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Trends in International, Foreign Policy Positions within the GUE/NGL 2008 – 2014

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1. Introduction

With increased internationalism of the right-winged political spectrum in Europe being on the rise, the question of internationalism of the European left is becoming more present in the past years. A nativist versus internationalist debate defines contemporary politics.

Not least the Greek crisis, the militarization of Fortress Europe, TTIP/CETA as well as Brexit have challenged leftist parties in the EU to articulate international, foreign policy positions. Preceding these questions and this new political era during the recent period of the 8th European Parliament – which also entailed the rise of parties such as Podemos and Syriza – is the aftermath of the world financial crisis 2008 and the preceding 7th term of the European Parliament.

The aim of this position paper will be to cluster and compare international foreign policy positions of two parties of the European United Left/Nordic Green Left (GUE/NGL), the German die LINKE and the French Communist Party (PCF) as part of the Front Gauche (FG) on a timeline between 2008 and 2014. This timeline encompasses the 7th legislative period of the European Parliament from 2009 und 2014. Due to the significance and impact of the financial crisis 2008 however, the time frame for this research has been extended to 2008. Die LINKE and PCF/Front Gauche have been chosen as they are leftist parties representing the two economically strongest member states of the EU in the GUE/NGL who also provide the largest number of MPs in the GUE/NGL. Die LINKE provides 8 MPs, while the Front de Gauche provides 4 (equally as much as Czech Komunistická strana Čech a Moravy). While "die LINKE" is part of the GUE/NGL in the form of "die LINKE" as which it is also part of parliamentary politics in Germany, the PCF joined the GUE/NGL as part of the electoral federation Front de Gauche (FG). The FG was created as an alliance for the 2009 European elections by the PCF together with the Left Party – which formed, when a left-wing minority faction decided to leave the Socialist Party – as well as the Gauche Unitaire (Unitarian Left) – a faction which left the New Anticapitalist Party. The alliance was subsequently extended. It ran for regional elections in France 2010 and as an extended alliance of ten parties in 2012 took part in the presidential election.

The research question of the position paper is "What have been trends in international foreign policy positions of the GUE/NGL as well as the French Communist Party (PCF) and the German die LINKE between 2008 and 2014?"

This research question will be answered in a bottom-up approach through an analysis of party manifestos, party websites and political publications of the French Communist Party (PCF) as well as the German die LINKE. To determine the trends in international foreign policy positions of the GUE/NGL, voting patterns of the GUE/NGL as well as resolutions of the GUE/NGL for the plenary sessions will be analysed.

Die LINKE has published two party manifestos for the German national elections in the researched period: 2009 and 2013. The FG, which the PCF is part of, published a manifesto for the French presidential elections 2012. These manifestos will be analysed in this paper.

2. Methodology

2.1. CODING PARTY MANIFESTOS

Methodological research on different political positions of parties has grown over the past decades. The two main streams in different methodological approaches to generate data on party positions are "survey data and document-driven data"[1] While in survey data as used by in the Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) surveying estimate party positions for national parties of European countries since 1999, expert judgements lie the foundation for research, human coding of political manifestos is the main approach in generating data on party positions through document-driven data. Next to an analysis of voting patterns, websites and publications of the researched parties and groups, the data for this research will be manifestos as they are the most objective source of information[2]. While manifestos mirror self-declared positions and issue emphases, defined by political parties, voting patterns and websites provide information on party positions.

The most known project in the field of research on party manifestos is the Comparative Manifestos Project (CMP). It has established a dataset of 856 parties in 55 countries and covers 596 elections, since the end of the second world war. The database of Manifesto Research Group (MRG) which established the CMP has developed a own coding scheme for the coding of manifestos, comparable across countries and time. The codes are designed to be adapted by any researched, to fit into any research project on party manifestos. The coded manifestos of the database are computerized. The MRG coding scheme is divided into 56 categories of which Domain 1. Encompasses "External Relations". Codes of this domain are "Foreign Spec+","Foreign Spec-","Anti-Imperialism","Military+", "Military-", "Peace", Internat+", "Internat-", "European Comm+", "European Comm-". For the purpose of this paper however, the manifestos have to be screened for international positions exceeding the EU. In the time span between 2008 and 2014, developments in the concrete internationalist positions of the respective parties should be examined. This requires a more nuanced conception and analysis of the positions outlined in the manifestos for which the categories of the CMP code book are not sufficient. It was thus crucial, to create more specific codes to be able to answer the research question. Following a bottom-up approach, the party manifestos of the PCF and die LINKE were screened for international positions. Valid and reliable indicators were created through international foreign policy positions outlined in the manifestos.

In the process of coding the party manifestos, introductory remarks by party leaders as well as headings are not considered. The coding units are quasi-sentences, each of them containing one message or statement. In cases of one sentence containing two messages, it is split into two codes. The codes developed through in Vivo coding (coding according to the actual language found in the qualitative data record) were in a second cycle coding through pattern coding (grouping summaries into smaller sets, themes or constructs) reorganised and condensed.

1 Keman, 2007, p.77

2 Marks et al, 2007, p.27

The codebook developed out of the manifestos is thus structured as follows:

Free Trade Free Trade Agreements CETA/TTIP Cancellation of debts Deep Recession Deregulated Financial Markets Solidary Trade Globalization War Demilitarization / Anti-Militarism Weapon Industry / Export Withdrawl of Troops from Afghanistan Civil-Military Cooperation Afghanistan War Iraq War Anti-Imperialism GASP / ESVP (EU Militarism) Interventionism International Police Operations Military Trainings NATO War Against Terror Prohibition of Force Security Policy Development Socio-Economic Investment Programs Human Rights Child Labour Drug Policy International Organizations G8 G20 International Law Latin America Ending the blockade of Cuba Energy Natural Resources Energy Crisis Agrofuel Nuclear Energy Oil Women Culture Cultural Exchange Russia EU-Russia Relations Religion Migration Social Movements Land Grabbing Roma and Sinti World Financial Institutions International Monetary Fund (IMF) World Bank World Trade Organization (WTO) Democratisation of the Economy International Economy Reform of the International Monetary System World Finance System Environment Climate Change Conflict Prevention/Resolution Agriculture Access to Water United Nations (UN) Democratisation of the UN UN General Assembly UN Security Council International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) Poverty Hunger Financial Crisis Speculation Education International Academic Exchange MENA Arab Revolutions Euro-Mediterranean Relations Maghreb Palestine Saudi Arabia Food Sovereignty Peace Healthcare Access to Medical Care Medical Advancement America International Solidarity (Privatized) Media Science Taxation

2.2. ANALYSING VOTING PATTERNS OF THE GUE/NGL

The voting patterns of the GUE/NGL are analysed through the use of databases created by VoteWatch Europe.[3] VoteWatch Europe is an independent organisation set up to promote better transparency and databases in EU decision-making, through providing access to the votes of the EP and the Council of Ministers. It provides an extensive database of the complete voting behaviour within the European Parliament (since 2004) and the Council (since 2009). The platform enables you to explore the voting behaviour of individual MEPs as well as national parties and their voting loyalty to their national groups or political groups in general or divided by different policy areas.

2.3. ANALYSING WEBSITES AND PUBLICATIONS OF THE PCF, DIE LINKE AND THE GUE/NGL

Sections on the official websites of the PCF, FG, die LINKE and the GUE/NGL dealing with international, foreign policy will be described as well as their accessibility. If the parties or alliances publish specific publications dealing with international topics, they will be described as well.

3 VoteWatch.eu, 2018

3. Trends in International, Foreign Policy positions of the Front Gauche (FG) and the French Communist Party (PCF) 2008 – 2014

3.1. THE FG PARTY MANIFESTO "L'HUMAIN D'ABORD" 2012

The manifesto "L'humain d'abord" from 2012 for the French presidential elections of the FG is 38 pages long and contains 48 international references. Its central position on international politics is an opposition to international free trade. Paragraph 2 of the manifesto with the title "Reprendre le Pouvoir aux Banques et aux Marchés Financiers ("Taking back Power over the Banks and Financial Markets") is dedicated to this position. The FG raises demands such as the adaptation of a law, establishing a public financial centre transforming in particular credit policy and criteria for credits; placing private banks who do not respect the new regulation in the fight against speculation and the 'financialization of our economy' under social control; blocking capital exchanges with tax havens; reforming the tax system through an abolishment of the tax shield, increase of the Solidarity tax on wealth (ISF), taxation of companies' financial income. However, the demands remain on a national level.

In the 4th subsection of paragraph 2 named "L'argent en Europe et dans le monde" ("money in Europe and worldwide"), the manifesto demands the creation of Euro-Mediterranean cooperation for social and ecological progress as well as "codevelopment towards the countries of the Maghreb and Machreq, Subsaharan Africa and the Middle East." In the 4th paragraph "Produire Autrement" ("Produce Differently"), the first 4 sections focus on the French labour and market and industry. In the 5th section named "Vers un Nouveau Modèle Agricole" ("Towards a new Agricultural Model")[4], the manifesto states that on an international level, a new agricultural organisation as part of the United Nations should be founded, to support the development of regional markets, regulate international markets, implement a new agricultural plan and the promotion of a relocation and ecological and agricultural transition and the fight against land grabs.

The manifesto contains a critical stance towards the energy sector and stresses the importance of a democratization of the energy sector as well as the importance to make "a great effort in research, in the technological and industrial sectors, investments, trainings for the development of renewable energies and their public use, as well as for the treatment of waste from the nuclear industry."[5] Demands however remain exclusively on a national level. In the 3rd section of paragraph 3, "La Planification Ecologique" ("Ecological Planning"), the FG opposes the "marketing of common goods" and promotes the preservation of natural resources. The proposals and demands raised are restricted to natural resources on the national level and focus first and foremost on water.

In paragraph 5, "La République pour de vrai" ("The Republic for real"), in the first section named "La laïcité, Pilier de la République et Condition du Vivre Ensemble" ("Laicity, Pillar of the Republic and Condition for Living Together") the FG articulates an immediate international position and proposal for action. "In international relations, as well as in our country, secularism is a condition for peace, as it provides the respect of the right of every person and of every human being regardless of their religious beliefs. We will therefore get rid of the international politics of France in its references to the North American theory of the clash of civilizations that seeks to divide the world according to religious affiliations."[6] In section 3, "L'Immigration n'est pas un Problème" ("Migration is not a Problem"), of the same paragraph, the party states that "the hate against foreigners, the hunt against immigrants disfigures our Republic: it must stop!"[7] The party states that migratory flows are happening worldwide. "France must not fear them, it must not despise the immense human and material contribution that they [migrants] have already produced for it." Propositions raised concerning migrants and refugees concern regulations on the national level only.

4 Pcf.fr, 2012

5 ibid

6 ibid

7 ibid

In paragraph 7 "S'Affranchir du Traité de Lisbonne et Construire une Autre Europe" ("Getting Rid of the Treaty of Lisbon and Constructing a Different Europe"), the FG calls for a political and diplomatic fight for a new European treaty. It stresses again its conviction for "the need for a secular, independent Europe, peace and international solidarity."[8] It calls for Europe to put an "end to imperialist and neo-colonialist interference" as well as for "a Europe committed to respecting the rights of peoples, especially those of the Palestinian people."[9] It furthermore stipulates its rejection of TTIP.

Paragraph 8, "La France pour Changer le Cours de la Mondialisation ("France for the Change of the Course of Globalization"), the FG articulates clear international, foreign policy positions. Three central points are outlined: The withdrawal of French troops from Afghanistan, the withdrawal of France from the NATO as well as the recognition of the state of Palestine by the French state as well as the European Union. As two points for sustainable change, it lists the enactment of "UN reforms and establishment of a new hierarchy of international standards, based on the primacy of social and environmental standards" as well as the "creation of an International Tribunal for Climate Justice under the supervision of the UN"[10]. It furthermore states that it wants France to commit to "new international relations based on respect for popular sovereignty, on mutually beneficial cooperation between peoples, on the prioritization of social and environmental standards over those of finance and trade."[11] As a concrete plan of action, it proposes the cancellation of debt of poor countries and the instalment of a 'Solidarity Cooperation Fund' on the European level, under the supervision of the UN and financed through Tobin-type tax "or other types of taxation of international capital"[12]. In reference to foreign policy, the FG wants to "put an end to France's foreign policy based on neocolonial relations and Françafrique." [13] It wants to develop an action of cooperation with peoples who seek to build democracy and social justice, especially in Tunisia and Egypt, and we will rebuild a policy of genuine cooperation between the two shores of the Mediterranean." Furthermore, the "initiation of international scientific and academic cooperation policies through open access sharing and sharing of skills and resources as well as through financing of international missions of researchers and teacher-researchers" is promoted. Further foreign policy positions outlined in the manifesto are the promotion of "monetary and financial sovereignty of the people, for a fair trade based on demanding social and environmental standards"; a fight "against the principles of IMF austerity and free trade of the WTO" – either changing them significantly or creating new international institutions replacing them; the support for the establishment of an International Tribunal for Climate Justice under the auspices of the UN as well as the support for projects like "Yasuni-ITT", "based on the principle of common responsibility for the general interest".

The UN has most frequently been mentioned in the 2012 manifesto of the FG, followed by the mentioning of free trade and environment:

8 Pcf.fr, 2012
9 ibid
10 ibid
11 ibid
12 ibid
13 ibid

3.2. ANALYSIS OF THE PCF AND FG PUBLICATIONS ON THEIR HOMEPAGES

On the official homepage of the PCR www.pcf.fr, there is no subsection about foreign policy or international subjects under the main headers "the Action", "the Party" and "the Front de Gauche". However, in the subsection "Publications", under "the Party", different publications of the PCF on different policy areas are being listed. Among the top three on the page is "La Lettre des Relations Internationales (LRI)". This magazine is issued each month, encompasses only 10 pages and features different articles on foreign policy topics as well as events on foreign policy related to the PCF.

"L'humanité", the party magazine of the PCF, has an own category on international, foreign policy subjects called "Monde" in which it frequently publishes articles on international politics.

The official website of the FG is part of the website of the PCF: www.pcf.fr/8838. The first section one can select is the manifesto from 2012, "L'humain d'abord" as well as a second section called "an alternative to austerity is possible". The page features news in chronological order as well as videos. However, there is no possibility to select or read them according to different policy areas. The publications are not clustered along different categories of policy areas. On the website of the FG, there is no indication of the international, foreign policy positions of the FG.

3.3. VOTING LOYALTY OF THE FG TO THE GUE/NGL IN INTERNATIONAL, FOREIGN POLICY QUESTIONS

In all policy areas, the FG ranks 7th with 89,81% voting loyalty to the GUE/NGL. In foreign and security policy, it ranks 4th with 93,34% voting loyalty and in international trade, it ranks 10th with 92,86%.

4. Trends in International, Foreign Policy positions of die LINKE 2008 – 2014

4.1. THE PARTY MANIFESTO OF DIE LINKE 2009

The manifesto of die LINKE 2009 has 37 pages and contains 137 international references.

In 3.3. "Wissenschaft, Forschung und Produktivität für eine Produktions- und Lebensweise von morgen" ("Science, Research and Productivity for a Mode of Production and Lifestyle from Tomorrow") die LINKE in states that it wants new knowledge and technologies to serve the common good and help address "societal challenges such as overcoming social inequality, tackling climate change and resource scarcity".

It proposes concrete plans of action, such as taking "global responsibility for tackling neglected diseases: develop new drugs and vaccines against poverty-related diseases such as tuberculosis or malaria and other tropical diseases; in a first step, allocate 10% of the funds earmarked for this purpose in the "Pharmaceutical Initiative". It furthermore wants to finance research internationally in the fields of environmental and climate change, water and energy, North-South justice and civil conflict resolution and increase funds for these fields of research. It proposes to "promote cultural and social sciences financially as equal fields of research and strengthen them". The social development it wants to take responsibility for it describes as "just, democratic and ethnically and culturally diverse social development".

In 4.2. "Schutz vor Geschlechterspezifischer Gewalt" ("Protection from Gender Specific Violence"), die LINKE states that violence against women is an international problem. Among its demands on a national basis, this section includes the demand for the right to return for women, who have been forcibly displaced from Germany.

In the introduction of chapter 5. "Frieden und Gerechtigkeit – weltweit!" ("Peace and Justice – worldwide!"), die LINKE criticises wars about natural resources internationally. It explains, that the financial crisis has driven many countries' economies into a deep recession. Specifically countries of the global South would live in poverty and hunger. Die LINKE therefore concludes, that "German foreign policy must become a policy of peace."[14] This policy it describes as having to focus on the reform of the world financial system and the creation of a world currency, which is not based on any national currency. It criticises that the foreign policy of Germany, which is lacking natural resources, is increasingly adapting the character of an imperial foreign policy, focussed on the energy sector. It explains that respect for international law and human rights are the precondition for international cooperation. "The central institution must be the UN and its resolutions must be respected". It adds "die LINKE is the party of international law and the enforcement of the prohibition of violence in international relations." [15]

It promotes a change in relations to countries of the global South and a development policy which is bound to a system change in politics in the field of economy, finance, energy, trade as well as agriculture. Die LINKE criticises that on an EU level, the German government is promoting free trade towards developing countries. Its counter-proposition is the promotion of South-South relations and the strengthening of regional markets against globalization, promoting the processing of raw materials in the countries of origin. Local producers should be protected against price dumping and competition promoted by EU agricultural export subsidies and free trade agreements. A successful development policy die LINKE describes as a development policy acting as an "active policy of promoting women"[16]. It states that it should also include worldwide social, environmental and antimilitarist movements, "such as the World Social Forum, trade unions, locally driven development initiatives at local and regional level, self-organized groups

14 dieLINKE.de, 2009

15 ibid

16 ibid

and non-governmental organizations, alongside national and supra-regional institutions". As central demands and plans of direct action, die LINKE mentions "the realization of the human right to food and food sovereignty: putting peasants, appropriate technologies and a fair distribution of land and resources at the center of plans for budgeting", "the prohibition of food speculation" which should entail an end of import of agricultural commodities for biofuel production until the sustained global food supply is secured, stopping hedge funds and speculative food transactions and the regulation financial markets. It also demands that the promotion of women must become a priority for development policy and that Germany has to take into account, when allocating funds, the respective gender-specific division of labour, for example in agricultural production. Again emphasising and promoting the importance of the UN, die LINKE demands a democratic reform of the IMF and the World Bank and a complete integration of both into the UN system while regionally based and regionally oriented lending facilities should be strengthened. In this context it provides a proposition for the establishment of "fair trade structures", and "debt-free development countries". This should be reached through the abolishment of EU export subsidies and the "Economic Partnership Agreements" with the ACP countries (Africa, Carribean, Pacific) and others as well as a renegotiation of free trade agreements and the creation of fair arbitration procedures for insolvent states.

In 5.2. "Globale Lösungen erfordern globale Kooperation" ("Global Solutions Demand Global Cooperation"), die LINKE focusses on international law, which it sees as the only legal basis between states. It criticises the unequal distribution of power in the UN Security Council and the unjust use of the veto right. It explains that it wants the UN to be strengthened politically and at the same time rejects a militarization of the UN as well as wars fought with UN mandate and at the same time urges the EU to support the millennium goals of the UN "so that the reform of the global economic system is not a task of the G8 or G20 states, but becomes part of the agenda of the UN."[17] It furthermore urges the German government, to follow "the path of cooperation"[18] of Latin-American leftist governments and to lift the blockade of Cuba. Specific demands and plans of action proposed by die LINKE are to "orient German foreign policy towards strengthening the UN: international law as the contractual basis of the UN"[19]; the recognition, reinforcement and development of relations between states, a democratic reformation of the UN which must include a subordination of military alliances to the UN and increased rights for the General Assembly; the achievement of the UN Millennium Development Goals by 2015; accepting an active role of the UN in the reform of the world economic order; accepting the UN as "a global authority in addressing the vital issues of humanity such as nutrition, climate change, water and energy supply"[20]; making the UN a global authority in the fight for sovereignty, access to water and climate change.

Concerning energy policy die LINKE proposes a significant increase in the compensation for the consequences of climate change for the countries of the global South as well as the active support of Southern countries' energy sovereignty, accomplished through the use of renewable energies and the promotion of increased global knowledge and technology transfer.

In 5.3. "Deutsche Außenpolitik: Friedenspolitik durchsetzen!" ("German Foreign Policy: Enforcing Politics of Peace!"), die LINKE calls the German foreign policy militarised and "increasingly focused on the imperial enforcement of capital interests"[21]. Germany would, since the war against Yugoslavia, actively take part in wars under the violation of international law. Die LINKE demands and proposes as a direct plan for action the immediate withdrawal of German troops from Afghanistan; the reduction of the military budget and expansion of the civil peace service; to end allowing the German military to take part in foreign military operations, even under UN mandate or to send military advisers to support authoritarian regimes; "dissolving and replacing the NATO through a collective security system involving Russia: the establishment of a "missile defence shield" in Poland and the Czech Republic; strengthening of

17 dieLINKE.de, 2009

18 ibid

19 ibid

20 ibid

21 ibid

the civil partnership and cooperation agreements between the EU and Russia; the Eastern Partnership with states from the former Soviet Union, taking into account the security interests of Russia"[22]. It adds that it will not agree to any expansion attempt of the NATO, wants to take steps towards a nuclear-weapon-free world and furthermore demands the abandonment of the obligatory military service in Germany aiming at transforming the military into a defence army and significantly reduce it. Die LINKE promotes the implementation of the UN Resolution 1325 "Women and Peace" which aims to protect women and girls in war and encourages their participation in peace processes and the

22 dieLINKE.de, 2009

creation of a national plan for action for the implementation of this resolution. The party further demands the prohibition of weapon exports from Germany as well as the closing of all military bases of foreign armies in Germany and the destruction of all nuclear weapons.

In 5.4. "Deutschland in Europa: Für eine soziale, demokratische und friedliche Europäische Union" ("Germany in Europe: For a social, democratic and peaceful European Union"), die LINKE demands the abolition of FRONTEX, a replacement of the European defence agency with a disarmament agency and to end foreign military missions in the context of European foreign and security policy.

4.2. THE PARTY MANIFESTO OF DIE LINKE 2013

The party manifesto of die LINKE 2013 contains 143 international references.

In its introduction, it stipulates "die LINKE is a party of peace"[23] and that demands a withdrawal of German troops from Afghanistan as well as a stop of weapon exports specifically to Saudi Arabia.

In II "Die Krise überwinden. Demokratie und Sozialstaat verteidigen – hier und europaweit" ("Overcoming the crisis. Defending Democracy and the Social State – Here and throughout Europe"), in section 2, it criticises, that Europe is the biggest exporter of arms worldwide. Die LINKE demands a prohibition of weapon exports on an EU level as well as the abolishment of FRONTEX as a border agency. It demands an unconditional lift of the EU's "common position" towards Cuba and an end of the US blockade of Cuba.

In III "Friedlich und gerecht in der Welt. Nein zum Krieg" ("Peaceful and Just in the World. No to War"), die LINKE criticises resource wars as well as the destruction of environment in the global South. It demands a withdrawal of German soldiers from foreign countries as well as a prohibition of weapon exports. In addition to the mentioned demands, the party demands a prohibition of German soldiers to join operations in the context of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and ECSDP on a European level. It opposes the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) "as well as EU battlegroups and EU intervention forces"[24]. It furthermore calls for "a cessation of federal and state police involvement in international police operations to support wars and authoritarian regimes"[25] as well as a stop of the reorganization of the military into an army and the disarmament of the German military with the aim of creating a structurally non-aggressive and intervention-capable army. As in 2009, it demands a reduction of the army, further explaining that it wants a reorientation of state policy towards non-violent and socially just peacebuilding and a comprehensive support for projects for the expansion of civil conflict transformation in countries of the global South. It promotes an increase of funding for the Civil Peace Service, sending specially trained professionals to conflict areas. By 2017 it planned to increase the number of 300 peace workers in 2013 to at least 600, aiming to finance this initiative with part of the money saved by stopping the Bundeswehr's foreign missions. It furthermore demands the establishment of a European peace service.

In section 2 of the same paragraph, die LINKE criticises the conditions imposed on countries of the global South, inherently linked to 'development aid'. It demands a stop of the import of agro-fuel, as it "endangers human nutrition and biodiversity in the global South"[26], promoting the prevention of appropriations of large tracts of land in the global South as well as a rise of the German funds for development cooperation to the internationally promised 0.7 percent of GDP. It supports the international solidarity in cooperation such as the ALBA-alliance in Latin-America and as in 2009 calls for an end of the blockade of Cuba.

It stipulates, that German companies "must be obliged

23 dieLINKE.de, 2013

24 ibid

25 ibid

26 ibid

to uphold social and democratic rights worldwide"[27] and promotes the prevention of imports of products produced through child labour. This should be ensured through "a legal obligation to disclose all suppliers to German companies. This applies to the raw materials as well as to the production itself, to the cotton in T-shirts as well as to the working conditions of the seamstresses"[28].

In section 3 of the paragraph, as in 2009, die LINKE describes itself as "the party of international law"[29]. It describes the UN as "the central organ for peaceful relations between states and societies"[30]. It criticises Germany for not signing the additional protocol of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). As in 2009, die LINKE demands a strengthening and democratization of the UN and the integration of questions on global economic development into the bodies of the UN as well as ECOSOC and UNCTAD, instead of the G8 and G20. It demands a stronger representation of African, Latin American as well as South Asian states in the UN Security Council as well as the equality of member of the Security Council. As in 2009, it demands a strengthening of the power of the UN General Assembly.

In section 3 of the same paragraph, the manifesto states that the international policy of die LINKE is "aimed at disarmament and demilitarization"[31].

As in 2009, it demands a ban on all arms exports – without exceptions. This ban it wants to enact by in a first step calling for the immediate ban on all exports of small arms and weapons factories. It suggests conversion programs for employees in the defence industry. For this reason, "research on arms conversion, ie the conversion from military to civilian production, should be promoted with public funds"[32]. Die LINKE calls for an immediate withdrawal and destruction of the last US nuclear weapons still stationed in Germany and calls for a prohibition of the use of drones by the German military as well as militaries internationally. It demands the dissolution of NATO and want to replace it with "a collective security system involving Russia, which has disarmament as a central objective"[33]. It strengthens its position against the NATO by stating that "die LINKE will not participate in a government that conducts wars and combat missions of the German military abroad".

In V "Demokratische Teilhabe: für eine Demokratie, in der es was zu entscheiden gibt" ("Democratic participation: For a Democracy, in Which We have Things to Decide") in section 5 the party calls for an abolishment of FRONTEX. In section 7, it demands the German government, "to drive the United Nations Drug Treaty and the European Union's drug strategy towards an enlightened drug policy"[34].

Thus, the focus of the manifesto lied first and foremost on the weapon industry, war and demilitarization.

27 dieLINKE.de, 2013

28 ibid

29 ibid

30 ibid

31 ibid

32 ibid

33 ibid

34 ibid


Withdrawl of Troops from Afghanistan
Speculation
Nuclear Energy
Ending the blockade of Cuba
Deregulated Financial Markets
Migration
Prohibition of Force
Saudi Arabia
Civil-Military Cooperation
Social Movements
International Solidarity
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International Monetary Fund (IMF)
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Demilitarization /
G20
Anti-Militarism
Child Labour
Environment
Human Rights
United Nations (UN)
Weapon Industry /
Export
International Law
Hunger
Peace
UN Security Council
Socio-Economic Investment Programs
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)
Climate Change
G8
World Finance System
Security Policy
Poverty
Land Grabbing
Cultural Exchange
Food Sovereignty
Democratisation of the UN

4.3. ANALYSIS OF PUBLICATIONS OF DIE LINKE ON ITS HOMEPAGE

On the official homepage of die LINKE www.die-linke.de, In the section "Subjects", the third of five subsections named "International" is easily accessible and prominently placed on the website. Under the header, die LINKE lists a short description of its foreign policy position:

"The end of the Cold War marked the beginning of a wave of new wars. The struggle for global domination, access to vital natural resources and geopolitical control is highly militarized. Arms spending worldwide has risen to over $ 1,000 billion. Through its colonial history and the exploitation of resources, neoliberal policies and militarization in these regions, the EU is also significantly responsible for poverty, civil war, environmental and ethnic conflicts in many regions worldwide. A change is needed. Our foreign and peace policy finds its foundation in international law, strives for global justice and the realization of human rights, demands disarmament and the worldwide ban on weapons of mass destruction. Only social justice, sustainable development and democracy guarantee stability and peaceful cooperation."

DIE LINKE.international

Die LINKE has its own international Magazine called "DIE LINKE.international". It has its own website called "international", dealing with international topics: https://international.die-linke.de. Here, topics the website deals with are divided into four parts: Europe, World, Foreign Policy and Parties. The section "World" contains a collection of articles written by individuals on different current international topics.

Disput

Since 1990, die LINKE has its own newspaper, Disput, which is distributed to all members of the party. The newspaper however does not divide articles into different categories marked by different policy areas. Thus, there is no specific international section, the newspaper however features articles on international, foreign policy questions.

4.4. VOTING LOYALTY OF DIE LINKE TO THE GUE/NGL IN INTERNATIONAL, FOREIGN POLICY QUESTIONS

In all policy areas, die LINKE ranks 1st with 95,59% voting loyalty to the GUE/NGL. In foreign and security policy, it ranks 1st as well with 97,24% voting loyalty and in international trade, it ranks 2nd with 99,24%.

5. International, Foreign Policy Positions of the GUE/NGL

5.1. FOREIGN POLICY POSITIONS OF THE GUE/NGL 2008-2014

The GUE/NGL supports "a socially equitable, peaceful and sustainable European integration process based on international solidarity" (GUE/NGL, 2013). It holds a critical position towards the EU targeting undemocratic processes, "but the tone of these criticisms is still strongly pro-integration" [35] Its internationalist critique on the EU focusses mainly on international trade.

The absolute majority of the Resolutions for the plenary sessions 2008 – 2014 passed by the GUE/NGL concern international, foreign policy questions.

On the website of the GUE/NGL its "priorities" are divided into the sections "agriculture and fisheries", "civil liberties, data privacy, protecting the vulnerable", "combating poverty & social exclusion", "consumer right and food safety", "economic and financial crisis", "employment and workers' rights", "environment, climate change and energy", "healthcare and medical products" and "trade & foreign affairs". In the section "trade & foreign affairs", the foreign policy positions of the GUE/NGL are outlined. Those are primarily focussing on trade justice. Describing free trade as the cause for "worldwide social and ecological destruction"[36], development is here a specific focus. "The EU must play an active role in the fight to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger in the developing world."[37] Under the banner of "trade justice", the GUE/NGL here mentions its work on ACTA (Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement), a multilateral trade agreement aiming to establish an international legal framework for combatting counterfeit good, generic medicines and copyright infringement on the internet, signed by the EU 2012. The second trade agreement it mentions is the EU trade agreement with Columbia and Peru. The GUE/NGL rejected the agreement due to a lacking improvement in human rights under the government of President Uribe. The third agreement mentioned is the EC-Eastern and Southern Africa States Economic Partnership Agreement. The GUE/NGL criticized what it called a "neo-colonial attitude" of the EU. The EPAs would disregard the economic and social development needs of African, Caribbean and Pacific countries "far from applying policy coherence for development and respect for human rights in the external policies of the EU".[38]

The GUE/NGL expressed its opposition to the EU's scheme of generalised tariff preferences which would abolish the EU's trade preferences for certain development countries. It therefore urged MEPs to "support the amendments which would help ensure that the European Union would not withdraw from the global fight against poverty". [39]

Its position on the trade and investment strategy for the Southern Mediterranean is the support of a cancellation of debt for North African and Middle Eastern countries who underwent the Arab revolutions and "to ensure the free trade system with these countries will benefit them and their inhabitants and not destroy jobs and whole sectors of the economy." [40]

The GUE/NGL stresses its "firm resistance to EU-US trade and investment agreement negotiations without giving a strong negotiating mandate to all those concerned."

Concerning the EU security policy, the GUE/NGL insists on peaceful principles and demilitarization. Military expenditure should instead be used for the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals. It stresses its critical stance towards the EU in times of the Arab revolutions, saying that

35 „Euroscepticism as a Transnational and Pan-European Phenomenen" – John FitzGibbon, Benjamin Leruth, Nich Startin, p. 70

36 Guengl.eu, 2018

37 ibid

38 ibid

39 ibid

40 ibid

"the EU confuses immobility with stability"[41] It specifically mentions the case of Tunisia, stating that the group was critical towards the lack of EU response to the political situation in Tunisia and the fact that it cooperated with the corrupt and violent regime of Ben Ali. In February 2011 a delegation of the GUE/NGL visited Tunisia to express its solidarity with the Tunisian people and tabled a resolution on Tunisia to the EP. The GUE/NGL equally expresses its solidarity with the Egyptian revolution and states that its criticism of the EU policy in the MENA region furthermore is expressed in the organization of a conference on the liberation struggles in the MENA region in the EP. The group states that it criticises the lack of information and data provided on by the EU foreign and security chief [42] on Afghanistan. It supports the re-election of Bolivian President Evo Morales and his appeal for a "World conference of the people on climate change and the rights of Mother Earth". It stresses the necessity to support the call from Aung San Suu Kyi in Burma to suspend EU sanctions but not lift them permanently. In Cyprus, the GUE/NGL supports the reaching of a peaceful solution to the ongoing conflict in the country. In April 2010 it issued a statement, calling for a proposal of the Commission for direct trade with the occupied areas of Cyprus to be revoked. It expressed its "solidarity with the forces within the Turkish Cypriot community, which continue to work in parallel for the solution of the Cyprus problem based on the UN resolutions and for a free reunified Cyprus based on a bizonal bicommunal federation"[43]. The GUE/NGL demands an imminent closure of Guantanamo Bay prison camp and the resettlement of the detainees. In Honduras, after the ousting of José Manuel Zelaya by a military coup in June 2009, the group demanded the reinstatement of Manuel Zelaya and his government. It opposes the repressive regime in Iran, due to its human rights violations and oppression of religious minorities, however opposes sanctions such as trade bans with Iran's Central Bank, as this would evidently affect ordinary citizens and help the regime's election campaign. Furthermore the group stresses that there is no proof of a nuclear weapons programme. In Lebanon, it sees plans of the EU to add Hezbollah to a blacklist of designated terrorist organizations as a geostrategic error which would lead to the risk of further isolation of the EU. The EU would also have the duty to include all actors in the region in dialogue. It should support Lebanon and its government to strengthen the country's sovereignty. In Mali, the group calls for an end of land grabbing and uranium extraction. The GUE/NGL calls the situation in Palestine as being "at the heart of the GUE/NGL"[44]. In 2009 and 2010 delegations of the group attempted to visit Gaza. It expressed its condemnation of the February 2010 attack of the IDF. The GUE/NGL supports the recognition of the Palestinian State on the borders of 4 June 1967 and in 2011 demanded EU support for the membership of the UN and the recognition of the Palestinian state on pre-1967 borders including East-Jerusalem. In November 2012 it called for a resolution for a ceasefire, encouraging lasting peace and a two-state solution. GUE/NGL MEPs joined the second as well as third Freedom Flotilla to end the siege of Gaza, in the course of which MEP Paul Murphy was arrested by Israeli authorities.

5.2. VOTING PATTERNS OF THE GUE/NGL

In 433 votes on foreign policy from 2009 – 2014, the position of the (plurality) of the GUE/NGL was positive while the result was as well positive. In 205 votes on foreign policy, the position of the (plurality) of the GUE/NGL was negative, while the result was negative as well. In 18 votes the position of the (plurality) of the GUE/NGL was positive while result was negative. In 19 cases, position of the (plurality) of the GUE/NGL was negative, while the result was positive. In 3 cases, the position of the (plurality) of the GUE/NGL abstained from the vote, while the result was positive.

The 3 votes, where the majority of the GUE/NGL abstained were a resolution for the extradition of Cesare Battisti in Brazil, a resolution on the situation of Rohingya Muslims and a resolution on the human rights situation and forthcoming elections in Bangladesh.

41 Guengl.eu, 2018

42 ibid

43 ibid

44 ibid

The 19 votes, where the position of (the plurality) of the GUE/NGL was negative, while the result was positive were "Rwanda: case of Victoire Ingabire – Joint motion for resolution: vote: resolution (as a whole)", "Eritrean refugees held hostage in Sinai- PPE – Joint motion for a resolution: vote: resolution (text as a whole)", "Forced abortion scandal in China – Joint motion for a resolution: vote: resolution (as a whole)", "Case of Arafat Jaradat and situation of Palestinian prisoners in Israeli jails (motion by the EPP) – Motion for a resolution: vote: resolution (as a whole)", "Azerbaijan: the case of Ramil Safarov – Joint motion for a resolution: Paragraph 6,amendment 7", "Azerbaijan: the case of Ramil Safarov – Joint motion for a resolution: Paragraph 6,amendment 8", "Azerbaijan: the case of Ramil Safarov – Joint motion for a resolution: After paragraph 8,amendment 6=12rev", "Azerbaijan: the case of Ramil Safarov – Joint motion for a resolution: After paragraph 9,amendment 11rev", "Azerbaijan: the case of Ramil Safarov – Joint motion for a resolution: After citation 6,amendment 13", "Azerbaijan: the case of Ramil Safarov – Joint motion for a resolution: vote: resolution (as a whole)", "Azerbaijan: the case of Ramil Safarov – Joint motion for a resolution: Recital C,amendment 10", "Situation in Ukraine – Motion for resolution: After paragraph 7,amendment 1", "Situation in Ukraine – Joint motion for a resolution: After Paragraph 7,amendment 1", "2010 progress report on the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia – Motion for a resolution: After paragraph 39,amendment 5", "Iceland's application for membership of the European Union – Motion for a resolution: After paragraph 26,amendment 2", "Promotion and protection of freedom of religion or belief – Proposal for a recommendation: Paragraph 1, point f/2", "2013 progress report on Bosnia and Herzegovina – Motion for resolution: Paragraph 10,amendment 10", "An EU Strategy for the Black Sea – Motion for a resolution: Paragraph 25/2", "2009 progress report on the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia – Motion for a resolution: Paragraph 30,amendment 16", "2013 progress report on Albania – Motion for a resolution: Paragraph 4,amendment 6", "Outcome of the Vilnius Summit and the future of the Eastern Partnership, in particular as regards Ukraine (EPP, S&D, ALDE, Greens/EFA, ECR, EFD) – Motion for a resolution: Paragraph 8,amendment 10".

The 18 votes, where the position of (the plurality) of the GUE/NGL was positive while result was negative were a the "2013 progress report on Bosnia and Herzegovina – Motion for resolution: Paragraph 11,amendment 5", "2013 progress report on Turkey – Motion for resolution: After paragraph 6,amendment 10", "Motions for resolutions – A political solution with regard to the piracy off the Somalian coast – Joint motion for a resolution: Paragraph 11", "Motions for resolutions – Recent attacks on religious minorities in Egypt and in Malaysia – Joint motion for a resolution: Paragraph 10,amendment 2", "Development of the common security and defence policy following the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty – Motion for a resolution: Paragraph 57,amendment 8revD", "2012 progress report on the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia – Joint motion for resolution: After paragraph 16,amendment 1", "Invasion of Ukraine by Russia – Joint motion for a resolution, EPP, S&D, ALDE, Greens/ EFA and ECR) – Motion for resolution: After recital C,amendment 16", "Invasion of Ukraine by Russia – Joint motion for a resolution, EPP, S&D, ALDE, Greens/ EFA and ECR) – Motion for resolution: After recital C,amendment 18", "Union for the Mediterranean – Motion for a resolution: After paragraph 5,amendment 6/2", "2012 progress report on Turkey – Motion for a resolution: Paragraph 47,amendment 25", "2012 progress report on Turkey – Motion for a resolution: After paragraph 49,amendment 3", "Motion for a resolution – Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons Treaty – Joint motion for a resolution: After paragraph 11,amendment 3", "2012 progress report on Turkey – Motion for a resolution: After paragraph 49,amendment 26", "Impact of the financial crisis on the defence sector – Motion for a resolution: Paragraph 60/1", Voting Loyalty

In the 7th term of the European Parliament, the voting loyalty to the GUE/NGL has been the highest by German "die LINKE" with 95,59% in all policy areas, followed by Portuguese Bloco de Esquerda, Spanish Iequierda Unida, Croation Hravtski laburisti – stranka rada, Greek Coalition of the Radical Left, LatvianPolitisko partiju apvieniba "Saskanas centrs". The French "Front de Gauche" ranks 7th with 89,81% in the national party loyalty to the GUE/NGL in all policy areas.

In the area of foreign policy, die LINKE ranks highest, with 97,23%, followed by Spanish Izquierda Unida with 94,65%, Latvian Politisko partiju apvieniba "Saskanas centrs" with 93,94% and the French Front Gauche with 93,34% on the 4th rank.

6. Conclusion

The PCF in the context of the FG as well as die LINKE hold international, foreign policy positions, which concentrate on the areas of international free trade, war, international organizations as well as the environment. The PCF manifesto contains many references to international topics, however in its articulated positions, in comparison to die LINKE, it has significantly few propositions. References to international foreign policy are placed throughout the texts, with only one subsection dedicated to French foreign policy.

Die LINKE which in its manifesto 2009 as well as its manifesto 2013 made significantly more references to international, foreign policy, also made references throughout the manifesto, however condensed its positions in specific paragraphs about German foreign policy and articulated proposals for direct action.

The reference most frequently made in all manifestos together was the United Nations (37). The second most frequent reference was demilitarization (29), followed by war (26), development (24), peace (17), weapon industry (16) and free trade (16).

Both parties stressed the significance of the UN and the rule of international law. Both parties criticise the UN Security Council. Die LINKE in both manifestos criticises the veto-right in the SC. It proposed to include Latin American and African countries in the SC as well as a strengthening of the General Assembly as a decision maker.

Both promoted the abolishment of the NATO and the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan, as well as an opposition to international free trade. In the French case, however as opposed to die LINKE, no position on demilitarization or an alternative to the NATO is proposed. Furthermore, apart from the demand for a withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan, the FG does not articulate a position on military troops abroad, as opposed to die LINKE.

Regions outside of Europe, addressed in the manifesto of the FG are focussing on North Africa and West Asia. Die LINKE in its manifestos in direct references to specific regions in the world, focusses on Latin America, North Africa and West Asia.

This paper due to its restricted framework is only able to provide a glimpse at the question of international, foreign policy positions of European leftist parties. Its discrepancy to the actual political praxis of the researched parties however is not part of the research.

Furthermore, the question of authorship and decision-making processes leading to the publications on party websites as well as the GUE/NGL are not researched in this paper.

The research on the research question is very thin. Especially for the recent period of the EP however, in which the rise of the far right, building up on right winged internationalism, the question on which trends in positions the EU left is following in questions on internationalism vs nativism would be an interesting research question, as well as an international comparison to the Latin American parliamentary left. This answer however lies beyond the scope of this paper.

Internal disputes and shifts in positions of the researched parties have not been included in this research as well as frequencies of posts on international, foreign policy social media or parliamentary questions posed by the GUE/NGL. The GUE/NGL posed 4252 parliamentary questions to the EP within the Parliamentary from 2009 to 2014. Within the context of this research, screening all 4252 questions for their internationalism would have exceeded the possibilities of the framework.

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