

# ***Podemos* and the conquest of the skies**

**José Luis Orella Martínez**, *Universidad CEU San Pablo de Madrid*

ORCID ID: 0000-0003-2727-5955

## **Abstract**

The article deals with the establishment by several professors of the Complutense University of a leftist political movement. Its name is *Podemos*, and it is a political movement that emerged from 15-M movement, based on different groups of left-wing and claim struggle, and it inaugurated a platform, that had a strong role in shaping the Spanish left, assuming a plurinational, feminist, antimilitarist and favorable speech to the new Bolivarian left.

**Keywords:** *Podemos*, 21st century socialism, new left, Pablo Iglesias

## ***Podemos* i podbój nieba**

### **Streszczenie**

Artykuł poświęcony jest założeniu przez kilku profesorów z Uniwersytetu Complutense lewicowego ruchu politycznego. Nosi on nazwę *Podemos*, i jest to ruch polityczny, który narodził się z ruchu 15-M, na bazie różnych ugrupowań należących do lewicy oraz walki poglądów, inaugurując platformę, która odegrała ważną rolę w kształtowaniu hiszpańskiej lewicy, przyjmując narrację wielonarodową, feministyczną, antimilitarystyczną i przychylną dla nowej lewicy boliwariańskiej.

**Słowa kluczowe:** *Podemos*, socjalizm XXI wieku, nowa lewica, Pablo Iglesias

*Podemos* is a recent formation that emerged as a political projection of the revolts that arose in 15-M movement. The article aims to describe its components and its short electoral history. Its elaboration intends to relate it to the other formations of the European radical left, it is not an exclusively Spanish factor, and at the ideological level it does not respond to an apolitical protest movement, but most of its leaders had a long trajectory of connection with organizations of the extreme left. At the methodological level, the search for information has the problem that since it is a recent study, the books that describe its phenomenon, begin its publication now, settling the information in the recent press sources, bibliographical, but of previous formations, where they came from their leaders and private conversations with some of the leaders they asked for were not documented. The article tries to be introductory in the subject, and shed some light on the presented issues (considering also other similar movements, like *Syriza* in Greece, *Block of left* in Portugal or *Razem* in Poland).

### **The cradle of *Podemos***

On January 12, 2014, on the website of the digital newspaper *Público*, there appeared a Manifesto called "*It's your move: convert indignation into political change*", that tried to politically materialise the protests originated from 15-M. The manifesto described the critical situation in Spain and the southern European countries. It also stressed the need for people to come together to propose a radical alternative, with a flat organisational structure, that would bring together and represent the views of all those indignant in a political candidacy for the next European elections. The text of the manifesto is below:

*"The elections for the European Parliament will be held at a time of deep crisis of legitimacy of the European Union. In our case, we are facing the greatest loss of credibility of the regime born with the 1978 Constitution. Movements of political indignation like 15-M connected with a clear popular will: to not sacrifice more rights for markets guided by speculation and rapine. The impotence or abandonment of responsibilities of the governments, the voluntary incapacity of the political parties in government, the conversion of the parliaments into bureaucratic organs without political capacity and the confusion of the trade unions have left the citizenship abandoned to their own fate. As in so many other countries, perplexity is being used to convert private debts into public ones, to transfer the common assets raised during decades to private groups and to dedicate the last public resources to the financing of private and narrow business interests. We are facing a financial coup against the peoples of the south of the Eurozone. Those who rule are selling the country and our future piece by piece. The increase in repression (with more authoritarian laws, increased fines in a scenario of economic impoverishment and even difficulties for the exercise of civil and political rights) makes up a landscape dominated by the worsening of social and gender inequalities and greater deprecation of natural resources. It is not strange to feel that despite the pessimism and defeatism on show, a small spark of illusion will suffice to get us out of this despair.*

*Today our demand for a policy that returns to the streets, that talks like most people who are fed up, is a reality. Our demand for greater generosity to the representatives, a greater*

structural flatness and transparency, a return of the republican values of public virtue and social justice and the recognition of our plurinational and pluricultural reality is more real than ever. For the first time in decades, our desire to make our own decisions and answer our own questions is so real. 'La casta' is leading us to the abyss for its own selfish benefit. The solution can only come from the citizenship, as have the protection of employment, the defence of families by holding back evictions and the guarantee of public services, which are small but significant victories. Popular mobilisation, civil disobedience and confidence in our own forces are essential, but it is also essential to forge the keys to open the doors that today want to close to us"<sup>1</sup>

The manifesto was signed by a number of scholars and social activists, who had participated in the 15-M protests, and others that had appeared since then:

- Juan Carlos Monedero (professor of political science, Complutense University of Madrid)
- Alberto San Juan (actor)
- Marta Sibina (editor of the magazine *Café amb Llet*)
- Santiago Alba Rico (writer)
- Cándido González Carnero (trade unionist, Asturias)
- Jaume Asens (lawyer)
- Albano Dante-Fachin (editor of the magazine *Café amb Llet*)
- Jorge Riechmann (poet, environmental activist)
- Jaime Pastor (professor of political science, UNED)
- Cecilia Salazar-Alonso (activist of *Marea Verde – Madrid*)
- Teresa Rodríguez (secondary school teacher, union delegate and part of *Marea Verde Andalucía*)
- Francisca Camacho (cleaner at University of Cádiz and union delegate)
- Laura Mingorance (student at University of Cádiz and part of *Asociación Estudiantil Contra la Precariedad*)
- Jesús Jaén (activist of *Marea Blanca – Madrid*)
- Carmen San José (activist of *Marea Blanca – Madrid*)
- Javier Cordón (activist of *Marea Blanca – Madrid*)
- Sixto Casado (railway unionist)
- Antón Gómez Reino-Varela (social activist, Galicia)
- Jorge Moruno (sociologist)
- Elena Maeso (*Oficina Precaria*, Madrid)
- Isabel Serra (social activist, Madrid)
- Tristán Meyer (*La Tuerka*)
- Bibiana Medialdea (professor of economics, Complutense University of Madrid)
- Olga Abasolo (sociologist)
- Raimundo Viejo Viñas (professor of political science at UdG)
- Germán Cano (professor of philosophy at University of Alcalá)

---

<sup>1</sup> Author's own translation from Spanish into English.

- Rita Maestre (student)
- Alejandro García (union delegate in McDonalds, Granada)

On January 17, 2014 at the Teatro del Barrio (owned by the actor Alberto San Juan, in the Lavapies neighbourhood) took place a public presentation of the movement that was to be called *Podemos*. The new movement was the result of a small group that had been working for four months on what was to be a new reality, breaking the two-party politics and the government's dominant neoliberal economic policy. In the new movement's founding act, Pablo Iglesias took the floor – the professor of political science and regular speaker on various programmes of political analysis. He was joined by some members of the movement, such as the teacher, *USTEA* unionist and *Marea Verde* activist Teresa Rodríguez; the professor Juan Carlos Monedero; the psychiatrist Ana Castaño from the *Marea Blanca*; the analyst and researcher Íñigo Errejón and the social activist Miguel Urbán. Among the public there were well-known people such as Carlos Fernández Liria, Jorge Alemán, Carolina Bescansa and Jaime Pastor, who had signed the manifesto or had collaborated with their opinions on the outcome. On March 11, 2014 the new movement, *Podemos*, was registered in the Ministry of the Interior as a political party.

It happened at the perfect moment, as the social deprivation favoured a radical response. Unemployment in Spain in 2014 was at an overall rate of 25.93%, with youth unemployment standing at 55.49% and 21.71% for the remaining adults. In those households with all members unemployed, the rate rose to 10.83%<sup>2</sup>. The growth of poverty in Spain rose dangerously, demolishing the image of a society based on the middle classes – as was the case during the later years of Francoist Spain – and with a very high volume of long-term unemployed with no opportunity to return to the labour market. The foundation of *Podemos* as a political party, due to its flat organisational structure, aspired to play a key part in the European elections by becoming the voice for the proposals of those sectors punished by liberal economic reforms based on austerity.

## The foundations for a new revolutionary left movement

The new political movement chose purple as its defining colour, a colour linked to spirit, sobriety, power and change. In Spain's case, it was also of republican significance, as this was the colour the characteristic strip of the official flag of Spain during the Second Spanish Republic (1931–1939). The ideas of its ideological programme were based on: the increase of salaries and pensions; the prosecution of corruption and tax fraud, in order to obtain the resources for aid; the constitutional right to decent housing, promoting the creation of a public housing estate with social rents; a defence of public services in the face of the growing policy of outsourcing services that concealed the privatisation of broad services previously covered by the State – in terms of education, health, justice, transportation, information, housing and culture. Importance was also given to feminism

<sup>2</sup> Data from the INE First Population Survey of the first quarter of 2014, in [http://www.foessa2014.es/informe/uploaded/descargas/VII\\_INFORME.pdf](http://www.foessa2014.es/informe/uploaded/descargas/VII_INFORME.pdf)

in relation to its struggle against gender violence and in the defence of free abortion covered by public health; the antimilitarist discourse, with the departure of Spain from NATO; immigrant aid groups, with the repeal of immigration laws. In relation to the structuring of Spain, they opened themselves up to the radical nationalist left groups recognising the right of self-determination through a referendum that decided on Catalonia's permanence in Spain.

As for the candidacy for the European elections, it was necessary to endorse the figure of Pablo Iglesias, the person best known at that time by the media, and who would hold the position of the general secretary of the new political party. The procedure that was explained by the *Izquierda Anticapitalista (Anti-Capitalist Left)* activist, Miguel Urbán, required a minimum support of 50,000 people through [www.podemos.info](http://www.podemos.info), the new party's website. Supporters had a period of 20 days, until February 8, to support the option proposed.

As a new party with an evocative rhetoric, the movement's activists sought to attract existing forces in the panorama of the radical left to the heart of the movement, who would assume the new approaches. Among its targets were *Izquierda Unida*, *CUP*, *Partido X*, the *Andalusian Workers Union*, *Anova*, and the *Marea* citizen movements. The strong lines were developed into the political programme in direct relation with the *Marea* movements, with several of its main activists among the founders of *Podemos*. The only political group that emerged from the 15-M movements was *Partido X*, which was constituted in 2012, with a "restart the system" approach. Its points of reference were transparency, the fight against corruption and the demand for direct and participatory democracy by means of social media. *Partido X* preserved the anonymity of its founders, but it was made up of people from the university world related to new technologies. However, *Partido X* decided to go solo in the European elections with Hervé Falciani as the party's leader. Falciani was a computer engineer who provided French prosecutors with data on more than 130,000 tax evaders from the Swiss subsidiary of HSBC where he worked. Later he also helped the Spanish justice. However, his *Partido X* candidacy only obtained 100,561 votes, with a low 0.64%. The French computer scientist offered himself to *Podemos* as an adviser on anti-corruption issues.

The rest of the groups needed to support the movement in certain regions. The *Andalusian Workers Union (SAT)*, founded in 2007, had assembled various leftist groups. However, it was based on the SOC social labourer base, a trade union emerged from the PTE, which included the mayor of Marinaleda, Juan Manuel Sánchez Gordillo, leader of the *Unitarian Candidacy of Workers (CUT)*, the political arm of the union, and founder of IU in Andalusia. Sánchez Gordillo was a member of regional parliament and number one on the IULV-CA list. In 2015, it was the adequate moment for IU to integrate into the *Podemos* projects. With regard to *Anova*, the party had had a similar experience with electoral success with the candidacy of *Alternativa Galega de Esquerda (AGE)*, for which Pablo Iglesias had served as external advisor in the 2012 electoral campaign. Iglesias valued his experience in the following way: "The first electoral depiction of 15-M was not *Podemos*, but *Alternativa Galega de Esquerda (AGE)* and its candidate in the last regional elections, Xosé Manuel

Beiras" (Iglesias 2016). As for the *Candidatura d'Unitat Popular* (*Popular Unity Candidacy, CUP*), that gathered the radical Catalan left-wing independence groups, the party sought the same task of uniting on a common front most of the sentiments of left-wing extremism. Their objective was to work for "an independent Catalan country that is socialist, ecologically sustainable, territorially balanced and unleashed from patriarchal forms of domination." The CUP is currently supported by *Poble Lliure*, a party which comes from the *Movement for Defence of the Land (MDT)*, which emerged from the confluence of the historical *Socialist Party of National Liberation (PSAN)* and its former division the *Independentists of the Catalan Countries (IPC)*. The other party is the *Socialist Organisation of National Liberation, Endavant (OSAN)*, which was formed with the members of the former *Platform for the Unity of Action*, which in turn was formed by the confluence of people from the *Call to Solidarity in Defence of the Language, Culture and Catalan Nation* and the *MDT*. The latter is in favour of expanding in the direction of social and alternative groups, while *Poble Lliure* leans more towards the dissenting political spheres of ERC and other pro-Catalan independence sectors (Bolaño 2016; Fernández, Jodar 2016).

With respect to its initial line-up of members, its main founders were a group of teachers from the Complutense University of Madrid (UCM), Pablo Iglesias, Juan Carlos Monedero, Iñigo Errejón, Carolina Bescansa and Luis Alegre. Pablo Iglesias (Madrid, 1978) – a son of a former *FRAP* member and a leader of *Comisiones Obreras, CCOO (Workers' Commissions)*, professor of political science at the UCM and well-known guest on programmes on the *Intereconomía*, *La Sexta* and *Cuatro* television channels. *Intereconomía* was rightist and liberal leaning in terms of economics. *La Sexta* has leftist ideological stance, while *Cuatro* is centre-left. In addition, Pablo Iglesias was the host of two programmes: *Fort Apache*, the resistance political talk show of the TV channel *Hispan TV*, and *La Tuerka*, the television interview programme, produced by *Producciones CMI*, and broadcast by *Público TV* via the Internet. The former is the foreign channel in Spanish language of Iranian TV, while the latter is related to *Público*, a medium characterised by its leftism. As a political scientist, Iglesias was characterised by his mastery of political dialectic on television, forming a stance against "*La casta*", where he identified the political positions of the PP and PSOE, putting both parties in the same situation.

The other members of the founding process were Juan Carlos Monedero (born in Madrid, 1963), who, like Iglesias, is a professor in the Faculty of Political Sciences of the UCM. Monedero was an expert in globalisation issues, essentially in State theory, focused on Latin America. In the world of politics, he was an adviser to Gaspar Llamazares from 2000 to 2005, during his time as general coordinator of IU. He was then an adviser to the Venezuelan government from 2005 to 2010 and became a strong defender of the Bolivarian revolution, forming a friendship with the controversial president, Hugo Chávez. In *Podemos*, he occupied the position of secretary of the Constituent Process and Programme until April 2015, when he left the party in favour of a return to the assembly's origins of 15-M.

Iñigo Errejón (born in Madrid, 1983) is a researcher at the Complutense University of Madrid, a member of the Centre for Political and Social Studies Foundation (CEPS) and of

Juventud Sin Futuro. He received his doctorate in the MAS government in Bolivia, which marked his line of research on the politics of Evo Morales. Pablo Iglesias then made him campaign manager for the European elections. Errejón defended the need to build a platform that was as broad as possible, bringing together as many social movements as possible.

Carolina Bescansa (born in Santiago de Compostela, 1971) is a professor of methodology at the same faculty as Iglesias at the UCM. The Galician professor has a degree in Political Science and Sociology from the University of Granada. She spent time abroad in Lisbon (Erasmus Programme) and at the University of California (San Diego). On February 1, 2017, she left her post as secretary of Political and Social Analysis for *Podemos*.

Luis Alegre (born in Madrid, 1977) is a professor of philosophy at the Complutense University of Madrid. He was a disciple of Professor Carlos Fernández Liria, who was present during the foundation of *Podemos* and later wrote a book *En Defensa del Populismo (In Defence of Populism)*, which was presented to him by Pablo Iglesias. He has been linked to anti-capitalist leftist organisations since 1992. He was part of the CEPS Foundation and introduced the rights of the LGBT collective as an integral part of the *Podemos* programme. He is the author of the 2017 *Elogio de la homosexualidad (Eulogy of homosexuality)* and was the coordinator of the technical team that organised the *Citizen Assembly "Sí se puede"* held at the Palacio de Vistalegre. Alegre was one of the speakers of the assembly along with those previously mentioned.

Luis Alegre was a member of *Espacio Alternativo*, which came from the political party *Izquierda Alternativa (IA)* and brought together the recent legacy of the former LCR and that of the POUM. This group played an important part in the formation of *Podemos*. Among its main ideologists was Jaime Pastor, the associate professor of political science and of administration at the National Distance Education University (UNED). Alegre was a former leader of the LCR. He signed the *Podemos* manifesto and supported the students who formed *Juventud sin Futuro*. However, one of the members of IA that stood out the most was Miguel Urbán, a faithful ally and friend of Pablo Iglesias. Urbán became known as an activist in movements such as the *No a la Guerra (No to War)*, 15-M, in defence of decent housing and against the commercialisation of universities. The vacancies in the *Podemos* European list allowed the influential representative of IA to enter the European Parliament. Another influential member of IA was Teresa Rodríguez, who was a participant in the public education movement and a member of the European Parliament, until she resigned to be the head of the movement in Andalusia. IA was seen at a time as the party of hardcore members who would control *Podemos*, similar to what the PCE did with IU. However, Pablo Iglesias maintained control of the party with IA's support, but keeping the latter in positions far from the decision-making bodies.

*Podemos*'s objective was to encompass and represent the movement of '*Los Indignados*' that emerged from 15-M, divided into an innumerable sea of acronyms that responded to different interests. Their common ground was their situation of precarious work, when they were recognised as a generation with university level studies with high consumer tastes. According to Juan Carlos Monedero, the precarious profile is formed by

very educated, urban people, who support themselves to a great extent thanks to close family ties. They live in an environment in which youth extends to 40 years of age and in which women enjoy and fight for equality, sharing the rebellion and non-conformism inherited from May 68. However, paradoxically, they are deeply connected to social media, while they are disconnected from the real world. As the analyst Fernando Vaquero accurately quoted in his article (Vaquero 2016).

### ***Podemos* in political combat**

On May 25, 2014, the European Parliament elections were held and in Spain the radical left gained great momentum, despite the PP's victory with 4,098,339 votes and 16 MEPs – eight fewer than before. The PSOE experienced something similar, its 3,614,232 votes and 14 seats obtained revalidated its second place, but at the cost of losing nine European seats. Meanwhile, the left benefited from the fall of the two traditional parties. *Primavera Europea (European Spring)* was a coalition that brought together the *Compromís* coalition, founded in 2011 by different Valencian left-wing nationalist groups along with ecologists. They joined forces with *Equo*, a left-wing environmentalist organisation that sought to bring together the green groups in a single representation. Finally, *Chunta Aragonesista (Aragonese Union)*, a left-wing Aragonese nationalist party, which, together with other minor groups from Castile and Melilla, formed *Primavera Europea*, which obtained 302,266 votes and one MEP. IU–LV ran as *La Izquierda Plural (Plural Left, IP)*, bringing together IU and the entities that emerged in different regions such as IPC–LV and EUIA in Catalonia; *Anova–IN* in Galicia; *Batzarre* in Navarre and smaller green and left-wing groups. IP obtained 1,575,308 votes and six MEPs, an increase of four, which confirmed the left's surge in popularity<sup>3</sup>.

However, *Podemos*, with its motto: "*When was the last time you voted with enthusiasm?*" managed to surprise the sociological institutes by obtaining 1,253,837 votes and five MEPs with 7.9% of the votes that nobody expected. This was perhaps because of the party's unfamiliarity, despite the figure of Pablo Iglesias, the most known person in the new political organisation. The momentum of *Ciudadanos (Citizens)*, the Catalan anti-nationalist party, saw the party obtain 497,146 votes, with Javier Nart – a lawyer and guest on political debate different programmes. *Ciudadanos* also undertook a campaign as heirs of 15-M, by representing those who alluded to a reform of the State, but not to a rupture and the start of a new transition, as defended by *Podemos* and his followers. *Podemos* was the third most voted party in Madrid, Aragón, Cantabria, Asturias and the Balearic Islands.

On October 18, the First State Citizens Assembly was held at the Palacio de Vistalegre, which 7,000 people attended. Through the crowdfunding of 5,750 members and supporters, they raised 132,711 Euros for the expenses of the congress and the movement's

<sup>3</sup> The election results come from the official website of the interior ministry <http://www.infoelectoral.mir.es/infoelectoral/min/>



finances (see: Gil 2014). *Podemos* claimed to have 240,000 members due to the fact it did not request mandatory fee payment. In the final speech, Pablo Iglesias closed the congress with a declaration of intentions: "*Heaven is not taken by consensus: it is taken by assault*". The surprise triumph in the European elections, and its leader's burning ambition to snatch voters from the PSOE, led to a very interesting general election. On February 4, 2015, the Centre for Sociological Research (CIS) announced that *Podemos* reached a 23.9% pre-election intention to vote, surpassing the PSOE as the country's second political force. In the following elections, *Podemos* consolidated its popularity, only to see its support decline later, as the party began to be seen to represent a revolutionary left and not to be a rebellious movement that overcame the traditional two-party politics of right and left.

In the municipal elections on May 24, 2015, *Podemos* did not run a candidacy under its own name, but it did decide to support electoral candidatures with other groups and platforms as a part of the *Ganemos (Let's Win)* movement. *Izquierda Unida* had to decide on a possible integration or a re-founding of the left, where it was positioned. In December 2014, Mauricio Valiente and Tania Sánchez had won the IU primary elections to run as candidates for the Madrid council and autonomous region respectively. However, both candidates decided to abandon their party. Valiente joined *Ahora Madrid* and Tania Sánchez – who had a relationship with Pablo Iglesias – founded a new political organisation, *Convocatoria por Madrid*, that would eventually integrate into *Podemos* in May 2016. In these local elections the lists were formed with people from the PAH, from the *mareas* protests and small groups like *Por un Mundo Más Justo (For a Fairer World, PUM+J)*, the socialist splinter group *Socialist Alternative (CLI-AS)*, *Equo* and *Alternativa Republicana (Republican Alternative, ALTER)*. *ANOVA* and *Iniciativa per Catalunya Verds (Initiative for Catalonia Greens, ICV)* joined the movement in the elections for the autonomous regions. However, the capacity for local decision prevailed and the confluences developed fully in some places, while in others there were several candidacies that would contest a similar electorate. Nevertheless, the results were seen successfully when, after the negotiations mainly with the socialists, they allowed them to govern the cities of Madrid, Barcelona, Zaragoza, Cádiz, and La Coruña.

In Madrid, the mayoralty was won by *Ahora Madrid*, a coalition of *Ganemos Madrid* and *Podemos*, with independent components, dissidents of IU – although some later returned to the communist organisation – and *Equo*. The candidacy was headed by Manuela Carmena, a labour lawyer and former Communist Party member who had become a judge of Penitentiary Vigilance, where she favoured the release of several prisoners committed of terrorist offences. In Barcelona's case, it was the list of *Guanyem Barcelona*, renamed *Barcelona en Comú (Barcelona in Common)*, due to the influx of *Iniciativa per Catalunya Verds*, *Esquerra Unida i Alternativa*, *Equo*, *Procés Constituent* and *Podemos*, and which was headed by Ada Colau, former spokesperson of the PAH. In Zaragoza, the winning candidacy, *Zaragoza en Común (Zaragoza in Common, ZeC)*, was headed by Pedro Santisteve – the professor at the University of Zaragoza and a founder of the *Asociación de Seguimiento y Apoyo a Presas y Presos en Aragón (Association for Monitoring*

and Support of Prisoners in Aragón, ASAPA). The candidacy was formed by *Podemos*, *IU*, *Equo*, *Somos* and *Demos+*, *Piratas de Aragón* and *Puyalón de Cuchas*, a splinter group of *Chunta Aragonesista*. In La Coruña, there was victory for *Marea Atlántica (Atlantic Tide)*, headed by Xulio Ferreiro, professor of procedural law at the University of La Coruña, formed by *Esquerda Unida*, *Podemos*, *ANOVA-Irmandade Nacionalista*, *Compromiso por Galicia*, *Equo* and *Espacos Ecosocialista Galego*, whose success was matched with those of its sister coalition candidacies of *Compostela Aberta* and *Ferrol en Común*. In Cádiz, the victorious candidacy was of “*Por Cádiz si se puede*”, which was the local brand of *Podemos*, led by José María Gonzalez (commonly known as ‘Kichi’). ‘Kichi’ was a high school teacher, the partner of Teresa Rodríguez and was also loyal to the IA manifesto. He received the support of the *PSOE* and *Ganemos Cádiz* – the latter being formed by *IU* and *Equo*. *IU* obtained victory in Zamora, with the candidacy of the former anarcho-syndicalist member, Francisco Guarido. In Valencia, the left took power through the *Compromís* coalition headed by Joan Ribó, a former communist member in the *United Left of the Valencian Country (EUPV)*, who received the support of the *PSOE* and *Valencia en Comú*, the local brand of *Podemos*.

The success obtained by the urban candidacies – thanks to the collapse of the socialists, and the progressive absorption of social movements, the radical nationalisms of the left and the space occupied by *IU* and its federated satellites – promised unstoppable growth for *Podemos* of the left spectrum and even the possibility of producing an overtaking of the historical *PSOE*.

The next electoral test was the regional elections in Catalonia, which were held on September 27, 2015, where Artur Mas took a secessionist approach in order to hide his party’s scandalous corruption and its sharp fall in popularity due to the drastic application of austerity measures that eliminated a large part of the existing social measures. The new *Junts pel Sí (Together for Yes)* coalition brought together the nationalist parties *CDC* and *ERC* together with the pro-independence organisations *ANC* and *Òmnium*, who had been promoted and subsidised for that purpose. The result was 1,628,714 votes and 62 seats, but with a sharp drop compared to what both parties drew separately. Inés Arrimadas, the new head of the *Ciudadanos* candidacy managed to agglutinate the centralist voters with 736,364 votes and 25 seats, representing an increase of 16, thanks to the *PP*’s disaster at the polls and those in the *PSOE* against Catalan independence. At the same time, *Catalunya Sí que es Pot (Catalonia Yes We Can, CSQP)* – a coalition that grouped together *Equo*, *IPC*, *EUiA* and *Podemos*, under the leadership of activist Lluís Rabell, president of the *Federation of Neighbourhood Associations of Barcelona* – tried to take advantage of Ada Colau’s success in Barcelona. However, the historical activist was actually the businessman José Luis Franco Rabell, the president of a family business that went bankrupt, and whose political experience came from his participation in the Trotskyist *PORE*. His leadership was ineffective, obtaining 367,613 votes and 11 parliament seats, which were distributed among its participants in the following way: four for *ICV*, four for *Podemos*, one for *EUiA* and two for independent representatives, though the coalition of the political forces had achieved two more seats in the previous elections separately.

One of the reasons for its failure was down to the success of the CUP, which obtained 337,794 votes and ten seats, rising from three to seven. The CUP managed to gather the vote of radical protest along with a clear message of independence against the so-called political caste of the rest of the parties, which turned out to be more attractive to the social groups than the new coalition that brought together the historical groups of communists and greens with *Podemos*. The CUP's radicality and its new image prevented *Podemos* from obtaining the ascending result that the party believed it was going to obtain with its coalition candidacy.

After this initial disappointment came the big electoral test, the general elections on December 20, 2015, where the actual extent of *Podemos*'s influence in the national parliament would be seen, along with the end of the consolidated two-party politics since the time of the transition to democracy. These general elections saw a repeated victory for Mariano Rajoy's PP, but with 123 seats (63 fewer than in 2011) and the loss of 3,629,601 votes, although the PSOE had a smaller setback when obtaining 90 seats (20 fewer than previously) and 1,458,196 fewer votes. The great beneficiaries of the decline of the two traditional parties were *Ciudadanos* and *Podemos*. Albert Rivera's party obtained 40 seats and benefited by proclaiming a reforming spirit of the system, with a special focus on the fight against corruption and the defence of the unity of Spain. Meanwhile, *Podemos* obtained 3,198,584 votes and 42 seats under its own name, in addition to the votes obtained by its corresponding candidacies in Catalonia. The *En Comú Podem* coalition was inspired by Ada Colau's *Barcelona en Comú*, which was joined by *Podemos* and *ICV-EUiA* and obtained the support of other groups such as *Procés Constituent*, which was already included in *Barcelona en Comú*. The candidacy was headed by Xavier Domènech, a professor at the Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB) and a commissioner of strategic studies and memory programmes of the Barcelona City Council, a kind of political commissar for the elimination of right-wing and Catholic names and symbols in the streets of Barcelona such as the bust of the monarch Juan Carlos I. Domènech was a close colleague of Ada Colau and had a good personal relationship with Pablo Iglesias. On this occasion, they achieved a monumental result with 929,880 votes and twelve seats, three corresponding to *ICV*, two to *Podemos*, two to *EUiA*, two to *Barcelona en Comú*, two to *Procés Constituent*, and one to an independent representative, to become the first political force in Barcelona and Tarragona and leading to the overtaking of the PSC (the PSOE's representative in Catalonia).

In Valencia, it was a *Compromís - Podemos - És el Moment* coalition, based on *Podemos* and *Compromís*, which obtained 671,071 votes with nine seats, four of which for *Podemos*, four for *Compromís* (two for *IdPV* and two for the *Valencia Nationalist Bloc*) and one for an independent representative. In Galicia, the *En Marea* coalition was formed, which was registered as a political party in July of the following year. *Podemos*, *Anova-Irmandade*, *EU*, *Equo*, and *Espazo Ecosocialista Galego* joined forces in this electoral candidacy along with the groups that had emerged for the previous municipal elections. The results gave them 408,370 votes and six seats. Two of the seats were for *Anova-Irmandade*, two for *Podemos*, one for *Esquerda Unida* and one for *Ourense en Común* (one of the municipal

groups). The grouping together of all these candidacies helped *Podemos* to obtain more than five million votes and 69 seats in the general elections.

At the same time, a platform called *Ahora en Común* was formed, which aimed to create electoral candidacies, in a similar way to the municipal ones, where *Podemos* and *Izquierda Unida* could converge. However, it was not possible because of the opposition from Pablo Iglesias, who began to see IU as a burden after the Catalan failure. Nevertheless, after the registration of the party, some of its promoters adopted the name *Unidad Popular (UP)*, where *Izquierda Unida*, *Unidad Popular en Común*, *Chunta Aragonesista*, *Izquierda Asturiana*, *Batzarre – Asamblea de Izquierdas*, *Construyendo la Izquierda – Alternativa Socialista*, *Entre Tod@s Si Se Puede Córdoba*, *Segoviemos* and *Izquierda Castellana* were integrated. The UP candidate was Alberto Garzón, a young economist and member of the PCE, who Pablo Iglesias tried to integrate into his party. In June 2016, he replaced Cayo Lara as federal coordinator of IU. In that year's general elections, UP obtained 923,133 votes but only two seats, losing 759,257 votes and nine seats – this presumably went to the *Podemos* candidates.

However, the results impeded the possibility of forming a government. This was because neither of the two candidates obtained the necessary majority in the parliament. Neither Mariano Rajoy's PP nor the PSOE, under the new leader Pedro Sánchez – who had the support of *Ciudadanos* – obtained the necessary abstention from any of the strong parties to be able to be sworn in as a prime minister. The result was a new call for general elections for June 26, 2016. On this occasion, Pablo Iglesias was seduced by the possibility of adding almost another one million votes to the five million he had, in order to try to overtake the PSOE, like the Greek *Syriza* (see: Stavrakakis, Katsambekis 2014) had done to the PASOK movement. In May, one month before the call for elections, IU and *Podemos* agreed to run together as a coalition (Carvajal 2016).

The 2016 general elections can be interpreted in different ways. The PP won again and recovered a high percentage of the votes lost to *Ciudadanos*, obtaining 704,271 more votes, leading to another 14 seats and 137 seats in total. 372,958 votes came from *Ciudadanos* voters, with the party losing eight seats. The PSOE lost another 101,469 votes, with the loss of five seats, its lowest result since 1977. The *Unidos Podemos* candidacy won an impressive 3,227,123 votes and 45 seats. In Catalonia, the *En Comú Podem – Guanyem el Canvi* coalition won 853,102 votes, some 76,778 fewer than the previous time, although no seats were lost, as it kept the twelve it had. Something similar happened in Valencia, as the integration of the federated branch of IU gave rise to *Compromís – Podemos – EUPV*, which obtained 659,771 votes, 13,778 fewer than the last time, although it maintained its nine seats. In Galicia, *En Marea* collected 347,542 votes, losing 63,156 and one seat, leaving the party with a total of five. The *IU–Podemos* alliance failed to obtain any extra seats, in fact, adding together the results of both lists led to a loss of more than one million votes and two seats in relation to the 2015 elections. The IU working-class voter did not feel identified with the profile of its *Podemos* counterpart, with a radical left discourse until the moment of the coalition. The project of forming a union in line with *Podemos* emerged in 2014 with *Somos*, taking advantage of *Podemos*'s surge in

popularity, whilst accusing the trade union centrals of also being '*La casta*'. However, the experience did not come to fruition over time, as some of its main members left and it has nowadays become a marginal group that prefers to distance itself from *Podemos*.

The next electoral test was of great importance for *Podemos* and took place on September 25, 2016 in the regional elections of Galicia and the Basque Country. In the Galician elections, Alberto Núñez Feijóo's regional government maintained its 41 seats and the absolute majority, which turned the Atlantic region into the PP's breadbasket for votes. However, on the left side of the political spectrum, the lack of leadership of the PSdeG-PSOE led to the loss of four seats, as the BNG lost one. *En Marea*, now officially a political party, managed to overtake the PSOE and take second place, becoming the key player of a possible future leftist tripartite government in Galicia, under the leadership of Luís Villares, spokesperson for Judges for Democracy in Galicia. The party obtained 19.7% in the elections, with 273,523 votes and 14 seats, representing an increase of five. *En Marea* again fulfilled its objective of a group integration approach that managed to replace the PSOE as a major force on the left for a possible government.

Meanwhile, the political situation was very different with regard to the Basque regional elections. Iñigo Urkullu's PNV managed to obtain 28 seats with 37.36% of the votes, maintaining its irrefutable position as a governing party. However, the historically second political force, Idoia Mendía's PSOE, lost 40.6% of the vote with respect to the previous elections. *EH Bildu*, under the leadership of Maddalen Iriarte, a presenter on EITB (Basque public television), renewed the image of the old social support and ETA, but saw its electorate drop by 19%, although it managed to stay in the second place, which was very important for the internal discourse to its electorate. In these elections, the electoral expectations of *Podemos* were very high. In the previous general elections, the party had obtained 29% (the PNV won 24.9%) as the great electoral surprise to win the first place. In these regional elections, where the Basque parties exclusively dominated, the big question was whether *Podemos* could revalidate that success by agglutinating the socialist and leftist nationalist votes. *Elkarrekin Podemos* was the name for a coalition formed by *Podemos*, *Ezker Batua-Berdeak (EB-B)*, *Ezker Anitza* and *Equo*. In October 2011, EB-B had broken relations with IU, operating independently. Therefore, IU was rebuilt with dissidents *Ezker Anitza*, which became its federal reference in the Basque Country from then on. The candidate for the Lehendakaritza (presidency of the Basque government) was Pili Zabala, an odontologist chosen because she was the sister of a member of ETA, who was killed by the *Antiterrorist Liberation Groups (GAL)*. The decision was clearly aimed at snatching the electorate from the nationalist left, which could be white-washed by voters abandoning an organisation that was characterised by its support for the terrorist organisation's assassins. However, although the final result was significant, it disappointed by not living up to its expectations. The overtaking of the *PSE-PSOE* was possible, but *EH Bildu* was the stumbling block. The results were 157,334 votes, with 14.86% and eleven seats, representing the third political force of the autonomous region. It was a significant result, but was not what had been expected after those obtained in the general election of the same year.

## The beginning of the end

The last electoral results and the divergences between the main leaders of *Podemos* gave relevance to the next party conference, which again took place in Vistalegre, on February 13, 2017. The strategic differences between Pablo Iglesias and Iñigo Errejón became more visible, and the formation of the State Citizen Council (consisting of 62 members) was essential when measuring the support that both leaders could draw from its constituency. There were 9,000 people present at the second Vistalegre party conference, but in the voting, all those registered considered active could vote directly. In *Podemos* there were no delegates and at that time an incredible 456,725 number of people were registered, because there was no obligation to pay the fee, and registration was done directly on the party's website. However, the active members, with the right to participate in the voting at the conference, were those who had already participated actively in the past, reducing the census to 283,175 people (155,275 people participated in this group, 34.5% of those registered).

Pablo Iglesias received a backing of 89% with 128,700 votes for his leadership against the alternative, Juan Moreno, who garnered 15,700 votes. The organisational model presented by the general secretary of the party, called *Podemos para Todos (Podemos for Everyone)*, compared to that of Iñigo Errejón, *Recuperar la Ilusión (Regain the Hope)*, was backed by more than 50% of the constituency, compared to 34% of the critical sector. The four documents presented at the conference (political, organisational, ethical and equality) were accepted by the constituency, who thus underlined the following as the party's priorities: the struggle for social justice and human rights, the "right to decide" (the right of self-determination of the regions of Spain) and to combat gender violence. The party went from being an assembly-based organisation to a more presidential one. In the State Citizen Council, composed of 62 members, 37 councillors favourable to Pablo Iglesias were elected; 23 to Iñigo Errejón and 2 anticapitalists to Miguel Urbán (see: García de Blas 2017). At the end of the event, the attendees sang *L'Estaca*, by Lluís Llach, a song that became a symbol of the struggle against General Franco by communists and radical leftists. Currently, the author of the song is a member of regional parliament in favour of the independence of Catalonia.

The next electoral test was the Andalusia regional election on December 2, 2018. This proved to be the moment when power was overturned for the first time in the history of the region after the loss of Susana Díaz's *Socialists*. Although the PSOE still obtained the highest number of votes, the decrease of 14 seats meant it lost its absolute majority, which led to the creation of a new government formed by the PP and *Ciudadanos*, with the external support of VOX. The PP had dropped seven seats, but the rise of *Ciudadanos* with twelve seats (totalling 21) and the emergence of VOX (a group emerged from a split of the PP, which was the surprise of the elections, obtaining 395,978 votes and twelve seats) paved the way for the renovation of the Andalusian government, which had been badly affected by corruption, with two former socialist presidents on trial.

Meanwhile, the radical left took the form of *Adelante Andalucía* in October 2018, through the agreement of *Podemos Andalucía* and IULV-CA together with Equo and groups from the dissolution of the *Andalusian Party*, such as *Andalusian Spring* and *Andalusian Left*. The candidate for the presidency was Cádiz-born Teresa Rodríguez. She had previously been an activist against the military base in Rota, her native town, although she later became a trade unionist in the educational field, belonging to *Izquierda Anticapitalista (Anti-Capitalist Left)*. She came into the public eye as a member of the European Parliament for *Podemos* and was elected as a general secretary of *Podemos Andalucía*. In these elections she managed to gather 584,040 votes and 17 seats, but the result proved to be disappointing because in the previous elections in 2015 *Podemos* had obtained twelve seats and *IULV-CA* another five. In the 2018 elections, with a unified candidacy of both lists of *Podemos* and *IULV-CA*, the final result was the loss of three seats, finishing as the fourth Andalusian political force, behind *Ciudadanos*. Although Teresa Rodríguez had distanced herself from the socialist regional government to avoid being accused of supporting a corrupt party, her organisation did not benefit from the social unrest, as it favoured the splinter group from the PP-VOX and the liberal *Ciudadanos*.

The premise was that *Podemos* had reached its limits, as the conquest of the skies now seemed far away and the overtaking of the socialists was now a notion of the past. According to the polls, Pedro Sanchez's party continued to benefit, gradually recovering votes that it had lost to *Podemos*. The political consequences arose with the territorial coalitions and Iñigo Errejón's critical sectors of the party. In Valencia, *Compromís* ran alone in all the following elections and in Galicia *Podemos* distanced itself from *En Marea*, with its own candidacy. In Andalusia, *Adelante Andalucía* opted to evolve into a coalition with its own autonomy within *Unidos Podemos*, as did the others, except *Compromís*, who moved to the mixed group in 2016. The difficulty of forming a united parliamentary group made visible the movement's problems, which began to grow in the form of the electoral setbacks.

On January 17, 2019 Iñigo Errejón announced by surprise his intentions to be a candidate for the autonomous region of Madrid by launching a joint political platform with the mayor, Manuela Carmena. A few days later he left his seat in the Congress of Deputies. On January 25, 2019, Ramón Espinar resigned as general secretary of Madrid, a member of regional parliament and senator, leading to the formation of a management committee and the deepening of the crisis.

The name of Manuela Carmena's new platform was *Más Madrid* and had been created outside of *Podemos* and IU, on December 22, 2018. Rita Maestre, spokesperson for the Madrid City Council, and José Manuel Calvo, Francisco Pérez, Esther Gómez, Jorge García Castaño and Marta Gómez, councillors of *Podemos* had announced in November 2018 that they would not be running in the party's primary elections and instead would be joining Manuela Carmena's platform. Once the division had appeared those on the pro-Errejón side of the party moved to *Más Madrid* in a matter of days. After the formation of *Más Madrid*, the parliamentarians of the Assembly of Madrid, Clara Serra, Eduardo Fernández Rubiño, Mónica García, Hugo Martínez Abarca and Jazmín Beirak joined the platform, along

with the ecologists of Equo, while *Podemos* and IU negotiated the formation of common lists as *Unidas Podemos (United We Can)* – in clear reference to gender radicalism.

However, the Madrid crisis reflected important problems in other regions, such as in Navarre, where, after a very close primary election, the former general secretary of *Podemos Navarra*, Laura Pérez was expelled from the party. However, she did not renounce her seat and, along with three other parliamentarians, changed the denomination of the parliamentary group to Orain Bai and expelled the remaining three (Ainhoa Aznárez, Mikel Buil and Tere Sáez), who remained loyal to *Podemos*, but were forced to sit in the mixed group and lose the presidency of the parliament of Navarre and parliamentary group grants (Arnedo 2019). In January, the crisis broke out in Cantabria as Veronica Ordóñez's decision to leave the *Podemos* group led to its dissolution. The former parliamentary speaker became an independent parliamentarian, and José Ramón Blanco and Alberto Bolado joined the mixed group (Alonso 2019). In La Rioja, the primary elections were suspended for similar reasons.

In the coalitions in Catalonia, the crisis began from October 2017 with the support or non-support of the right of secession. The general secretary, Albano-Dante Fachin, parliamentarian of *Catalunya Sí que es Pot* of Argentine origin, clashed with the party's official direction that supported the secessionist movement, which emerged from the illegal referendum on 1 October. On November 6, 2017, he resigned as general secretary of *Podemos* in Catalonia and formed a new group called *Som Alternativa (We Are Alternative)*. From then on, the group formed part of *Catalunya en Comú*, when Xavier Domènech, professor of history at the Autonomous University of Barcelona, took office and was elected by *En Comú Podem (ECP)* for the Congress of Deputies, where he was from the 13th January 2016 until January 17, 2018. In April 2018, he was elected as a general secretary of *Podemos* in Catalonia, but on September 4, 2018, he announced that he was leaving his posts in *En Comú Podem* and renounced his seat in the Parliament of Catalonia, because of the strong internal disagreements in the party. Noelia Bail was chosen as his replacement, with the aim of preventing the collapse of the party. In Galicia, Carmen Santos, was elected general secretary of *Podemos* in mid-2016, but left the position in October 2018, when she decided not to run and support the candidacy of Carolina Bescansa, who lost to Antón Gómez-Reino, representative of Pablo Iglesias's faction. Now the new leader of *Podemos*, wanted to reach an agreement with Anova and EU, against the one represented by its former coalition, Luis Villares' *En Marea*.

With regard to the founding members of *Podemos*, Carolina Bescansa abandoned politics to return to teaching at the Complutense University of Madrid. Luis Alegre, the first general secretary of the party in Madrid, resigned due to pressure from supporters of Iñigo Errejón, leaving politics and returning to the Complutense University of Madrid, but he later put his name forward for Errejón's *Más Madrid* candidacy, even though he had always been a supporter of Pablo Iglesias. Juan Carlos Monedero was the first to leave the party. He did so in April 2015, when he denounced the party's strategy, for becoming institutionalised and moving away from its 15-M origins. Of the founding group members, only Pablo Iglesias and Iñigo Errejón remain in competitive political projects.



On April 28, 2019 were the general elections, and on March 15, 2019, *Podemos*, *IU* and *Equo* changed the name of their candidacy to *Unidas Podemos*, to give it a more feminist resonance. However, some of its allies such as *Compromís* and *En Marea* decided to go on separate lists and distance themselves from the control of Pablo Iglesias. However, the results were disastrous to obtain 3,135,480 votes, 11.97% and 35 seats in which were the 2 galicians of *En Común – Unidas Podemos*, they have been presented rivaling *En Marea* that had decided to present separately. However, *En Marea* barely reached 17,700 votes, a small 1.08%. As for the Catalans, they participated under the candidacy of lawyer Jaume Asens, deputy mayor of Barcelona, but the list of *En Comú Podem* received 614,738 votes, from the first to the third most voted force in Catalonia with 7 seats, losing 5 in these elections, his profile favorable to independence favored an important exit of his vote in favor of the PSC. In Valencia, *Compromís* decided to appear separately obtaining 172,751 votes, 6.45% and a single deputy, losing 3 that he had previously joined with *Podemos*. Finally, *Podemos* had demolished a capital of 71 deputies. In these elections, the PP also obtained the worst results in its history with the emergence of its VOX split, which with a traced speech by US President Trump capitalized 2,688,092 votes and 24 seats. The PP was reduced to 66 seats, losing 71. The PSOE on the contrary recovered 38 and reached 123, assimilating much of the losses of *Podemos* and its confluences.

A month later, on May 26, were the European, municipal and regional elections in much of Spain. *Unidas Podemos Cambiar Europa* won 2,258,857 votes, 10% and 6 MEPs. The failure was confirmed in the municipalities where those who had maintained discrepancies with Pablo Iglesias were those who had good results. Cádiz with José María González "chiqui" of the anti-capitalist current was the only city that remained and Valencia with the good result of *Compromís* at the expense of *Podemos*. In Barcelona Ada Colau, from Barcelona en Comú, tied with the ERC independence candidate, Ernest Maragall, but remained as mayor for the socialist support and Manuel Valls, the former French Prime Minister, who had presented himself as a candidate on his own list supported by Citizens. Manuela Carmena managed to win in Madrid with the *More Madrid*, 30.94% of the votes, which were granted by 19 councilors, but the alliance of *Citizens* and VOX gave the victory to the Popular Party candidate, José Luis Martínez Almeyda. In the community of Madrid, the formation of *Más Madrid* with Iñigo Errejón obtained 14.65% of the votes and 20 seats.

## Conclusions

*Podemos* had spectacular growth and served as a binder for many protest movements, in a context of strong social protest. The loss of socialist vote for the numerous cases of corruption served to add support. However, the coalition with the United Left, the takeover of the formation by Pablo Iglesias, the departure of the dissenting voices, have placed *Podemos* on the left side. The radicalization of the discourse of the socialist party with Pedro Sanchez, but with possibilities of exercising for his control of the government, favors a massive absorption of the vote from *Podemos*.

**José Luis Orella Martínez** – university professor of Contemporary History (*profesor titular* recognized by ANECA) at the CEU San Pablo University (Madrid, Spain). Doctor in Contemporary History from the University of Deusto (1995) and Doctor in Political Law from the National University at Distance (UNED, 2013). Author of several books and articles about the Basque Country, populist movements in the 20th century in Europe and historical relationship between Spain and Poland. He has supervised five doctoral theses and two research *sexenios* (1999–2005, 2009–2016) recognized by the CNEAI. He was a director of the Department of History at the CEU San Pablo University during seven years. Email: jlorella@ceu.es

**José Luis Orella Martínez** – profesor historii współczesnej (*profesor titular* akredytowany przez ANECA) na uniwersytecie CEU San Pablo (Madryt, Hiszpania). Tytuł doktora historii współczesnej otrzymał na Uniwersytecie Deusto (1995), a tytuł doktora prawa – na Narodowym Uniwersytecie Kształcenia na Odległość (UNED, 2013). Autor licznych książek i artykułów na temat Kraju Basków, ruchów populistycznych w dwudziestowiecznej Europie oraz relacji historycznych pomiędzy Hiszpanią i Polską. Był promotorem pięciu prac doktorskich oraz kierownikiem dwóch sześcioletnich – *sexenios* – projektów badawczych (1999–2005, 2009–2016) uznanych przez CNEAI. Przez siedem lat pełnił funkcję dyrektora Instytutu Historii na Uniwersytecie CEU San Pablo de Madrid. Adres e-mail: jlorella@ceu.es

## ➔ References

- ADELL Ramón (2004), *¿Dónde están las llaves?: el movimiento Ocupa, prácticas y contextos sociales*, Madrid.
- ALONSO Rubén (2019), *La crisis interna de Podemos provoca la ruptura del grupo parlamentario y deja en el limbo a su portavoz*, eldiario.es, [https://www.eldiario.es/norte/cantabria/politica/Ordenez-abandonar-Podemos-terremoto-Parlamento\\_0\\_854964793.html](https://www.eldiario.es/norte/cantabria/politica/Ordenez-abandonar-Podemos-terremoto-Parlamento_0_854964793.html) (8.01.2019).
- ALVAREZ TARDÍO Manuel, REDONDO Javier (2019), *PODEMOS, cuando lo nuevo se hace viejo*, Madrid.
- ARNEDO Beatriz (2019), *Preguntas y respuestas sobre la crisis de Podemos y su posible desenlace*, "Diario de Navarra", <https://www.diariodenavarra.es/noticias/navarra/2019/01/09/la-crisis-podemos-posible-desenlace-629171-300.html> (9.01.2019).
- BOLAÑO Toñi (2016), *La cup: los últimos bolcheviques de occidente*, Barcelona.
- CAES (2003), *El Movimiento antiglobalización en su laberinto, entre la nube de mosquitos y la izquierda parlamentaria*, Madrid.
- CARVAJAL Álvaro (2016), *Las bases de Podemos respaldan por un 98% la alianza con IU*, "El Mundo", <https://www.elmundo.es/espana/2016/05/12/57349bd822601dab768b466d.html> (12.05.2016).
- CASTRO MORAL Lorenzo (2009), *El terrorismo marxista leninista en España*, "Historia del Presente", no.14, II época.
- CUCÓ Josepa (2008), *Recuperando una memoria de la penumbra, el movimiento comunista y las transformaciones de la extrema izquierda*, "Historia y Política", jul-dic (28).
- CUCÓ Josepa (2016), *De la utopía revolucionaria a l'activisme social. El Moviment Comunista, Revolta y Cristina Piris*, València.
- FERNÁNDEZ David, de JODAR Juliá (2016), *CUP: viaje a las raíces y razones de las Candidaturas de Unidad Popular*, Madrid.

- GARCIA de BLAS Elsa (2017), *Iglesias logra todo el control para imponer el Podemos más radical*, "El País", [https://elpais.com/politica/2017/02/12/actualidad/1486890748\\_595172.html](https://elpais.com/politica/2017/02/12/actualidad/1486890748_595172.html) (13.02.2017).
- GIL Ivan (2014), *Podemos logra recaudar ,in extremis' 132.000 euros para costear su asamblea*, "El Confidencial", [https://www.elconfidencial.com/espana/2014-11-13/podemos-logra-recaudar-in-extremis-132-000-euros-para-costear-su-asamblea\\_454629/](https://www.elconfidencial.com/espana/2014-11-13/podemos-logra-recaudar-in-extremis-132-000-euros-para-costear-su-asamblea_454629/) (13.11.2014).
- INE First Population Survey of the first quarter of 2014 (WWW), [http://www.foessa2014.es/informe/uploaded/descargas/VII\\_INFORME.pdf](http://www.foessa2014.es/informe/uploaded/descargas/VII_INFORME.pdf) (20.09.2014)
- MATA José Manuel (1993), *El nacionalismo vasco radical*, Bilbao.
- MERINO Javier (2009), *El espejismo revolucionario, la izquierda radical ante ETA*, "Cuadernos Bakeaz", no. 94, Bilbao.
- LAIZ Consuelo (1995), *La lucha final, los partidos de la izquierda radical durante la transición española*, Madrid.
- LORENZO José María (2000), *HB: Veinte años de Izquierda Abertzale*, "en Aportes", no. 43.
- OTERO Luis Enrique (1995), *Verdes y alternativos*, "Cuadernos del Mundo Actual", no. 75.
- ROCA José Manuel (1994), *El proyecto radical, auge y declive de la izquierda revolucionaria en España (1964-1992)*, Madrid.
- STAVRAKAKIS Yannis, KATSAMBEKIS Giorgos (2014), *Left-wing populism in the European periphery: the case of SYRIZA*, "Journal of Political Ideologies", vol.19, issue 2.
- TAJUELO Telésforo (1977), *El MIL, Puig Antich y los Gari*, París.
- VAQUERO Fernando (2016), *Podemos: el partido revolucionario del precariado*, "La Tribuna", <http://latribunadelpaisvasco.com/not/4219/precariado-ha-nacido-una-nueva-clase-social/> (8.02.2016).
- IGLESIAS: *„La primera traducción electoral del 15M no fue Podemos, fue AGE y Xosé Manuel Beiras"* (2016), "La Información", [https://www.lainformacion.com/politica/elecciones/Iglesias-Podemos-AGE-Manuel-Beiras\\_0\\_955406153.html](https://www.lainformacion.com/politica/elecciones/Iglesias-Podemos-AGE-Manuel-Beiras_0_955406153.html) (20.09.2016).
- Consulta de Resultados Electorales (WWW), <http://www.infoelectoral.mir.es/infoelectoral/min/>