

RESEARCH

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## THE POPULISM OF LEFT IN THE SPEECH OF PABLO IGLESIAS

### POPULISMO DE IZQUIERDAS EN EL DISCURSO DE PABLO IGLESIAS

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#### ABSTRACT

During recent years and increasingly, popular movements have originated in many countries around the world. One of the reasons may be, among many others, that society perceives that it receives poor and unethical management from its leaders. Given this boom that has had a remarkable echo in the European content, this paper seeks to find out if political leaders, such as Pablo Iglesias, in the Spanish case, have used populism as a discursive strategy to get votes. The characteristics of the so-called right-wing populism and the so-called left-wing populism will be analyzed to assess whether there are substantial differences between the two. In addition, we will mention the system in which populism best develops, democracy, although there is no consensus among authors who believe that it occurs in other environments. Finally, a reference to the evolution of populism in Spain will be made, followed by an analysis of some of Pablo Iglesias' discourses.

**KEY WORDS:** Democracy - Spain - populism – Pablo Iglesias - speech – votes.

#### RESUMEN

Durante los últimos años y de manera creciente, se han originado movimientos populares en numerosos países del mundo. Una de las razones puede ser, entre otras muchas, que la sociedad percibe que recibe de sus líderes una gestión deficiente y poco ética. Ante este auge que ha tenido un notable eco en el continente europeo, el presente trabajo busca averiguar si líderes políticos, como por ejemplo, Pablo Iglesias, en el caso español, han utilizado el populismo como estrategia discursiva para conseguir votos. Se analizarán las características del populismo

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denominado de derechas y el denominado de izquierdas, para valorar si hay diferencias sustanciales entre ambos. Además, se mencionará el sistema en el que mejor se desenvuelve el populismo, la democracia, aunque no exista un consenso entre los autores que creen que se da en otros entornos. Por último, se realizará una referencia a la evolución del populismo en España para, a seguido, analizar algunos de los discursos de Pablo Iglesias.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** Democracia – España – populismo – Pablo Iglesias – discurso – votos.

## **O POPULISMO DE ESQUERDA NO DISCURSO DE PABLO IGLESIAS**

### **RESUME**

Durante os últimos anos e de maneira crescente, originaram-se movimentos populares em numerosos países do mundo. Uma das razões poder ser, entre várias, que a sociedade percebe que recebe de seus líderes uma gestão deficiente e pouco ética. Diante deste auge, que teve um eco notável no continente europeu, o presente trabalho busca averiguar se líderes políticos, como por exemplo, Paulo Iglesias na Espanha, utilizaram o populismo como estratégia discursiva par conseguir votos. Analisaram-se as características do populismo denominado de direita e o de esquerda, para avaliar se tem diferenças substanciais entre ambos. Ademais, se mencionara o sistema no qual melhor se desenvolve o populismo, a democracia, mesmo que não exista um consenso entre os autores que creem que acontece em outros entornos. Por último, se realizará uma referência a evolução do populismo na Espanha e em seguida, analisar alguns discursos de Pablo Iglesias.

**PALAVRAS CHAVE:** Democracia – Espanha – populismo – Pablo Iglesias – discurso – votos.

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## **1. INTRODUCTION**

Many authors like Ernesto Laclau, Francisco Panizza, Michael Connif, among others, have studied cases of populism that have occurred throughout history. It was in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century that the so-called 'golden age' of populism took place, especially in Latin America, with the governments of Juan Domingo Perón in Argentina, Alberto Fujimori in Peru, Getúlio Vargas in Brazil or, even, the attempt to reach the White House of George Wallace.

In populism there is an antagonistic political construction that is formed through a process of nomination ("we" and "they"). In addition, specific conditions are needed before the 'seed emerges'. This main condition that leads to a populist practice is the situation where a plurality of demands coexist that the institutional system is unable to absorb.

Some scenarios of the emergence of populism can be a breakdown of social order and the loss of confidence in the ability of the political system to restore it, the exhaustion of political traditions and the loss of prestige of political parties or economic, cultural and social changes.

## **2. OBJECTIVES**

The main objective of this work is to see if Pablo Iglesias used populism in his discourses with the idea, among others, to obtain the votes of citizens.

In addition, we seek to find out what techniques of left-wing populism he uses in his speeches, especially during the electoral period.

## **3. METHODOLOGY**

This article makes an analysis of the content of the discourses of Pablo Iglesias. The content *analysis* "is a research technique for making inferences identifying systematically and objectively specific characteristics within a text" (Holsti, 1969). And the analysis of discourse "refers to the conversational act and the structural processes of interaction that take place in it" (Andréu Abela 2001).

The object of study is the speech of Pablo Iglesias and, in this case, two have been chosen: the last one of the campaign of the elections of June 26, 2016, pronounced on the 24<sup>th</sup> of that month, and the first after the elections, the same day 26.

To codify these discourses, some of the elements raised by Van Dijk (1996) will be taken into account:

1. Type of speech
2. Style
3. Lexicon
4. Syntax
5. Phonology

## **4. DISCUSSION**

### **4.1. The populism of right and left**

In recent years, right-wing populism has emerged in many European countries, placing itself at the center of attention of all Western democracies. Parties such as the National Front of Jean Marie Le Pen in France or the Freedom Party of Geert Wilders in the Netherlands are perceived as the main threats to democratic

institutions. In this sense, Chantal Mouffe, professor of Political Theory, proposes that right-wing populism is the result of post-political consensus, that is, of a *"lack of an effective democratic debate about possible alternatives, which has led in many countries to triumph of political parties that claim to be the "voice of the people"* (Mouffe, 2009).

The traditional parties have not been able to confront social problems in a political way nor present an equivalent to a discourse of social media responsibility in line with what was stated by Viñarás Abad (2010). This is why it is understood that the juridical (or legal) power has adopted the area in which social conflicts can find a form of expression, according to Mouffe. This change from the political to the legal to resolve social relations has negative consequences for democracy. It is necessary to look for impartial solutions to the inconveniences, but this is the problem, that in the politics impartial do not exist.

According to the same author, it is this inability of the parties another of the conditions of emergence of the right parties, which are the only ones capable of mobilizing and creating collective identities.

As Howard Gardner affirms, *"the leader who will triumph is the one who best perceives and expresses what the public already wants"* (Gardner, 1998). The people is identified with the leader by the stories he tells through the use not only of symbols, but also of his own body and private life.

Therefore, in a context in which there are no effective alternatives offered to citizens, they will increasingly be persuaded by those who affirm that alternatives exist and that they will return the power to the people.

In politics, there is always the distinction between "us" and "them". According to Mouffe, the latter is defined as "the extreme right", characterized by heterogeneous groups such as extremists, neo-Nazis, etc. Therefore, the "we" will be defined by the "good democrats" who have the truth and their goal is to establish it against those who are not supporters.

The leftist populism is more characteristic in Latin American countries, especially in the Argentina of Juan Domingo Peron in the Brazil Getulio Vargas, Alberto Fujimori's Peru or Venezuela's Hugo Chavez, among others. These are characterized by a strong nationalism, economic programs based on subsidies, protection of the local industry, mobilization against the oligarchy, incorporation of the lower classes, the creation of mass political parties, the cult of personality that exalts the importance of the leader, etc. (Arditi, 2009).

#### **4.2. Populism as a "symptom" of democracy**

Benjamín Arditi tries to analyze the concept of populism from an internal peripheral perspective of democratic politics, that is, populism acts as a mirror that shows the unpleasant parts of democracy. The author of an amalgam of concepts of other authors on populism, as Germani (1965), which interprets it as a loss on the

way there from a traditional society to a modern one, or Di Tella (1965), which conceives it as the consequence of the confluence of two antagonistic forces to power (which are the popular masses and the educated but impoverished elite) that seek alternatives to it.

It is logical that from the other side of the political they classify populism as something negative. However, others are distant when rejecting the objectives declared as populist since they present policies present in the radical socialist and democratic agenda, such as social welfare and employment, etc., according to Ardití. This makes us to understand that intellectuals of the time see in populism something positive. All this aggravated by the insufficient media education pointed out by Marta-Lazo, Grandío Pérez and Gabelas Barroso (2013).

### **4.3. Populism in Spain and the profile of Pablo Iglesias**

#### **4.3.1. The origins of Spanish populism**

Populism in Spain has had few opportunities to emerge, since the Franco dictatorship developed during approximately one third of the last century. However, a few years before the dictatorship there is a case of populism. José Álvarez Junco, in his work *The Emperor of the Parallel: Lerroux and populist demagogy*, offers a portrait of the former president of the council of ministers of the Second Spanish Republic, whom the author defines as "the leader of the masses". But without going back several decades, in the recent history of Spain there are populist figures who did not succeed, like Jesús Gil y Gil, José María Ruiz Mateos or Mario Conde. The three declared themselves critics of "the system", which is now known as "caste" (Riaño, 2016). They tried to transfer their success in business to politics, but failed in the attempt. The last case of populism is the one that originates with the 15-M movement, which elevated with the creation of the political party Podemos, with a character of left-wing populism, which will be widely criticized for years by opposition and for its relations with Venezuela.

#### **4.3.2. Spain and Pablo Iglesias**

In 2008, it was the socialist José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero who ruled the country and who had to face one of the worst crises in history. The national economy was deteriorating over time, the number of unemployed did not stop growing until reaching the historical maximum of 5.3 million unemployed (Bolaños, 2012), the retirement age was increased, the Value Added Tax, (VAT), was increased, etc. All these problems triggered a massive popular protest throughout Spain from May 15, 2011, what would be called the 15-M Movement. This social movement, born of popular indignation, had as its aim to change Spanish politics, they did not feel represented by the current political class. The numerous cases of corruption, the unemployment, cuts and a system that did not work at the service of society led to the largest protest in the Puerta del Sol, in Madrid, with the slogan Real Democracy Now! We are not merchandise in the hands of politicians and bankers.

This movement, organized through citizen assemblies, was defined as non-partisan and non-unionist that looked after a real democracy and to participate in

political decisions, so they stayed camped for 28 days in protest at the Puerta del Sol. Among the proposals that they demanded: changes in the Electoral Law, true disengagement between the Church and the State, a tax reform that favors the lower classes, transparency of political parties, abolition of lifetime salaries of politicians, etc. (Blas, 2012).

Pablo Iglesias was one of the main champions of the movement, of which he said it was "the best social expression of that crisis of the Spanish political regime" and that Podemos is its "best political expression". Podemos was founded in 2014 as a result of these citizen movements in order to seek the greatest representation of the people and promote a democratic renewal. It all began with the signing of the manifesto *Mover ficha: turn indignation into political change* (Sánchez & Gil, 2014) in which the candidacy for the European elections led by Pablo Iglesias was manifested. Formed by a citizens' assembly, they developed their program through a consultation of proposals, which contemplated the reduction of the minimum wage, the defense of the referendums or the elimination of corruption.

In the European elections they won five seats, exceeding one million votes, and positioned themselves as the fourth political force. In the following year, as a precedent to the general elections to be held on December 20, the municipal and autonomous elections arrived. Although the polls indicated that Podemos could surpass the PSOE, finally it remained as the third force in most of the autonomies. This position would be strengthened with the holding of general elections 20-D.

Pablo Iglesias, born in Madrid on October 17, 1978, holds a degree in Law and Political Science from the Complutense University of Madrid. In 2008 he obtained a doctorate with a thesis on post-national collective action. Acting Professor of Political Science in the Faculty of Political Science and Sociology (UCM) from 2008 to 2013. As it appears in the transparency portal of Podemos, in 2010 he began directing and presenting *La Tuerka* on Tele K. In January 2013, he began to present *Fort Apache*, a program made by CMI Productions, and in April of that same year he began his participation in debates and gatherings of different media *The Sixth Night* (*The Sixth*), *The mornings of Four* (*Four*), *You will find out* (*Four*) and *The night in 24 hours* (*24 hours*). He is the Founder and General Secretary of Podemos.

The leader of Unidos Podemos is known for mastering a great oratory. According to Luis Arroyo, a sociologist and political communication consultant, regarding Iglesias and the party, "*they have designed a marketing product: a left party with a very simple story, which is the people against the caste. They are very intelligent people*" (Machuca, 2014).

### **4.3.3. Speech by Pablo Iglesias**

Two speeches by Pablo Iglesias have been chosen for this work. The last one pronounced before the elections of June 26, 2016 and the first after the elections were held.

The first one, in Madrid, was aimed at its supporters and the Spanish people. It is a discourse loaded with strong patriotism and group membership, the words "patria", "compatriot" and "Spain" are constantly cited. The abundance of the use of possessives is observed, specifically of "our" ("our homeland", "our people", "our DNA") and of the first person of the plural to form and share the identity of the party ("we", "we are", "we are", "we know"), of the second person of the plural to talk about the successes achieved so far ("you are the proof", "you are the example") and, on the other hand, the use of the possessive "su" ("their money"), and the third of the plural to talk about those who are the enemy, the Popular Party ("they", "do not represent us", "beat them") and Europe ("German elites"). It is also used to talk about those who are not or the social struggles that have taken place throughout history ("it is", "I would have wanted", "they are"). Regarding the second person plural, Pablo Iglesias uses it to elevate the people by the social movements that have made change possible, thus elevating its importance beyond the party. He reserves the pronoun "you" to raise the register and differentiate yourself from those for which they do not feel represented.

As for the word "history", Iglesias uses throughout his speech historical facts of the social struggles carried out by the people and the achievements made by Spain, something for which they feel proud and with which they try to have a certain pedagogical degree:

Today I want to say that word: Spain, and say that I am proud of that Spain that invented the word "liberal", proud of that Spain that expelled the troops of Napoleon, proud of the progressive military like Riego and Torrijos, (...) proud of that working class that defended social rights and suffrage (Iglesias, 2016).

In the same way, it highlights the repetition of "corruption", which is referred to as "rotten apples", which shows that all the country's problems are due to the improper behavior of the ruling politicians through the syntactic structure "corruption is". Also, Iglesias also helps corruption to present some of its proposals with the structure "we know that corruption is fought". In this way, Iglesias proclaims the power of truth and the only valid vote to defeat the Popular Party.

Likewise, the use of an informal language develops at other times when he pronounces words such as "tattooed", "he has gone without effort" or "old revolutionary mole". On the other hand, neologisms such as "real estate bubble" or "urbanistic balls" and abstract expressions such as "wind of the people", "blow that democratic surplus" or "new political grammar" are appreciated.

As usual, negative terms are used to assess the current situation of the country ("poverty", "risk", "unemployment", strike, "thieves", "periphery", "prostitute", "anti-system", "radicals", "extremists"). However, the positives are used to thank the Spanish people and their party partners for the success achieved ("humble", "thank you", "freedom", "dignity", "smiles"). The frequent use of the masculine and feminine

plural stands out, emphasizing this last one ("you and you", "grandfathers and grandmothers", "grandchildren and granddaughters").

Finally, in the phonological aspects, Iglesias stands out for having a defiant and angry tone throughout the speech, except in the moment that tells an anecdote about a child, Iglesias acquires a soft and emotional tone. On the other hand, it maintains a normal and slow cadence in order to give rise to the applause of the public.

The second selected speech was delivered immediately after the election results of June 26, 2016 were known. He did it in front of his supporters. In the same line as the previous one, Iglesias uses again the first person of the plural and the pronoun "ourselves" and "us" and the possessive "our" to strengthen that feeling of belonging to a group against an elite, represented by terms such as "the powerful ones", "the arrogant ones" or the pronoun "them". Likewise, the use of the second person of the plural is repeated again to address their voters: "look at you", "do you know?", "You would have", "you be". The use of personification as a rhetorical figure draws attention at the beginning of the speech, but in this case the reverse: "I want you to be lionesses defending their litter".

Predominantly the use of the term "people" to speak of the Spanish people, which is accompanied by adjectives like "humble", "modest" and "decent". It also highlights the use of the expression "the gates of heaven" to refer to the victory of an election, an objective that constantly wishes: "because we were not born to resist, we were born to win, we were born to defeat and with the dignity of the people, we will win".

Finally, the phonological aspects are similar to the previous discourse. Despite having lost the elections, Iglesias does not lower the tone and maintains that high intonation with challenging nuances that has been pronounced previously.

#### **4.3.4. Interpretation of the speech of Pablo Iglesias**

As we have seen, in both speeches by Pablo Iglesias there are clearly some dyes of a populist nature. In Spain there was a moment when the future of the country was at stake and, in addition, it was a time when the political spectrum was wider than ever. There was a clear distrust on the part of the population towards public institutions to restore the situation of the country, a scenario that was further diminished by the corruption of the parties. Therefore, they had the necessary ingredients for a populist emergence, which began already with the 15-M movement and with the foundation of Podemos.

The discourse is focused on the reality of a product damage crisis due to human errors on the scale of García Ponce and Smolak-Lozano (2013) where the product is public management and human errors the incompetence of the managers. In the discourses analyzed, Iglesias manages to form a popular subject united against a common enemy ("the powerful", "the elite", "the millionaires"), which in this case is the party led by Mariano Rajoy, thus forming a social frontier. This border was created

due to the dissatisfaction of the demands that the people had ("unemployment", "corruption", "poverty", "low wages", etc.) and that a leader, in this case Pablo Iglesias, was gathering them in an equal way even though they are completely heterogeneous. Thus, his speeches abound in the use of the first person of the plural and possessive as "our" to create gregarious feeling and share the ideas of the party. We can appropriate the power of representation of "the people" and the people against an alien political elite. Likewise, the second person of the plural is used to praise the people as the true cause of change and, in turn, to call for social action.

Other populist elements in the discourses of Iglesias are the constant historical references by which they feel proud and represented, thus raising a didactic accent. Those social struggles carried out by "our grandparents and grandmothers" are what Iglesias intends to transfer to his people. It also highlights the appearance of names of poets and intellectuals such as Miguel Hernández, Rafael Alberti or Antonio Machado and politicians like Salvador Allende, "a real socialist". This is because Iglesias uses part of his works to emphasize his arguments ("we are here as Miguel Hernández said to be the wind of the people") or to follow examples of politicians like Allende ("a socialist who won the fourth time he showed up to the elections and here we are to do it as many times as necessary").

Iglesias also preaches being the political force of law and order, reinforced with a constant patriotic sentiment, since he pronounces on numerous occasions "our homeland", "compatriots", "proud of that Spain". However, in this case there is a predominant tendency of lefts and anti-elitist represented with the ideas of 15-M ("do not represent us"). In addition, reference is made to a state in which popular sovereignty has been lost, which has "left its people behind", and therefore the attempt to recover it through order and law.

Another characteristic of populism that is found in Pablo Iglesias is the ability to attribute truths and to know the reality of the people. In this way, a certain degree of empathy is acquired by those who suffer the incompetence of the government, so for example is the anecdote that tells about a child of gypsy ethnicity. This is another of the elements of a populist leader, telling stories with which the people can feel identified.

Abundant abstract terms and expressions such as "heroes", "breakwaters of international solidarity", "blood ink of the peoples", "the smile of a country", which have little concreteness and, therefore, an empty political ideal that they draw an illusory hope for the people. Also, it moves away from a technical language in order to avoid being a cultured or distant figure to the people; it is for that reason, that expressions like "have gone without effort", "scoundrels", "private hacienda".

## **5. CONCLUSIONS**

The objective of the present investigation was to know if the leader of the political force of Unidos Podemos, Pablo Iglesias, articulated in his speeches populism as a way of persuasion to obtain votes in the respective elections.

Pablo Iglesias did use populism in his speeches. As we have seen in the results, this conjecture is favorably fulfilled since elements that characterize populism are found in his discourses.

Iglesias and his party attribute the problems of the country to both national and international elites (Europe) and opt for a more progressive and leftist policy focused on the recovery of the rights of the people.

In the figure of Pablo Iglesias, there is a populism of the left, characteristic of Latin American countries, in which a paternalistic, personalist, and even charismatic discourse predominates, involving both the urban classes and sectors of the middle class.

In the speeches analyzed there are characteristic elements of populism, thanks to an effective use of language that has managed to segregate into two clearly differentiated groups and attribute to the party the legitimacy of being the voice of the people and be responsible for restoring the country.

Likewise, the style of Pablo Iglesias at the time of pronouncing his speeches is of a challenging and angry character, in which a more informal and colloquial language predominates, with a clearly superior intonation.

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## 7. ANNEXES

### 7.1. Speech by Pablo Iglesias on June 24, 2016

“Thank you very much, good evening Madrid.

I would like to ask you, in the first place, a closed applause for all the militants, for all the volunteers who have made this campaign possible, anonymous companions who have left their heads so that the message of political change reaches everywhere. Applause for sign interpreters, who carry sign language to deaf people. Thank you very much partners.

Many thanks to the political forces that have decided to walk to the meeting of history, it is an honor to be the candidate for the presidency of political forces such as the tides that blow from Galicia, such as Compromís, moltes gràcies Mónica, as in Comú, as comrades of Month and especially like the companions of the historical left in Catalonia and in Spain. Thank you very much Alberto Garzón, many thanks to Izquierda Unida, thanks to the Communist Party for taking this path with us.

This is not an electoral alliance, this is a commitment to our country and our people, we are writing history, we are becoming an instrument in the hands of the people and that goes beyond any electoral alliance and any agreement between parties. We are here to serve you, we are here as Miguel Hernández said to be the wind of the people. Thank you very much people, thank you very much Spain for pushing us.

Thank you very much in the third place for the municipalities of change, you are the proof, you are the guarantor, that not only can we win elections, but we can win better. Thank you very much José Manuel Calvo for stopping the feet of the speculators. Thanks Madrid, thanks Barcelona, thanks Valencia, thanks Coruña, thanks Zaragoza. You are the example, you are the best guarantee that we are a political force of government capable of managing better than them.

And, fourth, thank you very much to those who are not there, to the militants and absentee fighters, to those who left their skin in prisons, to those who left their skin in strikes, to those who are our grandfathers and grandmothers, to those who are the pride of our country, in the times of historical change blows that democratic surplus from the struggles of the past.

They told me that Marcos Ana had wanted to be with us at this event, and that he is sick and he is at home, from here I want to tell him that he is not only a reference of the left, he is a hero of the people, he is a hero of the homeland, and we are proud to have tattooed in our DNA the social struggles that pushed those behind.

I want to remember my grandfathers and grandmothers socialists tonight, we are here to honor your example, we are here to be at your height, we are here so that our grandsons and granddaughters be as proud of us as we are of our grandparents.

This is not only, as I said before, an electoral alliance, this is an encounter with history, you are writing the history of Spain. Today I want to say that word: Spain, and say that I am proud of that Spain that invented the word "liberal", proud of that Spain that expelled the troops of Napoleon, proud or progressive military like Riego and Torrijos, proud of the liberals and the Spanish democrats of la Gloriosa, proud of Joaquín Costa and the Free Institution of Education, proud of that working class that defended social rights and suffrage, proud of those women who gave birth to our homeland as the Nelken, as Dolores, like Montseni, like Victoria Kent, they are our mothers, they are our family and we are proud of that Spain of poets and intellectuals like Rafael Alberti, like Antonio Machado, like Miguel Hernández, proud of the Asturian miners, proud of that Spain that was the breakwaters of international

solidarity and of that Spanish people that resisted like no other people in Europe to horror and fascism, we are proud of that Spain.

And on a day like today, in which there are blue flags here, I would like to recall the first speech I was able to make in the European Parliament, looking in the face of the deputies of the far right and Eurosceptic bench, and I said to them that the heart of Europe is antifascism, and I reminded you that the pilots who commanded the first tanks that entered Paris were Spaniards, proud of those Spaniards of the Leclerc division, proud to say Spain, proud to say homeland.

Proud of that Spain that fought for its freedoms in the dictatorship, proud of a diverse and plurinational Spain, that speaks different languages, that has different cultures and different feelings, never more a Spain that imposes itself from the center and that does not understand wealth of a plurinational homeland. And proud of that Spain that on May 15, 2011 went out to meet history, proud of 15M, 15M should be a national holiday in this country.

We are living historical changes, and that 15M meant that something was changing in the subsoil of the social structure of our country, it was not easy to interpret then that movement with different flags, with different flags than with other languages was building the new grammar that it would serve for political change, he said they do not represent us and he said we want democracy, there were very few who understood that message and among them my tribute today to Juan Carlos Monedero, who was in the squares from the beginning, thank you very much Juan Carlos for his example .

Here the movement inaugurated a new political grammar, we speak of centrality that has nothing to do with the center, the centrality is that historical task of the old revolutionary mole, it consists in understanding the keys that allow political change in a society, consists in understand that history has moments when it requires the concurrence of very different people with different ideas, different backgrounds, with different identities and all and all the flags, all colors are welcome to the political change and remain welcome

Perhaps Podemos was then the best electoral translation of that movement, that change in the social structure of our country, I want to thank the first brave people who accompanied me from the beginning: Miguel Urbán, Jorge Moruno and Tania for pushing me to take the step. I want to thank those who arrived later, Iñigo and his people, the comrades of the Complutense, Rafa and Irene Montero, and I want to thank especially Pablo Echenique for pointing the right way, it is an honor to share the future with you, mate. And thanks to all of you, the anonymous militants, the indispensable ones, those who are the true protagonists of social change.

But today I want to say that there is something much more important than Podemos and it is the historical encounter with the left of all life, the one that kept up the banners of dignity in very difficult moments, it is an honor Alberto to walk by

your side, it is a honor that we will build the future together, it is an honor that the ink of social struggles will write the future of our country.

I want to address today to people who have not yet decided their vote and I want to be very clear as we are, without ambiguities, we are the useful vote to defeat the Popular Party, that everyone is clear about it... and basically because we do have a country proposal.

It has been much talk about corruption in this campaign, to everyone seems wrong the corruption, but they are not just bad apples, corruption is not only Mariano Rajoy, there are cynics who claim to whiten the Popular Party painting it orange and saying that without Mariano Rajoy then you can reach agreements. I say it very clear from here, the problem of corruption is not Mariano Rajoy alone, the problem of corruption is that it has become the set of application devices of neoliberalism in Spain, the corruption are scoundrels, the corruption is thieves, but the corruption is also a model that does not work, the corruption is the unemployment, the corruption is that there are 2.7 million unemployed who do not receive any benefits; corruption is a political model that allows one of three compatriots be at risk of poverty, corruption is the decline in the labor force and to jeopardize pensions, corruption is held on a model of urban balls and housing bubbles that destroyed the industry and future of our country, corruption is not only the scoundrels, corruption is the form of government that what Berlin says, the German elites wanted to impose our country to be a periphery, we are not a periphery of anyone, we want to be a country to the height that corresponds to us.

We know that corruption is fought with the penal code, we know that corruption is fought by ending that law of criminal prosecution, reformed by the Popular Party, what they called the Berlusconi Law, which prevents investigation of cases of corruption. We know that corruption is fought with a party financing law that equates them to the foundations and prohibiting bank debt, because who has debts with banks, governs or ends up ruling in favor of banks, but also, but in addition to that, corruption is fought with a country project, corruption is fought by recognizing in the shipyards an energy sector, corruption is fought saying that Spain needs a national energy transition plan that serves to rehabilitate buildings, to save energy and also serve to carry out a transition that makes our country independent of oil, as well corruption is also fought. Corruption is fought with tax inspectors and with tax reforms so that this minority of privileged people who have left without effort also pay taxes. Corruption is also fought by repealing two useless labor reforms and defending the rights of workers and defending the right to decent wages. Corruption is fought by not allowing a good part of our compatriots to be at risk of poverty, which is why an income is needed. Corruption is fought not only talking about sexist violence but applying measures, ending the Montoro Law that does not allow municipalities to assist women victims of sexist violence and here we say alternative housing for women victims of sexist violence without need of denunciation. Corruption is that there are rescued banks with public money that have been able to evict families, corruption is fought with retroactive payment and making the right to housing mandatory for the public powers.

Today there is a message for all Europeans and it is a very clear message, the Europe of Germany, the Europe of the social cuts, the Europe that humiliates the refugees and does not fulfill the human rights does not serve and does not seduce what seduced the European populations to build the union project was the guarantee of social rights and human rights, there is no more European identity than that the fulfillment of human rights and prosperity associated with the welfare state, or we recover an idea of Europe associated with social rights or Europe is ended, that is why we say that Europe must be democratized and that those responsible for austerity policies must be pointed out for what they are, the undertakers of the European project.

We say that we are the political force of law and order and we say it today, that we have seen policemen sent by the Ministry of the Interior, entering without a court order in the editorial office of a newspaper ... Who should we be afraid of? Who should be afraid of in this country? They have spoken of radicals and extremists and I say that the antisystem is the one that prostitutes the institutions putting them to play in favor of the privileged.

This morning there was an anecdote that counted a colleague of the city of Valencia who has moved me and who has taught me once again the meaning of the institutions and the word homeland, she spoke of gypsy children who for the first time thanks to the Town Hall they went to the theater to listen to Tomatito, when Tomatito finishes singing, the children left and when Tomatito comes out again, the children were gone because they did not know what was an encore, because they had never been able to go to a concert, that is the homeland that there are institutions that allow children to go to the theater, that there are institutions that allow children regardless of their condition, have schools, institutions that guarantee health and guarantee the dignity of everyone; that's why we are the institutional ones, that's why we are the ones of the law, because humble people only have the law and the right, and the right is written with the social struggles of those who preceded us, the millionaires do not need hospitals and public schools, they can pay for the private ones, the millionaires disregard the law, they have their money in tax havens and in accounts in Switzerland, that those people do not dare to pronounce the word fatherland, to pronounce the word Spain if they do not pay taxes here.

What is the country? The homeland is a flag, all the flags are welcome, but the homeland is the hospitals, the homeland is the schools, the homeland is the law of dependency, the homeland is that state that does not leave its people, it is that state that is It becomes the expression of the social majority and popular sovereignty, that's why we say today: homeland, order, law, institutions against the anti-system, against those who have failed, in front of those responsible for the crisis, in front of those responsible that there are compatriots who cannot make ends meet or fill the fridge.

And we must say what is the meaning of our political project, we must read Luis Alegre and Carlos Fernández Liria, the best interpreters of the classics, when they say that ours is the political project of the Enlightenment, we defend freedom,

equality, fraternity, the rule of law, because that is what has allowed social advances, never again the word stained freedom in the lips of those who privatize, never again the word freedom to indicate that some can take their money to Switzerland or Andorra or Panama, the word freedom is sacred and is written with the blood of peoples, the word freedom cannot be separated from equality and fraternity. We are proud to be children of the social struggles that brought us the ideological bases of modernity and we tell them to the anti-patriots who turned the institutions into their particular hacienda, to say today live the homeland that is to say live the freedom, live equality and live fraternity. Forward, forward we can, forward we are very close filling with dignity, with smiles and proudly the polls on June 26, ahead that we can win, ahead the smile of a country, ahead the humble people, ahead this people, ahead Spain that we can beat them, that we are very close and as Salvador Allende said, the history is ours and the people make it!

## **7.2. Speech by Pablo Iglesias on June 26, 2016**

"What pride, what pride to look at your face. I want you to be lionesses defending your litter, to know the powerful ones that have us here, that we do not sell ourselves, that we will end up winning, that two years ago in this same square, when some said that we had had a success with 1.3 million votes, we say that it was not enough, we wanted to win and here we continue, knocking at the gates of heaven, with humble people, with modest people, with decent people, thank you very much.

Proud of those people who have left their heads in the campaign, proud of that militancy, proud of the comrades of all the organizations that make us more and more pushing the political change. Thank you very much Alberto, thank you very much Ada, thank you very much Monica! This has just begun!

Proud of this city and this country, proud of those who preceded us, of those who raised the banners of freedom and dignity, proud of this city that was the breakwater of the fight against fascism, proud of our past. And proud also of that 15-M that pointed the way, of that 15M that invited the transformation to many social sectors that are essential and that still have to be incorporated.

Do you know? 108 years ago was born Salvador Allende, a real socialist, a socialist who is an example for us, a socialist who won the fourth time he ran for the elections and here we are to do it as many times as necessary, because we were not born to resist, we were born to win, we were born to win and with the dignity of the people, we are going to win.

You would have to look to the face to see how much dignity and how much pride. We must say today, to the powerful, to the arrogant, to the victory always!

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