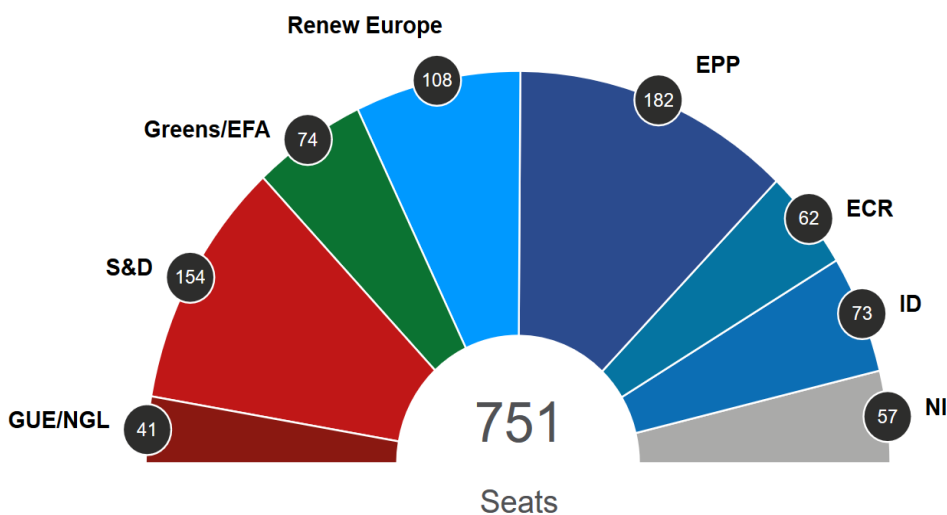


On the Political Power Relations after the European Elections and the Situation of the Left – First Considerations

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Results of the European elections 2019



What do the numbers tell us?
Results/alliances/majorities: 2019:

Great coalition (EVP + S&D) = 331 = 44,07%
(German-dominance?)

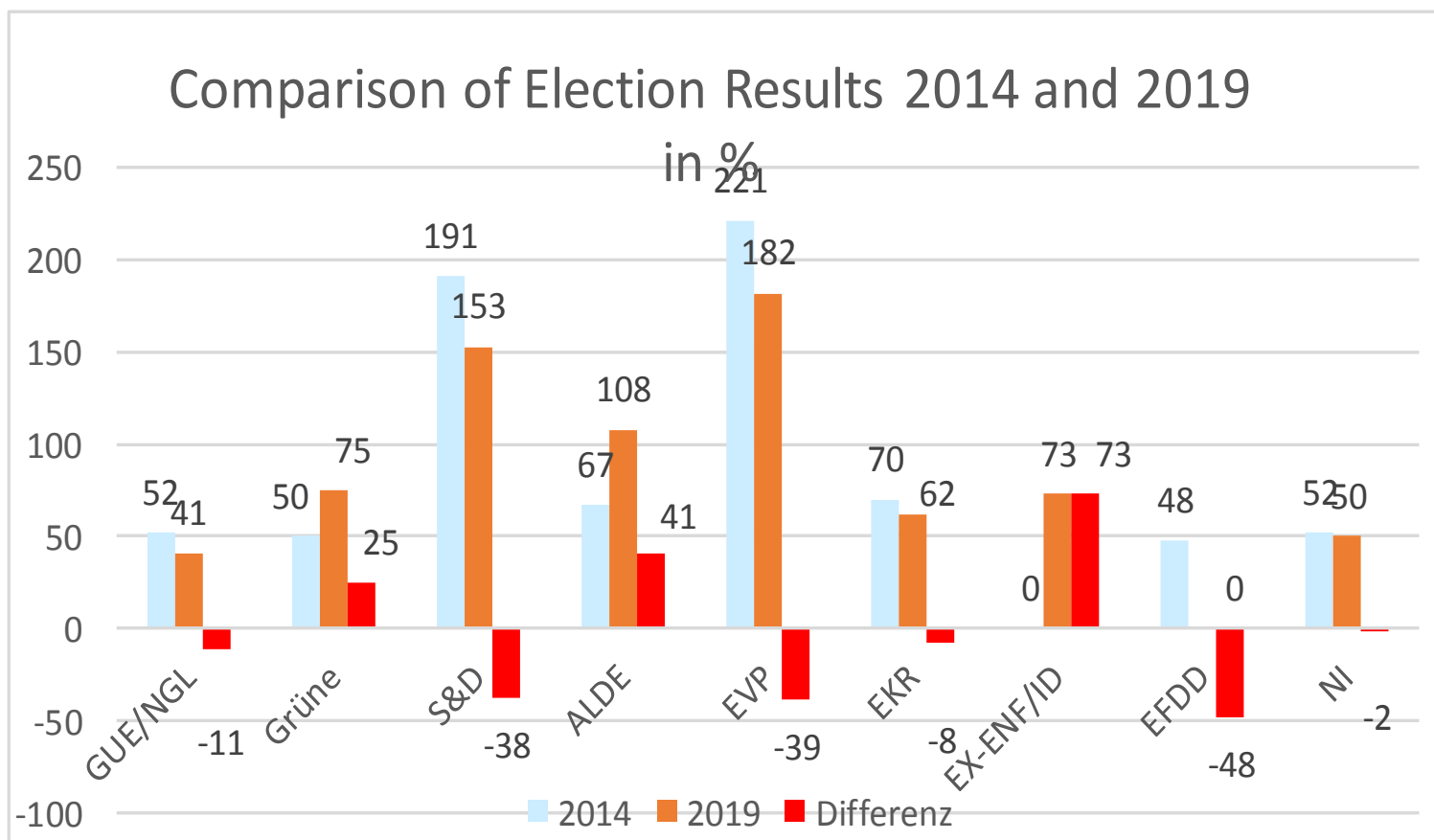
EVP + S&D + ALDE = 436 = 58,06%
EVP+ S&D+ Greens = 400 = 53,26%
EVP+Greens + ALDE (Jam.) = 352 = 46,87%

S&D + Greens + GUE/NGL = 260 = 34,65%
S&D+Greens+GUE/NGL+ALDE = 265 = 48,60%

ECR+ID+ EX-EFDD = 175 = 23,00%
+ 20 further e.g. Fidesz = 2,66 = 25,66%

(pro EU) ALDE + Greens = 24%

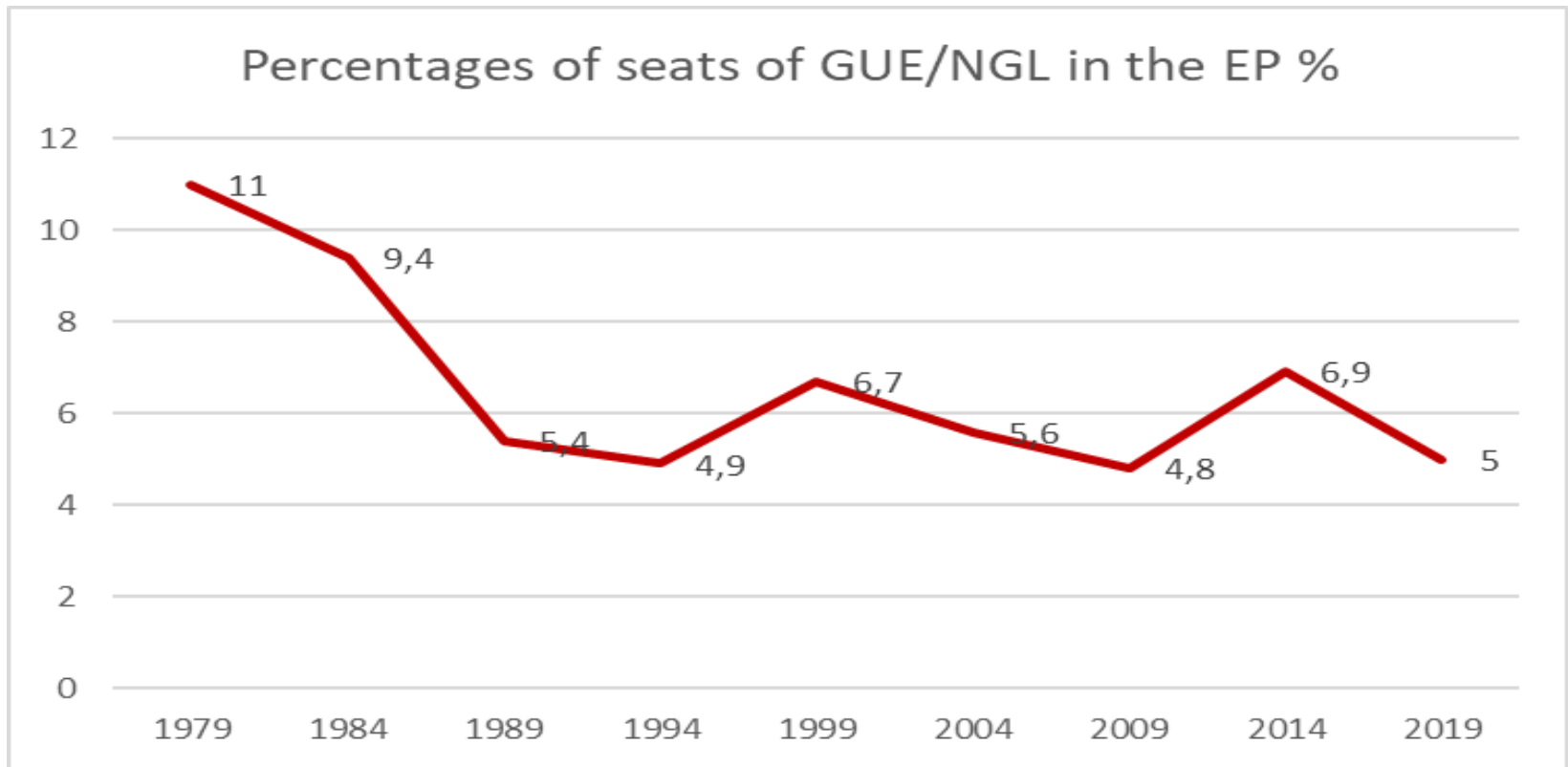
election gains and losses 2019



Results of the EP-elections 1979 – 2019

Fraction in the EU-Parliament	Share of the vote 1979	Share of the vote 1984	Share of the vote 1989	Share of the vote 1994	Share of the vote 1999	Share of the vote 2004	Share of the vote 2009	Share of the vote 2014	Share of the vote 2019
GUE/ NGL	10.7	9.4	5.4 GUE and 2.7 CG	4.9	6.7	5.60	4.76	6.92	5.46
S&D	27.3	30.0	34.7	34.9	28.8	27.30	25.00	25.43	20.37
Greens/ EFA	-	4.6	5.8 Gr. 2.5 ARC	4.1	7.7	5.80	7.47	6.66	9.99
ALDE	9.8	7.1	9.5	7.8	8.0	12.00	11.41	8.92	14.38
EVP	26.3	25.3	23.4	27.5	37.2	36.70	36.01	29.43	24.23

Percentages of seats of GUE/NGL in the EP in %



European-election results of the radical left

Radial left in Countries with approx. 20% in the polls and in the EU-elections

- **Greece**

SYRIZA in the polls 2018: 26% EU-results: **25,0%** general elections 2019: **31,53%**

- **Cyprus**

AKEL in the polls 1/2019 : 17% EU-results: **27,5%** general elections 2016: **25,7%**

Portugal: EU-results Bloco + CDU (9,82 + 6,88%): **16,70%** general election 2015: 18,39%
polls 2018 Bloco 7,4%, CDU: 13,4% = approx. 20,8%

Radical Left in Countries: high survey (2018) poorer results

- **Spain**

UI Podemos in the polls 2018: 16,8% EU-results: **10,05%** general elections 2019: 14,31

- **France**

EU: La France Insoumise + PCF 15% EU-results: **8,80%** general elections 2017: 13,74%

EU: La France Insoumise + PCF 15% EU-polls: 14%

- **Germany**

DIE LINKE in the polls 1/2019 : ca. 9% EU-results: **5,5%** general elections 2016: 9,2%

Countries with endangered radical Left parties

- **Czech Republic**, KSCM (general elections 2017: 7,8%) **6,47%**

- **Netherlands**, SP (general elections 2017: 9,0%) **3,37%**

European election results of the radical left

Stable or increasing parties to 10%

Ireland Sinn Fein (general elections 2016: 13,8%)	11,68%
Slovenia Levica (general elections 2018:9,33%)	9,33%
Denmark , Ehedslisten (general elections 2019: 6,9%)	5,51%
Sweden , Left-party (national elections 2018: 8%)	6,8%
Finland , Left Alliance (general elections 2019: 8,2%)	6,9%
Luxemburg , de Lenk (general elections 2018: 5,48):	4,84%

Countries where the radical Left is not represented in the national parliament

Poland : RAZEM (general elections 2018: 3%)	1,24%
Italy 2018 : general elections 2018: 4,54%) La sinistra:	1,74%
Austria with KPÖ+ young greens:	0,8%

and the radical Left in:

Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Malta, Rumania, Slovakia and UK

But there are strong social movements like in Hungary against the "Slave Law", Romania against corruption, UK for the 2. referendum, Poland against abortion and judicial reform, Austria - e.g. Thursday demos...

What is different compared to 2014?

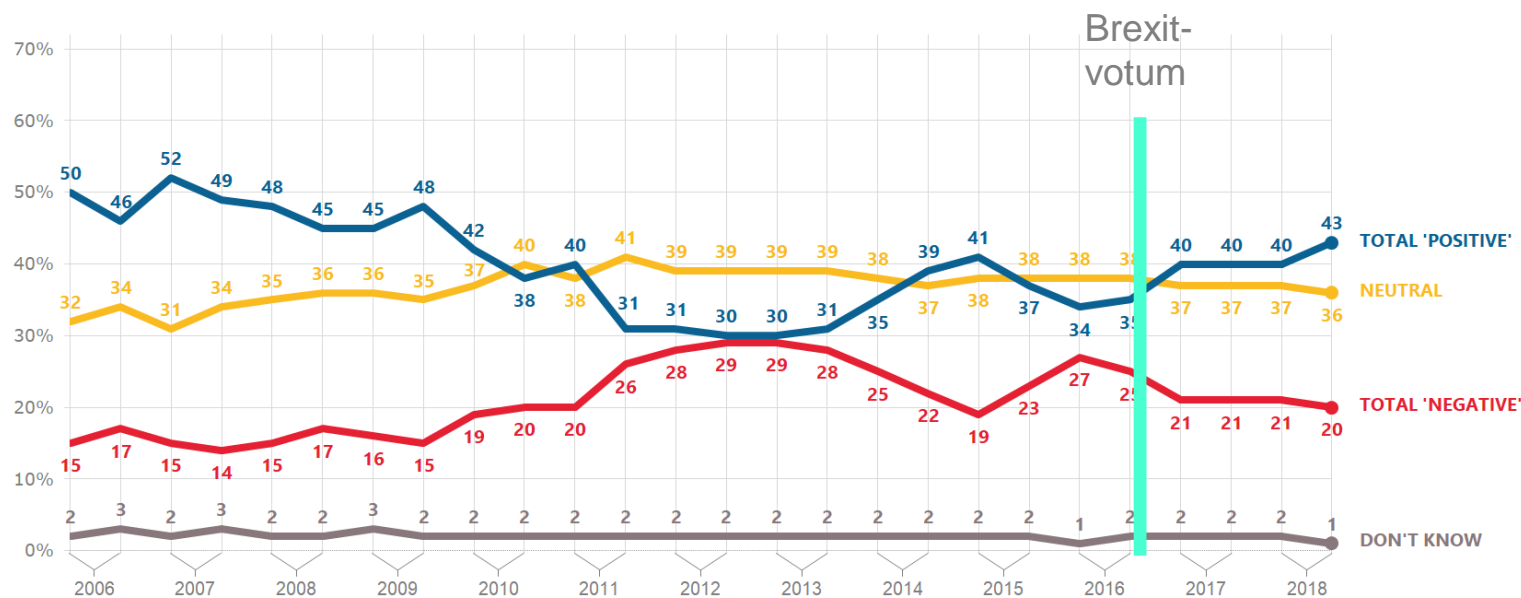
- Continuation of the **trend of the declining ties of the former large party families**: social democratic/socialist parties and conservative parties are clearly weakening.
- **2014 “polarization” of the European political landscape**:
of the southern countries of Europe goes to the left;
protest of the northern countries of Europe goes to the right
2019 no longer true because
a) north and south go to the right - see Italy, losses of the left - exception Portugal/Belgium)
- On the one hand, **pro-EU party families** such as **liberals and Greens** are winning, and on the other the **nationalist-right-wing parties** are winning.
- **The change of conflict-lines and changing the global situation**
2014 Confrontation with austerity policy - dominated in the south by the Left
2019 Confrontation with immigration, climate, social issues
- **Rise of right-wing parties solidifies** in 2014 = 22%, 2019 = 25%
but: Agenda works: see the abort of the sea rescue Sophia;
Brexit party = strongest party = 30.5 (2014 UKIP 26.6%)
Danish People's Party 2014 - 26.6% - 2019 victory of Social Democrats with shift to the right in the asylum policy
They are part of the governments in: Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Hungary, Italy, Poland and strongest Party in France

ROSA LUXEMBURG STIFTUNG

- New constellation **between EPP, Social Democrats, Liberals and Greens** - no grand coalition (dominated by Germany) is possible any more:
What is the future of the German-French axis under the condition of no German-dominated grand coalition? What is the basis of new majorities beyond the right-wing parties?
What alliances are possible between:
Conservatives, Social Democrats/Liberals Project:
with the view to global change: **the adaption of the status quo**
between conservatives, social democrats, Greens. **Green-modernization with +**
- The social democratic parties show different/contrasting developments:
They are clearly losing out in Germany, France, Italy, Great Britain, The Social Democrats of the Czech Republic - for the first time not represented in the EP.
- Social democrats are stable in the Scandinavian countries - but with a shift to the right in the asylum question
- to **the radical left**: with the exception of the Portuguese Bloco and CDU and the Belgian PTB in Wallonia have **lost all the different party projects**.
There have lost parties - such as Podemos, resulting from the protests against the austerity policy. There have lost renewed parties like THE LEFT, classic communist parties, left-wing populist parties like La France Insoumise.
- All three competing European party projects on the left side have lost: DIEM25, LFI/MLP and the EL.
- The parties of the radical left have been defeated. If the left doesn't change, the defeat turns into a crisis. *What we have learn?*

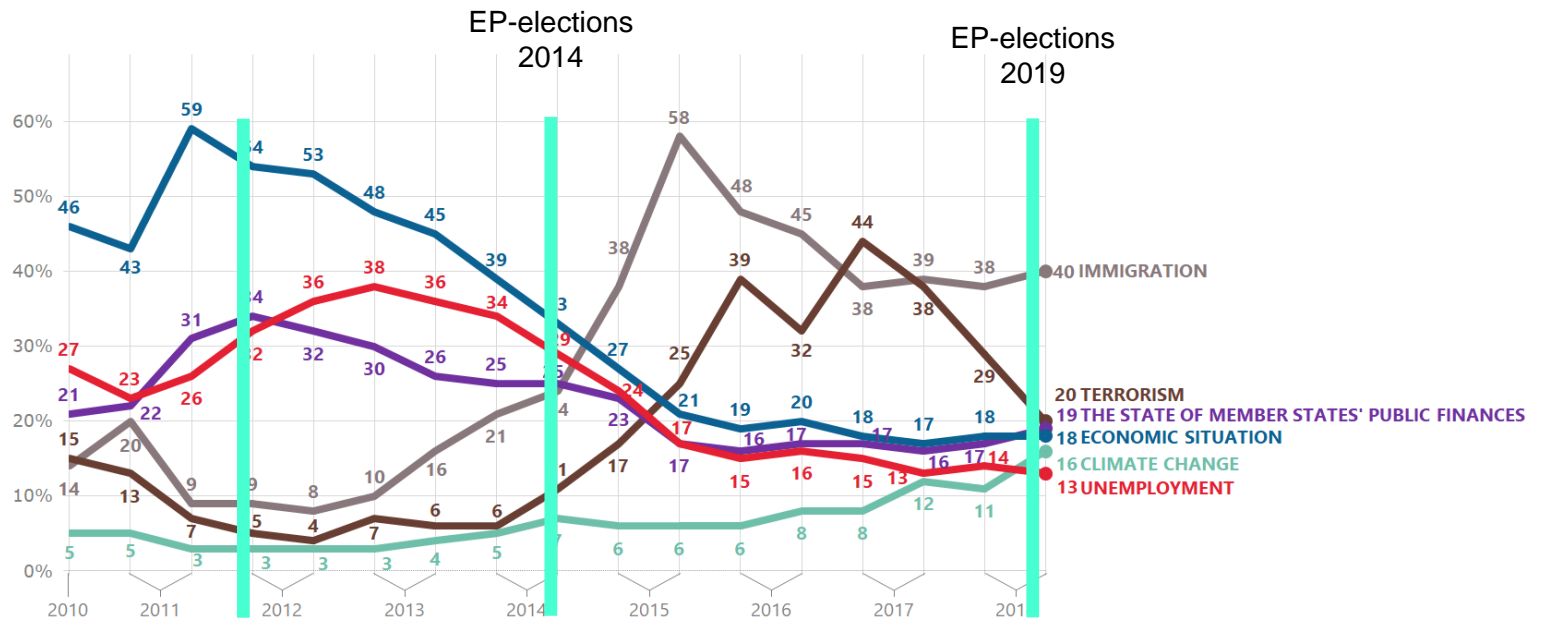
EU – positive or negative EB90/2018

D78 In general, does the EU conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image?
 (% - EU)



European topics between 2014 and 2019

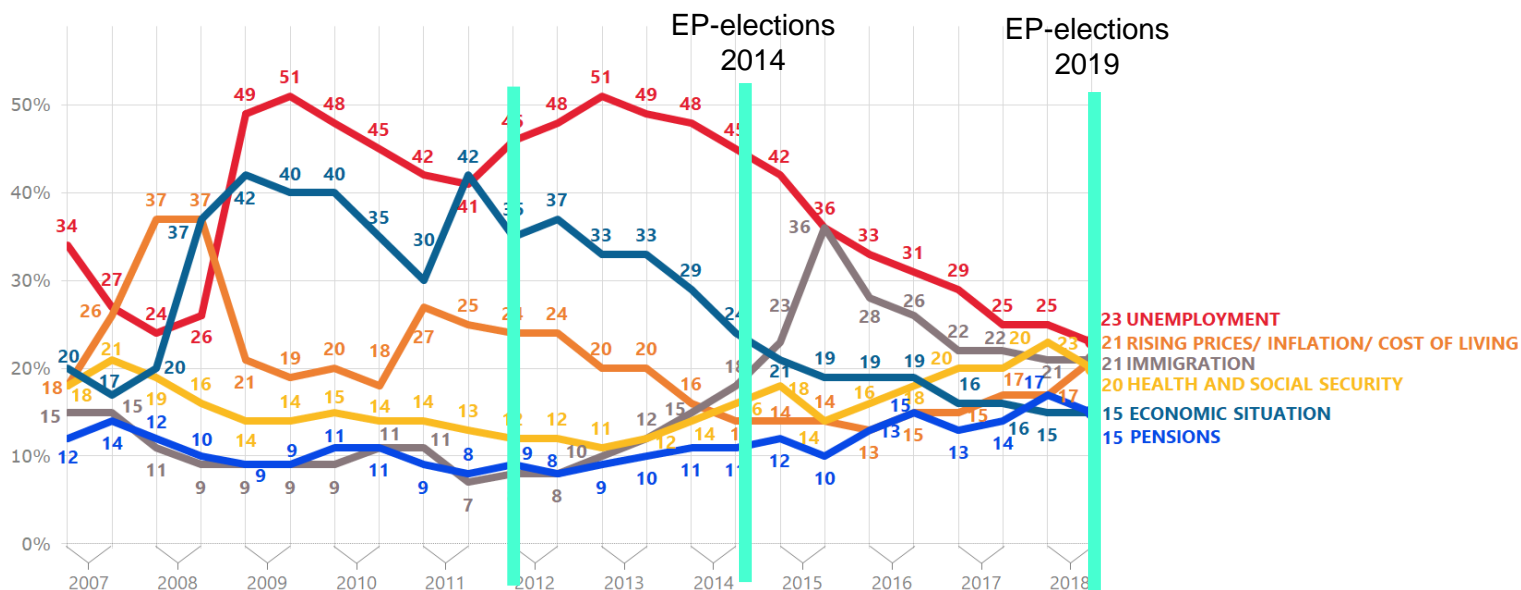
QA5 What do you think are the two most important issues facing the EU at the moment?
(% - EU)



Two answers maximum – six most mentioned items

National topics between 2014 and 2019

QA3a What do you think are the two most important issues facing (OUR COUNTRY) at the moment?
(% - EU)

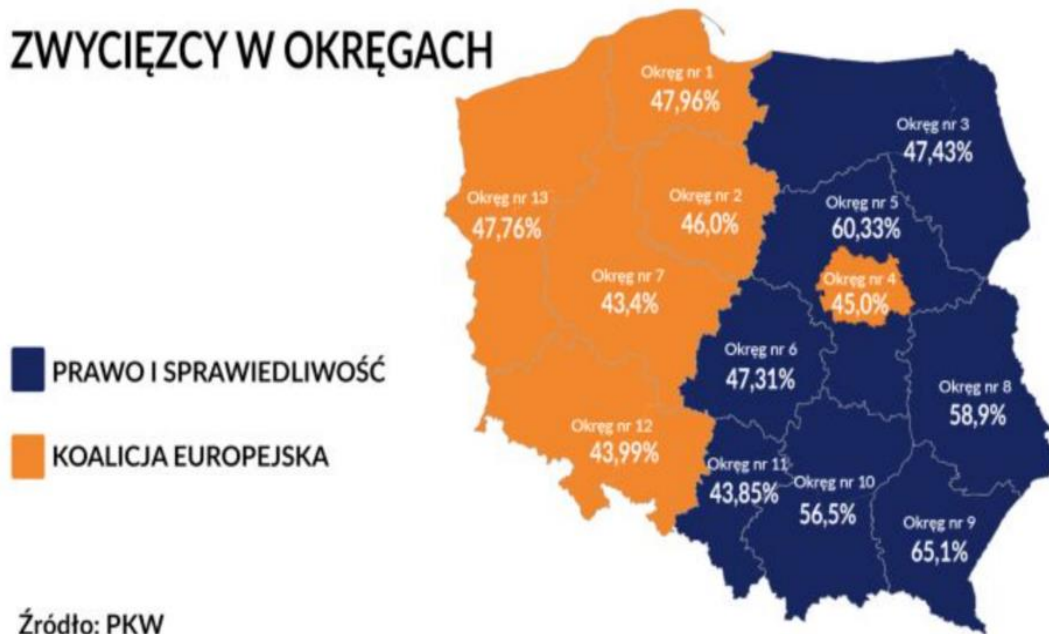


Two answers maximum – six most mentioned items

Regional splits

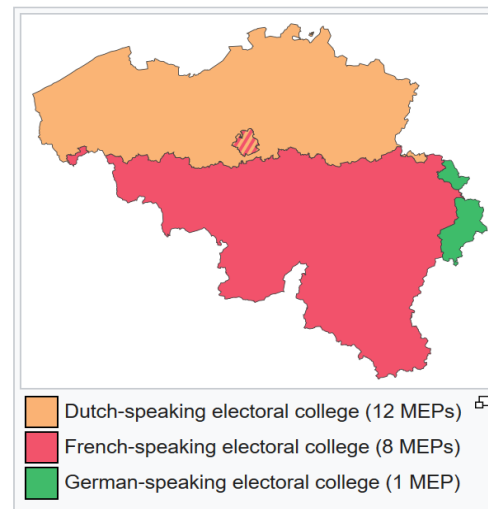
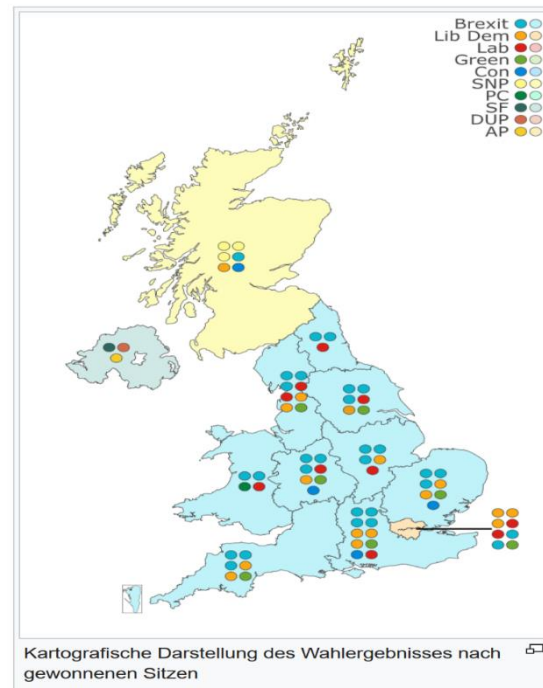
Poland: split PIS vs. Pro-EU-Coalition
 Belgium: split between Flamen and Walloons
 N-VA, Flams Belang, Walloons with PTB
 Brussels with Greens
 UK – north – south – London

ZWYCIĘZCY W OKRĘGACH



Źródło: PKW

Zwycięzcy w okręgach. Dane Państwowej Komisji Wyborczej



New and old conflict-lines within the EU ...

- **Deepening or dismantling the EU**

On the one hand, deepening the European Union by strengthening and creating new European institutions vs. dismantling it, e.g. strengthening the EU Parliament (EPP, ALDE, Greens, S&D, Left) On the other hand, dismantling EU institutions - abolition of EU Parliament

ALDE: High Representative for Foreign and Security Policy, Common Defence Policy EPP: decisions on foreign and security policy with qualified majority Greens/Left: democratization of the institutions - such as ECB - restricting autonomy

- **EU's role in the world:**

EPP/ALDE: EU to be strengthened as an independent actor, "hard" and "soft" power to be expanded on a European scale: including militarization of the EU S&D additional promotion of multilateralism

- **Fight for social orientation of the EU or stability pact (EVP vs. S&D, Left, Greens)**

PES: unemployment reinsurance, binding social pillar - social action plan; long-term investment plan EVP ALDE - adherence to the Stability Pact ALDE: sanctions against member states that violate the rules of the Pact

- **Asylum and migration policy** - deportation and sealing off vs. open borders common rules - the states themselves regulate -

- **Climate policy:** European rules - carbon tax vs. emissions trading – as a kind of modernization of capitalism or as a way for a social-ecological transformation

Thank you very much for your attention!