

EuPI Policy Brief, June 2009

The New Member States and the 2009 European Parliament elections

## **Elections at a time of economic crisis or elections in crisis: the score of the European elections in the new member states**

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"Economic crisis influenced EU Parliament elections" commented China's People's Daily in the aftermath of the elections (June 9, 2009). The Times of India reported on June 8, 2009 that "conservatives tighten their grin in EU elections". Washington Post's columnist Anne Applebaum observed in Slate that "... left-wing parties got hammered, as did socialists in Hungary, Austria, Bulgaria, and elsewhere" (June 8, 2009).

This is basically how the past EU-wide elections were perceived across the world. These are indeed true observations, and with all its flaws the EP elections are a rare opportunity for a political snapshot across the Union.

- The new member states follow the common political cycle in the EU with center right parties dominating in nine of the ten new members, only Estonian voters giving most seats to liberal parties, with the main one being a right-wing liberal;
- The elections capture an image, where the new members in comparison to the rest of the member states are more "center-right" (with 9 points), just a little bit more "socialist" (2 points), slightly less "liberal" (-2 points) and much more "conservative" (9 points) measured in seats in the four biggest EP political groups. The other groups – Greens/EFA, the leftist GUE/NGL, etc. are more or less off the radar for the new members with limited or non-existent representation.
- The new members seem to have abandoned "traditional" euro-skepticism, as there is not a single MEPs in the Independence: Democracy group, and their euro-skeptics will channel their energy through other groups, such as the Tories' led Movement for European Reform;
- Contrary to the impression created by the boisterous entry of nationalists from the new member states, they actually lost half of their seats. The combined results of the nationalist UEN and non-attached nationalists are now 12 seats in comparison to the 24 in previous parliament. Nationalists in Bulgaria, Latvia and Slovakia lose seats. But what the nationalists lose in quantity, compensate in "quality" with the advent of Hungary's Jobbik and Greater Romania party.
- Economic issues were very important but not decisive to voters' preferences. The election results indicated economy played a role only in "extreme" cases – either in very poor or very good performance (in relative terms, considering the crisis) by respectively encouraging or punishing parties.
- Under relatively calm economic circumstances other factors such as the domestic political process took precedence, with the EP elections perceived as preparations for national elections – no matter if they are just a month away as in Bulgaria, in December 2009 as in Romania or as far as 2010 as in Hungary.
- While it is questionable to what extent the parties won the hearts and minds of voters on the basis of well-developed "right" or "left" platforms and sophisticated debates, the outcomes will provide more legitimacy and weight to center-right policies in the EU context.

## Code "Blue"

In the summer of 2009, the new members are in for the blue color as they had clear preference to the center-right EPP-ED parties. The exceptions are Estonia and the Czech Republic. The Czech Republic preferred a more explicit statement with "conservative" nuance, after the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) MEPs will leave the EPP for the new conservative group, tentatively known as Movement for European Reform. Estonia is "liberal", but while one of the parties is for "social Europe", the other one emphasizes liberal economic policies and lower taxes in Europe.

BG	CZ	EE	HU	LV	LT	PL	RO	SK	SL
EPP-ED	MER	ALDE	EPP-ED						

*EP political groups with most seats won by country*

Looking at the numbers, the center right in the EPP-ED won big time against the socialists at the PES group with 82 to 46 seats. Their victory would be much more astounding if center right parties have not defected for the new conservative group around the British Tories, with the EPP losing at least 9 MEPs from the Czech ODS party.

In Hungary, the backlash from left to right has been most profound, with 15 EPP seats to 4 PES, and in terms of support it is 61.67% for the two EPP to 17.37% for the socialists, due to the disastrous economic situation and political and social turbulences in country going on already for three years.

## Socialists failing to capitalize on the presumed death of capitalism

Seats (EPP+MER)	% seats in the country	Country	% seats in the country	Seats (PES)
6	35%	Bulgaria	24%	4
11	50%	Czech Republic	32%	7
2	33%	Estonia	17%	1
15	68%	Hungary	18%	4
3	38%	Latvia	25%	2
5	42%	Lithuania	25%	3
43	86%	Poland	14%	7
14	42%	Romania	33%	11
6	46%	Slovakia	38%	5
3	43%	Slovenia	29%	2

The expectation that the socialist can make political capital on the presumed death of capitalism in the grave economic crisis has failed, as far as the election results throughout Europe is concerned.

The socialists have tried to put the campaign on left-right basis and in global context. "The socialists can do thing much better than the conservatives" said the Slovene Social-Democrats, and the Bulgarian Socialist Party saw the elections as a grand battle between left and right. It criticized the EU's institutions for being fully dominated by the center right, which "will leave the people to the market" (e.g. to the mercy of the free market forces). In a similar way, the Czech socialist CSSD

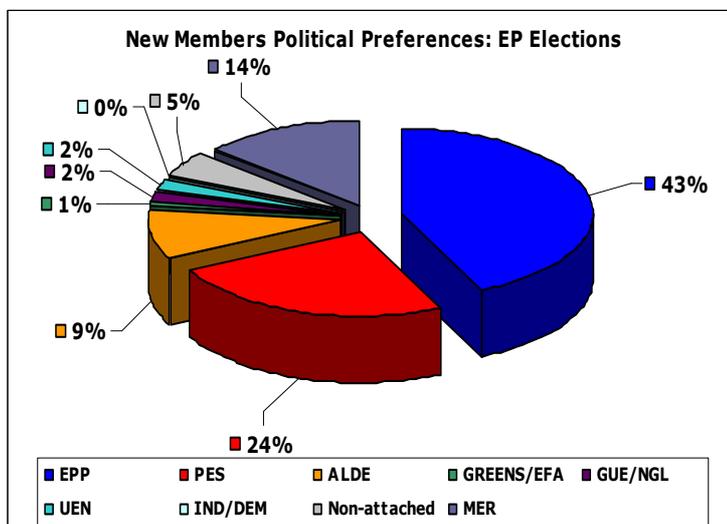
tried to convince voters that the response to the crisis is preventing the social impacts, fighting rising poverty and income disparity. The center right ODS focused on revitalizing the economy. CSSD got 7 seats and ODS 11. If this is a measure of success or failure then the call for more "social policies" was rebuffed.

But often labeling "left" and "right" and connecting them to a strict set of policies can be a tricky thing in Central and Eastern Europe in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In addition to the general transformation of both ideologies and constituencies, the socialist – usually ex-communist - parties, have extensive relations with the big businesses in their countries and attend to their needs too, often paying a lip service to the "European social model" and supporting liberal economic policies.

While the left failed to reach a broad appeal across the board, they still managed to stay solid second and in the "new members group", PES has even managed to gain three more seats in comparison to the previous parliament.

## Political profile of the new members

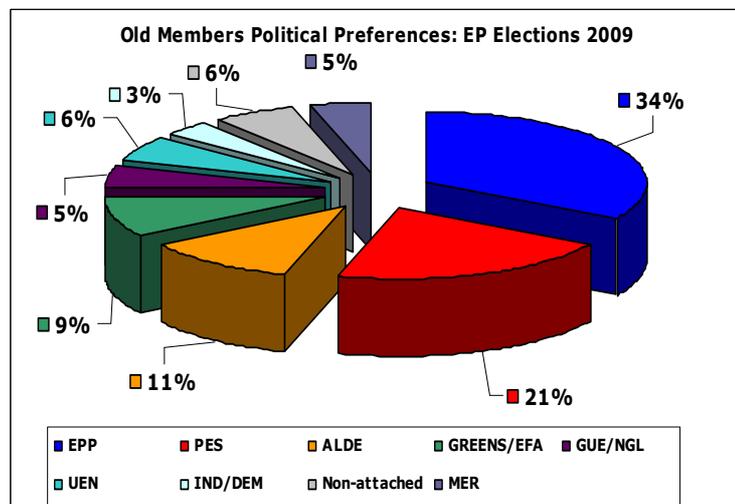
The traditional left-right division is dominating the political preferences in the new member states. The center right parties of the EPP-ED group have a staggering 43% of the seats among the new members. The socialists, who are traditionally strong in the former Eastern block, as most of them are offspring of the massive communist parties with significant following, manage to get 24% of the seats.



The third and fourth switch places this year, as the liberals at ALDE give way to the conservatives, tentatively known as MER - Movement for European Reform. The euro-skeptics of the Independence: Democracy group are missing. The nationalists from the troubled UEN group and the non-attached ones are below 7%. The far-left of the GUE/NGL has only 2% (such as the nationalist UEN), with four communists from the Czech Republic (the Communist Party of Bulgaria is part of

the PES group within a larger socialist-led coalition). The Greens/EFA group has 1% with 1 MEP representing a regionalist party of the Russian minority in Latvia.

The comparison to the old member states demonstrated a generally similar picture, yet with some indicative differences. The basic two blocks – left and right – share the first place. However, the “Eastern block” is 9 points more center-right than its “Western”



counterparts and 3 points more socialist. The new members may be 9 points more “conservative” than the rest of the Union (please, note that these are EuPI projections and the MER is officially not constituted).

However, the old member states have much more robust Green representation, which was missing in the East (the Greens in the East and the West can be quite different, with the Western Greens being more left-wing).

### Political change: 2004/2007 to 2009

The new member states have not changed substantially in regard to the main political parties in the right and left, but there are more substantial differences in the periphery – with the shares of liberals, nationalists and euro-skeptics going down and those of the conservatives rising up.

This is just the second European Parliament elections for the new member states. Eight of them had elections in 2004, with the regular vote, and Bulgaria and Romania voted in 2007 after acceding on January 1, 2007. The table below demonstrates the change of representation by country and political group in the 6<sup>th</sup> European Parliament (2004-2009) and the upcoming one (2009). The EPP-ED group is still the largest, but still loses two seats in comparison to the previous period. The loss is due mostly to the change of allegiances

(e.g. the Czech ODS with 9 seats) to the conservative MER group. The socialists in fact add three seats, despite their overall failure across the EU.

The biggest losers in share are the nationalists of the Union of Europe of Nations with minus 17 seats, followed by euro-skeptics of the IND/DEM with minus 11 seats, the liberals of ALDE with minus 10 seats and the non-attached (NI) with minus 8 seats.

Political group	EPP	EPP	PES	PES	ALDE	ALDE	GR./EFA	GR./EFA	GUE/NG L	GUE/NGL	UEN	UEN	IND/DE M	IND/DEM	Non-attached	Non-attached	MER	MER
EP	7th	6th	7th	6th	7th	6th	7th	6th	7th	6th	7th	6th	7th	6th	7th	6th	7th	6th
Seats	82	84	46	43	18	28	1	1	4	6	4	21	0	11	9	17	26	na
Change	-2	+/-	+3	+/-	-10	+/-	0	+/-	-2	+/-	-17	+/-	-11	+/-	-8	+/-	+26	+/-

*The table presents the change in number of seats of NMS in the current seventh EP, compared to the previous sixth EP. The number of MER MEP's is a projection based on EuPI data, and their number is subtracted from the Non-attached group.*

But the new members can have about 26 or even more seats in the new conservative MER group, which will be about 50% of the projected membership.

The change of representation is not always due to party failures at the elections. Sometimes the change – increase or decrease in seats – is due to changing allegiances, as the Polish Law and Justice going to MER.

Shifts in domestic politics in bigger counties, with their larger parties, can contribute significantly to the shifts at EU level – e.g. the failures of the Polish League of Families with previously 10 seats and the Self-Defense (Samooborona) with 6 seats – make a difference.

### The new members' contribution to EP politics

The MEPs from the new members constitute a quarter (25.82%), with 190 representatives out of 736 in total (according to the Nice Treaty).

Country	MEPs, 2009
Bulgaria	17
Czech Republic	22
Estonia	6
Hungary	22
Latvia	8
Lithuania	12
Poland	50
Romania	33
Slovakia	13
Slovenia	7
NMS total	190
NMS %	25.82%
<b>EU total</b>	<b>736</b>

An estimate of 31.06% of the center right EPP-ED group will come from the new member states – 82 from 264 in total. The Polish presence is massive – they will have 28 representatives in the EPP-ED group. Thus the Polish group makes up for nearly 34% of the NMS center right representation and more than 10% of total EPP, so they can yield critical importance within the political group.

The socialists are equally important in their section of the parliament, constituting 28.40% of the Socialist group.

The third most important currently existing group of the new members is in the liberal ALDE with 18 seats and 22.50% of the total. The representation in the nationalist Union of Europe

of Nations is much smaller, with only 14.29%. The Euro-skeptic group of Independence: Democracy has no representation now from the new members.

The most significant share of the new members is in the conservative MER group, expected to be formed around the British Tories, where the new members' representation is about 50%.

Political profile of the NMS			
	NMS	Total group	% NMS
EPP-ED	82	264	31.06%
PES	46	162	28.40%
ALDE	18	80	22.50%
GREENS/EFA	1	52	1.92%
GUE/NGL	4	32	12.50%
UEN	5	35	14.29%
IND/DEM	0	18	0.00%
Non-attached	9	42	21.43%
MER (24+2+)	26	51	50.98%

### Tories' best friends

The European political confederations have been struggling to enlist fellow parties from the new member states. This has as a rule been beneficial, as this helps discipline and Europeanize political processes and in the long run helps create overarching pan-European political identities. But the rush for more votes and more influence in the European Parliament has also sometimes led to strange bedfellows and hence the caution when applying labels

This may be the case with the group to be established by the British Tories. The conservative group, is tentatively called Movement for European Reform (MER) but other names such as European Conservatives and Reformists have been suggested. The group needs at least 25 MEPs from seven countries and by all accounts it will do much better. The Tories have 25 MEPs. The second partner - the Polish PiS- Law and Justice party (established by the Kaczynsky twins) have 15. The Czech ODS, which is thought to leave EPP, has 9 seats. It is widely believed that the independent candidate from Estonia will also join, as one from Lithuania from the ethnic Polish list.

The account so far puts the new members' contribution to the Tories' joint venture to over 50%. In the future, three more MEPs from Latvia may join, as well as four more from Denmark (2 from the rightwing People's party), Belgium (one from the Libertarian List Dedeker) and Northern Ireland (1). The Tories' partner from Bulgaria - the Order, Law and Justice party of Yane Yanev (self described conservative, recently agrarian, but to many controversial figure) did well, but failed to win a seat.

The making of this group is considered to be quite strange undertaking. . The British Tories are offering their legitimacy in exchange of the votes of mostly new member parties and these parties hope to raise their profile by rubbing shoulders with original" conservatives.

### The small but exquisite selection of summer 2009: nationalists from the new members

UEN	2009	Change	2004/7
Latvia	1	-3	4
Lithuania	2	0	2
Poland	0	-15	15
Slovakia	1	+1	0
<i>Total</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>-17</i>	<i>21</i>
<i>UEN - Union of European Nations group (nationalists)</i>			

The Economist wrote in the aftermath of the elections (June 11, 299) that "Xenophobes and populists have been elected in old European Union members such as the Netherlands too. But their east European counterparts make the westerners seem tame." Indeed, the nationalists of the new members make a ill-natured group, employing extreme nationalistic, xenophobic and racist rhetoric. But number show that the number of nationalist, elected from the new member states has halved. From 24 in the previous period, they are now only 12. The significant decrease comes from the group of the "organized" nationalists of

the Union of Europe of Nations. They have done terribly, dwindling from 21 in the previous parliament to just 4. The biggest loss comes from the Polish Justice and Law party (better known as the Kaczyński twins party) changing allegiances and going to the conservative Movement for European Reform. But Latvia's and Slovakia nationalists lose big, with Latvia's For Fatherland and Freedom party falling from 4 to 1, and the ruling Slovak National Party (junior partner to Smer-SD) is down 50%, losing one of its two seats.

Non-attached nationalists	2009	Change	2004/7
Bulgaria (Ataka)	2	-1	3
Hungary (Jobbik)	3	+3	0
Romania (Greater Romania)	3	+3	0
<i>Total</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>+5</i>	<i>3</i>

The non-attached nationalists are the attraction of the season with the "star" for the time being is Romanian tycoon Gigi Becali, who joined forces with his former enemy Corneliu Vadim Tudor of Greater Romania. The debutants of Hungaria's Jobbik party were the

biggest, and for many, a nasty surprise. They are in the company of two veteran MEPs of Bulgaria's Ataka party. The non-attached nationalist mark a growth due to the entry of Greater Romania and Jobbik, but Bulgaria's Ataka lost one seat.

This is indeed a curious group, which has made a carrier by denouncing "others", but has still demonstrated a keen "internationalist nationalism" rejoicing the successes of their counterparts in other countries. As the UEN was losing ground anyway, the nationalists are hoping to establish a new nationalist and euro-skeptic group to unite them all in their appeal to dis-union.

But nationalism is not a monopoly of the nationalists *per se*. They also face competition from mainstream parties (despite in more innocent forms) in a bid to attract popular attention: the Slovak ruling socialist Smer-SD has resorted to some nationalist rhetoric in the campaign, as did Hungary's center right Fidesz. Bulgaria's ruling Socialist Party (BSP) built its campaign around "nationalism lite", vowing to defend vigorously the national interests in the EP; it also brought in the EP through the back door (within the pre-election coalition) the nationalist New Dawn party.

### Purists: are the "traditional" euro-skeptics gone for good?

IND/DEM	2009	Change	2004/7
Czech R.	0	-1	1
Poland	0	-10	10
<i>Total</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>-11</i>	<i>11</i>
<i>Independence: Democracy (euro-skeptic)</i>			

The "traditional" euro-skeptics from the new member states have basically disappeared. The euro-skeptics and nationalists are often bundled together, because as a rule the nationalists are not particularly keen about the EU. It is more correct however to keep separate tracks as they have different agendas and nationalism is just nationalism and euro-skepticism is just euro-skepticism.

Non-attached euro-skeptics	2009	Change	2004/7
Czech Republic	0	-1	1
Poland	0	-6	6
<i>Total</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>-7</i>	<i>7</i>

As suggested by the results of the planned MER group, some of the euro-skeptics will be proselytizing supposedly a more refined, British conservative form of Euro-skepticism.

The new members group in the euro-skeptic Independence: Democracy political group disappears, as the once influential League of Polish Families (15.92% and 10 MEPs in 2004) couldn't make it at all this time.

Another indication of the still weak euro-skeptic streak in CEE is the lack of luck of Libertas. The euro-skeptic pan-European party founded by Irish entrepreneur Declan Ganley that attracted international attention in its role in defying the Lisbon Treaty, has also tried its hand in the CEE countries, including by recruiting some veteran politicians. But none of its CEE branches and allies in the Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Poland and Slovakia succeeded in taking a seat in the European Parliament.

### Punishment or reward: how the governing parties fared in the elections

The European Parliament elections are more often than not a mirror of the state of politics in the country and the results reflect the predispositions to the governing and the opposition parties.

The context is very important – it may be the case that the opposition is feeble and cannot translate dissatisfaction from the government to success for itself. In some cases, the dissatisfaction to the governing party or coalition was already existent and the EP elections help channel citizens' attitudes. Hungary has been in a crisis of its own for three years now without having elections. The margins of public support to the ruling BSP in Bulgaria and the opposition GERB was basically the same for the last couple of years, so the result of the socialists at this elections not was surprising.

Country and leading government party	Reward	Punishment	
			Response to government performance
Bulgaria (left)	-	X	The socialists of BSP dominate the governing coalition and lost to the center-right GERB and Blue Coalition (6 to 4 seats);
Czech Republic (right)	X (?)	-	The ODS, which led the government, despite that it lost a vote of no confidence in March 2009 and was beaten in the October 2008 Senate elections, still received most of the votes 9 against 7 of the left CSSD (currently there is a caretaker government in Prague; the assessment here is to the previous

Estonia (right-wing/liberal)		X	The opposition Center Party received most votes as a protest against the current government policies;
Hungary (left)		X	Clear punishment for the socialist MSZMP, when the center right FIDESZ received 14 seats to 4 of the socialists;
Latvia (center-right)		X	The results were interpreted as punishment to the current government, despite recent change of PM and the exit of his party from government;
Lithuania (center right)	X (?)		Despite criticism again the government performance in the crisis, the governing Homeland Union managed to get most seats due to voter mobilization;
Poland (right)	X		Clear case, and may be the only one, of reward to the center right government, as Poland is one of the three EU members with projected growth (0.8%);
Romania (left/right)	X (?)	X (?)	The vote is split between the center right and left, which in a twist of fate govern together and are practically currently pitted in early campaign for the presidential elections in late 2009
Slovakia (left)	X		Support to the center left government, amid fragmented opposition, despite economic troubles and criticism.
Slovenia (left)		X	The EP elections were perceived as a referendum on the government, the center right opposition won against the left government coalition.

Along the center-left axis, three of the four left-dominated governments were chastised (Bulgaria, Hungary and Slovenia) and only the left Smer-SD in Slovakia received support in the face of weak opposition. In contrast, three of the four center-right dominated governing parties received support (the Czech Republic, Lithuania and Poland). In Romania, the left and right, which are in an uneasy partnership to govern, came neck and neck (with the right getting after all one more seat thanks to formally independent Elena Basescu). The Estonian government, dominated by a liberal party with right-wing leanings, was punished by the voters.

### Gauging the political effects of the economic crisis?

*Profiles (yoy) of quarterly GDP, volume (% change from corresponding quarter in previous year, 2008-2010); EC estimates, April 2009*

	2008/4	2009/1	2009/2
<b>Bulgaria</b>	5.2	2.5	-0.6
<b>Czech Republic</b>	0.7	-1.4	-2.9
<b>Estonia</b>	-9.5	-11.9	-11.9
<b>Hungary</b>	-1.3	-5.7	-6.7
<b>Latvia</b>	-10.4	-12.8	-13.4
<b>Lithuania</b>	-1.3	-5.8	-11.1
<b>Poland</b>	3.1	1.3	-0.8
<b>Romania</b>	3.3	-1.3	-4.2
<b>Slovakia</b>	2.4	3.3	-0.8
<b>Slovenia</b>	-0.9	-3.3	-4.4
<b>EU</b>	-1.4	-3.8	-4.4

The economic crisis had very important, but not decisive role in voters' political preferences in the new member states. Evidence suggests that economic performance was the leading factor for voters to reward or punish a party only in "extreme" cases under either very good or very bad circumstances.

The most clear cut cases of the link between economics and politics are in Poland and Hungary. Poland is one of the three EU states that will actually have growth this year - 0.8% - and the voters rewarded the governing center-right Civic Platform with 44.40% of the votes cast and 25 of the 50 seats in the European Parliament. In Hungary, which has been in a crisis for the last three years, the opposition center-right Fidesz received 56.37% of the votes and 14 of the 22 seats against 17.37% of votes and only 4 seats of the governing socialist MSZMP of former prime minister and former leader Ferenc Gyurcsany.

Latvia, which has also been gravely affected, the social discontent was already channeled through recent change in government in February 2009. Despite that the imposed austerity measures affect government popularity; this has not affected significantly the EP elections.

Similarly, in Lithuania the center-right Homeland Union has already benefited from the public dissatisfaction with the in the autumn 2008 elections, but started quickly losing popularity in the months to the EP elections (still came out as a winner)

Where the situation has been relatively stable at the backdrop of near-state bankruptcies, there were other factors at work and the economic crisis came only as additional factor. In Bulgaria, the margin of support between the opposition GERB and the ruling BSP (socialists) have remained more or less the same in more than a year; the main intrigue

was at the fringes. The June EP elections were seen as a preparation for the upcoming July 2009 general elections and the debate revolved around corruption, failures of the governing

<i>Number of unemployed (as a % of total labour force); EC estimates, April 2009</i>			
	<b>X 2008</b>	<b>I 2009</b>	<b>IV 2009</b>
<b>Bulgaria</b>	5.8	6.3	7.3
<b>Czech Republic</b>	5.0	5.7	6.1
<b>Estonia</b>	6.7	8.8	11.3
<b>Hungary</b>	8.6	8.8	9.5
<b>Latvia</b>	9.2	10.4	15.7
<b>Lithuania</b>	7.1	8.8	13.8
<b>Poland</b>	7.3	7.4	7.1
<b>Romania</b>	6.1	6.2	5.8
<b>Slovakia</b>	9.9	9.8	9.5
<b>Slovenia</b>	4.5	4.5	4.4
<b>EU</b>	7.0	7.0	7.0

coalition to absorb funds and pressure on the opposition. In a similar way, Estonians' vote was mostly "political", protest vote against the dominant political culture.

In Slovakia, the corruption, non-transparency and EU-funds irregularities had little political consequences for the governing left Smer-SD in the face of fragmented opposition.

Despite that the crisis have not so far led to dramatic – e.g. "Weimer Republic" – effects, it is believed to have contributed to the rise of parties such as the extreme nationalist Jobbik. If the crisis continues long enough and is harsh enough, there is the danger that it will further erode the already low confidence in parties, politics and institutions in the new member states.

## Supplement

### A. Turnout

Country	Turnout
Latvia	53.00%
Estonia	43.90%
Bulgaria	37.49%
Hungary	36.28%
Czech Republic	28.20%
Slovenia	27.91%
Romania	27.21%
Poland	24.50%
Lithuania	20.92%
Slovakia	19.60%
<i>NMS average</i>	<i>31.90%</i>
<i>EU average</i>	<i>43.42%</i>

As shown in the table, the new member states had a very low turnout at these EP elections, despite that they were higher in general than at the previous elections. Latvia's and Bulgaria's higher results may be explained by the fact that they were related to domestic elections.

It is puzzling why the new members' citizens, who hold much higher levels of trust in the EU institutions than to their national institutions, tend to be showing such apathy.

### B. Results by country

<b>BULGARIA</b>			
Party	Results	Seats	Affiliation
GERB (Citizens for the Democratic Development of Bulgaria)	24.48%	5	EPP
Coalition for Bulgaria (Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) led coalition)	18.59%	4	PES
Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF)	14.21%	3	ALDE
Ataka	12.01%	2	Non-attached
NMSP (National Movement for Stability and Progress)	8.00%	2	ALDE
Blue Coalition (DSB-UDF led)	7.99%	1	EPP
Turnout	37.49%		
<b>CZECH REPUBLIC</b>			
Party	Results	Seats	Affiliation
Civic Democratic Party (ODS)	31.45%	9	MER or EPP?
Czech Social Democratic Party (CSSD)	22.38%	7	PES
Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia	14.18%	4	GUE/NGL
Christian Democratic Union - Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CLS)	7.64%	2	EPP-ED
Turnout	28.20%		
<b>ESTONIA</b>			
Party	Results	Seats	Affiliation
Estonian Center Party	26.10%	2	ALDE
Indrek Tarand (independent)	25.80%	1	(MER?)
Estonian Reform Party	15.30%	1	ALDE
The Union of Pro-Partia and Res Publica	12.20%	1	EPP-ED
Estonian Social Democratic Party	8.70%	1	PES
Turnout	43.90%		
<b>HUNGARY</b>			
Party	Results	Seats	Affiliation
FIDESZ	56.37%	14	EPP
MSZMP (Hungarian Socialist Party)	17.37%	4	PES
Jobbik	14.77%	3	?

MDF	5.30%	1	EPP
Turnout	36.28%		
<b>LATVIA</b>			
<b>Party</b>	<b>Results</b>	<b>Seats</b>	<b>Affiliation</b>
Civic Union (will get +1 seat under Lisbon)	24.30%	2	EPP-ED
Harmony Center	19.50%	2	PES
For Human Rights in a United Latvia	9.60%	1	Greens/EFA
Latvia's First Party/Latvia's Way	7.50%	1	ALDE
For Fatherland and Freedom/LNNK	7.40%	1	UEN (?)
New Era	6.60%	1	EPP-ED
Turnout	53.00%		
<b>LITHUANIA</b>			
<b>Party</b>	<b>Results</b>	<b>Seats</b>	<b>Affiliation</b>
Homeland Union (Conservatives)	26.82%	4	EPP
Lithuanian Social Democratic Party	18.62%	3	PES
Liberal Democratic Party	12.23%	2	UEN
Labour Party	8.80%	1	ALDE
Liberals Movement of the Republic of Lithuania	7.35%	1	ALDE
Electoral Action of Lithuania's Poles	8.45%	1	UEN or MER (?)
Turnout	20.92%		
<b>POLAND</b>			
<b>Party</b>	<b>Results</b>	<b>Seats</b>	<b>Affiliation</b>
Civic Platform	44.40%	25	EPP
Law and Justice	27.40%	15	formerly UEN now MER?
Social-Democratic Alliance	12.30%	7	PES
Polish Peasant Party	7.00%	3	EPP
Turnout	24.50%		
<b>ROMANIA</b>			
<b>Party</b>	<b>Results</b>	<b>Seats</b>	<b>Affiliation</b>
Social-Democratic Party (PSD)	31%	11	PES
Democratic Liberal Party (PD-L)	29.70%	10	EPP
National Liberal Party (PNL)	14.50%	5	ALDE
Hungarian Alliance	8.90%	3	EPP
Greater Romania Party	8.60%	2	
Elena Basescu (independent, to join PD-L)	4.20%	1	EPP
Turnout	27.21%		
<b>SLOVAKIA</b>			
<b>Party</b>	<b>Results</b>	<b>Seats</b>	<b>Affiliation</b>
Direction - Social Democracy (Smer-SD)	32.10%	5	PES
Slovak Democratic and Cristian Union - Democratic Party (SDKU-DS)	11.69%	2	EPP
Hungarian Coalition Party (SMK)	11.30%	2	EPP
Christian Democratic Movement (KDH)	10.80%	2	EPP
People's Party-Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (L'S-HZDS)	8.90%	1	
Slovak National Party (SNS)	5.50%	1	UEN
Turnout	19.60%		
<b>SLOVENIA</b>			
<b>Party</b>	<b>Results</b>	<b>Seats</b>	<b>Affiliation</b>
Slovenian Democratic Party (SDS)	26.92%	2	EPP
Social Democrats (SD)	18.45%	2	PES
New Slovenia (Nsi)	16.33%	1	EPP
Liberal Democracy (LDS)	11.52%	1	ELDR
Zares	9.82%	1	ELDR
Turnout	27.91%		

**Methodology note:** The policy brief uses national and European parliament data about the election results, but the distribution of seats may not match the official data because it is made on the basis of EuPI projections. This is the case especially with planned new group of the conservatives, tentatively called Movement for European Reform. The projections change the share of representation in the EP political groups.

The policy brief uses of EuPI's June 2009 European Parliament Elections policy briefs, prepared by leading experts from ten new member states, but the views and analysis expressed herein are those of the author.

#### Political groups in the European Parliament

- **EPP-ED** : Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats) and European Democrats
- **PES** : Socialist Group in the European Parliament
- **ALDE** : Group of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe
- **UEN** : Union for Europe of the Nations Group
- **GREENS/ EFA** : Group of the Greens / European Free Alliance
- **GUE/ NGL** : Confederal Group of the European United Left - Nordic Green Left
- **IND/ DEM** : Independence/Democracy Group
- **Others : Others, non-attached**
- **MER**: Movement for European Reform, the nascent pan-European group, established by the UK conservatives

#### Country abbreviations

EU27 European Union - 27 Member States	
BG	Bulgaria
CZ	Czech Republic
EE	Estonia
HU	Hungary
LV	Latvia
LT	Lithuania
PL	Poland
RO	Romania
SI	Slovenia
SK	Slovakia



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The New Member States and the 2009 European Parliament elections

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