

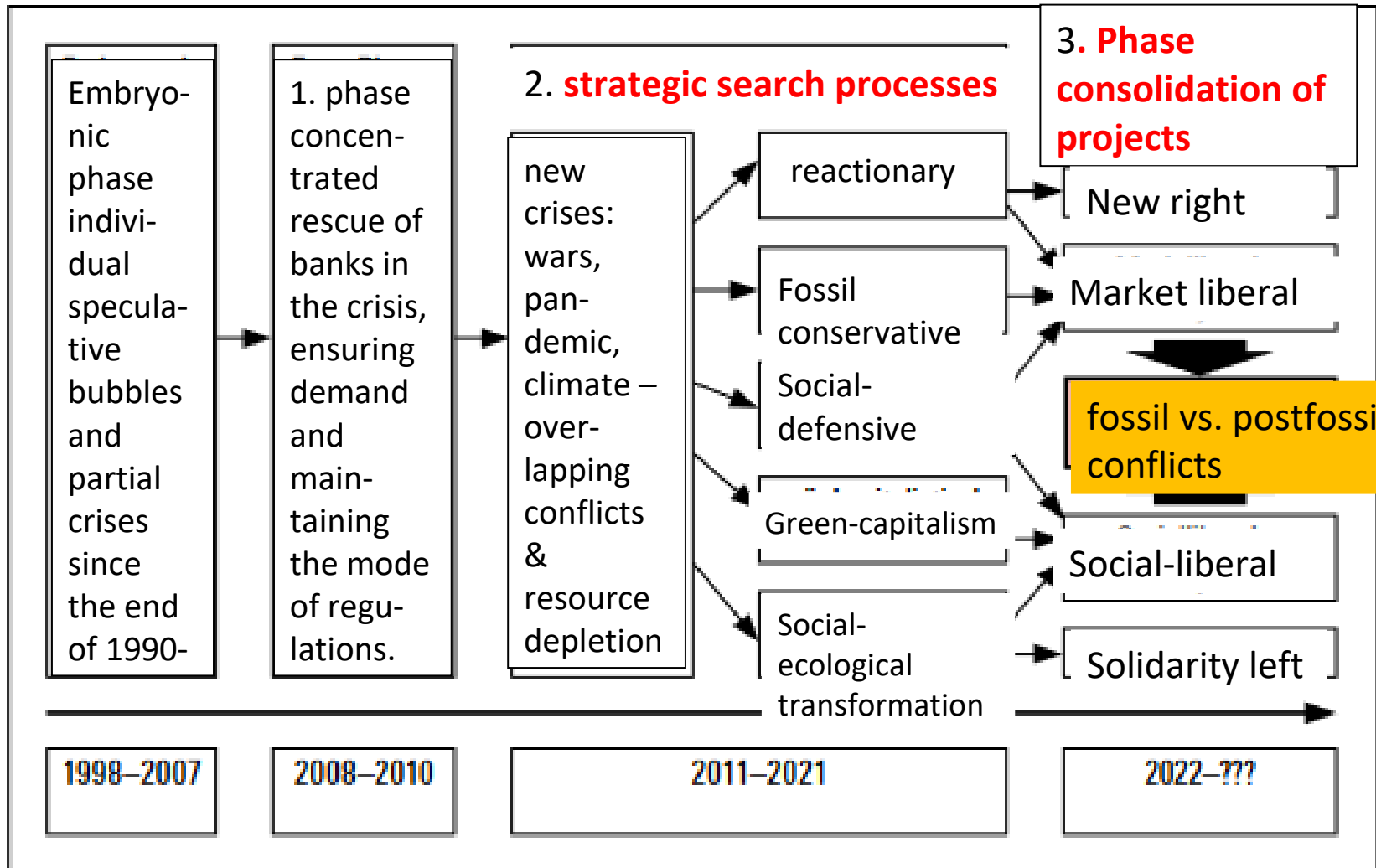


# transform! europe

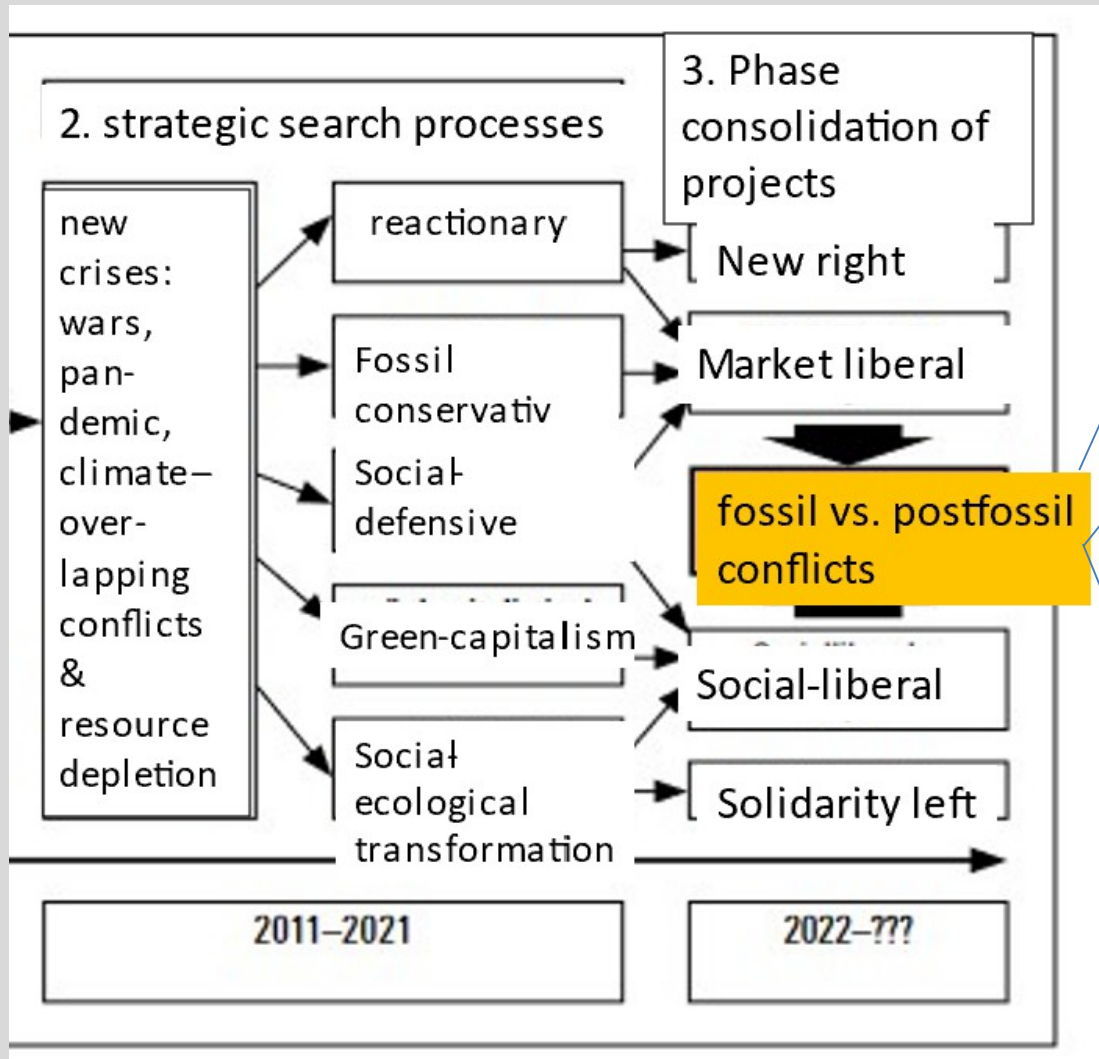
[www.transform-network.net](http://www.transform-network.net)

## On the new challenges facing the left in Europe in 2024

# the organic crisis of neoliberal financial market capitalism, previous phases and current strategies



# The organic crisis of neoliberal financial current strategies – conflict-dimensions



New quality of international conflicts and wars, struggles for raw materials

Fossil vs. post-fossil mode of energy and industry-production

Austerity policy vs. social security/social inequality vs. social justice

Authoritarianism vs. Democracy and fights against fascism

progressive-libertarian vs. conservative-authoritarian values

# Starting point 2024

- The 2024 European elections will take place in difficult times: Wars, climate change, social polarization, upheavals with the view to the digitalization
- On the one hand, the **danger of authoritarian capitalism** in the sense of the Putin regime, on the other hand, the new neoliberal **tendencies of new forms of authoritarian neoliberalism**
- In the shadow of the war in Ukraine, the **militarization of the EU** and the expansion and strengthening of NATO are taking place –  
a) with NATO (USA) b) also independent stronger EU-oriented
- This raises the question of the **reconstitution of the EU as a global player** at European level On the one hand as a **question of EU autonomy** - also with a view to the USA elections and on the other hand, the enlargement of the EU with the west-Balkan-States, Moldova, Ukraine, Georgia
- Connected with the enlargement question - the question of the constitution of the EU: the EU as an **deeper integrated political and economic** actor or **the EU as an economic actor** with the **European Single Market** and the transfer of competences back to the EU member states
- **Battle from the right:**  
a **Europe of sovereign fatherlands** vs. against the deepening and enlargement of the EU  
**Stopping the Green Deal** and **phasing out the Next Generation Program** and weakening environmental standards and against gender-policy  
**Restrictive and militarized EU migration policy**  
Full approval of the **militarization of the EU** only if it serves to protect national interests

# Political power-relations February 2024

	Linke	G/EFA	S&D	RE	EVP	EKR	ID	f'los	Sonst.
EP heute	37	72	140	102	178	68	59	49	–
Jan. 24	33	45	141	86	169	75	89	43	39
Feb. 24	35	48	135	85	176	78	85	36	42
<i>dynamisch</i>	37	48	137	89	183	82	101	43	–

## Prognoses

### Left group: e.g.:

7 MEP LFI (FR), 6 Sinn Fein (IR), **3 Syriza** (GR), **3 LINKE** (DE) (without the 5 MEP from BSW)  
 2 PTB (BE), 2 SUMAR (ES) (4 SUMAR MEPs going to the Greens), 2 AKEL (CY), 2 V (SE), 2 Bloco (PT),  
 1 Podemos (ES), 1 RGA (DK), 1 VAS (FI), 1 Bildu (ES), 1 Levica (SL) 1 Animal-party (DE)

**Problem:** post-socialist countries only with one/two MEPs in the EP present: Slovenia and KSCM??

**to the Greens:** 12 Greens from **Germany** (dominant) + 3(Pirate-party , ÖDP, Volt) + 7 MEP France

To the **conservatives:** von 177 MEP 30 CDU (**DE**), 24 PP (ES), 18 KO (PO), ) 9 ND (GR)

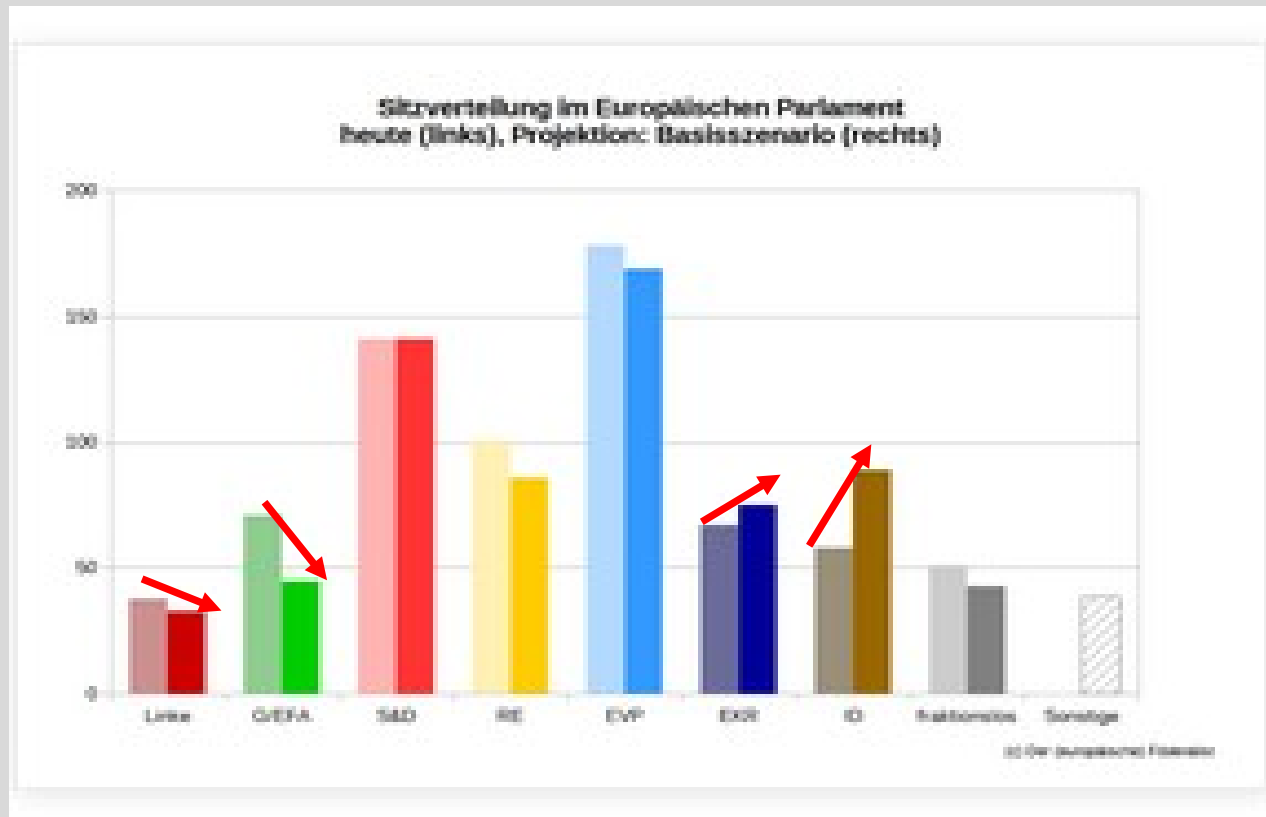
to **ECR-fraction:** 25 FdI (IT), 20 PIS (PO), 7 VOX (ES), 5 SW (SE) 4 Aura (RO), 3 N-VA (BE)

to **ID-fraction** (Identity and Democracy)

27 Le Pen, RN (FR), 22 AfD (**DE**), 12 Wilders, PVV (NL), 8 Salvini Lega (IT), 7 Kickl, FPÖ (AT),  
 4 VB (BE), 4 Chega (PT)

to add 15 - 20 mandates of the MEP without any fraction include e.g. FIDESZ with 12 MEP

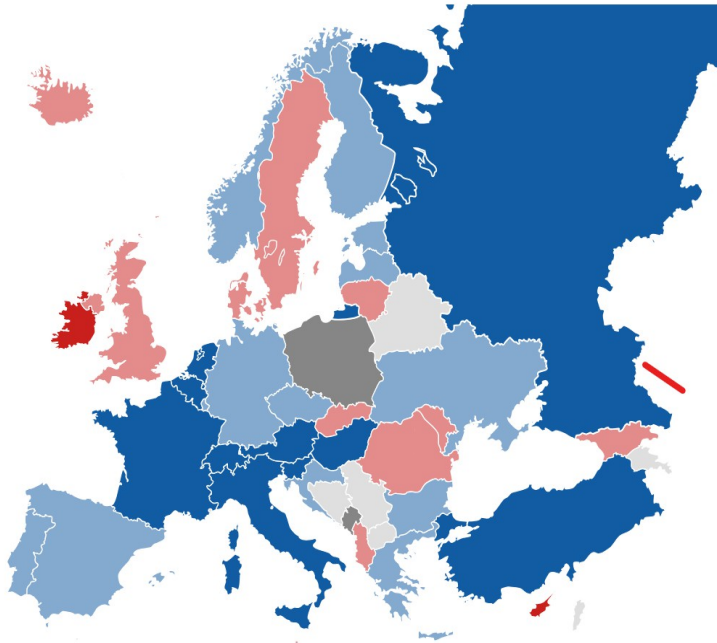
# Political power-relations February 2024



## Prognoses from January 2024

- the European Left will lost 4 Seats (ca. -10%),
- **the Greens will lost 27 seats** (ca. 37,5%), especially the Greens in Germany – as a strongest delegation
- **the social-democrats stay stable** – SPD lost a little bit, the **Liberals** (Macron) lost 15 MEP(ca. – 15%)
- **conservatives EVP** strongest fraction stay more or less stable with the German CDU: 30 MEPS
- **the fraction of the EU-reformers ECR will win 9 seats** (+ca. 15%)
- **the fraction of the neo-fascist anti-European ID will win 29 seats**(+ ca. 48%)

## Stärkste Parteien in Europas Wahlrends



Links

Mitte-links

Sonstige

Mitte-rechts

Rechts

The right-wing parties in strong position in Germany (AfD: 21%), Bulgaria (Rival: 14%), Portugal (Chega 2024: 18%) and Spain (Vox: 10%) are not in first place, but are gaining in importance.

### The far right in government in:

Italy Fratelli d' Italia,

Finland the „Fins“

Sweden support the far right the government

Gerd Wilders has not managed to form a minority in the Netherlands - that's good!

### Leading in the polls in

Belgium (VB: 25%, N-VA: 21%),

France (RN: 26%),

Italy (Fdi: 28.7%),

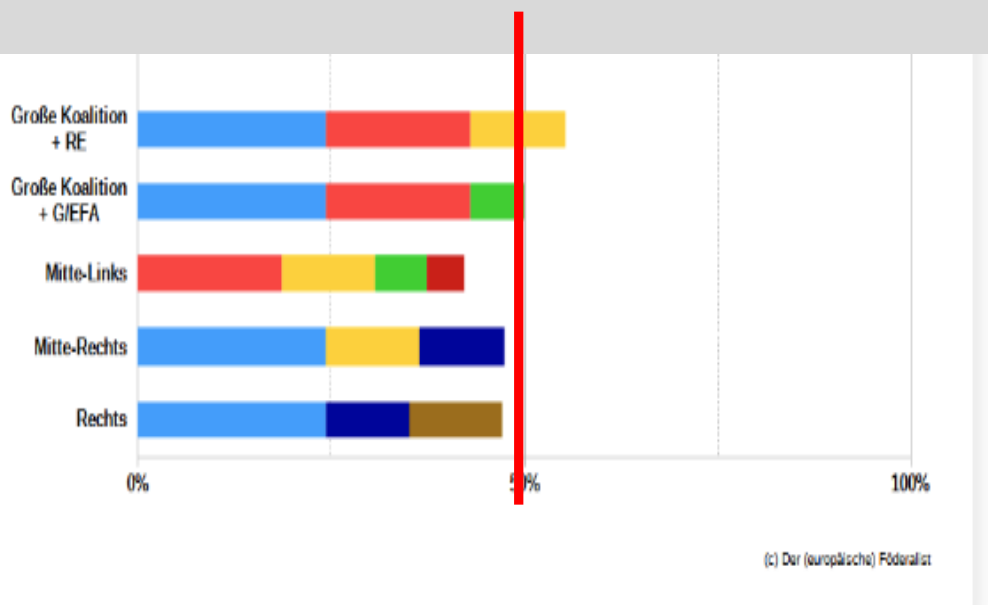
the Netherlands (PVV: 28.7%),

Austria (FPÖ: 30%) and

Hungary (FIDESZ: 44%)

Poland (PIS: 33%)

# Political power-relations February 2024 prognoses of the seats in the EU-Parliament



## Majority over 50%

-Great Coalition with cons. + Soc.

Only with Liberals possible

44% without Liberals **with ca. 56%**

-Great coalition von cons. + **Soz +**

**Greens = ca. 50%**

-Center-Left-Coalition Soz. + Greens +

Left = ca. **30%**

(42% with the Liberals (2019: 34%))

## -Center-right-coalition

Cons. + ECR + ID = 333 Mandate

+ 23 MEP

with independents and others = **366**

**MEP = 51%**

Centre-Left 2019: **34%**

extreme Right 2019: 20%

center-right 2019: 43%

in the polls 2/2024: **30%**

**in the polls 2/2024: 25%**

in the polls 2/2024: 49% →

Strengthening of nationalist  
tendencies pro-EU camp  
loses approx. 5%

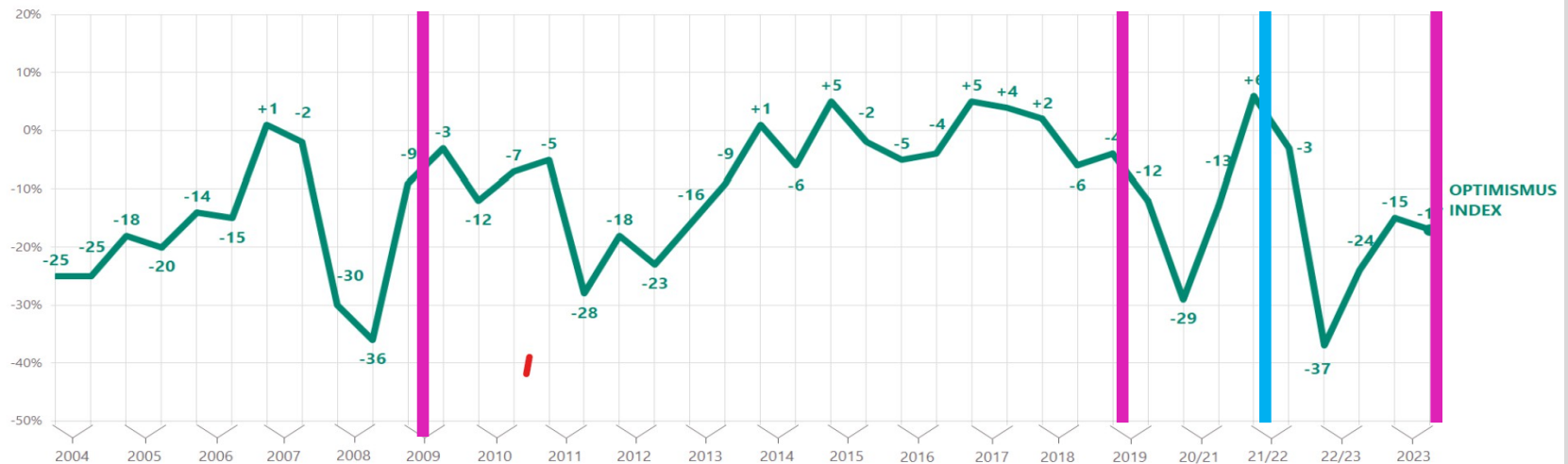


# Optimism-index Eurobarometer 2022/2023

## Persistent uncertainty among people

**Der Optimismus-Index (-17) hinsichtlich der Entwicklung der Lage der nationalen Wirtschaft in den nächsten 12 Monaten hat sich seit dem Frühjahr 2023 leicht verschlechtert (-2 Indexpunkte)**

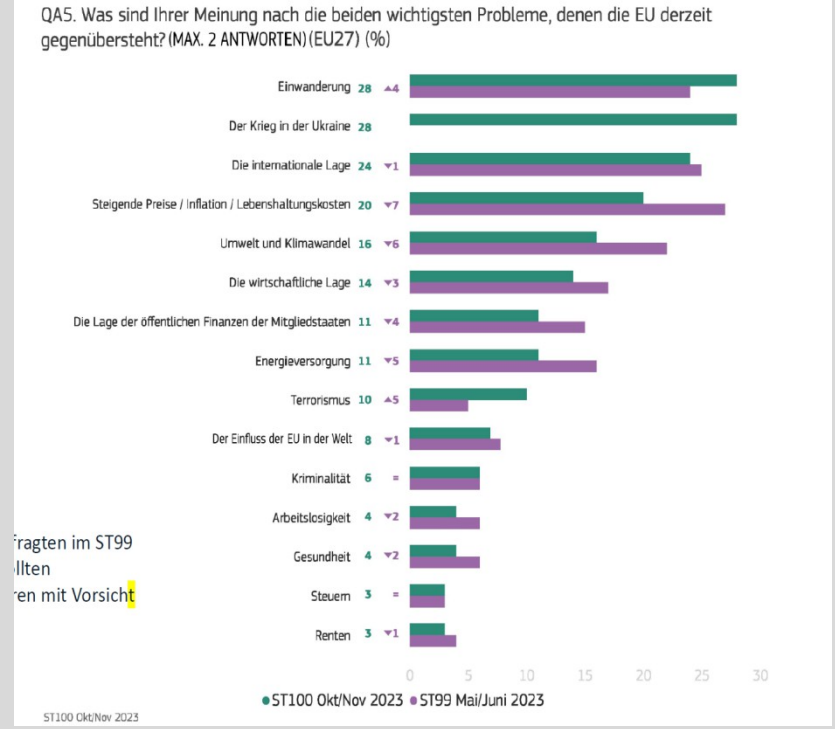
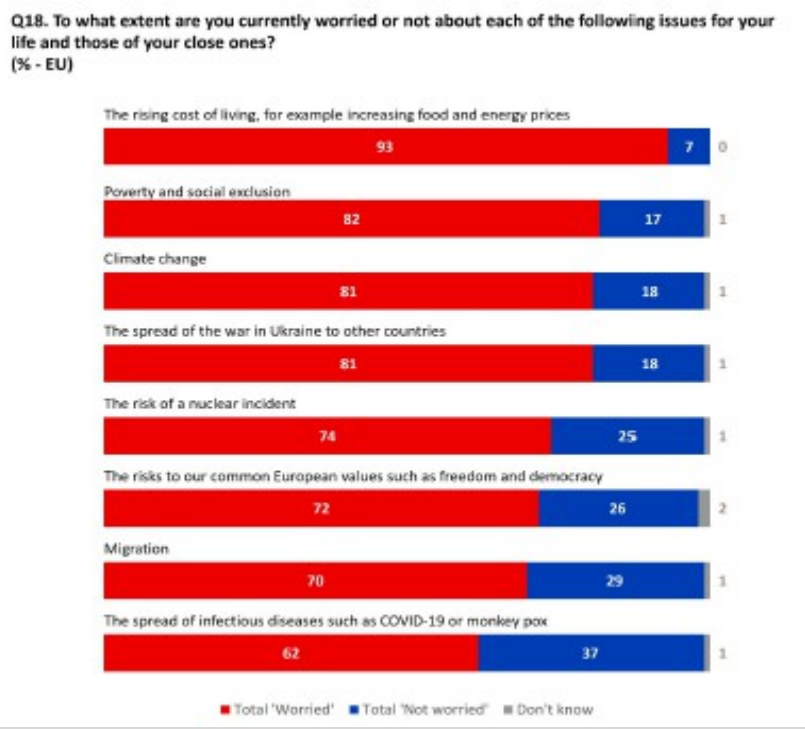
**QA2.3** Welche Erwartungen haben Sie an die nächsten 12 Monate? Werden die nächsten 12 Monate besser, schlechter oder gleich sein, wenn es um Folgendes geht?  
**Die wirtschaftliche Lage in (UNSEREM LAND) (EU - OPTIMISMUS INDEX (BESSER - SCHLECHTER))**



26

Crises, pandemic, wars and climate change leave traces of uncertainty. Financial crisis: 2008/2009, austerity policy, start of the Ukraine war in 2022/2023 have an impact. What remains is the personally experienced, persistent uncertainty, which is driving people further to the right politically than was already the case in 2019.

# Eurobarometer: 2022 und 2023



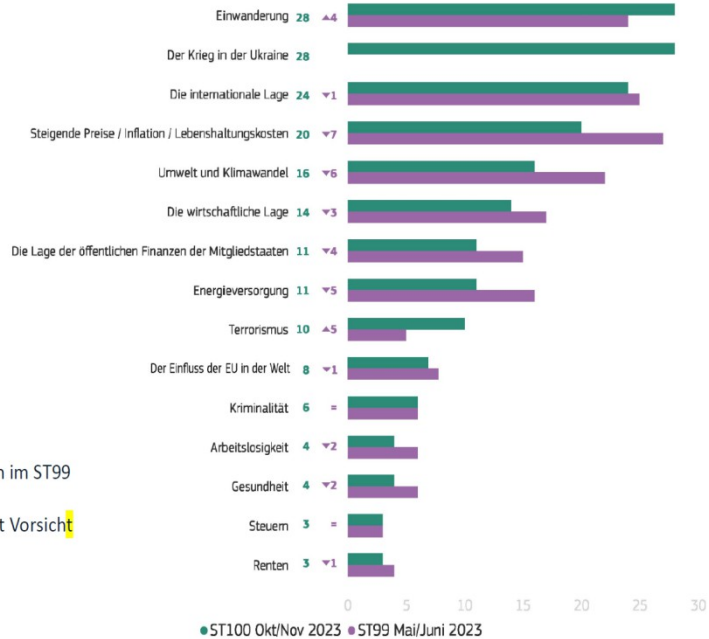
Fragen im ST99  
 sollten  
 mit Vorsicht

1. **high cost of living (93%)**
2. **Poverty and social exclusion (82%)**
3. **Climate change (81%) no comment in 2019**
4. Enlargement of the Ukraine-war (81%)
5. Risk of nuclear-war or accident (74)
6. Risk of losses of democracy (72)
7. migration (70%)

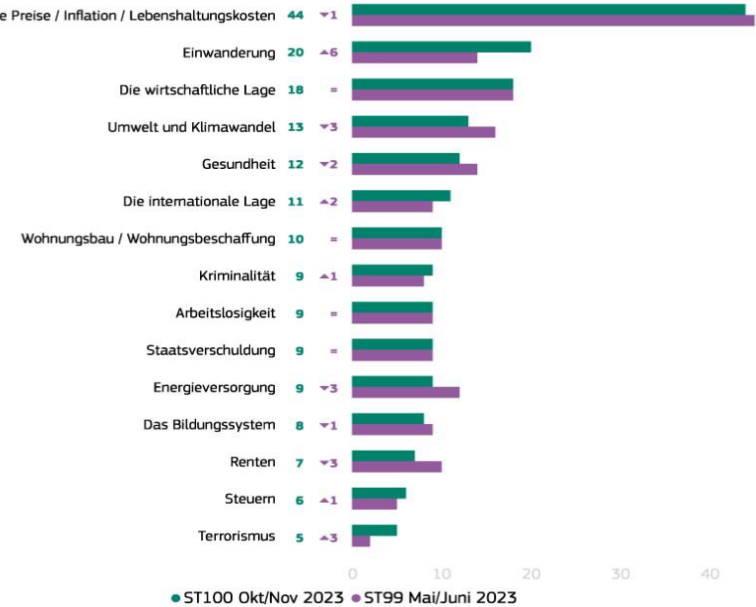
1. **migration**
2. **War in the Ukraine**
3. International situation
4. High cost of living
5. Climate change
6. Economical situation
7. Energy

# Eurobarometer: Dezember 2023

QA5. Was sind Ihrer Meinung nach die beiden wichtigsten Probleme, denen die EU derzeit gegenübersteht? (MAX. 2 ANTWORTEN) (EU27) (%)



QA3. Was sind Ihrer Meinung nach die beiden wichtigsten Probleme, denen (UNSER LAND) derzeit gegenübersteht? (EU27) (%)



fragten im ST99  
lten  
ren mit Vorsicht

1. Migration
2. War in the Ukraine
3. International situation
4. High cost of living
5. Climate change
6. Economical situation
7. Energy

1. High cost of living
2. migration
3. Economical situation
4. Climate change
5. health
6. International situation
7. housing

# New view of the EU as a room of protection and security

- More than 6 in 10 Europeans (62%) think their country's membership in the EU is a good thing, 72% think their country benefits from EU membership, 22% do not.

From the respondents' perspective, they associate their countries' EU membership with:

- 36% with more peace and security,
- 35% with cooperation between member states,
- 30% with economic growth and
- 23% with more jobs/freedom of movement,
- 23% with more importance in the world as an EU member state and
- 18% with raising living standards, 16% with measures against climate change and
- 15% strengthening democracy.

The EU countries differ with regard to the priorities mentioned first:

**Cooperation between EU countries** is the top priority for EU citizens in Sweden, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Belgium, Italy and Austria. **Job opportunities via the free movement of workers** is the top priority in Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, Romania, Czechs and partly in Estonia.

**Economic growth** is the top-priority in Malta, Ireland, Lithuania, Slovenia, Luxembourg, Spain, Portugal and to some extent Poland, **the common security policy** is the top priority for Germany, Greece, Cyprus, Latvia and France

But also: EU-Concern for human welfare very low: by or under 10% - 5% in Greece

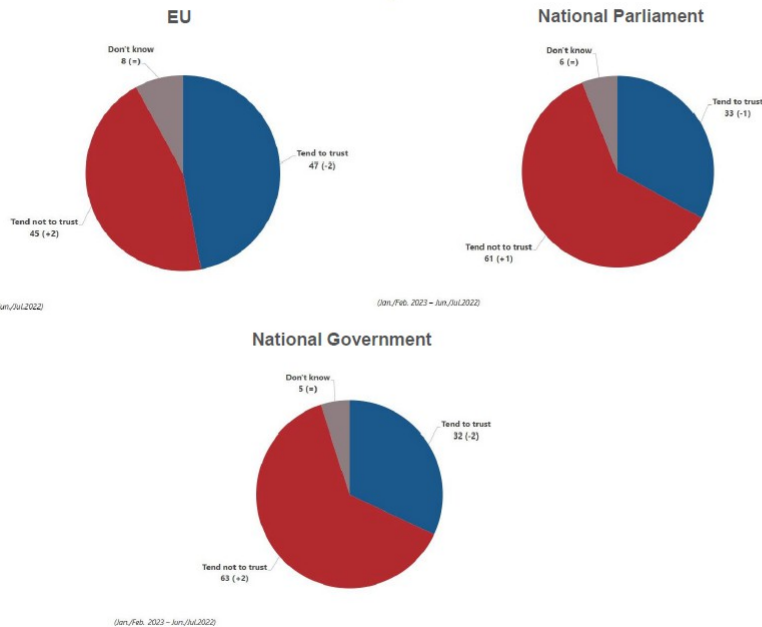
EU-Concern for ecology by 13%

# New view of the EU Trust in the EU?

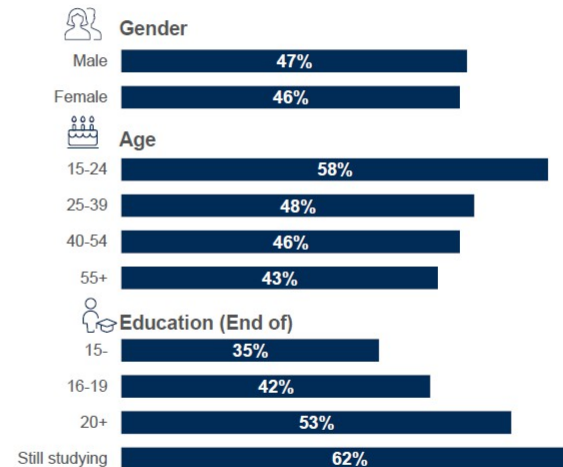
## Younger respondents and those who spent more time in full-time education tend to trust the EU more

How much trust do you have in certain institutions? For each of the following institutions, do you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it?  
(% - Tend to trust)

% tend to trust / tend not to trust the following institutions



% tend to trust the European Union – Sociodemographic breakdown



### Eurobarometer from the view of the students:

80% support common EU-foreign-, defence-, trade-policy

45% think their voice do not count the own country, 35% in the EU,

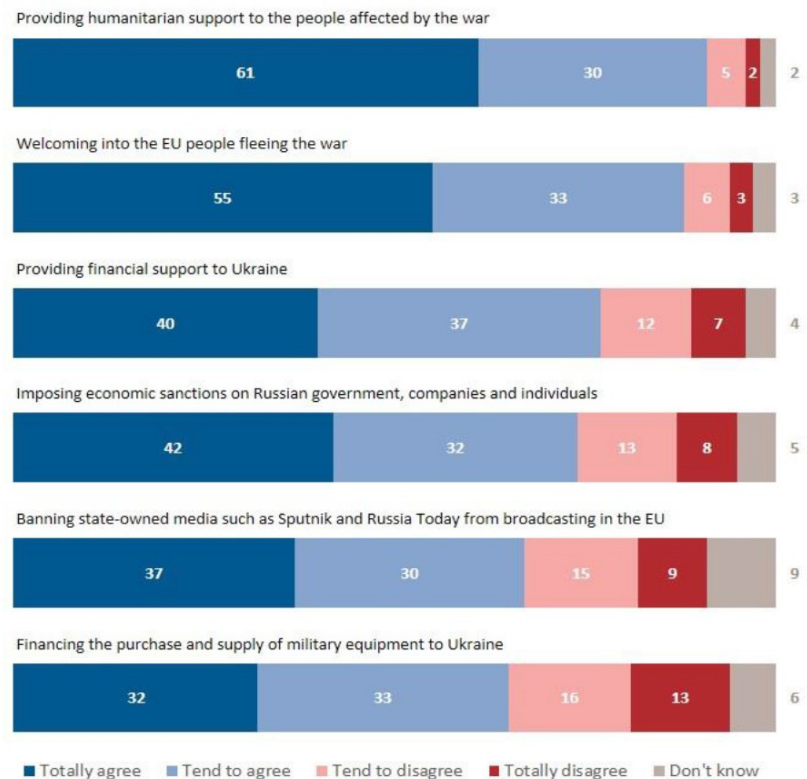
Over 90% for EU-measure against climate change, for supporting public infrastructure, minimum wage, higher taxes for bigger companies, 80% for EU-asylum policy, 25% against Frontex (highest level of No-answers

# EU-Response to the Russian invasion

**A large majority of EU citizens agree with the series of actions taken by the EU**

The most popular is the provision of humanitarian support with more than 9 in 10 (91%) agreeing

QE2. The EU has taken a series of actions as a response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine. To what extent you agree or disagree with each of these actions taken. (% - EU27)



Majorities in principle in the EU also for arms deliveries

# Sending weapons to the Ukraine



Giorgia Melonie on the arms deliveries:

"The situation is somewhat more complex than certain propaganda makes it appear". "Do you think Russia should withdraw its troops from Ukraine or not? Do you think Ukraine's borders should be redefined or not? Or do you think that the occupied territories should be left to Moscow or not?" These are precisely the questions that need to be answered first before calling for peace negotiations, Melonie demanded.

# Sending weapons to the Ukraine



Alice Weidel:  
No heavy weapons to Ukraine!  
Weapons do not create peace

Leading AfD politicians have criticized German arms deliveries to Ukraine. "We should not intervene in hostilities by supplying weapons," said Alice Weidel, leader of the parliamentary group in the Bundestag, when asked on Tuesday. This does not mean that the Russian attacks "have to be accepted". The attack on Ukraine was a clear violation of international law.



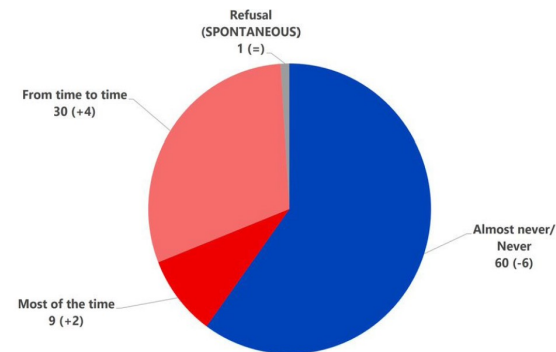
# Points for left-wing intervention

## Peoples Majorities:

- 89% for taxes of big transnational technology and data-companies
- 89 % for a minimum-wage in every country
- 81% for fair trade with social and ecological minimum-standards
- 79% for equal pay

## 39% of Europeans have difficulties paying their bills, an increase of 6pp since Spring 2022

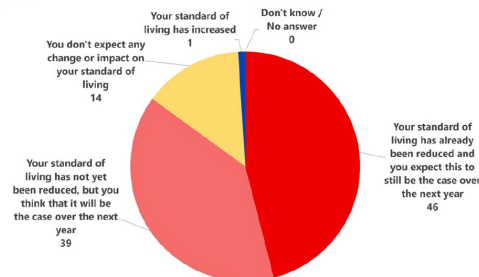
D60 During the last twelve months, would you say you had difficulties to pay your bills at the end of the month...?  
(% - EU27)



(Oct/Nov 2022 – Apr/May 2022)

## Close to half of EU citizens (46%) have already seen their standard of living reduced because of the succession of crises (Covid, war in Ukraine and inflation)

QA17 Many elements, such as the consequences of the Covid-19 pandemic, the war in Ukraine and rising inflation and prices, affect the global economy, including the European Union Member States. Thinking about your personal standard of living (e.g. the goods and services you can afford), which one of these statements comes closest to your personal situation?  
(% - EU27)



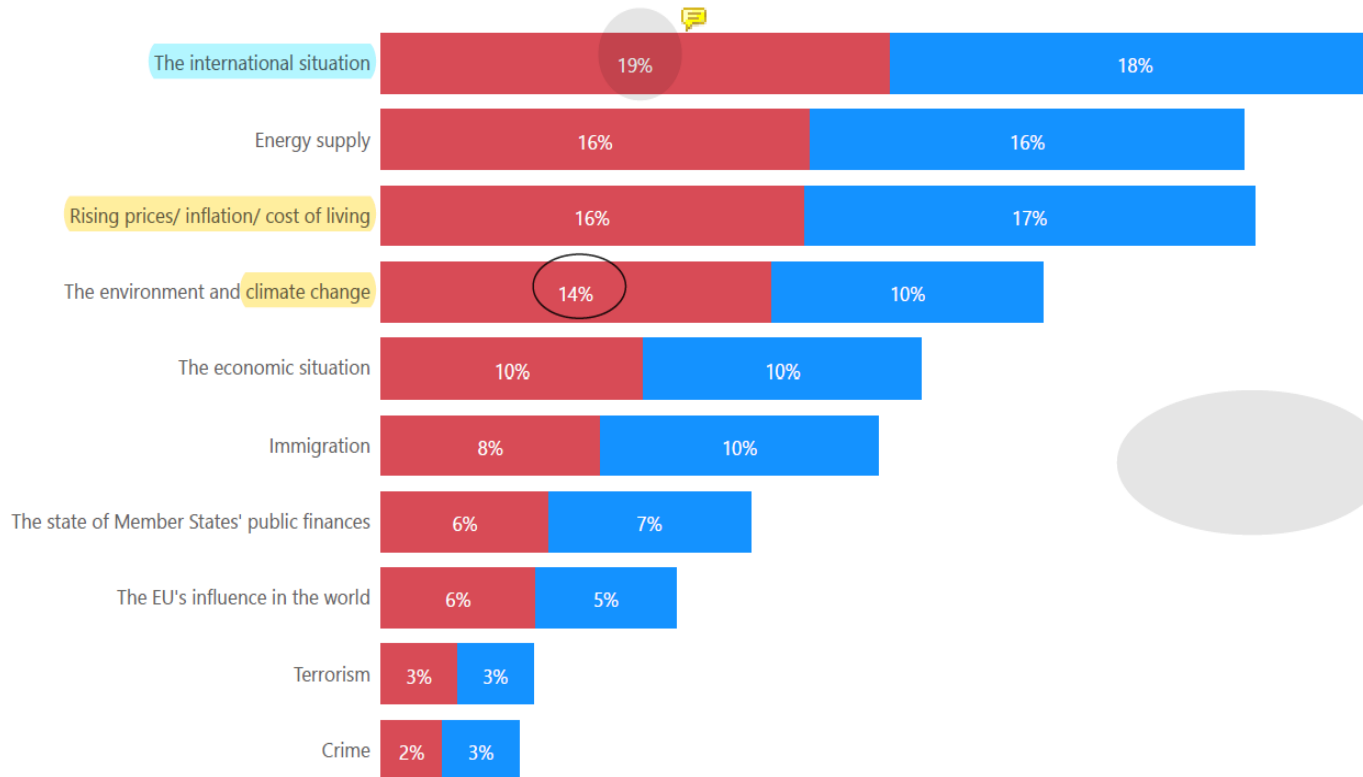
(Oct/Nov 2022)

New significance of the social question as a result of Corona, the Ukraine war and inflation, the social question is again becoming one of the central questions and fields of struggle

# Most important issues for the EU for the Left in Europe

## Top 10 most important issues for the EU - EU27 results

Max 2 choices per respondent



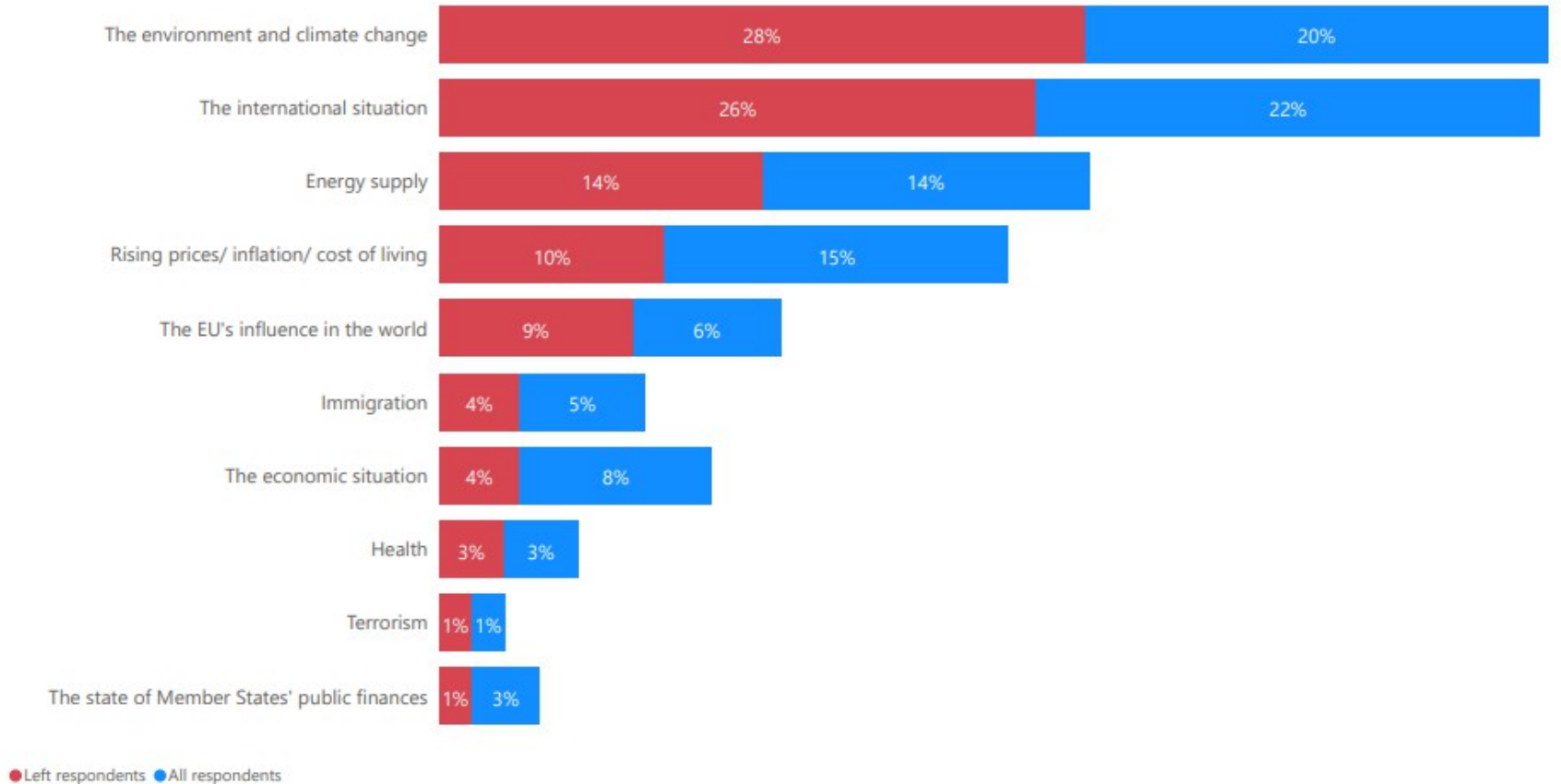
● Left respondents ● All respondents

David Lundy presentation: the radical Left who are we? – Analysing and visualising the Eurobarometer data; david.lundy@ep.europa.eu

# Most important issues for the EU from the perspective of the left in Denmark (red) compared to the population (blue)

## Top 10 most important issues for the EU - Denmark

(choice of 2 issues per respondent)



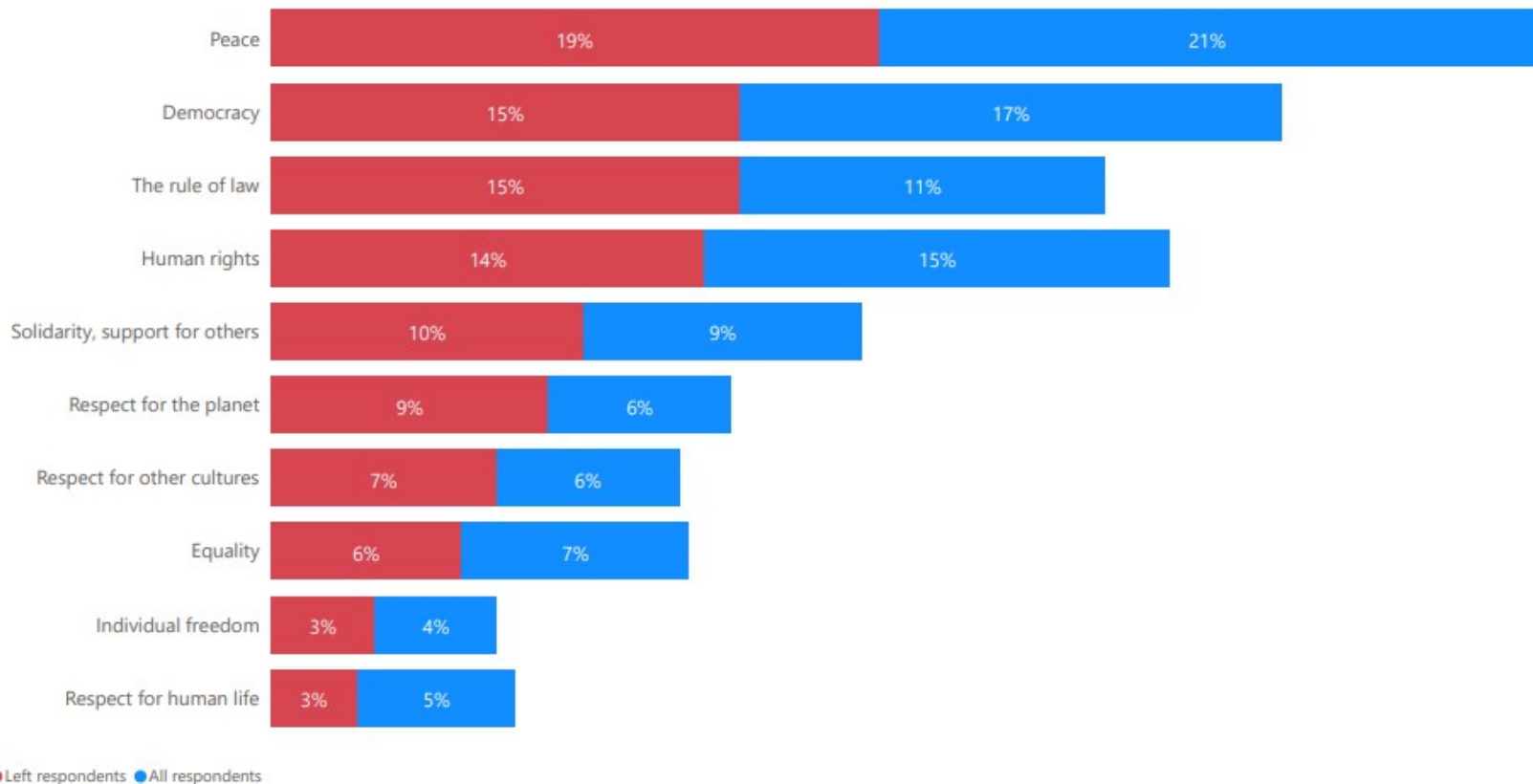
David Lundy presentation: the radical Left who are we? – Analysing and visualising the Eurobarometer data; david.lundy@ep.europa.eu

# Top 10 values best represent the EU from the perspective of the left in

## Denmark (red) compared to the population (blue)

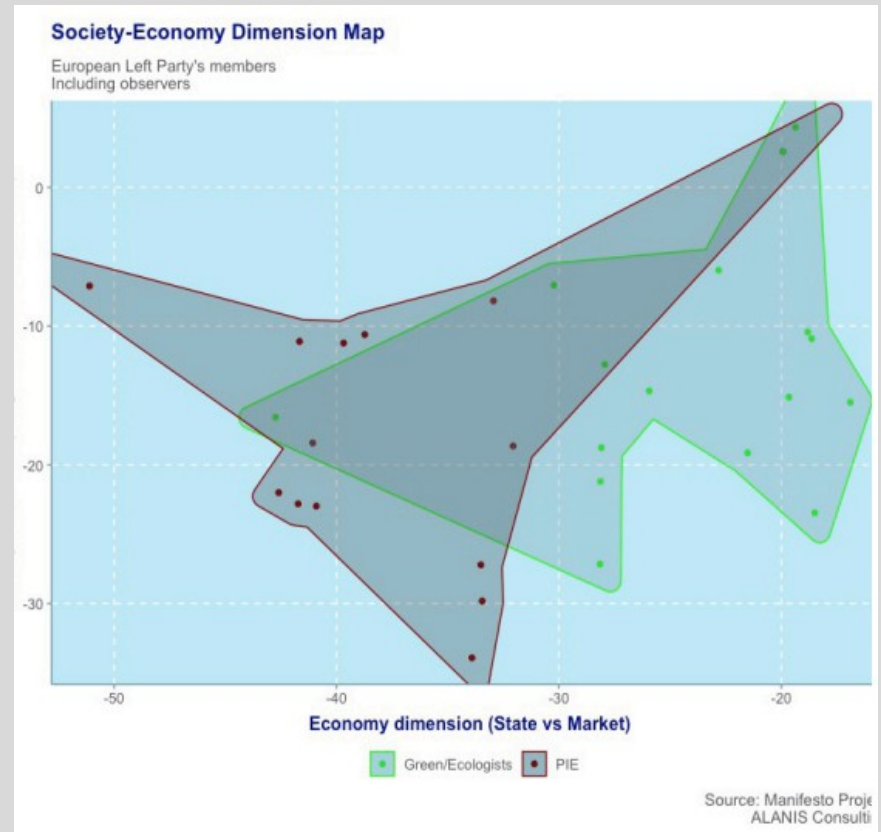
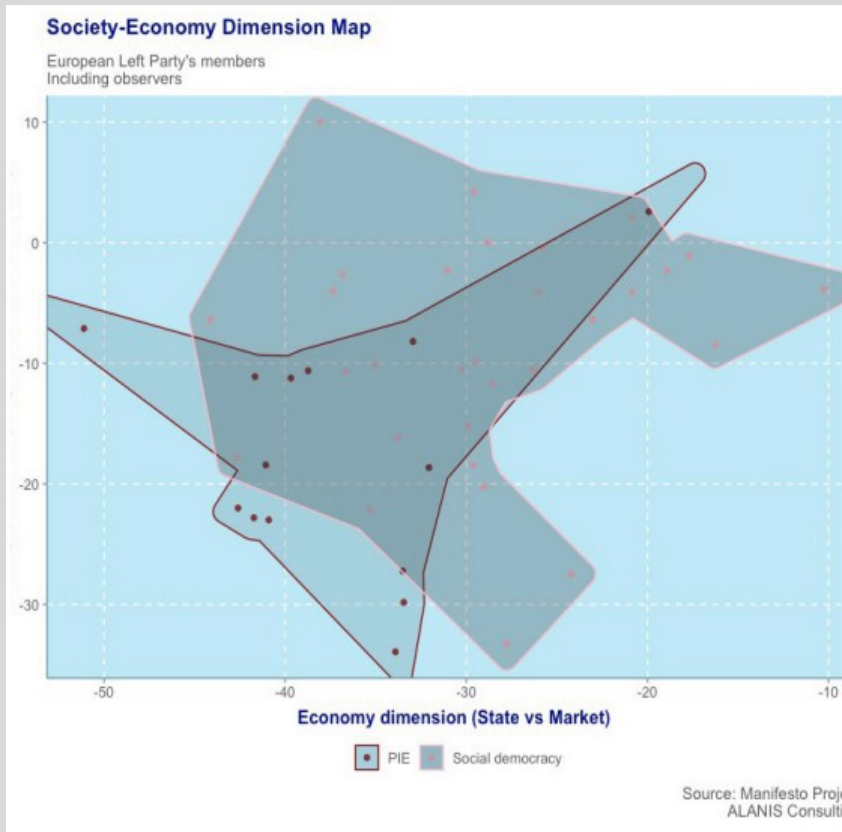
### Top 10 values best representing the EU - Denmark

Max 3 choices per respondent



David Lundy presentation: the radical Left who are we? – Analysing and visualising the Eurobarometer data; david.lundy@ep.europa.eu

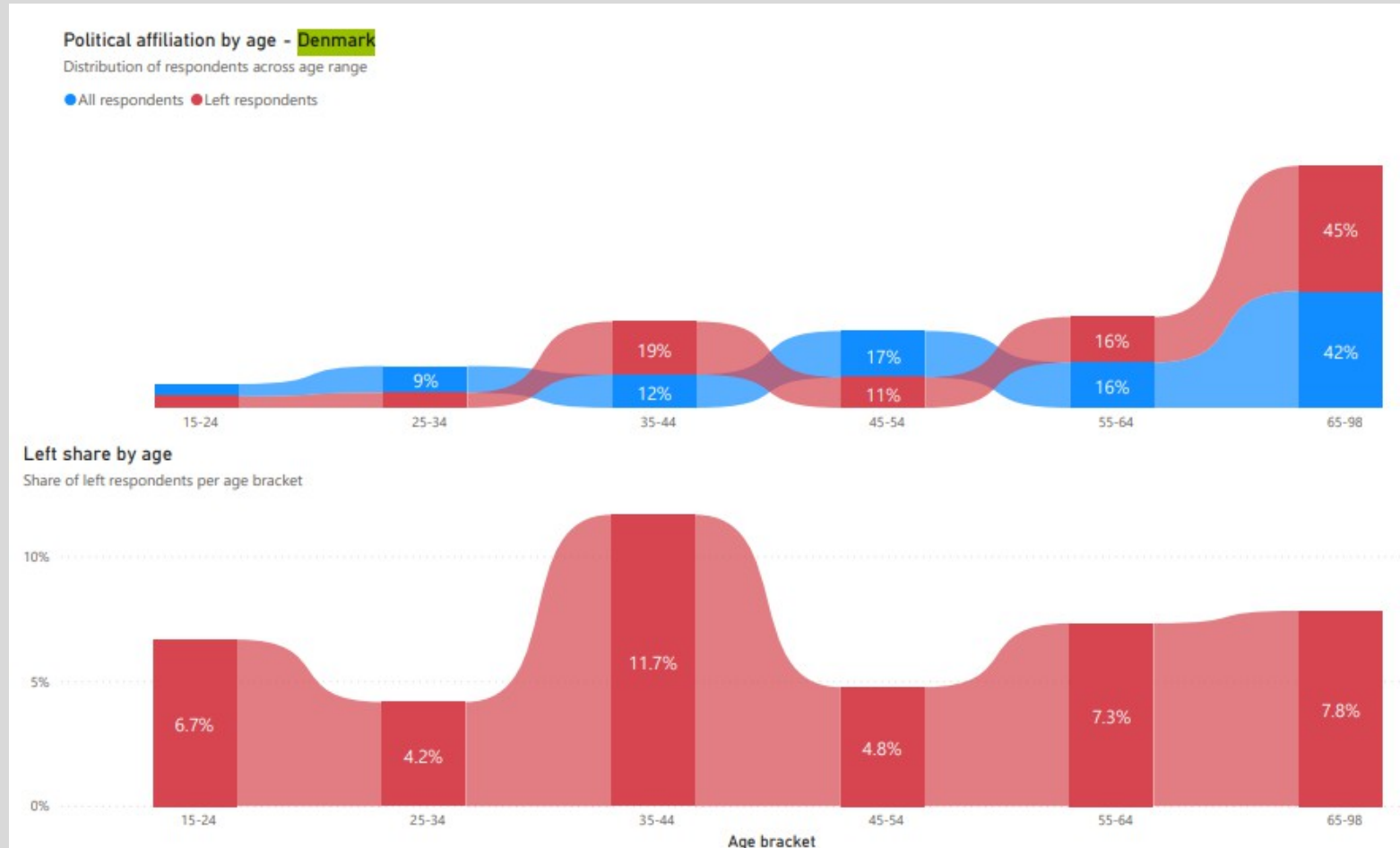
# Überlappende Wählerpotenziale zwischen Linken, Sozialdemokraten und Grünen



Quelle: Alanis 2024

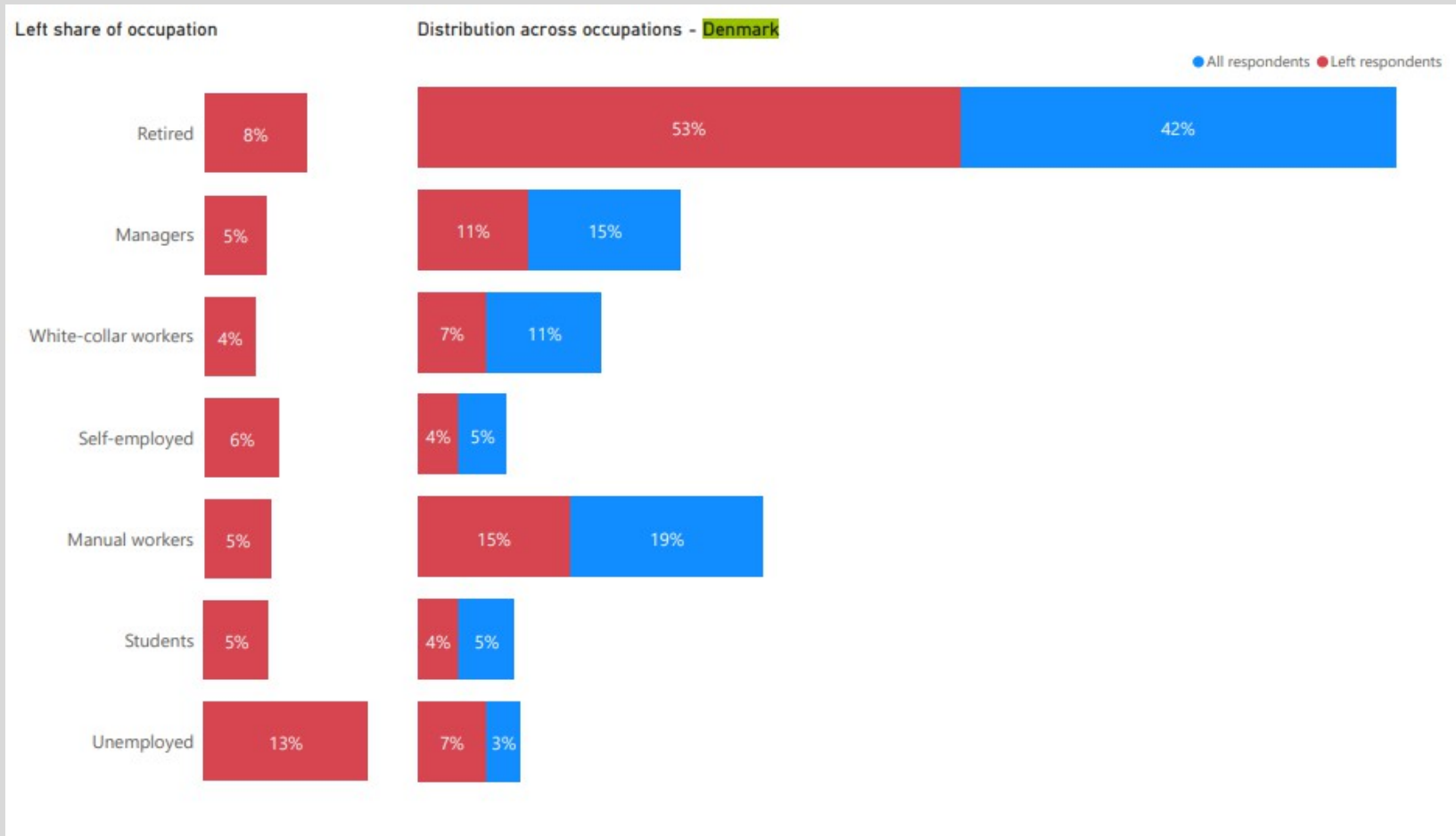
**EUROPEAN POLITICS FROM THE PEOPLE** For the Party of the European  
Left

# Age-structure of the leftwing-voters in Denmark



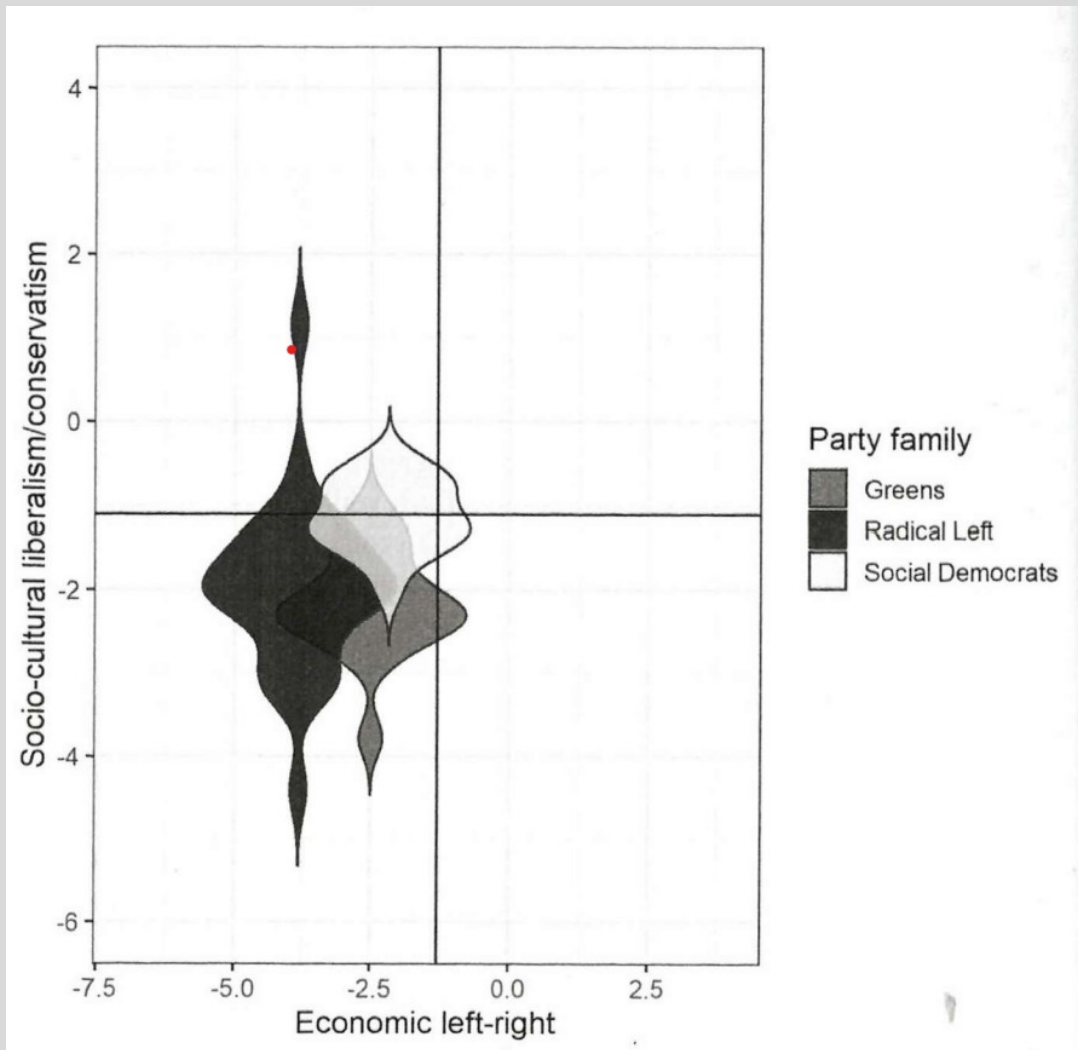
David Lundy presentation: the radical Left who are we? – Analysing and visualising the Eurobarometer data; david.lundy@ep.europa.eu

# Structure of activities/professions of the leftwing-voters in Denmark



David Lundy presentation: the radical Left who are we? – Analysing and visualising the Eurobarometer data; david.lundy@ep.europa.eu

# United and divided left



with regard to the left-right axis (socio-economic), the left parties are close together. Not so with regard to their socio-cultural orientation - here the widest spread



what to do:

## Working on the double upheaval: socio-ecologically and in terms of peace policy

- **Rethinking security as protection** against: war and crises, climate change and its consequences, against exploitation and oppression and any form of discrimination.  
..to think **security and future together**, problem: protection and security mostly goes along with sticking to the known, to think future + security - think change
- **Develop security concept in the ways to a sustainable peace** in security, solidarity and self-determination
- **Build welfare state and defend and expand social standards minimum standards** for social and societal infrastructures:  
for housing, energy, water, health, care, mobility, education,
- **culture against the tendencies of barbarization**: alternatives to the migration policy of the EU, development of alternative development, trade and economic policies - further development of the idea of social global rights
- **Development of a culture and policy of the dignity** of the individual and its recognition.