

EU election manifestos and climate action

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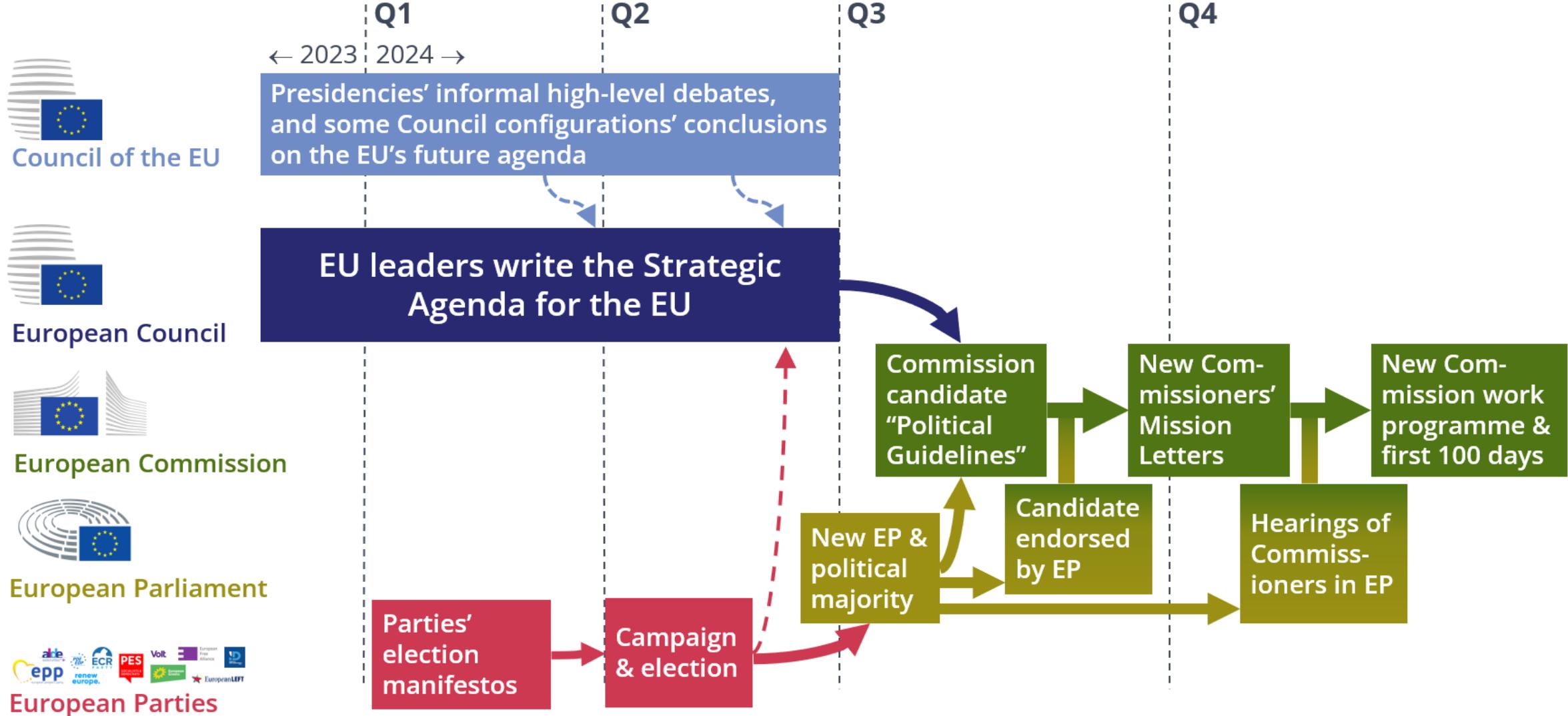
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Context: shaping the EU's future agenda



What are the EU election manifestos?



> What?

- Political parties' documents
- Diagnosis
- Strategic realignment
- High-level vision
- Declaration of intentions and priorities
- Coherent umbrella for national member parties

> What not?

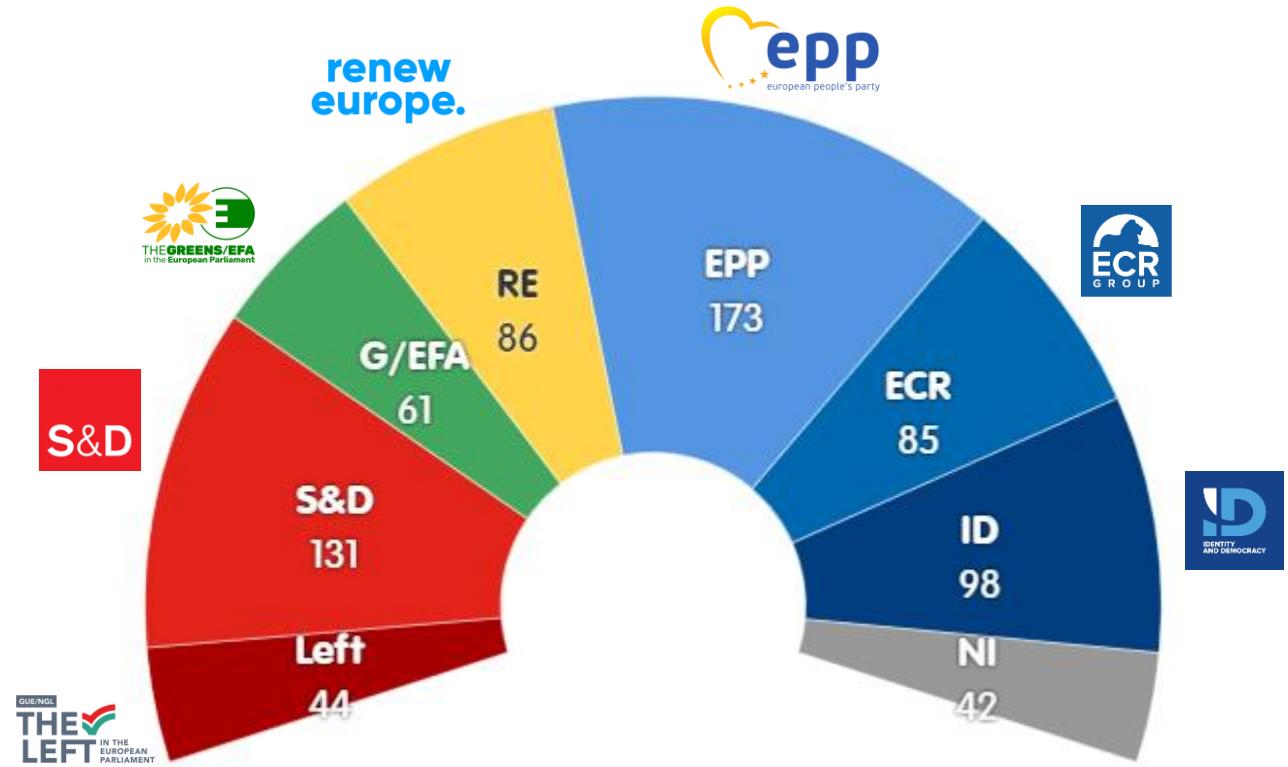
- European Parliament groups' documents
- Binding government programme
- List of concrete policy measures
- Campaign strategy for national member parties

> Why care?

- Temperature check
- Guide future EP groups positions
- Understand negotiation dynamics
- Identify opportunities

From party manifestos to EP group positions

European parties | EP groups



ECFR Projection for EU elections 2024

EU manifestos analysis



+ Volt + EFA



+ ecpm



General narrative, goal and values

	PEL (far-left)	EGP (Greens)	PES (social-democrats)	ALDE (liberals)	EPP (centre-right)	ECR (far-right)
Narrative	<i>PEL = fighting fascism by putting interests of citizens for social justice, ecological security and peace at the heart of political decision-making.</i>	<i>Greens = courage vs: far-right fears & denial, status quo & delay, permanent crisis.</i>	<i>PES = largest progressive force, worked hard to deliver amidst crises, no cooperation with far-right.</i>	<i>ALDE = build on achievements to deliver positive change for common future. Uncertainty = change = opportunity.</i>	<i>EPP = bridge-builders, inventors of social market economy, kept Europe together, defend way of life, promote sustainable growth.</i>	<i>ECR = defend nations against attempts to strip them of powers by new EU superstate.</i>
Main stated goal	A democratic, peaceful, social and ecological Europe.	Future of society and planet at stake. Green Social Deal.	Equal opportunities, sense of security , quality of life.	Safe and prosperous EU amidst internal and external threats.	A safe, prosperous and citizen-focused EU.	Defending national sovereignty is what makes Europe strong and united.
Values	Pacifism, democracy, social justice, ecology, feminism, anti-colonialism, human rights.	Environmental sustainability, intergenerational responsibility, social justice & inclusion, peace, human rights, participation, transparency.	Social fairness & security, economic & environmental progress, rights for all, feminism, peace, solidarity. “Sustainable wellbeing”.	Freedom, rule of law, sustainability, innovation, tolerance, liberal democracy, equal opportunities, peace, fiscal and environmental responsibility.	Security, unity, “citizen-centred”, democracy, rule of law, pragmatism, freedom, Judeo-Christian & EU values, social responsibility, sustainability, subsidiarity.	National sovereignty, individual liberty, private property, family values, Christian values, free trade, limited government.

“Top” priorities per party

	European LEFT	European Greens	European Free Alliance	Volt	PES	PDE / EDP	renew europe.	alde	epp	ECR PARTY	ecpm
	PEL	EGP	EFA	Volt	PES	EDP	RE	ALDE	EPP	ECR	ECPM
Security & defence	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Economic performance & competitiveness	HR	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Climate & green transition	✓		✓	✓		✓			HR		HR
Social protection & supporting citizens	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓		HR
Institutional reform	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Migration									HR	✓	HR

Highly relevant, but not one of its “top” priorities.

Climate and the green transition



- > Further develop the EU Green Deal, mainly **industrial and social** components. Except:
 - Liberals: pause new legislation and focus on implementation.
 - ECR: pause new legislation, focus on implementation and review or revert part of the legislation.
- > Key areas: **clean tech**, green **investments**, **circular** economy, sustainable **agriculture**. On **energy**: reducing dependencies and energy security.
- > Unanimity in making **agriculture** more sustainable.

Details on climate & green transition

	PEL (far-left)	EGP (Greens)	PES (social-democrats)	ALDE (liberals)	EPP (centre-right)	ECR (far-right)
Framing	Emergency caused by neoliberalism and an exploitative capitalist system. New Green Social Contract and just transition. Significant eco-social & economic transformations, 'integral ecology'.	Turn EGD into Green Social Deal. Existential threat, urgency of environmental and climate crisis. Global leadership.	Green Social Deal, Just Transition. EGD with red heart. No pause but abandon no one: sustainable wellbeing.	Just implement existing framework. Sustainability = guiding principle for economic policy. Tech. innovation & prioritise green investments.	EGD = hallmark for prosperous, innovative, competitive and sustainable EU. Further develop = economy and citizens. More tech. innovation, less bans & burdens.	Oppose approach on the EGD: a balanced, localised climate strategy that does not forget ordinary people and the economy. Focus on implementing, avoid new legislation and revise/revert part of it.
Priorities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Targets: 65% 2030 ,100% 2035 - Public control of public goods, reversing Energy Union model. - Massive investment plans + ECB <0% interest rates + EU fund for public services. - Sustainable agri., support farmers, reform CAP. - Sust. Mobility Directive - Taxation (fossil fuels (aviation, cars), windfall profits of energy companies) - Mainstream biodiversity. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Implement & accelerate EGD, focus on social agenda. - More ambitious targets (neutrality by 2040). - 100% RES, end fossil fuels. - Pollution, health, transport. - Food, agriculture, forests - Circular economy, skills - Global Green Deal 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Climate/environment: investment plan, unite eco-social policies, targets (strong 2040), circular economy, agriculture, transport. - Energy: invest RES, efficiency, affordability, poverty, strategic autonomy, supply reliability. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sustainability: implementation support (EEA), investments (consolidate, prioritise, incentivise MS via fiscal rules, earmark new resources), skills, agriculture, circular economy, removals. - Energy: implementation, efficiency, expand ETS, all technologies, CCS, transport. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Climate/environment: investments, targets, market instruments (ETS, energy union), support people, circular economy, infrastructures, agriculture, transport, hydrogen, international environmental agreements. - Energy: sovereignty, technological neutrality, reduce consumption, fossil fuel phaseout, clean tech industry. - Intergenerational fairness pact & checks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Review EGD, most problematic parts (ICE ban). - Enabling a just transition with support for those affected: farmers, rural. - Research and technological innovation. - Revitalise industrial sectors, made in Europe production. - Technology-neutral approach, but promote nuclear and geothermal energy. - Invest in implementing existing EGD legislation.

Security & defence

	European LEFT	European Greens	European Free Alliance	Volt	PES	PDE EDP	renew europe.	alde	epp	ECR PARTY	ecpm
Top priority?	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	PEL	EGP	EFA	Volt	PES	EDP	RE	ALDE	EPP	ECR	ECPM

- > Military perspective.
- > Some parties extend **scope** to economic, energy and social security.
- > **Lack of attention to security risks posed by climate change.**

Details on security

	PEL (far-left)	EGP (Greens)	PES (social-democrats)	ALDE (liberals)	EPP (centre-right)	ECR (far-right)
Framing	Security = broad concept that addresses the existential threats: climate change, poverty, and war. Peace. Avoid Cold War.	Security = strong civil society, global just transition, preventive strategies & defence.	Security = defence, peace and social security. EU to take responsibility for its own security and defence.	Security = peace, economic security & independence from undemocratic regimes = prosperity. Serious makeover needed.	Insecurity = Russia, migration, terrorism, organised crime, violence against women. Need to do more and more efficiently.	Highly sceptical about EU-level defence Union. Fortify defence industry , stand with Ukraine and cooperate with NATO .
Priorities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - End arms race, no nuclear weapons in Europe, make war rejection a fundamental EU principle. - Reduce military expenditure. - Avoid that EU defence policy undermines MSs'. - Diplomacy. - Stop Frontex. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Security Union, cooperation, indep. from authoritarians. - Global Green Deal (justice & development, diplomacy, trade, invest in global transition). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Common defence policy - Defence industry - QMV - Stronger diplomacy - International cooperation & trade to promote peace and values. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Prioritise defence investments - Pan-EU defence forces - Economic security (independence undemocratic regimes) - QMV + UN SC seat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Protect borders from illegal migration - Fight terrorism & org. crime - Defence (investments, industry, EU Defence Union, Commissioner...) - 1 voice in foreign affairs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Forty defence industry - EU-NATO cooperation, strengthen transatlantic relations. - Promote conservative values on the global stage - Sanctions against Russia, increase aid to Ukraine. - Investment in defence. - Combat cross-border terrorism.

Economic performance & competitiveness



- > Focus on boosting competitiveness and reducing external dependencies.
- > Two main parties see **climate action and green transition leadership** as essential for competitiveness, but not liberals.
- > **How?** (Green) industrial strategy, investments, reskilling, less bureaucracy. Some: infrastructures, deepening the single market.

Details on competitiveness

	PEL (far-left)	EGP (Greens)	PES (social-democrats)	ALDE (liberals)	EPP (centre-right)	ECR (far-right)
Framing	No mention of competitiveness, but framing of industry: ecological transition, labour rights, industrial sovereignty.	As an opportunity derived from greening industry. It's enabled through funding.	Serves sustainable wellbeing. Result of digital & green reindustrialisation, invest. & econ. sovereignty.	Single market structural competitiveness = THE EU's industrial strategy. Open strategic autonomy.	Result of sustained performance, climate protection, successful SM, freedom, social & political stability, investments, innovation, efficient bureaucracy.	Loss of competitiveness is the result of unreasonable objectives, misplaced priorities and impractical rules and de-industrialisation.
Priorities	No mention of competitiveness, but on industry: cancellation of all FTAs with global south and substitution by international agreements.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Green investments - Green Industrial Policy + support SMEs - Infrastructure Union - Simplify bureaucracy (digitalise) - Reskilling 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Investment plan (green + digital). - Economic sovereignty + security of supply (energy, raw materials, food, medicines) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Help industry + SMEs attract capital - Modernise Single Market - Administrative burdens (national, digitalisation) - Upskilling + migration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Deeper Single Market - Industrial Strategy, skills. - Compet. check of policy - Invest: innovation, infrastr., jobs - Climate (+digital) leadership - Streamline regulations - Trade with like-minded 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Slash red tape and halt on new rules for SMEs. - Innovation and investment in digital technologies. - Promoting EU's artisanal methods and identity globally. - On energy sector: technology-neutral approach.

Social protection & supporting citizens



- > Particularly to ensure a **fair green transition**.
- > **Key themes:** investments, farmers, consumers & house renovations, skills & worker rights.
- > Divergence over expanding EU social policies or reinforcing existing tools.

Details on just transition

Supporting people is central to EPP's narrative, but they reject a stronger EU social policy framework.



	PEL (far-left)	EGP (Greens)	PES (social-democrats)	ALDE (liberals)	EPP (centre-right)	ECR (far-right)
Framing	New Green Social Contract and just transition. Social, economic and labour transformation.	Green Social Deal to integrate green with social justice . And turn green = prosperity for all. Fairness requires redistribution .	Green Social Deal & Just Transition. EGD with a red heart; ally social & ecologic. Sustainable wellbeing . No one abandoned.	Cherish diversity , right to live in a free and just society . Fight trends that undermine principles of equality.	Citizen-centric EU . Protect people, leave no one behind . Econ. prosperity & competitiv. = social stability, social dialogue & worker rights; balance with market. EU social dimension = bureaucracy . Families support those in need.	Need to revise EGD is, in part, because it forgets ordinary people . New approach needs to prioritise well-being and enable a just transition with support to those affected.
Priorities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Massive investments for public services & just transition. - Prevent austerity. - Workers rights (basic income directive, guaranteed employment, migrants, working hours, AI) - Feminism (femicide, equal pay and parental leave) - Fight poverty (EU directive against social inequalities, housing, halt privatisation of education, healthcare, culture) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Secure livelihoods (access renewables, housing, renovations, cooling & heating, food, health, mobility). - Social rights, jobs, poverty, workers. - Social economy, invest, fair taxes, consumers. - Green Global Deal, decolon., fair trade. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Investments, tax justice - Support farmers - House renovations & energy prices - Workers rights, JTF, SCF, skills, trade unions. - Public services & mobility - Stronger EU social dimension 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Empower citizens to renovate houses - Direct local access to funds, CAP reform (support farmers & consumers) - Reskilling (women, migrants), protect consumers, SMEs & entrepreneurs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Investments (no one behind, support farmers) - Further develop EGD to address consumers & farmers interests - Cohesion policy (social & territorial disparities) - Align energy policy with social & local - Empower trade unions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Promote environmental and social sustainability while supporting our farmers, their families and rural communities.

What about parties' investment views?

- > Highly relevant across political divides.
- > **EPP**, and especially **PES**, **EGP** & **PEL** want more.
- > **ALDE** finds investments key, but they're together with **ECR** on the **austerity** side.
- > **Mainstream parties want to prioritise them for:**
 - Green transition, particularly for its **social** side in case of **EPP**, **PES**, **EGP** & **PEL**.
 - Defence and digital are also key for **EPP**, **ALDE**, **PES**, **ECR**.

Details on investments

ALDE finds investments a top priority, but does not want more. Division on this within the liberal family.

	PEL (far-left)	EGP (Greens)	PES (social-democrats)	ALDE (liberals)	EPP (centre-right)	ECR (far-right)
Framing	Necessary to develop public services and ensure a just transition. Prevent austerity, massive investment plan to transform economy in line with needs of people and planet.	No austerity. Money is there, need to channel massive investments for Green Social Deal . Faster transition = sooner investments will pay off.	No austerity and tax justice , to strengthen EU social model and deliver green & digital transitions.	Consolidate existing programmes & budgetary discipline . Not about spending levels, but how we spend = green & digital priorities.	For competitiveness, green ambitions, supporting people and innovation to lead the future. Sound fiscal policy.	Bid farewell to excess and usher, spending every Euro wisely and with maximum impact.
Priorities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Massive investment plan. Abolish SGP. Make RRF permanent, redistribute current armaments spending, <0% ECB rate for clean investments. - Taxation (wealth, windfall profits, financial transactions, banks and multinationals) - Invest in: green transition, public services, social housing, employment, just transition, recruitment and training, transport, health and education, research and social protection. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Green Social Deal (above 1% GDP) - Wellbeing-based economic governance (public goods + green, revise SGP limits, no ISDSM) - Fair tax system (capital & financial, wealth, windfall, pollution, evasion & havens, no free quotas...) - Greening finance (revise taxonomy, fossil investments, transition plans) - Banking reform (speculation, banking union, digital euro...) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Investment plan for green & digital, focus on jobs. - Joint financing - No austerity: fiscal rules to allow green spending, permanent EU invest. capacity, ambitious MFF. - Invest in: econ. sovereignty, renovations, public services, security, infrastructure. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reduce intermediaries - No new crisis facilities, more flexible - Budgetary discipline - Prioritise sustainable & digital (adapting fiscal rules, earmarking ETS, CBAM, multinationals tax), defence, innovation. - CAP reform 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strengthen internal market for financial services, capital market union, banking union. - Invest in: defence, industry & green ambitions, jobs, innovation (clean tech, digital infrastructure, industrial policy), support people, close social & territorial disparities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Transparency and rigorous scrutiny. - No new EU own resources. - Reform EU budget to make it efficient, effective and performance-based. - Invest in: defence, digital technologies, transport infrastructure, implementation of existing green requirements.

Blog post with the main takeaways of the manifestos' analysis



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BLOG

2024 EU election manifestos and climate action

An analysis of European parties' priorities



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2024 European elections campaign banner on the Agora Simone Veil of the European Parliament in Brussels. CC-BY-4.0: © European Union 2024 - Source: EP on Flickr.

Written by [Pepe Escrig](#)
17 Apr 2024

In just 50 days, Europeans will head to the polls to elect a new European Parliament. Most political parties' manifestos indicate an appetite for further EU-level climate action, with competitiveness and social agendas as supporting avenues. However, investment and security debates carry both advantages and potential risks for the climate transition.

E3G has reviewed the manifestos of [EFA](#), [EGP](#), [EPP](#), [PEL](#), [PES](#), [REN](#), [ALDE](#), [EDP](#), and [Volt](#), while monitoring the public statements of [ECR](#) and [ID](#), which have not published manifestos. The analysis shows what is top of mind for each political family. While parties address all priorities in their manifestos, their focus level differs.

See here:
[2024 EU election manifestos and climate action - E3G](#)

About E3G

E3G is an independent climate change think tank with a global outlook. We work on the frontier of the climate landscape, tackling the barriers and advancing the solutions to a safe climate. Our goal is to translate climate politics, economics and policies into action.

E3G builds broad-based coalitions to deliver a safe climate, working closely with like-minded partners in government, politics, civil society, science, the media, public interest foundations and elsewhere to leverage change.

More information is available at www.e3g.org