Comparison of parties’ manifestos for the 2009 European elections

ALDE is the only group that has published their manifesto for this year’s European elections; it has been integrated into the table below.

European-wide party manifestos

PES Manifesto (2009) Link
ELDR Manifesto (2009) Link
ALDE Manifesto (2014) Link
Greens Manifesto (2009) Link
European Left Manifesto (2009) Link
European Free Alliance Manifesto (2009) Link

UK party manifestos

Labour Manifesto (2009) Link
Conservatives Manifesto (2009) Link
Lib Dem Manifesto (2009) Link
Green party Manifesto (2009) Link
No manifesto found for UKIP

The tables below capture the different parties’ positions on the following issues:
- migration;
- climate change;
- international cooperation and development;
- foreign policy, international institutions & security issues; and
- international trade.

A summary highlighting the areas of consensus and points of contention on each of the five issues is also provided.
Summary – European level: There is broad consensus across parties for a more coordinated approach to combat illegal migration and human trafficking; for an enhanced effort toward common border control activities; for a joint asylum system; for a European policy or strategy targeted at attracting skilled migrants; and for granting legal migrants with improved working rights, by for instance establishing a ‘Blue Card’ system. The European Left goes further and positions itself against rules that impose migrants’ expulsion, and in favour of closing detention prisons. National level (UK): The three mainstream parties (excluding the Greens) broadly agree that the UK should retain control over its borders and over immigration and asylum policies, although both Labour and the Conservatives emphasise that they will use their right to opt-in on issues of national interest. The Green party, however, does not support strengthening border controls; instead, it calls for equal rights between national and migrant workers and denounces the use of migration as a political issue to mask domestic problems (e.g. social housing).

EU party manifestos (2009, 2014)

| EPP (2009) | - The fight against illegal immigration and human trafficking requires more coordinated action. This includes:  
- improving the operational capabilities and resources of the border control agency FRONTEX,  
- applying a joint asylum policy,  
- stepping up the implementation of a ‘Blue Card’ system for legal immigration, and  
- establishing close partnerships with the countries of origin of illegal migration.  
- The EU has to adopt a long-term strategy in order to encourage and attract talented, qualified and skilled workers from the rest of the world so that Europe’s economy can become more competitive, more dynamic and more knowledge driven. Language courses, entrepreneurial incentive schemes, vocational training and enhanced job placements are needed to assist legal migrants in integrating the labour market and society. |
| PES (2009) | - Establish common standards for legal migration into the EU, based on solidarity and burden sharing, while fully respecting Member States’ competences in this field.  
- Establish a European Charter for the Integration of Migrants, based on equal rights and responsibilities and mutual respect, which should be coordinated closely with policies governing the admission of migrants.  
- Step up European efforts to combat illegal migration through a common External Border Control Policy, improved cooperation to fight human trafficking by criminal networks, and partnership agreements with third countries, including readmission procedures.  
- Strengthening cooperation with third countries (including on readmission procedures) in order to manage migration more effectively while promoting the economic and social development of those countries. We propose to deepen existing mechanisms and create new ones, to address the consequences for developing countries of the loss of skilled workers in key |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party/Manifesto</th>
<th>Position and Remarks</th>
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<tr>
<td>ELDR (now ALDE) (2009)</td>
<td>- Introduction of an EU ‘Blue Card’ system, administered by each Member State, to ensure measured economic migration for the benefit of EU citizens.</td>
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<td>ALDE (2014)</td>
<td>- While we welcome the new Common European Asylum System, we will further work to create legal and safe routes to the EU for asylum seekers through resettlement and humanitarian visas, in order to eliminate the market for human traffickers and prevent tragic deaths in the Mediterranean. - Work for a Europe open to talents and ideas from people willing and able to contribute to job growth and prosperity on the one hand, and on the other hand, enforce a system to prevent irregular migration.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Greens (2009)</td>
<td>Europe has a duty to provide shelter and protection to those who need it. Europe should be a bridge that will allow people to come and live here in a legal way. It will only be able to do this effectively when all EU countries share the effort instead of leaving border countries to take the strain. A revision of the Dublin Convention, which aims to harmonise EU asylum policies and guarantees protection in line with international obligations, is a must. Europe must also do more to fight the despicable trafficking of men, women and children across its borders.</td>
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<tr>
<td>European Left (2009)</td>
<td>- Reinforcement of migrants’ rights to work wherever they live in the EU. We reject any regulation or directive in the EU and its member countries imposing expulsion. What is needed is a regulation and a work permit for employment research. - We want a cosmopolitan Europe open to migration, not a fortress Europe that repels people in need. - A common EU refugee and migration policy in accordance with the Geneva Convention is needed. - We demand the recognition of gender-related and non-governmental persecution as grounds for asylum and call for the specific protection of child refugees. Therefore, we reject the already existing FRONTEX system of border controlling and demand the rejection of all plans on the implementation of the “Pact on Migration and Asylum” and the “Return Directive”. - Detention prisons must be closed.</td>
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<tr>
<td>European Free Alliance (2009)</td>
<td>- We view migration as a natural process in human life and it is in all our interests for the EU to deal with migration as effectively and efficiently as possible. - We recognise the many potential shared benefits of greater cooperation in asylum and immigration at EU level, and the important role that Europe could play in assisting the integration of new migrants included in the languages of the stateless nations. - We share a duty to uphold and defend people's right to seek asylum and continue Europe's proud tradition of offering refuge to the persecuted. - Support measures for dealing with people trafficking and the challenges and opportunities of migration.</td>
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**UK national party manifestos (2009)**
| **Labour** | - We will continue working with our European partners to tackle crime, illegal immigration and the threat of terrorism to keep our streets safer.  
- We will retain control over our borders and insist on retaining our right to decide whether to participate in individual EU measures on immigration and asylum. We will only opt-in when it is in the best interests of our nation and citizens.  
- We will continue to pursue managed migration within Europe’s borders including efforts to promote integration and guarantee fair treatment for legal migrants.  
- We know that we cannot hope to create secure borders without a concerted global response. That is why we have worked with our EU partners to build on our firm action to tackle illegal immigration at home, including:  
  - Securing powers to share information across the EU to prevent multiple asylum applications. Thanks to this measure the UK removes around 130 asylum seekers per month  
  - Drawing up a comprehensive framework for combating illegal migration during the UK Presidency of the EU in 2005 |
| **Conservatives** | - Conservatives oppose harmonisation of policy on asylum, visas and immigration while supporting EU cooperation where it adds value.  
- Where the UK has the right to opt-in to initiatives in these areas, we will maintain a close interest in developments and cooperate where we can, but without any presumption that we will participate.  
- It is of fundamental importance that the UK retains control over her own borders, although this will only benefit British citizens if our borders are properly managed with a proper border protection force. |
| **Liberal democrats** | - Liberal Democrats do not believe Britain should join the Schengen area of open borders in the foreseeable future.  
- Maintain and strengthen Britain’s borders with a new dedicated UK Border Force to ensure rigorous entry and exit checks.  
- UK asylum and immigration decisions should remain the responsibility of the UK government.  
- The UK should play a more positive role in setting stronger EU policies and common standards to tackle illegal immigration, to ensure the asylum system is fair and not abused and to agree a coherent approach to legal immigration from outside the EU. |
| **Green party** | - We do not support creating a “Fortress Europe.” Measures to secure the EU’s borders by toughening border controls in neighbouring countries have put the right to seek asylum at risk.  
- We want a humane and just asylum system in which minors should never be detained.  
- Migrant workers should be entitled to equal treatment with national workers in order to avoid the exploitation of migrant workers and their being used to undercut national terms and conditions.  
- We reject the use of immigration as a political issue to mask problems such as a lack of high-quality social housing, or poor government planning and response to changing needs at the local level.  
- We also believe that it should be possible for non-EU nationals to change their migration status so as to keep them within the law and prevent the splitting of families because one partner has an irregular status. |
CLIMATE CHANGE

Summary – European level: There is broad consensus across parties for the EU to take a leading role in climate-related international negotiations (the 2009 elections were a few months before the climate summit in Copenhagen where the hopes for an ambitious international agreement were high) and in promoting green technologies and practices. Several parties called for the creation of an emission trading scheme back in 2009, which has since been created: in its 2014 manifesto, ALDE calls for a ‘functioning emission trading scheme to reduce CO2 emissions’. Several parties mention the need to revise the Common Agricultural Policy; others openly oppose the use of nuclear energy to tackle climate change. As could be expected, the Green party manifesto has the most details on climate change policies, including very specific targets the Greens believe the EU should commit to. National level (UK): The four parties represented in the table agree broadly, especially on the following areas: the EU should be a leader in climate negotiations; low carbon investments should be incentivised; there must be a shift toward a low carbon economy; and improved energy efficiency is important. Certain issues were raised by only some parties: e.g. reforming the CAP (Conservatives and Liberal democrats), legislating on pollution control and ending fish discarding practices (Conservatives), expanding the emission trading scheme to other harmful greenhouse gases (Liberal democrats), stopping the expansion of nuclear energy in the UK (Liberal democrats), putting an end to nuclear energy (Green), and abolishing the EU targets to encourage the use of agro-fuels (Green).

EU party manifestos (2009, 2014)

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>2009 Manifesto</th>
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| EPP   | - The EPP is committed to reducing greenhouse gases and promoting more carbon-free energy sources.  
- Europe should become the market leader in green technology based on more and better research and development.  
- The share of renewable energy must be increased to at least 20% of the energy mix by 2020.  
- Nuclear energy should remain an option for Member States to reduce emissions.  
- A functioning system of emissions trading as a market-based incentive to reduce greenhouse gas emissions needs to be put in place. |
| PES   | - The EU should take the lead in international negotiations to get agreement on a 30% global target for emission reductions by 2020 at the United Nations summit at the end of 2009. It is our common goal to ensure that all developed and emerging economies, including the US, China and India, should sign up to this.  
- Increase EU support for developing countries to fight as well as adapt to climate change. The EU should ensure massive technology transfers to ensure that these countries can fight poverty and develop economically without worsening global warming.  
- ensure that EU policies will not lead to higher greenhouse gas emissions in third countries, by taking steps to avoid the risk that energy intensive industries will move to other parts of the world where the climate change requirements are less strict.  
- EU should take the lead in establishing a global energy and development forum, bringing all the world’s nations together to define a long-term vision for energy and the sustainable development of the planet. |
| **ELDR (now ALDE) (2009)** | - Introduce a comprehensive EU climate directive that would ensure that targets and actions in all those sectors not already covered by existing law – energy, agriculture, food, building and transport – are combined to enable the Union to reach its overall emission targets. All other climate legislation should also be adapted to meet the 30% emissions reduction target.
- develop a European Common Energy Policy based on sustainability, energy security and independence, diversity of energy sources and solidarity between Member States in the event of energy crises.
- Biofuels can help to lower emissions in transport, but this should not come at the expense of European and global food production, environmental protection or biodiversity. The EU’s Biofuels Directive should be revised to ensure respect of this principle. |
| **ALDE (2014)** | - In the EU climate package, business needs reduced administrative burdens and incentives to stimulate investment in techniques to enhance a strong low carbon economy. ELDR wants increased investments in technologies providing solutions, efficiency and increased security of energy supply.
- Unbundle Europe’s energy industry to ensure transparency and serve consumer interests, to integrate climate and energy policy based on sustainable economic growth, and to protect the natural environment; all to exercise global leadership.
- Actively promotes an ambitious reform of the Common Agricultural Policy within a multilateral framework (the World Trade Organisation (WTO)). |
| **Greens (2009)** | - The Greens want the EU to commit to emissions reductions of 40% by 2020 and 80-95% by 2050, based on 1990 levels, in line with the current recommendations of the UN IPCC.
- Europe must also play a leading role in forging a binding international climate agreement under the UN framework based on the latest updated science. This agreement must commit industrialised countries to the necessary emissions reductions, as well as recognising their responsibility to support mitigation and adaptation efforts in developing countries, including reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation, particularly from tropical forests.
- The EU must set itself the target of creating five million green collar jobs over the coming five years.
- The Greens want Europe to place much greater priority on energy efficiency, setting a binding target to reduce energy consumption 20% by 2020, as well as supporting and promoting the intelligent design of heating and cooling technology both in industry and in the housing sector.
- We need a concerted investment drive in green technologies in which the European Investment Bank must play a role. |
| **European Left (2009)** | - Nuclear energy cannot be part of the solution to climate change.  
- The EU needs to actively work to create a sustainable transport system.  
- The Greens want Europe to ensure its citizens have access to healthy food at fair prices.  
- The Greens want to use the upcoming review to transform EU agricultural policy in a way that supports and encourages farmers to produce quality food in a sustainable way. The future of agriculture lies in organic farming and fair trade. Crucial to this is a ban on genetically-modified organisms (GMOs).  
- The EU also needs to greatly enhance binding measures to protect our vulnerable seas and has to revise its exploitative fishing agreements with African countries.  
- The EU needs to do more to address the threats to public health, whether water- or air-borne, noise, toxic substances, or through the spread of diseases. The EU has to halt the loss of biodiversity at home and overseas territories. |
| **l'Alliance libre européenne (2009)** | - We demand the full implementation of the signed and promised obligations of the EU in all fields of climate and energy policies. The following compromises represent the minimum requirements for the implementation of all climate protection commitments already signed:  
  - Reduce global emissions by 30% by 2020 on the exit level of 1990 and by at least 80% by 2050;  
  - Increase the use of renewable energy by at least 25% by 2020;  
  - Reduce total primary energy consumption by 25% by 2020 and increase energy efficiency by 2% per year, including a limit of per capita consumption;  
  - An efficiency obligation must be introduced for industry and producers of energy-intensive goods;  
  - The EU framework subsidies must be limited consequently to the sector of energy efficiency and renewable energies.  
- We demand agreement on the highest environmental standards within the EU, and contributions to saving biodiversity for future generations. (Active steps for waste reduction, water protection, for replanting and desertification prevention policies, etc. must be included into strategies and policies, in particular in the fields of agriculture, energy and climate protection.)  
- We strive for a substantial review of the EU Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). It must be directed at the right of people everywhere in the world to decide on their agricultural policy themselves by fully respecting the environment. |
| | - In the UN Copenhagen Climate Change Conference in November 2009, Europe must demonstrate its willingness to show this leadership. The European Commission should promote competitiveness in the field of innovation and research and development in the field of renewables. A visionary Europe should not allow the economic recession and the monetary and financial crises to push climate change out of the picture.  
- Anti-nuclear position and wishes to see a phasing out of nuclear energy at a European level.  
- A reduction in Europe’s ecological footprint from 4.8 ha per person to less than 1.8 ha per person is essential if we do not wish to endanger the world’s capacity even further. The EU should lead the way on sustainable consumption. |
**UK national party manifestos (2009)**

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<th>Party</th>
<th>Policy Points</th>
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| **Labour**     | - We will work to make sure that European environmental and energy policies help the poorest and most vulnerable people.  
                 - Labour MEPs and the Labour Government will work to increase Britain and Europe’s energy security by:  
                   • Promoting alternative sources of energy supply internationally  
                   • Improving the trading of energy within Europe’s borders  
                   • Advancing the development of new renewable energy generation  
                   • Working to secure a liberalised energy market, to help reduce energy bills for families across the UK and create thousands of jobs.  
                 - In 2008 Labour ministers and Labour MEPs worked hard to secure European agreement for more measures to tackle climate change and ensure energy security. These included:  
                   • A 20 per cent cut in greenhouse gas emissions by 2020  
                   • A commitment that 20 per cent of the European Union’s energy will come from renewables by 2020  
                   • A strengthened and extended European Union Emissions Trading Scheme  
                   • Making up to €9 billion available for carbon capture and storage  
                   • Radical and mandatory new emissions standards for cars.  
                 - We will build on this success by:  
                   • Working with our EU partners to achieve a global deal on climate change at Copenhagen  
                   • Developing low carbon technologies across the EU  
                   • Encouraging greener consumer consumption through action such as our proposed cut in VAT on environmentally friendly domestic goods  
                   • Making it easier for industry to invest in low carbon energy with confidence. |
| **Conservatives** | - Ensure that tackling climate change and moving to a low carbon economy are central priorities for the EU.  
                     - Strive for a comprehensive global deal on cutting carbon emissions at the Copenhagen Climate Change Conference, and support EU action to promote greener forms of energy.  
                     - Ensure legislation to control the pollution of air, soil and water and the management of waste is drawn up in a balanced way and implemented evenly across the EU.  
                     - Drive forward plans to end the scandal of fish ‘discards’ — the practice of throwing dead fish that have been caught back into the sea — as part of an overhaul of the Common Fisheries Policy.  
                     - Push for further reform of the Common Agricultural Policy, including simpler rules and transparent payments systems. |
| **Liberal democrats** | - Liberal Democrats want to see the commitment to cut CO2 emissions increased to 30% as part of a wider global agreement.  
                           - The EU's research and development programmes must help shape the low carbon economy of the future.  
                           - Liberal Democrats will fight to ensure that all EU countries meet their targets for reducing emissions and using more renewable energy. |
| **energy.** | - Liberal Democrats want the EU's carbon emissions trading scheme extended to include other harmful greenhouse gases and more areas of business such as shipping.  
- The Liberal Democrats oppose the expansion of nuclear energy in Britain.  
- Liberal Democrat MEPs are arguing for tighter energy efficiency standards for new and renovated buildings and for bringing all homes up to the best modern standards.  
- The CAP should be replaced gradually with a new European Sustainable Rural Development Policy. |
| **Green party** | - Make an urgent effort now to move to a low or zero carbon economy, making a far bigger and more significant effort than our Government or the EU presently contemplate.  
- We should aim to stabilise the level of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere just a bit above the present level, say around 450 ppm. Most scientists agree with us. To achieve 450ppm, global emissions need to drop by as much as 60% as soon as 2030. And industrialised countries with high emissions, and overwhelmingly responsible for historical emissions, such as the UK, can both afford to, and need to, reduce their emissions rather faster, by 90% by 2030. That means an annual reduction of about 10% per year from now until 2030.  
- We oppose any European rules (concerning state aid, for example) that prevent direct government help to renewables.  
- We support Europe-wide renewable energy initiatives such as an under-sea grid for offshore wind and marine power, concentrated solar power plants in Southern Europe and the North African deserts and the building of highly efficient long-distance High Voltage DC power lines.  
- We would seek agreement in the EU to abolish VAT on energy-efficient improvements to properties.  
- We will also support higher energy efficiency standards for appliances sold in the EU with better energy labelling.  
- We would shift EU subsidies and support for research and development from nuclear and fossil fuels to the renewable energy sector.  
- Green MEPs will campaign for an end to nuclear power throughout Europe, and against any new nuclear plants. The Euratom Treaty should be replaced with new European laws to promote the use of renewable energy sources.  
- We oppose the large-scale use of agro-fuels, especially where they take land from much-needed food crops. In particular our MEPs will argue for the abolition of European targets to encourage the use of agro-fuels and a moratorium on the import and use of agro-fuels from large-scale monocultures.  
*Many other measures are covered in the manifesto including transport, housing and energy efficiency, developing new green skills toward a green economy, waste management etc.* |
Summary – European level: The first thing to note is that the liberals make no mention of international cooperation and development in their 2009 and 2014 manifestos. The other groups agree on the importance of development and the need to intensify development cooperation but they tend to focus on different priorities. National level (UK): Unlike the liberal group, the Liberal democrats mention development assistance in their manifesto. They call for an increase in aid spending to 0.7% of GNP for all EU member states (so does the Green party), they want aid to focus on poverty reduction and disease as well as humanitarian needs. Just like the Conservatives and Labour, the liberal democrats then consider Economic Partnership Agreements and advocate for these to be flexible and fair. There is consensus across parties around achieving the MDGs. The Greens go further in their ambition e.g. spending 1% of GNP on aid from 2010.

EU party manifestos (2009, 2014)

EPP (2009)
- Intensify the global development cooperation. Fighting poverty and supporting economic and social development in Africa as well as in the less developed countries in Asia and Latin America is an important task for the coming years.
- A sustainable globalization must include all countries and provide opportunities for all peoples.
- Environmental and health policies as well as policies for better education and development of physical infrastructure are all areas where the EU could give substantial contributions to a better world.
- The partnership of the EU to our neighbouring continent Africa should be more effective and strengthened. (Only mentioned in the long version of the manifesto, not in their summary)

PES (2009)
- Post-2015 - We propose to put international development goals at the heart of EU policies on aid, trade and the reform of global governance.
- New, innovative sources of financing are needed in addition to delivering existing European aid commitments - notably, attributing at least 0.7% of Gross National Income to development policy.
- We support decentralised cooperation in European development policy, including the contribution made by Europe’s local authorities.
- We will support the establishment of a European Voluntary Humanitarian Aid Corps.
- We propose to address the global food crisis by working to prevent further speculation on food prices, and to promote food security by developing a new generation of aid and agricultural production policies.
- This new global agenda must uphold core labour standards as well as promoting decent working conditions, adequate wages, social security and strengthened social dialogue.

ELDR (now ALDE) (2009)

ALDE (2014)
| Greens (2009) | - Europe must speed up efforts to deliver on the Millennium Development Goals.  
- The principle of global social and environmental justice must guide all EU policies and its position in global institutions. The Greens want to ensure that European governments finally fulfil their longstanding promises and raise EU overseas development aid to 0.56% of GDP by 2010 and 0.7% by 2015.  
- The Green New Deal puts fair trade first. Trade must deliver a good deal for all involved. Socially unfair or environmentally-damaging practices by multinationals elsewhere in the world should be no more acceptable than they would be in our own backyard. Social and sustainable development clauses in trade partnerships should therefore be binding. The WTO must be made to transform its free trade agenda to a fair and sustainable trade agenda, putting the protection of common goods and poverty reduction first. Europe must practice what it preaches.  
- International cooperation and humanitarian aid must be a priority.  
- Establishing a European Civil Peace Corps ready to make non-military interventions for humanitarian purposes would play an important part of this. |
| European Left (2009) | - The fight against still growing global poverty and imbalances must be put at the focus of development cooperation – the misuse of development cooperation for continuing a kind of colonial relation for the one-sided support of export industries in favour of European enterprises, or as a geopolitical instrument must be stopped.  
- We want a ban on the transformation of food into fuel.  
- We demand debt redemption for the poorest countries of the world and the revision of the structural adjustment programmes of the World Bank and the IMF. |
| l’Alliance libre européenne (2009) | - We are committed to the achievement of the eight UN Millennium Goals and the Johannesburg commitments.  
- EFA supports a vision for overseas aid, fairer trade policies to empower developing countries, and measures for dealing with people trafficking and the challenges and opportunities of migration.  
- EFA supports an investment programme for Africa to make efficient use of solar power possible so that the continent can be less dependent on oil producers.  
- To avoid the repetition of failures of previous forms of development aid, the coherence of the different kinds of action implemented by the different actors (EU, States, NGOs, etc.) should be reinforced. It is crucial to establish a strong relationship and synergies between development and security, migration, protection of the environment, and commerce. This needs to be completely achieved with regard to human rights and in an efficient and transparent way which creates synergies between the North and the South.  
- Development programmes should fully respect the cultural roots of the population, but the governments of developing countries should also respect human rights. The application of humanitarian law is the cornerstone of a just and fair world.  
- We fully oppose the breakdown in the respecting of human rights within the context of newly emerging economic powers like China. |
## UK national party manifestos (2009)

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<th>Party</th>
<th>Position and Policies</th>
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| **Labour**      | - As the world’s largest provider of development aid and the world’s largest trading bloc, the European Union matters for development. These are two reasons why it is more important than ever that we work to ensure our role in Europe benefits people both at home and abroad.  
- We will continue to push for trade deals that are fair and promote development while working to ensure that all EU free trade agreements and economic partnership agreements have suitable human and social rights clauses.  
- We will continue to fight for flexibility in the EU Economic Partnership Agreements and strongly support trade policies and agreements being based on research and analysis of their likely social, economic and environmental impacts.  
- We will continue to be a strong voice at the heart of Europe calling for other European countries to fulfil their promises to achieve the Millennium Development Goals. |
| **Conservatives** | - Secure a global, pro-development trade deal.  
- Ensure that the EU keeps its commitment to support developing countries through the Millennium Development Goals, and reform the EU’s aid programmes so that they deliver better value for money.  
- Ensure the EU plays its part in promoting good governance, democracy and human rights around the world. |
| **Liberal democrats** | - Liberal Democrats are committed to increasing the UK’s spending on overseas aid to reach the UN target of 0.7% of GNP and believe all EU states should work to the same target where they have not already achieved it.  
- EU development assistance should be targeted at reducing poverty and disease, and humanitarian aid must be allocated on the basis of need.  
- Economic partnership agreements between the EU and developing countries should be flexible and include adequate transition periods to ensure that developing countries will be able to compete in world markets. |
| **Green party**  | - Rich countries such as most of those in the EU can do more. We should seek to exceed the UN's 0.7% target for development aid and allocate at least 1% of Gross National Product for aid by 2010. After 2010 this would be increased from the revenues of a Tobin Tax.  
- EU countries should write off the debts of the least developed countries and of all countries that will not otherwise achieve the Millennium Development Goals.  
- They should also make sufficient funding available to help poor countries with the expansion of renewable energy sources and adapting to climate change, as well as help with reproductive rights and clean water. |
Summary – European level: There is broad consensus around enhancing the role of the EU on peacekeeping and conflict prevention, including through its civilian crisis management capabilities. There is a clear division between those who want the EU to have a stronger defence cooperation policy and perhaps even its own military resources (i.e. EPP, PSE and ELDR/ALDE) and those who are in favour of demilitarisation and the dissolution of NATO (i.e. European Left). Several parties cite in their manifestos that enlargement should continue to be used as an instrument for promoting democracy and that international institutions such as the UN or the IMF should be reformed. National level (UK): Labour, the Conservatives and the Liberal democrats all reaffirm their commitment to NATO; but unlike the other two, Labour believes the EU should also strengthen its defence capacity. The Green party is of the opinion that security issues should be discussed at the level of the OSCE and not of the EU. Labour and the Conservatives are in favour of further enlargement. The Liberal democrats welcome an enhanced Common Foreign and Security Policy as well as the proposal in the Lisbon Treaty which led to the creation of the European External Action Service. The Green party welcomes EU cooperation on foreign policy, especially with regard to sustainability issues.

EU party manifestos (2009, 2014)

| EPP (2009) | - Global institutions must be adapted to the new facts: This means improving the controls of worldwide financial markets in organisations like the International Monetary Fund and strengthening the United Nations.  
- Stronger cooperation in defence is necessary, including a strategic agreement with the US and other allies, better pooling of resources in military structures as well as financing and research, and a common defence force with standardised conditions for intervention and rules of engagement for international missions. |
| PES (2009) | - EU should increasingly work on conflict prevention, resolution and post-crisis management abroad, by improving European countries’ joint capacities and sharing the burden of peacekeeping missions in crisis zones, within the framework of the United Nations.  
- propose that the EU actively promotes an Alliance of Civilisations through the United Nations, strengthening dialogue and partnership between peoples and cultures as a means to enhance world peace and security.  
- increase defence cooperation amongst European Member States, without affecting the characteristics of individual Member States’ defence and security policies. The new European defence initiative should be developed in coordination with NATO.  
- support the reform of the United Nations, particularly the UN Security Council, as well as the revision of the decision making process, mandate and functioning of the World Trade Organisation, the World Bank and the regional banks, and the International Monetary Fund. The allocation of voting rights in the IMF must better reflect the interests of developing countries, particularly the poorest amongst them.  
- We will work to fully implement and consolidate the Africa-EU Strategy to strengthen relations, solve common challenges, conclude Economic Partnership Agreements, and support the long-term development of Africa. |
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| ELDR (now ALDE) (2009) | - ELDR believes the EU should play an important role in contributing effectively to global security, where appropriate in cooperation with NATO structures.  
- ELDR calls for major new efforts to strengthen and extend the European Security and Defence Policy by bringing together European defence-related resources and capabilities. This would enhance the EU’s military defence cooperation and its responsiveness to international security and humanitarian emergencies.  
- ELDR believes EU Member States’ interests can best be served through a Common Foreign and Security Policy, speaking with one voice through the High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy.  
- ELDR emphasises that the EU should further strengthen its civilian crisis management capabilities and use its experience to guarantee stability, the rule of law and the principles of good governance in countries that are facing or have known a situation of conflict.  
- ELDR urges the EU to use and further extend its considerable post-conflict institution-building and nation-building experience in order to be better prepared to deal with situations of regional instability, terrorist threats emanating from failed states, and humanitarian emergencies. |
| ALDE (2014) | - For Liberals EU enlargement remains an essential instrument of common foreign and security policy.  
- The world is becoming ever more complex and unstable. Europe will need to depend more on its own military and security resources. A better pooling and sharing of those capabilities is needed to put them to much better use. This would allow faster responses to international crises, as the fight against piracy has successfully shown.  
- We work for much closer cooperation between the EU and NATO.  
- We will continue to support democratic and economic reforms in neighbouring countries. Healthier democracies on our borders ensure a safer European Union.  
- We strongly support the new emphasis on human rights in EU foreign policy.  
- We want to increase the influence of the EU in international affairs by establishing an additional European seat in the UN Security Council and other organisations, as well as by teaming up the Eurozone member states as a single constituency in the IMF.  
- We believe that the EU should further strengthen its crisis civilian management capabilities and use its experience to guarantee stability, the rule of law and principles of good governance. |
| Greens (2009) | - The European Union must adopt a new style of foreign policy. It must devote its energy to solving root causes of international tensions and not just fighting their manifestations.  
- The EU should strengthen multilateral bodies and international law, focus on civilian foreign policy instruments and follow the principle of maximum fairness in all of its external policies, including trade.  
- European policies must champion peace, democracy and human rights in the world and do so consistently and coherently.  
- The EU should also devote more energy and resources to support the international community (particularly the UN) in addressing conflicts that have been long overlooked. |
| European | - We campaign against the rearmament provision of the Lisbon Treaty, not only because of the lethal and ecologically destructive |
| **Left (2009)** | weapons, but also because it detracts funds from economic, social and ecological development. The EU Defence Agency should be replaced by a disarmament agency designed to stop the arms race, the proliferation and possession of weapons of mass destruction, and the militarization of outer space and the oceans on the basis of disarmament agreements.
- The European Left reaffirms its demand for the dissolution of NATO. We oppose the logic of military blocs, including attempts and policies for creating European military structures.
- Security in Europe must be based on the principles of peace and security, disarmament and structural assault incapacity, conflict solution by political and civil means within the OSCE system, conforming to international law and to the principles of a reformed and democratised UN system.
- The EL stands for the further enlargement of the European Union and for a stable all-European structure to overcome still existing political and economic divisions in Europe. The EU itself must be made politically and economically ready for further enlargement steps as well. |
| **l'Alliance libre européenne (2009)** | - Security and foreign policy should aim at conflict prevention and community development. Achieving lasting peace in the Middle East and in other areas of conflict through negotiation is a requirement for world peace and stability.
- The rooting out of terrorism should not jeopardise human rights.
- A treaty on the export of arms and a binding code of conduct on the arms trade is essential.
- We will also support EU action to end the use of chemical and biological weapons as well as cluster bombs and other weapons of mass destruction.
- EFA supports a nuclear free Europe.
- We also support greater European involvement in peace keeping and conflict prevention. Creating an EU peace-keeping force is essential to sustainable and worldwide peace. |

**UK national party manifestos (2009)**

| **Labour** | - NATO will remain the cornerstone of our collective defence but we believe, just like President Obama, that strengthening the EU’s capacity is an opportunity not a danger and is a vital tool in creating a safer world.
- The EU has also had an important role in increasing security and democracy within and around its own borders. Enlargement has been one of the greatest European success stories over the last 20 years bringing increased prosperity and opportunity to people across Europe. We will continue to support expansion to include countries such as Turkey as long as appropriate standards are met.
- Reform of global institutions including the UN, European Investment Bank, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the World Bank to ensure they are better equipped to deal with the challenges of the 21st century. |
| **Conservatives** | - Champion further enlargement of the European Union, including to the Western Balkans and Turkey, under a rigorous accession process.
- Maintain the UK’s independence on foreign affairs and defence, restating our commitment to NATO. |
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<td>Liberal democrats</td>
<td>- Realise the achievement of a transatlantic market by 2015.</td>
<td>- Support the development of the EU's common foreign and security policies.</td>
<td>- Support the changes in the Lisbon Treaty, such as merging the external relations functions of the Council and Commission, which would enhance Europe’s ability to deliver more co-ordinated foreign policy.</td>
<td>- NATO remains the bedrock of our collective security and no need for a European army.</td>
<td>- Retain veto on defence decisions including deployment of British troops.</td>
<td>- Support closer defence cooperation in Europe and want British forces to play a leading role in EU peace keeping and humanitarian missions in places like Kosovo, Darfur or the Democratic Republic of Congo.</td>
<td>- Support closer defence cooperation in Europe and want British forces to play a leading role in EU peace keeping and humanitarian missions in places like Kosovo, Darfur or the Democratic Republic of Congo.</td>
<td>- Support a unified approach to Russia that enables Europe to have a positive but firm relationship with its largest neighbour.</td>
<td>- European co-operation over matters of foreign policy, and seek to influence it in the directions of peace and sustainability.</td>
<td>- European role will be crucial in particular for the forthcoming climate change negotiations in Copenhagen.</td>
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<td>Green party</td>
<td>- We do not think the EU is the most appropriate body to discuss security issues in Europe.</td>
<td>- Favour the more inclusive Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe.</td>
<td>- We do not want the EU to become a super-state, still less do we want it to develop into a military power. We are concerned in particular that the EU should not become simply the European pillar of NATO, a military alliance that we believe should be dissolved.</td>
<td>- But we recognise that we have common interests with other EU members, and that the EU members acting together can have greater influence than when acting as individual states.</td>
<td>- Welcome European co-operation over matters of foreign policy, and seek to influence it in the directions of peace and sustainability.</td>
<td>- The EU role will be crucial in particular for the forthcoming climate change negotiations in Copenhagen.</td>
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INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Summary – European level: Nearly all parties call for a fairer trade system that promotes economic and social development (e.g. rethink ‘economic partnership agreements’ (EPAs) and conclude the Doha Development Round) and hint at policy coherence for development through better EU trade policies. The point of contention lies in the area of agriculture. Some groups, such as the liberals, want to see the CAP reformed within the multilateral framework of the WTO, whereas the European Left is strictly against agriculture being negotiated in that forum. National level (UK): All parties are in favour of concluding the Doha Development Round so that it is fair and development-friendly. Labour and the Green party want EPAs to be more flexible and to resemble a genuine partnership. The Conservatives mention the creation of a transatlantic free trade agreement (i.e. the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership currently under negotiation). Finally, the liberals want the UK to play a stronger role within the EU to make Europe more competitive and open to the world economy.

EU party manifestos (2009, 2014)

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<td>EPP (2009)</td>
<td>- Strengthening the WTO is of fundamental importance for global prosperity and helps to defuse conflicts based on diverse national economic interests.</td>
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<td>PES (2009)</td>
<td>- We shall work to ensure that all EU trade agreements include appropriate, enforceable human, environmental and social rights clauses and that all trade agreements with developing countries - such as Economic Partnership Agreements – serve as a real tool for the economic and social development of the countries and regions concerned.</td>
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<td>- We will work to promote the expansion of fair trade goods across Europe.</td>
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<td>- The EU must support the multilateral trading system, to the benefit of developing countries in the WTO Doha Development Round, and to ensure a fairer domestic distribution of the benefits of trade opening, as well as guaranteeing better social and environmental standards.</td>
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<td>ELDR (now ALDE) (2009)</td>
<td>- Within WTO the EU should be the driving force for the abolition of customs duties and non-tariff barriers, and for opening Europe’s single market to the wider world.</td>
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<td>- ELDR actively promotes an ambitious reform of the Common Agricultural Policy within a multilateral framework (WTO). This reform will enable EU farmers to compete in a free global market, to better meet increasing global demand for food in an environmentally responsible way, to direct funding for research in renewable energies, including sustainable new generation biofuels, and to guarantee long-term food supplies.</td>
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<td>ALDE (2014)</td>
<td>- We will work for an EU-US free trade agreement that could boost the European economy by over 100 billion euros annually. We will also strive for free trade agreements with other major economic regions.</td>
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<td>Greens (2009)</td>
<td>- Trade must deliver a good deal for all involved. Europe’s power in international negotiations is much too often used to strike a bargain for the rich at the economic, social and environmental expense of the poor.</td>
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<td>- Export subsidies for EU agricultural products continue to threaten the economies of poor countries and must be stopped</td>
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immediately.
- Socially unfair or environmentally-damaging practices by multinationals elsewhere in the world should be no more acceptable than they would be in our own backyard.
- Social and sustainable development clauses in trade partnerships should therefore be binding.
- The WTO must be made to transform its free trade agenda to a fair and sustainable trade agenda, putting the protection of common goods and poverty reduction first.

European Left (2009)
- The development and trade policies of the EU must meet the Millennium Development Goals in reality, and must realign to the principle of equality of all countries.
- The bilateral European Partnership Agreements are the wrong way. The international trade policy of the EU is to be measured by giving adequate answers for solving global social and ecological problems.
- We demand that agriculture must not be a matter of WTO negotiations, and oppose agriculture becoming more and more a playing ground for neo-liberal actors and liberalisation measures worldwide.

European Free Alliance (2009)
- It is crucial to establish a strong relationship and synergies between development and security, development and migration, development and protection of the environment, and integration between commerce and development. This needs to be completely achieved with regard to human rights and in an efficient and transparent way which creates synergies between the North and the South.

UK national party manifestos (2009)

Labour
- In Europe, Labour will continue to call for reforms to the global trading system to spread prosperity and make development sustainable in the knowledge that by speaking and acting together we are stronger.
- In regional and bilateral trade agreements with developing countries we will work with the European Union to ensure that development concerns are central to the negotiations.
- We will continue to push for trade deals that are fair and promote development while working to ensure that all EU free trade agreements and economic partnership agreements have suitable human and social rights clauses.
- We will continue to fight for flexibility in the EU Economic Partnership Agreements and strongly support trade policies and agreements being based on research and analysis of their likely social, economic and environmental impacts.

Conservatives
- Conservative MEPs will ensure that promoting world trade and securing a new, pro-development WTO agreement will remain a high priority on the EU’s agenda. As well as pressing for a trade deal and granting access to EU markets, the EU must take further steps to encourage developing countries to engage in trade by helping them create the conditions in which business and enterprise can flourish.
- Conservative MEPs will press for the realisation of a transatlantic common market-place by 2015, building on the work of the Transatlantic Economic Council.

Liberal
- The best way for Britain to shape the way that world trade develops is to be a strong player inside the EU, working to keep
| Democrats | Europe competitive and pressing for an increasingly open world economy.  
  - Liberal Democrats want the EU to promote a world trading system that is both free and fair. That means a liberal and open system that increases growth and jobs, but that takes account of environmental and social standards too.  
  - The EU has a key role to play in salvaging the Doha development round of the WTO, including eliminating production subsidies in agriculture and trade barriers. |
| Green Party | - Promote fair trade, so that trade with developing countries is based on decent pay and conditions, with a fair price paid to producers. Building on the tripling of fair trade sales in Europe from 2004-2007, we would give such goods preferential access to EU markets.  
  - End the current practice of imposing unfair EPAs on developing countries, and replace them with genuine partnership deals that allow countries to decide whether services and investment are covered, and which do not automatically impose liberalisation.  
  - End EU export subsidies of exports to poorer countries.  
  - Ensure that illegally logged timber cannot be imported into the EU.  
  - Demand that the Commission instigates a review of the EU’s Global Europe Strategy at the earliest opportunity. Far from delivering on its promise of creating “sustainable growth” and more jobs both inside Europe and in developing countries, it will be severely detrimental to both.  
  - Ensure that a conclusion to the Doha Round of world trade talks is not rushed through, on the basis of the current unacceptable proposals – no deal is better than a bad deal.  
  - Halt EU demands that developing countries agree to more financial deregulation – the current financial crisis shows just how wrong-headed such moves are.  
  - Open up bilateral and multilateral trade policy processes and proceedings to enable greater democratic accountability and scrutiny by parliamentarians and civil society. The EU Parliament should be given co-decision powers on such matters. |