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Engaged in the democratic, social and ecological future of Europe

**How to set a future PES coherent programme to address
pollution and climate change?**

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Abstract

The family dilemma is not something new and it results from the heterogeneity that has characterized the social democratic family from its inception. The purpose of this paper is to argue that the environmental and climate change issues represents one of the most suitable policy area, where the Social Democratic members of the PES will be able to build a more coherent progressive programme. The PES Manifesto for European elections in 2009 and 2014, as well as the progressive integration of the principles of sustainability in the core values of many European Social Democratic parties, result in this will. Despite some differences that are existing in the response proposed by European Social Democratic parties to tackle climate change (e. g. the consensus in the abandonment of nuclear energy), there are common orientations in their national programmes, that are shared by the family. Concrete recommendations on how to build a more coherent progressive programme related to climate change at the European level are presented in the end of this paper. The article is based on primary sources: on the study of the PES Manifesto of 2009 and 2014 and on the comparative analysis of national programmes presented by four selected Social Democratic parties in Europe, respecting the diversity of historical constituents, the geographical differences and the participation in government during that period. That is why the study is focused on the Czech Social Democratic Party for Central and Eastern Europe, the Walloon Socialist Party in Belgium and the Portuguese Socialist Party for Western and Southern Europe and the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Sweden for Northern Europe.

Key words

PES Manifesto; Social Democratic parties; Party of European Socialists; energy; environment; climate change; sustainable development.

FEPS Young Academics Network

The FEPS Young Academics Network was established in March 2009 with an aim to gather promising progressive PhD candidates and young PhD researchers ready to use their academic experience in a debate about the Next Europe. Realised with the support of Renner Institut in the framework of the FEPS "Next Left" Research Programme, the project has gathered more than 50 members. Their exchanges and interdisciplinary research have resulted in a number of stimulating studies, providing a relevant contribution to the European progressive movement.

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Executive summary

Europe faces increasing inequalities between social classes and groups, as well as between cities, regions and states. For the European elections in 2019, the Party of European Socialists should be committed to fight against all existing inequalities in Europe: social, gender and environmental. Democracy, solidarity and sustainability are not options but conditions for a prosperous and successful European Union in the future. The paper argues that in this respect, ecology could play a more relevant role in public policies and should therefore be emphasized in structuring party competition. Social and democratic struggles endorsed by the Social Democratic family can no longer be disconnected with environmental challenges. The social model and the welfare state cannot be guaranteed if environment and climate change issues are not addressed. That is why, the success of Social Democratic parties in Europe will depend on their ability to defend social, democratic and ecological values and on their capacity to draw the desirable future for Europeans.

The aim of the article is to contribute to better interconnect environmental and energy priorities shared by European Social Democratic parties and how to integrate them within the future common PES Manifesto for the European Parliament elections in 2019. It shows that environmental issues are not anymore secondary to the Social Democratic party project and identity. The article demonstrates the increasing importance of the topic in the last years, through a detailed analysis of 2009 and 2014 PES Manifestos and electoral programmes and declaration of principles of four selected Social Democratic parties in Europe: the Walloon Socialist Party (*Parti Socialiste*, PS) in Belgium, the Czech Social Democracy (*Česká strana sociálně demokratická*, ČSSD) in Czech Republic, the Socialist Party (*Partido Socialista*, PS) in Portugal and the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Sweden (SAP, *Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti*).

Often considered as a problem, environment constitutes in fact an opportunity for the European Social Democratic family to rethink future social policies in Europe. Based on common positions of selected European Social Democratic parties and according to existing PES proposals in 2009 and 2014, the article concludes with five main priorities with concrete recommendations in environmental issues that should be defended by the Party of European Socialists in 2019:

- 1. Make the EU number one in the world in renewables and energy efficiency**
- 2. Make the EU the leading sustainable economy**
- 3. Make the financing of the EU ecological transition efficient and fair**
- 4. Make ecology beneficial for European citizens**
- 5. Involve EU citizens in the European common sustainable development strategy**

Concrete recommendations for each priority in details:

- 1. Make the EU number one in the world in renewables and energy efficiency**
 - Stand for an ambitious EU climate policy and contribute to make the EU and the Member states development policies related to climate change more coherent.
 - Revise ambitions upwards to at least 35% of renewables and 40% energy efficiency in 2030.
 - Define ambitious long-term 2030 and 2050 strategy and planning based on national binding targets on renewables and energy efficiency.
 - Insist on creating an appropriate governance and fixing a stable and clear legal framework that provide certainty for industries, technology providers, public authorities and consumers.

- 2. Make the EU the leading sustainable economy**
 - Promote job creation and employment in sustainable sectors of the economy.
 - Act together at the European level to support the professional reconversion of workers in strategic sectors (gas industry, nuclear sector, intensive agriculture, etc.).
 - Spur investments in education and training in sustainable industries and sectors.
 - Protect EU sustainable economy and Members states green industries and jobs, introducing indirect taxation on imported goods produced in third countries with high emissions or lower environmental and social standards.

- 3. Make the financing of the EU ecological transition efficient and fair**
 - Create specific new EU fund within the MFF that will finance fairly and efficiently EU ecological transition.
 - Determine possible revenues linked directly to EU environmental policies (CO₂ levy, a motor fuel levy, an electricity tax or inclusion of the European emission trade system proceeds, etc.) and based on already existing environmental taxation mechanisms introduced by Member states.
 - Use the possible introduction of a taxation on financial transactions to finance the EU ecological transition in the long-term.
 - Identify renewables and energy efficiency projects of common European interest in order to reduce system costs of their roll-out in Europe.

4. Make ecology beneficial for European citizens

- **Reconcile social objectives with environmental ambitions in future EU policies. Guarantee equal access to sustainable energy and less energy demanding housing and transports for the most socially deprived persons.**
- **Support large-scale initiatives of renovation of buildings alleviating fuel poverty in the EU.**
- **Facilitate the sustainable mobility of Europeans and reduce their bills in energy and public transports.**
- **Recognize and define at the European level the energy precariousness.**

5. Involve EU citizens in the European common sustainable development strategy

- **Support bottom-up and citizen-driven local initiatives (cooperatives, short distribution channels, self-generation, etc.) in achieving a more sustainable economy and society.**
- **Putting the citizen at the heart of the sustainable development strategy promoting environmentally-friendly and people-centred models in public and private dialogue.**
- **Protect consumers' rights first and fix the highest environmental and health standards of goods and services in the EU that are not negotiable in any future EU trade negotiations with third countries.**
- **Open and engage a truly interactive and large democratic consultation with civil society about the way to strengthen the relevance of the environmental protection and how to better link environmental rights with social rights.**

Introduction¹

The Party of European Socialists (PES) is the second largest transnational political party in the European Union. In order to become a bigger group in the European Parliament, a stronger political force in the European Union and a more coherent movement, the Social Democratic family needs to elaborate a common European progressive programme and a common electoral strategy for the European Parliament elections in 2019. Since the economic recession in 2008, the European Union is facing an unprecedented scope of challenges: employment, fiscal and transparency policies, migration issues, sustainable economy and energy security, etc. (Diamond, Liddle & Sage, 2015; Hilmer, 2016). Moreover, the European Union has to deal with all these topics, at a time when the positive citizens' reactions to the European integration are unceasingly decreasing (*Eurobarometer*, 2007 and 2013). Furthermore, this perception is shared in the Member states, where traditionally the attachment to the European Union was the strongest (e. g. Portugal or Italy).

Since the first European Parliament direct elections took place in 1979, the voter turnout has been on a consistently downward path². In the last two elections in 2009 and in 2014, the Party of European Socialists, maintained the same score at the European level: 25,4% in 2009 and 25,3% in 2014³. But comparing with the results in 1989 (34,7%), the PES reduced its share of representatives in the European Parliament of nearly 10 points in 20 years⁴. In fact, since 1989, and following the example of national legislative elections, European social democracy's performance in the European elections has constantly deteriorated. The factors are diverse and are not one-dimensional. The explanations are related to: (a) the declining participation in the electoral process that is affecting all parties without exceptions (Moschonas, 2011); (b) the electoral dilemma between the opportunity to enlarge their electoral base to include middle class and the risk of losing their traditional base (Przeworski, 1985; Przeworski and Sprague, 1986); (c) the difficult cohabitation by the heterogeneity of the economic and cultural expectations within the new electoral coalition (Kitschelt, 1994). On the one hand, workers' positions are on the left in respect of the economic questions, but closer to a less liberal orientations on the cultural ones (e. g. immigration, security etc.). On the other hand, on cultural questions, the middle class is more liberal and less traditional than the working class

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² The parallel declines in turnout at Member States' parliamentary elections.

³ The detailed results of the European elections in 2009 and in 2014 in www.europarl.europa.eu

⁴ *Ibid.*

(Kitschelt, 1994; Kriesi, 1994); (d) to the crisis of its project (Escalona, Vieira, De Waele, 2013). The June 2009 vote was a symbol. The election was held in the context of the crisis of the neoliberal model. In that period, the Social Democratic family in Europe found itself without a voice at the beginning, trying to define a common strategy and achieve consensus among all its components in the face of the current crisis.

In fact, the history and the national trajectories of social democrats in Europe are so diverse and the cleavage lines may not be superimposed from one country to the another one. Since 1992 and with the membership in 2004 of new Social Democratic members, the PES has already made important progress in its development as a strong and united transnational political party. It is essential to continue and to strengthen it further. A common European progressive programme constitutes a determinant and an unavoidable step in developing the PES as an European coherent political group and in building a common socialist future for Europe thanks to European progressive Manifesto for 2019. Moreover, the attachment to a more coherent S&D group as a political group in the European Parliament is - for the most part - shared by various MEPs that we had the opportunity to shortly interview on June 2016 in Brussels⁵. For some of them, the programmatic coherence of Socialists and Democrats represents one of the major challenges of the political group in the European Parliament⁶.

The family dilemma is not something new and it results from the heterogeneity that has characterized the Social Democratic family from its inception. But since 1980, the process of rapprochement between historic components, characterized by the "laborist" and "social-democratic" varieties of the family, has permitted to gradually, but not completely, erase their most distinctive characteristics. Some policy areas are still suffering from the exacerbated tendency to doctrinal conflicts. But there are two dynamics that were always commonly promoted and shared by all members of Social Democratic family: engagement in the democratic struggle and in the social struggle (Bergounioux, 1989; Eley, 2002). Today, these battles persist and are at the heart of the programme of the Party of European Socialists, but they are interrelated with a new one, the environmental combat.

Party coherence would be achievable on the issue of environment, on which party groups were generally less divided and more centrist (McElroy, Benoit, 2005). One of the key areas, where it seems that the Social Democratic members of the PES will be able to build a more coherent

⁵ Preliminary interviews held by the author with three S&D MEPs from various countries in June 2017.

⁶ *Ibid.*

progressive programme is in tackling climate change issues and improving the access to a more clear and green energy. Historically, Social Democratic parties and political parties of the Left, prefer to use regulatory measures and are more inclined to promote the intervention of the state (i.e. taxation, fiscal incentives, etc.) to fight pollution, energy poverty and build a more ambitious climate mitigation and environmental policy (Hanry-Knop, 2015). The importance given to regulatory measures and to role of the state, clearly distinguish the Left and Progressives parties from the Right and conservative parties (Ladrech, 2015).

According to different opinion polls in national countries and Eurobarometer, the climate change and environmental issue still represents one of the major citizens' concerns (Eurobarometer, 2014). Climate change, environment and energy are perceived in the top priority challenges that the EU is facing today (Eurobarometer, 2016). The importance of environmental issues is also identified at the national level (Eurobarometer, 2016). Its articulation with the role of the state, the economy and welfare, constitutes the ideological mission that social democracy wants to assume in its vision for a new society (Skrzypek, 2011). That is why Social Democrats should compete on green issues. The environmental question is closely linked to questions of reshaping economy, taming global capital and setting different rules for production, consumption and contributions. Environment is also a very relevant topic for Millennials and young generations. Millennials see state of the environment as one of the key factors which will influence their lives in the future (FEPS and AudienceNet, Millennial Dialogue surveys, 2016). They expect that their belief in this topic would be better linked in politics and express in concrete actions (Call to Europe VI., 2016).

The aim of the article is to contribute to better interconnect environmental concerns shared by European Social Democratic parties and how to integrate it within the future common PES Manifesto for the European Parliament elections in 2019. According to the existing literature, several areas in the European political party activity and programme are essential (Ladrech, 2002, 2002, 2007; Poguntke, 2007; Mair, 2007): a) policy and programmatic content; b) organizational aspects; c) patterns of party competition; d) party-government relations and e) relations beyond the national party system. This article is focused only on programmatic and policy content (a) related to environmental and energy issues. That is why, the efforts are concentrated on analysing the possible convergent issues within the European Social Democratic parties on these sectors and on focusing on European topics during the campaign and the possible ways of connections.

The article does not deal with the organisational aspects of electoral campaigns (e. g. campaign funding, common presidential candidate, etc.). The analysis is timely limited to the European elections in 2009 and 2014, when for the first time a common European manifesto was used. The article is based on the comparative study of the PES Manifesto of 2009 and 2014 European Parliament elections in connection with four of its member parties and their national programmes⁷: the Czech Social Democratic Party (*ČSSD, Česká strana sociálně demokratická*) for Central and Eastern Europe, the Walloon Socialist Party (*PS, Parti Socialiste*) in Belgium and the Portuguese Socialist Party (*PS, Partido Socialista*) for Western and Southern Europe and the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Sweden (*SAP, Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti*) for Northern Europe.

These four parties have been selected for several reasons: they are dominant left-wing parties in small and medium-sized member states that have joined the EU in distinct waves (constituent member, member of the EU-12, member of the EU-15 and member from the last and Eastern enlargement) and considerable ideological differences exist between them. Finally, at the time of the European elections in 2009, the Portuguese Socialist Party and the Walloon Socialist Party in Belgium were both in government⁸, but the Czech Social Democratic Party and the Swedish Social Democratic Workers' Party were in opposition. On the contrary, at the time of the European elections in 2014, the Czech Social Democratic Party was in the office and the Walloon and Portuguese Socialist Parties were both in opposition (see Table 1 below).

The first part of the article shows how progressively the importance of sustainable development, climate change and environmental issues became a core value in selected European Social Democratic programmes and how it is reflected in the electoral Manifestos of the Party of European

⁷ The analysis of national programmes of selected political parties was held by the author in their original languages (Czech, French, Portuguese & Swedish). Translations in the article are provided directly by the author, except the case of the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Sweden, where some parts of the selected national programmes were available in English.

⁸ The period between 2007-2011 is a period of tense political instability in Belgium rooted in various positions on the state reform. This period is characterized by various governmental formations and interim governments. The Walloon Socialist Party in Belgium took part of the government after the 2010 general elections and more than one and half year of negotiations.

Socialists in 2009 and 2014⁹. Despite existing differences about the way to address climate and sustainable development policies, the second part of the article highlights the existing common orientations in national programmes. These bases, shared by the Social Democratic family serve to build a more coherent progressive programme related to climate change at the European level. The article ends with several orientations with concrete recommendations in environmental issues that should be defended by the Party of European Socialists in its 2019 Manifesto.

Table 1: Presentation of selected European Social Democratic parties with their respective periods of governments between 2009 and 2014

Selected European S&D parties		Year of creation	Number of militants	Period(s) in government	Period(s) in opposition
<i>Parti Socialiste (PS)</i>	Belgium	1885 (1978)	81 491	2007 – 2010 2010 – 2014	2014 – today
<i>Česká strana sociálně demokratická (ČSSD)</i>	Czech Republic	1878	24 486	2013 – today (in coalition)	2006 – 2010 2010 – 2013
<i>Partido Socialista (PS)</i>	Portugal	1973	85 000	2005 – 2009 2009 – 2011	2011 – 2015
<i>Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti (SAP)</i>	Sweden	1881	103 203	2014 – today (in coalition)	2006 – 2010 2010 - 2014

Compiled by the author using data provided by Escalona F., De Waele, J-M., Vieira, M. (eds, 2013), *The Handbook of Social Democracy in European Union (2013)*

⁹ The value of manifestos and programmes for a political party could be discussed. See Kröger, Sandra, Friedrich, Dawid (2012). Political Representation in the EU: A Second Transformation? In *The Challenge of Democratic Representation in the European Union*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. p. 3-20.

1. The increasing importance of sustainable development, climate change and environmental issues in Social Democratic programme: from secondary policy to a core value

1.1. Sustainability: a core value for selected European Social Democratic parties

Environmental and sustainable development¹⁰ concerns were integrated progressively in Social Democratic programmes as well as in their statutes and declaration of principles. The importance given to the environmental and climate struggle, results in their incorporation in the PES Manifestos for European elections in 2009 and 2014.

The Walloon Socialist Party in Belgium (*Parti Socialiste*, PS) does not mention sustainable development in its core values or in its declaration of principles. The main values of the party are: solidarity, brotherhood, equality, justice and freedom¹¹. However, the environmental protection is part of the main programmatic priorities of the movement. 'Social ecology' is a key issue for the Socialist Party in Belgium¹².

For other Social Democratic parties, sustainability is recognized not only as a principle but a core value¹³. The Czech Social Democracy (*Česká strana sociálně demokratická*, ČSSD) considers 'the ecological reconstruction of our planet' as one of the main objectives of the party. The party insists in its declaration of principles, that is 'no longer a classical workers' party', but 'a modern movement attached to old and new emancipated movements, included the ecological one' (see Table 2). Sustainable development is one of the seven core values of the Czech Social Democracy among 'respect of human beings, 'freedom and responsibility', 'equality', 'solidarity', 'social justice', 'human democracy'. In the declaration of core values, the party highlights its support for 'sustainable development, that is regardful to nature and to the treatment of natural resources'. The party emphasized also its objective 'to cultivate respect for all living beings on this planet'¹⁴.

¹⁰ Sustainable development is a development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs *In* Brundtland Commission (World Commission on Environment and Development), 1983. A glossary with is included (see p. 59).

¹¹ See the website of the Walloon Socialist Party in Belgium: www.ps.be

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ There are various definitions concerning the term of "value" *In* Keeney, R. L. (1999), *Value Focused Thinking. A Path to Creative Decision-making*. Harvard university press, p. 3.

¹⁴ See the website: www.cssd.cz/program/hodnoty-cile-a-principy-cssd

In October 2010, the Socialist Party in Portugal adopted a new declaration of principles. Among twenty principles, two of them were directly related to sustainable development and sustainable economy. The *Partido Socialista* stands for ‘an economy with social and well-being dimensions’. ‘The concern for human rights, sustainable development and upward mobility should be incorporated in the institutional regulation of the economy’. Then, the Socialist Party of Portugal declares its commitment ‘to promote the environmental protection and sustainable development in all public policies¹⁵’.

Table 2: Definition of sustainability as a core value in the statutes or in the declaration of principles of selected European Social Democratic parties

Selected European S&D parties	Definition of sustainability as a core value in statutes or in the declaration of principles
<i>Parti Socialiste</i> (BE)	No reference to sustainable development as a core value in the declaration of principles
<i>Česká strana sociálně demokratická</i> (CZ)	Sustainable development is a core value for the party: ‘We support a sustainable development, that is regardful to nature and to the treatment of natural resources (...). We want to cultivate respect for all living beings on this planet.’
<i>Partido Socialista</i> (PT)	Sustainable development is part of the party declaration of principles: ‘For an economy with social dimension and well-being dimensions’. ‘The concern for human rights, sustainable development and upward mobility should be incorporated in the institutional regulation of the economy.’ ‘Promote the environmental protection and sustainable development in all public policies.’
<i>Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti</i> (SE)	Sustainable development is a core value for the party: ‘A long-term economically, socially and ecologically sustainable development.’

Compiled by the author using data from statutes and declaration of principles of selected European Social Democratic parties in Belgium, Czech Republic, Portugal and Sweden.

¹⁵ See the website: www.ps.pt

The Social Democratic Workers' Party of Sweden (SAP, *Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti*) has a long record of calling for ecological solutions. The traditional 'folkhemmet', a Swedish middle way between socialism and capitalism, promoted by the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Sweden between the 30s and 70s, were the party was in power, was re-adjusted to new circumstances as a 'green folkhemmet'. A 'long-term economically, socially and ecologically sustainable development'¹⁶ is one of the main purposes of the party's principles.

The Walloon Socialist Party in Belgium prefers to employ the term of 'social ecology' than sustainable development or sustainable growth. In its discourse, the party links environmental inequalities to social ones (see Table 3). Convinced by the market failure, public support measures are at the heart of the environmental programme of the Walloon Socialist Party in Belgium.

According to the Socialist Party in Portugal, the state plays also an essential role in regulating the market and taking into consideration the social and sustainable criteria. These criteria are also inevitable in defining new public policies. Therefore, the party insists on the precautionary principle and on its application in all public policies¹⁷. The public awareness on sustainable development is crucial for the Socialist Party in Portugal and the behavioural change is one of the most important challenges in the future¹⁸.

Eight main programmatic priorities were highlighted by the Czech Social Democracy: the development of democracy, the development of the welfare state, fiscal policies, the development of the economy, environment, the knowledge society, EU, security and the world around us. The environmental protection is one of them, but references to it as well as to sustainable development are included in all previously mentioned priorities. The Czech Social Democratic Party is committed in its economic priorities, to 'support sustainable growth' and to 'reduce cost and environmentally demanding production' and in its fiscal policies, to introduce 'ecological fiscal reform with enhanced taxes on products and services damaging the environment'¹⁹.

¹⁶ In SAP's Constitution adopted in 2015.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ See the website: <https://www.cssd.cz/program/hodnoty-cile-a-principy-cssd>

Table 3: References to sustainable development and sustainable economy in programmatic priorities of selected European Social Democratic parties

Selected European S&D parties	References to sustainable development and sustainable economy in programmatic priorities
<i>Parti Socialiste (BE)</i>	‘To protect the environment and to ensure economic and social progress, we need social ecology (...). ‘Environmental and social inequalities are closely intertwined’.
<i>Česká strana sociálně demokratická (CZ)</i>	‘Support sustainable growth (...). ‘Reduce cost and environmentally demanding production (...). ‘Introduce ecological fiscal reform with enhanced taxes on products and services damaging the environment (...).’
<i>Partido Socialista (PT)</i>	‘Enforce precautionary principle in all public policies’. ‘Sustainable development should be part of the behavioural change of all citizens (...).’ Principles of sustainable development should be massively spread’.
<i>Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti (SE)</i>	‘More sustainable country and knowledge based society (...).’ ‘To become a climate-smart society (...).’

Compiled by the author using data from programmatic priorities of selected European Social Democratic parties in Belgium, Czech Republic, Portugal and Sweden.

For the Social Democratic Party in Sweden, the articulation of sustainable development in the main programmatic priorities is firmly fixed. The new jobs agenda adopted in Sweden in 2015, is elaborated considering all necessary reforms to pursue the transformation of the Swedish economy to a ‘more sustainable one’ and to a knowledge based society²⁰. Climate change is perceived by the political party as an opportunity to adapt the country’s economy and industry to be less environmentally damaging and ‘to become a climate-smart society²¹. In this sense, reforms in achieving environmental and sustainable objectives are associated mainly to economy and society based on technologies and knowledge. The aim is to contribute to the country’s pole position in climate and environmental adaptation within the EU and at the international level. For this purpose, dialogue and investments in close cooperation with business, industry and civil society in energy,

²⁰ In *New Jobs Agenda* adopted by the Social Democratic Party in Sweden in 2015.

²¹ *Ibid.*

housing, transports, education and digitalization are stressed in the programme of the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Sweden (see Table 3 above).

1.2. The increasing importance of environmental and climate change issues in PES Manifestos

Climate change mitigation, sustainable economy and growth, sustainable energy transition and consumption are integrated part of the core values and declaration of principles of the selected European Social Democratic parties. The comparison of PES Manifestos used during the European elections in 2009 and 2014, shows the increasing importance accorded to environmental, energy and climate change issues.

The elaboration of the Manifesto of the Party of European Socialists is always depending on consensus and compromises between the different national components of the party. The elaboration of manifesto concerning these topics was also affected by the European and international context: the financial and economic crisis in 2008 and 2009, the gas dispute between Russia and transit-country Ukraine on energy security in 2009, the continuous climate negotiations in Copenhagen in 2009²² or in Durban in 2011²³ and new trade negotiations (e. g. Tafta) in 2013²⁴.

In order to measure and compare pro-climate passages in the Manifesto of PES in 2009 and 2014, references to climate change were dis-aggregated into climate change mitigation and greenhouse emissions (see Table 4), sustainable energy production and consumption (see Table 5), sustainable transports and mobility (see Table 6) and to sustainable economy and growth with references to employment and R&D (see Table 7). Other topics, notably references to sustainable agriculture and food production, as well as healthy environment and waste management are also shortly developed in the end of this part.

The 2009 European Parliament elections was the first in which transnational party federations were given an explicit right to campaign. This election was also dominated by issues requiring a

²² The Copenhagen Accord was a non-binding document negotiated by the leaders of some 30 countries in the final hours of the conference. The Accord was not adopted as a UN decision but has been endorsed by over 140 UNFCCC Parties. All key elements were subsequently formalised in Cancún in 2010.

²³ The Conference in Durban in 2011 served to negotiate a new global legal framework covering all countries by 2015. The idea was to make the Cancún Agreements operational.

²⁴ In 2013 EU governments gave the Commission a mandate to negotiate Tafta or TTIP (Transatlantic Trade Investment Partnership) with the US.

coordinated European response, such as recession and climate change (Lightfoot, 2010). The Party of European Socialists was united in supporting the Lisbon Treaty and set out its priorities as: safeguarding employment and living standards (*Relaunching the economy and preventing new financial crisis*); promoting social justice, security and fairness (*New Social Europe, championing gender equality and leading partner for peace, security and development*) and tackling climate change (*transforming Europe into the leading global force against climate change*)²⁵. The term of ‘climate change’ is mentioned 21 times in the 31 pages’ document.

The 2014 European Parliament elections were the first elections after the adoption of Lisbon Treaty and where major political groups, each nominated a ‘Spitzenkandidat’ for the Commission presidency. Former President of the European Parliament and member of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD, *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands*), Martin Schulz, was the lead candidate for the Party of European Socialists. The PES Manifesto entitled ‘Towards a New Europe’ and composed of 11 pages, was shorter and more synthetic than the 2009 PES Manifesto. However, the role foreseen for a manifesto was also different. In 2013, Fundamental Programme was adopted by PES²⁶ and the idea behind its writing was more of an appeal to electorate. In this sense, the manifesto adopted for the 2014 European elections was more related to the personality of the lead candidate, Martin Schulz²⁷. In the 2014 Manifesto, the term of ‘climate change’ is mentioned once in the 9th chapter, entitled ‘A Green Europe’.

1.2.1. Climate change in PES Manifestos in 2009 and 2014

Both manifestos highlight the leading and exemplary role of the European Union in international negotiations and in the world against climate change (see Table 4). In both documents, PES maintains its support for binding targets on the reduction of greenhouse gas (GHG) and carbon emissions. The importance of EU support for developing countries in combating climate change is also mentioned (e. g. Millennium Development Goals, MDGs). However, the indication of clear targets in climate change mitigation for 2030 and 2050 is abandoned²⁸. The 2030 climate and energy framework, adopted by

²⁵ In The 2009 PES Manifesto.

²⁶ PES Fundamental Programme: www.pes.eu/oc/en/

²⁷ Based on discussions with Dr. Ania Skrzypek in May 2017.

²⁸ The EU climate and energy package adopted in 2009, fixed a 20% reduction of greenhouse emissions by 2020 compared with 1990 levels. In 2011, the European Commission presented an ambitious roadmap for 2050 with a 25% reduction of greenhouse emissions by 2020 compared with 1990 levels (and with a reduction of 40% by 2030, 60% by 2040 and between 80% and 95% by 2050). But arguing against the measures and their negative

EU leaders in October 2014, sets a binding target to cut emissions in EU territory by at least 40% below 1990 levels by 2030. The recently adopted EU’s winter climate and energy package in November 2016, confirmed EU’s commitment to cut CO₂ emissions by at least 40% by 2030²⁹.

Table 4: References to climate change in PES Manifestos in 2009 and 2014 European elections

Climate change		Party of European Socialists (PES)	
		Manifesto 2009	Manifesto 2014
Climate change	General objective	‘Transform the Union into the leading global force against climate change.’	‘The EU must regain global leadership against pollution & climate change.’
	Climate change mitigation & GHG	‘Introduce a competitive EU climate directive with targets & actions in all sectors.’ ‘Increase EU support for developing countries to fight climate change.’ ‘Ensure that EU policies will not lead to higher GHG emissions.’ ‘Meet the 30% emission reduction target by 2020.’	‘Support further binding targets on the reduction of carbon emissions.’ ‘Promote MDGs and the UN post 2015 agenda.’

Compiled by the author using data from PES Manifestos (2009 and 2014)

1.2.2. Sustainable energy production and consumption in PES Manifestos in 2009 and 2014

Regardless of evolution in international climate change talks and due to the nature of the energy policy, as a shared competence between the Union and the member states, the progress in energy transition and efficiency is variable for each member states. However, the 2020 energy goals fix: 20% of EU energy (on the basis of consumption) from renewables and 20% improvement in energy efficiency. The 2030 climate and energy framework contains a binding target at EU level to boost the share of renewables to at least 27% of EU energy consumption by 2030 and at least 27% energy saving target by 2030 in energy efficiency.

effects on the European industry, the Council rejected in June 2011 a further hardening of the EU climate policies with intermediate targets.

²⁹ In the website of the European Commission: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-16-4009_en.htm

Both manifestos highlight the leadership of the EU in energy in the world (see Table 5). Both documents prioritise also the improvement of energy efficiency and the increase of renewable energy in the EU's energy mix. A regulatory energy framework is generally privileged by the Party of European Socialists, but fixed targets and actions at the EU level are not mentioned in both electoral documents. However, both manifestos are ambitious in the way how these priorities should be financed through the European Investment Bank (EIB) and the European Structural and Investment Fund (ESIF). In this sense, the 2009 PES Manifesto emphasised the importance of investments in energy infrastructures and networks in Europe. In order to improve renewable energy supply, the programme suggested building a High Voltage Electricity Transmission Network for the transportation of offshore wind energy from North West Europe and solar energy from Southern Europe and North Africa.

Access to energy for everyone and the promotion of stronger rules for energy consumers are also at the heart of both manifestos. In 2014, fighting energy poverty and helping vulnerable energy consumers in coordinated way at the EU level was developed as a main progressive proposal that combines social and environmental measures at the same time by the party. Today, between 50 and 125 million of inhabitants of the EU are concerned by energy precariousness³⁰.

If both manifestos seem to be very similar in the way how they deal with energy and climate change issues, especially concerning the promotion of energy efficiency and renewable, various evolutions related to specific topics could be observed: the energy independence and security, the place of energy consumers, the avoidance strategy related to nuclear and fossil energy, the intangible dimensions in transport policies and the lack of ambition in environmental fiscal policies.

³⁰ The variability is related to the differences in the definition of energy precariousness and energy vulnerability by each member state. There is not a common definition at EU level.

Table 5: References to sustainable energy production and consumption in PES Manifestos in 2009 and 2014 European elections

Sustainable energy production & consumption		Party of European Socialists (PES)	
		Manifesto 2009	Manifesto 2014
Sustainable energy production & consumption	General objective	'Lead and define a long-term vision for energy & sustainable development of the planet.'	'EU must regain global leadership on the protection of natural resources.'
	Energy efficiency & consumption (building-insulation sector)	'Funding energy-efficiency improvements in homes.' 'Help people cope with rising fuel prices by reducing their energy consumption.'	'Improve energy efficiency.' 'Help citizens to reduce their energy bills & ecological footprint.'
	Energy affordability, access & costumers' rights	'Ensuring that energy companies pricing & customer policies are fair and responsible.'	'Fight energy poverty & guarantee minimum access to energy for everyone.'
	Energy infrastructures & renewable energies	'Multi-billion investments in developing networks and new cross-border grids.' 'Increase use of renewable energy & its renewable energy supply.'	'Implement Project Bonds to finance good investments in renewable energy & technology.' 'Increase use of renewable energy.'
	Fossil fuels & Nuclear energy	'Each member state decides on whether to use nuclear power.' 'Monitor existing & new nuclear plants (EU coordination).'	<i>No mention</i>
	Energy security & independence	'Increase EU energy independency.' 'Develop an EU Common energy policy based on sustainability, security & independence.'	<i>No mention</i>

Compiled by the author using data from PES Manifesto (2009 and 2014)

The redaction of the 2009 PES Manifesto was influenced by the energy crisis due to the gas dispute in 2009. The EU already imports more than half of all the energy it consumes, that is why the

importance of energy independency and diversity of energy sources were essential, as well as the development of an EU Common energy policy based on solidarity between member states in time of energy crisis. Developing environmentally friendly energy sources produced in EU should increase the EU independence³¹. The terms of 'energy independence', 'energy security' or 'energy union' are completely missing in the 2014 PES Manifesto, although the idea of an Energy Union was already elaborated, in that time by the French socialist and former President of the European Commission, Jacques Delors.

Then, the consumers power, which was secondary in the 2009 PES Manifesto, was at the heart of the 2014 PES document. The Climate and Energy packages that were successfully adopted by the European Commission have raised its concerns for consumers' rights in the internal EU energy market. With the rising importance given to consumers, other topics essential to start the European energy transition and decarbonization were at the same time neglected. If the 2009 PES Manifesto recognizes the right of each Member state on whether to use nuclear power, the 2014 has no more position and no less ambition on that topic. Both documents do not mention any steps how to reduce fossil fuel subsidisation that has an unprecedented impact on environment, employment and other effects on the economy. The introduction of more environmentally friendly fiscal policies is also missing.

1.2.3. Sustainable transports and mobility in PES Manifestos in 2009 and 2014

A coherent and holistic approach to climate change should be accompanied with clear vision for future sustainable transports and mobility in Europe. Both manifestos agree on the importance to transform transports in EU into the most efficient, affordable and clean ones for EU citizens (see Table 6).

The 2009 PES Manifesto is very detailed in proposals to improve each system for transport and to reinforce their interconnection: air transport, maritime and inland waterway transport or rail transports. Biofuels represent an issue for consideration and PES committed itself to review the future EU's Biofuel Directive with respect to environmental protection, biodiversity and the global food production. Then, a specific attention is given to the promotion of sustainable urban mobility across Europe.

³¹ The EU import dependency is particularly high for crude oil (more than 90%) and natural gas (66%). The total import bill is more than € 1 billion per day *In* the website of the European Commission: <http://ec.europa.eu/energy/en/topics/energy-strategy/energy-security-strategy>

Table 6: References to sustainable transports and mobility in PES Manifestos in 2009 and 2014 European elections

Sustainable transports & mobility		Party of European Socialists (PES)	
		Manifesto 2009	Manifesto 2014
Sustainable transports & mobility	General objective	‘Transform transport into the most efficient, affordable & clean for people & business’	‘Mobility patterns must change.’
	Air transport	‘Create an integrated airspace to shorten flying times.’	<i>No mention</i>
	Rail transport	‘Build a more competitive & affordable high speed rail network between EU cities.’	
	Maritime & Inland waterway transport	‘A more efficient, cleaner and safer for workers & passengers.’	
	Road transport	<i>No mention</i>	
	Biofuels	‘Review the EU’s biofuels Directive with respect to environment & food production.’	
	Transport network & Safety	‘Making it easier to switch between rail and other types of transport.’ ‘Improve safety on all types of transports.’	
	Sustainable urban mobility	‘Promote sustainable urban mobility across Europe (EU cooperation).’ ‘Transform our city transport systems.’	

Compiled by the author using data from PES Manifestos (2009 and 2014)

The 2014 PES Manifesto is poor in measures and actions concerning transports. Transport is the sector with the highest final energy consumption and, without any significant policy changes in the last decades. Moreover, according to the provisions of the International Energy Agency, is forecast to remain so, if transport energy efficiency measures are not progressively and continuously adopted (IEA, 2010). The employment, mainly in the car industry, but also in rail and air industry was one of the major concerns during the economic crisis in Europe and it is still a critical issue for most member states and Social Democratic parties.

1.2.4. Sustainable economy and growth in PES Manifestos in 2009 and 2014

The economic crisis that affected seriously the European Union in 2008 and 2009 had an important impact on the integration of sustainable and economic growth in both manifestos. The balance between the ambitious climate change mitigation policies and the EU economic competitiveness represents a constant debate not only between the left and the right, but also inside the Social Democratic parties. In 2009 European Parliament elections, the Party of European Socialists with an 'European strategy for smart green growth and jobs', was not the only European political party, who was pushing an agenda for a better and greener economy. The European People's Party (EPP) developed a strategy for 'New jobs and greening economy', the Alliance for Liberals and Democrats for Europe Party (ALDE), campaigned for 'EU single market growth and employment'. In fact, the policy alternatives between the main Europarties were relatively limited and all these strategies sound very similar to the electorate (Külhaci and Lightfoot, 2014).

Both manifestos campaign for improving and transforming the EU economy into a smart and green one (see Table 7 above). The Party of European Socialists has committed in the 2009 Manifesto to stimulate 'green growth' - expression that was not clearly defined in the document. The 2014 Manifesto privileged the term of 'smart economy', which does not necessarily mean a more sustainable one.

The last Manifesto abounds the ambition of creating primordially new jobs (approx. 2 million) in renewable energy. Moreover, the campaigning document calls for smart reindustrialisation policy. This topic reflects the internal conflict within the Social Democratic family, between the productivist left in favour of go-slow climate policy and the ecological one committed to ambitious climate policy. At the same time, the 2014 Manifesto highlights the responsible and sustainable management of public funding, which refers to the pragmatic left committed to reining in budget deficits and public debt.

Both Manifestos agree on the importance of investing in research and innovation (R&D). The role of training and education for green jobs in the future is also highlighted in both documents. The 2009 Manifesto suggests to create a specific Fund for skills programme through the current EU budget. Funding consecrated to research and innovation is supported in both documents. However, concrete measures and actions are not detailed.

Table 7: References to sustainable economy & growth (jobs, R&D) in PES Manifestos in 2009 and 2014 European elections

Sustainable economy & growth (jobs, R&D)		Party of European Socialists (PES)	
		Manifesto 2009	Manifesto 2014
Sustainable economy & growth (jobs, R&D)	General objective	‘Transform our economy through new smart green growth & jobs.’	‘Improve the performance of the economy and support clean technologies & environmentally friendly production.’ ‘Build smart economy’
	Growth	‘Stimulate together smart green growth through structural reforms & fiscal policies.’	‘Prioritize smart reindustrialisation policy.’ ‘Bring down deficits in a sustainable & fair way.’
	Education & training	‘Train workers across EU for the green jobs of the future.’	‘Prioritize training to create jobs.’
	Research funding	‘Make the EU a world leader in innovation and green technologies’ ‘Raise investments in R&D for new smart green growth.’	‘Promote innovative green technologies.’

Compiled by the author using data from PES Manifestos (2009 and 2014)

Other topics related to the protection of the environment are stressed within the 2009 and 2014 PES Manifestos. Both documents highlight concerns for agriculture and farmers. Agriculture is mentioned once in the 2014 PES Manifesto in the chapter 7, entitled ‘A safe and healthy life for all’: ‘We recognize the strategic role of agriculture and fisheries for our societies and we want to promote a sustainable and thriving rural development³²’. The 2009 PES Manifesto urges to modernize the Common Agriculture Policy meeting sustainable criteria, but without presenting concrete steps how to achieve it³³.

Concerning health life and access to healthcare, the Party of European Socialists is traditionally committed to the guarantee of the welfare state and its universal access to public services, including

³² In 2014 PES Manifesto.

³³ In 2009 PES manifesto

access to healthcare. The last two Manifestos are inscribed in this approach. On contrary, the improvement of waste management, the introduction of measures promoting circular economy and fighting against the planned obsolescence of domestic appliances and other electrical products are completely missing in both documents³⁴. The circular economy is emerging as a topic for the Party of European Socialists in 2015³⁵, with the adoption by the Commission of the New Circular Economy Package³⁶. If the fight against tax fraud and tax evasion as well as for fair tax policies is at the heart of both manifestos, there is no reference to environmental taxation³⁷.

The concern for the climate and environmental protection was integrated progressively within the programmes of selected European Social Democratic parties and the PES Manifestos. For some of them, excepting the Walloon *Parti Socialiste* in Belgium, sustainable development became a core value or part of the declaration of principles of the party.

The Party of European Socialists emphasises the exemplary role of the EU in leading international negotiations against climate change and its support for binding targets that are not ciphered. In energy transition, the Party of European Socialists prioritises in both documents, the promotion of stronger rules for energy consumers, the improvement of energy efficiency and the share of renewables in the EU's energy mix. Any strategic orientation that arises possible internal conflict, like the communautarisation of the energy issue, the future of nuclear energy and fossil fuels within the EU or the development of energy infrastructures, was removed. The Party of European Socialists was committed to improve the affordability, efficiency and sustainability of transports, as well as their interconnection. But the sector remains without significant environmental policy changes between 2009 and 2014. The repercussions of the Volkswagen emissions scandal, 'dieselgate' contributed to review the legislation on car emissions in 2015.

Concerning the economy, the Party of European Socialists campaigned for a greener economy. At the European level, terms employed by the Party of European Socialists evolved and moved on between 2009 and 2014. In 2009, the PES focused its attention on 'sustainable development', 'green growth'

³⁴ In 2009 and 2014 PES Manifesto.

³⁵ A position paper on Circular Economy was published by the S&D group in September 2015: http://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/sites/default/files/position_paper/Circular_economy_150930_en.pdf

³⁶ The New Circular Economy Package was adopted by the European Commission in December 2015: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-15-6203_en.htm

³⁷ In 2009 and 2014 PES Manifestos.

and 'green jobs'. In 2014, the term of 'sustainable development' is absent, as well as 'green growth' in PES Manifesto. Following words are replaced by the unique reference to 'green economy' that should be promoted by the Party of European Socialists within the next legislation³⁸. Comparing to other European political parties (EPP, ALDE), PES was not the only one who was pushing an agenda for a better and greener economy in that period. Unable to demark itself on one of the most electorally relevant issue, the Party of European Socialists should put reflections on the future orientations of the European economy and its sustainability at the heart of the next 2019 European Manifesto.

If few topics related to the environmental protection and climate policies in PES Manifestos, are influenced by the agenda, in particular by the negotiations around trade agreements, some other of them seems to be constantly missing, like the environmental taxation, the support of social economy and circular economy. Changes in PES Manifestos are also the result of the evolution of terms used in electoral programmes of European Social Democratic parties. That is why, the analysis of adjustments and changes in environmental and climate issues in programmes of the Walloon *Parti Socialiste* (PS) in Belgium, the *Česká strana sociálně demokratická* (ČSSD) in Czech Republic, the *Partido Socialista* (PS) in Portugal and the *Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti* in Sweden, will serve to complete the study and identify possible common and convergent concerns related to that topic.

³⁸ In 2014 PES Manifesto.

2. Common response to tackle climate change across different Social Democratic parties in Europe

2.1. Challenges in environment across European Social Democratic parties in Europe

The heterogeneity has characterized the Social Democratic family from its inception. The differences could be more profound, when they are related to the ideological purposes that have resulted from the various, sometimes singular, national trajectories of Social Democratic parties in Europe. The Social Democratic family is united in its consideration that the protection of the environment and tackling the climate change are key issues that Europe and the world are currently facing. The integration of sustainable development in core values of selected European Social Democratic parties is one concrete example. It is also reflected in the last 2009 and 2014 PES Manifestos. However, a discrepancy in concepts, means and measures promoted by Social Democratic parties in Europe is still tangible. The article emphasises the main challenges related to the environment and climate change that are dividing today the European Socialist family. The study is based on the comparative analysis of electoral programmes (used between 2009 and 2014) of selected European Social Democratic parties in Belgium, Czech Republic, Portugal and Sweden.

2.1.1. Environmental concerns in electoral programmes of selected European Social Democratic parties

In Belgium, throughout of the 2000s, both socialist parties (Flemish socialists and Walloon socialists) promoted environmental measures (Delwit, 2013). The *Parti Socialiste* in Belgium dedicates its programme to social insurance and social protection (PS, 2010 & 2014). The case of Greece is used as 'dramatic example' that should be avoid (PS, 2010).

Concerning the environment, the Walloon Socialist Party in Belgium supports a 'social ecology at the heart of the society'³⁹. The Walloon Socialist Party in Belgium stands up for a model of social ecology. According to the *Parti Socialiste* and its programme in 2010, the main role should be played by the state in regulation (e. g.: by 'reducing inequalities in the society', by 'limiting the waves of privatisations', by 'questioning neoliberalism', by 'fighting against the deterioration of the environment', etc.), in assistance (e. g.: by promoting social and economic evaluation) and in exemplarity (at the instigation of public authorities of the social and environmental change)⁴⁰ to embody this transition to a more sustainable society. To sum up, each environmental measure is

³⁹ One out of 33 proposals, the 14th, entitled "Une société qui s'inscrit dans une écologie sociale", is related to environment. *In* Programme du Parti Socialiste in Belgium, 2010.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

going with a social one and both are closely intertwined in the *Parti Socialiste* 2010 and 2014 programmes.

In Czech Republic, the Czech Social Democracy seems to have been neglected the ecological theme for a long time in the platform, and even severely at a disadvantage compared to other topics that are perceived as more important, including economic and social transformations as well as the nuclear option (Perottino, Polášek, 2013). The surge of the Green Party (*Strana Zelených*) and especially its electoral raise in 2000s, has led the Czech Social Democracy to strengthen its programmatic positions on that issue. Today, sustainability is part of the party's core values and environmental issues are not anymore secondary to the party's project and identity according to its programmes between 2009 and 2015. However, comparing to other European Social Democratic parties, the articulation of the environmental issue is still, in some fields, different.

Concerning the protection of the environment, three main programmatic topics are stable in the electoral programmes of *Česká strana sociálně demokratická* in Czech Republic between 2009 and 2014. Firstly, the support for nuclear energy that is perceived as the best choice to ensure country's energy sufficiency and autonomy and, at the same time, a more decarbonized energy production and consumption. Secondly, national-oriented considerations to the protection of the environment are predominant. The international and European perspective is introduced lightly with the following terms: 'take part in international solutions in protecting the environment' (2009 & 2010) or 'take part in international talks to reduce climate change' (2013 & 2014).

In fact, the Czech Social Democratic Party supports during this period 'energy autarchy and independence' (2009 & 2010; 2013 & 2014), facilitated by 'reducing the electricity purchase abroad' (2009 & 2010). The autonomy is desirable in other matters than just in energy: 'increase food autarchy' (2009 & 2010) or 'the inalienability of national forests' (2009 & 2010; 2013 & 2014). Thirdly, the preoccupation for the country's development is significant. The Czech Social Democracy advocates for pursue of the country's development in all sectors: the development of the country's industry, the development of the country's agriculture or the development of the country's network of transports, etc. (CSSD, 2010 & 2013). In this sense, the Czech Social Democracy has constantly supported the necessity of construction of new highways (CSSD, 2010 & 2013).

Environmental issues are a marginal topic for Portuguese public opinion and have played a minor role in structuring party competition. Therefore, ecology deserves little attention in party manifestos

and electoral campaigns (Lisi, 2013). Despite this, the Socialist Party in Portugal adopted since 2005, when it was part of the government, an ambitious programme to implement renewable sources of energy, by increasing the production of wind power and hydroelectricity. However, this effort has not reduced the significant gap between Portugal and other European countries in the use of renewable energy (Lisi, 2013).

The *Partido Socialista* in Portugal defends in its programme 'a sustainable environment for human beings with employment and growth'. In 2011, the Portuguese Socialist Party supports four main commitments concerning the environmental and climate policy. The first one is focused on more green economy based on energy efficiency and renewable. The second commitment is related to preservation and conservation programmes, especially of country's national parks. The third commitment is focused on water, particularly on the revitalization of Portuguese rivers. The last commitment is oriented towards the improvement of the sustainable regional and local development. The main topics underpinned by the Socialist Party in Portugal in its programme in 2011 are similar to those identified in 2009⁴¹. The principal difference lied in the environmental taxation, which was introduced in the party programme in 2009 and disappeared in 2011.

Environment is closely interlinked within the electoral programmes of the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Sweden. Very early, the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Sweden called for a new view of economic rationality, new directions in social planning and for individual responsibility for the use of resources. The environmental considerations should be built into production processes from the beginning. After the Three Mile Island accident in the US in 1979, Sweden became one of the leading anti-nuclear states in the world. The Social Democratic Workers' Party of Sweden agreed very early on the process of phasing out the country's nuclear power stations and decided to ban the construction of new plants. In 2000s, the Social Democratic leader, Göran Persson called for a 'green folkhemmet', trying to reuse the popular slogan of the party. However, green issues remain divisive within the party. In fact, a large part of the party is composed of trade unions from industry and their difficult trade-off between environmental protection and economic growth (Tsarouhas, 2013).

⁴¹ *Partido Socialista*, Portugal (2009)

2.1.2. Challenges in climate change in electoral programmes of selected European Social Democratic parties

Since environmental concern was progressively introduced in European Social Democratic programmes, reducing the discharges of gases affecting the climate, was always a matter of high priority among them. However, there is still an existing discrepancy between the different Social Democratic parties on the role that should be played by the country and by the European Union in climate negotiations at the international level (see Table 8). The Walloon Socialist Party in Belgium and the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Sweden defend a proactive role of their respective countries in climate change negotiations. Both strongly advocate for the country's involvement within the EU to contribute to ambitious European climate policy. The Walloon Socialist Party refers in its programme in 2010 to the 'pioneer role of Belgium in climate policies' and its 'active contribution in reinforcing EU targets with ambitious objectives'⁴².

The Social Democratic Workers' Party of Sweden promotes in its programme in 2014 a country that is 'involved in accelerating the EU's active climate policy' and that 'should lead the way in the environmental field'⁴³.

On the contrary, the Portuguese Socialist Party and the Czech Social Democracy highlight in their programmes the participation of their respective countries in international talks to reduce the impact of climate change, but they do not call for any leading, pioneer or preponderant role in this topic⁴⁴. At the same time, they do not urge the European Union to be more ambitious in formulating its climate policies⁴⁵.

Other topic of disagreement between selected European Social Democratic parties lies in the form of support of the developing countries in ambitious climate targets. The Walloon Socialist Party in Belgium promotes in its programme the support of developing countries in reducing GHG emissions⁴⁶.

⁴² *Parti Socialiste*, Belgium (2010)

⁴³ SAP, 2014

⁴⁴ *Partido Socialista*, Portugal & ČSSD in Czech Republic.

⁴⁵ *Partido Socialista*, Portugal & ČSSD in Czech Republic.

⁴⁶ *Parti Socialiste*, Belgium (2010)

Table 8: Challenges in climate change in electoral programmes of selected European Social Democratic parties

Role(s) in climate negotiations	
Pro-active and leading role of the country	Passive and secondary role of the country
<p><i>Parti Socialiste</i> (BE):</p> <p>‘Take part in international talks to reduce climate change and guarantee the pioneer role of Belgium in climate policies’ (PS, 2010)</p> <p>‘Actively contribute to reinforce EU targets with ambitious objectives’ (PS, 2010)</p>	<p><i>Česká strana sociálně demokratická</i> (CZ):</p> <p>‘Take part in international talks to reduce climate change’ (ČSSD, 2013 & 2014)</p>
<p><i>Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti</i> (SE):</p> <p>‘Sweden should lead the way in the environmental field’ (SAP, 2014)</p> <p>‘We want Sweden to be a country that is involved in accelerating the EU’s active climate policy’ (SAP, 2014)</p>	<p><i>Partido Socialista</i> (PT):</p> <p>‘Take part in international talks to reduce climate change in post Kyoto’ (PS, 2009 & 2011).</p>
Forms of support of developing countries in achieving ambitious climate targets	
Strong active support & responsibility of developed countries	Weak & passive support
<p><i>Parti Socialiste</i> (BE):</p> <p>‘Support developing countries in ambitious climate targets’ (PS, 2010)</p>	<p><i>Česká strana sociálně demokratická</i> (CZ):</p> <p><i>No mention</i> (ČSSD, 2009 & 2010; 2013 & 2014)</p>
<p><i>Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti</i> (SE):</p> <p>‘Support international cooperation that includes the responsibility of the rich world to provide poor countries with new environment-friendly technologies in all sectors’ (SAP, 2010)</p>	<p><i>Partido Socialista</i> (PT):</p> <p><i>No mention</i> (PS, 2009 & 2011).</p>

Elaborated by the author using data from electoral programmes of selected European Social Democratic parties in Belgium, Czech Republic, Portugal and Sweden (between 2009 and 2014)

The Social Democratic Workers’ Party of Sweden talks about the responsibility of the rich world to contribute effectively in reducing the climate change mitigation of developing countries⁴⁷. One of the

⁴⁷ SAP, 2014

solutions presented by the party is providing technologies that could help the third world in their own more sustainable development⁴⁸. However, the most salient differences among the selected Social Democratic parties in Europe are related to the role of the state and the EU in conducting the energy transition. The state intervention in climate change and energy will be discussed within the general perception of the role of the state in economy.

2.1.3. Challenges in sustainable energy production and consumption in electoral programmes of selected European Social Democratic parties

Energy policy constitutes one of the main topics of discrepancy between European Social Democratic parties. The energy policy is a shared competence between the European Union and its Member states (art. 4 TFEU). The adoption of advanced regulations in energy is based on the co-decision procedure (Art. 294 TFEU), except 'provisions on fiscal nature' (Art. 192 (1) TFEU) as well as 'measures significantly affecting a Member State's choice between different energy sources and the general structure of its energy supply' shall be adopted by 'the Council acting unanimously' (Art. 192 (2) TFEU). Under these terms, adopting a common EU legislation on energy issues remains challenging within the EU.

Today, almost 47.6% of the net electricity generated in the EU in 2014 comes from power stations using combustible fuels (such as natural gas, coal and oil) and more than one quarter (27.4%) comes from nuclear power plants (Eurostat, 2014). Among the renewable energy sources, the highest share of net electricity generation in 2014 was from hydropower plants (13.2%), followed by 8.3% of wind power and by 3.2% of solar power (Eurostat, 2014).

Discrepancies are more substantial when it comes to each Member state's energy mix. At the same time, differences are also significant in the conception of the EU common action related to energy. These contradictions are also reflected in programmes of selected European Social Democratic parties. Concerning the EU approach to energy, two dominating positions are prevailing within the Social Democratic family. The first approach advocates for a strong EU common policy to guarantee the energy security and strengthen the Union energy independency in the future. The second one prefers the maximum of flexibility for Members States with the minimalist intervention of the EU in formulating the country's energy policy (see Table 9).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

The first approach is privileged by the Walloon *Parti Socialiste* in Belgium and by the *Partido Socialista* in Portugal. The Socialist Party in Portugal calls for a common orientation within the EU to ‘reinforce the energy security and independence of the union’⁴⁹. In Belgium, positions of the Walloon Socialist party in supporting a common EU energy policy are more oriented to social objectives than to the environmental and security ones. In 2010, the Walloon *Parti Socialiste* defended a strong EU approach in defining social objectives in the energy sector: ‘adopting an EU definition of the energy precariousness’⁵⁰, or ‘establishing an EU energy mediator to protect consumers’ rights in the sector’⁵¹.

The second approach is predominant in Social Democratic parties in Czech Republic and Sweden, but not for the same reasons. While the Czech Social Democracy is one of the Czech parties that are the most favourable to European integration, the energy question is perceived traditionally as a part of the national sovereignty. The cross-border mobilizations against nuclear power plants on the Czech-Austrian borders, contributed to reinforce this position (Hanry-Knop, 2015). A common EU approach to energy and energy security is not mentioned in party programme (2009 & 2010; 2013 & 2014).

In the case of the Social Democratic Workers’ Party of Sweden, the EU approach in energy is seemed beneficial, where the Union is best able to create common solutions to common problems⁵². According to its 2014 programme, the EU approach is suitable in climate change negotiations or in fixing binding climate targets. But, in the transformation of the country’s energy system to a cleaner and sustainable one, the level of ambition is higher than the one promoted at the European level (e.g. share of renewables in the production of electricity). When, Member states accepted binding national targets for raising the share of renewables in their energy consumption by 2020, under the Renewable Energy Directive (2009/28/EC), Sweden committed itself to the most ambitious share (49%) comparing for example to Malta (10%) or to Czech Republic (13%).

In defining targets and means, the strategy privileged by the *Parti Socialiste* in Belgium is strictly national. The Walloon *Parti Socialiste* in Belgium strongly supports the control of energy pricing and the central role played by public authorities in the sector. Nevertheless, the local and collective approach in financing the energy transition was prioritised in the 2010 party programme, through the development of energy cooperatives and investments supported mainly by local authorities. The

⁴⁹ *Partido Socialista*, Portugal (2009).

⁵⁰ *Parti Socialiste*, Belgium (2010).

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² SAP, 2014.

local and regional approach in supporting the roll-out of renewables is also promoted by *Partido Socialista* in Portugal in its 2009 programme.

Another theme, on which views of the selected European Social Democratic parties differ, is the position on nuclear energy and on fossil fuels (see Table 9). The phase out from nuclear is agreed within the Portuguese Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Workers' Party. In Portugal, the part of the nuclear in the country's energy mix is very limited and in fact has never represented a significant issue in national politics. In the case of Sweden, the nuclear dilemma is historical and more complex, due to the very close relationship of the party with labour organizations. That is why, the *Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti* argued in its 2014 programme that 'nuclear power must be gradually phased out while taking into account the impact on employment and welfare and at a pace whereby nuclear-generated electricity can be replaced by electricity from renewable sources as well as energy efficiency improvements⁵³'. The phase out from nuclear is consensual, but should be implemented progressively respecting a level of adaptation of the industry and consumers.

The nuclear energy is still strongly supported by the Walloon Socialist Party in Belgium. The security of the nuclear plants as well as research in this sector is highly encouraged by the party in its 2010 programme. In the programme, the party defended also the roll-out of renewable energies, though this one should be 'complementary to the more secure and existing nuclear plants in the country⁵⁴'. The nuclear energy is prioritised in the energy mix also by the Czech Social Democracy. The party supported the construction of new nuclear plants in Dukovany and Temelín⁵⁵. The position remains strictly the same, when *Česká strana sociálně demokratická* campaigned for 'the prolongment of the lifetime of existing nuclear plants' and "for the construction of new nuclear plants⁵⁶' in legislative elections in 2013 and in European elections in 2014.

⁵³ SAP, 2014.

⁵⁴ *Parti Socialiste*, Belgium (2010), p. 83.

⁵⁵ ČSSD, 2009 & 2010.

⁵⁶ ČSSD, 2013 & 2014

Table 9: Challenges in sustainable energy production and consumption in electoral programmes of selected European Social Democratic parties

EU common energy policy & governance	
Strong EU common energy policy & governance	Weak EU common energy policy & governance
<i>Parti Socialiste</i> (BE): 'Create an EU mediator in energy' (PS, 2010)	<i>Česká strana sociálně demokratická</i> (CZ): <i>No mention of EU common response</i> (ČSSD, 2009 & 2010; 2013 & 2014)
<i>Partido Socialista</i> (PT): 'Reinforce EU's energy security and independence' (PS, 2009).	<i>Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti</i> (SE): 'Develop the EU in the areas where the Union is best able to create common solutions to common problems.' (SAP, 2014)
Positions on nuclear energy	
Support of nuclear energy	Support of phase out from nuclear energy
<i>Parti Socialiste</i> (BE): 'Support existing nuclear plants in the country and guarantee the financial support for the nuclear industry' (PS, 2010)	<i>Partido Socialista</i> (PT): 'Our solution is in renewables not in developing nuclear energy' (PS, 2009 & 2011).
<i>Česká strana sociálně demokratická</i> (CZ): 'Prolong the lifetime of nuclear plants and start the construction of new nuclear plants.' (ČSSD, 2013 & 2014)	<i>Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti</i> (SE): 'Nuclear power must be gradually phased while taking into account the impact on employment and welfare (...)' (SAP, 2014)
Positions on fossil fuels	
Support of fossil fuels & infrastructure	Support of phase out from fossil fuels
<i>Česká strana sociálně demokratická</i> (CZ): 'Support the construction of gas infrastructure' (ČSSD, 2009 & 2010)	<i>Parti Socialiste</i> (BE): 'The reduction of the country's dependency on oil is one of the main challenges' (PS, 2014)
	<i>Partido Socialista</i> (PT): 'Reduce the country's dependency on oil from abroad' (PS, 2011).
	<i>Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti</i> (SE): 'In 2050, Sweden must be a country without fossil fuels' (SAP, 2014)

Compiled by the author using data from electoral programmes of European Social Democratic parties in Belgium, Czech Republic, Portugal and Sweden (2009 – 2014)

The position of the Czech Social Democracy on fossil fuels is very similar. If programmes of the party highlight the country's dependency on oil and gas, however, the Czech Social Democracy considers that the construction of new gas infrastructure is one of the solutions for the energy mix and energy security of Czech Republic⁵⁷.

On the contrary, the progressive phase out from fossil fuels is underpinned by the Walloon Socialist Party in Belgium that listed 'dependency on oil as one of the main country's challenges⁵⁸' in its programme for elections in 2014. Decrease in dependency on fossil fuels is also promoted by the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Sweden⁵⁹. In its 2014 programme, the party fixed that 'Sweden must be a country without fossil fuels in 2050⁶⁰'.

The Socialist Party in Portugal is favourable to the phase out from fossil fuels, but the main motivation seems to be more economical than environmental, as indicated in the programme of 2011: 'reduce the country's dependency on oil from abroad⁶¹'. This position is related to the energy autarchy that was at the heart of the 2011 programme⁶². In fact, it is coinciding to the energy sovereignty promoted by the Czech Social Democracy, when the party called to reduce the purchase of energy from abroad and reinforce country's energy independence⁶³.

2.1.4. Challenges in sustainable transports and mobility in electoral programmes of selected European Social Democratic parties

A coherent and holistic approach to climate change, should be accompanied with clear vision for future sustainable transports and mobility in Europe. That is why, the PES Manifesto dedicated part of its programme to guarantee more secure and sustainable transports and mobility for Europeans. According to the comparative programme analysis, this aim is shared by the selected European Social Democratic parties. However, even in topics related to transport policy and mobility, views shared by selected European Social Democratic parties differ significantly.

⁵⁷ ČSSD, 2009 & 2010

⁵⁸ *Parti Socialiste*, Belgium (2014), p. 244.

⁵⁹ SAP, 2010.

⁶⁰ SAP, 2014

⁶¹ *Partido Socialista*, Portugal (2011)

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ ČSSD, 2009 & 2010.

The question of transports and mobility is a shared competence between the European Union and its Member States (art. 4 TFEU). The first discrepancy among selected European Social Democratic parties is, as we showed already with the energy policy, between a strong common EU policy and governance and a weak EU common approach. An EU added value in transports is defended in programmes of the Walloon *Parti Socialiste* in Belgium and *Partido Socialista* in Portugal. The Walloon Socialist Party emphasises how EU initiatives could be beneficial in improving transports in long-distance, especially in railway transports⁶⁴. In certain cases, the Portuguese Socialist Party is also favourable to a strong EU common policy and governance in transports, for example with its commitment to trans-European transport networks⁶⁵. Analysing programmes of the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Sweden and the Czech Social Democracy, the explicit absence of common framework or initiatives at European level within party programmes between 2009 and 2014, stress that a strengthen EU articulation in transports and mobility is not a subject of purpose⁶⁶.

The second relevant topic of disagreements lies in the party's conception of transports and mobility. Among selected European Social Democratic parties, only the Czech Social Democracy insists on the construction of new highways⁶⁷. Although the country is not suffering by the absence of denseness of roads, the planning of new capacious roads was at the heart of the programme in transport sector. The party is also favourable to construct engines that use less fuels and alternative fuels and to develop environmentally adjusted public transports. The development approach in transports is shared also by the Socialist Party in Portugal. The party programme in 2009 stressed the necessity to build new airport close to Lisbon, in Campo de Tiro de Alcochete, in order to 'reinforce country's development and competitiveness'. Currently used by Portuguese Air forces, the territory constitutes an important natural reserve with rich existing wildlife.

Other selected European Social Democratic parties prioritise investments and fiscal incentives in alternative or in new modes of transports. In 2010, the Walloon Socialist Party in Belgium suggested in its programme to introduce fiscal incentives for bikes and equipment at the European level⁶⁸. The shift to fossil-fuel free public transports or the prioritisation of walking and cycling are in forefront of transport policies promoted by the Social Democratic Workers' Party in Sweden. All measures related

⁶⁴ *Parti Socialiste*, Belgium & ČSSD, 2009 & 2010 (2010).

⁶⁵ *Partido Socialista*, Portugal (2009), p. 20

⁶⁶ ČSSD, 2009 & 2010 and ČSSD, 2013 & 2014. SAP in 2010 and 2014

⁶⁷ ČSSD, 2009 & 2010 and ČSSD, 2013 & 2014

⁶⁸ *Parti Socialiste*, Belgium (2010)

to innovative solutions in transports and mobility should be implemented in the country at the municipal level⁶⁹.

Table 10: Challenges in sustainable transports and mobility in electoral programmes of selected European Social Democratic parties

EU common policy & governance in sustainable transports and mobility	
Strong EU common policy & governance in transports	Weak EU common policy & governance in transports
<i>Parti Socialiste</i> (BE): 'Improve transports in long distance thanks to EU initiatives' (PS, 2010)	<i>Česká strana sociálně demokratická</i> (CZ): <i>No mention of EU common response</i> (ČSSD, 2009 & 2010; 2013 & 2014)
<i>Partido Socialista</i> (PT): 'Support strong EU commitment in trans-European networks' (PS, 2009).	<i>Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti</i> (SE): <i>No mention of EU common response</i> (SAP, 2014)
Development approach vs. alternative & new forms of mobility	
Development approach in transports	Alternative & new forms of mobility
<i>Česká strana sociálně demokratická</i> (CZ): 'Pursue the construction of highways' (ČSSD, 2009 & 2010; 2013 & 2014)	<i>Parti Socialiste</i> (BE): 'Create fiscal incentives for bikes' (PS, 2010)
<i>Partido Socialista</i> (PT): 'Build new airports to reinforce the country's development and competitiveness' (PS, 2009).	<i>Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti</i> (SE): 'Prioritisation of walking and cycling' (SAP, 2013)

Compiled by the author using data from electoral programmes of European Social Democratic parties in Belgium, Czech Republic, Portugal and Sweden (2009 – 2014)

Some of these positions are also reflected in the support of the production of electric vehicles in Europe. On the one hand, *Parti Socialiste* in Belgium stress that the development of electric vehicles is crucial in Europe. On the other hand, the development of this type of engines is not really encouraged by the Social Democratic Workers' Party in Sweden and by the Czech Social Democracy in Czech Republic. It results from the strong automobile industry in both countries that is playing a significant role in employment and the national income.

⁶⁹ SAP, 2014

2.1.5. Challenges in sustainable economy and growth in electoral programmes of selected European Social Democratic parties

The balance between ambitious climate change mitigation policies and EU economic competitiveness represents a constant debate not only between the left and the right, but also inside of the Party of European Socialists. Contrary to the right and conservative parties, the left and progressives are in general in favour of state intervention to regulate the market and correct market failures, especially in environment and energy. However, the form of regulation and the level of intervention presented in programmes, vary between selected European Social Democratic parties.

A strong state intervention and regulation in energy and environment is defended by the Portuguese Socialist Party and by the Walloon Socialist Party in Belgium. The key role in assuming a successful transition to a more sustainable economy should be played first by public authorities⁷⁰. The programme of the *Parti Socialiste* in Belgium was centred on the preservation of public services and on the fight against, what the party called ‘the commodification of water, education and health’⁷¹. The intervention of the state is perceived as essential not only to guarantee all environmental aspects but also to preserve the quality of public services, in terms of access and affordability. The Portuguese *Partido Socialista* defends a strong welfare state in opposition to ‘the strategy of weakening the welfare state and its public services promoted by the Portuguese right’⁷². The party took position to guarantee the welfare state against any attempts of gradual dismantling of it.

The role of the state falls within the ambit of its attributions in regulating the country’s economy. This position characterizes the Czech Social Democracy. The party calls for the ‘adoption of legislation supporting a less-dependending economy on fossil fuel’⁷³. But the party does not commit itself at the same time to introduce fiscal, economic or other incentives to go with this transformation.

A third, pragmatic vision, is promoted by the Social Democratic Workers’ Party in Sweden. The party defends an economic path defined and implemented through a large consultation process that maintains the country’s model of welfare state. The Swedish Social Democratic Workers’ Party commits ‘to promote active economic policy and to make sure that the welfare state becomes more

⁷⁰ *Parti Socialiste*, Belgium (2010), p. 77.

⁷¹ *Ibid. Parti Socialiste*, Belgium (2010), p. 151.

⁷² *In Partido Socialista*, Portugal (2011), p. 11.

⁷³ ČSSD, 2013

predictable and secure⁷⁴. The party is convinced that the successful transition to a more sustainable economy is possible when, 'the business and industry uncertainty is reduced'⁷⁵. In long-term, it means to elaborate a long-term sustainable agreement across industries, labour unions and parties to achieve this transformation without compromising the industrial competitiveness or existing employment policies. In defining new sustainable economic strategies, the consensual approach with all relevant actors and stakeholders is privileged by the party.

The economic crisis that affected seriously the European Union has a significant repercussion on the introduction of sustainable and economic growth in PES Manifestos in 2009 and 2014. It reflects also various positions of selected European Social Democratic parties on that issue in that period. The Czech Social Democracy and the Portuguese Socialist Party are still attached to notions like 'economic growth' or 'boost development' (see Table 11). Affected by the financial and economic crisis, the *Partido Socialista* in Portugal centred its programme in 2009 on reviving the economy and on boosting the development of industries⁷⁶.

However, the Walloon Socialist Party in Belgium introduced new alternatives to the economic growth. The *Parti Socialiste* defends economic policies encouraging employment and taxation that are more fair and sustainable. The *Parti Socialiste* expressly avoids terms like 'growth' or 'development'. The party replaces these terms for example by 'better-life'⁷⁷. Moreover, the Walloon Socialist Party in Belgium dissociates explicitly 'growth' from adjectives like 'green' or 'environmental-friendly' to distance oneself from the traditional and historical conceptions of growth, to set oneself apart from the promotion of the productivist model of development and finally to highlight that sustainable development and growth are inconceivable together. The programme suggests also to think about new indicators, different from the GDP (see Table 11).

The Social Democratic Workers' Party of Sweden stresses in its programme in 2001 'new views of economic rationality'⁷⁸ and calls for another growth that requires solidarity between people, regions and countries in 2014. Nevertheless, the concept of growth promoted within the programme

⁷⁴ SAP, 2014

⁷⁵ SAP, 2001

⁷⁶ In *Partido Socialista*, 2009, p. 11

⁷⁷ *Parti Socialiste*, *Ibid*, 2010

⁷⁸ SAP, 2001

remains the same: 'Need conditions for a strong growth' or 'formulate policy to contribute to high productivity growth'.

The approach that should be encouraged by the European Union in promoting growth, employment and sustainable economy are also various among the selected European Social Democratic parties. On the one hand, the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Sweden and the Socialist Party in Portugal call for a better coordination between Member States on economic and social issues. However, a strong and active role of the EU does not necessarily mean for these parties, to reinforce or to create specific economic governance. The Social Democratic Workers' Party of Sweden is in favour of 'unity of EU countries behind policies for growth, employment and belief in the future (...)'. In certain aspects, a stronger regulation is prioritized by the party in its programme in 2014. The Portuguese Socialist Party strongly supports a better coordination of economic and social policies within the EU⁷⁹.

In order to preserve employment and social rights in Europe, the Walloon Socialist Party in Belgium, calls for a more active role of the EU in employment. The party advocates for a 'strong commitment of the EU in this policy, especially when it comes to negotiate new trade agreements with third countries'. According to the party, a strong and active EU common policy in economy and employment is necessary to guarantee high environmental and health requirements in Europe (see Table 11).

On this topic, the Czech Social Democracy seems to be alone. In its programme, the party does not promote any active role of the EU in economic and social policies⁸⁰. The coordination at the European level is also absent in the programme. Except the United Kingdom, Czech Republic was the only EU Member State, which did not sign the Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union (TSCG) in 2012. The objective of the treaty was to strengthen the economic pillar of the economic and monetary union. The Czech Social Democracy is still in favour of adopting the EU common currency, euro. However, due to the financial crisis, the position of the party on the calendar has changed. In 2009 and in 2010, the Czech Social Democracy promoted 'the adoption of euro before 2014'⁸¹. In 2013 and 2014, the party stood for the adoption of common EU currency 'when it would be economically the most appropriate for the country'⁸².

⁷⁹ *Partido Socialista* (Portugal), 2009.

⁸⁰ ČSSD, 2009 & 2010; 2013 & 2014

⁸¹ ČSSD, 2009 & 2010

Table 11: Challenges in sustainable economy and growth (jobs, R&D) in electoral programmes of selected European Social Democratic parties

EU common policy in economy and employment	
Strong & Active EU common policy	Weak & Passive EU common policy
<p><i>Parti Socialiste</i> (BE): ‘Support strong commitment of EU to protect European employment, security system, environmental and health requirement’ (PS, 2014)</p>	<p><i>Česká strana sociálně demokratická</i> (CZ): <i>No mention of active EU role</i> (ČSSD, 2009 & 2010; 2013 & 2014)</p>
<p><i>Partido Socialista</i> (PT): ‘Reinforce the coordination of economic and social policies within the EU’ (PS, 2011).</p>	
<p><i>Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti</i> (SE): ‘The EU countries should unite behind policies for growth, employment and belief in the future’ (SAP, 2014).</p>	
Growth vs. Alternative & new forms of growth in economy	
Growth & Development	Alternative forms of growth & productivity
<p><i>Česká strana sociálně demokratická</i> (CZ): ‘Support growth that is based on sustainable principles’ (ČSSD, 2009 & 2010; 2013 & 2014)</p>	<p><i>Parti Socialiste</i> (BE): ‘Support sustainable development not based on green growth, but on decent jobs and social values’ ‘Introduce new indicators to achieve better-life, other than GDP’ (PS, 2010)</p>
<p><i>Partido Socialista</i> (PT): ‘Boost economy and development of our industries’ (PS, 2011).</p>	
<p><i>Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti</i> (SE): ‘Formulate policy to contribute to high productivity growth’ (SAP, 2013)</p>	

Compiled by the author using data from electoral programmes of European Social Democratic parties in Belgium, Czech Republic, Portugal and Sweden (2009 – 2014)

Education is highlighted in the programme of the Social Democratic Workers’ Party of Sweden as determinant to the successful transformation of the country’s economy to a more sustainable one. That is why the party stands for ‘the whole country's growth potential’ that is conditioned by

⁸² ČSSD, 2013 & 2014

'investments in education and training to equip Sweden for the challenges of tomorrow'⁸³. Education is considered as substantial pillar of achieving sustainable economy in the future. This topic is minor in programmes of other European Social Democratic parties, even missing, as it is the case of the Czech Social Democracy in Czech Republic.

2.2. Common objectives and principles in environment across Social Democratic parties in Europe

Some topics in environmental and climate issues represent important challenges across selected Social Democratic parties in Europe. However, common orientations and positions on the establishment and preservation of the welfare state, on solidarity, on the protection of the most vulnerable or on gender equality etc. are still an inherent part of the family. The integration of the environmental and climate concerns is one of them. In this part, the paper highlights common concepts, ambitions, perspectives and means promoted by four selected European Social Democratic parties (Belgium, Czech Republic, Portugal and Sweden). The comparative analysis is based on the study of party programmes used during the national and European elections between 2009 and 2014.

Despite some differences that are existing in the response proposed by Social Democratic parties to tackle climate change (e. g.: *Česká strana sociálně demokratická* in Czech Republic and *Parti Socialiste* in Belgium are supporting the development of nuclear energy vs. existing consensus in abandon of nuclear energy by the *Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti* in Sweden or the *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* in Germany), the objective of this part is to show existing common response to climate change in order to build a more coherent progressive programme on this topic at the European level. This process results also in the mitigation of the differences concerning the approach to the environmental concerns and climate change among Social Democratic parties within the Party of European Socialists.

2.2.1. Common response to climate change in electoral programmes of selected European Social Democratic parties

The selected European Social Democratic parties share a common response to tackle climate change. They share a high level of ambition and responsibility in reducing the discharges of gases affecting

⁸³ SAP, 2014.

the climate. All selected cases of study are committed as the Party of European Socialists to reduce GHG emissions and reinforce EU ambitious targets in climate (see Table 12).

The Czech Social Democracy stands for ‘an active preparation of the society to climate change⁸⁴’ (see Table 12). The *Parti Socialiste* in Belgium commits itself to ‘elaborate a federal strategy that is coherent with the international objectives in climate and sustainable development⁸⁵’. The party also stresses the importance to reinforce EU targets with ambitious objectives, suggesting concrete binding measures within a time horizon to 2020 and 2030⁸⁶.

Table 12: Common response to climate change in electoral programmes of selected European Social Democratic parties

High level of ambition and responsibility in climate negotiations
<p><i>Parti Socialiste</i> (BE):</p> <p>‘Elaborate a federal strategy that is coherent with the international objectives in climate and sustainable development’ (PS, 2010)</p> <p>‘Reinforce EU targets with ambitious objectives’ (PS, 2010)</p> <p><i>Česká strana sociálně demokratická</i> (CZ):</p> <p>‘The preservation of our environment is a proof of our generational culture and responsibility to our children’ (ČSSD, 2013 & 2014)</p> <p>‘Actively prepare our society to climate change’ (ČSSD, 2013 & 2014)</p> <p><i>Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti</i> (SE):</p> <p>‘Sweden should, in cooperation with all the other countries in the world, reverse developments that contribute to global warming’ (SAP, 2013)</p> <p><i>Partido Socialista</i> (PT):</p> <p>‘Our priority in environmental policy is to respond effectively to the challenge of climate change’ (PS, 2009)</p>

Compiled by the author using data from electoral programmes of European Social Democratic parties in Belgium, Czech Republic, Portugal and Sweden (2009 – 2014)

The high level of ambition in climate policy is anchored in the declaration of principles of the Social Democratic Workers’ Party of Sweden. The party supports the ‘active role of the country in close

⁸⁴ ČSSD, 2013 & 2014

⁸⁵ PS, Belgium, 2010

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

collaboration with other countries in reversing developments that contribute to global warming⁸⁷. For the Portuguese *Partido Socialista* 'an effective response to the challenge of climate change⁸⁸' is a priority. The objective of the party is to 'prepare the conditions for the country to lead the sustainable transformation⁸⁹'.

2.2.2. Common response to sustainable energy production and consumption in electoral programmes of selected European Social Democratic parties

At the same time as the selected European Social Democratic parties share a high level of ambition in climate policy, they agree that the support of renewable energies is inevitable to transform the energy system at national and European level into a less carbon emitting (see Table 13). If the level and means of support of renewables promoted by Social Democratic parties varies from one European country to another one, all of them maintain their constant support on renewable sources, without choosing a specific industry of predilection.

The main principle in energy for the Walloon Socialist Party in Belgium is to 'guarantee a fair, secure and sustainable energy for all'. There is no renewable industry that is central, but the Walloon Socialist Party in Belgium is in favour of offshore wind energy⁹⁰. The support of this energy should be formulated through a federal plan for the energy transition up to 2050⁹¹. In 2010, targets suggested by the *Parti Socialiste* were: 13% of renewables in the energy consumption and 10% in transports by 2020⁹².

The Socialist Party in Portugal calls for the reduction of the country's dependency on oil. The party also supports the promotion of renewable energies. The nuclear is not considered as a solution and the gamble on renewables should be especially maintained on wind energy. Other renewable sources should be strongly encouraged, like maritime energy, hydroelectric and photovoltaic plants⁹³. The Social Democratic Workers' Party of Sweden defends the green Welfare State Model. Aware of the dependency of the national industry on energy supply the party calls for the

⁸⁷ SAP, 2014

⁸⁸ *Partido Socialista*, Portugal, 2009

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ *Parti Socialiste*, 2010 (Belgium)

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *Partido Socialista*, 2011 (Portugal)

progressive decrease of fossil fuels and the phase out from nuclear power. Other alternative and renewable sources should be supported at the national level, as well as all measures permitting to reduce energy consumption and production, and in general country's energy efficiency⁹⁴.

Table 13: Common response to sustainable energy production and consumption in electoral programmes of selected European Social Democratic parties

Agreement in promoting renewables
<p><i>Parti Socialiste</i> (BE):</p> <p>'Elaborate a plan for the energy transition up to 2050' (PS, 2010)</p> <p><i>Česká strana sociálně demokratická</i> (CZ):</p> <p>'Review the legislation on renewables' (ČSSD, 2013 & 2014)</p> <p>'Transform our energy systems into new, clean, renewable and decarbonized technologies' (ČSSD, 2009 & 2010)</p> <p><i>Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti</i> (SE):</p> <p>'Support energy alternatives' (SAP, 2010)</p> <p><i>Partido Socialista</i> (PT):</p> <p>'Spur investments in other renewable sources (maritime, energy, water, photovoltaic)' (PS, 2011)</p>
Agreement in promoting energy-efficiency of buildings
<p><i>Parti Socialiste</i> (BE):</p> <p>'Improve the energy efficiency of buildings, especially of those who are suffering of energy precariousness' (PS, 2010)</p> <p><i>Česká strana sociálně demokratická</i> (CZ):</p> <p>'Adopt strict norms in building-insulation sector' (ČSSD, 2013 & 2014)</p> <p><i>Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti</i> (SE):</p> <p>'Support the rebuilding and construction of new houses and work places meeting the sustainable objectives' (SAP, 2014)</p> <p><i>Partido Socialista</i> (PT):</p> <p>'Facilitate the transformation of buildings in less energy demanding' (PS, 2011)</p>

Compiled by the author using data from electoral programmes of European Social Democratic parties in Belgium, Czech Republic, Portugal and Sweden (2009 – 2014)

⁹⁴ SAP, 2010

The Czech Social Democracy stresses in its programme to 'transform the country's energy systems into new, clean, renewable and decarbonized technologies⁹⁵' and to 'review the legislation on renewables⁹⁶' in order to facilitate and accelerate the process of their roll-out in the country.

Another topic that is widely shared by the selected European Social Democratic parties is their commitment to improve the energy efficiency of buildings. The Socialist Party in Portugal stresses to 'facilitate the transformation of buildings in less energy demanding'. The Social Democratic Workers' Party of Sweden commits itself to support 'the rebuilding and construction of new houses and work places meeting the sustainable objectives'. The Czech Social Democracy calls to 'adopt strict norms in building-insulation sector' and to 'orientate public investments for this purpose⁹⁷'. *Parti Socialiste* in Belgium highlights the 'improvement of the energy efficiency of buildings, especially of those who are suffering of energy precariousness'.

The energy precariousness is a problem that is developed only in the programme of the Walloon Socialist Party in Belgium. The energy poverty is still an existing challenge across the European countries, but the definition of what does it cover vary from different European countries. In this sense energy pricing represents another important common concern among selected European Social Democratic parties. The level of regulation and intervention of public authorities, promoted by them, is however different.

2.2.3. Common response to sustainable transports and mobility in electoral programmes of selected European Social Democratic parties

Concerning sustainable transports and mobility, two consensual commitments are part of the heritage of the selected European Social Democratic Parties. The first one is the access and the improvement of public transports that should be today more environmentally adjusted. The second one is the promotion of mobility in a holistic approach, in order to facilitate the coordination and integration of various modes of transports.

The improvement of public transports corresponds to citizens' demands everywhere in Europe. It is a recurrent topic in the programme of the Walloon Socialist Party in Belgium. The major challenge in transports that the country is facing is the coordination at distinct levels between the federal state,

⁹⁵ ČSSD, 2009 & 2010

⁹⁶ ČSSD, 2013 & 2014

⁹⁷ ČSSD, 2013 & 2014

regions and local authorities, as well as the connection between various transport modes. The 2014 programme of *Parti Socialiste* was oriented to the improvement of public transports, especially of the rail transport and its state-owned company, *Société nationale des chemins de fer belges* (SCNB). The Social Democratic Workers' Party of Sweden stands for more public transports and in general for their reorganization⁹⁸. At the same, the development of environmentally-less demanding transports and vehicles are encouraged by the party within its country.

The Czech Social Democracy is in favour of reinforcing the principles of sustainable development in public transports and in urban planning. Rail transport is probably the sector, where the party's attention is more centred: Firstly, due to the objective to support the moving of cargoes from road transport to rail one; secondly, due the lack of visibility and transparency of the state-owned rail society, *České Dráhy*. More integrated and coordinated system is always a priority within the party programmes. The Socialist Party in Portugal tries also to promote the valorisation of public transports and its deployment within the country. The coordination between various modes of transports is highlighted in the programme as the next important phase.

2.2.4. Common response to sustainable economy and growth in electoral programmes of selected European Social Democratic parties

Reference to sustainable economy and growth are probably those who have evolved significantly in selected European Social Democratic parties. Even the notion of 'sustainable development' was integrated progressively among Social Democratic parties in Europe.

Concerning the protection of the environment, two programmatic changes are notable in electoral programmes of *Česká strana sociálně demokratická* in Czech Republic between 2009 and 2014. Firstly, the changing notions related to the protection of the environment that are employed in programmes. In 2009 and 2010, electoral programmes of Czech Social Democracy referred in general to the protection of the environment as the main principle: 'responsibility to our environment' or 'protect our environment'⁹⁹. However, in 2013 and 2014 national programmes developed more in details the principle of 'sustainable development' - notion that was expressed only once in previously mentioned programmes¹⁰⁰. Secondly, the formulation of national programmes was considerably influenced by domestic circumstances, even in environmental topics. Water is at the heart of the

⁹⁸ SAP, 2010

⁹⁹ ČSSD, 2009 & 2010

¹⁰⁰ ČSSD, 2013 & 2014

electoral programmes of 2009 and 2010. Severe flooding has affected Czech Republic in 2002 and 2006. Various solutions how to reduce flood threat were presented in electoral programmes of the party in 2009 and 2010, but were completely erased in 2013 and 2014.

The main pillars of the sustainable economic strategy, supported by selected European Social Democratic parties are: the promotion of sustainable reindustrializing policies, where public authorities should play an essential role; the boost of research and innovation and the recent development of protectionist measures to protect domestic sustainable production.

In response to the deindustrialization affecting the European Union in the last decades, the idea is to reinvigorate national economies by re-establishing industries in Europe. The process of reindustrialization is also seemed by selected European Social Democratic parties as one of the solutions to the rising unemployment, particularly in some Member states. However, how to conceive a process of reindustrialization at the same time as to promote a more sustainable and less-energy demanding economy. After the financial crisis in 2009, the programmatic solution given by European Social Democratic parties lies in the concept of 'sustainable reindustrialization'. Initially inconceivable, European Social Democratic offered after 2009 a synthesis between the terms 'sustainability' and 'reindustrialization'. Sustainable reindustrialization appears in all programmes of selected European Social Democratic parties. At the same time the concept is defined nowhere in their party programmes. In fact, 'sustainable reindustrialization' is conceived as a syncretism between the productivist left attached to traditional concepts of growth and development and the new left convinced by the idea, that another growth (alternative, sustainable or green growth) or no growth are possible.

The Czech Social Democracy supports the 'modernisation of the country's industrial sector' and its 'restructuration to a more sustainable and competitive one'¹⁰¹. The Socialist Party in Portugal calls for 're-establishing the industrial cluster with an added sustainable and innovative value'¹⁰² in the country. The Social Democratic Workers' Party of Sweden stresses the importance of 'a new active industrial policy'¹⁰³, that should be 'climate-smarter' and 'sustainable'. The Walloon Socialist Party in Belgium is convinced that the re-industrialisation is the solution to transform the economy and boost the development in Wallonia. The party emphasises the continuation of the 'Marshall Plan' and its

¹⁰¹ ČSSD, 2013 & 2014, p. 16 - 18

¹⁰² *Partido Socialista* (Portugal), 2011, p. 36

¹⁰³ SAP, 2014

more sustainable version, the ‘Green Marshall Plan¹⁰⁴’. As the name suggests, the idea was to spur investments to revive the country’s industry.

Table 14: Common response to sustainable economy and growth in electoral programmes of selected European Social Democratic parties

Agreement in promoting sustainable reindustrializing policies
<p><i>Parti Socialiste</i> (BE): ‘Pursue our investments in industrial policy (...) Continue our commitment in the Green Marshall Plan’ (PS, 2014)</p> <p><i>Česká strana sociálně demokratická</i> (CZ): ‘Support the modernisation of our industries to be less energy demanding’ (ČSSD, 2013 & 2014) ‘Restructure our industries to be more sustainable and competitive’ (ČSSD, 2013 & 2014)</p> <p><i>Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti</i> (SE): ‘Need a new, active industrial policy’ (SAP, 2014)</p> <p><i>Partido Socialista</i> (PT): ‘Re-establish the industrial cluster with an added sustainable and innovative value’ (PS, 2011)</p>
Agreement in promoting research & innovation
<p><i>Parti Socialiste</i> (BE): ‘Support research in strategic sectors: sustainable development, climate and health, energy (...)’ (PS, 2010)</p> <p><i>Česká strana sociálně demokratická</i> (CZ): ‘Support strategic research in energy, energy storage, renewable energy (...)’ (ČSSD, 2013 & 2014)</p> <p><i>Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti</i> (SE): ‘Spur investments in research to find adequate levers for creating an environmental country.’ (SAP, 2014)</p> <p><i>Partido Socialista</i> (PT): ‘Spur investments in biotechnologies, energy and science in maritime areas.’ (PS, 2011)</p>

Compiled by the author using data from the electoral programmes of European Social Democratic parties in Belgium, Czech Republic, Portugal and Sweden (2009 – 2014)

The *Parti Socialiste* in Belgium introduces various protectionist measures to support its domestic sustainable production. In this sense, the Walloon Socialist Party in Belgium promotes the

¹⁰⁴ *Parti Socialiste* (Belgium), 2014.

introduction of severe taxation on products with high negative impact on the environment¹⁰⁵. The party highlights also in its programme the importance to support the development of social economy and to create more decent jobs that are respectful of the environment.

The Czech Social Democracy aspires also to have a sustainable economy in its party's programme. One of the aspects that are particularly underlined in the party programme is the introduction of environment-friendly principle in state commission.

The increasing importance of research and innovation is going with the transformation of the economy in more sustainable one. Some of the selected European Social Democratic parties prefer to focus in party programmes in some strategic sectors, like energy, health or biotechnologies. This is the case of the *Parti Socialiste* in Belgium and the *Partido Socialista* in Portugal. For the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Sweden and for the Czech Social Democracy, boosting investments in research is conceived as preliminary to find the adequate levers for developing an environment-friendly economy¹⁰⁶ or to deliver a more sustainable growth¹⁰⁷.

To conclude, this part showed how ambitious is today the common position shared by selected Social Democratic parties in Europe to tackle climate change. They shared high level of ambition and responsibility to reduce GHG emissions and reinforce EU targets in climate policy.

They agreed that the support of renewables is indispensable in order to achieve a sustainable energy transition in Europe. Selected European Social Democratic parties are convinced by the need to continue to support the roll-out of renewables in Europe. They shared ambitious energy efficiency targets. Committed to reduce energy poverty in Europe, the building renovation and its decarbonization are long-term solutions mutually supported by selected European Social Democratic parties.

Access and improvement of clean public transports, as well as the promotion of sustainable mobility are key priorities of selected European Social Democratic parties. They are also concerned by the need to transform European economies in more sustainable and decarbonized ones, without jeopardizing the EU competitiveness and jobs. A strategy based on strong sustainable

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ SAP, 2010.

¹⁰⁷ ČSSD, 2013.

reindustrializing policies and important investments in research and innovation is at the heart of electoral programmes of selected European Social Democratic parties in the last years.

3. Conclusion with concrete policy recommendations for the 2019 PES Manifesto in environmental issues

Environmental and climate change issues are topics that were initially under-estimated in some electoral programmes of European Social Democratic Parties. In some of them it was seemed as something "additional", that should be integrated in party programmes more by convenience rather than by conviction. For example, the 2006 elections in Czech Republic was marked by a clash between the Czech Social Democracy and the Greens, in which the latter accused the former of plagiarism (Perottino, Polášek, 2013).

Today, sustainable development is part of the core values of Social Democratic parties in Europe and it is also reflected in the PES Manifesto. However environmental issues are still a marginal topic for some of them. Therefore, ecology is considered as a "consensual" issue, which usually deserves little attention in party manifestos and electoral campaigns.

The paper showed that environmental issues are not anymore secondary to the Social Democratic party project and identity. The article demonstrated the increasing importance of the topic in the last years. That is why it is argued in this respect, that ecology could play a more relevant role in public policies and should therefore be emphasized in structuring party competition. Social and democratic struggles endorsed by the Social Democratic family can no longer be disconnected with environmental challenges. The social model and the welfare state cannot be guaranteed if environment and climate change issues are not addressed.

Often considered as a problem, environment constitutes in fact an opportunity for the European Social Democratic family to rethink future social policies in Europe. Based on common positions of selected European Social Democratic parties and according to existing PES proposals in 2009 and 2014, the article concludes with five main priorities with concrete recommendations in environmental issues that should be defended by the Party of European Socialists in 2019.

Concrete recommendations for the Party of European Socialists on how to promote and build together a more social, prosperous and sustainable Europe for the next generations

Europe faces increasing inequalities between social classes and groups, as well as between cities, regions and states. For the European elections in 2019, the Party of European Socialists should be committed to fight against all existing inequalities in Europe: social, gender and environmental.

Democracy, solidarity and sustainability are not options but conditions for a prosperous and successful European Union in the future.

1. Make the EU number one in the world in renewables and energy efficiency

The Party of European Socialists should stand for an ambitious EU climate policy and at the same time should be concerned about its social and global impact. Defending a leading role of the EU in reducing greenhouse gas (GHG) and carbon emissions is crucial. According to the European Commission proposal in November 2016, the binding energy efficiency target of 30% for the EU and the share of 27% in the final energy consumption by 2030 are not aligned with this long-term objective. Defining a long term European strategy in energy and fixing more ambitious binding targets are crucial to make the difference and achieve a substantial progress in the European Union. A stable legislative and regulatory framework constitutes a prerequisite for the successful and ambitious roll-out of renewable energies in Europe. At the same time, the Party of European Socialists should be in the forefront of the political change in development assistance.

- **Stand for an ambitious EU climate policy and contribute to make the EU and the Member states development policies related to climate change more coherent.**
- **Revise ambitions upwards to at least 35% of renewables and 40% energy efficiency in 2030.**
- **Define ambitious long-term 2030 and 2050 strategy and planning based on national binding targets on renewables and energy efficiency.**
- **Insist on creating appropriate governance and fixing a stable and clear legal framework that provide certainty for industries, technology providers, public authorities and consumers.**

2. Make the EU the leading sustainable economy

The transformation of the EU economy in a more sustainable and decarbonized one is probably in terms of development, education and employment, one of the biggest challenges that Europe is facing today. Such an economic transition is impossible without significant common political commitment and financial investments. With the oil crisis, the European community decided in the

70s to introduce restructuring measures and support the industrial reconversion of the steel and coal industry (Plan Davignon). The Party of European Socialists should be in the forefront in order to make the EU the leading sustainable economy. That is why it is essential to act together at the European level in supporting job creation in new and sustainable economic sectors, professional training and education, as well as the professional reconversion in strategic sectors.

- **Promote job creation and employment in sustainable sectors of the economy.**
- **Act together at the European level to support the professional reconversion of workers in strategic sectors (gas industry, nuclear sector, intensive agriculture, etc.).**
- **Spur investments in education and training in sustainable industries and sectors.**
- **Protect EU sustainable economy and Members states green industries and jobs, introducing indirect taxation on imported goods produced in third countries with high emissions or lower environmental and social standards.**

3. Make the financing of the EU ecological transition efficient and fair

Achieving a successful ecological transition of the EU and its member states requires considerable financial investments. It also implies to address additional public resources which can levy additional private investments. The cost of inaction is higher than the cost of adaptation and transformation (EEA, IPCC, IEA). That is why it is crucial to act together now. Diverse ways of funding the EU ecological transition should be encouraged. In this sense, the funding strategy should be connected to the discussion on new financial resources of the EU. In time of scarce public resources but growing financial needs, the EU budget needs to focus on areas bringing the highest European added value (Monti's HLGOR report, 2016). Possible revenues linked directly to EU environmental policies could be found from CO₂ levy, a motor fuel levy, an electricity tax or inclusion of the European emission trade system proceeds. In some areas, the environmental taxation is not new and it is already collected by the Member states. Therefore, a specified percentage could be directly transferred to the EU budget. Indirectly, the introduction of a taxation on financial transactions could serve also to finance the EU ecological transition in the long-term. In research and innovation, the reduction of system costs could be achieved through the identification of renewable and energy efficiency projects of European interest.

- **Create specific new EU fund within the MFF that will finance fairly and efficiently EU ecological transition.**
- **Determine possible revenues linked directly to EU environmental policies (CO₂ levy, a motor fuel levy, an electricity tax or inclusion of the European emission trade system**

proceeds, etc.) and based on already existing environmental taxation mechanisms introduced by Member states.

- Use the possible introduction of a taxation on financial transactions to finance the EU ecological transition in the long-term.
- Identify renewables and energy efficiency projects of common European interests in order to reduce system costs of their roll-out in Europe.

4. Make ecology beneficial for European citizens

Social and economic concerns are predominant in the public opinion. However, environmental concerns are increasingly shared by Europeans (Eurobarometer, 2016), especially by young generations (Call to Europe VI, 2016). A better articulation between social and environmental objectives should therefore be at the heart of the future PES Manifesto in 2019. Ecology is supposed to benefit to the most vulnerable. That is why it is important to "socialize" environmental policies and to "ecologize" social policies within the EU. Poverty related to energy is still a reality in Europe.

- Reconcile social objectives with environmental ambitions in future EU policies. Guarantee equal access to sustainable energy and less energy demanding housing and transports for the most socially deprived persons.
- Support large-scale initiatives of renovation of buildings alleviating fuel poverty in the EU.
- Facilitate the sustainable mobility of Europeans and reduce their bills in energy and public transports.
- Recognize and define at the European level the energy precariousness.

5. Involve EU citizens in the European common sustainable development strategy

The direct citizens' involvement through various local initiatives and cooperation are beneficial environmentally, but also economically and socially with improvement of local sustainable employment. Many citizens, cooperatives, NGOs and actors are ready to promote innovative solutions and to contribute to the improvement of environmental and climate policies within the EU and to achieve successfully together a more sustainable Union. In the context of launching debates on the future of Europe, the PES could commit to open a large democratic consultation with trades unions, NGOs and civil society about the way to strengthen and harmonize social and environmental rights within the EU.

- Support bottom-up and citizen-driven local initiatives (cooperatives, short distribution channels, self-generation, etc.) in achieving a more sustainable economy and society.

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- **Putting the citizen at the heart of the sustainable development strategy promoting environmentally-friendly and people-centred models in public and private dialogue.**
- **Protect consumers' rights first and fix the highest environmental and health standards of goods and services in the EU that are not negotiable in any future EU trade negotiations with third countries.**
- **Open and engage a truly interactive and large democratic consultation with civil society about the way to strengthen the relevance of the environmental protection and how to better link environmental rights with social rights**

The European Union is today one of the most open internal markets in the world, sometimes in ways that troubled many EU members and Social Democratic parties in Europe. But it also brought a stronger European environmental, sustainable and social policies. Underachieved commitments should not serve to question the usefulness of the Union, but to motivate to build a more social and sustainable Europe together for the next generations. In fact, the success of Social Democratic parties in Europe will depend on their capacity to draw the desirable future for Europeans.

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List of abbreviations

ČSSD (CZ)	<i>Česká strana sociálně demokratická</i> Czech Social Democracy
EEA	European Environment Agency
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GHG	Greenhouse gas
IEA	International Energy Agency
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MFF	Multiannual Financial Framework
NGO	Non-governmental organization
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PES	Party of European Socialists
PS (BE)	<i>Parti Socialiste</i> Socialist Party in Belgium
PS (PT)	<i>Partido Socialista</i> Socialist Party in Portugal
RES	Renewable energy sources
SAP (SE)	<i>Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti</i> Social Democratic Workers' Party in Sweden
SNCB	<i>Société nationale des chemins de fer belges</i>
SPD (DE)	<i>Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands</i> Social Democratic Party in Germany
TFUE	Treaty on the functioning of the European Union
TSCG	Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union
TTIP	Transatlantic Trade Investment Partnership
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

Glossary

Ecology	The totality or pattern of relations between organisms and their environment.
Environment	The totality of circumstances surrounding an organism or group or organisms (external physical conditions, social and cultural conditions affecting the nature of an individual or a community).
Green economy	No single and generally accepted definition has been established. Each country encompasses different types of economic activities. For example, in France, the term of green economy refers "to classic economic activities realised with less polluting or less energy intensive processes and ecological activities striving to protect the environment or to manage natural resources" (Adrianssens et al, 2015).
Green growth	There is no universally agreed definition. The OECD defines 'green growth' as "fostering economic growth and development, while ensuring that natural assets continue to provide the resources and environmental services on which our well-being relies" (OECD, 2011). The World Bank regards the 'green growth' as growth that is "efficient in its use of natural resources, clean in that it minimises pollution and environmental impacts, and resilient in that it accounts for natural hazards and the role of environmental management and natural capital in preventing physical disasters" (World Bank, 2012).
Green jobs	Green jobs can be regarded as those associated with environmental objectives and policies. The European Commission (DG ENVI) used the OECD/Eurostat definition of the environmental goods and services industry comprising "activities which produce goods and services to measure, prevent, limit, minimise or correct environmental damage to water, air and soil, as well as problems related to waste, noise and eco-systems. This includes technologies, products and services that reduce environmental risk and minimize pollution and resources" (OECD, 1999; EC, 2007)
Sustainable development	It stands for "meeting the needs of present generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Brundtland Commission, 1987)

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