Liberalų sąjūdis</i>
LP	Labour Party	<i>Darbo partija</i>
LPEA	Lithuanian Poles' Electoral Action	<i>Lietuvos lenkų rinkimų akcija</i>
LPPU	Lithuanian Peasants' People Union	<i>Lietuvos valstiečių liaudininkų sąjunga</i>
LPU	Lithuanian People's Union	<i>Lietuvos liaudies partija</i>
LRU	Lithuanian Russians' Union	<i>Lietuvos rusų sąjunga</i>
LSDP	Lithuanian Social Democratic Party	<i>Lietuvos socialdemokratų partija</i>
LSDU	Lithuanian Social Democratic Union	<i>Lietuvos socialdemokratų sąjunga</i>
NPLW	National Party 'Lithuania's Way'	<i>Tautinė partija 'Lietuvos kelias'</i>
NRP	Nation's Resurrection Party	<i>Tautos prisikėlimo partija</i>
NU	Nationalists' Union	<i>Tautininkų sąjunga</i>
NU/SL	New Union (Social Liberals)	<i>Naujoji sąjunga/ socialliberalai</i>
PNP	Party of National Progress	<i>Tautos pažangos partija</i>
PO&J	Party of Order and Justice	<i>Partija Tvarka ir teisingumas</i>
SFP	Socialist People Front	<i>Socialistinis liaudies frontas</i>