

# Orange as a political colour

by Manuela Schmöger

**Abstract** Until recently, orange has never been a prominent political colour in most European countries.

An old tradition is the orange deriving from the house of Oranje. The current Dutch parties use the colour only in combinations with other colours. However, it is a prominent colour of the Protestants in (Northern) Ireland, and even the Catholic Sinn Fein uses the colour nowadays, combined with white and green, though.

Another group are centrist/christian-democratic parties that recently have adopted orange, e.g. the German CDU or the French MoDem. However, some parties have used orange already in the 1970ies, like the Swiss CVP or the Portuguese PSD.

The Humanist Parties (an international movement with roots in Argentina) prominently display orange since the 1980ies.

More recently, several of the Pirate Parties have been using the colour orange, e.g. the German and Italian branches.

A massive usage of orange has occurred during the protests in Ukraine in 2004/2005, thus properly called "Orange Revolution".

The current "orange wave" is probably due to two main factors: orange is considered neutral and it can be used for showing international links, in particular in the European context.

## 1. Introduction

We all know the "classical" political colours, like red for socialists and communists, green for agrarians and environmentalists, black for fascists. But in an international context most colours are not coded the same way in all (or most) countries.

First we have to attempt a definition of "political colour". There are two main aspects in this: the internal and the external aspect. The external aspect is, how a particular party is colour-coded by others, e.g. by the media. This colour-coding can be part of the language, like "the Blacks" (*die Schwarzen*) for the German CDU and CSU; or it can be part of graphics (e.g. pie diagrams) showing election results. Many of these external colour attributions are different from the actual colour usage of the party itself, the internal aspect. The German CDU and CSU do not prominently use black as their colour (and never have). Nor do the US Republicans use red, but elections results nowadays show Republican success in red and the Democrats in blue (fig. 1).

In this paper I want to focus on the internal aspect, i.e. colours actually used by the party, even if different from the colour customarily attributed to it. In particular,

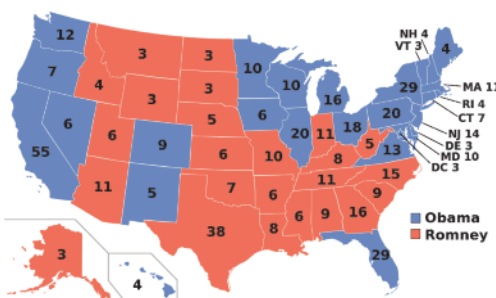


Fig. 1: Results of the US presidential elections, 2012, showing Republican success in red and Democratic success in blue<sup>1</sup>.



Fig. 2A: Members of the German HP with orange flags, orange clothing and orange placards<sup>2</sup>



Fig. 2B: Advertising material of the Slovenian Zares party<sup>3</sup>

I want to focus on the colour(s) used on flags, of course.

I chose orange as my topic for two reasons:

- it has become suddenly and surprisingly popular over the last about 10 years;
- it is the royal and national colour of the Netherlands, where this ICV is hosted.

The colour orange (like any other political colour) can be displayed (fig. 2)

- as logo
- on placards
- on websites
- on flags
- on sashes, ribbons, buttons
- on clothing
- in party stalls

## 2. The Dutch connection

### 2.1. The original orange

Even the first major use of orange in a flag in Europe was on a political flag, on the flag of the Dutch rebels (*Geuzen*) in the battle of Den Briel, 1572. The famous *Prinsenvlag* with its orange upper stripe referred to the leader of the rebellion, William, Prince of Orange (Oranje). Although at that time there was no real connection between the colour orange and the Principality of Orange in Southern France (or the house of Oranje-Nassau), it seemed a straightforward choice<sup>4</sup>.



Fig. 3: Dutch *Prinsenvlag*<sup>5</sup>

### 2.2. The Netherlands in modern times

In the 1930ies there was quite some support for returning to the "true" colours of the national flag, i.e. orange-white-blue. This was particularly advocated by the radical right, and this finally led to the official decree of red-white-blue as national flag in 1937.

The radical right at the time consisted mainly of two Nazi-inspired parties, the NSB (*Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging*) (fig. 4A) and the NSNAP (*Nationaal-Socialistische Nederlandsche Arbeiderspartij*) (fig. 4B).



Fig. 4A: flag of the NSB, 1931-36<sup>6</sup>



Fig. 4B: flag of the NSNAP, 1931-45<sup>7</sup>



Fig. 5A: flag of the NVU<sup>10</sup>



Fig. 5B: flag of the NA<sup>11</sup>

Even nowadays, the use of orange is somewhat ambiguous in the Netherlands, or let's say, it's rather context-sensitive. If used for supporting the royal house on *Koninginnedag* or the national football team, it's just the national colour. On the other hand, in politics the usage of orange, in particular in form of the *Prinsenvlag* might be offensive, as happened when in 2011 there was a display of that historical flag in a room of the PVV parliamentary group<sup>8,9</sup>.

So in its purer form, the orange-white-blue is now relegated to the extreme right. Two examples are the NVU (*Nederlandse Volks-Unie*) (fig. 5A) and the NA (Nationale Alliantie) (fig. 5B).



Fig. 6A: one version of the flag of the VVD<sup>14</sup>



Fig. 6B: flag of the SGP<sup>15</sup>

More mainstream parties are a bit more careful in using orange: it is okay as part of the logo, together with white and blue, but not too prominently. This is the case for the right-liberal VVD (*Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie*) (fig. 6A) for instance. The orthodox-calvinist SGP (*Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij*) (fig. 6B) has a very special interpretation: the orange triangle in the logo symbolizes the relationship between God, the Netherlands and the House of Oranje<sup>12</sup>. A right-wing split from the VVD,



Fig. 6C: flag of Trots op Nederland<sup>6</sup>



Fig. 7A: flag of the Orange Order<sup>22</sup>



Fig. 7B: marching banner of an Orange Order branch<sup>23</sup>



Fig. 7C: Sinn Féin flags in all three national colours of the Republic of Ireland<sup>24</sup>



Fig. 8A: flag of the NP, 1939-1980ies<sup>26 27</sup>



Fig. 8B: flag of the KP, 1990<sup>28</sup>



Fig. 9A: logo of the CVP, around 1980<sup>32</sup>



Fig. 9B: logo of the CVP, around 1990<sup>33</sup>

Trots op Nederland, combines the red-white-blue with the orange-white-blue in a shield, shown on an orange flag (fig. 6C). Other minor parties, like the *Partij voor het Noorden*, also use a bit of orange<sup>13</sup>.

### 2.3. The Dutch heritage – Northern Ireland and Republic of Ireland

The Battle of the Boyne is the reference point for the Protestant community in Northern Ireland. This battle was fought on 11 July 1690 between king William III and the deposed king James II. The victorious William was Protestant and from the Dutch ruling house of Orange-Nassau. From then onwards the colour orange was linked to the Protestant cause in Ireland.

King William as well as the victorious battles (Boyne and Aughrim) were officially commemorated and in 1795 a more popular institution of the Protestants, the Orange Order, was founded. Starting in July 1796, marches were held that already involved orange cockades<sup>17</sup> and later featured orange sashes, banners and flags<sup>18</sup>. The general Orange Order flag is orange, with a purple star in the lower fly and an English flag in the canton<sup>19</sup>; a more complicated version (fig. 7A) shows king William surrounded by the English, Scottish, UK and Ulster flag. The picture of king William very often features on elaborate marching banners as well (fig. 7B); the banners show a lot of orange, usually in combination with blue, purple or red<sup>20</sup>.

Orange became part of the national tricolour of Ireland as well, representing the Protestants<sup>21</sup>. The Irish national colours are even part of the symbol of the staunchly Republican and Catholic *Sinn Féin* party, active both in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. Recent versions of the *Sinn Féin* flags show its symbols and slogans on solidly coloured green or white or orange flags (fig. 7C), so even *Sinn Féin* is now waving orange flags.

### 2.4. The Dutch heritage - South Africa

Although I'd very much like to include political orange usage outside Europe, I will restrict myself to Europe at the moment. One short exception, though: the Republic of South Africa, and in particular those parties referring to their Boer (Dutch) origin. The emblems and flags are comprehensively covered by an ICV contribution by Philippe Rault<sup>25</sup>, so I want to mention just three of the more relevant parties. All of these refer, in one way or the other, to the 1928-1994 national flag of South Africa (itself derived from the Dutch orange-white-blue).

The flag of the long-time ruling party, the NP (*Nasionale Party*), showed an orange field with a blue bugle-horn, fimbriated white (fig. 8A). The more intransigent HNP (*Herstigte Nasionale Party*), founded in 1969, only used the plain orange-white-blue triband. The KP (*Konservatiewe Party*) finally switched from orange to yellow, for a difference, and thus used a yellow-blue emblem on a yellow-white-blue triband (fig. 8B), still reminiscent of the national flag, though.

## 3. Other European countries

### 3.1. Belgium

In Belgium, the colour orange also has a long tradition, predominantly as the colour of the Christian-Democratic parties, in all parts of the country. Perhaps it was already introduced around 1960 as optimistic colour, as colour of progress<sup>29</sup>.

Although originally preferring green and white<sup>3</sup> (like later on the Dutch CDA), the CVP (*Christelijke Volkspartij*) from about 1978-1987<sup>31</sup> used orange letters with black



Fig. 9C: logo of the CVP, around 2000<sup>34</sup>  
Fig. 9D: flag of the CD&V, since 2001<sup>35</sup>



Fig. 10A: logo of the PSC, around 1999<sup>38</sup>  
Fig. 10B: flag of the CDH, since 2002<sup>39</sup>  
Fig. 10C: logo of the CSP<sup>40</sup>



Fig. 11A: flag of the Lijst Dedecker, 2007-2011<sup>41</sup>  
Fig. 11B: logo of the Vlaams Blok, before 2004<sup>42</sup>



Fig. 12A: logo of the CSV, 2002-2008<sup>45</sup>  
Fig. 12B: feather flag of the CSV, 2008-2012<sup>46</sup>  
Fig. 12C: feather flag of the CSV, 2013<sup>47</sup>



Fig. 13A: paper flag of SPD, 1970<sup>49</sup>  
Fig. 13B: campaign button of SPD, 1972<sup>50</sup>

shadows (fig. 9A). Different, but still orange logos were used around 1990 and around 2000 (fig. 9B, C). Renamed to CD&V (*Christen-Democratisch & Vlaams*) in 2001, the party now uses a logo of different shades of orange together with blue; this is also used on white flags (fig. 9D).

About its counterpart in the French-speaking part, the PSC (Parti social chrétien), I have less information. Green as background colour, combined with yellow or black lettering, seems to be the preferred combination used in the first decades after 1945<sup>36</sup>. An orange-containing logo was used around 1999 (fig. 10A). Also this party underwent a renaming, in 2002 to CDH (*Centre Démocrate Humaniste*), and is now using a logo of orange and brownish red ("terracotta"), also on flags (fig. 10B). The CSP (*Christlich Soziale Partei*) in the German-speaking community also uses orange in its logo (fig. 10C); this seems to be influenced by the Christian-Democratic parties in the other parts of the country<sup>37</sup>.

In the Flemish part another party, the right-liberal *Lijst Dedecker* (since 2011: *Libertair, Direct, Democratisch*) is using an orange and blue logo, also printed on flags (fig. 11A). The separatist and right-extremist *Vlaams Blok* until its dissolution in 2004 used a logo of orange and black (fig. 11B), but never on flags. The Belgian Humanist Party (*Parti Humaniste/Humanistische Partij*) will be discussed below (5.1.).

### 3.2. Luxembourg

The Christian-Democratic CSV (*Chrëschtlech Sozial Vollekspartei*) is the only Luxembourgian party using orange. In earlier times, the party used green-white or black in combination with the national colours<sup>43</sup>. Since 2002 orange has been used, upon suggestion of the General Secretariat and an advertising agency; they claim there had been no foreign influence when choosing the colour<sup>44</sup>. The actual logo has changed twice since 2002 (fig. 12A-C). Current flag usage seems to be restricted to the new-fashioned feather flags (fig. 12B, C).

### 3.3. Germany

The 1970ies were the decade of orange<sup>48</sup>. So it comes as no surprise that early orange usage in German politics can be found in this era. The pioneer was the SPD (*Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands*), that obviously wanted to get rid of its "red" image. So it used orange paper flags (fig. 13A) and the rather famous orange campaign buttons with the slogan *Willy wählen* (vote for Willy, i.e. Willy Brandt) (fig. 13B).

At the end of the 1970ies, local municipal lists associated themselves on a state level as FW (*Freie Wähler*). The organizational core for a further development on a national level is the Bavarian branch (state association founded in 1978<sup>51</sup>) that nowadays also contests state elections. So the current symbols of the Bavarian branch have become the symbols for the national association as well. On a state and partly on a local level, there is a wide variation, though.

The first logo was designed by the ad director of a large department store and intro-



Fig. 14A: hanging flag of the FW Bayern, 1980ies/1990ies<sup>55</sup>  
 Fig. 14B: horizontal flag of the FW, 2011<sup>56</sup>  
 Fig. 14C: paper flag of the FW (orange version), 2011<sup>57</sup>  
 Fig. 14D: hanging flag of the FWG Rheinland-Pfalz<sup>58</sup>



Fig. 15A: flag of the ÖDP<sup>64</sup>  
 Fig. 15B: vertical flag of the ÖDP<sup>65</sup>  
 Fig. 15C: logo of the Familien-Partei Deutschlands, 2007<sup>66</sup>



Fig. 16A: vertical flag of the CDU, since 2003<sup>77</sup>  
 Fig. 16B: small car flag of the CDU, since about 2007<sup>78</sup>



Fig. 17A: flag of the WASG, Berlin branch, 2005-2007<sup>81</sup>



Fig. 17B: flag of the WASG, Nordrhein-Westfalen branch, 2005-2007<sup>82</sup>

duced shortly after the foundation of the FW Bayern in 1978 and used until 2001 (fig. 14A); the colour orange was chosen as a signal colour and because it was fashionable in the 1970ies. A new fresh logo (fig. 14B, C) was developed in 2001 by Stephanie Vogel and approved by the state party convention, although some thought that the sun could be mistaken for the sun of the Greens<sup>52</sup>. Details of the new logo are subject to constant change, the current turquoise colour might be changed to blue, for instance; the orange is defined as Pantone 130C<sup>53</sup>.

The Rheinland-Pfalz branch since 1985 uses an orange logo, also on flags<sup>45</sup> (fig. 14D).

In 1996 the ÖDP (*Ökologisch-Demokratische Partei*) introduced orange as part of a set of colours (together with green, yellow and violet), upon suggestion by the advertising agency Buttgeriet & Heidenreich. From 1999 onwards, the party almost exclusively relied on orange, now defined as HKS 8k (originally Pantone 144). The reasons for the adoption of orange were that it was not yet used politically at the time and that it was considered pleasant<sup>59</sup>. When the CDU also adopted orange, the ÖDP was not overly amused<sup>60</sup>. The ÖDP flag (fig. 15A) is in use since 2006, the vertical one for party congresses (fig. 15B) since 2008<sup>61</sup>. Newer versions of the ÖDP flag show the party abbreviation and name in white on orange, instead of black on orange<sup>62</sup>. The Family Party (*Familien-Partei Deutschlands*) has used orange in its logo since 1989<sup>63</sup> (fig. 15C); interestingly, it closely cooperated with the ÖDP in 2004-2006.

The CDU (*Christlich-Demokratische Union Deutschlands*) never used black as its exclusive colour, although they are called “the blacks” (*die Schwarzen*). Originally focusing on the national colours, most of the time the party used red letters on white, often combined with some black-red-gold<sup>67</sup>. After a short period with dark blue (1998-2003)<sup>68</sup>, the new colour orange was introduced. This was suggested by an advertising agency and finally approved by the party convention; it was meant as an accentuating colour, defined as Pantone 144C<sup>69</sup>. The 2004 CI manual has focused a bit on orange as an emotional colour, that is otherwise politically not occupied<sup>70</sup>; the 2010 CI manual very much returns to blue, relegating orange to a secondary role<sup>71 72</sup>. Although the flags on a central level are always orange<sup>73</sup>, be it the main flag in the vertical form (fig. 16A) or the more recently introduced car flag (fig. 16B), most state branches use different symbolism, at least in addition. The media rather consistently disliked the orange<sup>74 75</sup>. And there was some legal dispute about the original authorship between then General Secretary Laurenz Meyer and publicity man Bernd Kreuz<sup>76</sup>.

The WASG (*Arbeit & soziale Gerechtigkeit – Die Wahlalternative*) was founded in 2005 as a left split from the SPD; in 2007 it merged with the PDS to form the new party Die Linke. The original logo of the WASG was grey-red-black on white; however, during 2005, at least two of the state branches adopted orange symbols. The Berlin branch used only white lettering on orange (fig. 17A), whereas the Northrhine-Westphalia branch used the whole logo (with some blue lettering) on white flags (fig. 17B); there was also a vertical flag in Northrhine-Westphalia, albeit in a darker shade of orange



Fig. 17C: vertical flag of the WASG, Nordrhein-Westfalen branch, 2005-2007<sup>83</sup>  
 Fig. 17D: logo of the SAG, 2007-2013<sup>84</sup>



(fig. 17C). On a national level, however, orange was used as well, but to a lesser degree; it was probably suggested by the advertising agency (werkzwei)<sup>80</sup>. It can be interpreted politically as well: as a reminiscence of the reformist orange of the 1970ies SPD. After the merger with the PDS<sup>80</sup>, several small parties split off: at least one of them, the SAG (*Soziale Alternative für Gerechtigkeit*) somewhat continued the use of orange (fig. 17D).

The German Humanist Party (HP) and the Pirate Party (PIRATEN) will be discussed below (5.1. and 5.2.). Orange has also become a fashionable colour for a variety of new small parties. Contesting the 2013 parliamentary elections in orange were (in addition to the already mentioned CDU, FW, PIRATEN, ÖDP, FAMILIE): RENTNER, BIG, Bündnis 21/RRP.

### 3.4. Austria

The BZÖ (*Bündnis Zukunft Österreich*) is a right-populist party in Austria, founded in 2005 as a split from the FPÖ. The original logo already contained orange (fig. 18A), the version of 2011 (fig. 18B) focuses even more on that colour. The colour was chosen by the party's founder, Jörg Haider; the reasons were his personal connection with the Dalai Lama (and thus with the orange as a Buddhist colour) and the fact that the colour was not in political use in Austria at the time<sup>85</sup>. The campaign manager, Gernot Rumpold, explained the colour: „the people want to feel good; thus, orange as party symbol is ideal: it symbolizes holiday, sun and energy“<sup>86</sup>.



Fig. 18A: logo of the BZÖ, 2005-2011<sup>87</sup>  
 Fig. 18B: paper flags of the BZÖ with 2011 logo<sup>88</sup>

### 3.5. Switzerland

Since the adoption of the current name in 1970/71, the CVP (*Christlichdemokratische Volkspartei*; in French PDC, in Italian PPD, in Romansh PCD) has used orange as part of its logo<sup>89</sup>. The 1971 logo and the colour usage were created by graphic artist Mark Zeugin<sup>90</sup>. The logos of 1971 and 1994 combined this with other colours (fig. 19A, B), since 2005 it's pure orange on white. At least the German, French and Italian version of the logo are also used on flags (fig. 19C, D, E); if the Romansh version is made into flags as well, I don't know<sup>91</sup>.



Fig. 19A: logo of the CVP, 1971<sup>92</sup>  
 Fig. 19B: logo of the CVP, 1994<sup>93</sup>



Fig. 19C: current flag of the CVP, German version, since 2005<sup>94</sup>  
 Fig. 19D: current flag of the CVP (PDC), French version, since 2005<sup>95</sup>  
 Fig. 19E: current flag of the CVP (PPD), Italian version<sup>96</sup>

A small social conservative party of recent origin, the SLB (*Sozial-Liberale Bewegung*), is also using an orange symbol. The other parties using orange, the Swiss Humanist Party and the Pirate Party will be discussed below (5.1. and 5.2.).

### 3.6. Italy

Given the large number of parties in Italy, it is no surprise that there are several, of very different origin and different political orientation, that are using orange. The UDEUR (*Unione Democratici per l'Europa*) is a small christian-democratic party with strongholds in Southern Italy. The party has often, but slightly changed name and symbol over the years since its foundation in 1999, but the main symbol remained the bell-tower. The colour of the flags was white, until orange was introduced as background colour in 2006 (fig. 20A). Due to the connections to the German CDU, it is quite probable that the CDU orange, introduced just three years before, influenced the choice.



Fig. 20A: flag of the UDEUR, 2006<sup>97</sup>  
 Fig. 20B: flag of the RL<sup>98</sup>  
 Fig. 20C: flag of the CD, 2013<sup>99</sup>



The RL (*Riformatori Liberali*) were a shortlived (2005-2009) split from the liberal-liber-



Fig. 21A: flag of the NPA, orange version<sup>102</sup>



Fig. 21B: logo of the Movimento Arancione<sup>103</sup>



Fig. 21C: flag of the RC list<sup>104</sup>



Fig. 22A: flag of the UFS, 2002 version<sup>107</sup>



Fig. 22B: logo of the BürgerUnion, 2011 version<sup>108</sup>



Fig. 22C: flag of the PA<sup>109</sup>



Fig. 22D: flag of the PPDT<sup>110</sup>



Fig. 23A: flag of the list Per la Liguria – Sandro Biasotti, for the 2005 regional elections in Liguria<sup>114 115</sup>



Fig. 23B: flag of the list supporting Francesco Rutelli, for the 2008 municipal elections in Rome<sup>116</sup>



Fig. 23C: flag of the list supporting Giuliano Pisapia, for the 2011 municipal elections in Milan<sup>117</sup>

tarian Radicali. The orange symbol with a white dolphin was put on orange flags (fig. 20B).

The CD (*Centro Democratico*) is a new centrist party, founded in 2012. The symbol is white over orange; the flags show the symbol on a white background (fig. 20C).

The NPA (*Nuovo Partito d'Azione*) is a small social-liberal party founded in 2005. It sees itself as a reformation of the historical Partito d'Azione of 1942-47. The symbol is orange over green; the party flag is white or orange with the logo (fig. 21A). The orange was suggested by the founder, Pino A. Quartana. Orange was chosen because it is different from the socialist and communist red, and because it combines the liberal yellow and the socialist red. Furthermore it is the colour of the allied *Movimento Arancione*<sup>100</sup>. The *Movimento Arancione* is a new leftist political movement, founded in 2012, that makes much use of the colour (fig. 21B), but until now not on flags, it seems. It was part of the RC list in 2013.

For the 2013 elections several left parties (including two communist, solidly red, parties) formed the RC (*Rivoluzione Civile*) list. Its logo is a stylization of the famous painting *Quarto Stato* (Fourth State) by Giuseppe Pellizza da Volpedo<sup>101</sup>, including some orange at the top (fig. 21C). Part of the RC list were, among others, the NPA and the Movimento Arancione.

The Italian Humanist Party (PU) and the two Pirate Parties (PP and *I Pirati*) will be discussed below (5.1. and 5.2.).

Orange has gained particular popularity for regional and local parties and lists in Italy over the last few years.

The right-wing UFS (*Union für Südtirol*) in South Tyrol introduced orange in 2002; the party wanted to derive vitamins from the orange fruit<sup>105</sup>, and wanted a fresh and untainted signal colour<sup>106</sup>. The 2002 flag (fig. 22A) showed the symbol on a white-red field, the Tyrolian colours. The logo was changed twice since then and the party re-named in 2011 (to BürgerUnion) as well (fig. 22B). If the new logo is also shown on flags, I don't know.

The PA (Progett'Azione) is a centrist party in Piedmont, founded 2012. The squarish orange logo is shown on white flags (fig. 22C).

The PPDT (*La Puglia Prima di Tutto*) is a regional party in Apulia, founded in 2005. The symbol is white over orange; the flag is white with the symbol (fig. 22D).

The list supporting center-right candidate Sandro Biasotti for the presidency of Liguria at the 2005 regional elections used an orange symbol with a blue portrait of the candidate; the flag was orange with the symbol (fig. 23A). Biasotti himself had suggested the colour, and it was meant as a change from the left politics that had governed Liguria for years<sup>111</sup>.

Center-left candidate for mayor of Rome, Francesco Rutelli, in 2008 used an orange flag with simple white lettering "Rutelli Sindaco" (Rutelli for mayor) (fig. 23B).

The symbol of Giuliano Pisapia as center-left mayoral candidate for Milan in 2011 was a simple St. Andrew's cross, like ticking off a ballot (fig. 23C). The campaign used a lot of orange, which was noted nationwide<sup>112 113</sup>



Fig. 24A: flag of the FGS, orange version<sup>118</sup>



Fig. 24B: flag of the GD, orange version<sup>119</sup>

Two youth organizations of center-left parties are using orange. The FGS (*Federazione dei Giovani Socialisti*), youth branch of the PSI (and formerly the SDI) introduced an orange flag around 2004 (fig. 24A). The GD (*Giovani Democratici*), youth branch of the PD, uses orange since its foundation in 2008; the orange-white logo is used on orange (fig. 24B) or white flags.



Fig. 25A: flag of the UpR<sup>122</sup>



Fig. 25B: flag of the AeL<sup>123</sup>

### 3.7. San Marino

The Sammarinese party prominently featuring orange is the UpR (*Unione per la Repubblica*), a centrist party founded in 2011<sup>120</sup>. The flag is orange with the party symbol, that also consists mainly of orange (fig. 25A). The colour was introduced upon foundation by a working group of the party; they claim that there had been no foreign influences and that they are the only party using orange in San Marino<sup>121</sup>.

Another minor party that used some orange, albeit in a darker shade, was the AeL (*Arengo e Libertà*), active from 2008 to 2012 (fig. 25B).



Fig. 26: flag of the MoDem<sup>124</sup>

### 3.8. France

The MoDem (*Mouvement Démocrate*) is a liberal and centrist party in France, founded in 2007 as a partial continuation of the old centrist UDF. It is using an orange-white logo, also on flags (fig. 26).

The French Humanist Party (PH) will be discussed below (5.1.).

### 3.9. Spain

In Spain, orange is not frequently used in a political context. Two Catalan parties are using orange, namely the ERC (*Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya*)<sup>125</sup> and the CDC (*Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya*)<sup>126</sup>; however, this orange is clearly meant to be a version of yellow only.

The Spanish Humanist Party (PH) and Pirate Party (*Partido Pirata*) will be discussed below (5.1. and 5.2.).



Fig. 27A: flag of the PSD<sup>130</sup>



Fig. 27B: flags of the Madeira branch of the PSD<sup>131</sup>

### 3.10. Portugal

The Portuguese PSD (*Partido Social Democrata*) is one of the parties with the longest orange tradition. The colour was introduced shortly after the foundation in 1974, suggested by Conceição Monteiro; it was meant to be a warm colour, but different from the red of the socialists and communists<sup>127</sup>. It was also during the 1970ies when orange was a fashionable colour anyway and the Lisbon metro transport procured orange buses<sup>128</sup>. One should mention that the PSD was originally social-democratic, whereas it has moved to the center-right over the years; symbolism was very much influenced by the German SPD (the arrows derived from Weimar Republic symbolism of the SPD)<sup>129</sup>, so it is also possible that the almost concurrent usage of orange by the SPD (see 3.3.) influenced the adoption of orange. The flags come in different shades or orange (fig. 27A, B).

The Portuguese Humanist Party (PH) will be discussed below (5.1.).





Fig. 28A: flag of the DIKKI<sup>133</sup>



Fig. 28B: logo of the DISY<sup>134</sup>

### 3.11. Greece

A socialist party in Greece, the DIKKI (*Dimokratiko Koinoniko Kinima*), part of the SYRIZA alliance, uses a lot of orange: the logo contains an orange sun<sup>132</sup>, and the flag is orange with black lettering (fig. 28A).

In addition, the shortlived (2010-2012) centrist party DISY (*Dimokratiki Symmachia*) used orange in combination with blue (fig. 28B).

The Greek Pirate Party (KPE) will be discussed below (5.2.).



Fig. 29A: orange version of the UBP flag<sup>135</sup>



Fig. 29B: white version of the UBP flag<sup>136</sup>

### 3.12. Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus

The national-conservative UBP (*Ulusal Birlik Partisi*) is not only using an orange logo, but also orange and white flags with it (fig. 29A, B).

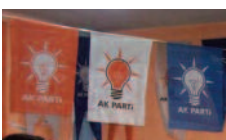


Fig. 30A: chain of flags of the AKP (orange, white, blue)<sup>138</sup>



Fig. 30B: orange version of the AKP flag<sup>139</sup>

### 3.13. Turkey

The Islamic-conservative AKP (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*), governing since 2002, has an orange light bulb as its symbol<sup>137</sup>. In various versions this light bulb is shown on orange, white and blue flags (fig. 30A, B).



Fig. 31A: historical flag of the BZNS<sup>143</sup>



Fig. 31B: flag of the ZS-AS<sup>144</sup>

### 3.14. Bulgaria

Orange and green are the colours used by the BZNS (Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union) and its various splits. Founded in 1899, the party controlled government from 1920-1923 under Aleksandar Stamboliyski and was influential until after WW2. There was even a so-called „Orange Guard” in the early 20th century<sup>140</sup>. After the reintroduction of a multi-party system in 1989, the BZNS underwent a number of splits that make the research of the symbolism difficult.

From the foundation congress onwards, orange was the main colour, derived from the colour of ripe wheat fields<sup>141</sup>; green was added in the 1940ies<sup>142</sup>. Frequently encountered are a green four-leaf clover and the effigy of the historical leader Stamboliyski.

I can show only a few examples of different flags used by the Agrarian parties. Fig. 31A shows a historical flag of the original BZNS (Balgarski Zemedelski Narodni Sayuz), already orange with green clover-leaf and the portraits of several party leaders. The ZS-AS (*Zemedelski Sayuz "Aleksandar Stamboliyski"*), founded in 1993 as a left-wing split, particularly refers to Stamboliyski, in the party name, but also on flags (fig. 31B). The ZNS (*Zemedelski Narodni Sayuz*; founded in 1996 as BZNS-NS) restricts itself mainly to party name and clover-leaf in green (fig. 32A) as do the OZ (*Obedineni Zemedeltsi*) in a slightly different arrangement (fig. 32B).



Fig. 32A: flag of the ZNS<sup>145</sup>



Fig. 32B: flag of the OZ<sup>146</sup>



Fig. 33A: flag of the DA alliance, 2004<sup>149</sup>

Fig. 33B: flag of the PD, 2004-2007<sup>150</sup>

Fig. 33C: flag of the PD-L, since 2007<sup>151</sup>



### 3.15. Romania

For the 2004 elections, two centrist parties, the PNL (*Partidul Național Liberal*) and the PD (*Partidul Democrat*), formed the DA (*Dreptate și Adevăr*) alliance. This alliance used an orange-blue symbol and also an orange flag (fig. 33A). The choice of orange was probably done because the colour was not yet in use; blue was already part of the symbolism of both parties.

The PD continued with these colours (fig. 33B), replacing the colours blue and white originally used by this party and another major party in Romania, the social-democratic PSD. When the PD merged with the smaller PLD (*Partidul Liberal Democrat*) in 2007, colours and symbols largely remained the same (fig. 33C), just the party name and abbreviation changed to PD-L (*Partidul Democrat Liberal*).

Interestingly, the Romanian Humanist Party (PUR) never used orange or any of the internationally used symbols<sup>147</sup>(see 5.1.); it is not clear, however, if they were ever part of the Humanist International<sup>148</sup>. The party officially renamed to PC (*Partidul Conservator*) in 2005.

### 3.16. Moldova

The christian-democratic PPCD (*Partidul Popular Creștin Democrat*) uses a blue-orange heart-shaped symbol as its logo; the flag is orange with the symbol (fig. 34).



Fig. 34: flag of the PPCD<sup>152</sup>



Fig. 35A: flag of the GSS, 2003-2007<sup>155</sup>



Fig. 35B: flag of the NP<sup>156</sup>

### 3.17. Serbia

The GSS (*Građanski savez Srbije*) was a social-liberal party, active from 1992-2007. The mainly blue logo contained a bit of orange; the logo was put on orange flags as well (fig. 35A).

The center-right NP (*Narodna partija*), active 2008-2012, also used an orange (and purple) flag (fig. 35B), that is even described in its statute (art. 5)<sup>153</sup>. However, the meaning of orange for these two parties is largely unknown<sup>154</sup>.

### 3.18. Croatia

The social-democratic HL-SR (*Hrvatski laburisti - Stranka rada*) is using a symbol with orange, that is also put on flags (fig. 36A)<sup>157</sup>. The colour was suggested by the party president, Dragutin Lesar, and the party National Council approved it; it's meant to symbolise „openness, liberties, and freedom, humanitarianism” in contrast to the harsher red<sup>158</sup>.

The christian-democratic HDS (*Hrvatska demokrišćanska stranka*) shows a flag in dark yellow<sup>159</sup>, described in art. 10 of the statute as „rumeno žute boje” (of ruddy yellow colour)<sup>160</sup>; however, this is probably rather a shade of yellow and not a true orange<sup>161</sup>  
<sup>162</sup>.

The local party DKS (*Demokratska kneginječka stranka*) uses an orange flag with the party symbol<sup>163</sup> (fig. 36B).

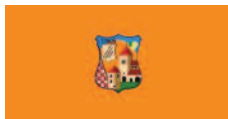
The center-right DC (*Demokratski centar*) for a short time in 2007-2008 also used an orange logo (fig. 36C) and flag, but returned to its more traditional one in the national colours afterwards<sup>164</sup>.



Fig. 36A: vertical flag of the HL-SR<sup>166</sup>

Fig. 36B: flag of the DKS<sup>167</sup>

Fig. 36C: symbol of the DC, 2007-2008<sup>168</sup>



For the 2000 elections, the alliance between the social-democratic SDP and the social-liberal HSLŠ used orange as a combination of the SDP red and the HSLŠ yellow, however not on flags<sup>165</sup>.



Fig. 37: flag of the DF<sup>169</sup>

### 3.19. Bosnia and Herzegovina

A social-democratic party in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the DF (*Demokratska Fronta*), founded in 2012, is using a clever modification of the national symbols. The only major modification is replacing yellow with orange in the shield, and then putting the whole symbol on an orange field for the flag, so that the blue part looks like a sail (fig. 37).

Fig. 38: table flag of Zares<sup>174</sup>



### 3.20. Slovenia

The social-liberal Zares (*Zares – socialno-liberalni*) uses orange (Pantone 144C<sup>170</sup>) for a variety of applications (fig. 2b), also in the form of slightly brownish table flags (fig. 38). Orange was chosen by the founding convention in 2007, upon suggestion of a design agency; the main reason was that all other colours (except for pink) or most colour combinations (e.g. blue-yellow associated with liberalism) were already taken by other parties<sup>171</sup>. Recently, other versions of the table flag<sup>172</sup> as well as large cloth flags in orange<sup>173</sup> have appeared.



Fig. 39A: flag of FIDESZ, 1994 version<sup>175</sup>



Fig. 39B: flag of FIDESZ, 1998 version<sup>176</sup>

Fig. 39C: current version of the FIDESZ flag<sup>177</sup>



### 3.21. Hungary

FIDESZ (*Fiatal Demokraták Szövetsége*) was founded in 1988 as a liberal-libertarian party, but switched to a conservative position in 1995. The original symbols in the 1990ies were orange with the party abbreviation in blue sketchy letters (fig. 39A, B). In 2006 a logo with white letters was adopted and slightly changed to a 3D look around 2010 (fig. 39C).



Fig. 40A: rarely used orange version of the flag of the ČSSD<sup>184</sup>



Fig. 40B: flag of the MSD<sup>185</sup>

### 3.22. Czech Republic

The social-democratic ČSSD (*Česká strana sociálně demokratická*) uses a stylized rose as its symbol, originally in red and green on white. The flags they are using are almost exclusively white with the symbol and the party name<sup>178</sup>. Even the logo manual<sup>179</sup> just refers to this multi-coloured symbol. However, since 2006, an orange-white version of the logo is in use<sup>180</sup>, and orange is widely used as the party colour<sup>181</sup>; the main reason for orange might be distancing from the old red of socialists and particularly communists<sup>182</sup>. Some influence from Germany as well as from Ukraine might have been there, as well<sup>183</sup>. In contrast to the rare use of orange flags by the party itself (fig. 40A), the youth branch MSD (*Mladí sociální demokraté*) has used dark orange flags more frequently (fig. 40B).

The Czech Pirate Party (PS) will be discussed below (5.2).



Fig. 41A: flag of the PO (white version)<sup>186</sup>



Fig. 41B: logo of the RP<sup>187</sup>

### 3.23. Poland

The liberal-conservative PO (*Platforma Obywatelska*), currently in government, uses a logo consisting of blue and orange on white; the flags are white or blue with the symbol (fig. 41A).

Also the liberal-populist RP (*Ruch Palikota*) had a logo of white and orange (fig. 41B); in October 2013, it changed its name to Twój Ruch. The party counts the currently only transgender MP among its members.



Fig. 42: flag of the LRLS<sup>189 190</sup>

### 2.24. Lithuania

The liberal LRLS (*Lietuvos Respublikos Liberalų sąjūdis*) has chosen orange shortly after its foundation in 2006, after a campaign initiative in this colour; there is no particular meaning to the colour<sup>188</sup>. The black-orange symbol is used on white flags (fig. 42).

### 3.25. Estonia

The conservative IRL (*Isamaa ja Res Publica Liit*) originally had a logo of blue and white; the star-like emblem has become orange recently (fig. 43).



Fig. 43: logo of the IRL<sup>191</sup>



Fig. 44A: logo of the SKL, until 1997<sup>193</sup>



Fig. 44B: logo of the KD, about 2004-2010<sup>194</sup>



Fig. 44C: logo of the KD, since 2010<sup>195</sup>

### 3.26. Finland

The christian-democratic KD (*Kristillisdemokraatit/Kristdemokraterna*; until 2001 SKL) has used several very different symbols in its history. The logo until 1997 (fig. 44A) was orange and white; later logos combined the national colours with orange (fig. 44B, C). The 2004 logo was at least used for table flags<sup>190</sup>; other flag usage seems to be rare.

### 3.27 Sweden

In 2004/2005 an electoral alliance of the four center-right parties (M, FP, C, KD) was formed under the name *Alliansen*. This alliance adopted an orange-white logo that is also shown on flags (fig. 45A).

One of the four parties, the FP (*Folkpartiet liberalerna*) also uses its cornflower symbol on orange, for instance on feather flags (fig. 45B). The FP has first adopted orange in 1978, but basically dropped the colour in the 1980ies reverting to orange in 1994 and more so in 2001. Originally it was meant to show differentiation from both the leftist red and the rightist blue<sup>196</sup>.

The far-right ND (*Nationaldemokraterna*) introduced orange as colour and cloudberry (*Rubus chamaemorus*) as party flower in 2008<sup>197</sup>. In addition to plain orange flags (fig.



Fig. 45A: flag of the Alliansen<sup>199</sup>



Fig. 45B: feather flag of the FP<sup>200</sup>



Fig. 45C: plain orange flag of the ND<sup>201</sup>



Fig. 45D: white logo flag of the ND<sup>202</sup>

45C) preferably used for parades and marches, the flower logo is used on white (fig. 45D) and orange flags, as well as on feather flags. The orange is defined as Pantone 1375C<sup>198</sup>.



Kristendemokraterne

Fig. 46: logo of the K<sup>204</sup>

### 3.28. Denmark

The minor christian-democratic K (*Kristendemokraterne*) in Denmark are using an orange-grey logo (fig. 46). The colour is defined as Pantone 021C<sup>203</sup>.

The Danish Humanist Party (DHP) will be discussed below (5.1.).

## 4. Ukraine



Fig. 47A: flag of the Yushchenko campaign (horseshoe version), 2004/2005



Fig. 47B: flag of the Yushchenko campaign (version with "Tak" and horseshoe), 2004/2005

The Ukraine deserves a separate chapter, because of the Orange Revolution. This is the name for the protests from November 2004 until January 2005, after widespread irregularities and fraud during the run-off of the presidential elections.

The symbols of the opposition block of Victor Yushchenko (VYNU = *Blok Viktora Yushchenka "Nasha Ukrayina"*) were chosen in July 2003: the horseshoe, the exclamation mark and the motto "Tak" (yes); the colour chosen was originally called "zhovtogyachyi" (burning yellow), but soon it was known as "pomaranchevyi" or "oranzhevyi" (orange). These symbols were used massively during the protests, particularly flags in several versions (fig. 47A, B, C)<sup>205</sup>. However, the protesters displayed their political allegiance also with orange caps, pullovers, shawls, ribbons and scarfs; a Russian song from the 1960ies, *Orangewy nebo* (The orange-coloured sky) became the background music of the revolution<sup>206</sup>. The protests resulted in a revote that brought success for Yushchenko.

Orange was chosen because the opposition, until then mainly using the national colours blue-yellow, needed a refreshment. Orange would also refer to the colours of autumn when the main campaign was meant to happen; however, it turned out that the main protests occurred in mid-winter<sup>207</sup>. The contribution to the final success of the protests by the colour orange should not be underestimated. A survey held on the Maidan square in Kiev, involving 1040 persons, showed the importance of the emotional value of orange: about 11% said that one of their motives for being there and protesting there was their liking of orange; about 42% counted as one of their contributions to the protests the wearing of orange ribbons<sup>208</sup>.



Fig. 48A: flag of Nasha Ukrayina, around 2009<sup>210</sup>



Fig. 48B: current flag of Nasha Ukrayina<sup>211</sup>

The main part of the electoral bloc continued as separate party after 2005 (led by Yushchenko), under the name NU (*Nasha Ukrayina*). This used a flag derived from the 2004 flags, showing the horseshoe and the party name (fig. 48A). Currently, the symbol uses a yellow sun and the Ukrainian colours, but still on orange flags (fig. 48B).

## 5. Party families

### 5.1. Humanist Parties

The Humanist Parties exist in about 21 countries of the world, mainly in South America and Europe. They are the political wing of the Neo-Humanist Movement of Mario Luis Rodriguez Cobos (nicknamed Silo), concurrently founded in 1984.

All the Humanist Parties use the same symbolism: the colour orange and the Möbius strip as a sign for infinity (fig. 49, 50). The colour orange was already the colour of the Humanist Movement before the foundation of the parties and was the idea of its founder, Silo<sup>212 213</sup>. For the meaning of the colour I have received the following interpretations:

- service for humanity and society; change of society, personal and societal consciousness<sup>214</sup>
- a fresh, warm colour, associated with spirituality (saffron-coloured robe of Buddhists) and also with non-violence (in contrast to the communist red and the anarchist black), all elements of importance for humanism<sup>215</sup>.
- this is a lively colour, that evokes enthusiasm, but does not have the violence of red. It is also a colour that signifies, in different cultures, a sense of service, of altruistic commitment. It's also a mixture of yellow and red, of spiritual and earthly<sup>216 217</sup>.
- orange is the colour of solidarity and non-violence that are characteristic elements of the Humanist Party, thus it was chosen<sup>218</sup>.
- orange represents help, service and solidarity, and has a spiritual dimension as well. But to many members, it does not mean anything specific<sup>219</sup>.

Symbols and flags of other Humanist Parties in the world are a variation of the same theme, for instance Argentina<sup>226</sup> and Denmark (DHP)<sup>227</sup>.

### 5.2. Pirate Parties

Pirate Parties are mainly advocating internet rights and are now active all over the world. The first Pirate Party was the Swedish *Piratpartiet*, that was founded in 2006 and had a surprising success in the European Elections 2009. Shortly thereafter, in other countries similar parties were founded, most notably the German *Piratenpartei* (founded later in 2006).

The symbol used as an international brand is the stylized black sail on white. Originally, the colours black and white were used prominently, but soon were considered problematic. The discussion about a more friendly colour led to different results in different countries: Sweden voted for purple<sup>228 229 230</sup>, and several other Pirate Parties followed suit (France<sup>231</sup>, Belgium<sup>232</sup>, Netherlands<sup>233</sup>, Luxembourg<sup>234</sup>, Austria<sup>235</sup>).

The German *Piratenpartei* however chose orange; the colour was considered "free" as well as fresh and modern. According to Gregory Engels and Jens Seipenbusch, they had to choose between a logo with blue or with orange; purple was considered to be used already (by the very minor *Die Violetten*). Although the CDU was already using orange since 2003, this was considered a temporary effect only<sup>137 238</sup>. The founding convention finally voted for the orange-containing logo<sup>239 240 241</sup>. Only years later the problem of other competing "orange parties" (CDU, ÖDP, FW) was discussed<sup>242 243</sup>. In contrast to other German parties, the *PIRATEN* are very flag-loving. The main flag, frequently shown and sold, is orange with the symbol (fig. 51A). There are a lot of variations, though.

In Italy there are two competing Pirate Parties: the official PP and the party of Marco



Fig. 49A: flag of the PH (French version), Belgium<sup>220</sup>

Fig. 49B: flag of the HPS, Switzerland<sup>221</sup>

Fig. 49C: flag of the HP, Germany<sup>222</sup>

Fig. 50A: flag of the PU, Italy<sup>223</sup>

Fig. 50B: flag of the PH, Spain<sup>224</sup>

Fig. 50C: flag of the PH, Portugal<sup>225</sup>



Fig. 51A: flag of the German Piratenpartei<sup>247</sup>

Fig. 51B: flag of the Italian PP<sup>248</sup>



Fig. 51C: flag of the Italian Pirati<sup>249</sup>



Fig. 52A: flags of the Czech Pirátská Strana<sup>265</sup>

Fig. 52B: feather flag of the Swiss PPS<sup>266</sup>



Fig. 53A: logo of the Spanish Partido Pirata<sup>265</sup>



Fig. 53B: logo of the international PPI<sup>266</sup>

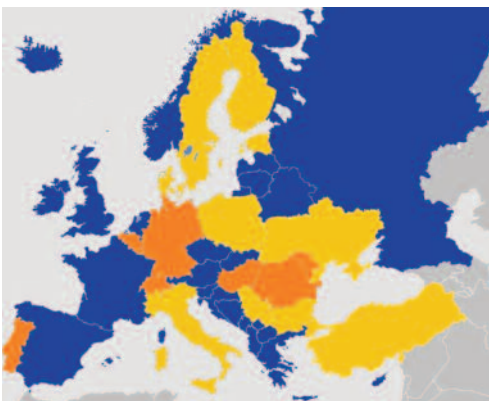


Fig. 54: Map of Europe showing the orange usage by christian-democratic (or conservative) parties. Dark orange: major christian-democratic party is using orange. Light orange: some usage of orange by christian-democratic party, or orange used by minor christian-democratic party. Blue: christian-democratic parties not using orange.

Marsili, currently known under the name *I Pirati*. A recent judicial decision prohibited the use of the name *Partito Pirata* and of the Pirate symbol by the latter party<sup>245</sup>; without much effect, it seems to me. The official PP is using orange for the logo and flag (fig. 51B). The PP was influenced in its choice by other Pirate Parties (particularly the German one); however, it even claims that orange was already a Pirate colour several years before 2006<sup>246</sup>. *I Pirati* are showing a small Pirate symbol under white skull & sabers, all on orange (fig. 51C).

The Czech PS seems to use flags in different colours, purple, blue and orange (fig. 52A).

The Swiss PPS is mainly using the flag of the German PIRATEN<sup>250</sup>; in addition, a few orange feather flags are in use (fig. 52B). The colour (Pantone 137) and the logo were suggested by a party member who works as graphic artist<sup>251</sup>, and then adopted in 2009; of course it was influenced by the German counterpart<sup>252 153</sup>.

The Spanish Partido Pirata is using a logo containing orange (fig. 53A); this was informally adopted in 2011, but is just for web usage<sup>256</sup>. The Greek KPE is also into some orange.

The PPI, the international federation of Pirate Parties shows a purple sail surrounded by orange olive branches (obviously derived from the UNO emblem) (fig. 53B). This signet was designed in 2009 by the Swiss Patrick Mächtler<sup>258</sup>.

There are also other colours in use around the world: turquoise in Britain, brown in Slovenia<sup>260</sup>, yellow in Croatia<sup>261</sup>, red in Canada<sup>262</sup> and blue in Australia<sup>263</sup>. International standardization of colours seems to be impossible<sup>264</sup>.

### 5.3. Christian Democrats

The most striking use of orange, however, is by a growing number of Christian-Democratic and moderate-right parties in Europe. Although the Portuguese PSD, the Swiss CVP/PDC and the Belgian CVP/CD&V have used orange since the 1970ies, the new orange wave has only started about 10 years ago, more or less at the same time in different countries. All the parties, however, deny any connection between their respective adoption of orange.

The map in fig. 54 shows the extent of orange usage by christian-democratic (and affiliated) parties in Europe. In a few countries, the major christian-democratic party is using orange in its logo and flag: this is the case for the Swiss CVP; the Portuguese PSD; the Belgian CD&V, CDH and CSP; the Hungarian FIDESZ; the Luxembourgian CSV; the German CDU; the Romanian PD/PD-L and the Moldavian PPCD. In some countries, the orange is just a minor part of the symbol, for instance in Poland (PO), Finland (KD), Estonia (IRL) and Turkey (AKP). In others, the major christian-democratic party is not using orange, but a minor one is: Italy (UDEUR), San Marino (UpR), Serbia (NP), Bulgaria (the different Agrarians), Denmark (K) and Finland (KD) come to mind. A special case is Ukraine, where currently the christian-democratic parties are using different colours. And Sweden, where orange is mainly used by the center-right alliance (Alliansen) of four parties. It is worth to note, however, that several countries with a long christian-democratic tradition are not using orange at all: for instance the Dutch CDA, the Austrian ÖVP, the Spanish PP or the Greek ND. In most countries, where there is rather a conservative than a christian-democratic party, this is also the case (France, Britain, Northern countries).

From the fragmentary information that I have one can conclude that there have been

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three eras when orange became fashionable. In the 1970ies it started with the Swiss, the Portuguese and the Belgians. After 1989, the Hungarian FIDESZ adopted orange. And since 2002/2003 there has been the last wave, starting with the Luxembourgian CSV and the German CDU; somewhat accelerating after the Ukrainian Orange Revolution in 2004.

One should note, however, that several of those parties, particularly of the “early adopters” did not start as christian-democratic, but as socialdemocratic (PSD) or social-liberal parties (FIDESZ and PD/PD-L).

I had expected that at least a few of the parties would acknowledge the link between their orange usage and the others in the party family, i.e. that they had copied a foreign model. None admitted that. So one might conclude that the orange wave, particularly the one of the last decade, has mainly happened because of the colour becoming generally fashionable and the advertising agencies just jumping on the bandwagon.

## Analysis

### 6.1. Reasons for adopting orange

Orange is not a traditional political colour, so its adoption is more or less recent. The one exception is the Bulgarian BZNS (Agrarian Union) that has been using orange since 1899, alluding to the colour of ripe wheat fields.

One of the reasons frequently mentioned and even more often to be suspected is its being not used already by other political forces, i.e. orange was considered „free“.

Often this is based on an insufficient analysis of the political colours in a country (e.g. the German PIRATEN, see 5.2.).

Very important is the emotional value of orange: it is a warm and vivid colour, close to red. But it's not really red. And in many cases (e.g. the Portuguese PSD) this was the main point: differentiation from the „old“ red of socialists and communists. This is particularly important for center-left parties wanting to appear more close to the center (like the German SPD or the Czech ČSSD).

Only rarely it is meant as a mixture of yellow and red: the SDP-HSL coalition in Croatia comes to mind, or the liberal-socialist NPA in Italy.

In many recent cases, however, advertising agencies and their fashions and tastes have played a significant role for the adoption of orange by political parties. This is documented particularly for the center-right, christian-democratic parties, like the Swiss CVP, the German CDU or the Luxembourgian CSV.

### 6.2. Meaning of orange

In most countries and internationally orange has no traditional connection to a major political movement. It is not clearly associated, like red to the workers' movement (socialists and communists) or green to the agrarians and environmentalists.

However, it has a lot of connotations: it is a dauntless, a “go ahead” colour<sup>267</sup>. It is a signal colour, often used for safety. It is emotional, warm, sunny, peaceful. It is a spiritual colour in Eastern religions, particularly associated with the Buddhists, but also with more recent movements like the Sannyasins of Bhagwan/Osho.

And it is the colour of plastic objects of the 1970ies, many of them conveying a “cheap” message<sup>268</sup>. So it took about a generation for a general revival of orange; and particularly for giving it some political meaning.





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### 6.3. Subsequent political charging

What originates as a new, fresh marketing look for an old party, sometimes gets some political charging only later on.

The people that had devised orange as the colour of the Ukrainian opposition certainly never imagined how immensely popular the colour would become and how the international media would hype the whole thing. In Ukraine, but also other former Soviet Republics, orange has now become a revolutionary, anti-establishment colour.

Also in the Netherlands, orange started as an anti-establishment colour, already back in the 1570ies. However, the trials of time have made orange the colour of the Protestants in Ireland, so much that any other, even commercial, usage of orange is problematic: when the telecommunications corporation Orange advertised "The future's bright, the future's Orange", of all places in Northern Ireland, this caused an uproar in the Catholic community there<sup>269</sup>.

### 6.4. Outlook

So, what's the future of orange as a political colour? On the one hand, traditional parties and their ideologies are deeply entrenched and in many cases colours are so strongly associated with one particular party that no one else might dare to use them. On the other hand, politics become arbitrary, differences between party programs barely discernable and only pragmatic politics seems to be acceptable anyway. So, colours might become arbitrary as well, at least more than now.

The future of orange might be already over: the next refreshing and recolouring and rebranding might replace orange with a blueish grey or a nice vivid purple (or whatever seems fashionable). On the other hand, it is quite possible that there is already a critical mass of orange-using parties, in particular the Christian Democrats. Even from outside (Wikipedia), the Christian Democratic movement is now coloured orange<sup>270</sup>. So: The future's open, the future might be orange.



### URLs last visited 20 October 2013

- 1 <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:ElectoralCollege2012.svg>
- 2 Photo by author, 1 May 2001, Munich
- 3 Author's collection, received 21 May 2013 from Zares headquarters
- 4 Poels (2011), p. 884
- 5 [http://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/nl\\_prvlg.html](http://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/nl_prvlg.html), image by Mark Sensen
- 6 [http://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/nl\]nsb.html](http://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/nl]nsb.html), image by Mark Sensen
- 7 [http://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/nl\]nnsnap.html](http://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/nl]nnsnap.html), image by Mark Sensen
- 8 [http://www.spitsnieuws.nl/archives/binnenland/2011/05/anonieme\\_pvver\\_wij\\_zijn\\_geen\\_n.html](http://www.spitsnieuws.nl/archives/binnenland/2011/05/anonieme_pvver_wij_zijn_geen_n.html)
- 9 <http://sywert.tumblr.com/post/5389544732/de-princevlag-en-politiek-half-nederland-had-er>
- 10 <http://www.nvu.info/raad%20van%20bestuur%20en%20middenkader/peter-van-egmond.jpg>
- 11 <http://kafka.antenna.nl/wp-content/uploads/2010/07/Rene-van-Gool-Nationale-Alliantie.jpg>
- 12 E-Mail, 28 May 2013, from Willem Goudriaan (SGP)
- 13 <http://www.partijvoorhetnoorden.nl>
- 14 According to <http://www.vvdkollumerland.nl/-docs-/19664/view.jpg>
- 15 According to <http://www.sgp.nl/Media/view/426/afbeelding.jpg>
- 16 According to <http://buurtlink.nl/AssetServer.ashx/860500>
- 17 Bryan (2000), p. 31
- 18 Sotschek (2006), pp. 44-51.
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- 226 For example [http://3.bp.blogspot.com/\\_oYFfe39G1NA/S7CU-rT-nHI/AAAAAAAC\\_Q/d5FECT1PKXA/s1600/P3140317.JPG](http://3.bp.blogspot.com/_oYFfe39G1NA/S7CU-rT-nHI/AAAAAAAC_Q/d5FECT1PKXA/s1600/P3140317.JPG) and <http://www.partidohumanista.org.ar/imgnews/20100915092506paraweb.jpg>
- 227 TV advertisement for the Danish parliamentary elections 1987, see [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oqRTAhE\\_wZU](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oqRTAhE_wZU)
- 228 <http://wiki.piratpartiet.se/reklamarkiv>
- 229 <https://mote.piratpartiet.se/showthread.php?t=16118>
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- 232 <http://pirateparty.be/>
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- 234 <http://piratepartei.lu/>
- 235 <https://www.piratenpartei.at/>
- 236 E-Mail, 12 March 2012, from Martin Haug (PIRATEN)
- 237 E-Mail, 30 April 2013, from Gregory Engels (co-chairman of PPI)
- 238 E-Mail, 19 March 2012, from Martin Haug (PIRATEN)
- 239 <http://forum.piratenpartei.de/viewtopic.php?f=6&t=426>
- 240 <http://wiki.piratenpartei.de/wiki/images/4/4a/Gruendungsprotokoll.pdf>
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- 242 <http://forum.piratenpartei.de/viewtopic.php?f=1&t=11012>
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- 244 <http://www.crwflags.com/FOTW/flags/de}pd.html>
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- 246 E-Mails, 19 April 2013 and 28 April 2013, from PP Italy
- 247 Author's collection DEo13, bought 18 August 2009 from German Piratenpartei (shop at [get-digital.de](http://get-digital.de))
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- prn1/p480x480/16627\_10151416400749343\_1817501313\_n.jpg
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- 264 <http://www.pp-international.net/phpBB3/viewtopic.php?f=11&t=114>
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- 266 [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:PPI\\_signet.svg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:PPI_signet.svg)
- 267 Theroux (1999)
- 268 Weißler (2006), pp. 7-9; Godau (2006), pp. 65-74
- 269 Sotschek (2006), p. 45.
- 270 [http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Christian\\_democracy&oldid=577439950](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Christian_democracy&oldid=577439950)

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Manuela Schmöger was born in München (Munich), Germany, in 1968. After high school and military service studying biology at the TU München (degree Dipl.-Biol.); dissertation about a plant physiological topic (degree Dr. rer. nat.). Currently working as legal assistant.

Interest in flags since childhood, revived in 1996 by FOTW. Active member of FOTW since 1996, former editor for Austria. Member of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Flaggenkunde. Member of other organizations (SGFF, CISV, NAVA, HGZD).

Attended ICVs at York (2001), Stockholm (2003), Washington (2011), member of the organization team of the ICV at Berlin (2007).

Main vexillological interests: German and Austrian municipal flags, Roman flags and standards, political flags, flag legislation, methods in vexillology.



**Glossary of abbreviations  
of parties and organizations**  
(those using orange in bold;  
others in regular print)

<b>AeL</b>	San Marino	<i>Arengo e Libertà</i>	Arengo and Freedom
<b>AKP</b>	Turkey	<i>Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi</i>	Justice and Development Party
<b>Alliansen</b>	Sweden	<i>Alliansen</i>	The Alliance
<b>BIG</b>	Germany	<i>Bündnis für Innovation &amp; Gerechtigkeit</i>	Alliance for Innovation & Justice
<b>BU</b>	Italy: South Tyrol	<i>BürgerUnion für Südtirol (formerly -&gt; UfS)</i>	Citizens' Union for South Tyrol
<b>Bündnis 21/RRP</b>	Germany	<i>Bündnis 21 / Rentnerinnen- und Rentner-Partei</i>	Alliance 21 / Pensioners' Party
<b>BZNS</b>	Bulgaria	<i>Balgarski Zemedelski Naroden Sayuz</i>	Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union
<b>BZNS-NS</b>	Bulgaria	<i>Balgarski Zemedelski Naroden Sayuz – Naroden Sayuz (now -&gt; ZNS)</i>	Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union – People's Union
<b>BZÖ</b>	Austria	<i>Bündnis Zukunft Österreich</i>	Alliance for the Future of Austria
<b>C</b>	Sweden	<i>Centerpartiet</i>	Centre Party
<b>CD</b>	Italy	<i>Centro Democratico</i>	Democratic Center
<b>CD&amp;V</b>	Belgium: Dutch-sp.	<i>Christen-Democratisch &amp; Vlaams (formerly -&gt; CVP)</i>	Christian Democratic and Flemish
<b>CDA</b>	Netherlands	<i>Christen-Democratisch Appèl</i>	Christian Democratic Appeal
<b>CDC</b>	Spain: Catalonia	<i>Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya</i>	Democratic Convergence of Catalonia
<b>CDH</b>	Belgium: French-sp.	<i>Centre Démocrate Humaniste (formerly -&gt; PSC)</i>	Humanist Democratic Centre
<b>CDU</b>	Germany	<i>Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands</i>	Christian Democratic Union of Germany
<b>CSP</b>	Belgium: German-sp.	<i>Christlich Soziale Partei</i>	Christian Social Party
<b>CSSD</b>	Czech Rep.	<i>Česká strana sociálně demokratická</i>	Czech Social Democratic Party
<b>CSU</b>	Germany: Bavaria	<i>Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern</i>	Christian Social Union in Bavaria
<b>CSV</b>	Luxembourg	<i>Chrëschtlech Sozial Vollekspartei</i>	Christian Social People's Party
<b>CVP</b>	Belgium: Dutch-sp.	<i>Christelijke Volkspartij (now -&gt; CD&amp;V)</i>	Christian People's Party
<b>CVP</b>	Switzerland	<i>Christlichdemokratische Volkspartei der Schweiz (also -&gt; PDC)</i>	Christian Democratic People's Party of Switzerland
<b>DA</b>	Romania	<i>Dreptate și Adevăr</i>	Justice and Truth
<b>DC</b>	Croatia	<i>Demokratski Centar</i>	Democratic Center
<b>DF</b>	Bosnia-Herzegovina	<i>Demokratska Fronta</i>	Democratic Front
<b>DHP</b>	Denmark	<i>Det Humanistiske Parti</i>	The Humanist Party
<b>Die Violetten</b>	Germany	<i>Die Violetten – für spirituelle Politik</i>	The Violets – for spiritual politics
<b>DIKKI</b>	Greece	<i>Dimokratikó Koinonikó Kínima</i>	Democratic Social Movement
<b>DISY</b>	Greece	<i>Dimokratikí Symmachía</i>	Democratic Alliance
<b>DKS</b>	Croatia: G. Kneginec	<i>Demokratska kneginička stranka</i>	Democratic Party of Kneginec
<b>ERC</b>	Spain: Catalonia	<i>Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya</i>	Republican Left of Catalonia
<b>FAMILIE</b>	Germany	<i>Familien-Partei Deutschlands</i>	Family Party of Germany
<b>FGS</b>	Italy	<i>Federazione dei Giovani Socialisti</i>	Federation of Young Socialists
<b>FIDESZ</b>	Hungary	<i>Fiatl Demokraták Szövetsége - Magyar Polgári Szövetség</i>	Alliance of Young Democrats - Hungarian Civic Union
<b>FP</b>	Sweden	<i>Folkpartiet liberalerna</i>	Liberal People's Party
<b>FW</b>	Germany	<i>Freie Wähler</i>	Free Voters
<b>GD</b>	Italy	<i>Giovani Democratici</i>	Young Democrats
<b>GSS</b>	Serbia	<i>Građanski savez Srbije</i>	Civic Alliance of Serbia



<b>HDS</b>	Croatia	<i>Hrvatska demokršćanska stranka</i>	Croatian Demochristian Party
<b>HL-SR</b>	Croatia	<i>Hrvatski laburisti - Stranka rada</i>	Croatian Labourists – Labour Party
<b>HNP</b>	South Africa	<i>Herstigte Nasionale Party</i>	Reconstituted National Party
<b>HP</b>	Belgium	<i>Humanistische Partij</i>	Humanist Party
<b>HP</b>	Germany	<i>Humanistische Partei</i>	Humanist Party
<b>HPS</b>	Switzerland	<i>Humanistische Partei der Schweiz (also-&gt; PHS)</i>	Humanist Party of Switzerland
<b>HLSL</b>	Croatia	<i>Hrvatska socijalno liberalna stranka</i>	Croatian Social Liberal Party
<b>I Pirati</b>	Italy	<i>I Pirati (sometimes also: Partito Pirata)</i>	The Pirates
<b>IRL</b>	Estonia	<i>Isamaa ja Res Publica Liit</i>	Pro Patria and Res Publica Union
<b>K</b>	Denmark	<i>Kristendemokraterne</i>	Christian Democrats
<b>KD</b>	Finland	<i>Kristillisdemokraatit/Kristdemokraterna (formerly -&gt; SKL)</i>	Christian Democrats
<b>KD</b>	Sweden	<i>Kristdemokraterna</i>	Christian Democrats
<b>KP</b>	South Africa	<i>Konserwatiewe Party</i>	Conservative Party
<b>KPE</b>	Greece	<i>Kómma Piratón Elládas</i>	Pirate Party of Greece
<b>LDD</b>	Belgium: Dutch-sp.	<i>Libertair, Direct, Democratisch (formerly -&gt; Lijst Dedecker)</i>	Libertarian, Direct, Democratic
<b>Lijst Dedecker</b>	Belgium: Dutch-sp.	<i>Lijst Dedecker (now -&gt; LDD)</i>	List Dedecker
<b>Linke</b>	Germany	<i>Die Linke</i>	The Left
<b>LRLS</b>	Lithuania	<i>Lietuvos Respublikos Liberalų sąjūdis</i>	Liberals' Movement of the Republic of Lithuania
<b>M</b>	Sweden	<i>Moderata samlingspartiet</i>	Moderate Coalition Party
<b>MoDem</b>	France	<i>Mouvement Démocrate</i>	Democratic Movement
<b>Movimento Arancione</b>	Italy	<i>Movimento Arancione</i>	Orange Movement
<b>MSD</b>	Czech Rep.	<i>Mladí sociální demokraté</i>	Young Social Democrats
<b>NA</b>	Netherlands	<i>Nationale Alliantie</i>	National Alliance
<b>ND</b>	Greece	<i>Néa Dimokratía</i>	New Democracy
<b>ND</b>	Sweden	<i>Nationaldemokraterna</i>	National Democrats
<b>NP</b>	Serbia	<i>Narodna partija</i>	People's Party
<b>NP</b>	South Africa	<i>Nasionale Party</i>	National Party
<b>NPA</b>	Italy	<i>Nuovo Partito d'Azione</i>	New Action Party
<b>NSB</b>	Netherlands	<i>Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging</i>	National Socialist Movement
<b>NSNAP</b>	Netherlands	<i>Nationaal-Socialistische Nederlandsche Arbeiderspartij</i>	National Socialist Dutch Workers Party
<b>NSNU</b>	Ukraine	<i>Narodnyj Soyuz Nasha Ukrayina (now -&gt; NU)</i>	People's Union "Our Ukraine"
<b>NU</b>	Ukraine	<i>Nasha Ukrayina (formerly-&gt; NSNU)</i>	Our Ukraine
<b>NUNS</b>	Ukraine	<i>Blok Nasha Ukrayina-Narodna Samooborona (formerly -&gt; VYNU)</i>	Our Ukraine– People's Self-Defense Bloc
<b>NVU</b>	Netherlands	<i>Nederlandse Volks-Unie</i>	Dutch Peoples-Union
<b>ÖDP</b>	Germany	<i>Ökologisch-Demokratische Partei</i>	Ecological Democratic Party
<b>Orange Order</b>	N. Ireland	<i>Orange Order</i>	Orange Order
<b>ÖVP</b>	Austria	<i>Österreichische Volkspartei</i>	Austrian People's Party



<b>OZ</b>	Bulgaria	<i>Obedineni Zemedeltsi</i>	United Agrarians
<b>PA</b>	Italy	<i>Progett'Azione</i>	ProjectAction
<b>PC</b>	Romania	<i>Partidul Conservator (formerly -&gt; PUR)</i>	Conservative Party
<b>PD</b>	Italy	<i>Partito Democratico</i>	Democratic Party
<b>PD</b>	Romania	<i>Partidul Democrat (now -&gt; PD-L)</i>	Democratic Party
<b>PD-L</b>	Romania	<i>Partidul Democrat-Liberal (formerly -&gt; PD)</i>	Democratic Liberal Party
<b>PDC</b>	Switzerland	<i>Parti démocrate-chrétien (also -&gt; CVP)</i>	Christian Democratic Party
<b>PDS</b>	Germany	<i>Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus</i>	Party of Democratic Socialism
<b>Per la Liguria</b>	Italy: Liguria	<i>Per la Liguria – Sandro Biasotti</i>	For Liguria – Sandro Biasotti
<b>PH</b>	Argentina	<i>Partido Humanista</i>	Humanist Party
<b>PH</b>	Belgium	<i>Parti Humaniste</i>	Humanist Party
<b>PH</b>	France	<i>Parti Humaniste</i>	Humanist Party
<b>PH</b>	Portugal	<i>Partido Humanista</i>	Humanist Party
<b>PH</b>	Spain	<i>Partido Humanista</i>	Humanist Party
<b>PHS</b>	Switzerland	<i>Parti humaniste suisse (also -&gt; HPS)</i>	Swiss Humanist Party
<b>PIRATA</b>	Spain	<i>Partido Pirata</i>	Pirate Party
<b>Piraten</b>	Germany	<i>Piratenpartei Deutschland</i>	Pirate Party Germany
<b>Pisapia X Milano</b>	Italy: Milano	<i>Pisapia X Milano</i>	Pisapia for Milan
<b>PLD</b>	Romania	<i>Partidul Liberal Democrat</i>	Liberal Democratic Party
<b>PNL</b>	Romania	<i>Partidul Național Liberal</i>	National Liberal Party
<b>PO</b>	Poland	<i>Platforma Obywatelska</i>	Civic Platform
<b>PP</b>	Italy	<i>Partito Pirata</i>	Pirate Party
<b>PP</b>	Spain	<i>Partido Popular</i>	People's Party
<b>PP</b>	Sweden	<i>Piratpartiet</i>	Pirate Party
<b>PPCD</b>	Moldova	<i>Partidul Popular Creștin Democrat</i>	Christian Democratic People's Party
<b>PPDT</b>	Italy: Apulia	<i>La Puglia Prima di Tutto</i>	Apulia First
<b>PPI</b>	International	<i>Pirate Parties International</i>	Pirate Parties International
<b>PPS</b>	Switzerland	<i>Piratenpartei Schweiz/Parti Pirate Suisse/ Partido Pirata Svizzero/Partida da Pirats Svizra</i>	Pirate Party Switzerland
<b>PS</b>	Croatia	<i>Piratska stranka</i>	Pirate Party
<b>PS</b>	Czech Rep.	<i>Pirátská Strana</i>	Pirate Party
<b>PSC</b>	Belgium: French-sp.	<i>Parti social chrétien (now -&gt; CDH)</i>	Christian Social Party
<b>PSD</b>	Portugal	<i>Partido Social Democrata</i>	Social Democratic Party
<b>PSD</b>	Romania	<i>Partidul Social Democrat</i>	Social Democratic Party
<b>PSI</b>	Italy	<i>Partito Socialista Italiano</i>	Italian Socialist Party
<b>PU</b>	Italy	<i>Partito Umanista</i>	Humanist Party
<b>PUR</b>	Romania	<i>Partidul Umanist Român (now -&gt; PC)</i>	Romanian Humanist Party
<b>PvhN</b>	Netherlands	<i>Partij voor het Noorden</i>	Party for the North
<b>PVV</b>	Netherlands	<i>Partij voor de Vrijheid</i>	Party for Freedom



<b>RC</b>	Italy	<i>Rivoluzione Civile</i>	Civil Revolution
<b>RENTNER</b>	Germany	<i>Rentner Partei Deutschland</i>	Pensioners' Party Germany
<b>RL</b>	Italy	<i>Riformatori Liberali</i>	Liberal Reformers
<b>RP</b>	Poland	<i>Ruch Palikota</i> (formerly: <i>Ruch Poparcia</i> ; now → <i>TR</i> )	Palikot's Movement (formerly: Movement of Support)
<b>Rutelli Sindaco</b>	Italy: Roma	<i>Rutelli Sindaco</i>	Rutelli for Mayor
<b>SAG</b>	Germany	<i>Soziale Alternative für Gerechtigkeit</i>	Social Alternative for Justice
<b>SDI</b>	Italy	<i>Socialisti Democratici Italiani</i>	Italian Democratic Socialists
<b>SDP</b>	Croatia	<i>Socijaldemokratska partija Hrvatske</i>	Social Democratic Party of Croatia
<b>SF</b>	Ireland/N. Ireland	<i>Sinn Féin</i>	Sinn Féin
<b>SGP</b>	Netherlands	<i>Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij</i>	Reformed Political Party
<b>SKL</b>	Finland	<i>Suomen Kristillinen Liitto/Finlands Kristliga Förbund</i> (now → <i>KD</i> )	Finnish Christian League
<b>SLB</b>	Switzerland	<i>Sozial-Liberale Bewegung Schweiz</i>	Social Liberal Movement of Switzerland
<b>SPD</b>	Germany	<i>Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands</i>	Social Democratic Party of Germany
<b>SYRIZA</b>	Greece	<i>Synaspismós Rizospastikís Aristerás</i>	Coalition of the Radical Left
<b>TR</b>	Poland	<i>Twój Ruch</i> (formerly → <i>Ruch Palikota</i> )	Your Movement
<b>Trots</b>	Netherlands	<i>Trots op Nederland</i>	Proud of the Netherlands
<b>UBP</b>	Cyprus: N. Cyprus	<i>Ulusal Birlik Partisi</i>	National Unity Party
<b>UDEUR Popolari</b>	Italy	<i>Unione Democratici per l'Europa – Popolari</i> (formerly with slightly different names)	Union of Democrats for Europe - Populars
<b>UfS</b>	Italy: South Tyrol	<i>Union für Südtirol</i> (now → <i>BU</i> )	Union for South Tyrol
<b>UpR</b>	San Marino	<i>Unione per la Repubblica</i>	Union for the Republic
<b>VB</b>	Belgium: Dutch-sp.	<i>Vlaams Blok</i>	Flemish Block
<b>VVD</b>	Netherlands	<i>Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie</i>	People's Party for Freedom and Democracy
<b>VYNU</b>	Ukraine	<i>Blok Viktora Yushchenka "Nasha Ukrayina"</i> (later → <i>NUNS</i> )	Viktor Yushchenko Bloc Our Ukraine
<b>WASG</b>	Germany	<i>Arbeit &amp; soziale Gerechtigkeit – Die Wahlalternative</i>	Labour and Social Justice – The Electoral Alternative
<b>Zares</b>	Slovenia	<i>Zares – socialno-liberalni</i>	Zares – Social Liberals
<b>ZNS</b>	Bulgaria	<i>Zemedelski Naroden Sayuz</i> (formerly → <i>BZNS-NS</i> )	Agrarian People's Union
<b>ZS-AS</b>	Bulgaria	<i>Zemedelski Sayuz "Aleksandar Stamboliyski"</i>	Agrarian Union "Aleksandar Stamboliyski"

