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The Political Composition of a Future European Parliament with 27 Member States

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1. Background

After the European election in June 1999, around 120 national parties from 15 member states were represented in the European Parliament (EP) of 626 seats.

According to the new system of the Nice Treaty it is proposed that a European Union with 27 member states would have a parliament with 732 seats. According to this new system around 110 national parties would be represented from the present 15 member states. That means that about ten parties in the present member states would disappear when those national delegation will be reduced in number. Mostly smaller and regional parties will not be able to hang on to their seats.

In a European Parliament with 732 seats representing 27 member states around 180 national political parties would have at least one seat. This is calculated out of the present political situation in the European Parliament after the election 1999 and out of the present political situation in the applicant countries national parliaments. If Turkey also becomes a member of the European Union, five parties would be added, but at the same time the seats among the EU-27 states would be re-allocated and some parties in the EU 27 states would lose their representation.

Table 1:

Number of seats in the European Parliament at present and in the future

	Number of seats at present EU 15	Number of seats according to the Nice Treaty	Number of seats according to the Dimitrakoupoulos/ Leinen report April 2000 in the European Parliament
Germany	99	99	104
United Kingdom	87	72	77
France	87	72	77
Italy	87	72	75
Spain	64	50	52
Poland	-	50	51
Romania	-	33	32
Netherlands	31	25	23
Greece	25	22	17
Czech Rep.	-	20	17
Belgium	25	22	17
Hungary	-	20	16
Portugal	25	22	16
Sweden	22	18	15
Bulgaria	-	17	14
Austria	21	17	14
Slovakia	-	13	11
Denmark	16	13	11
Finland	16	13	10
Ireland	15	12	9
Lithuania	-	12	9
Latvia	-	8	7
Slovenia	-	7	6
Estonia	-	6	6
Cyprus	-	6	5
Luxembourg	6	6	5
Malta	-	5	4
TOTAL NUMBER	626	732	700
Turkey	-	77	-

Note:

The number of seats for Turkey is given according to what was discussed during the negotiations within Inter Governmental Conference.

The Nice proposals are the basis for our calculations for allocation of seats. However, as can be seen above, the Czech Republic and Hungary are mistreated by this proposal and we suppose that this will be corrected in the membership negotiations between the European Union and these two countries. Luxembourg has also been fortunate compared to Malta and Cyprus with each MEP (Member of European Parliament) representing fewer inhabitants. Clearly the applicant countries were at a disadvantage because they were not represented in Nice.

We also mention sometimes in the report an alternative to the Nice Treaty proposal. The European Parliament proposed in April 2000 an allocation of seats in their own institution. They propose a higher degree of proportionality in relation to the population in the member states. The European Parliaments' view about how the seats in the previous parliaments should be allocated when new member states are added have always been followed earlier (with one exception that Austria during the membership negotiations succeeded to get yet a mandate for their parliament delegation in comparison to what the European Parliament proposed).

Our most important wish with this report is to show what current political trends indicate for the future in a European Parliament representing 27 (or maybe 28) member states.

The political situation might of course change drastically in a very short period of time. Our report is only produced with the aim to create a debate about the large political "families" that today exist in Europe and especially to start a debate about the smaller political groups continued possibility of survival.

Table 2:
An assessment of the hurdles faced by political parties after enlargement.

A	B	C	D	E	F
	/000	%			
Germany	82038	17,05	99	5 parties	5 %-clause
United Kingdom	59247	12,31	72	6+3(NI) parties	Divided in constituencies
France	58966	12,25	72	13 parties	5%-clause
Italy	57612	11,97	72	17 parties	Around 0,7 % for 1 seat
Spain	39394	8,19	50	7 parties	Around 1,6-1,7 % for 1 seat
Poland	38667	8,04	50	5 parties	5 %-clause
Romania	22489	4,67	33	6-7 parties	5 %-clause
Netherlands	15760	3,28	25	8 parties	Around 4 % for 1 seat
Greece	10533	2,19	22	5 parties	Around 3-4 % for 1 seat
Czech Rep.	10290	2,14	20	5 parties	5 %-clause
Belgium	10213	2,12	22	10-11 parties	Around 6 % in Flanders + Around 9-10 % in Vallonia for 1 seat
Hungary	10092	2,10	20	5 parties	5 %-clause
Portugal	9980	2,07	22	4 parties	Around 4 % for 1 seat
Sweden	8854	1,84	18	6-7 parties	Around 5-6 % for 1 seat
Bulgaria	8230	1,71	17	6 parties	Around 5-6 % for 1 seat
Austria	8082	1,68	17	4 parties	Around 5-6 % for 1 seat
Slovakia	5393	1,12	13	7-8 parties	Around 6 % for 1 seat
Denmark	5313	1,10	13	7 parties	Around 6 % for 1 seat
Finland	5160	1,07	13	6 parties	Around 6 % for 1 seat
Ireland	3744	0,78	12	3-4 parties + 1 independ.	Single Transferable Vote-system
Lithuania	3701	0,77	12	4-5 parties	Around 6-7 % for 1 seat

Latvia	2439	0,51	8	5 parties	Around 10-12 % for 1 seat
Slovenia	1978	0,41	7	4 parties	Around 9-12 % for 1 seat
Estonia	1446	0,30	6	4 parties	Around 10-13 % for 1 seat
Cyprus	752	0,16	6	3 parties	Around 10-13 % for 1 seat
Luxembourg	429	0,09	6	4 parties	Around 10-13 % for 1 seat
Malta	379	0,08	5	2 parties	Around 15-20 % for 1 seat
TOTAL EU-27	481181	100,00	732		
Turkey	63918		77?	5 parties	10 %-clause

Population statistics: Eurostat 1999

A: Member States

B: Population (thousands)

C: Population of each Member State as a percentage of total EU population

D: Seats per Member State

E: Number of political parties that probably will be represented in Parliament

F: Clauses and other electoral rules that are required to obtain a seat in EP. In many countries an estimation how many percent of the votes that might be required to obtain a seat.

The calculation of the number of parties that will get seats in the European Parliament are based on the following national parliament elections in the applicant countries:

Poland: Parliament election 1997

Romania: Parliament election 2000

Czech Republic: Parliament election 1998

Hungary: Parliament election 1998

Bulgaria: Parliament election 1997

Slovakia: Parliament election 1998

Lithuania: Parliament election 2000

Latvia: Parliament election 1998

Slovenia: Parliament election 2000

Estonia: Parliament election 1999

Cyprus: Parliament election 1996

Malta: Parliament election 1998

Turkey: Parliament election 1999

The thresholds for obtaining seats in European Parliament elections in the applicant countries are based on the present thresholds to each one of the national parliaments. In general the election rules are the same in the present member states' national parliamentary elections as in the European Parliament elections in each country, there are exceptions though.

Many "parties" are election cartels, coalitions, alliances or similar agreements. The party systems are very unstable in some of the countries in Central- and Eastern Europe.

Table 3:
Allocation of seats in EU-27 based on the EP method of calculation as approved in their resolution of 13 April 2000

A	B	C	D	E	F	G
	/000	%		%		687401/F
Germany	82038	17,05	104	14,86	788827	0,87

United Kingdom	59247	12,31	77	11,00	769442	0,89
France	58966	12,25	77	11,00	765792	0,90
Italy	57612	11,97	75	10,71	768160	0,89
Spain	39394	8,19	52	7,43	757577	0,91
Poland	38667	8,04	51	7,29	758176	0,91
Romania	22489	4,67	32	4,57	702781	0,98
Netherlands	15760	3,28	23	3,29	685217	1,00
Greece	10533	2,19	17	2,43	619588	1,11
Czech Republic	10290	2,14	17	2,43	605294	1,14
Belgium	10213	2,12	17	2,43	600765	1,14
Hungary	10092	2,10	16	2,29	630750	1,09
Portugal	9980	2,07	16	2,29	623750	1,10
Sweden	8854	1,84	15	2,14	590267	1,16
Bulgaria	8230	1,71	14	2,00	587857	1,17
Austria	8082	1,68	14	2,00	577286	1,19
Slovakia	5393	1,12	11	1,57	490273	1,40
Denmark	5313	1,10	11	1,57	483000	1,42
Finland	5160	1,07	10	1,43	516000	1,33
Ireland	3744	0,78	9	1,29	416000	1,65
Lithuania	3701	0,77	9	1,29	411222	1,67
Latvia	2439	0,51	7	1,00	348429	1,97
Slovenia	1978	0,41	6	0,86	329667	2,09
Estonia	1446	0,30	6	0,86	241000	2,85
Cyprus	752	0,16	5	0,71	150400	4,57
Luxembourg	429	0,09	5	0,71	85800	8,01
Malta	379	0,08	4	0,57	94750	7,25
TOTAL EU 27	481181	100,00	700	100,00		

A: Member States

B: Population (thousands)

C: Population of each Member State as a percentage of total EU population

D: Seats per Member State

E: Seats allocated to each Member State as a percentage of the total number of seats in Parliament

F: Number of inhabitants represented by each MEP in each Member State

G: Ratio between average representation in the Union (where one MEP represents 687.401 inhabitants) and representation in each individual Member State (average = 1).

Table 4:

A hypothetical calculation of the party groups in the European Parliament EU 27 (plus Turkey) based at the election result in the European Parliament election 1999 and from the latest national parliament elections in the 13 applicant countries

Political groups in the European Parliament

Situation in October 2000

	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	A	P	FIN	S	UK	Total
EPP/ED	6	1	53	9	28	21	5	34	2	9	7	9	5	7	37	233
PES	5	3	33	9	24	22	1	16	2	6	7	12	3	6	30	180
ELDR	5	6			3		1	8	1	8			5	4	10	51
Greens/ EFA	7		7		4	9	2	2	1	4	2		2	2	6	48
EUL/NGL		1	6	7	4	11		6		1		2	1	3		42
UEN		1				12	6	9				2				30
TGI	2					5		11								18
EDD		4				6				3					3	16
IND					1	1		1			5				1	8
Total	25	16	99	25	64	87	15	87	6	31	21	25	16	22	87	626

Political groups at present in the EP

EPP/ED	European People's Party and European Democrats
PES	Party of European Socialists
ELDR	European Liberal, Democratic and Reformist Group
Greens/EFA	Greens/European Free Alliance
EUL/NGL	European United Left/Nordic Green Left
UEN	Union for Europe of the Nations
TGI	Technical Group of Independents
EDD	Europe of Democracies and Diversities
IND	Independents

Table 5:
The allocation of seats to the European Parliament by countries and party groups out of the decision taken by the European Council in Nice December 2000

	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	A	P	FIN	S	UK	Total
EPP/ED	3+ 1+ 1	1	43+ 10	9	23	10+ 7	4	18 +3 +2 +2	2	7	6	7	4	4+ 1	32+ 1	204

								+1								
								+1								
								+1								
PES	2 +2	3	33	8	21	18		13 +2	2	6	6	11	2	5	24+	159
ELDR	3+ 3	4+1			2		1	6	1	5+1			3+1	1+ 2	8	42
Greens/ EFA	2+ 1+ 1		7		1	8	2	1	1	3	1		2	2	1+2	36
EUL/NGL		1	6	2+2 +1	3	5+4		3+ 2		1		2	1	3		36
UEN						11	5	7				2				25
TGI	2					4		6+ 3+ 1								16
EDD		2+1				5				2					2	13
IND											4				1	5
Total	22	13	99	22	50	72	12	72	6	25	17	22	13	18	72	535

Note:

For example EPP/ED Italy when written: 18+3+2+2+1+1+1 = Forza Italia + Partito Popolare Italiano + Centro Cristiano Democratico + Cristiani Democratici Unitari + Unione Democratici Europei + Rinnovamento Italiani - Dini + Partito Pensionista

2. The party political situation in the EU 15 countries. Which parties risk to lose their representation in the EP?

Belgium

Parties that would be represented in the EP:

In Flanders/Brussels:

Christian People's Party, CVP (EPP/ED)

Socialist Party, SP (PES)

Flemish Liberals and Democrats, VLD (ELDR)

Volksunie-ID21, liberal/regionalist (Green/EFA)

AGALEV, green (Green/EFA)

Vlaams Blok, VB, nationalist (TGI)

In Wallonie/Brussels:

Christian Social Party, PSC (EPP/ED)

Socialist Party, PS (PES)

Liberal Reformist Party - Democratic Front of Francophones, PRL-FDF-MCC, liberal (ELDR)

Confederated Ecologists, ECOLO, green (Green/EFA)

In German speaking Gemeinschaft:
Christian Social Party, CSP (EPP/ED)

Whether Belgium will keep the German speaking constituency when their seats decrease is hard to speculate about. The single seat in this constituency is today held by Christian Democratic CSP (EPP/ED) that got 13.456 votes and 0,22 % in the 1999 election in the whole Belgium.

There is no political party in Belgium that totally would lose its representation in the European Parliament. But to take a seat in Flanders in the future might require around 6 % and in Wallonie around 9-10 % of the votes (depending on how many votes smaller parties with no chance of taking a seat will win).

The National Front in Wallonie lost their seats in the 1999 election when they went from 4,1 % to 1,5 % of the votes.

Denmark

Parties that would be represented in the EP:

Conservative People's Party (EPP/ED)

Social Democrats (PES)

Left - Denmark's Liberal Party (ELDR)

Radical Left, social liberal (ELDR)

Socialist People's Party (EUL/NGL)

June Movement (EDD)

People's Movement Against EU (EDD)

The Danish People's Party, nationalist (UEN) would lose its seat in the EP under the result in the EP election 1999. Since it has increased in the polls it would probably take a seat from another party in the next election.

The Centre Democrats (ELDR), the Christian People's Party People's Party (EPP/ED) and Progress Party (IND?) are represented in the national parliament but do not today gather enough votes to get in to the EP.

Unity List Red Green does not offer a candidate in the EP election. They endorse the People's Movement Against EU in the EP elections.

Germany

Parties that would be represented in the EP:

Christian Democratic Union (EPP/ED)

Christian Social Union (EPP/ED)

Social Democratic Party (PES)

Alliance 90/The Greens (Green/EFA)

Party of Democratic Socialism (EUL/NGL)

The liberal Free Democratic Party (ELDR) has not been able to get in to the EP in two elections in a row. In the EP election 1999 they got 820.371 votes (3,0 %), which is numerically greater than for example four of the British parties in the EP have, and more votes than all of the seven parties that represents Sweden in the EP. Also the Republicans (IND) with 461.038 votes (1,7%) and Tierschutz with 185.186 votes (0,7%) are reasonably large parties in comparison with many parties that are represented in the EP.

Greece

Parties that would be represented in the EP:

New Democracy, conservative (EPP/ED)
Pan Hellenic Socialist Movement, PASOK (PES)
Communist Party of Greece, KKE (EUL/NGL)
Coalition of the Left (EUL/NGL)
Democratic Socialist Movement, DIKKI (EUL/NGL)

DIKKI lost their seats in the national parliament in the election of April 2000, so their future in the European Parliament might be in danger. The margin for the Coalition of the Left to win a seat in the European Parliament is also diminishing.

Spain

Parties that would be represented in the EP:

People's Party, conservative (EPP/ED)
Convergence and Union of Catalonia: Democratic Union of Catalonia, UDC, regionalist/christian democratic (EPP/ED)
Socialist Workers' Party (PES)
Convergence and Union of Catalonia: Democratic Convergence of Catalonia, CDC, regionalist/centrist (ELDR)
Canarian Coalition, regionalist/centre (ELDR)
Basque Nationalist Party, PNV (Green/EFA)
United Left (EUL/NGL)

In the 1999 European Parliament elections some of the regionalist parties had common lists. With Spain losing 14 of their 50 seats the regionalist parties need to form even larger cartels of common lists to be able to win seats in the European Parliament.

European Coalition, CE, containing the Canarian Coalition, the Andalusian Party (Green/EFA), the Valencian Union and the Aragonese Party got two seats in the 1999 election, which meant that the two first mentioned parties got in to the EP. With the reduced number of seats for Spain this coalition would only get one. That means that the Canarian Coalition (ELDR) would be the only one to get in (as the list order presently stands).

Nationalist Coalition Peoples' Europe consists of four regionalist parties: the Basque Nationalist Party, PNV (Green/EFA), the progressive Basque Solidarity (Green/EFA), the regionalist progressive centrist Republican Left of Catalonia and the Majorcan Union. This coalition won two seats. But with the future 50 seats for Spain this coalition would only get one seat, presumably a seat that PNV would gain.

The Bloque Nacionalista Gallego (Green/EFA) and the Basque Euskal Herritarrok (IND) which did not form common lists with any other party would lose their seats in the European Parliament. Los Verdes/Izquierda de los Pueblos (Green/EFA or EUL/NGL) that was close to winning a seat in 1999 would find it harder to obtain a seat in the future.

France

Parties that would be represented in the EP:

Rally for the Republic - Liberal Democracy, conservative/liberal (EPP/ED)
Union for French Democracy, liberal/christian dem (EPP/ED)

Socialist Party (in cartel with PRG and MDC) (PES)
The Greens (Green/EFA)
Communist Party (EUL/NGL)
Workers' Fight/League Revolutionary Workers' (EUL/NGL)
Rally for France, RPF (UEN)
Hunting, Fishing and Traditions (EDD)
National Front (TGI)

On the non-socialist wing the parties come and go with the different political leaders. Also here the 5 %-clause stopped a rather large party entering the European Parliament. The nationalist National Movement led by Bruno Megret got around 578.000 votes (3,3 %) in the EP election 1999. His party got more votes than many parties currently represented in the European Parliament.

Ireland

Parties that would be represented in the EP:
Fine Gael, christian democratic (EPP/ED)
Labour Party (PES)
Green Alliance (Green/EFA)
Fianna Fail, conservative (UEN)

Labour risks losing their only delegate. In 1999 their votes were spread between two strong candidates in the Dublin constituency. One independent (1999: Mrs Dana Scallon, EPP/ED) would not be elected either. Progressive Democrats (ELDR) can forget the EP, their chances of winning a seat in the future will be very small. Sinn Fein, the Socialist Party and other small parties that have a seat in the national parliament will not stand a chance of winning a seat of winning a seat.

Italy

Parties that would be represented in the EP:
Forza Italia (EPP/ED)
Centro Cristiano Democratico (EPP/ED)
Partito Popolare Italiano (EPP/ED)
Unione Democratici Europei (EPP/ED)
Cristiani Democratici Unitari (EPP/ED)
Rinnovamento Italiani - Dini (EPP/ED)
Partito Pensionista (EPP/ED)
Democratici di Sinistra (PES)
Socialisti Democratici Italiani (PES)
I Democratici (ELDR)
Federazione dei Verdi (Green/EFA)
Rifondazione Comunista (EUL/NGL)
Comunisti Italiani (EUL/NGL)
Aleanza Nazionale - Patti Segni (UEN)
Lista Emma Bonino (TGI)
Lega Nord (TGI)
Movimento Sociale Tricolore (TGI)

PRI/Liberali (ELDR) and the Südtiroler Volkspartei (EPP/ED) will not win one of the 72 Italian seats. In 1999 the latter mentioned party had a coalition with I Democratici that saved them. Another three or four parties that failed to get in in 1999 will have even smaller chances in coming elections. However, PRI/Liberal would win a seat if Italy got the 75 EP seats proposed by the EP-resolution in April 2000.

Luxembourg

Parties that would be represented in the EP:

Christian Social Party (EPP/ED)

Socialist Workers' Party (PES)

Democratic Party (ELDR)

The Greens (Green/EFA)

The Greens risk losing their seat if the EP delegation from Luxembourg would shrink from the present 6 seats. In the 1999 election the Greens got the sixth seat and with the EP's proposal that five seats should be allocated to Luxembourg the Greens would be out.

Yet another three national parties, The Left (EUL/NGL), the old age pensioners in Action Committee for Democracy and Pensions Justice and the Green Liberal Alliance (ELDR?) will have fewer chances to win a seat in the EP.

Netherlands

Parties that would be represented in the EP:

Christian Democratic Appeal (EPP/ED)

Labour Party, PvdA (PES)

People's Party for Freedom and Democracy, liberal (ELDR)

Democrats 66, social liberal (ELDR)

Green Left (Green/EFA)

Socialist Party (EUL/NGL)

Reformed Political Federation, RPF/Political Reformed Party, SGP/Reformed Political League, GPV, christian (EDD)

One of the three reformed christian parties (probably GPV) would lose its seat in the EP. The nationalist Centre Democrats (IND) would have no chance to get in to the EP.

Austria

Parties that would be represented in the EP:

Austrian People's Party (EPP/ED)

Social Democratic Party of Austria (PES)

Freedom Party of Austria (IND)

The Greens (Green/EFA) could have difficulty in the future be represented and Liberal Forum (ELDR) will have a hard time getting in to the EP again.

Portugal

Parties that would be represented in the EP:

Social Democratic Party, liberal-conservative (EPP/ED)
Socialist Party (PES)
United Democratic Coalition, communist/green (EUL/NGL)
People's Party, conservative (UEN)

The communist Left Bloc that is represented in the national parliament with 2,4% of the vote 1999 will not have a chance of taking a seat in the EP.

Finland

Parties that would be represented in the EP:
National Coalition Party, conservative (EPP/ED)
Social Democratic Party (PES)
Finnish Centre, agrarian-liberal (ELDR)
Swedish People's Party, liberal (ELDR)
Green League (Green/EFA)
Left League (EUL/NGL)

The Swedish People's Party (6,8% in the EP election 1999) would lose its seat if Finland only got 10 seats as proposed by the European Parliament. With 13 seats for Finland the Swedish People's Party survives but its margin is small.

Clearly the Finnish Christian League (EPP/ED) (2,4% in the EP election 1999) loses its seat in the EP when the Finnish delegation shrinks.

Sweden

Parties that would be represented in the EP:
The Moderate Party (EPP/ED)
Christian Democrats (EPP/ED)
Social Democratic Workers' Party (PES)
Centre Party (ELDR)
Liberal People's Party (ELDR)
Green Party (Green/EFA)
Left Party (EUL/NGL)

The Centre Party is in trouble in the polls and risk losing its only seat. The Green Party might also lose its seats since it is below 5 % at national level.

United Kingdom

Parties that would be represented in the EP:
Conservative Party (EPP/ED)
Labour Party (PES)
Liberal Democrat Party (ELDR)
Scottish National Party (Green/EFA)
Plaid Cymru (Green/EFA)
UK Independence Party (EDD)

The Greens would lose both seats they have now since they were allocated their seats last through the d'Hondt system in both of the two regions were they won a seat.

In the 1999 election Britain had a new election system with 84 seats allocated to nine regions in England, one in Scotland and one in Wales. If the present election system were to be kept we would assume that the allocation of seats would be as follows:

East Midlands 5 (at present 6),
Eastern 7 (8)
London 8 (10)
North East 3 (4)
North West 8 (10)
South East 10 (11)
South West 6 (7)
West Midlands 6 (8)
Yorkshire and the Humber 6 (7)
Wales 4 (5)
Scotland 6 (8)

The seats have been allocated according to the Sainte Lagüe method. If the d'Hondt method would be used instead Wales would lose one seat to North West.

But who knows? Maybe the election system will be changed once again when there are 69 EP seats to be elected in Britain. The Conservative Party, after all, has maintained its criticism of what are, in reality, only recent change to the first-past-the-post system.

It is likely that Northern Ireland will maintain their three seats in EP. Parties that would be represented in the EP:

Ulster Unionist Party (EPP/ED)
Social Democratic and Labour Party (PES)
Democratic Unionist Party (IND)

Sinn Fein with 17,1 % of the votes 1999 is the fourth largest party in Northern Ireland and presently not represented in the EP.

3. Which political groups would the political parties of the new member states join?

The party political situation is unstable in most of the applicant countries. The political winds blow in different directions at every election. The only steady trend seems to be a declining turnout. Parties are split now and then and alliances between different parties come and go. The parties are often constructed around leading candidates and have a very small base of actual members.

Out of the results in the latest national parliamentary elections in each country we have made a calculation of every applicant country's future representation in the European Parliament. The calculations are built on the allocation of seats between parties according to the d'Hondt method with the assumption that those thresholds that exist in each country to the national parliament are also used for the European Parliament election.

Of course our calculation is hypothetical - the turnout in national elections and in European Parliament elections are very different in existing member states and will surely be so in future member states. In the European Parliament elections the voters also tend to vote against the current government and for national opposition parties and even smaller populist parties.

Which groups some of the parties in the 13 applicant countries would join is pure speculation. But there are rather easily interpreted signal as to which groups in the European Parliament the new parties will be attracted.

Table 6:
Allocation in the 13 applicant countries between the party groups in the European Parliament after the enlargement of EU according to the proposed Nice Treaty.

	Est	Lat	Lit	Pol	Cze	Slva	Slve	Hu	Ro	Bul	Cy	Mal	(Tur)	Tot
EPP/ED	2	2	1	19+ 3	6+2 +2	2+1 +1	1?+1	7+ 3	3	10+ 1?	3	3	(13+ 11)	73?
PES	1	1	5	16	8	2	1	8	16? +3	1		2	(21)	64?
ELDR	1+ 2?	2	3+3	8+4		1+1?	4	1	3		1			34?
Green/EFA										1?				1?
EUL/NGL		1			2					4?	2			9?
UEN		2?												2?
TGI														0
EDD														0
IND						4?+1		1	8				(17+ 15)	14?
Tot	6	8	12	50	20	13	7	20	33	17	6	5	(77)	197

Notes:

1/ For example ELDR Estonia when written: 1 + 2? = Estonian Reform Party + Estonian Centre Party (? = ELDR affiliation not 100% decided)

2/ Turkey is counted separately and not included in the total sum.

4. The party political situation: in applicant country by applicant country

Many non-socialist parties in Central and Eastern Europe see the German CDU as their leading political star. The problem is that these political parties have problems in co-operating between themselves.

The post-communist parties have stated that their political vision is more akin to the Scandinavian Social Democracy. Most of them have also been accepted by the Party of European Socialists as associate or observer parties.

The political parties that are described below are those parties that got in to the national parliaments in the latest elections in each country. In some of these countries a lot has happened since the elections both in a party political context and in the polls.

Estonia

Parties that would be represented in the EP:

Fatherland Union, conservative (EPP/ED)
Moderates, social democrats (PES)
Estonian Reform Party, liberal (ELDR)
Estonian Centre Party, centrist (ELDR?)

The liberal Estonian Coalition Party (ELDR) with 7,6 % of the votes in the national elections 1999 and the agrarian Estonian Country People's Party (ELDR) with 7,3 % of the votes as well as the two Russian minority parties United People's Party (Greens/EFA?) with 6,1 % and the Russian Party of Estonia (Greens/EFA?) with 2,0 % of the votes will not be able to get in to the European Parliament given the present situation.

Latvia

Parties that would be represented in the EP:
Fatherland and Freedom, conservative (EPP/ED)
Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party (PES)
Latvia's Way, liberal (ELDR)
Party of People's Harmony, socialist (EUL/NGL)
People's Party, centrist (UEN?)

The centrist New Party (UEN?) with 7,3 % in the 1998 national parliament elections would not be able to get a seat in the European Parliament. Yet another five parties, all of them non-socialist, would not get into the EP. They are the conservative Latvian Peasants Union (2,5 %), the Latvian Christian Democratic Union (2,3 %), the nationalist Popular Movement for Latvia (1,7 %), the liberal Democratic Party Samnieks (1,6 %) and the nationalist Latvian Unity Party (0,5 %).

The biggest party, the centrist People's Party (UEN?) (21,2% in the national election 1998) we guess would go to UEN, but ELDR as well as EPP/ED may be interested in picking them up. The situation of the political parties is not so stable in Latvia - at lot of things can happen both in national and EP elections that are impossible to predict.

Lithuania

Parties that would be represented in the EP:
Social Democratic Coalition (PES)
The New Union, social liberal (ELDR)
Lithuanian Liberal Union (ELDR)
Fatherland Union - Lithuanian Conservatives (EPP/ED)

Christian Democratic Union and Lithuanian Peasants' Party with around 4 % in the national election of 2000 will not be represented in EP. That goes also for about six or seven other non-socialist parties with 1 to around 3 % in the national election as well as the Lithuanian Poles Electoral Action (2 % in the election 2000).

Poland

Parties that would be represented in the EP:
Solidarity Electoral Alliance, christian democratic (EPP/ED)
Movement for Poland's Reconstruction, conservative (EPP/ED)

Democratic Left Alliance (PES)
Freedom Union (ELDR)
Polish People's Party, agrarian (ELDR)

The governing Solidarity Electoral Alliance (EPP/ED) have had some splits since the last election in 1997. Whether the EPP/ED will be able to gather all the right wing movements remains to be seen.

It is also a little unclear if the Union of Labour (PES) would get in to the European Parliament. In 1997 they got 4,7 % of the votes. With the 5%-clause in Poland they did not enter the national parliament. It remains to be seen if in coming elections they will be able to establish themselves at the national level again.

The German minority with 0,6% of the votes in 1997 and with two representatives in the Sejm have special rules allowing them to be represented at the national level. But will it be possible to maintain this special rule for the Polish seats in the European Parliament?

Czech Republic

Parties that would be represented in the EP:

Civic Democratic Party, conservative (EPP/ED)
Christian Democratic Union - Czech People's Party, christian democratic (EPP/ED)
Freedom Union, conservative/liberal (EPP/ED)
Social Democratic Party (PES)
Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (EUL/NGL)

The nationalist Republican Party of Czechoslovakia (IND?) with 3,9 % in the national parliament election 1998, will probably not get a seat in the European Parliament. However, a lot has happened in the polls in Czech Republic since the election 1998 and these recent changes are not regarded in our report.

Slovakia

Parties that would be represented in the EP:

Christian Democratic Movement, KDH (EPP/ED)
Democratic Party, DS, liberal-conservative (EPP/ED)
Hungarian Coalition, MK, Hungarian minority (EPP/ED)
Party of Democratic Left, SDL, social democrats (PES)
Democratic Union, DU, liberal (ELDR)
Party of Civic Understanding, SOP, social-liberal (ELDR?)
Slovak National Party, SNS, xenophobic (IND)
Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, HZDS, authoritarian (IND?)

The Slovak Social Democratic Party (PES) and the Green Party of Slovakia (Green/EFA) were in the 1998 national election in an alliance with KDH, DS and DU named the Slovak Democratic Coalition. An alliance was needed so they with common effort could defeat Meciar's HZDS. But the Social Democrats and the Greens are not strong enough each by themselves to win one seat of the eleven that is allocated for Slovakia in the EP.

Very recently, strong forces within the Slovak Democratic Coalition formed the Slovak Democratic and Christian Union, SKDU, with people coming from liberal, conservative and christian democratic factions.

The Slovak Communist Party (EUL/NGL) with 2,8 % and the communist Slovak Workers' Front (EUL/NGL) with 1,3 % in the 1998 election, would have a long way to go to obtain a seat in the European Parliament.

Whether Meciar's Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, HZDS, would join the Independents or not is hard to know at present.

Slovenia

Parties that would be represented in the EP:

Social Democratic Party of Slovenia, SDSS, non-socialist (EPP/ED?)

Slovenian People's Party, SLS, (EPP/ED)

United List of Social Democrats, ZLSD (PES)

Liberal Democracy of Slovenia (ELDR)

The Slovenian People's Party, SLS, was in an electoral alliance with the Slovenian Christian Democrats, SKD, (EPP/ED) in the national elections of October 2000. However, from that result we can deduce that the cartel SLS/SKD would only get one seat in the EP. And since SKD is the junior party in the cartel, they would not get in to the EP. Other parties that have seats in the national parliament but would not get in to the EP at the present are New Slovenia - Christian People's Party (EPP/ED), Democratic Party of Retired People (PES? or IND?), the nationalist Slovenian National Party (IND?) and the Party of Youth of Slovenia (UEN?). There is also a green party (Green/EFA) and the Liberal Party (ELDR) with less than one percent in the 2000 election. They have not been represented in the national parliament since the 1996 election.

Liberal Democracy is the strongest party in Slovenia at present and decides the general political line for the country.

Hungary

Parties that would be represented in the EP:

Alliance of Young Democrats - Hungarian Civic Party, conservative (EPP/ED)

Independent Party of Smallholders, agrarian-conservative (EPP/ED)

Hungarian Socialist Party (PES)

Alliance of Free Democrats, liberal (ELDR)

Hungarian Justice and Life Party, nationalist (IND)

The conservative Hungarian Democratic Forum (EPP/ED) with 2,8 % of the votes in the national election 1998 and seats in the parliament through the one single seat constituencies would probably not get in to the European Parliament. Neither would the Workers' Party (GUE/NGL) with 4,0 % of the votes at national level. Also the Christian Democratic People's Party (EPP/ED) with 2,3 % of the votes, would at present not be able to get in.

The two leading political alternatives in Hungary are the Young Democrats (which has lead the government since 1998) and the Socialists (that led the government 1994 to 1998).

Romania

Parties that would be represented in the EP:

Hungarian Democratic Alliance of Romania, Hungarian minority (EPP/ED)

National Liberal Party, PNL (ELDR)

Pool Social Democracy Romania, consisting of Party of Social Democracy, PDSR, Social Democratic Party, PSDR and Humanist Party, PUR (PES?)

Democratic Party, PD (PES)

Party of Great Romania, PRM (IND)

Our calculation of the seats in the European Parliament for the Romanian parties is based on the results in the election to the Chamber of deputies the 26th of November 2000.

Due to the rules for representation in the national parliament, which were approved just before the election a cartel of parties needs up to 10 % to get represented in the national parliament. For one party the threshold is 5 %, for two parties in a cartel it is 8 %, for three parties in a cartel 9 % and for four (or more) parties in a cartel 10 % of the votes is required to win seats.

These rules meant that Democratic Convention 2000, CDR2000, (EPP/ED) with 546.000 votes and 5,04% in the election to the Chamber of deputies did not receive any seats. CDR2000 consisted mainly of National Peasants' Party Christian Democrats, PNTCD, Union of Right Forces, UFD, and some other small parties. The centrist Alliance for Romania, ApR, (ELDR?) with 441.000 votes and 4,1 % did not get in to parliament either. Yet another four parties with around 100.000 votes or more and 1 % of the votes are National Liberal Party - Campeanu (ELDR?), National Alliance PUNR-PNR (IND), Ecologist Party (Green/EFA?) and Socialist Workers Party (EUL/NGL). In total 76,8 % of the voters in the election to the Chamber of deputies voted for parties that got represented. That means that 23,2 % of those that voted voted for parties that did not get representation in the Chamber.

Bulgaria

Parties that would be represented in the EP:

Union of Democratic Forces, conservative (EPP/ED)

Bulgarian National People's Union, agrarian-conservative (EPP/ED)

Bulgarian Business Bloc (EPP/ED?)

Bulgarian Euro-Left, social democrats (PES)

Movement for Rights and Freedom, Turkish minority (Green/EFA)

Bulgarian Socialist Party (EUL/NGL?)

The Bulgarian Socialist Party has so far not been let in to the Socialist International, even if their Youth League have been allowed in to the Socialist Youth International IUSY. Maybe BSP would be accepted to the PES out of pragmatic reasons when Bulgaria joins the European Union?

The Bulgarian Business Bloc (BBB), with 4,9 % of the votes in the national election 1997, would have difficulty getting a seat in the European Parliament. With 14 seats for the Bulgarian delegation as proposed by the European Parliament, the BBB would not get in. But with 17 seats for Bulgaria as proposed in the Nice Treaty there is enough margin for BBB just to squeeze in.

At least three parties within the conservative alliance Union of Democratic Forces (EPP/ED) would probably not get a seat in the European Parliament. They are the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (ESP), the conservative Democratic Party (EPP/ED) and the agrarian-conservative Bulgarian National People's Union (EPP/ED).

Cyprus

Parties that would be represented in the EP:

Democratic Coalition, conservative (EPP/ED)

Democratic Party, liberal (ELDR)

Progressive Party of Working People (EUL/NGL)

The Socialist Party-Democratic Centre Union, EDEK (ESP), with 8,1 % of the votes in the national parliament elections 1996, would not get a seat in the European Parliament. The liberal Movement of Free Democrats, KED, (ELDR?) with 3,7 % of the votes in 1996, would not obtain a seat either.

Malta

The two dominating parties, the Nationalist Party (EPP/ED) and the Labour Party (PES) would probably share the five seats three to two depending on which party gets the higher share of the votes (if they chose a proportional system). The green party Democratic Alternative with less than 2 % of the votes would however not have a chance of winning a seat in the European Parliament.

Turkey

Parties likely to come in to the European Parliament:

Democratic Left Party (PES?)

National Movement Party, nationalist (GL)

Virtue Party, islamist (GL)

Motherland Party (EPP/ED)

True Parth Party (EPP/ED)

The precise number of seats for Turkey and the sizes of the other member states delegation in the European Parliament after Turkey enters the European Union is not clarified, either in the Nice Treaty or in the Dimitrakoupoulos/Leinen report from the European Parliament. Turkey will possibly keep its 10 % clause for its European Parliament elections. This will lead to the Kurdish speaking minority party HADEP (PES or Green/EFA? or EUL/NGL?) (with 4,7 % and 1.482.196 votes in the 1999 national election) and the social democratic Republican People's Party (PES) (with 8,7 % and 2.716.094 votes) not being represented in the European Parliament.

The political parties from Turkey are excluded from the total calculation in table 7. If Turkey joins, their delegates would be allocated as follows; 21 to PES?, 13 plus 11 to EPP/ED and 17 plus 15 to Independents. If Turkey is included, the whole allocation of EU 27 states must be recounted according to the d'Hondt method.

Table 7:

The total allocation of seats in the European Parliament EU-27 with 732 seats based on the European Parliament election 1999 in EU-15 and the latest national elections in 12 of the applicant countries.

Political groups

EPP/ED	European People's Party and European Democrats	277
PES	Party of European Socialists	223
ELDR	European Liberal, Democratic and Reformist Group	76
Greens/EFA	Greens/European Free Alliance	36
EUL/NGL	European United Left/Nordic Green Left	45
UEN	Union for Europe of the Nations	27
TGI	Technical Group of Independents	16
EDD	Europe of Democracies and Diversities	13
IND	Independents	19

5. Existing rules at present for Political Groups in the European Parliament

Rules of Procedure of the European Parliament for Political Groups (14th edition June 1999)

Chapter V

Political Groups

Rule 29

Formation of political groups

- 1. Members may form themselves into groups according to their political affinities.*
- 2. A political group must comprise Members from more than one Member State. The minimum number of Members required to form a political group shall be twenty three if they come from two Member States, eighteen if they come from three Member States and fourteen if they come from four or more Member States.*
- 3. A Member may not belong to more than one group.*
- 4. The president shall be notified in a statement when a political group is set up. This statement shall specify the name of the group, its members and its bureau.*
- 5. The statement shall be published in the Official Journal of the European Communities.*

Rule 30

Non-attached Members

- 1. Members who do not belong to a political group shall be provided with a secretariat. The detailed arrangements shall be laid down by the Bureau on a proposal from the Secretary General.*
- 2. The Bureau shall also determine the status and parliamentary rights of such Members.*

6. Will present group composition remain?

It might look strange for many voters that in some of the member states there are many political parties that stand against each other, but who in the European Parliament are members of the same political group.

The non-socialist gathering that took place in the parliament before the election 1999 to create a dominating non-socialist group against the Socialists might not be maintained in the future. A division of the christian democrat and conservative groups in the EPP/ED is not unlikely in the future. Sources within the EEP/ED indicate this might happen.

7. The development of a two party system in the European Union

With the proposed statute for European political parties from the Commission the party groups will be more structured. The national parties will be tied up tighter to a Union structure.

The development towards a two party system is clear. The EPP/ED will stand against the PES as the two main alternatives in the European Parliament and in many, not all though, member states. The enlargement, under the Nice regime, will strengthen the development of the two party system.

The European Parliament has also proposed a "European constituency" of maybe 10 % of the total seats in the parliament. These seats will be elected out of lists nominated by the European parties. The voters would then have two votes, one for electing the national delegations and one for electing an "European" representative. The reason for this reform is of course ideological. The European Parliament wants to form an European political system. But it will also strengthen the two largest European parties and give them a much clearer profile against many small and scattered political forces.

The irony in all this however is that the EPP/ED and the PES groups will still be forced to co-operate in politics. In the co-decision procedure towards the Council, the European Parliament needs to gather an absolute majority for their decisions in the EP. At present 314 votes of the total 626 is required in the second reading in the co-decision procedure for approval of the EP's position. In general in the present Parliament maybe 550 MEPs take part in the votes (around 87 %). Broad coalitions between the EPP/ED and PES are therefore needed if the institution shall have an influence in the European Union.

With 732 MEPs a majority of 366 is required for approval in the second reading. With 87 % of the MEPs taking part in the votes a coalition of EPP/ED plus ELDR plus UEN would probably only gather around 330 votes (if these groups have the average attendance of 87 %).

The EPP/ED and PES groups together have a total of 500 seats in the European Parliament. These two groups co-operating and making compromises are still in the future the only solid solution for the European Parliament having an influence in the European Union decision-making process.

8. Will the PES be a strong alternative to the EPP/ED?

The Party of European Socialists was, until the 1999 election, the largest political group in the European Parliament. Much was due to the division of the non-socialist parties into different groups though. After the 1994 election the British election system provided the Labour Party with a disproportionate number of MEPs in relation to its percentage of the votes. So, the PES group held on to its position as the largest group in the 4th European Parliament.

But in the applicant countries the PES parties are not so dominant as in most of the present member states. There are few countries where two main political forces alternate in government - between a PES-affiliated party and a right wing party.

In the present 15 member states of the European Union the PES parties govern alone, or, as senior coalition partner in ten countries (Denmark, Germany, Greece, France (power sharing with a non-socialist president though), Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, Finland, Sweden and United Kingdom), junior coalition partner in the government in Belgium and in four countries (Austria, Ireland, Luxembourg and Spain) they are in opposition. Only in Ireland the PES party is the third party.

In the candidate countries the political landscapes are different. Of course there are still a lot of significant changes in every election, but a more stable political landscape now starts to materialise.

Malta has a "swing door" situation with the National Party and the Labour Party (PES), and the Labour Party is at present in opposition.

Cyprus has a conservative-liberal government. The main opposition is the left wing AKEL (EUL/NGL) and the PES party EDEK is the fourth largest party in Cyprus.

In Poland and Hungary the EPP/ED parties are in government and PES parties are the main opposition parties.

In Estonia, Slovakia, Slovenia the PES-parties are in junior position within the government and considered as the third largest (or even smaller) political force

In Lithuania the liberals and social liberals formed a coalition government after the election in October 2000 with the support of the right. The Social Democratic Coalition (PES), with 31,1 % of the votes, was left out of the government.

In Latvia, liberal and conservative parties govern and the Social Democratic party (PES) is the fifth largest party and in opposition.

In the Czech Republic the Social Democrats are in government, but with 32,3 % of the votes they are depending on an understanding with an EPP/ED party. The significant national opposition today against the government and their supporting EPP/ED party are two other parties connected to the EPP/ED.

In Bulgaria the socialist party BSP is the largest opposition party, but it is not affiliated with PES, at least not at present. The Bulgarian Euro-Left that split from BSP with 5,5 % is affiliated with the PES. However in coming national elections in Bulgaria June 2001, a Left wing alliance has been formed with nearly all the left wing parties creating an alternative to the conservative government coalition.

In Romania the Social Democrats in PDSR have formed the government after three out of the four elections that have taken place in Romania. But the PDSR has not yet been recognised by

the European Socialists. PDSR is not yet a member of the PES or the Socialist International. The two recognised PES parties in Romania are PD and PSDR. PD is the third largest party with 7 %. PSDR got around 2,3 % in the local elections in June 2000 and in the national elections in November they were in coalition with PDSR. A merger between the two parties might happen in March 2001. That would probably help PDSR to "European" recognition as social democratic.

Probably PDSR in Romania and BSP in Bulgaria will be let in to PES when their two countries in the future join the European Union. Then all post-communist parties, except the Czech communist party and the German PDS, finally will have joined together with the Western European Social Democrats.

In Turkey the political situation is "special". The Democratic Left Party (PES?), with their leader Bulent Ecevit who has long considered himself to be social democrat, lead the government in coalition with the nationalist MHP and the conservative ANAP.

9. The future for a "Technical Group of Independents" in the European Parliament

There is a debate in the European Parliament at present what rules there should be for a "Mixed" Group consisting of all those parties that not are able to find enough political allies in enough member states to form a political group in the European Parliament.

Before, there have existed different sorts of heterogeneous bodies named "technical" or "rainbow" groups. At present there is the "Technical Group of Independents" (TGI) in the European Parliament. The agreement to fund this group was turbulent. In the September 1999 plenary this group was dissolved by the Parliament because it was considered not to have the necessary political affinities required in Parliament's Rules. After a juridical battle the TGI group was allowed.

But the future for groups like this remains to be seen. In the Spanish and Italian Parliaments "mixed groups" exist that have the normal rights of a political group.

10. Conclusions

We are aware of the fact that elections to the national parliaments do not equate to elections to the European Parliament. In the EP elections smaller parties are sometimes favoured by some voters who cast a protest vote against the larger parties.

The allocation of seats in the European Parliament according to the Nice Treaty makes it possible for more political parties in the EU-27 to win a seat. If the allocation of seats is like the European Parliament proposed in April 2000, four smaller parties in Italy (PRI/Liberali, ELDR), Bulgaria (Bulgarian Business Bloc, EPP/ED?), Finland (Swedish People's Party, ELDR) and Luxembourg (the Greens) would not be able to pass muster. Political diversity would then be a little less.

Some interesting question-marks must be raised about this future European Parliament.

- For the political groups the transition will give them new problems. Some of them might not survive and in worst case some significant national political parties will be forced to sit in the non-attached - the Independent "group".
- Many political opinions from the different member states will not be represented in the European Parliament because the thresholds will be very high since there are very few seats to distribute in the smaller member states.
- The political parties that represent minority language groups in different members states risk being close to being totally deleted from the European Parliament. The Swedish speaking party in Finland are in danger of losing their seat, the German speaking party in Italy will lose their seat and many of the regional parties in Spain will lose their seats. In the applicant countries, for example, the Polish speaking party in Lithuania will not be able to win a seat, nor the two Russian speaking parties in Estonia, nor again the German speaking minority in Poland. The Hungarian speaking party in Slovakia would, by a small margin, probably win a seat.
- The European United Left/Nordic Green Left (EUL/NGL) has a shortage of "friends" in the applicant countries that can join their group.
- The Green parties are mostly a "West European phenomenon", and they must find new political friends or support the development of new green parties in the applicant countries. If not, they are in danger of being marginalised in the future due to their size.
- When both the Left and the Greens are weaker, it is possible that they will have to join forces to avoid being squeezed out of political life by the larger party groups.
- The UEN group with the Irish Fianna Fail as one of the leading parties, will have problems surviving if they do not succeed in joining the EPP/ED group or succeed in creating a group of conservative/liberal parties that for different reasons do not want to or are not allowed to join the EPP/ED group.
- The EDD group has few significant friends in Central and Eastern Europe. New opposition movements against the European Union or EU-federalism might occur in these new member states.
- The PES (Socialist/Social Democratic) group will have difficulties in regaining a dominant position in the EP. They might become the largest group again if the EPP/ED group splits in a conservative and a christian democratic group.

Then of course there are a lot of other aspects that can not be foreseen. For example in the European Parliament elections the voters in the present member states tend to vote for national opposition parties or for small parties that in national elections have far from similar success, because the voters return to those parties that are the main players in national politics.

How will it be in the applicant countries when they have their first European Parliament elections? Who knows about new political tides in these countries? Could for example a sudden strong performance of Green parties as happened in the European Parliament elections 1989 happen?

However, some political forces will have problems and maybe become marginalised in a future European Parliament representing 27 Member States (or maybe 28) with 732 seats. We risk creating a political system like in the USA, where two dominating political machines (the Christian democrats/conservatives and the Social democrats) stand against each other with no other alternatives to vote for. The EPP/ED group stands a good chance of dominating the European Parliament.