



**YEARS OF PES,
YEARS OF PROGRESS**

30 years of PES years of progress

Brussels, 2022



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We are far more united and have far more in common with each other than things that divide us.

Jo Cox (Labour, UK)

30 years of PES, 30 years of progress

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PES, the changemaker

By Sergei Stanishev

The book in your hands tries to tell the story of the last 30 years of history the European Union, through the eyes of European social democracy. It is an optimistic story because social democracy is based on optimism and the idea of constant progress for our society. Like I always say: social democracy is focused on the future, striving to provide a better tomorrow for everyone. We, the social democrats, rarely look at the past but, when we do, we acknowledge both our successes and our shortcomings.

This is the case with this book as well. It brings us back to the glorious efforts of the social democrats who laid the groundwork for the European Union. The next pages honour the work of our forefathers. They review the good and the bad election results, the ideas and policies we managed to implement in the European Union, as well as those yet to be implemented. This book is about how Europe became the most desirable place to live, by keeping peace, creating the welfare state, introducing public education and healthcare, and recognising equal rights for everyone.

I want to personally thank all of you who have taken the time to contribute to this book — the former presidents of the PES, all the presidents of PES Women; the founders of the Party of European Socialists, the signatories of our founding declaration in 1992, the young representatives of our family who will successfully carry on the work of the last 30 years.

I have been a socialist for more than 30 years and the President of the Party of European Socialists for the last eleven years. This is one third of the formal existence of the PES. It has been a period of challenges and difficulties such



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as the aftermath of the global financial crisis in 2008, or the discussions on how to handle the migrant wave, or the Covid-19 pandemic, and now – sadly – the war in Ukraine.

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„Lately, not only wealth, power and control, but also information and knowledge are concentrated in the hands of a few.

In such challenging times, we found the courage to leave the comfort of the Grand Coalition with the conservatives, to strengthen our cooperation among progressives, and we came very close to winning the European elections of 2019. Today, we have more Prime Ministers and Heads of State in the European Council than any other political family. We have nine Commissioners in key positions in the European Commission. We authored the most ambitious European recovery plan to date, to overcome the social and economic consequences of the Covid-19 crisis, keeping many people in work through the SURE mechanism. We laid the foundations for a European Pillar of Social Rights and we launched the European Green Deal.

However, an unthinkable recent event might frustrate all our efforts —the war in Ukraine.

Our resolute response in the face of the aggression has made me think of another dramatic event — 9/11 — and of the story of Marissa Panigrosso, who was working in her office on the 98th floor of the South tower of the World Trade Center when the first plane hit the northern building. A disaster no-one had expected.

The case of Marissa is described in a book by the American psychologist Stephen Gross, also a professor in the UK. At 8:45 on September 11, 2001, the windows of the South tower bent from the heat of the plane exploding next door, and heat like that of a burning furnace was felt in the rooms. But Marissa did not hesitate a moment. She didn't go back for her bag, she did not make a phone call. She immediately headed for the nearest emergency exit and rushed down the stairs, while many of her colleagues did not immediately detect the seriousness of the situation. They paid it with their lives. They died victims to a ruthless terrorist attack.

We, Socialists, must act with unity and determination when faced with a threat. That is our strength as a political family.

The unexpected war in Ukraine is claiming thousands of lives on the battlefield and among innocent civilians. The explosions are heard beyond our borders, but they are also being felt within the European Union: inflation rises, energy deficits increase, social differences sharpen, and unnecessary divisions are fuelled.

This is happening on top of the already big inequality between the super-rich and ordinary people in a world heavily influenced by new technologies and the impact of social networks on public opinion.

Lately, not only are wealth and power concentrated in the

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hands of a few, but also access to information and knowledge. More and more people in Europe and around the world feel invisible. They struggle to make ends meet, worried by bills, by their mortgage payments, or by the fear of losing their jobs. Many Europeans are marginalised, unheard, and misunderstood.

We, Socialists, must immediately stand more firmly behind these people. Let us defend workers, from couriers and turners, to designers and programmers. Let us show them that we hear and understand them, and let us stand up together against de-humanisation. Our ideology is the ideology of humanism.

We need to find the strength to look into the day after the war, the one in Ukraine or the next, and take responsibility for the future in 10, 12, or 30 years' time. Let us set ourselves the goal of humanising the economy, society, science, and politics.

Social democratic principles are more necessary in times of crisis. Our policies are more efficient and helpful. They were after the Second World War and after the Cold War, and they continue to be today, under the threat of an energy crisis and a socio-economic crisis. We are called upon to defend the livelihoods and wellbeing of European citizens.

This, in my opinion, is the true mission of the PES. People expect improvements and protection from us. They are not going to get them from conservatives, let alone the far right. If we do not act now, extreme political attitudes will grow, posing a serious threat to the European Union, to the rights of its citizens, and to social-democratic policies.

How can we stand for a united Europe like the one its founders, many of them social democrats, dreamt of? How can we be an agent for positive change again? My answer is clear: by preserving our values and our identity, and by constantly reminding ourselves that the social protection of

citizens is a political goal, not an economic goal. It has an intrinsic value that cannot be measured in money.

The challenges we have to face are many — the consequences of the inflationary crisis, climate change, the threat posed by war, the injustices in the labour market, the threatening power of tax-avoiding digital giants. We have the ideological tools to address these problems. Europe's future will be a better future if Europe chooses the path social democracy, equality, and humanity.

To take this path, we must also return to critical thinking. We must look at the world with curiosity but also be able to boldly oppose everything that is openly damaging or negative for our societies. We do not fear facts, and we do not fear anyone's opinions, but we will fight the ideas of the intolerant with determination. We must get out of our own bubble, away from the comfort of only communicating with people with similar viewpoints, and reach out to everybody. After all, we humans are social animals.

Social democracy is an ideology of peace. More than 30 years ago, the resolute refusal of our founding fathers to engage in military conflict again established lasting peace in Europe, giving birth to the most ambitious political project in human history: the European Union. As naïve as this may sound in the current context, democracy and freedom have no historical alternative. Democracy and freedom always prevail in the long run.

But even away from war, humanity cannot sit still. Climate change is increasingly present in our lives and action and resolve are required. The only way out of the climate emergency is to tirelessly advance towards a green transition. But the green transition must be socially just. Only if it is socially sustainable will it be sustainable at all. We need to support everyone during this transition. Climate friendly policies are not an individual choice, they have to be a social choice.

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Allow me to go back to Marisa Panigrosso's colleagues, who hesitated at the alert. They died when the second plane crashed into their tower at 9:03 that morning. Tamitha Freeman, a friend of Marisa's was also among the victims. She had gone back to her desk to retrieve a family photo. Marissa recounts all of this in a collection of memoirs by survivors of the 9/11 attacks.

Our past is worthy of pride, but the focus should be on the future. We cannot predict the future, but we can influence

it. We can think of different possibilities. As a historian, I can say that History is not the story of the past, it is the story of change. And as a political idealist and a leader of the European left, I want to say: when acting with unity and determination, the PES has the power to lead Europe on the road to justice, equality, and a humane future. Armed with its values, social democracy can continue to be a agent of change in Europe and around the world. And this is not only about fighting our political rivals. This is about saving humanity. This is my fight and our fight.

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PES: The force for progress



Achim Post (SPD) was elected Secretary General by the PES Congress in 2012 and re-elected in 2015 and 2018. He is a member of the German Bundestag and Deputy Chairman of the Parliamentary Group of the Social Democratic Party of Germany.

By Achim Post

I first took to the stage as Secretary General of the Party of European Socialists (PES) at the party Congress in 2012. A decade later, we are meeting again for our PES Congress in Berlin on the 30th anniversary of the PES – our first real meeting gathering the whole family since the beginning of the pandemic. This is a special and important moment for all of us. And I am particularly proud that our family stood united over the past years, worked hard to overcome the challenges we faced, and is today stronger than before.

We are now the strongest political family in Europe – with our Prime Ministers, European Commissioners, and with our parliamentary group in the European Parliament. And as a German social democrat, I am especially glad to see a social democratic chancellor of Germany again.

It has been a remarkable decade, but also a very challenging one. Not just for our political family, but Europe and the world, too.

“Together for the Europe we need” – that was the title of the 2012 PES Congress in Brussels. That message has been vitally important through the financial crashes, the threats to international peace, and the health and climate emergencies that have characterised the last decade. The value of solidarity, of working together to make sure no one is left behind, has never been clearer.

When I took over as Secretary General, the world was still living in the shadow of the financial crash. A financial crisis that began in the United States resonated across the world, knocking down economies and destroying jobs.

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Even when socialists had some notable successes in the years following the crash – such as the creation of the European Youth Guarantee to support employment, training, and education for the next generation of Europeans — it would be fair to say that the austerity agenda of conservatives and liberals prevailed. It caused massive damage to our societies, damage that we are still working to fix today.

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**We have set the
political agenda of
the past years.
We want to continue
to do it.**

At the European level we fought hard against austerity, and pushed strongly into the European elections with a fellow SPD politician as PES common candidate: Martin Schulz. We brought 1,600 activists together in Paris to launch his campaign. And whilst we did not ultimately win those elections, Martin Schulz did set in train an agenda that leads to today: minimum wages, strong common investment, action against fiscal and social dumping.

During these years, there were reasons for hope throughout Europe. After triumphing in the 2015 general election, the Partido Socialista government in Portugal, led by António Costa, showed how to succeed without conservatism, without

austerity. More growth, more jobs, more opportunities for young people – that is what António Costa achieved. Later, with Pedro Sánchez becoming Prime Minister of Spain, our progressive voice for strong investments and strong social cohesion became even stronger. And with Stefan Löfven as Swedish Prime Minister in the driving seat, we succeeded in proclaiming the European Pillar of Social Rights – a key achievement for a more social Europe.

Inspired by these outstanding achievements of our family, we built up for the European elections. I am very proud of the manifesto we produced for the 2019 European elections — *A New Social Contract for Europe* — and even prouder of the campaign we ran with Frans Timmermans. With his dedication, with his clear commitment on sustainability and a just transition, on democracy, on the rule of law, and on a strong European role in a changing world, Frans greatly contributed to the success and the future political course of our family. He made Europe stronger, too.

The years that followed that campaign have been some of the toughest for Europe. The choice between a conservative and progressive future has never been more obvious. In early 2020 neoliberal dogma crumbled in the face of the Covid-19 pandemic. In the face of an invisible enemy, it was not the banks that we relied upon, but the nurses, the care workers, the shop workers, and all members of the real workforce. And we relied on a strong state, as well as on our common European strength.

In 2020, the approach that worked was our progressive way. As Europeans, we found common resolve to defeat the virus, to save and restart the economy, and to build a greener and fairer society once the virus passed. A strong role of the state, welfare policies, and investment were the foundations for the common European recovery plan.

Putin’s brutal invasion of Ukraine this year, and the impact it

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has had on international stability and prices for citizens, has again prompted strong state action. And rightfully so: when citizens are struggling, we should mobilise the necessary resources to help them.

The last ten years have been a decade of reflection and rebirth for social democracy, building on the lessons of previous decades and growing with the challenges we had to face. Despite some painful defeats, on many occasions, our family earned back the trust of voters, we once again addressed the issues that are important to them.

To play a part in this political journey over the last decade is one of the great honours of my political life. And I am proud to say that this was also the case in my home country, Germany, where Olaf Scholz ran a successful campaign combining a clear emphasis on concrete progress for the people and a truly European perspective for change.

Over the last 30 years, we have fought for a more social Europe, where people are more important than markets, where solidarity underpins all of our actions. Working alone as separate parties, we would not have achieved what we have. We succeeded because we were united, with courage, for a better Europe. However, it is equally clear: none of these achievements are secured forever. The enemies from the far right, the enemies of our Europe, are still strong. The challenges for peace in Europe and for a sustainable future on our continent are bigger than ever. Social democracy, our common voice, our political commitment is needed more than ever before. It is the people in our societies — the workers, the pensioners, the families, the worse off — who need us most. It is for them that we have to fight now. It is for them that we have to deliver on our progressive agenda. Earning their trust is our most important task. We will earn it by overcoming the challenges we face and by building a good future for all of us.

From the Hague to Berlin and beyond, these 30 years are

just the beginning. Let us go forward, together, for a more progressive Europe for all.

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Equality is never
safe, it is a constant
struggle.

François Mitterrand (PS, France)



FAIRNESS SUSTAINA







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The goal of the EU is to form a region of freedom, security and justice. Freedom in this connection cannot be just the freedom of the strong, but it must be combined with fraternity and equality.

Tarja Halonen (SDP, Finland)

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The signing of the Rome Treaties by the 6 founding member countries on 25 March 1957. European Commission.

Thirty years ago, when the PES was born, in November 1992, its manifesto honoured the survivors of two world wars who had placed all their hopes in a peaceful, progressive European project which would make bloody and brutal military conflict a historical fact with no bearing on the present. At the same time, it noted that the party's struggle — against racism, nationalism, inequality and environmental cataclysm — was still ongoing and its mission was more relevant than ever.

The year 2022 continues to present challenges — for people and the planet — but as we come together to mark three decades together, it seems important to look back at the sheer scale of tasks socialists have faced, not least in forming our party in the first place. As we review how far we have come, and how much has been accomplished in such a short space of time, we can see how much there remains to do while looking forward, always, to the future.



THE FIFTIES:

The ideal of community and collaboration

Travelling across Europe today it is almost impossible to imagine the scale of devastation left for Europeans to live in after two world wars. Beautiful cities — such as Berlin, Warsaw and Ypres — had all but been destroyed and millions of men, women and children had died. But as the spectre of Nazism was fading, Communism was taking hold: an Iron Curtain was tearing Germany, and the continent, in two as East and West lived in constant fear of nuclear war.

Conditions seemed as hopeless for socialists as they may sometimes seem, when contemplating the sudden resurgence of populism, now. However, as British socialist George Orwell wrote in 1947: “Our activities as Socialists only have meaning if we assume that Socialism can be established.” Admitting that ‘the chances are against us’ due to the existential threats posed to human civilization by the atom bomb, he argued “a Socialist United States of Europe seems to me the only worthwhile political objective today. Such a federation would contain about 250 million people, including perhaps half the skilled industrial workers of the world. I do not need to be told that the difficulties of bringing any such thing into being are enormous and terrifying... But we ought not to feel that it is of its nature impossible, or that countries so different from one another would not voluntarily unite.”

Fortunately, for the utopian vision of the author of the dystopia *1984*, many other socialists in Europe felt the same. Robert Schuman — not a socialist himself, did, too. He had been a member of the French government before the Second

World War, and narrowly escaped being sent to Dachau concentration camp for resistance to Nazism during it. In 1950, Schuman proposed that French and West German coal and steel production be pooled together suggesting that, since these two materials were essential to the industrial power of both countries, cooperation in the means of production would help banish the possibility of war breaking out across borders again in future. The resulting creation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1951 proved to be a crucial first step towards the construction of the EU and the re-construction of Europe.

The Treaty of Paris made the ECSC a reality and six countries started to discuss a widening of the project to include the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, and Italy. At the same time, the Socialist International conceived the idea of creating institutional cooperation between the socialist parties of each of these countries and formed the first study group on European unity among its French, German, Dutch, Belgian, Luxembourgish and Italian member parties. By September 1952, this network became formalised as the Socialist Group in the Common Assembly of the ECSC, consisting of all six socialist parties from its six member states. They worked under Guy Mollet's (PS, FR) presidency.

Enthusiasm for the ideals of the community, and collaboration among its socialist members, grew quickly throughout the 1950s. The French took the lead in creating a United States of Europe by proposing a European Defence Community (EDC) and a European Political Community (EPC). Mollet, who was leader of the French Section of the Workers' International (SFIO) from 1946 to 1969, became Prime Minister of France in 1956. He was instrumental in negotiating and creating a new European Economic Community and European Atomic Energy Community (EAEC). The Treaty of Rome, which codified these developments, remains one of the two most important treaties underpinning the European Union. The EEC and EAEC became a fact of European life on 1 January 1958.



Guy Mollet (PS, FR) on 27 May, 1958, pictured months after he left office as Prime Minister of France. ANEFO, via Wikicommons.

From this point onwards, a bureau with a delegate from each socialist party within the bloc would meet, and congresses for members would convene, biannually, to maximise efforts in decision making. Socialists came together to advocate for the abolition of trade barriers in Europe - while protecting the rights of European workers, and to support plans to make Europe self-sufficient in farm produce - while protecting the rights of agricultural labourers.

The ideal of community and collaboration

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THE SIXTIES:

Make party, not war

If the Forties were defined by the past and the Fifties by fears for the present, the Sixties were dedicated to the future. A boom was birthing not only babies but cultural revolution, social transformation and a generational shift, from old to new, that still holds sway today.

Protests for civil rights and against militarism drew millions of participants worldwide — rooted in the core socialist principles of economic and social justice for all. At the height of the Cold War, the peace and love movement represented an alternative to authoritarianism.

The success of the new economic community formed by France, Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg, Holland and Italy encouraged Britain, Ireland and Denmark to apply for membership in August 1961, swiftly followed by Norway in 1962 — which never materialised, while cooperation between European socialists increased to the point that thoughts turned towards creating a collective European party.

Initially the brainchild of Dutch politician, Henk Vredeling, and his colleagues in the Partij van de Arbeid (PvdA), the idea was to unite socialist and non-socialist progressive forces around

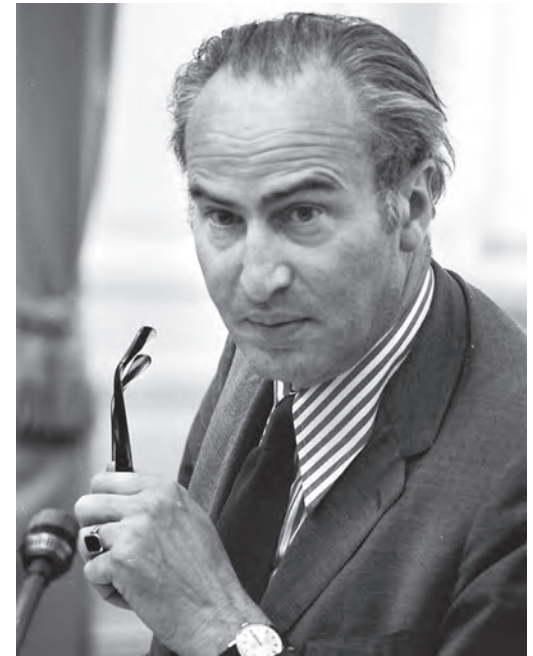


Students and labour unions join forces in Paris during the May 1968 protests, at Place de la République in Paris. Fondation Gilles Caron.

a common agenda for Europe. At the same time, European Commissioners Sicco Mansholt (PvdA) and Lionello Levi Sandri of the Partito Socialista Italiano (PSI) proposed a socialist assembly to replace the biannual congress, with separate conventions specifically for women and young people. Discussions were diverse and complex with many competing visions and so the PES remained, for now, a twinkle in Henk Vredeling's eye...

As the post-war boom became a bust, socialists began to concentrate on economic issues throughout the Seventies which were mired in an oil crisis. On 1 January 1973, the United Kingdom and Denmark formally joined the EC, so incorporating British and Danish socialist parties also became an urgent priority. Balancing the level and speed of integration would represent an ongoing issue for the ideal of a collective European, socialist party from hereon in - not least because socialist members had different views on European integration.

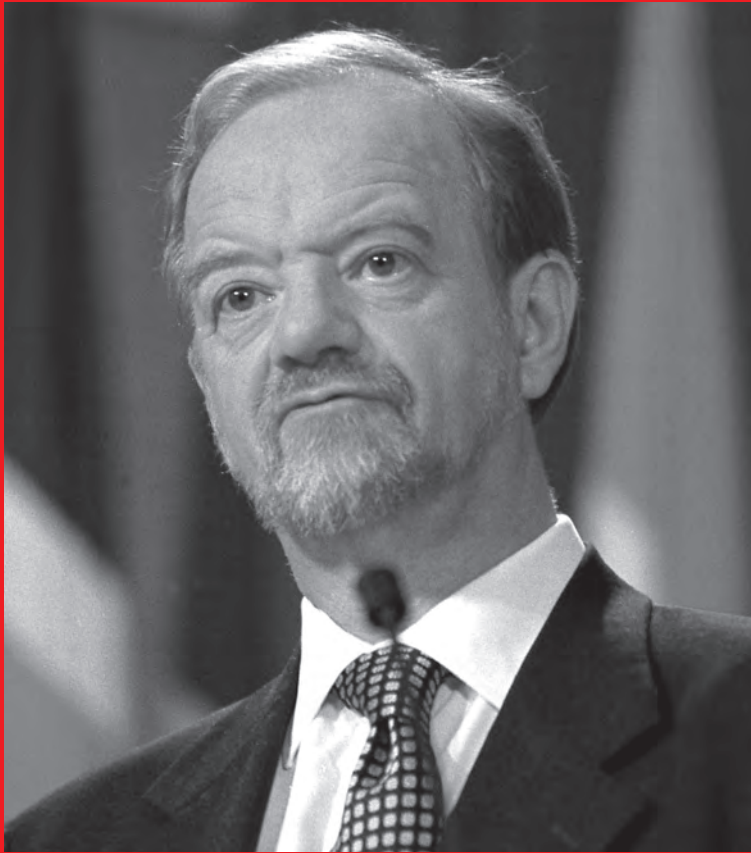
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Henk Vredeling (PvdA), at Dutch Parliament in 1974. Bert Verhoeff. Wikicommons.

**MAKE PARTY,
NOT WAR**

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For democracy to work best it needs to work within a society that is cohesive, a society in which there is social cohesion and social justice.

Robin Cook (Labour, UK)



Political statement from the Socialist parties of the European Community

(Brussels, 24 June 1978)

We, the Socialist parties of the European Community are committed to the pursuit of the common goals of freedom, social justice, equality and harmonious economic development.

Our parties have inherited different experiences down the years. They operate in countries where the level of economic development, the intensity of social struggle, cultural traditions, awareness of social problems and the interplay of internal political alliances profoundly differ, yet we share a common goal of a more humane and egalitarian Europe for all our citizens, as part of a new international order based on democratic socialist principles.

Our drawing more closely together in Europe is quite compatible with respect for each other's individuality.

Throughout Europe, it is the Socialists who, in the cause of human welfare,

are battling to eradicate injustice and inequality, and to ensure a harmonious development of society.

In the European Community, the most important objective for Socialists is the liberation of the individual from every form of dependence, exploitation and need and the giving of more power and rights to each individual.

To achieve this objective we must change the economic and social structures in our countries. We realize that whilst each country can by itself do much towards this end, joint action between us in some fields can accelerate our progress. After twenty years of existence, the Community must now advance to a new phase in which the emphasis - in policy and in action - will be changed from the dictates of commercial interest to the pursuit of humane and co-operative goals. The first phase of the life of the Community

has ended with only free trade achieved but with little regional and social balance.

We note with concern:

- the inability of our present social structure to solve the grave problem of unemployment;
- a trend towards less equality and solidarity as seen in the ever-widening gulf between the rich and the poor throughout the world and within the European Community;
- that uncontrolled growth in production and consumption, especially in the wealthier regions of the world, is being achieved at the cost of exhausting and polluting the environment, and of declining living and working conditions for millions of workers - something which Socialists cannot permit.

We accept that our duty to posterity,

and to the millions of people living in dire poverty, compels us to accept restrictions in the use we make of the world's natural resources and to work for a better distribution of wealth, both within the Community and between the Community and the Third World.

Our fight for a society in which available resources are distributed fairly demands that we shape and guide social and economic development. The conventional economic policy instruments have proved inadequate; an active employment policy and

the planning of the economy will be necessary to reduce unemployment. We also seek a fairer distribution of available work, with an important place being given to a shorter working span, a shorter working week, and a systematic policy of vocational training and retraining. Here we must take particular account of those groups which face the greatest difficulties on the labour market; young people, women, older workers and foreign workers.

We believe that the best way to achieve these conditions is through a

common policy agreed between the main industrial nations. This common policy can be achieved only in close cooperation with all Trade Union organisations, particularly the ETUC. Our parties emphasise the growing role that the ETUC has to play in defending the personal and material interests of the working people of Europe and in achieving social progress and the democratisation of the economy. The ETUC must be more involved in the preparation of, and the procedure for, making decisions. Our parties also intend to work out their own proposals in close collaboration with the Trade Union movement and to encourage every possible step towards greater freedom for the workers of Europe.

In addition to reducing unemployment, an improvement in working conditions is urgently required. The third industrial revolution has been accompanied by great technological progress, but also by an increase in the scale and concentration of economic power, producing massive and impersonal production units which make individual workers and consumers feel insignificant and powerless. Increasing mechanisation and mass production mean that work is rarely geared to the aptitudes and wishes of the individual worker.

Inhuman working conditions lead to alienation, increasing absenteeism and inefficiency. The traditional small



A year before adopting this political statement from the European socialist parties, Joop den Uyl - then a Prime Minister of The Netherlands - welcomed Mario Soares, Yigal Allon, Anker Jørgensen, Felipe González, Willy Brandt, Helmut Schmidt, José Francisco Peña Gómez, Bruno Kreisky, and John Smith, among other guests, at a Conference of European socialist leaders in Amsterdam, in 1977.

and medium-sized undertakings are often unable to keep up with the large undertakings and are threatened with extinction.

We oppose this trend. Therefore we shall campaign for:

- increased responsibility for workers within the enterprise. Democracy within industry and the economy as a whole should be developed in forms appropriate to each country and in cooperation with trade unions.
- democratic control of major industrial concentrations and multinational concerns: respect for competition rules, checking transfers of profits, greater control of the movement of capital, and the allocation of investment.
- active encouragement of small and medium-sized enterprises, and development of workers' cooperatives, and similar social instruments.

The Socialist parties therefore undertake to strive for an economic policy aimed at establishing

- Full employment
- Stability
- A fairer distribution of income and wealth
- An effective and democratic economic structure
- Economic democracy
- Improved social security

- Better living and working conditions
- Improved educational opportunities.

The right to work is and will remain one of the basic aims of Socialism. It is a fundamental human right for men and women. The principal tasks of the European Community and its member countries must, therefore, be to combat unemployment and to ensure full employment. In this connection, Socialists place greatest emphasis not only on a policy of full employment but also on a policy aimed at creating better working conditions.

Socialists therefore advocate humane and harmonious growth, which means that innovation, investment and the creation and location of jobs will take account of the need for a balanced society, particularly with regard to the environment.

We, Socialists, will continue to strive for a more equitable distribution of income and wealth. We note with particular concern that efforts to assist the development of the Community's less-favoured regions have made little headway.

We therefore demand a clear and vigorous regional policy designed to reduce differences in living standards between the various regions in the Community. At the same time, we demand an effective social policy

capable of removing the many inequalities between groups of citizens in our countries.

Democratic Socialism stands for an equitable educational system which offers equal opportunities and maximum possibilities of development for all. In Europe we want a social expenditure policy which will ensure that everyone, irrespective of social background, sex or age, can avail himself of opportunities for continuing education throughout his life.

The exhaustion of raw materials and the dangers of environmental pollution are most alarming. Only a worldwide-effort can enable nations to implement a policy designed to maintain the ecological balance and save raw materials. Europe should lead in this direction.

Of great importance here will be a Community energy conservation programme, together with a Community effort to develop alternative energy sources. We recognise that the further development and use of nuclear energy can be considered only if there is public ownership and control to ensure adequate safeguards against security and environmental hazards.

We welcome the reestablishment of democracy in Greece, Spain and Portugal; we strongly support the

accession of these countries to the Community. Moreover we believe that democratic Europe has an urgent responsibility to contribute to the strengthening of democracy in these countries and must demonstrate its solidarity with the working people of the countries concerned.

We know that the economic and social structures of these countries and the particular products concerned make it necessary to have certain arrangements for adaptation and an appropriate timetable of transitional periods, in order to respect the legitimate interests of all people - both in the Community and in Greece, Portugal and Spain.

The enlargement of the Community must become a source of new strength and dynamism for Europe.

Europe should see itself as a force for peace.

In our view, social progress based on freedom and a sense of responsibility within and outside the Community are possible only if we remain at peace. We wish to contribute towards this end, and therefore support the policy of détente between East and West. Our aim is to work towards a situation in which European peace becomes a reality.

Europe has failed to achieve an organised peace - for the mere absence

of war does not constitute a secure peace. We therefore support a policy consciously aimed at preventing war. We want to see a policy of détente between the power blocs.

The Socialist parties in Europe are the best guarantee that in future, the renunciation of the use of force, stability, cooperation and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons will remain the basic principles of international politics.

We spare no effort to achieve the renunciation of violence at regional and world level. Freedom, justice and solidarity are not only principles ruling the way of life of our countries but also a reliable guide for the international order that we are striving for.

With regard to the present military balance in the world and developments in the field of armaments technology, negotiations on arms control are becoming more and more important. The arms race must be stopped, as it swallows up huge resources and could endanger strategic stability through the increasing development of new weapons technology. The policy of limiting and reducing arms must be so conceived as to make it possible to stop the arms race spiral.

As regards our relations with Eastern Europe, we favour a policy of détente and cooperation as set out in the Final

Act of the Helsinki Agreement*. This first effort at cooperation between East and West in Europe since the Second World War includes practical plans for cooperation in the economic field, as well as in science and human relations. These plans can become a reality only if the true spirit of the Helsinki agreement, including the area of human rights, is supported by all signatories.

Only a Europe which declares itself in solidarity with the world's poor can make a genuine contribution to peace. On the medium and long term, the prosperous countries will have to accept a slower increase in their material affluence in order to overcome the North-South conflict.

This is why we would also intensify European cooperation with the developing countries. The success achieved so far shows that we are on the right path towards further progress.

* Helsinki Final Act, (1 August 1975) was a major diplomatic agreement signed in Helsinki, Finland, at the first Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE; now called the OSCE) which acted as an effort to reduce tension between the Soviet Union and the Western bloc by securing their common acceptance of the post-World War II status quo in Europe.



“

We do not accept
the European
right's idea that
the main objective
of European
construction is the
single market.
We add many more
aspects to that idea.

Vítor Constâncio (PS, Portugal)

Continued from page 19 →

At the Ninth Socialist Congress, held in Bonn in April 1973, a resolution was approved to focus on the achievement of full employment and the standardisation of benefits across Europe. Such a significant step in the right direction boosted plans to formalise and structure cooperation between socialist parties and on 5 April 1974, the Confederation of the Socialist Parties of the European Community (CSPEC) was formed.



Wilhelm Dröscher (SPD), pictured in 1976.
Imago, through Vorwärts.

Wilhelm Dröscher, of the Central Committee of the Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD), was appointed as president. Yet another European who dreamed of a new kind of Europe — without racial prejudice and war, he feared that the creation of a European Socialist Party was “not a realistic possibility in the near future.” He warned that democratic socialism could become a “dead letter” in the European Community and advocated for greater cooperation and more dialogue between European socialists in order to revive it.

That same year, the EC decided that there should be direct

elections to the new European Parliament which drew every socialist party in the community - the exception was the British Labour Party - into collective action. Working groups were established to agree economic and social policy, as well as a common approach to democratic principles, the establishment of institutions and a mutual stance on foreign relations.

Considering the magnitude of all that was at stake it is perhaps not surprising that discussions proved extremely controversial. In order to reach agreement, socialist party leaders came together for a summit a year before the elections finally took place. The resulting political declaration of June 1978 represented a seismic shift for the Socialist Confederation. It is impressive to read what was agreed and how relevant the political goals outlined remain in 2022: Collectively, socialist parties wanted full employment, a fairer distribution of income and wealth, better living and working conditions for workers and maximised educational opportunities for children and young people.



Michel Rocard, one of leading figures in those discussions, pictured in 1981.
Roland Godefroy, Wikicommons.

**MAKE PARTY,
NOT WAR**

30 YEARS OF
PROGRESS



Italian and German campaign posters announcing the first direct European election held in 1979. European Commission and European Parliament archive, through CVCE.

The declaration - see above -, which drew a great deal of media attention thanks to the clarity of this vision, also criticised the European Community, as it then existed, for concentrating on “free trade with little regional and social balance” to the exclusion of almost everything else.

The first European elections, to elect the first European Parliament, were held between 7 and 10 of June 1979 and collectively the socialist parties came first at the ballot box - ahead of the conservative and liberal-democratic opposition.

**MAKE PARTY,
NOT WAR**

30 YEARS OF
PROGRESS



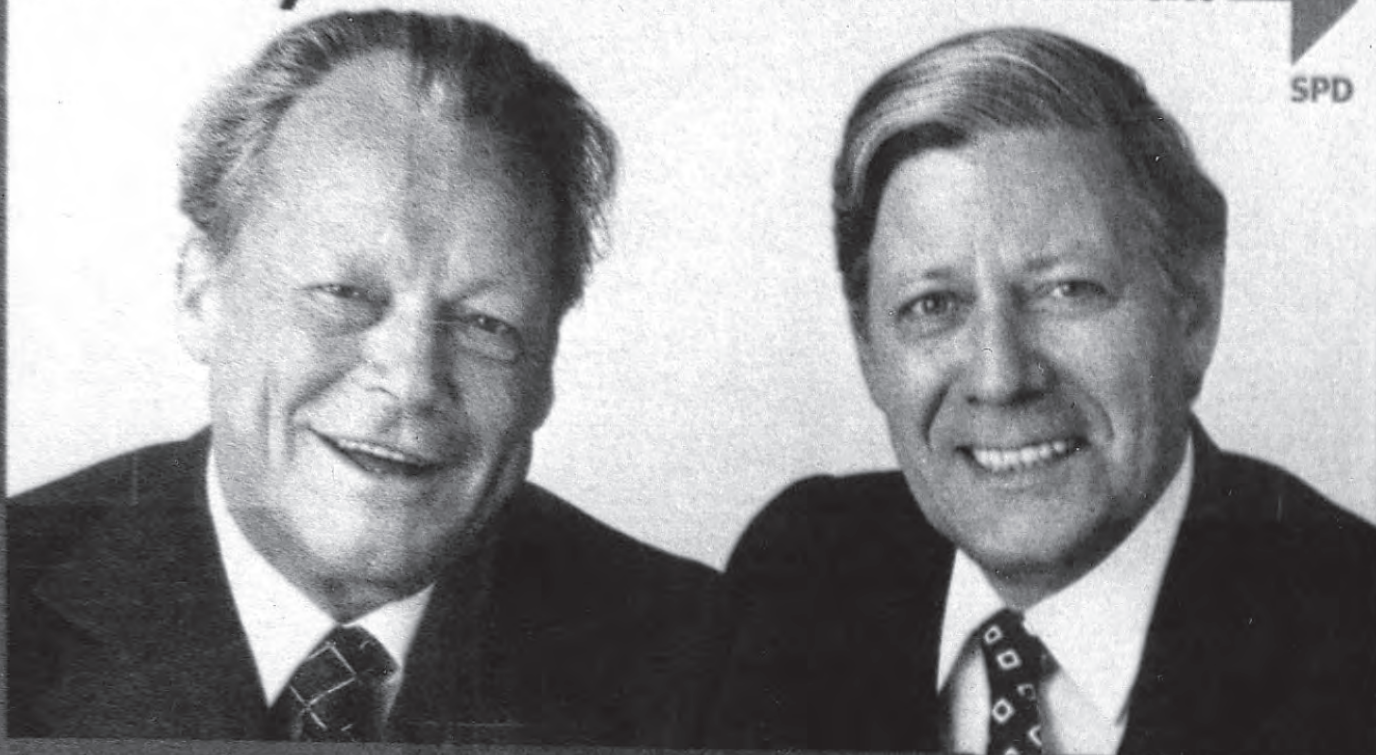
Fiorella Ghilardotti (DS), PES Women president, from 1999 to 2004.
Wikicommons.

**MAKE PARTY,
NOT WAR**

30 YEARS OF
PROGRESS

Frieden, Gerechtigkeit, Arbeitsplätze.

**Unser Wort gilt in Europa.
Mit Willy Brandt und Helmut Schmidt.**



Deutsche Sozialdemokraten für Europa.

SPD election poster for the first direct European elections, in June 1979.
SPD Archives.

**MAKE PARTY,
NOT WAR**

30 YEARS OF
PROGRESS



Media attention increased in the runup to the first European election. EC Press conference in The Hague, November 1976. European Commission.

**MAKE PARTY,
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Karin Junker – centre –, the first PES Women president, pictured in 1977. Wikicommons.

**MAKE PARTY,
NOT WAR**

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PROGRESS



Willy Brandt speaks as a member of European Parliament, in 1979. European Parliament, through CVCE.

In the negotiations which followed, a woman, the French politician Simone Veil of the Union pour la Démocratie Française (UDF), became the first president of the European Parliament. A survivor of both Auschwitz-Birkenau and Bergen-Belsen concentration camps, she was a firm believer in the European integration as a way of guaranteeing peace.

For socialists, the election results were both an unprecedented victory and a sobering wake up call. In the words of Dick Toornstra (PvdA), Secretary-General of the CSPEC: “Individual parties are finally called upon to make their choice: do they want a Confederation with some political power or just a European Socialist Postbox?”

**MAKE PARTY,
NOT WAR**

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“
Sustainable
development is
development that
meets the needs of
the present without
compromising the
ability of future
generations to meet
their own needs.”

Gro Harlem Brundtland (DNA, Norway)

THE EIGHTIES:

Socialists vs. Thatcherism & Reaganomics



Policewomen on the streets of Brussels. Behind: Former premises of the People's House of the Belgian Socialist Party. Michel Huhardeaux. Wikicommons.

The results of the first European election galvanised efforts within the Confederation of the Socialist Parties of the European Community to unite. In February 1983, a new campaign committee was convened to concentrate on the next election, once again discussing the collective socialist vision for economic, social and foreign policy, Europe's place in the world and the growth of its institutions. The resulting manifesto focused on finding a way out of the ongoing financial crisis which did not involve plunging into the same market liberalisation measures introduced in America by its new President, Ronald Reagan and the de-unionisation



Jacques Delors (PS, FR) in 1992. European Commission.

strategy imposed on the British by its recently elected Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher - which was to cause significant social unrest during the Eighties.

The CSPEC advocated for increased powers for the European Parliament to combat Thatcherism and Reaganomics - which saw the citizens of those countries stripped of many workers' rights and protections. As was made clear in *The Aims and Tasks of Democratic Socialism* adopted by the Socialist

International at the Frankfurt Conference of 1951, "no nation can solve its economic and social problems in isolation" and transcending national sovereignty represented the solution. Therefore, in May 1984, during a special meeting hosted by François Mitterrand (who had taken the Parti Socialiste to power in France and was now President) the socialist leaders of the EC agreed to support a plan to create a Common Market - put forward during the French Presidency of the EC Council. But, they added, there must be a parallel "social dimension".

**SOCIALISTS VS.
THATCHERISM &
REAGANOMICS**

30 YEARS OF
PROGRESS



François Mitterrand, pictured on 13 March 1990. Gérard Cerles. AFP.

The following month, the second direct elections to the European Parliament were held. With so many seismic national elections competing for public attention it is perhaps not surprising that voter turnout was low. Dispirited but far from broken, the socialist parties of the EC began to concentrate on EC expansion and establishing socialist policies within EC institutions. Momentum swung behind the creation of a Common Market which would improve economic growth and make the everyday life of Europeans easier. In February 1986, the Single European Act was signed, establishing European political cooperation, new powers for the European Parliament and setting a deadline for the introduction of the Common Market on 31 December 1992.

After the Single European Act came into force in July 1987 the new President of the Confederation, Vítor Constâncio, secretary-general of the Partido Socialista (PS) of Portugal from 1986 to 1989, proposed that more action had to be taken towards creating a Party of European Socialists because there was no escaping the reality that EC decisions would directly affect the every day lives of citizens in EC countries. In the

early stages of the debate on Economic and Monetary Union, the CSPEC arranged a number of special conferences to keep European socialists informed on the work being done by the Delors Commission. Jacques Delors (PS, FR), a French politician who was then serving as the eighth President of the European Commission, was focused on “completing” the Common Market and laying the foundations for a single European currency. This was spurring on European integration as never before.



Bruno Kreisky (SPÖ), Austrian Chancellor from 1970 to 1983, pictured in 1983. Wikicommons.

**SOCIALISTS VS.
THATCHERISM &
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PROGRESS



1992. Georgios Gennimatas, a co-founder of PASOK with daughter Fofi, who was PASOK president from 2015 to 2021. Personal Archive.



Danes vote in the European election of June 1984. Wikicommons.



Belgian PS poster for the European election from June 1984. PS Archives.

OUR FUTURE

30 YEARS OF
PROGRESS



Berlin, 9 November 1989.
Robert Wallis. Getty.

SOCIALISTS VS. THATCHERISM & REAGANOMICS

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In 1988, the Confederation organised meetings and conferences in Brussels, Paris and Lisbon between the leaders of the socialist groups both in national parliaments and the European Parliament to discuss how to implement a social dimension to the EC. The next CSPEC Congress concentrated on its manifesto for the 1989 European Parliament elections, electing Belgian Guy Spitaels (PS, BE) as leader and welcoming the Greek socialist party PASOK as a full member of the Confederation. But a seismic change was occurring in Europe, sooner than anyone expected.



Joop den Uyl speaks with Wim Kok and his wife during a PvdA reception, in 1985.
Rob Bogaerts. ANEFO. Wikicommons.

On 14 November 1989, just days after the first breach of the Berlin Wall, a socialist leaders' summit was held in Lisbon. Welcoming the tearing down of the Iron Curtain which had separated East and West for so long, delegates announced that the next Congress of the CSPEC would be held in Berlin in February 1990 and that the common future of Europe would be top of the agenda for discussion.

The Confederation was continually searching for ways to modernise and strengthen its organisation in order to cope with constant and rapidly escalating change. It commissioned

Wim Kok, then head of the PvdA, to write a report - a talent for which he would later become famous thanks to his review of the Lisbon Strategy. But once again the socialist parties were divided.

The Confederation appealed for unity by focusing on a social agenda for a Europe reconstructing itself after the fall of the Berlin Wall. At the Berlin Congress in 1990, EC institutions were called upon to implement the European Social Charter, and to strengthen relations with Central and Eastern Europe by assisting its emerging democracies both politically and economically.

Socialist President, François Mitterrand, and the Christian Democrat German Chancellor, Helmut Kohl, turned to the future, convening the heads of all EC governments for a new conference on political union. At the same time, the EC was formulating a collective foreign policy in response to the Gulf War. This process of institutional reform was beneficial to the prospects of the PES. Increasingly, socialist parties were developing identical attitudes and policies on the need for political and monetary union so calls for the creation of a European socialist party were increasing naturally.



THE NINETIES:

C'mon everybody, get up and fight



Willy Brandt, former mayor of West Berlin, at the Brandenburg Gate, one day after the fall of the Berlin Wall on 10 November 1989. Getty.

As Germany reunified, the Cold War thawed and the Soviet Union collapsed, the American political scientist Francis Fukuyama wrote an infamous essay declaring “The End of History”: “That is, the end-point of mankind’s ideological evolution and the universalisation of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government.” European socialists, by contrast, felt their history was just beginning...

In January 1992, the socialist confederation formally launched a new process of internal reform to unite socialists and progressives on both sides of the fast-collapsing Iron Curtain, by establishing a working group chaired by Ben Fayot (Luxembourg Socialist Workers’ Party) and Thijs Wöltgens (PvdA). This was a complex ambition because some socialist parties remained linked to existing governing parties in former Communist regimes. As

a result, progressive forces in those regions, who were natural partners for Western European socialists due to their shared ideals, were reluctant to be associated with the word “socialism”.

Seismic events meant all concerned were entering unknown political terrain. Two paths seemed clear - presenting the difficult choice between capitalising on the organisational strength of parties rooted in old regimes or investing hope in the democratic credentials of far weaker structures. One thing was obvious to everyone: if the PES was to operate in this new historical context, it had to reach out and build ties with other progressive parties. Fortunately, a broader dynamic driving European unity was in play.

On February 7 1992, the Treaty on European Union was signed by the then-twelve member states of the European Communities. Popularly known as the Maastricht Treaty, in honour of the location where it was ratified, the treaty promised “a new state in the process of European integration” including a common foreign and security policy and enhanced cooperation in domestic affairs and justice, which laid the groundwork for shared European citizenship and what we now call the Euro. An annex stated that political parties at the European level would be “an important factor for integration within the Union” as they would contribute “to forming a European awareness and to expressing the political will of the citizens of the Union.”

Guy Spitaels, President of the Socialist Confederation, interpreted this as a call to action and, together with his counterparts in conservative and liberal groupings in the EC, began drafting a working paper on how to establish political parties at the European level. This blueprint formulated a statute to establish “a binding framework for the activities of European parties” and “contribute to the broadening and deepening of European consciousness and consensus building in the European Union.”

However, by the time socialist party leaders assembled in Lisbon in mid-June, the nascent EU was already experiencing teething

problems. In Denmark, a referendum was held on Maastricht and narrowly defeated at the ballot box. This served as a timely reminder that the formation of any party of European socialists would ultimately depend on the ratification of the Treaty of the European Union. To help tackle this, the CSPEC chose a new leader to take over the presidency at the Hague Congress: Willy Claes of the Flemish Socialist Party, who was then Belgium’s Minister of Foreign Affairs.

At their next gathering in July, which was held alongside the French Socialist Party Congress in Bordeaux, attention returned to the question of forming a European socialist party. The main sticking point was the name. “Where to put ‘Europe’, where to put ‘Socialist’ and where to put ‘Party,’” as one bureau member observed at the time. Some national electorates were keener on European integration than others. That same month, British Prime Minister John Major was forced to call a vote of confidence in order to secure the passage of the Maastricht Treaty as the issue was proving so divisive in the UK. Therefore, the British Labour Party suggested that announcing the formation of a supranational “European Socialist Party” could provoke a backlash from Eurosceptic forces, which were particularly strong in sections of the tabloid press most read by the British working class. A possible solution was to allow a different name to be used for the same entity in different languages.

In November 1992, after nine months of deliberation, the working title - “European Socialist Party” - was at last abandoned and the Party of European Socialists was born, with the British Labour Party’s suggestions included. Just like Köln is Cologne and London also Londres, the PES is the Party of European Social Democrats to the Nordics and the Party of European Socialism to the Italians. The members of this new transnational socialist organisation were the parties of the then-Confederation, plus the Swedish SAP, the Finnish SDP, and the Italian PDS. Willy Claes was confirmed as the founding President of the PES while Elena Flores (PSOE), Gérard Fuchs (PS, FR), Thijs Wöltgens (PvdA), Jack Cunningham (UK Labour), Mario Didò (PSI), and Heinz

**C’MON EVERYBODY,
GET UP AND FIGHT**

30 YEARS OF
PROGRESS



From left to right: Michel Rocard (PS, FR), Heinz Fischer (SPÖ), John Hume (SDLP), Rudolf Scharping (SPD), Franz Vranitzky (SPÖ), Felipe González (PSOE), Willy Claes (Vooruit), Ben Fayot (LSAP), John Smith (Labour, UK), Jean-Pierre Cot (S&D, and PS, FR)
PES Archives.

**C'MON EVERYBODY,
GET UP AND FIGHT**

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Fischer (SPÖ) were elected as the inaugural Vice-Presidents.

Also present at this landmark PES Congress were representatives from nine central and eastern European parties and delegates from four north African parties, a clear indication of direction towards a less divisive and more socialist future. The new statutes that the PES introduced were aimed at agreeing a common electoral programme for forthcoming European parliamentary elections, a commitment to equal representation across genders and a qualified majority voting system - with an opt-out clause for individual parties. Progress is built step by step.



From left to right: António Guterres (PS, PT), Wim Kok (PvdA), Frank Vandenbroucke (Vooruit), Willy Claes (Vooruit), Felipe González (PSOE) on 9 November 1992. PES Archives.

At the PES Congress in the Hague, this was finally unveiled and the European Community Organisation of Socialist Youth (ECOSY), an association of social democratic youth organisations in Europe and the European Union, was also formed.

The pioneers of “Stronger together”

With the next European elections only two years away, the first item on the PES agenda was its election manifesto. Gerd Walter (SPD) was given ultimate responsibility for drafting it and work began across committees chaired by Heinz Fischer (SPÖ), Thijs Wöltgens (PvdA), Ben Fayot (PSL), Jan Marinus Wiersma (PvdA), Elena Florès (PSOE), Jack Cunningham (Labour, UK), Gérard Fuchs (French PS), Mario Didò (PSI), and Conny Fredriksson (SAP).

The focus was not only on promoting the PES programme, *Europe: Our Common Future*, to the electorate, emphasis was also on improving outcomes for women and promoting equal opportunities more broadly in European politics. Increased access to childcare, education, health and social services were vital collective issues to the citizens of Europe and the PES began looking into establishing a woman's section of the party to enhance such insights and let the talents of female socialists come to the fore.

The statutes adopted by the Hague Congress in 1992 were modified by each successive Congress. In January 1993, the PES established the activities of western European socialist and social democratic parties in Central and Eastern Europe on a permanent basis with a new Forum for Democracy and

**THE PIONEERS OF
“STRONGER TOGETHER”**

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2 March 2016: "All Women, All Rights" campaign of the PES Women. PES Archives.

Solidarity. This new organisation promoted regular contact between parties which were full members of the PES and like-minded allies from a broad range of centre-left political parties and organisations. In addition to its headquarters in Brussels, it established regional offices in Stockholm, Amsterdam and Budapest. A PES Women's Committee was created and one representative from its ranks was included with full voting

rights in the PES bureau.

In June 1993, PES leaders came together in Copenhagen to outline ten policy measures aimed at creating more jobs which included the coordination of national policies to stimulate collective economic recovery; follow a more active industrial policy; clean-up the environment; initiate projects for housing

THE PIONEERS OF "STRONGER TOGETHER"

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and urban renewal; invest in communication, infrastructure, education and skills training; and introduce more equitable rules for international trade. A further “Declaration on Racial Violence and Xenophobia” was aimed at ending racial discrimination and encouraging the development of more multicultural societies.

The development of such policies was also the focus for the next gathering in Arrábida, Portugal, in September which took place behind closed doors so party leaders could express their opinions more freely.

Shortly afterwards the first PES logo was unveiled, consisting of “a red rose with a green stem in a circle of twelve stars.”

On 1 November, the Treaty on European Union was enacted, and the following February Ben Fayot formally presented the PES report on its forthcoming election campaign for the European Parliament, setting out coordination across national campaigns. With the majority of socialist parties in opposition across individual member states, however, the focus was on the performance of parties in power rather than the issue of Europe and, in June 1994, voter participation in the election dropped as did hopes of a more collective approach.

However, socialists remained the largest group in the new parliament and PES summits were becoming a regular event for socialist heads of government. Within a year, the PES had become a permanent fixture in the political system of the new European Union.

Rudolf Scharping (SPD) was elected president in the Congress of Barcelona, in March 1995 and Jean-François Vallin (PS, FR) became Secretary General. As the Nineties progressed, socialist and social-democratic parties experienced a historic surge in popularity across Europe — first in smaller member states, followed by France, Italy, the UK and a newly unified



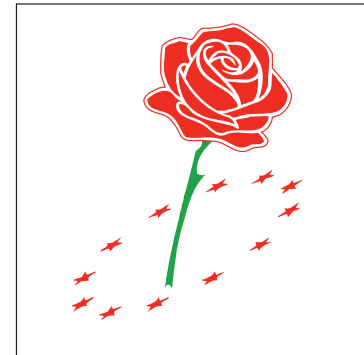
Pauline Green (Labour, UK), the first woman to lead the socialist group at the European Parliament, pictured at the EP premises in 1999. Alamy.

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PES Secretary General Ton Beumer (PvdA), speaking at the congress of Parti Socialiste in Le Mans in 2004.
PES Archives.



PES Logo 1993 - 2012

Germany. The PES strengthened too, gathering associate member parties from the Czech and the Slovak Republics, Poland, Hungary and Slovenia, and accepting six sister parties as observer parties by 1995. That same year the Bosnian War ended and cooperation within Balkan countries was sought through two conferences hosted by PASOK.

In 1997, when the Treaty of Amsterdam was signed, establishing a common area for security and justice and introducing the principle of freedom of movement across

borders, eleven EU member states had socialist prime ministers and two more PES-member progressive parties were in power. Together, they were able to push for provisions on employment to be included. Future generations were also incorporated into the structures of the PES. That same year, two representatives from ECOSY – the European socialist youth organisation – were granted voting rights in the bureau.

A second wave of sister parties from the former communist

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countries were granted observer status in 1998 as the PES admitted three Baltic and two Romanian parties to its ranks, followed by the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP). All 12 socialist and social democratic parties gained associate party status in March 1999. With the socialist advance into EU national governments, the Nineties saw an extension of PES activities

beyond the European Parliament and into EU bodies where the party had not had any presence before including the EU Council, Council of Ministers, the European Commission, the European Committee of the Regions and the Convention on the Charter of Fundamental Rights.



The Party of Roses: Branding showing the first PES logo at the extraordinary Congress in Brussels in November 1993. PES Archives.

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Official ceremony of the signing of the Amsterdam Treaty, on 2 October, 1997. European Commission.



President Poul Nyrup Rasmussen at the 10th Youth Summer Camp, in 2006. PES Archives.



Left and right: Summer camp of the Young European Socialists, Bulgaria, 2019. PES Archives.

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At the PES Congress of 1999, the PES Group at the Committee of Regions was granted the right of initiative, associate and observer parties were admitted, if invited, but without the right to vote. Associate parties were also granted the right to present proposals before the Congress.

But while, in so many senses, the PES was more united than ever, internal political division on economic policy was opening up as some parties in individual countries embraced the so-called Third Way: pursuing economic liberal orthodoxy

while introducing social policies to mitigate its negative effects. At the end of the decade, under the Portuguese Presidency of the EU, Portuguese Prime Minister António Guterres tried to reformulate Europe's economic policies from a clearer social-democratic angle, in what became known as the Lisbon Strategy. Launched in March 2000 by EU heads of state and government, its aim was to make Europe "the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion."



Alexander Kwasniewski (Nowa Lewica), sworn in as president of the Polish Republic in 1995. Facebook.

**THE PIONEERS OF
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Gyula Horn (MSZP) meets
Jacques Santer (reflected)
at the European Commission
building in Brussels.
European Commission.



This did little to prevent the rise of right-wing forces in western Europe as embodied by the emerging governments of Silvio Berlusconi in Italy or Jörg Haider in Austria and socialism was experiencing a new surge in the east. Poland

and Hungary were part of the first wave of post-communist parties returning to government in the mid-Nineties, while social democrats in the Czech Republic, who were not linked to any former regime, formed a government for the first time.

**THE PIONEERS OF
“STRONGER TOGETHER”**

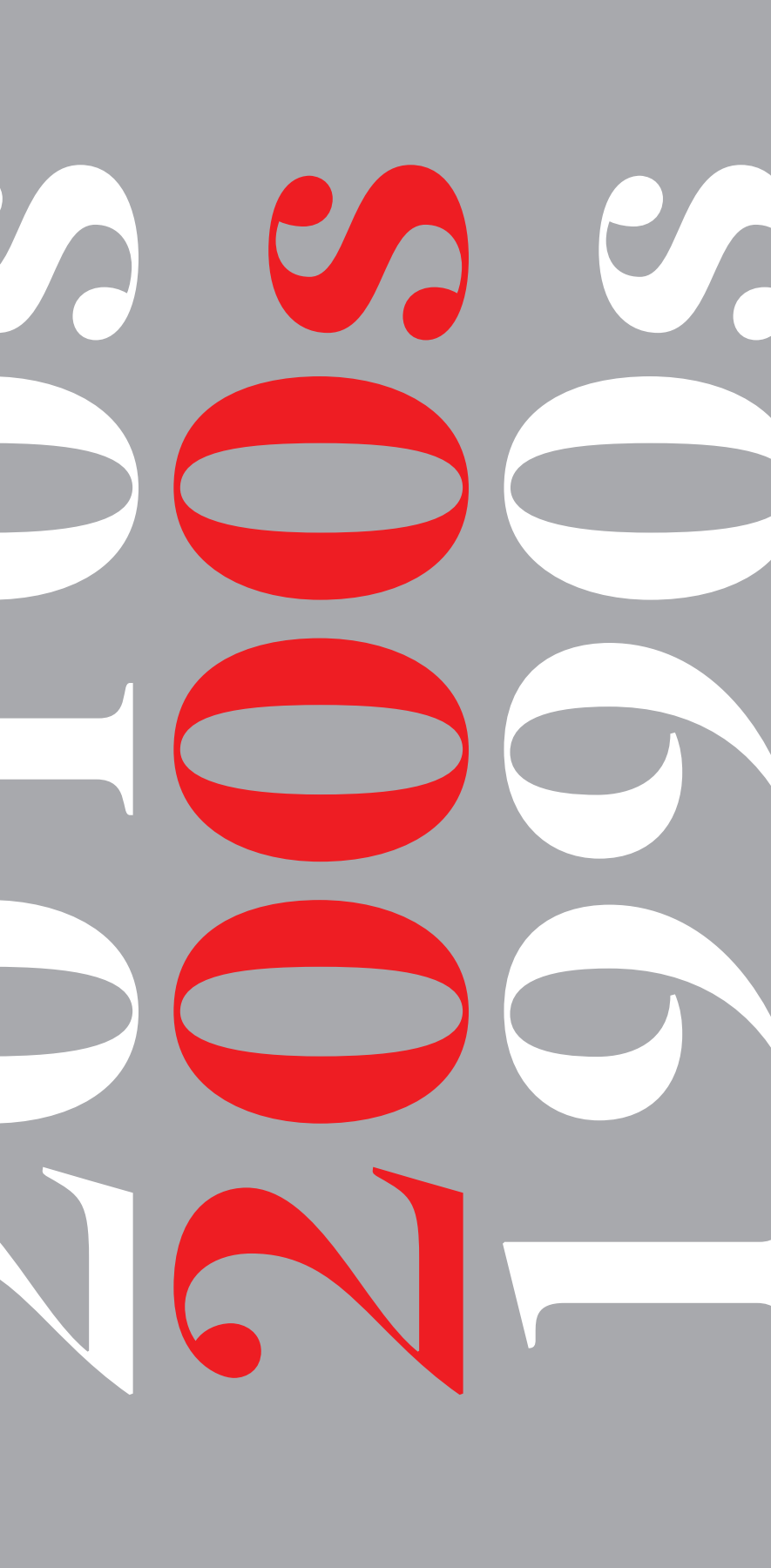
30 YEARS OF
PROGRESS



“

The world is richer
than ever, and the
gaps between rich
and poor are wider.

Anna Lindh (SAP, Sweden)



THE 2000s:

Bigger, better, stronger



PES President Robin Cook (Labour, UK) in the early 2000s, a decade determined by the war on international terrorism. PES Archives.

As a consequence of the Amsterdam Treaty, the European Commission saw an increase in power and influence. Some in the media described its president, former Italian Prime Minister Romano Prodi (PD) as the first “Prime Minister of the European Union”. Inaugurated in 1999, the Prodi Commission consisted of 20 Commissioners - ten of whom were from PES member parties, so the opportunity arose to integrate them in the work of the PES. The European Convention on the Charter of Fundamental Rights was also identified as an opportunity to strengthen the PES’s vision for the future of Europe.



Night at the end of the tunnel: Robin Cook (Labour, UK) and António Guterres (PS, PT) meet after a disappointing European election at the sixth PES Congress. PES Archives.

**BIGGER,
BETTER,
STRONGER**

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The Prodi Commission, 18 September 1999. European Commission.

In May 2001, at the PES Congress in Berlin, where Robin Cook (Labour, UK) was elected president, the bureau, which had been overloaded with administrative and organisational tasks, was replaced by a modern presidency with a fresh composition and new statutes including a president; a representative from each party enjoying full membership; the secretary general; the leader of the PES group in the European Parliament; a representative from the women's committee; a representative from the youth, ECOSY, and a representative from the PES Group in the Committee of Regions. The PES also created the PES Council, to be summoned in the years during which no PES Congress took place, making it independent from the European election cycle. The Congress remained the supreme body of the PES but the PES Council was given the power to adopt resolutions and recommendations from affiliated parties and organisations, the Presidency, the Parliamentary Group of the PES, and the Congress itself. On the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the PES, the first ever PES Council was held in Warsaw.



Prodi, with PES president Poul Nyrup Rasmussen (SD), in 2006. PES Archives.

**BIGGER,
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Heinz Fischer (SPÖ) and Leszek Miller (SLD) at the first PES Council, in Warsaw in November 2002. PES Archives.

In 2004, the PES was once again concentrated on the forthcoming EU elections. Important decisions on the future of the PES were taken to vote at the Brussels Congress in April, 2004. Poul Nyrup Rasmussen (SD) became president ahead of Giuliano Amato. Philip Cordery (PS, FR) became Secretary General. Finances were also a key topic of discussion. The European Court of Auditors had questioned some of the practices involving the distribution of public money in the European Parliament where indirect financing of national parties was strictly prohibited. The PES recognised the urgency for a legal statute which would govern European political parties and, after an agreement was reached, the financing of European political parties was restricted to five percent of the Group's budget. Preparations were also made for upgrading many PES participants to full member status.

The largest expansion of the European Union ever, in terms of territory and population, took place on the first of May 2004. Ten more countries joined the union: Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia - and all twelve sister parties from those countries acquired full member status in the PES.



Former PES presidents Rudolf Scharping (SPD) and Poul Nyrup Rasmussen (SD) in 2004. PES Archives.

The following month, elections to the European Parliament were held. This time, the PES campaign was controlled by a network of professionals and was more relevant to member parties. But although it helped mobilise support for the new Central and Eastern European parties in their first European election, conservatives won the elections.

Disappointment at this result was profound. Not only had voter turnout continued to decline well past the point of half the electorate, Eurosceptic parties had performed well.

The ensuing months were devoted to discussions on how to inspire those who lived in the EU with a greater realisation of its benefits and how to encourage greater democratic participation at the European level. The European Union embarked on what was, arguably, the most ambitious project it had ever attempted: the drafting of a constitution. The PES was a key driving force behind it. The text had the European Parliament's approval and was backed by a European Council that included eight PES members: the heads of government in the Czech Republic, Germany, Finland, Italy, Lithuania, Poland, Spain and the UK.

**BIGGER,
BETTER,
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Federica Mogherini (PD) at an S&D meeting in Genoa in 2004. PES Archives.



Ylva Johansson (SAP), debating "Our Europe" at the Vienna Council, 2005. PES Archives.

The proposed constitution introduced the concept of European citizenship and was meant to simplify decision-making, overcoming the veto power of individual member states through the reduction of unanimity requirements in specific policy areas. It also gave greater weight to the votes of the most populated countries. This would mean sweeping changes for the sovereignty of individual nations so the ratification of the European Constitution was put to a referendum in many countries including two of the EU's founding members: France and The Netherlands.

On 29 May 2005, the French public voted against and on 1 June the Dutch followed suit, making ratification impossible. A project meant to extract the EU from of a confidence crisis was mortally wounded. Disillusionment deepened and soul-searching began. The PES launched consultations on how to make decision-making more efficient in the EU and launched its own internal integration process. Meetings between leaders were increased and policy networks created to allow for a greater exchange of ideas. The commitment to gender balance was reinforced and, over time, these new frameworks would become a unique laboratory to generate ideas and policies that would help shape European political debate. The



Jacques Delors (PS, FR), Porto Congress, 2006. PES Archives.

**BIGGER,
BETTER,
STRONGER**

30 YEARS OF
PROGRESS



Former US president Bill Clinton at a meeting of the Global Progressive Forum in 2009, with Poul Nyrup Rasmussen (SD), Martin Schulz (SPD), and Josep Borrell (PSOE). PES Archives.



PES Logo 2012 - 2014

Mario Soares (PS, PT) campaigning for the European Constitution at a Parti Socialiste rally, ahead of the referendum in February 2005. PES Archives.



**BIGGER,
BETTER,
STRONGER**

30 YEARS OF
PROGRESS



Elio Di Rupo (PS, BE) François Hollande (PS, FR), and Poul Nyrup Rasmussen (SD) at the Porto Congress in 2006.
PES Archives.

António Costa (PS, PT) at the Porto Congress in 2006.
PES Archives.





PES Secretary General Philip Cordery, speaks at the PES Congress of 2012 in Brussels. PES Archives.

PES regenerated physically - moving out of the European Parliament premises to a nearby location at Rue de Trône 98 - and visually - rebranding its logo to articulate a sense of renewal. The iconic rose - now revived on this, our 30th anniversary - was replaced by a red speech bubble.

In 2005, PES, S&D and progressive thinkers from all over the world created the Global Progressive Forum (GPF) to discuss how to better channel globalization for the benefit of everyone.

The PES also created a new network of activists: members of PES parties who had a keen interest in Europe and wanted to contribute to the construction of a more social and progressive EU. Today, they are organised in more than 200 city groups where they meet often to discuss politics, campaign together and exchange ideas with fellow socialists from all over Europe. According to the latest estimates, 20 000 activists have joined

different groups to the present day and they have proved to be integral to mobilising public support in election campaigns as well as other policy initiatives linked to the PES.

In 2006, at the Porto Congress, PES organisations were reorganised along the system long enshrined at party level classifying membership as full, associated or observer. Full members consisted of PES Women, ECOSY, the PES Group in the European Parliament and the PES Group in the European Committee of Regions. The Socialist International became an associated member, while the International Union of Socialist Youth (IUSY) and the International Falcon Movement - Socialist Educational (IRM-SEI) became observers.



Jean Asselborn (LSAP) and President Poul Nyrup Rasmussen (SD) at the wall between Israel and the West Bank, in 2006. PES Archives.

**BIGGER,
BETTER,
STRONGER**

30 YEARS OF
PROGRESS



Martine Aubry (PS, FR) and José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero (PSOE) showing an earlier version of the current PES logo in Madrid in 2008.
PES Archives.



Zita Gurmai (MSZP), PES Women president.
PES Archives.



PES president Poul Nyrup Rasmussen (SD), with Nobel Peace Prize awardee John Hume (SDLP).
PES Archives.

**BIGGER,
BETTER,
STRONGER**

30 YEARS OF
PROGRESS



“

I cherish human beings, men or women.

I stand for the weak, men or women.

That's why I'm a socialist and a feminist.

Carme Chacón (PSOE, Spain)

The search for the common candidate

In 2007, however, optimism for the future was swallowed up by the concerns of the present when the global banking system teetered on the brink of collapse. It was the most serious financial crisis since the Great Depression of 1929 which, as Europeans well remembered, created conditions which led to the rise of Hitler, the outbreak of World War II and the deaths of millions.

In June 2009, voter turnout in the elections for the European Parliament dipped to unprecedented levels, stirring up openly anti-European forces. The PES made modest gains but felt a clear and urgent need for renewal. Party leaders determined that it was time to revert to their roots as a social-democratic movement if they were to quell the rising tide of Euroscepticism and fight back against far-right movements dividing the people socialists, and the EU project as a whole, hoped to integrate for a brighter future.



Pedro Sánchez (PSOE) as a delegate to the Prague Congress in 2009. PES Archives.



Zita Gurmai (MSZP), Martine Aubry (PS, FR), and Anne Hidalgo (PS, FR), at women's march in Paris in 2009. PES Archives.



PES "Red, Hot, Chilly Tax campaign", 2011. PES Archives.

But financial conditions continued to deteriorate. Later that year, Europe plunged into a sovereign debt crisis which would last until the late 2010s. It began with a deficit in Greece and followed with total economic meltdown in Iceland, a part of the EEA, where all three of the major banks failed triggering the largest economic collapse suffered by any country in history. The EU, which was then conservative-

led, introduced severe austerity measures, most particularly against the Greeks, as the PES embarked on several campaigns to denounce economic liberalism and call for social policies to repair its dire consequences for Europeans. The Madrid Council in December 2008 called for banks to contribute with their fair share and launched the idea of an Financial Transaction Tax.



PES Council 2011. PES Archives.

THE SEARCH FOR THE COMMON CANDIDATE

30 YEARS OF
PROGRESS



Sigmar Gabriel, Martin Schulz (both SPD) and Diederik Samsom (PvDA) at a PES leaders meeting in 2015.
PES Archives.



Treasurer Ruairi Quinn (Labour, Ireland) at the PES 2011 Convention.
PES Archives.



Laszlo Ándor (MSZP), pictured during his term as European Commissioner for Employment.
European Commission.

THE SEARCH FOR THE COMMON CANDIDATE

30 YEARS OF
PROGRESS

Former Commissioner Vladimír Špidla and
Commissioner Štefan Füle (both CSSD),
pictured in 2010.
European Commission.



Stefan Löfven (SAP) at a leaders' meeting in Brussels in 2018.
PES Archives.



THE SEARCH FOR THE COMMON CANDIDATE

30 YEARS OF
PROGRESS

To help the PES develop progressive ideas grounded on academic work, in 2010, the PES founded its think-tank: the Foundation for European Progressive Studies (FEPS).

The following year the PES launched a task force headed by Ruairi Quinn (Labour, Ireland). It sought to prepare the PES for the next step of European integration and contribute to shaping the process. One specific problem identified as



Hannes Swoboda (SPÖ), Jan-Marinus Wiersma (PvdA), Willy Claes (Vooruit), Sergei Stanishev (BSP), Achim Post (SPD), on the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the PES. PES Archives.



Jan-Marinus Wiersma (PvdA), Willy Claes (Vooruit), Wim Kok (PvdA), Kaisa Penny (SDP), Achim Post (SPD). PES Archives.



Halerm Désir (PS, FR) and PES Secretary General Achim Post (SPD), pictured in 2013. PES Archives.

THE SEARCH FOR THE COMMON CANDIDATE

30 YEARS OF
PROGRESS

pressing was how to inspire European citizens to turn out and vote and it was here that a new idea began to gain traction.

In 2012 at the PES Congress in Brussels the former Prime Minister of Bulgaria Sergei Stanishev was elected as PES president (BSP) and four Vice Presidents were elected: Jean-Christophe Cambadélis (PS France), Katarína Neved'álová (SMER Slovakia), Jan Royall (UK Labour) and Elena Valenciano (PSOE). Ruairi Quinn became Treasurer and Achim Post (SPD) was welcomed as Secretary General.



European Commissioner for international partnerships Jutta Urpilainen, during her time as a finance minister. Johannes Jansson. Wikicommons.

PES with Stanishev as president expanded its vision for a European Union focused on its future and its people. The first steps towards the European Youth Guarantee were made by the PES to secure the wellbeing of the next generation of European citizens and the common candidate idea was

launched, to make sure that citizens will be more involved in the decision-making process in the Union.

Thus, the PES started to promote the idea of common candidate (*Spitzenkandidat*). The theory ran as follows: on a national basis, while voters cast their vote for a particular party they are also, usually, expressing their backing for that party's leader. By linking a vote for a specific party to the choice of the President of the European Commission, a crucial human element would be added to the process. If the European Parliament was the EU's legislative body, then the European Commission acted like its executive branch, so it was only fair that the head of the most popular European Party would be appointed Commission president. By this methodology, voters should be aware of not only which party they were voting for but who, specifically, they were putting in power. The election would soon seem as relevant to their lives as the selection of leaders for the national government.

Whenever the PES had attempted to agree a common candidate in the past its negotiations had failed so members clearly felt this approach had its limitations. However, repeated election disappointments meant members now wholeheartedly embraced the idea, becoming the first European political family to endorse the common candidate process, in September 2012, in the Brussels Congress.

Eventually, the European People's Party (EPP), comprised of Christian-democratic, conservative, and liberal-conservative member parties backed the idea and decided to combine forces with the PES to push for the introduction of a common candidate, using the full weight of their representation in the European Parliament to do so, including the *de facto* power to veto the appointment of the new Commission if the leaders of individual member states refused to accept this process.

THE SEARCH FOR THE COMMON CANDIDATE

30 YEARS OF
PROGRESS



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For us, socialism is not an abstraction. It consists in finding work and pay for the unemployed, in giving housing to those living in barracks.

Mario Soares (PS, Portugal)



Iratxe García (PSOE).
PES Archives.



Zoran Milanović (SDP, HR).
PES Archives.



Robert Biedron (Nowa Lewica),
campaigning for LGBTQ rights in Warsaw.
PES Archives.

THE SEARCH FOR THE COMMON CANDIDATE

30 YEARS OF
PROGRESS



António Costa (PS, PT), then mayor of Lisbon, with PES president Sergei Stanishev (BSP).
PES Archives.



PES logo from 2015 to present.



Frans Timmermans (PvDA) and Stefan Löfven (SAP) at a PES pre council meeting in 2018.
PES Archives.



Mette Frederiksen (SD) at a pre council meeting in 2019.
PES Archives.

THE SEARCH FOR THE COMMON CANDIDATE

30 YEARS OF
PROGRESS

Martin (Schulz): We have a dream

At its 2014 Congress in Rome, the PES elected Martin Schulz (SPD), then-President of the European Parliament, as its common candidate. He would go on to face Jean-Claude Juncker, the former Prime Minister of Luxembourg, who was common candidate for the EPP. Both the PES and the EPP political groupings in the European Parliament committed to supporting the candidate chosen by the party which won most public support in the next election. As PES parties came second, Jean-Claude Juncker became the new President of the European Commission and the PES's Martin Schulz remained President of the European Parliament.

President Sergei Stanishev (BSP) and Secretary General Achim Post (SPD) were reelected in the Budapest Congress in June 2015, where the PES hoped to send a strong political message against Orbán's vision of Hungary.

The problems of young people had long been a focus for the PES but now its visions were becoming reality. The impact of the global financial crisis and the austerity measures imposed by conservative governments to try to counteract it. The PES formulated a new campaign motto "Your Future is my Future" while advocating for the introduction of a "Youth Guarantee".

In 2016, at a meeting of socialist heads of state and government in Paris, PES president Sergei Stanishev presented the idea of the party for a European Youth Plan. The plan, officially



From left to right:
Elena Valenciano (PSOE),
Jan Royall (UK Labour),
Zita Gurmai (MSZP),
Martin Schulz (SPD),
Jean-Marc Ayrault (PS, FR),
Sergei Stanishev (BSP).
PES Archives.

Antti Rinne (SDP),
Tytti Tupurainen (SDP),
and Sergei Stanishev
(BSP) at the PES "Act
For Youth" Campaign
launch, 16 November
2016. PES Archives.



launched later that year, contained measures to ensure a fair start in life for everyone. It included the European Youth Guarantee - already in place thanks to socialist work - with additional policies, such as an extended Erasmus programme covering high school students and vocational training, culture cheques, and a European Child Guarantee covering care and nutrition. Under the campaign, local PES activists undertook actions in 72 cities, covering 23 EU member states.

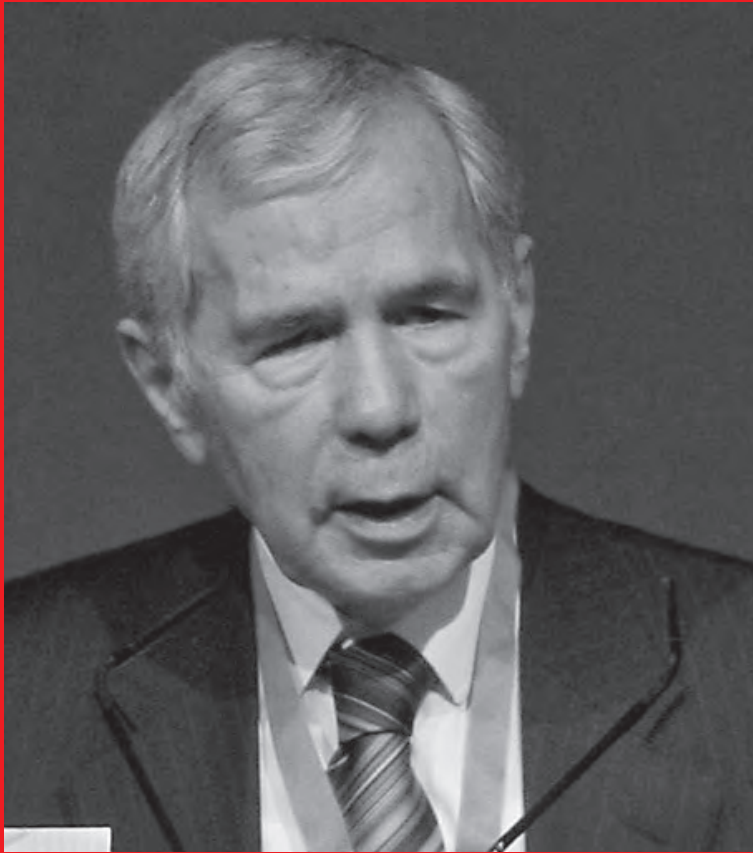
Another visionary campaign to correct injustices caused by

the near collapse of the global banking system was the call for financial reform and a Financial Transaction Tax which would discourage speed trading, stabilise financial markets, and raise money to be used in aid, development, budget consolidation and other public investments. The idea was based on the Tobin tax, a bold proposal put forward by the American economist James Tobin in 1971.

The PES also reaffirmed its commitment to women's rights advocating for the Istanbul Convention, a binding agreement

**MARTIN (SCHULZ):
WE HAVE A DREAM**

30 YEARS OF
PROGRESS



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We must create a world where it is not only possible to be born and die, but also worth living. If we miss this chance, we can never forgive ourselves and no one will be able to forgive us.

Gyula Horn (MSZP, Hungary)

NEVER FORGET

Utøya

22 July, 2011



The youth movement of the Norwegian Labour Party in Utoya in 2011, prior to the terrorist attack, where 69 were killed and 110 injured. Wikicommons.

to end violence against women. Although technically beyond the scope of the EU's remit, it garnered the full support of the PES and came into force in August 2014. Since then, it has helped to foreground the issue of violence against women in European politics and was very much ahead of its time. It was

not until 2019, that the first EU Commissioner for Equality was appointed. Helena Dalli (PL) now works to harmonise European national legislation to fight specific forms of violence against women, including sexual harassment, domestic abuse, offline and online harassment, and female genital mutilation.



Mayor of Charleroi, Paul Magnette (PS, BE) attending an outdoor festival.
PS Belgium.

**MARTIN (SCHULZ):
WE HAVE A DREAM**

30 YEARS OF
PROGRESS



Refugee camp in Suleimanya, Iraqi Kurdistan, 2015. PES Archives.

The PES invested a lot of effort into strengthening the EU neighborhood, ultimately making it possible for the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) to take meaningful steps forward in the EU accession process. Around 2017 Alexis Tsipras, then prime minister of Greece, became a regular guest (as an observer) at the European Council preparation meetings organised by the PES, attending alongside the newly elected social democratic prime minister of the FYROM, Zoran Zaev. The dialogue between the two started at these PES high-level meetings would ultimately result in the 2018 Prespa Agreement. Following this historic accord, FYROM became the Republic of North Macedonia, joined NATO and took a giant leap towards EU membership. At the core of the PES push to bring stability and progress to the region was then PES President Sergei Stanishev, who also hails from a Balkan nation. President Stanishev hosted the PES preparation meeting ahead of the 2018 EU-Western Balkans summit in Sofia, where the final details for supporting the accession process for North Macedonia and Albania were agreed by the PES leaders.

Tackling the existential threat posed by climate change also became a focal point for PES action and since François Hollande was President of France, socialists were in a rare and privileged position to make meaningful change at COP21

in 2015. Here, the PES presented 21 ambitious, progressive proposals calling for a binding global agreement on greenhouse gas emissions and emphasising the determination of Europeans to lead this fight with targets of up to 70% reductions by 2050. This commitment has since been both legally adopted and exceeded by the EU thanks not least to the work of Frans Timmermans (PvdA).



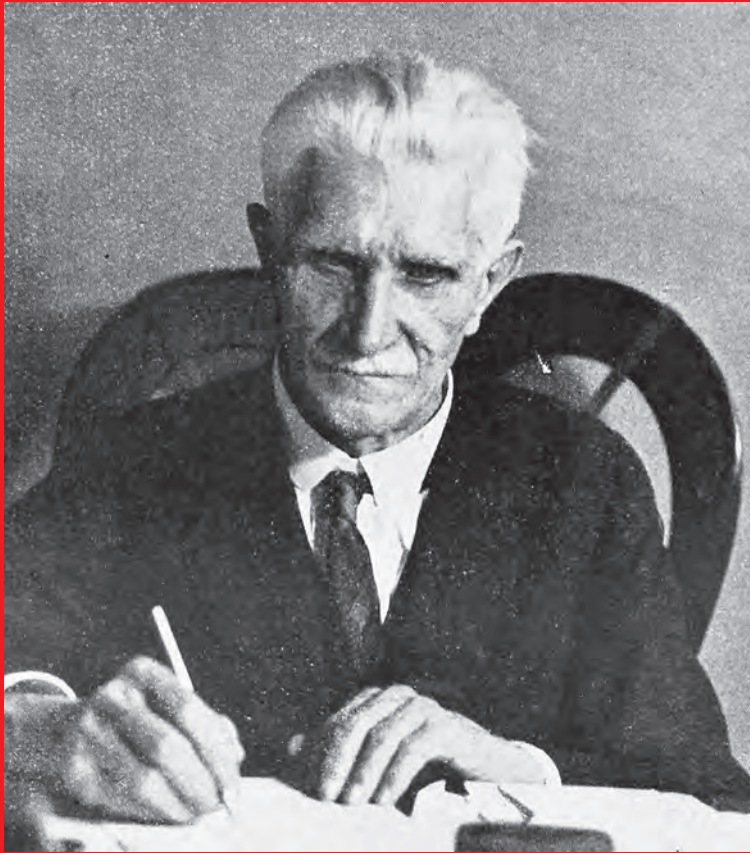
Zoran Zaev (SDSM), Sergei Stanishev (BSP), and Alexis Tsipras at the PES Western-Balkans summit in Sofia in 2018. PES Archives.



President Sergei Stanishev (BSP) at the COP21 climate summit. PES Archives.

**MARTIN (SCHULZ):
WE HAVE A DREAM**

30 YEARS OF
PROGRESS



“

I have worked all my life with the workers. To them I owe that my work has not been in vain, to them I turn with my last thought, bidding them farewell. I have an unshakeable hope that their lives will become lighter, that they will be strong and morally healthy, that they will realize common ideals.

Ignacy Daszyński (PSP, Poland)

Tour the Frans - Timmermans vs. Trumpism

By 2016, there was every sign that the world was heading in a more progressive direction. In America, the Democrats had been in power for eight years and Barack Obama, the first black president, seemed certain to be succeeded by Hillary Clinton, the first female president. In Britain, where Prime Minister David Cameron had called a referendum to settle what seemed to be a niche dispute with a minority of Eurosceptics within his own party, practically every poll stated that the electorate would vote to remain part of the European Union.

Instead, the election of President Donald Trump and a vote for Brexit shocked the PES as much as the EU itself. Illiberal trends did not end there. Other European governments, including Viktor Orbán's regime in Hungary, became overtly nationalist in tone, while the Law and Justice Party of Poland sought to undermine the separation of powers and the independence of key institutions, as well as women's rights. Under the leadership of Commission First Vice-President Frans Timmermans (PvdA), an unprecedented political sanction, known as Article 7, was launched against Poland in order to prevent meddling with the country's judiciary. This contained the threat of being cut off, financially, from EU funds, an act that would have far-reaching political consequences.

But while stunned by such a seismic turn in political events, the PES recognised the underlying disenchantment and stress caused by the last decade of financial crisis and the fear, among working-class communities in particular, that globalisation and automisation were making their economic prospects and working conditions worse, not better. The



Frans Timmermans (PvdA), Sergei Stanishev (BSP), Fernando Medina (PS, PT) in Lisbon in 2018. PES Archives.

PES responded by rebranding its historical call for a “social Europe”.

In 2017, Swedish Prime Minister Löfven (SAP), who was then presiding over the EU, unveiled the European Pillar of Social Rights to improve access to labour markets, increase the number of men and women in employment, ensure fair working conditions and support transitions between jobs by investing in people, while “taking account of the diversity of social traditions across Europe.”

In December 2018, the PES Congress gathered in Lisbon to elect its leadership. Sergei Stanishev (BSP) and Achim Post (SPD) were confirmed as President and Secretary General, respectively.

The PES went into overdrive preparing for the next European election. This began with the selection of a common candidate and Commission First Vice-President Frans Timmermans' (PvdA), fresh from quelling the most illiberal forces in Poland, was duly chosen, at the Lisbon Congress, in December 2018

The TOUR de F

Talking to people a



NETHERLANDS

Heerlen 10/10/2018	Den Bosch 19/01/2019	Rotterdam 16/03/2019	Maastricht 16/03/2019	Heerlen 28/04/2019	Maastricht Debate 29/04/2019	Amsterdam 03/05/2019	Leeuwarden/Groning 05/05/2019
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PORTUGAL

Lisbon 07-08/12/2018	Porto 17/02/2019	Mangualde/Viseu 12/05/2019	Voting in Heerlen 23/05/2019	Veghel NOS debate 22/05/2019	Amsterdam Debate 20/05/2019
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GERMANY

Berlin 09/12/2018	Berlin 18/03/2019	Munich 30/03/2019	Berlin 06/04/2019	Dortmund 27/04/2019	Berlin 06/05/2019	Cologne ARD Debate 07/05/2019	Tübingen 10/05/2019	Han 11/0
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BELGIUM

Brussels 30/01/2019	Brussels 21/02/2019	Brussels - EBU debate 15/05/2019	Antwerp 17/05/2019
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SPAIN

Madrid 01/02/2019	Zaragoza 02/02/2019	Madrid 22-23/02/2019	Madrid 08-09/
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ITALY

Rome 03/02/2019	Rome 06-07/03/2019	Florence Debate 02/05/2019	Rome 14/05/2019	Milan 24/05/2019
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HUNGARY

Budapest 15-16/02/2019	Budapest 18/05/2019
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SLOVENIA

Ljubljana 27-28/02/2019



CZECH REPUBLIC

Hradec Králové 01/03/2019



SWEDEN

Orebro 24/03/2019	Stockholm 16/05/2019
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GREECE

Athens 31/03/2019



POLAND

Warsaw 07/04/2019	Warsaw 06/05/2019	Warsaw 21-22/05/2019
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LUXEMBOURG

30/04/2019



MALTA

01/05/2019

IREL

Dublin 10/05



SUSTAINABILITY

Move towards a circular economy and cut pollution



GENDER EQUALITY

End the gender pay gap through an EU Gender Equality Strategy



EUROPEAN VALUES

All member states must respect the rule of law, human rights and other fundamental European values

FRANS 2019

across Europe

groningen/Assen | Delft Debate
13/05/2019 | Bergen op Zoom
17/05/2019

Hilversum | Amsterdam/Eurovision song party
20/05/2019 | **18/05/2019**

Hannover/Wolfsburg | Berlin ZDF Debate
11/05/2019 | **16/05/2019**

FINLAND
 Helsinki | Helsinki
28/01/2019 | **29/03/2019**

Madrid | Alicante | Castellon | Barcelona | Barcelona
09/03/2019 | **23/03/2019** | **12/04/2019** | **25/04/2019** | **23/05/2019**

CROATIA
 Rijeka
19/05/2019

FRANCE
 Paris | Strasbourg Debate
20/02/2019 | **16/04/2019**

AUSTRIA
 Vienna | Vienna
05-06/04/2019 | **25/05/2019**

IRELAND
 Dublin
10/05/2019



LEGEND
 — Election debates
 ● Visited country

WHAT'S
 IMPORTANT
 FOR US



SOCIAL RIGHTS
 Minimum wages
 in all EU member
 states



YOUNG PEOPLE
 More opportunities
 and affordable housing
 for young people



FAIR TAXATION
 Big corporations
 must pay their fair
 share of tax



EUROPEAN COOPERATION
 Beware of nationalists who
 want to take us back
 to the past



Common candidate Frans Timmermans (PvdA) at the Lisbon congress in 2018.
PES Archives.

TOUR THE FRANS - TIMMERMANS VS. TRUMPISM

30 YEARS OF
PROGRESS

and then confirmed at the extraordinary election congress in Madrid in February 2019.

His campaign was laser focused on climate policies and explaining the positive social aspects of the transition to greener economies. It promoted affordable housing for young people and was staunch in its defense of core European values. Timmermans embarked on a “Tour the Frans” election rally across 19 EU countries and took part in televised election debates against candidates selected by rival European parties.

At the European elections in May 2019, the PES finished in second place, just 3.7% behind the European People’s Party (24.2%). The PES performed well across the EU, securing strong victories in Spain, Portugal, and other countries, and exceeding all expectations in the Netherlands, the home country of PES common candidate Frans Timmermans.

Following the elections, the European Council deliberated for over 48 hours about how to read the close result and who, in turn, should become the next president of the European Commission. Frans Timmermans, supported by a strong campaign, was the only common candidate seriously considered for the position by European leaders. Despite the good results, Timmermans narrowly missed out on the top job, with the European Council agreeing to appoint German conservative Ursula von der Leyen, who had not run as a common candidate - as president of the European Commission.

Where the PES candidate narrowly missed out, the PES programme did not. The strong election results of the PES led to the appointment of nine progressive European Commissioners - including Frans Timmermans as executive vice-president - who have delivered strong proposals as part of a European Commission agenda built on key PES policies for a fair, free and sustainable Europe.



PES Secretary General Achim Post (SPD) and PES President Sergei Stanishev (BSP) at the Lisbon congress in 2018.
PES Archives.

It also allowed Timmermans to concentrate on the European Green Deal, the most ambitious project of economic transformation ever enacted, which will unlock €1 trillion in sustainable investments over the next decade. His influence was also flexed in the Fit for 55 package, which combines ambitious emissions reduction targets with strong support for those affected by the changes. The Commissioner for Cohesion and Reforms, Elisa Ferreira (PS, Portugal), also secured a €40bn Just Transition Fund of additional support. Yet another initiative the EU adopted after years of campaigning by the PES was its Work-life Balance Directive - designed to improve access to flexible work arrangements and paid parental leave - which was introduced in August 2019.

**TOUR THE FRANS -
TIMMERMANS
VS. TRUMPISM**

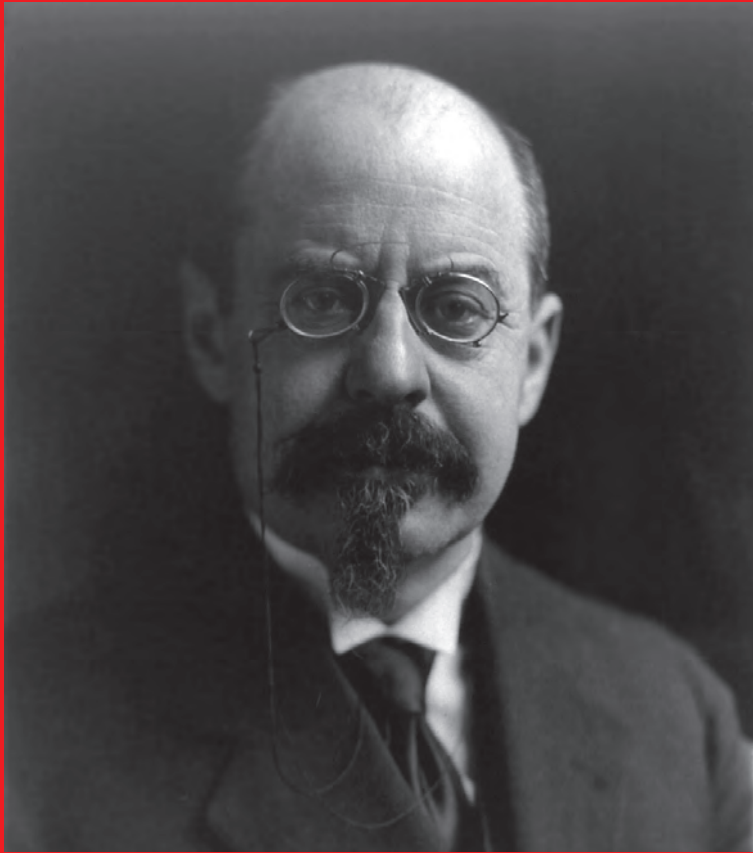
30 YEARS OF
PROGRESS



PES supporters, watching Frans Timmermans in the election debate broadcast by Euronews, on 29 April 2019.
PES Archives.

TOUR THE FRANS - TIMMERMANS VS. TRUMPISM

30 YEARS OF
PROGRESS



“
Conservatives
do not want
universal suffrage
when workers
take the streets,
even less so if they
stay home.”

Emile Vandervelde (PSB, Belgium)



THE 2020s:

Challenges like never before

As the 2020s dawned, the future looked bright for the PES. Once again, hopes were dashed — this time by global Covid-19 pandemic which caused millions of deaths, ravaged European healthcare systems and caused mass unemployment and homelessness. While the middle classes were able to stay at home and work remotely, the working class either had to continue working throughout — if their job was deemed “essential” — or overnight lost all means of supporting themselves due to government distancing measures.

Elsewhere, in order to prevent millions of citizens losing their businesses and livelihoods many unprecedented measures were taken on the national and European level, most of it socialist-inspired. The PES lead calls for a massive recovery package in response to the crisis which eventually resulted in the Next Generation EU plan, a €750bn commitment to rebuilding post-Covid from the EU, the biggest investment plan in the history of the EU.



Pamela Rendi-Wagner (SPÖ), at the Labour Day parade in Vienna, in 2022. SPÖ Archives.



Iratxe García (PSOE) at PSOE's 40th Congress.
PSOE Archives.



Sanna Marin (SDP) at a PES pre council
meeting in 2022. PES Archives.



Magdalena Andersson (SAP) at the
Sweden Pride 2022.
SAP Archives.

**CHALLENGES LIKE
NEVER BEFORE**

30 YEARS OF
PROGRESS

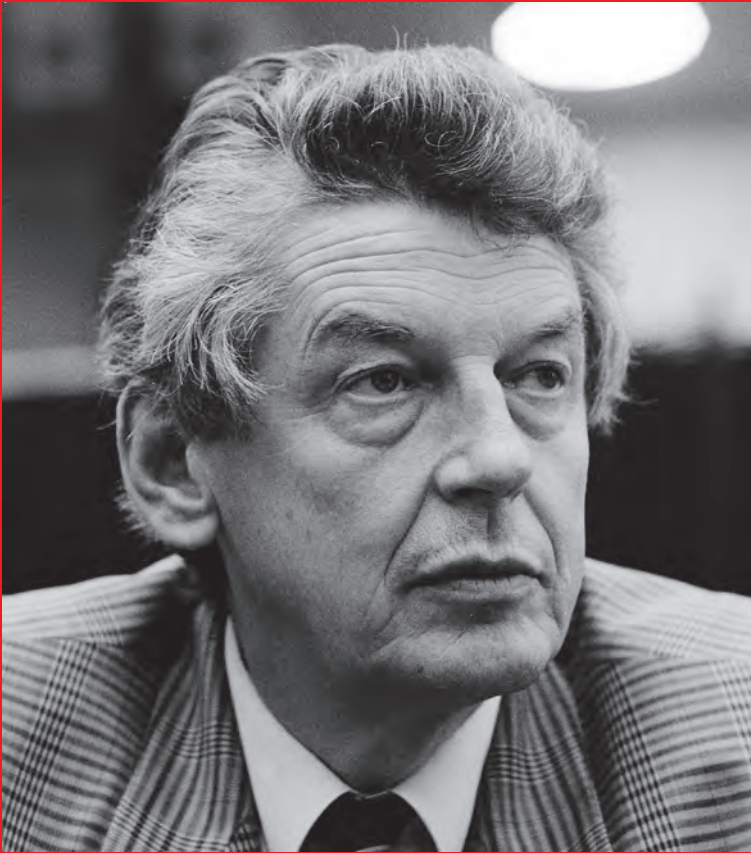
Enrico Letta (PD) at a PES pre council meeting in Brussels.
PES Archives.



Paolo Gentiloni (PD), European Commissioner for Economic Affairs.
European Commission.

**CHALLENGES LIKE
NEVER BEFORE**

30 YEARS OF
PROGRESS



“
A selfish morality
is a blow to the
roots of the
welfare state.

Wim Kok (PvdA, The Netherlands)



The team of the PES secretariat in Brussels, right after the closing ceremony of the PES Council in Brussels in December 2021.

**CHALLENGES LIKE
NEVER BEFORE**

30 YEARS OF
PROGRESS

German Chancellor Olaf Scholz (SPD) speaking at the PES Council in Brussels in December 2021.



Meanwhile, European Commissioners Nicolas Schmit (LSAP) and Paolo Gentiloni (PD), set up SURE, a programme with extra unemployment support for millions of European workers facing the social and economic consequences of the pandemic. To date, €94.4bn of financial support has been provided to 19 member states. It was also in this context that Commissioner Schmit proposed extending the Youth Guarantee to everyone under 30. This measure proved another tangible result for the PES.

The PES also increased its demands to tax international companies and the super-rich more effectively, so everyone paid their fair share. One such initiative, proposed by Paolo Gentiloni, centred on the introduction of a global minimum corporation tax rate of 15% and in 2021, this was agreed upon by the G7.

The roots of the PES lay in two terrible wars so it is the cause of great sadness to socialists, like all Europeans, that war broke out once again on the continent in the year 2022. In the aftermath of President Putin's invasion of Ukraine, Frans Timmermans formulated the REPowerEU plan to reduce

European reliance on Russian fossil fuels, a measure that will prove utterly vital in future, especially if the hot war continues into cold winters.

But as the PES celebrates its 30th anniversary, it is also important to remember the optimism which drove its founding. The Directive for Adequate and Fair Minimum Wages, put forward by MEP Agnes Jongerius (PvdA) to create acceptable working conditions for everybody is proving a pleasing birthday present, one which George Orwell, dreaming of his United States of Europe, together with the socialist survivors of two world wars would very much appreciate.

At thirty years old, the Party of European Socialists may be reaching the end of its youth but we are unquestionably, at the beginning of our maturity. Whatever policies come next, they will be linked to the struggles of our time, aimed at improving the lives of all.



Willy Brandt in Berlin, in 1970. Vorwärts.

Peace Policy in Our Time

Willy Brandt

*The opening words of the leader of the SPD and German Chancellor during a lecture at the University of Oslo in December 1971 a day after he received the Nobel Peace Prize**



The Nobel Peace Prize for 1971 has been awarded to a man still active in political life; therefore, it can only have been in appreciation of his continuing endeavors, not of his past achievements.

Yesterday I expressed my gratitude; today I wish to speak about peace policy in our time: about my own experiences and, naturally, about what my own country can do, but also about what we in Europe, and from Europe, can do for the world. It is little enough, as our powerlessness in the face of the new war between India and Pakistan demonstrates.

This is precisely the time for me to clearly emphasise my principles: war must not be a means to achieve political ends. Wars must be eliminated, not merely limited. No national interest can be isolated today from collective responsibility for peace. This fact must be recognised in all foreign relations. As a means of achieving European and worldwide security, therefore, foreign policy must aim at reducing tensions and promoting communication beyond frontiers.

Foreign Minister Walter Scheel and I are guided by the principle that it is not enough to pronounce peace-loving intentions but we must also endeavor actively to organise peace.

We wage war – we maintain peace; our use of language shows the challenge of peace as a permanent task.

How to prevent war is a question which is part of the European tradition – Europe has always had reasons to ask it.

The politician who tries to serve the cause of equitable peace, in the daily conflict of interests, draws his strength from the moral reserves that have been formed by generations before him. Consciously or not he is guided by them.

Our ethical and social concepts have been shaped by two thousand years of Christianity. And this means that, in spite of many aberrations under the flag of *bellum justum*, “the just war”, attempts have been made over and over again to achieve peace in this world, too.

Our second source of strength is humanism and classical philosophy. Immanuel Kant** postulated his idea of a constitutional confederation of states in words that pose a very distinct question to today’s generations: man, he said, will one day be faced with the choice of either uniting under a true law of nations or destroying with a few blows the civilization he has built up over thousands of years: then, necessity will compel him to do what he ought better to have done long ago out of his own free reason.

A third strong source is socialism, with its aspiration to social justice at home and abroad. And with its insistence that moral laws should find application not only between individual citizens but among nations and states.

Peace policy is a sober task. I, too, try with the means at my command to pave the way for the prevalence of reason in my own country and in the world: the reason which demands that we seek peace because the absence of peace has come to mean extreme lack of reason.

*The full text of the lecture can be found here <https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/1971/brandt/lecture/>

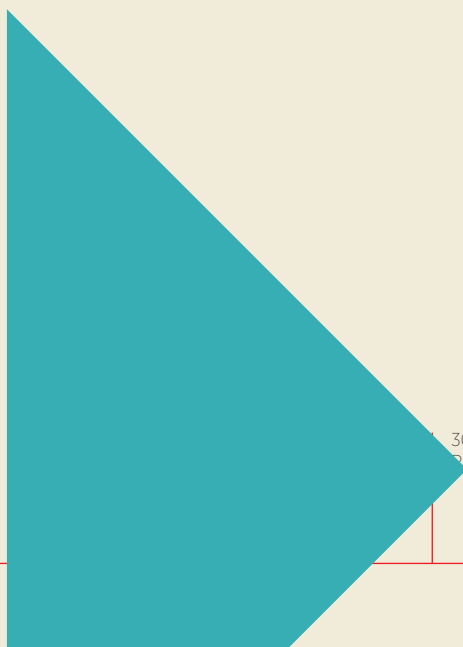
** Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), German philosopher. Brandt refers to his Perpetual Peace (Zum ewigen Frieden), published in 1795.

MANI FESTO



Party of European
Socialists

1992



30 YEARS OF
PROGRESS

I. Europe at the crossroads

Fifty years ago, the survivors of two terrible world wars placed their hopes in Europe:

Their aim was: no more war!

The path they followed led to the European Community. In this way people who had been enemies for generations were reconciled, and nations that had overcome dictatorship were able to unite.

Now, since the fall of the Berlin Wall, Europe is faced by new challenges:

Anguish and misery, nationalism and racism, the economic crisis and the economic challenge of the Far East threaten not only the rebuilding of the East but also the success of the EC in the West. There is only one answer.

We, Socialists, want:

- to say "yes" together to Europe to defeat nationalism and racism;
- to fight mass unemployment together to guarantee a future for social progress in Europe;
- to stop the destruction of nature together to save the planet for our children;
- to provide a joint answer to the challenge from America and Asia, so that the European model of social democracy can survive;
- to speak with one voice in the international arena so that the world may become more peaceful and just.

Throughout Europe, the conservatives place their faith in the dogma of the marketplace. In the EC, they abuse the internal market to undermine social achievements.

We, Socialists, know that the market is blind to people's needs.

It cares for neither the sick nor the poor, nor does it provide

jobs and education for all. It protects neither the environment nor the interests of the poorer regions of Europe. Nor does it defend the interests of Europeans in the world.

We, Socialists, say:

- **Our Europe is more than a market.**
- **Peace and neighborliness, Democracy and human rights,**
- **Social justice and ecological renewal - That is our vision of Europe.**

For this we need a strong European Community more than ever before.

The EC is a successful community of peace. It has the power of the world's biggest internal market. And it is committed to the principles of democracy and the traditions of the welfare state.

Yet these ideals have by no means yet been achieved. Many people see the EC as:

- too bureaucratic with not enough democracy; too unequal with not enough solidarity;
- too many short-term business interests and not enough commitment to the environment.

Today's EC is still far removed from our Europe.

We want to change this. The Maastricht Treaty on European Union is a step in the right direction. It gives the European Parliament more influence and makes the European elections more important. As the leading force in the European Parliament during the past four years, Socialists have taken many initiatives for renewal in the EC.

We want to pursue this course:

- **Create jobs;**
- **Work for equality for women and men; Protect the environment and the consumer; Fight racism and xenophobia;**
- **Combat organised crime; Work for more democracy.**

This is our programme.

**PES MANIFESTO
1992**

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PROGRESS

II. Creating jobs and safeguarding social progress

Today, many people throughout Europe are out of work. Social peace in Europe is under threat. Poverty is growing.

The European model of social progress must now prove itself: to create jobs, distribute income more fairly, and guarantee social progress.

We want to reduce unemployment by half by the end of the decade. This calls for joint initiatives aimed at growth and employment. That is our most important task in the years ahead.

Together we can be more successful than each of us acting on our own.

The Treaty on European Union provides the Community with the opportunity to follow the path of environmentally sustainable growth and full employment, and to hold its own in worldwide competition.

With the Treaty, Europe can tap its strengths for economic renewal:

Millions of motivated and well-trained workers, the world's biggest single market, great research potential, stable democracies, social services, relatively high environmental standards, and an incomparable cultural diversity.

We need a joint initiative from EC Member States and the world's leading industrial nations for investment in the future and for employment. We need low interest rates, measures to build homes and modernise our cities, to develop the weaker regions, for the ecological renewal of industry, and for an environmentally-friendly transport system. We need initiatives for vocational training. And most of all, a considerable reduction and greater flexibility in working hours to permit a better distribution of work.

We want to continue the development of the Common market, because millions of jobs depend on its success.

We want a common currency that all Member States that are willing can be part of. This will allow the EC, as a major finance centre, to use its economic strength throughout the world. And it can prevent currency speculation, which damages our economy.

We support a policy of economic and social cohesion in the EC. We want to develop prosperity in every part of the Community, and a fairer distribution of this prosperity.

The Structural Funds and the Cohesion Fund set up by the Treaty on European Union are investments in Europe's joint future. These funds help the weaker regions to develop. They help the old industrial areas to adapt. They help particularly disadvantaged groups. They promote environmental protection and create jobs.

That is not just a stricture of solidarity, but good economic sense: the better the individual member states are doing, the better everyone is doing.

We want to invest in the reconstruction of Eastern Europe and, thereby, invest in our own future. That helps people there and creates jobs here.

To rebuild the East, we need development in the West.

The ability of the EC to contribute to an economic upturn throughout Europe depends on its performance in competition with the world's most powerful industrial nations.

Reform in both the private and public sector must make our economy more competitive. A joint industrial and research policy is particularly important for achieving this. We have fallen behind in the field of high technology. We will, therefore, promote programmes to make up lost ground, particularly in the fields of information technology, biotechnology, environmental technology and solar energy technology.

We want to give the world's poorest countries access to the Common Market. Trade relations with industrial nations must be based on the principle of reciprocity. We want international treaties to ensure that human rights, environmental protection and social rights are respected in the world economy.

We want to breathe life into the European Social Charter. We believe that European Union is the correct way to maintain and further develop social progress.

We want more democracy in the economy, too. This includes European works councils, consultation of workers in multinational businesses, and European sectoral collective agreements.

We believe in minimum social standards in the internal market, so that workers cannot be played off against each other, particularly in areas of health and safety at the workplace, protection against redundancy, working hours, and social security for workers.

We call for Community initiatives to strengthen solidarity between generations, to allow older people to participate in social life and to guarantee them a minimum income.

In difficult times we need efficient states which are able to face up to their obligations to solve social questions. States must be modernised. But they also need adequate tax revenues. We must end the competition between Member States to reduce taxation, because only the rich can afford a poor state.

III. Promoting men and women as equals

We want to achieve equality for women and men in the economy, in society and in politics.

Women throughout Europe are disadvantaged both in the workplace and in the family. Women's emancipation throughout the EC is restricted by the traditional division of labour between men and women, disadvantages on the labour market, discrimination in pay and in social security, and - not least - by inadequate representation in all spheres of public life.

The current economic crisis has a particularly harsh effect on women. Achievements that have been made in the past - with the EC's help also are under threat. That is why it is now particularly important to achieve our aims:

- **Equal opportunities on the labour market;**
- **Equal treatment in social security systems;**
- **Equal pay for work of equal value;**
- **Measures to promote the sharing of family and career responsibilities between women and men;**
- **Equal opportunities to enter politics.**

The European Community must take the lead.

IV. Protecting the environment and the consumer

We share a common responsibility for Europe's seas and lakes, for our coasts and rivers, our forests, the water, the soil and the air. We need a joint European environmental policy, because pollution knows no frontiers.

We are living at the expense of the natural environment.

We are threatening to destroy the world that belongs to our children.

This must change.

The Treaty on European Union makes a contribution to this.

For the first time, environmentally acceptable, controlled growth is spelled out as an aim of the EC. For the first time, the slowest shall no longer determine the pace of European environmental policy. Now we must take advantage of these new opportunities:

- **We, Socialists, want an EC that harnesses its economic power for the ecological renewal of our industrial society. This creates jobs and advantages in international competition.**
- **We demand a legally enforceable EC Environment Charter.**
- **We want to protect the climate and therefore must use less energy and develop renewable energies.**
- **We support a graduated energy tax that contributes to reducing the pollution of the Earth's atmosphere.**
- **We welcome the ban on CFCs, for which we have fought: it must be extended to all substances that destroy the ozone layer.**
- **We want European Community action to improve the safety of nuclear reactors in Europe, particularly in Eastern Europe, and ultimately to replace them.**
- **We want a European policy on waste.**

Our priorities are: prevention and recycling. High minimum standards must be applied to dumps and incineration plants. We reject the export of waste to Eastern Europe or the developing countries of the South.

- **We want to develop further EC regulations on clean air, clean water and clean soil.**
- **We want measures to combat desertification and promote reforestation.**
- **We want to protect the natural habitat of flora and fauna; reserves and nature parks contribute to the survival of threatened species.**
- **We want to reduce the ever-increasing volume of traffic, which chokes our roads and pollutes our air. Tax measures,**

efficient public transport systems and a Europe-wide network of high-speed trains can all contribute to relief for people and the environment. Long-distance freight and dangerous cargoes should be transported by rail or by water.

- **We want to continue reform of the Common Agricultural Policy. Spending on the agricultural sector must no longer go on storage and export subsidies, but must be of direct benefit to farmers, promote environmental protection, and support rural areas as a whole.**
- **We want more environmentally-friendly, extensive production. Food must be free of harmful residues.**
- **We recognise the contribution made by agriculture to maintaining our natural inheritance. Farmers must be adequately compensated for this.**

In the future we want to link agricultural policy more closely to regional policy, social policy, and environment policy, in order to guarantee a future for people living on the land.

V. Creating peace and security through cooperation

Many people hoped that the end of the Cold War would bring lasting world peace. These hopes have been bitterly dashed in the former Yugoslavia.

Socialists have always stood for an active peace policy.

The EC must harness all its strength to create peace through cooperation. The Maastricht Treaty is another step on the way to a joint foreign and security policy. In a world threatened by instability, the Community provides the best example for the peaceful coexistence of peoples.

We can defeat violence and war if we defeat famine and

hardship. Our most important task therefore is to establish a balance between North and South, between East and West, between rich and poor countries in the world.

The EC cannot exist as an island of wealth in a sea of poverty.

That is why we want to spend more on development and less on arms; to do more for a fairer world economic order and be less protectionist. In order to prevent the causes of crises and conflicts we want to reform and strengthen the United Nations. The UN must be given the ability to safeguard peace and enforce peace.

We are aiming for a seat for the EC on the Security Council as part of a reform of the United Nations.

We want to guarantee human rights and democracy throughout the world. War crimes and human rights abuses must be brought before an international court of law.

Close cooperation is more important for peace than military strength. But without security from military threat there can be no peace.

Peace in Europe is first and foremost the responsibility of Europe itself.

NATO, the WEU, NACC and CSCE are important pillars of a common security system for the whole of Europe. Those states which do not belong to a military alliance also have an important role to play. Together, in accordance with the Paris Charter, we want to find peaceful solutions to conflicts, guarantee the protection of minorities and resist all attempts to change borders by force.

Together, we want to work towards disarmament, arms control and the non-proliferation of dangerous weapons systems.

Together, we want to create a European peace-keeping force under the control of CSCE and the United Nations.

An open EC will contribute to greater partnership in the world.

We want to enlarge and open up the EC. Success in the integration of Western Europe is the best precondition for the construction of Europe as a whole.

Prague, Warsaw, and Budapest are European cities just as much as Paris, Lisbon, or Copenhagen. And the Mediterranean is a part of Europe just as much as the Baltic Sea.

That is why we want the EFTA states to join the EC as soon as possible. We want to open up the European option to the reforming states of Central and Eastern Europe. Most of all, they need help to rebuild, access to the EC's markets, and cultural and political cooperation.

They can become members of the EC when they fulfil the economic preconditions and share the aims of European Union, its rights and duties.

We want furthermore to develop cooperation with all our European neighbours and throughout the Mediterranean region. Close cooperation in trade or tourism, in energy supply or environmental protection is a path to good neighbourliness and to stability.

The CSCE and the Council of Europe can both make an important contribution to this.

VI. Fighting racism - regulating immigration together

Throughout the ages, immigrants have enriched the countries of Europe. That will continue to be true in the future. Racism and xenophobia must never be given another chance.

Extreme right-wing organisations and activities must be prosecuted to the full extent of the law.

The EC cannot accommodate all the world's refugees but it can preserve its tolerance and hospitality. We want refugees in the EC to find a safe haven.

This is why we want to limit immigration and to control it, whilst respecting human rights and improving the possibilities of integration for foreigners already living in the EC.

In view of the EC's open internal borders we need common European agreements to achieve this.

We commit ourselves to the following principles for a common immigration and refugee policy:

- **The victims of persecution as defined by the Geneva Convention on Refugees shall have the right of asylum.**
- **People fleeing hunger, war or catastrophes must be admitted temporarily or be given protection in their own country.**
- **People who wish to come to the EC for economic reasons may immigrate according to quotas or other agreed arrangements.**
- **Illegal employment and illegal immigration will be combatted jointly;**
- **The reasons which make people flee their homes must be more intensively fought: all assistance that can be given to help people help themselves in their own country is considerably more effective than providing social services here. The most effective refugee policy would be a reform of the world economy.**
- **Foreigners who have lived in the EC for five years shall be given greater rights - including the right to vote at local elections, family reunification and simplified naturalisation procedures.**

An active policy of integration based on the principle of equal rights and duties is an integral part of immigration policy.

VII. Fighting organised crime

Organised crime in Europe is no longer restricted by national borders. It constitutes a danger for our citizens and has also begun to undermine democracy. The drugs trade, arms smuggling, terrorism, and other forms of international crime can only be fought successfully through common action by the EC Member States.

This is why we demand:

- Closer cooperation between the investigation authorities of Member States.
- Rapid implementation of EUROPOL under joint democratic control.
- Stricter measures against money laundering and economic crime.

VIII. Working for democracy

Europe's future does not lie in a centralised super-state. Only a democratic Europe is a strong Europe. And openness fosters confidence and acts as a defence against the abuse of political power.

The Treaty on European Union strengthens the European Parliament. But that is not enough.

Full democratic participation of Europe's citizens, national identity and the diversity of the regions must become the hallmark of the European Union:

- We want the European Parliament to be given full rights of initiative, for it to have equal decision-making rights with the Council of Ministers and for the principle of majority voting to apply to the Council.

- We want the national parliaments to exercise democratic control over member states' European policy, so that national governments practice in Brussels what they preach at home and carry out at home what they have decided in Brussels.

- We support the involvement of local and regional authorities in the EC decision-making process. The new Committee of the Regions has a contribution to make to this.

- We want to apply strictly the principle of subsidiarity.

In future, this must mean as many centralised European regulations as necessary and as much decentralised national and regional decision-making as possible.

This principle, however, must not be misused to block progress in European environmental or social policy.

Europe must grow from the base upwards. We must:

- **expand the network of town-twinning arrangements;**
- **promote further regional cooperation both within and outside the EC;**
- **continue and expand the successful EC exchange programmes for students and young workers;**
- **promote contacts between young people by building up organisations for European youth activities;**
- **build an educational system that brings people and cultures closer together;**

Only in this way can the cultural wealth of our continent be enjoyed by the greatest possible number of people.

A stable democracy requires credible politics. When trust in the political system is damaged, democracy itself is damaged. We condemn therefore the cases of corruption and illegal party finance in some EC countries. Socialists involved in such practices are in breach of our principles.

We support strict rules to prevent misuse of power and

corruption. And we are for greater direct involvement of citizens. Parties are important, but all power must come from the people and not from the parties.

IX. Everyone is talking about Europe - only we can make progress

We, Europe's Socialists, accept the new challenges.

For the first time we are fighting the European elections as the Party of European Socialists.

We all have different traditions and our own responsibilities in our home countries.

But we share a vision: Europe must grow together.

The EC must be more than just a giant market. We want to turn it into a real Community, dedicated to the great European traditions of democracy, human rights, and the welfare state.

We are at the beginning of an era of new possibilities. The old answers have no future.

We must fight for reforms today if we want a secure tomorrow. That is what we stand for.

We call on all women and men to join with us to realise their aspirations for a peaceful and social Europe.

Every vote counts.

Everyone's talking about Europe - but only we can make progress.

PARTY OF EUROPEAN SOCIALISTS

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Olof Palme at a May Day rally in Stockholm, 1970s.
Wikimedia Commons.

*The TV speech of Olof Palme can be watched here
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7i2Ws1X5DSA>



Why I am a Democratic Socialist

Olof Palme

The leader of the Swedish Social Democrats (SAP) speaks during a TV debate ahead of the 1982 election in Sweden*

I am a democratic socialist, with pride and with joy. I got that conviction when travelling in India and seeing its terrible poverty blended with pockets of immense wealth; when travelling in the United States and seeing in some respects even more humiliating poverty; when, as a young man, I came eye to eye with Communist enslavement and the oppression and inhuman persecution in the Communist states. And when I came to Nazi concentration camps and saw the death list of social democrats and trade-unionists.

I got that conviction when it became clear to me that it was the social democratic movement that brought democracy to Sweden, when it became clear to me that it was the social democratic movement that had lifted the country out of poverty and unemployment with its policies of the 1930s. And when I got to personally fight for decent pensions for ordinary wage earners back in the day. I became one from years of working with former prime minister Tage Erlander**, when I learned what democracy and humanism are. And with close friends like Willy Brandt, Bruno Kreisky and Trygve Bratteli who risked their lives in the battle for human dignity.

But even more importantly, I am strengthened in my conviction when I look at the state of the world, when I see the wars and the arms race and the mass unemployment and the divisions between people. My conviction grows stronger when I see growing unemployment, injustice, and financial speculation. When the rich elite take centre stage.

When I see right-wing politics in country after country driving people into unemployment. Destroying social security and still not solving the economic problems. And when I see the future offered by conservatives, where wage earners grow poorer and the wealthy, richer. Where our social safety net weakens while the number of luxury yachts grows, where solidarity diminishes and selfishness increases; where the strong can take what they please and the weak have to beg for the leftovers.

Of course I am a democratic socialist. I am proud of what this democratic socialism has accomplished in our country. I happily call myself a democratic socialist because we have so many things left to deal with, after years of conservative mismanagement and negligence.

And with confidence, because now people know what happens with their jobs and with security and stability when the right wing is in power. In a way, I hold that conviction with a smile because I know that modern Swedish history is full of valuable reforms, which you – at first – have described as evil socialism, but then later fought to get credit for, when people have understood their significance.

Certainly, I am a democratic socialist; like Branting*** when he gave everybody an equal vote. Like Per-Albin Hansson****, when he fought unemployment in the 30s and introduced our social safety net. Like Erlander, when he expanded that social safety net and gave us decent pensions. Because it is about solidarity and empathy for other human beings.

**Tage Fritjof Erlander (1901 –1985) served as Prime Minister of Sweden from 1946 to 1969. He was the leader of the Swedish Social Democratic Party and led the government for an uninterrupted tenure of 23 years, one of the longest in any democracy.

***Karl Hjalmar Branting, (1860 –1925) was the leader of the Swedish Social Democratic Party (SAP) from 1907

until his death in 1925, and three-times Prime Minister of Sweden. When Branting came to power in 1920, he was the first Social Democratic Prime Minister of Sweden.

**** Per Albin Hansson (1885 – 1946) was chairman of the Social Democrats from 1925 and a Prime Minister twice in four governments between 1932 and 1946. During Hansson's fourteen years as Prime Minister of

Sweden, the Social democrats in Sweden implemented as subsidised dental care, income-tested child allowances for recipients of invalidity pensions and widows, maternity allowances through voluntary sickness insurance, and a law that introduced state subsidies for the construction of apartment houses for families with three or more children.

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**for the elections to the
European Parliament of**

Adopted by
the Congress of the Party
of European Socialists
6 November, 1993



Preface

The European Parliament elections in June 1994 will take place in a new Europe. The era of confrontation between the great powers will be a thing of the past. The Europe of the future will have to face a very different situation.

Many changes have disrupted our planet since the autumn of 1989 and new challenges result from this that nation states cannot tackle alone. Hope and fear are intertwined. The Berlin wall fell, the Soviet Bloc crumbled, Central and Eastern European countries are grappling their way towards democracy. Europe has finally thrown off its shame and will now be able to devote itself to its full and entire construction.

But these new facts have also caused a certain malaise: for the first time in forty years, a war is being waged in Europe and it is incapable of finding a solution to this conflict. Exacerbated nationalism is emerging again and threatens political stability on our continent. To this, we must add serious structural economic problems which result in an unemployment level which is totally unacceptable. We must find answers, new answers which are adapted to this new situation.

For us, as Socialists, these answers include undoubtedly the choice of a new Europe which is focused on cooperation and integration, with which we will be able to have an impact on the world and stem the economic crisis which is threatening even the foundations of our institutions. We will also be able to stimulate our competitiveness, guarantee employment and social protection, stand up to international competition, especially with regard to American and Asian challenges, establish the basis of a new North-South partnership and act for increased environment protection.

These are the stakes for these elections. We must at all costs pursue the path towards European construction and overcome the malaise and confidence crisis. Only a strong European Union can guarantee not only stable and durable economic growth, but also preserve peace and security.

The Party of European Socialists, which regroups both

countries from the EU and EFTA countries, and associate and observer parties, is working towards this. In close collaboration with the Group of the PES of the European Parliament, it is building the Europe that we want.

We do not want Europe to be inward-looking, but rather open. For this reason, we attach great importance to the enlargement of the European Union. Applicant countries - Austria, Finland, Sweden and Norway - share the future of Europe. Their accession would reinforce European cohesion and would be a guarantor of internal stability in Europe. It is therefore in unison that its member parties want to adopt the present Manifesto which is not a detailed programme, but rather a framework in which our future policies will be fleshed out.

It underlines the main themes: creating employment whilst guaranteeing social protection and reinforcing social and economic cohesion, working to reach equality between men and women, to guarantee peace and security, to fight racism, solving the immigration problem and fighting against organised crime. However, all this is only possible within a strong and united Europe which dares to demand more democracy. These are our priorities to shape the Europe of tomorrow, which will continue to reap rewards through its cultural diversity.

We, as members of Socialist, Social-Democratic and Labour movements, would like Europe to be closer to its citizens, concerned with the public's needs. We want to listen to the people, with their different traditions and specific responsibilities. The text which follows respects national diversity, as decided during the European Council in Edinburgh in December 1992 authorising Denmark to not apply several areas foreseen in the Treaty on European Union.

For all the above reasons, we - socialists - need you. If you, too, want this Europe, you can count on us. We will be united under the banner of the Party of European Socialists.

All speak about Europe, but we are working towards a united, stable, and prosperous Europe. Progress is reached through us.

Willy Claes, President of the Party of European Socialists

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I. Europe at the crossroads - a challenge for democratic socialism

Fifty years ago the survivors of two terrible world wars placed their hopes in Europe. Their aim: no more war.

The path they followed led to the European Community, in which people who had been enemies for generations were reconciled, and nations that had overcome dictatorship were admitted.

Today, Europe is again at a crossroads and we must prove ourselves once again. The fall of the Berlin Wall was the beginning of an era of fundamental change. Each of our countries is individually too small to tackle alone the problems this creates; only together can we solve them.

That is why socialists know that our vision for Europe depends on European Union. By working together we can:

- defeat nationalism and racism;

- fight mass unemployment and guarantee social progress;

- tackle environmental problems to leave a safe planet to our children;

- put Europe in the forefront of technology, through research and development;

- face the economic challenge from both America and Asia, ensuring that the European model of social democracy and the welfare state survive;

- act as a counterweight to the ever - increasing power of international finance and the global activities of transnational companies;

- present a united front in the international arena to create a more just, more peaceful world.

Throughout Europe, conservatives place their faith in the dogma of the marketplace, undermining social achievements. They are on the wrong path. This is what our Europe should look like:

- Peace and neighbourliness.
- Democracy and human rights.
- Social justice and ecological renewal.
- Solidarity and responsibility.
- Employment and social welfare.

The 1994 European elections are about choosing a better path. That is why we need a strong European Union more than ever before.

We need an EU that proves itself as a successful community of peace, committed to the principles of democracy and traditions of social progress, while harnessing the power of the world's biggest internal market. There is still a long way to go to achieve this.

Many people see today's EU as too bureaucratic and undemocratic; lacking equality and solidarity; pursuing too many short-term business interests and without enough commitment to the environment; concentrating on national interests and failing to unite on foreign policy. We want to change this.

The Maastricht Treaty on European Union is a step in the right direction. It gives the European Parliament more influence and makes the European elections more important. The next parliament will have a historic opportunity to influence the

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choice of the Commission and to control it democratically. The votes of socialists on this issue will be decisive.

In the European Parliament during the past five years, socialists have been the advocates of a new democratic and socially aware Europe, taking important initiatives.

Thanks to us, the structural funds have been doubled, bringing greater justice between the richer and poorer regions of the Union.

Higher standards of employment protection have been achieved across Europe, creating one of the highest levels of protection of workers' health.

Higher environmental standards have been wrung out of the Council of Ministers and the Commission, bringing improvements to the quality of life in Europe.

Increased resources for research and technology have reinforced the competitiveness of European industry.

This is the course for Europe we want to pursue:

- Create jobs, safeguard social progress and encourage cohesion.

- Work for equality for women and men.

- Protect the environment and the consumer.

- Create peace.

- Fight racism and xenophobia.

- Combat organised crime.

- Work for more democracy.

II. Creating jobs, safeguarding social progress, and encouraging cohesion

Today millions of people throughout Europe are out of work, bringing greater poverty and threatening social peace.

We must create jobs now, distribute income more fairly and guarantee social progress. We will succeed only if we work together.

We want to concentrate all our efforts on a massive reduction in unemployment. Our aim is to create as soon as possible a society in which everyone has a job or an occupation. We can achieve this only through a co-ordinated European strategy.

The Maastricht Treaty contributes to this. On the basis of economic and monetary union, and thanks to real common economic and social policies, the Union can today follow the path of environmentally sustainable growth and full employment, and hold its own in world-wide competition.

The conservatives' plans to make Europe more competitive by dismantling social achievements are unacceptable. On the contrary, we must develop Europe's strengths in world-wide competition: millions of motivated and well-trained workers; the world's biggest single market; great research potential; stable democracies; social services; relatively high environmental standards; an incomparable cultural diversity.

We need a European agreement on employment and future investment; a common initiative from member states - if

possible with the world's other major industrialised nations - to create jobs. This should include low interest rates, measures to build homes and modernise our cities, rebuilding of the weaker regions; ecological renewal of the economy, an environmentally-friendly transport system, and effective vocational training.

We also need to create and maintain more jobs by reorganising work and safeguarding competitiveness with measures agreed between the social partners. These include a substantial cut in working time to ensure a better division of the available work. Several approaches are possible, including a working week of 35 hours or four days, leave for training, and voluntary part-time work.

Measures are also needed urgently to tackle unemployment among women and young people, create an educational system better adapted to a modern society, and ensure wider mutual recognition of training and qualifications within the European Union.

We want economic stability. This is why we want a single currency which all member states can join. This will allow the EU, as a major finance centre, to use its economic strength throughout the world. It can also prevent currency speculation, which undermines economic progress. We consider economic convergence a necessary condition for the success of economic and monetary union.

Our policy of economic and social cohesion in the EU is an important contribution to economic recovery. We want to develop prosperity in every part of the Union and distribute it more fairly. Solidarity between the stronger and weaker is the cornerstone of the European Union.

That is why the Structural Funds and the Cohesion Fund set up by the Treaty on European Union are important investments in Europe's joint future. They must be put to work as efficiently

as possible. These funds help the weaker regions to develop and the old industrial centres to adapt.

They help groups which are particularly disadvantaged to find a place in the labour market, for example through retraining or youth training. They promote environmental protection and create jobs.

That is not just a dictate of solidarity, but good economic sense. The better individual member states are doing, the better everyone is doing.

By investing in the reconstruction of Eastern Europe we also invest in our own future, by helping to create jobs throughout Europe. To rebuild the East we need development in the west.

The ability of the EU to contribute to an economic upturn throughout Europe depends on its performance in competition with the world's most powerful industrial nations.

A joint industrial and research policy is particularly important to achieve this. We have fallen behind in the field of high technology. We will, therefore, promote programmes to allow development at Community level of information technology, biotechnology, environmental technology and alternative energy technologies. These must be directed particularly towards small- and medium-sized enterprises.

We want to build a real partnership with the poorest countries, to contribute to their economic and social development. Above all, we must facilitate their access to the European Union's markets.

Trade relations with other industrial nations must be fair and based on the principle of reciprocal concessions by all partners. The European Union must take action against unfair trade practices. And, of course, the European Union must also ensure, through international treaties, that human rights,

environmental protection, and social rights are respected in the world economy. The principle of free trade must not be used to undermine social standards in Europe. We must protect our economy from unfair trading and we must try to combat social and environmental dumping.

We want to breathe life into the European Social Charter. We believe that the European Union is the correct way to maintain and develop further the social progress which characterises our countries today.

To make the economy more democratic, we believe in European works councils, consultation of workers in multinational businesses, and European sectoral collective agreements.

And, to prevent unfair competition in the internal market, we are working to establish high minimum social standards within the EU, a guaranteed minimum wage, and a progressive improvement in working conditions: this concerns, above all, health and safety in the workplace; protection against redundancy; working hours; social security for workers; equality for women; and full employment rights for part-time, temporary, and casual workers.

To tackle the enormous tasks we face, we need efficient and unbureaucratic states able to face up to their social obligations and guarantee free access to public services to all citizens. This calls for substantial public resources and, through Union measures, we want to avoid a tax-cutting competition between member states. We stand for a tax system which favours work but penalises those who pollute the environment.

Solidarity between generations will ensure the elderly participate fully in society.

III Equality for women

and men

We want to achieve equality for women and men in the economy, in society and in politics.

Women's emancipation throughout the EU is restricted by the traditional division of labour between the sexes, disadvantages in the labour market, discrimination in pay and in social security, and not least, by inadequate representation in all spheres of public life.

The current economic crisis has a particularly harsh effect on women. Achievements made in the past - with the EC's help - are under threat.

That is why it is now particularly important that the EU takes the lead to ensure:

- equal opportunities in the labour market;

- equal treatment in social security systems;

- equal pay for work of equal value;

- equal opportunities for women and men to combine a career with family life - particularly through measures to provide adequate childcare facilities;

- equal opportunities to participate in politics.

IV Protecting the environment and the

consumer

We share a common responsibility for Europe's seas, lakes, rivers, coasts, forests, water, soil and air. Therefore we need a joint European environmental policy because pollution knows no frontiers.

We are living at the expense of the natural environment and are threatening to destroy the world that belongs to our children. This must change.

The Treaty on European Union makes a contribution to this. It simplifies decision-making on environmental issues. Moreover, it commits the European Union to sustainable, environmentally-friendly growth.

We must take advantage of these new opportunities. As socialists, we want an EU that harnesses its economic power to the ecological renewal of our industrial society. Moreover, this creates jobs and advantages in international competition.

We demand a legally enforceable EU Environment Charter and the implementation of the commitments made at the Rio Summit.

We must use less energy and develop renewable energies to protect the climate. Some targeted forms of taxation which can improve the ecological and energy situation have a role to play. We welcome the ban on CFCs, for which we have fought, and we want it extended to all substances that destroy the ozone layer.

We must take common European action to improve the safety of nuclear reactors and reprocessing facilities. Where dangerous, they must be shut down without delay.

We also need a common European policy on waste, in which

our priorities are prevention and recycling. High minimum standards must be applied to dumps and incineration plants. We reject the export of waste to eastern Europe or the developing countries of the South.

We need to develop further EU measures on clean air, clean water, and clean soil, and measures to combat desertification and promote reafforestation.

We need to protect the natural environment of flora and fauna and believe in promoting reserves and nature parks, which contribute to the survival of threatened species.

We must reduce the ever-increasing volume of traffic choking our roads and polluting the air. Tax measures, efficient public transport, and a Europe-wide network of high-speed trains can all contribute to a better environment.

To this end, the European Union's transport policy must stop granting one-sided advantages to road transport and should instead promote the transport of long-distance freight and dangerous cargoes by rail or water.

We need to continue to reform the Common Agricultural and Fisheries Policy. High spending on the agricultural sector must not lead to taxpayers paying for unnecessary surpluses. Instead, we believe in supporting the incomes of farmers and fishermen to intensify environmental protection and support rural areas as a whole.

We also support more environmentally-friendly, extensive production which provides food free from harmful residues.

We recognise the contribution made by agriculture to maintaining our natural inheritance and believe special compensation should be offered to reward outstanding efforts to protect the natural environment.

In the future we aim to link agricultural and fisheries policy more closely to regional, social, and environmental policy, in order to guarantee a future for those living on the land and by the sea.

In addition, we want an active consumer policy, which provides comprehensive information, high standards of product safety and food labelling, and support for European consumer organisations.

In order to improve the quality of life, European co-operation is also necessary in the field of public health, particularly regarding research aimed at combatting cancer and AIDS.

V Creating peace and security through co-operation

Hopes that the end of the Cold War would bring lasting world peace have been bitterly dashed.

Socialists have always believed in creating peace by co-operation and we want the EU to harness all its strength to achieve this.

The Maastricht Treaty is a significant step on the way to a joint foreign and security policy. And in a world threatened by instability the European Union provides the best example of peaceful coexistence.

Our most important task in the search for peace is, therefore, to find a balance between North and South, East and West, and rich and poor countries.

The EU cannot exist as an island of wealth in a sea of poverty. That is why we must spend more on development and less on arms, to be less protectionist and do more to promote a fairer world economic order. And, even if improving the situation of poorer regions of the world is demanded as an act of solidarity, we gain also from the contribution to our own economic well-being.

We need to reform and strengthen the United Nations in order to prevent the causes of conflicts. The UN must be given the ability to safeguard peace and to enforce peace. Once a common foreign and security policy is in place, the question of a seat for the EU in the Security Council can be addressed.

We aim to further human rights and democracy throughout the world. An international court of law must exist to try war crimes and human rights abuses.

Peace in Europe is first and foremost the responsibility of Europe itself. Close co-operation is more important for peace than military strength. But without security from military threat there can be no peace.

NATO, the WEU, NACC, and CSCE are important elements of a common security system for the whole of Europe. Those states which do not belong to a military alliance also have an important role.

Together, in accordance with the Paris Charter, we aim to find peaceful solutions to conflicts, aid the protection of minorities and resist all attempts to change borders by force.

Together we want to work towards disarmament, arms control, and non-proliferation, as well as the control of arms exports and dangerous technologies.

Together we want to create a European peace-keeping force which will be made available to the CSCE and United Nations.

No country would be obliged to participate in this force.

An open EU will contribute to greater partnership in the world. Prague, Warsaw, and Budapest are European cities just as much as Paris, Lisbon, or Copenhagen. And the Mediterranean is as much a part of Europe as the Baltic Sea.

We want to enlarge and open up the EU. Success in the integration of western Europe is the best precondition for the construction of Europe as a whole. States which wish to join the EU must therefore fulfill the economic conditions and share the aims of the European Union, its rights and duties. In addition, we want to maintain and improve the European Union's decision-making abilities. That is why the enlargement of the EU should be accompanied by a deepening of the EU.

We want the EFTA states to join the EU as soon as possible. We note the European Commission's opinions regarding other candidate countries.

We want to open up the European option to the reforming states of Central and Eastern Europe. Most of all, they need help now to rebuild access to the EC's market, and cultural and political co-operation.

Furthermore, we want to develop co-operation with all our European neighbours and throughout the Mediterranean region. Close co-operation in trade or tourism, in energy supply, or environmental protection is a path to good neighbourliness and stability.

VI Fighting racism - regulating immigration together

We believe that immigrants have always enriched the countries of Europe. That will continue to be so in the future.

There are many millions of refugees in the world. The EU cannot accommodate all who seek refuge in the European Union, but it must preserve its tolerance and hospitality. In order to achieve this, we need, in view of the EU's open internal borders, common European agreements applying to all external borders and territory of the European Union.

We want political refugees in the EU to find a safe haven. Victims of persecution, as defined by the Geneva Convention on Refugees, shall have the right to asylum.

People fleeing hunger, war, or catastrophes must be admitted temporarily or be given protection in their region of origin.

We must regulate the flow of immigration of those who wish to come to the EU for economic reasons.

Illegal employment and illegal immigration will be fought at a community level.

But we must fight the reasons which make people flee their homes rather than the immigrants themselves.

Integration should be made simpler for foreigners who have lived in the EU for several years - including the right to vote at local elections, family reunifications, and simplified naturalisation procedures.

Immigration and the social fears of many people are increasingly being misused for extreme right-wing activities. We say that racism, xenophobia, and anti-semitism must never be given another chance. The EU must contribute to this with its own campaign. Extreme right-wing and racist activities must be prosecuted to the full extent of the law.

We want to build a European society which ensures equal

rights and opportunities for all, regardless of their sex, race, religion, or beliefs.

VII Fighting organised crime

Organised crime in Europe is no longer restricted by national borders. It endangers our citizens, infiltrates the economy, and undermines democracy.

The drugs trade, arms smuggling, money laundering and terrorism, trafficking in human beings for the purposes of prostitution, and other forms of international crime can be fought successfully only through common action.

This is why we demand:

- closer co-operation between the investigation authorities of member states;

- rapid implementation of EUROPOL under joint democratic control;

- stricter measures against money laundering and economic crime;

- a determined and coordinated fight against drug trafficking, to be accompanied by a policy to help the victims of drug abuse.

VIII Working for democracy

Europe's future does not lie in a centralised super-state. Only a democratic Europe is a strong Europe.

Openness fosters confidence and acts as a defence against abuse of political power.

The Treaty on European Union strengthens the European Parliament. But that is not enough. We want to use the Treaty revision foreseen for 1996 to make the EU more democratic and efficient.

Full democratic and informed participation of Europe's citizens, national identity, and the diversity of the regions must become the hallmarks of European Union.

We want the European Parliament to have a right of initiative, and for co-decision between the European Parliament and the Council of Ministers, and majority voting in the Council to be the rule.

National parliaments should exercise democratic control over member states' European policy.

We support the involvement of local and regional authorities in the EU decision-making process. The new Committee of the Regions has a contribution to make to this.

In future, this must mean as many decentralised, national, and regional decisions as possible, but with European regulation and legislation where necessary.

This principle, however, must not be used to block progress in European environmental or social policy.

A democratic Europe must grow from the base upwards. We must:

- expand partnerships between local authorities;

- promote further regional co-operation, both within and outside the EU;

- strengthen and expand the successful EU youth exchange

and mobility programmes, in order to increase mutual understanding amongst Europeans;

- help European youth organisations to develop;

- build an educational system that brings people closer together and promotes the study of more foreign languages.

Only in this way can the cultural wealth of our continent be enjoyed by the greatest possible number of people.

A stable democracy requires credible politics.

Political parties are essential to modern democracies. Political parties are the basic instruments of participation in democratic life for citizens. Improvement in their functioning is fundamental in order to promote public confidence and participation in political life. Power must come from the people and not from the parties and we therefore believe in greater direct participation by the public.

Corruption, embezzlement, and illegal party financing damage trust in the political system and thus democracy itself. Such practices go against all our principles.

We therefore support strict rules to prevent misuse of power and corruption and demand that party finances be open, clear, and subject to public control.

IX Everyone is talking about Europe - only we can make progress

As socialists, we accept the challenge of the new Europe. And for the first time, we are fighting the European elections as the Party of European Socialists.

We all have different traditions and our own responsibilities in our own countries. But we share a vision. Together we must make Europe grow.

The EC must be more than just a giant market. We want to turn it into a real community, dedicated to the great European traditions of parliamentary democracy, human rights, and the welfare state. And a community in which the great wealth of our cultural diversity is maintained and reinforced.

We are at the beginning of an era of new possibilities. The old answers have no future. We must fight for reforms today if we want a secure tomorrow. That is what we stand for.

We call on all men and women to join with us to realise their aspirations for a peaceful and social Europe.

Every vote counts towards ensuring a powerful presence of the Party of European Socialists in the European Parliament.

Everyone's talking about Europe, but only we, as socialists, can make progress.

PARTY OF EUROPEAN SOCIALISTS

(1) This Manifesto must be read in light of the accords concluded at the European Council in Edinburgh in December 1992 that permitted Denmark not to be bound to certain areas foreseen in the Treaty on European Union.

**PES MANIFESTO
1994**

30 YEARS OF
PROGRESS

VIA

**FOR THE 1999
EUROPEAN
ELECTIONS**

FIES

(As proposed by the PES
Bureau at its meeting of
3rd February 1999 to the
PES Congress of 1st and
2nd March 1999 in Milan)

VO



Introduction

In June 1999, the peoples of Europe will elect a new European Parliament. This election gives us the opportunity to reform Europe; to improve its functioning, to bring it closer to the people and to give it the policies it needs to meet the challenges ahead.

This manifesto of the Party of European Socialists sets out our 21 commitments for a new beginning for the European Union in the 21st century. These commitments reflect our shared values as socialists and social democrats. Democracy, freedom, and human rights. Solidarity, social justice, and equal opportunity. Common civic rights and responsibilities, and respect for international law.

In this election the parties of the Left challenge those of the Right on two fronts. As social-democrats, we believe in equal opportunities for all and a fair deal for those who need the protection of society. We are committed to a modern economy that ensures growth, competitiveness and job creation. We reject the posture of the Right, who would allow the vulnerable and disadvantaged in our Community to become the victims of market forces.

As internationalists, we believe that we make each of our countries stronger by strengthening our partnership in the European Union. We are proud of our national cultures and identities, but reject the short-sighted focus of the Right on narrow national interest, at the expense of our wider and deeper common interests.

For socialists and social-democrats, a modern economy can only be developed in close cooperation with social partners. We know that economies are stronger when societies are just. The poverty of some diminishes the lives of all who live in a divided society. And the exclusion of anybody from access to education, employment, or to the skills and technology of the modern age weakens the economy to which they cannot contribute. That is why

we say “yes” to a market economy, but “no” to a market society.

We believe that each individual has more opportunities and more security if their communities invest in modern services of high standards in education, health, transport, and welfare. We understand that our environment is an asset we hold in common with each other and with future generations, and that we promote our quality of life when we protect the quality of our environment. We know that our society will only flourish if we eliminate discrimination in all its forms, allowing everyone to develop their talents and to live without fear of prejudice.

The European Union must belong to the people and must be driven by their priorities - on jobs, security, and the environment. Decision-making within the European Union must be transparent and take place as close to the people as possible. We want a closer Union, but we also want reform to make the European Union more open, democratic, and efficient.

Throughout the lifetime of the new European Parliament we will work to ensure that the European Union fulfills its commitments and responds to the major challenges ahead. The single currency is now a reality. It will become even more so with the introduction of Euro notes and coins. The European Union's institutions and policies will undergo reform and enlargement will begin to break down the remaining divisions between East and West. And Europe will need to respond effectively to the continuing challenges of globalisation.

We believe that by working together we can build a better Europe. We want a European Union that both respects the identity of each of our countries and promotes a closer union between our peoples. Our vision of Europe is an area of freedom, stability, prosperity, and justice. Together, we can create a European Union that will play its full part on the world stage.

**PES MANIFESTO
1999**

30 YEARS OF
PROGRESS

Parties of the Left and the Centre-Left are in government in most of the Member States. The citizens of Europe need a common strategy shared between the new European Parliament, the Council of Ministers, the European Commission and Member States. With a strong representation in the new European Parliament, the Party of European Socialists can build that partnership and provide the direction that Europe needs.

This manifesto of the Party of European Socialists and the 21 commitments it offers, together map out a Europe for the 21st century: a Europe of jobs and growth; a Europe that puts citizens first; a strong Europe; and a Europe that works better. We ask the voters of Europe to give it their support and to open up the way to a Europe that is ready for the new millennium.

A EUROPE OF JOBS AND GROWTH

Our ambition for the future of Europe goes beyond the implementation of the Single Market. We must promote economic and social cohesion, and ensure that all citizens have a fair share of the fruits of our common prosperity.

1 Putting Jobs First

Employment must be at the top of the European agenda. Social democrats will continue to lead the way with new ideas to create jobs, to help jobseekers into jobs, and to provide training for those without the right skills. Europe cannot accept the economic and human waste, nor the social divisions caused by structural unemployment. The development of a European pact for employment is a priority. There are many positive ways to

promote employment, including training, tax reform, the modernisation of welfare systems, the promotion of new enterprises, and support for the non-market sector. This may include agreed reductions in working time, negotiated between the social partners. We commit ourselves to promote opportunities for employment for all those who are without work, and especially through programmes to help the young and long-term unemployed.

2 Working for Growth

The Single Market means that the countries within it are more interdependent than ever before and must work together to promote sustainable growth and development. Each Member State has a better chance of achieving that growth if the economies of their neighbours are also growing in step. We must promote a European growth strategy which embraces sustainable growth in both demand and investment. We attach particular importance to the development of Trans-European Networks in transport and communications. The role of local and regional authorities in promoting employment opportunities and economic development needs to be better recognised and we support the work of the Committee of the Regions in this area. In view of the growth potential of the applicant countries the European Union must seek to work with them in developing its economic strategy. We commit ourselves to closer economic co-ordination aimed at ensuring sustainable growth and high levels of employment.

3 Promoting a Social Europe

The skills and capacity for innovation of the workforce are our most important economic resource. It will only be possible to promote economic reform and sustain competitiveness if social rights are effectively protected and the informed

participation of the workforce is ensured. We welcome the inclusion of the Social Chapter in the Treaty. Solidarity is one of our fundamental principles, including solidarity between generations. We commit ourselves to modernising and strengthening the European social model, promoting dialogue between the social partners and tackling social exclusion.

4 Making the Euro a Success

The Euro should make a significant contribution to promoting sustainable growth, low inflation and high levels of employment. It is in the interests of all Member States, whether members of the single currency or not, that the Euro is a success. A sound Euro will protect Europe against the destabilising pressures of currency speculation, allow for lower interest rates and contribute to a reformed and more stable financial world system. It will also increase the purchasing power of the consumer through greater price stability, reduce costs for business, and improve competition. The European Central Bank must work in close dialogue with the democratic institutions and economic policy-making bodies of the Union. We commit ourselves to ensuring that the single currency achieves a smooth introduction and provides growth, employment, and stability.

5 Completing the Single Market

A successful and fully-functioning single market, open to the world, is part of the foundation of the future prosperity of the Union and a condition for sustained growth and employment. Particular effort needs to be made to enable small and medium-sized enterprises and peripheral regions to take advantage of the wider market. Taxation should not distort economic decisions with regard to labour, capital, and services and should favour the creation of jobs and

the protection of the environment. The introduction of the Euro requires an effective Code of Conduct and better policy coordination to prevent harmful tax competition in the form of unfair tax breaks and hidden subsidies. A successful Single Market will also operate in the interests of consumers by removing protectionism and widening informed choice. We commit ourselves to completing the Single Market, ensuring that Europe's businesses have free and equal access across Europe's markets and boosting employment through increased trade.

6 Promoting Education, Skills, and Technology

Our biggest investment must be in our greatest asset: our people and their skills. Europe can compete successfully by investing in education, modern skills and technology, not by lower wages and poorer working conditions. We commit ourselves to promoting a Europe of knowledge based on life-long learning, to train the workforce in the most modern skills and European research programmes that open up and develop the technologies of the future.

A EUROPE THAT PUTS CITIZENS FIRST

Europe must enable its people to secure a better future and give priority to the issues that matter most to them.

7 Promoting Citizens' Rights

The European Union has extended the rights of its citizens, complementing the rights of national citizenship. A stronger civil society must be the foundation of a more democratic European Union which guarantees civil liberties. We

attach special importance to the rights of people with disabilities. In order to develop a stronger European identity we propose that the fundamental civic, economic, social, and cultural rights which have been won by citizens throughout the European Union, including access to public services, should be set out in a European Charter of rights. In carrying forward this work, the European Union, and the European Parliament in particular, should initiate a wide-ranging consultation with citizens groups, the social partners, and other non-governmental organisations. We commit ourselves through this Charter to strengthening citizen's rights and building a Europe which is an area of freedom, security, justice, and equal rights.

8 Supporting Youth in the 21st Century

Young people are the future of Europe and Europe is their future. They are key agents for social, economic, and technological progress and, as such, they are right to have high expectations and hopes of Europe. We must do all we can to ensure their full participation in society through education, employment, culture, and democratic participation. Particular attention must be given to helping young people who are denied opportunity because of poverty, unemployment, or ethnic identity. European Union youth programmes must be reinforced to enable young people to develop their European identity and commitment. We commit ourselves to improving opportunities for young women and men in a Europe that secures the wellbeing of future generations.

9 Creating Equality Between Women and Men

The principle of equality of opportunity between women and men is fundamental to democracy. It must be applied in all aspects of society and form an integral part of

social and economic policy. We warmly welcome the new commitment in the Treaty to achieve equity and combat all forms of discrimination. To exclude anyone from fair access to education, employment, or democratic participation is to diminish society. Responsibility for family, society, and work must be shared and domestic violence must be combated. Participation in political structures must be open equally to both genders. We commit ourselves to ensuring equal opportunities for women and men across the European Union and promoting that principle in all the policies of the Union.

10 Combating Racism and Managing Migration

Discrimination in any form has no place in the modern society we want to build. A healthy society and democracy can only be based on mutual respect for the equal rights of all its members. The European Union and its Member States must take the lead in tackling racism by cooperating more closely together. Developing a society based on tolerance requires a European strategy to prevent illegal migration, to tackle at source the pressures of poverty and persecution which provoke migration, and respect for the rights of legal migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers. We commit ourselves to fighting all forms of discrimination, to tackling prejudice, to defeating racism and xenophobia, and to working for successful integration through action at the European and national level.

11 Ensuring a Healthy Environment

Creating a flourishing environment must be a priority for the European Union. We must achieve a better balance between urban and rural areas by improving the quality of life in our cities and suburbs, and by promoting sustainable development of the countryside. Pollution and acid rain do not respect national boundaries. We can only deliver

a sound environment if we work together to raise common standards. Europe must also give a lead in protecting the global environment. We must make sustainable development a basic principle of both the internal and external policies of the European Union. We commit ourselves to cutting the emission of greenhouse gasses, to pressing for action to halt resource depletion, to preserving biodiversity, improving food safety, and to pursuing the principle that the polluter must pay.

12 Developing Strength Through Cultural Diversity

We believe that Europe's cultural diversity is an asset. The people of Europe share a common project and have common interests which are best served by working together and strengthening their cultural identity. We treasure our different heritages and will seek to promote our thriving cultural industries. Culture and the arts have an essential role to play in promoting social cohesion, belief in one's own identity, and respect for the customs of others. The partnership between our peoples is stronger when they are confident in their cultural and historic identity. We commit ourselves to preserving distinct cultures, to promoting understanding between them and to ensuring that all cultures can express themselves freely.

13 Strengthening Security and Fighting Crime

Security against crime is an issue of common concern for all European citizens. Improving the security of our communities must be a top priority for the governments of Europe. Cross-border crime, such as money laundering and trafficking in drugs and human beings, has a direct impact on peoples' lives. The countries of the European Union have a responsibility to work together to tackle organised crime, to improve the security of our external borders, and

to ensure the success of the new police intelligence agency, Europol. Cooperation in the fight against crime should also be extended to include future Member States and other close neighbours. We commit ourselves to fighting crime by stepping up law enforcement cooperation within Europe and improving the effectiveness and democratic accountability of Europol.

14 Bringing the European Union Closer to the People

We want a decentralised Europe that encourages regional initiative and local democracy. We must preserve the identity and independence of Member States in those matters that can be better resolved at the national, regional, or local level. We must also build a closer union that can deal effectively with those issues that make us interdependent and require a European response. Information and decision-making must also be open and accessible for the citizen. We commit ourselves to bringing decisions in Europe as close to the people as possible and respect the principle of subsidiarity by ensuring integration wherever necessary and decentralisation wherever possible.

A STRONG EUROPE

Europe must be able to secure its common interests and promote its values of democracy, solidarity, justice and freedom on the global stage.

15 Meeting the Challenge of Globalisation

Globalisation has radically changed business and government with major implications for work and society. In a larger and closer union the countries of Europe will be stronger and better able to meet these challenges. We

must harness change and the dynamism of the new global economy, while reinforcing the distinctive social models of the countries of Europe. We also need a reformed international financial system capable of tackling global crises and promoting economic progress, in the interests of developed and emerging economies alike. We commit ourselves to working together to meet the challenge of globalisation and develop a more effective global governance through reformed international institutions and a better regulated international financial system.

16 Uniting Europe

We have an exciting opportunity to build a Europe that is united. We must not allow our continent to be divided between poverty and prosperity. A well-prepared, comprehensive, and inclusive enlargement process is in the best interest both of current European Union Member States and applicants. Enlargement will enhance the democracy and stability of our continent, strengthen Europe's voice in the world, and allow us to realise the potential of an enlarged Single Market. All applicants must be subject to the same objective political and economic criteria. The European Union must work to strengthen relations between all European countries, whether applicants or not. We commit ourselves to taking the lead in the enlargement process based on thorough negotiations with a view to achieving the accession of new Member States as soon as possible.

17 Acting Together for Peace and Security in the World

Europe must act as one, as this makes each Member State better able to promote its interests in the world. We can secure a better deal in international negotiations on trade and other matters if we speak with one voice. We can make a bigger impact on world events and better promote

international standards on social and human rights and the environment if we pursue an effective common foreign and security policy. And we can make a more effective contribution to international crisis management if we deepen cooperation in defence as envisaged in the Treaties. Further steps in the fields of arms control and disarmament will have a positive impact on stability and peace in Europe. The European Union has a particular responsibility to build close and cooperative relations with its nearest neighbours like Russia and the Ukraine. Enlargement towards the east must be accompanied by a consistent development of Euro-Mediterranean cooperation. We commit ourselves to building close and strong cooperation in foreign policy and to enhancing Europe's capacity and means to prevent conflicts and to respond to security crises.

18 Promoting Solidarity with other Nations

Europe has a responsibility to cooperate with developing countries. Conflict, mass migration, rapid population growth, and the degradation of the environment often have their roots in poverty. The European Union must strengthen its development effort and focus more of its aid on helping the poorest people and the poorest countries. The European Union must also help to ensure that the benefits of globalisation are equitably shared and allow fairer access to its market for trade from poorer countries. The European Union should ensure consistency between its solidarity with developing countries and its other external policies. The European Union must also must promote respect for human rights, democracy, and good governance which are essential to stability and development. We commit ourselves to pursuing policies on aid, trade, investment, and debt reduction which will reduce world poverty and contribute to the internationally agreed goal of halving the number of people living in abject poverty by 2015.

A DEMOCRATIC UNION THAT WORKS BETTER

Europe must be able to adapt to meet new challenges. It must adopt the policies and carry out the institutional reforms needed to create an enlarged and inclusive Union that is more democratic and efficient.

19 Reforming the European Union's Policies

We seek a modern Europe which serves its people effectively. But if we want that modern European Union, we must continue to modernise its policies to ensure that they meet the needs of the citizen. The European Union needs a reformed Common Agricultural Policy which reconciles the need for international competitiveness, the desire of consumers for produce of good quality and value, the protection of the environment, and the promotion of balanced rural development. The European Union also needs reformed structural funds which can address the reality of regional and social inequalities in the new enlarged European Union. These funds must be effectively targeted towards job creation, promoting solidarity, and improving social and economic cohesion. We commit ourselves to continuing to reform the European Union's policies to make them relevant to the new century.

20 Reforming the European Union's Budget

The European Union must have secure and sufficient funding which enables it to meet the demands we place upon it and takes account of enlargement and the need to promote growth and employment. The European Union, while respecting budgetary discipline, must find imaginative

new ways of financing investment such as public-private partnership and the use of the European Investment Bank's lending facilities. Waste, inefficiency, and fraud must be eliminated. We commit ourselves to developing new sources of investment, to maintain budget discipline, and to improving the efficiency of the European Union's financial management in order to respond to new priorities.

21 Reforming the European Union's Institutions

The European Union needs democratic and efficient institutions if it is to deliver effective policies which accommodate the larger Union of the next century. In particular the European Union must agree on the reforms left over from the Amsterdam Summit - on the size of the Commission, the weighting of votes, and the application of qualified majority voting. The European Parliament must make full use of its increased powers of legislation and scrutiny and build a closer partnership with national parliaments. The European Commission needs to be better organised and more accountable. The European Council should set the strategic agenda for the European Union. The Council of Ministers must be better coordinated and its procedures must be made more transparent and efficient, including the increased use of qualified majority voting where desirable. We commit ourselves, before enlargement, to reforming the institutions of the European Union to make them more open, efficient, and democratic.

*** As far as the Danish Social Democratic Party is concerned, the Declaration should be read in the light of the Edinburgh Agreement concluded at the European Council of December 1992.**

WORKING
FOR
A
STRONGER
TOGETHER

FIVE COMMITMENTS FOR THE NEXT FIVE YEARS

Manifesto of the Party of European
Socialists for the June 2004
European Parliament elections
Adopted by the PES Congress,
Brussels, 24 April 2004



The European elections in June will be historic. For the first time, people from 10 new Member States will take part in European elections across 25 countries. Members of the new European Parliament will serve the interests of 450 million citizens and will ensure that the EU answers to their needs and priorities.

The Party of European Socialists urges voters to seize the opportunity of the elections to shape the European Union's future. Problems and challenges common to all European countries, such as the environment, border control and cross border crime and terrorism, are best tackled by European solutions.

Decisions on European law and spending made by MEPs in Brussels and Strasbourg might seem far from home, but they directly affect the working and living conditions of each and every one of us.

A vote for Social Democrat candidates is a vote for a European Union that combines social justice within countries and solidarity between countries. It is a vote for a strong, social EU that provides economic success and security for its people: a Union that is able to tackle the major challenges of unemployment, social justice, international terrorism and the global environment.

Social democrats of every country are strongly in favour of a successful and united European Union that is an area of peace and cooperation based on partnership and the rule of law. We also recognise that in many policy areas national or local authorities are in a better position to act.

The Party of European Socialists offers a programme for a progressive European Union that puts first the concerns of people. We pledge ourselves to work throughout the Europe Union to ensure that all citizens, in both the existing and the new Member States, benefit from EU enlargement.

We give voters five key commitments for the European Parliament's next five-year term:

- **Boost Europe's growth, fight poverty and create more and better jobs**
- **Bring the European Union closer to its citizens**
- **Manage migration and pursue social integration**
- **Build a more secure, sustainable, peaceful and just world**
- **Promote Europe as an area of democracy and equality**

1 **BOOST EUROPE'S GROWTH, FIGHT POVERTY AND CREATE MORE AND BETTER JOBS**

Social democrats drew up the first EU action plan for economic and social reform, adopted in its Lisbon Strategy four years ago as developed in Gothenburg, to make the EU the most dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustained economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion by 2010.

Now we want to give fresh impetus to this strategy. Our work programme, Momentum for recovery in Europe promoting public and private investments, proposes a detailed strategy to create more new high-quality jobs by promoting greater investment in research and technology, supporting new growth sectors and reinforcing modern education, training and lifelong learning.

We reject the attempts of right-wing governments to limit the Lisbon process to economic reforms by neglecting its social objectives. We demand action to meet the social and employment objectives of the Lisbon strategy, with particular emphasis on reaching the 70 per cent overall employment rate and the 60 per

cent rate for women's participation in the workforce by 2010. Higher participation rates will also help us tackle demographic challenges arising from an ageing population.

For European Socialists, it is essential that the EU and Member States give more priority to social standards, in particular, the objectives of more and better jobs, full employment, social inclusion, as well as environmental protection and sustainable development. We must preserve, strengthen and modernise the European Social Model which combines economic growth and adequate levels of social protection. To ensure prosperity is shared, we must strengthen social partnership. The convergence of financial performance must be matched by convergence of social standards to ensure that social dumping does not undermine fair competition. Our vision of the European Union is a community based on the principles of the social market economy and mutual cooperation for the benefit of all.

We have already fought for and secured European laws to promote greater equality between women and men at work. However, there remain inequalities in income and opportunity. Progress is still needed to ensure that equality laws are respected in practice and that there is sufficient support for working parents.

The historic EU enlargement of May 2004, welcoming ten new countries will provide a better standard and quality of life for citizens in the new Member States and stimulate trade and increase jobs across the whole of the EU.

We are committed to working towards a more efficient and effective use of the EU budget. Finances should be raised in a fair way between EU countries and citizens on the principle of solidarity between richer and poorer regions. European funds must be sufficient to support the EU's objectives, in particular to ensure enlargement is successful.

We are in favour of reforming the stability and growth pact to promote higher growth and employment. Stability should be

pursued as a vital condition for growth, not as an alternative to growth.

We demand the reform of the European agricultural policy to support rural development in place of the direct subsidy of agricultural produces. It is crucial that the reformed agricultural policy promotes high quality and affordable food and respects the environment, landscape and animal welfare.

We aim to:

- **Target EU funds on job creation.**
- **Strengthen the European Social Model and defend trade union rights.**
- **Develop a European monetary policy that promotes growth, sustainable development and employment in a social market economy.**
- **Ensure affordable, accessible and high-quality public services.**
- **Increase the participation rate of women and remove barriers that prevent women from taking up jobs.**
- **Introduce measures to help women and men achieve a better balance between working life and family commitments.**

2 BRING THE EUROPEAN UNION CLOSER TO ITS CITIZENS

The European Union must ensure not only that citizens benefit from its actions but also that they are involved in its decisions. At the same time, in line with the subsidiarity principle, the EU should not act when national or regional bodies are better placed to do so.

During the negotiations of the Convention on the Future of Europe, European Socialists played a key role in shaping the draft Constitution and ensured that it included key values and rights. When finalised and ratified, the European Constitution must make the EU institutions more transparent, accountable and relevant to citizens. It must enable their decisions to be more democratic and efficient. It must also help the European Union to speak with a clear and strong voice on the world stage. A Constitution is crucial to the success of an enlarged EU. Its adoption should, therefore, be a priority for European governments.

In a European Union for citizens, we propose policies to improve people's quality of life, focusing on equal rights for women and men, rights of employees and consumers, freedom of movement, safety of food, quality of the environment and access to transport.

Fighting cross border crime requires a common approach at European level. For this reason, we will work for greater European cooperation to make society free and safe for everyone. The new threat of international terrorism has proved its brutal cruelty on European soil. It threatens the fundamental European values of democracy, human rights and the rule of law. We, as Europeans, must unite against any intimidation of this sort. No country is immune and therefore we need a truly effective co-operation between European police and security agencies to tackle and

reduce this threat.

European Union policies must provide for future generations by taking on board the priorities of young Europeans in education, information technology, environment and cultural diversity. We must build upon the success of the EU's youth and education programmes. In particular, we support the Bologna process and its overall objective of establishing a European Higher Education Area by 2010. We give priority to improving the conditions for young people in employment, social integration, social protection and other policy areas.

We aim to:

- **Adopt a European Constitution that brings the EU closer to its citizens.**
- **Give the highest priority to the fight against terrorism by ensuring effective co-ordination of the judiciary, police and intelligence agencies.**
- **Improve access to information technology and aim to provide broadband internet access for all citizens by 2012.**
- **Strengthen accountable European police cooperation through Europol to step up the fight against cross-border crime, drug trafficking and money laundering.**

3 **MANAGE MIGRATION AND PURSUE SOCIAL INTEGRATION**

We want active, firm and just management of migration and integration. We recognise the positive contribution of legal migrants and support a multicultural and tolerant society. At the same time, we must tackle illegal immigration and crack down on human trafficking and exploitation.

We vehemently oppose racism and xenophobia wherever it is found. We oppose attempts by right wing forces to exploit the issue of immigration to create divisions in our society and to undermine the diversity and stability of Europe. We reject any cooperation with extreme right-wing movements and parties.

To complement national measures, we will seek an EU-wide approach to migration with two key features. First, we will pursue an active policy of social inclusion and integration. Member States, in partnership with local authorities, must ensure that migrants can exercise all their civic and social rights, and that there is a shared management of migration flows.

Second, in partnership with progressive forces in other countries, we will promote a global development policy that promotes a better life in the countries of origin of migration. Fostering economic and social development in those countries and improving their humanitarian conditions must be central to European migration policy.

The European Union must continue to be a place of refuge for victims of persecution. It must offer full protection to asylum seekers, while co-operating to halt false claims to asylum by economic migrants.

We aim to:

- **Develop a European immigration and asylum policy with common standards on visa rules and asylum status.**
- **Use the European Social Fund to set up integration policies that include better education for migrants and community involvement.**
- **Fight racism and xenophobia across the EU.**
- **Improve the standard of living in countries of origin of migration through international organisations and cooperation agreements.**

4 **BUILD A MORE SECURE, SUSTAINABLE, PEACEFUL AND JUST WORLD**

We want a strong European Union that has a clear voice in international forums, pressing for a just, stable and peaceful world in accordance with international law and in the framework of the United Nations.

We need reform of the United Nations to enhance its role in ensuring global peace and common security and to make it more representative. The European Union must play a leading role in working for effective multilateralism, enabling countries to work better together to resolve conflicts and to respond to new security threats. The fight against international terrorism will succeed only if we tackle the causes of terrorism.

We should further develop the European Security and Defence Policy to become a credible instrument in terms of conflict

prevention and crisis management. We support the European Security Strategy adopted by the Council in 2003 which will provide the framework for a more effective Common Foreign and Security Policy.

We are committed to strengthening stability in South East Europe and to encouraging the European orientation of the countries of the former Yugoslavia. We must develop our partnerships with our neighbours in the Northern Dimension and revitalise the Barcelona process for our partners from the Mediterranean basin. Our values of human rights and democracy must not stop at our borders but need to be promoted in the countries beyond our new Eastern borders.

In cooperation with other progressive forces in the world, we have proposed new policies to meet global challenges, in particular the United Nations Millennium Development Goals. These policies include trade with fair access to our markets for developing countries, particularly for agricultural products, aid for social development especially health and education, higher social standards and greater emphasis on sustainable development. We will step up efforts to fight global poverty and cancel the debt of developing countries. We will also intensify the global fight against AIDS and other diseases related to poverty by promoting access to affordable methods of prevention and drugs for treatment. To achieve these objectives, we must ensure that they are fully shared by international organisations, such as the World Trade Organisation, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

We will push for a progressive globalisation, which not only increases trade with developing countries, but also promotes democracy, human rights and environmental protection in these countries. The EU must play its part in ensuring good corporate governance and social responsibility of business wherever it trades.

We must deliver the commitments made in Kyoto to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and then to develop more ambitious targets for climate stability. To promote global sustainability, we

will encourage substituting more sustainable alternatives to the excessive use of natural resources, especially fossil fuels.

We aim to:

- **Strengthen the UN and its institutions and improve cooperation.**
- **Enhance European Security and Defence Policy in its role in conflict prevention and crisis management.**
- **Use EU influence to resume and complete world trade talks to promote global fair trade.**
- **End quotas and tariffs on exports from developing countries and reform the Common Agricultural Policy.**
- **Ensure that our development policies respect the priority of protecting and sustaining the environment.**
- **Build on existing efforts in the area of environment and social responsibility of global business.**

5 PROMOTE EUROPE AS AN AREA OF DEMOCRACY AND EQUALITY

Our vision is of a European Union based on democracy, equality, respect for human rights, diversity and the rule of law. For this reason, we support the Charter of Fundamental Rights and its inclusion in the Constitution. We should also promote these values beyond the borders of the EU.

We support a strengthened role for the European Parliament as the directly elected voice of the European people.

For Social Democrats, equality is one of our most important values: democracy is not possible without equality. We oppose all forms of discrimination, including any based on race, religion, belief, gender, disability, age or sexual orientation.

Fraud and corruption undermine democracy and we will root them out wherever they are found. We oppose media concentration and monopoly control of economic and political power.

We will continue to press for further reform of the EU's institutions. We will fight for openness and transparency, with sound financial management, open competition and value for money in the European Commission.

We aim to:

- Strengthen the role of the European Parliament as the democratic voice of the European people.
- Promote equality and fight all forms of discrimination.
- Reinforce alliances against extreme right-wing forces and challenge other parties, in particular those belonging to the right-wing European People's Party, to sign the EU Charter for a Non-Racist Society, already signed by all European Social Democrat parties.
- Increase the size and effectiveness of the European Anti-Fraud Office to ensure that it acts earlier on cases of concern.

YOUR VOTE COUNTS

The Party of European Socialists urges all voters to take part in the elections of June 2004 and to vote for our vision of the future.

Europe is growing. Together we can make it stronger and better.

Europe needs your vote.

The Party of European Socialists is made up of 28 Socialist, Social Democratic and Labour Parties from the 25 Member States and Norway, as well as 13 associate and observer parties. Its partner organisations include ECOSY (Young European Socialists) and PES Women. It seeks common strategies and coordinates policy positions.

The manifesto provides an overview of our guiding principles and policies. In addition we have a wealth of detailed policy documents:

Europe and a New Global Order - bridging the global divides
Europe 2004 - Changing the future (Political declaration of the PES

**PES MANIFESTO
2004**

30 YEARS OF
PROGRESS

High Level Policy Group on Globalisation)

tabled by Poul Nyrup Rasmussen, former Prime Minister of Denmark
May 2003

Europe's new neighbours - A post-enlargement strategy for European foreign policy

tabled by PES Vice-Chairs Rudolf Scharping and Jan Marinus Wiersma
March 2004

Approving the new constitution: democracy and transparency

tabled by PES Vice Chair Giuliano Amato
April 2004

**Promoting investment, sustainable growth and full employment
Momentum for recovery in Europe promoting public and private investments**

tabled by Poul Nyrup Rasmussen, former Prime Minister of Denmark
2003/2004

The Roma people: discrimination and exclusion

tabled by PES Vice Chair Jan Marinus Wiersma
November 2003

Managing migration and integration

tabled by Anna Terrón i Cusí MEP
March 2004

The Reform of the Common Agricultural Policy and Food Safety

tabled by PES Vice Chair Henri Nallet, Willi Gorlach MEP and Frans Timmermans MP
November 2002

PES Working Group Paper on Sustainable Development

tabled by Göran Persson, Swedish Prime Minister
March 2002

Transatlantic dialogue: building global alliances for the 21st century

tabled by SI President Antonio Guterres and PES President Robin Cook
March 2004

European Party Statute: strengthening the Party of European Socialists

tabled by PES Treasurer Ruairi Quinn and Secretary General Antony Beumer
April 2004

These reports, along with national manifestos of PES parties, are available on the PES website — www.pes.org. Additional documents are available on the website of the PES Parliamentary Group: www.socialistgroup.org

PES

A New Direction for Progressive Societies

Resolution N^o 1
**People first:
A Progressive
European
Agenda**

Adopted by the 8th PES Congress, Prague, 07-08 December 2009

The world is experiencing a profound and prolonged global financial and economic crisis. People are suffering the consequences. The crisis has come at a time when our people were already facing rising social inequalities due to a flawed conservative economic paradigm and the historic challenge of dangerous global warming. We want a radical reform for a new age of fairness and responsibility. And it is our conviction, as Europe's socialists, social democrats and progressives that to meet our goal of shaping a new globalization of human progress, we must forge a new, progressive European agenda in a strong European Union.

In today's globalised world, no single nation can shape the future for its people. We believe that through cooperation and democratically shared sovereignty, the European Union can give our countries and our people the power we have lost to global forces. We must give the European Union a strong and purposeful, common voice, so that other powers do not decide our futures for us. It is our conviction that we can only achieve progressive, social-democratic objectives through decisive action and engagement at the European and global levels. The current crisis is accelerating the emergence of a new global order of regional powers. The election of progressive governments in the US and Japan gives us a unique window of opportunity to pursue a progressive agenda, so we must use it proactively.

The current crises – financial, economic, environmental and social – make it imperative to bring lasting transformational change to our economies and societies. While progressive social democratic governments have been the most proactive in taking strong action to avert an economic depression, we are threatened with many years of sluggish growth if we do not sustain our reform efforts and build a new growth model, based on social justice, equality, knowledge, research and innovation.

We must efficiently manage environmental challenges in order to achieve a sustainable society. We believe that smart, green growth can successfully power our societies into the future, while protecting our planet. But the financial system – so detached from people's needs – must become the servant of the real economy and of our collective interests. The European Union – as the largest

economy and single market in the world – has a fundamental responsibility to ensure robust regulation and supervision. It also has the fundamental capacity to drive this new model of sustainable growth through policies, coordination and resources.

The Party of European Socialists is a major political force, represented in all EU institutions. It is our responsibility and our ambition to propose a new progressive European agenda to exert maximum influence on the next five-year strategy of the European Union and fulfill the vision and proposals of our PES manifesto "People first: A New Direction for Europe", which remains the commitment of and guideline for socialists and social democrats in the coming years.

Our strategic priorities for the European Union

Our priorities for the next five-year strategy of the European Union focus on the main challenges Europe's people are facing. We believe that the new democratic provisions of the Lisbon Treaty should now be actively deployed and all governance levels – from the local, regional, national, and European, to the global – should fully participate in achieving these priorities:

- 1. To secure a strong recovery and a new sustainable and socially just growth model**
- 2. To achieve fundamental reform of the financial markets to preserve us from future crises and serve the real economy**
- 3. To fight climate change and secure clean energy into the future**
- 4. To promote strong, fair and effective welfare systems in a globalized world: a New Social Europe**
- 5. To pursue gender equality**
- 6. To shape a globalization of human progress and security in a new global order**

1 To secure a strong recovery and a new sustainable and socially just growth model

The global economic crisis has destroyed the jobs and diminished the livelihoods of people across Europe. European and international coordination of economic stimulus and financial policies has been fundamental to avert an even worse outcome: economic depression. Progressive, social democratic governments have been at the forefront of these coordinated efforts. But other governments have not put fairness sufficiently at the heart of the crisis response.

Sluggish growth could now lead to a lasting decline in people's living standards and new divisions between Member States if we do not take stronger, coordinated action in the European Union and globally. The risk of rising inequalities demands a stronger European cohesion policy and cohesion mechanisms. It is crucial that we act collectively to avert alarming rises in mass unemployment and social inequalities.

We are committed to undertaking a profound reflection on a new paradigm for the future of progressive societies. In the short term, what is urgently needed is a strengthened, progressive recovery plan of stronger coordination and European instruments – with European solidarity at its core – establishing an entry strategy into the labour market, in the sense of a renewed focus on active labour market policies. This entry strategy will have as its primary aim to tackle unemployment, promote reskilling and create the necessary conditions for full employment in Europe's economy. Conservatives and liberals advocate cuts to public economic stimulus and would

leave the unemployed jobless, but we believe this would tip our economies back into a deep recession and destroy even more jobs. High public debt is not the cause but the result of this crisis. As soon as our economies and employment start to grow again, we must begin budget consolidation in a fair and socially just way and guided by the principle that future generations should not bear the burden of today's crisis. Public guarantees and supportive demand policies have saved our economies. So we must sustain these efforts until we're successfully winning the fight against unemployment, otherwise we will pave the way for a long-term recessionary debt crisis and a lasting decline in living standards. When our economies and employment are growing, we can then begin to consolidate public finances. Targeted public investments and incentives for private investment and consumption will safeguard and create jobs. Social policies, especially those on lower incomes, will protect those hardest hit and benefit the overall economic recovery. Education that empowers citizens – based on universal and equal access and opportunities – will also be fundamental for paving the way for progressive societies.

The EU has for too long been mired in a myriad of different and sometimes conflicting policy strategies; the conservatives have allowed a drift to unbalanced and ineffective policies. This stronger, more progressive European recovery plan must pave the way for a new sustainable and socially just growth model. Our mutual interdependence within the European Union means that we cannot achieve change in isolation.

While recognising the benefits of globalization, it has also brought about the erosion and massive restructuring of our manufacturing industries and has challenged our industrial base. This has had negative consequences for social cohesion and equality in many of Europe's traditionally industrial cities and regions. We believe there is a future for European industries. But this future must be nurtured through active partnership for renewal amongst governments, public authorities, industry and the social partners at the local, regional, national and European levels. We want Europe's industries to play a central and dynamic role in transforming our economies

and developing our regions by fostering world-class innovation and green technologies. Citizens should also be empowered to become active partners in the transformation towards sustainable development. This implies facilitating changes in consumer behaviour.

The time has come to establish an ambitious and progressive EU 2020 strategy for Europe's societies, making economic, social and environmental reform the drivers of a new type of growth. A radical shift towards smart, green growth: coordinated macro-economic policies to amplify our growth potential across Europe; progressive industrial activism, taking green and digital industries into the very mainstream of our societies; making full use of productive social policies to fight poverty, exclusion, inequalities and to serve our vision of progressive societies; a far-reaching shift to sustainable production and consumption; managing demographic challenges effectively; turning a responsible immigration policy into a dynamic factor economically and socially; and, developing an inclusive, knowledge society through coordinated and ambitious lifelong learning, innovation and research policies. This strategy should be based on adequate budgeting, good governance and clear indicators and it should be defined with the cooperation of the Social Partners. These are essentials for a new strategy.

Our 10-year strategy will require the reform of existing and new European policies, as well as coordinated national policies and resources. Economic growth, comprehensive social protection and cohesion as well as environmental protection must become co-equal targets, in line with the original Lisbon Strategy. The European budget should be refocused on smart green growth and meeting future challenges. Because it is a budget of solidarity, it should serve to improve living standards and foster social cohesion and growth throughout Europe as well as supporting convergence of the least-developed EU regions, not least in the new member states. The financial crisis has placed extraordinary demands on public budgets. Member States should explore reinforced European cooperation to attract international financial capital, for example through Eurobonds. Member States should have the ability to invest

in the public sector and employment. The revised Stability and Growth Pact should give maximum flexibility to Member States to make quality public investments.

We believe our new strategy should bind together all stakeholders – at all levels – to invest their efforts together towards its progressive goal: a new, sustainable and socially just growth model for a new age.

To achieve fundamental reform of the financial markets, preserving us from future crises and serving the real economy

There can be no lasting recovery or new growth model without fundamental reform of the financial markets. The principle objectives of reforms should be to prevent future financial crises. Robust regulation and supervision must have two goals: to make financial markets serve the real economy and to ensure financial stability. Banks have to get back to basics, serving people and businesses. The shadow banking sector must operate according to the same principles and system of regulation.

Conservatives and liberals have only just begun to speak the language of financial regulation in the past year. Their proposals are piecemeal; their commitment to fundamental reform

unconvincing. We must act decisively to overcome resistance to regulation. There can be no room left for regulatory arbitrage. Universal legislation should cover all financial actors, products and transactions, including hedge funds and private equity funds. European and international cooperation should put an end to tax havens and unregulated offshore financial centres. Transparency and accountability must run through the entire financial system. Transparent, independent, strong and coordinated European, national and international supervision must be established, with clear competences for monitoring, sanction and intervention at the right levels.

We cannot allow the re-emergence of systemic risk, excessive risk-taking and excessive leverage in the banking and shadow banking sectors. This will demand new mandatory capital requirements, caps on leverage, and tough, new rules on executive pay. Workers' interests must be protected: both their rights in the event of leveraged buy-outs and other such financial takeovers, as well as their pension savings when they are invested on their behalf on the financial markets. Trade unions have an important role to play in safeguarding workers' rights.

Millions of jobs have been lost and companies bankrupted. People in poor, developing countries have been hardest hit, despite their distance from the origins of the crisis. We underline in this respect the importance of our partnerships with the poorest developing countries, such as in Sub-Saharan Africa. We are fully committed to the internationally agreed spending target. This means that the resources for development cooperation work must be continually increased, to reach 0.51% and 0.7% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2010 and 2015 respectively at EU level. Public budgets have been strained, which will result in tough spending choices in our countries and internationally. Budget cuts would adversely affect public sector workers and people, especially women, as well as the most vulnerable in our societies. The public sector has staved off the worst effects of the financial crisis by supporting the real economy – it must now be part of the recovery efforts. Citizens and businesspeople should not be solely responsible for bearing the

weight of these massive costs. The financial sector should share the burden. The European Union should therefore actively pursue a new initiative for a financial transaction tax, contributing to financial stability, by discouraging short-term speculators, and generating new resources for public exchequers to tackle global challenges like climate change.

3 To fight climate change and secure clean energy into the future

Climate change is accelerating at an alarming pace, beyond the worst scientific expectations. The number of weather related natural disasters, such as floods and droughts, has increased rapidly over the last ten years, in particular in developing countries. The world is on course for dangerous global warming – which will irreversibly damage our planet and put humankind at risk – unless we act now. We as Europe's socialists, social democrats and progressives will continue to take the lead in the fight against global warming. We will act to further position our political family as the leading force for a progressive and ambitious climate policy on the European as well as the international level.

The European Union must play a leadership role for a new global climate deal at the UN summit in Copenhagen. The agreement must reflect the historic responsibility of the industrialised world and also the imperative of all countries to act in order to limit average global temperatures to no more than 2°C degrees on pre-industrial levels. The PES believes that the minimum target should be a 30% reduction in greenhouse gas emissions by 2020 and 80-95% by 2050, in addition to binding mid-term targets. Global, binding emissions reduction targets are needed for aviation, maritime traffic and agriculture. Vulnerable developing countries should be supported to adapt to the consequences of

climate change through capacity building, transfer of knowledge and financing. The mechanisms and financing means must be established, including a global carbon trading system and an adequately resourced global climate fund for mitigation and adaptation across developing countries. Funding for climate change adaptation should be additional to development aid. Innovative financing instruments must be elaborated to meet the scale of investment needs. We believe a new institutional framework is needed to govern, manage and monitor the implementation of an international agreement.

The European Union must place climate change at the centre of its new 10-year development strategy, including in the framework of Structural Funds. It should step up its actions to meet a 30% emissions reduction targets by revising all relevant policies. The European budget should be used in order to establish new, ambitious emissions-reduction and low-carbon growth initiatives. We as Europe's socialists, social democrats and progressives believe that the EU should stick to its 30% emissions reduction target for 2020 independent of whether other developed countries commit themselves to comparable emissions reductions. More measures are needed to pave the way for low-carbon transport systems in Europe. Similarly, we must also reduce emissions in agriculture. The fight against climate change – such as by radically stepping up energy efficiency and the promotion of renewable energy sources – will also serve to secure Europe's energy security by lowering our dependence on external energy sources. It is vital that we develop an effective common European energy policy. Investments in public infrastructure and the expansion of cross-border networks is a precondition for a successful new European energy and climate policy. The success of the European "Climate Awareness Bond" of the European Investment Bank points to the potential of innovative forms of financing for these investments. Therefore, we believe the EU and its Member States should consider the introduction of a specific Green Bond initiative at national level and possibly also at the European level.

The PES supports the principle of environmental taxation that

is socially just, allowing necessary and profound changes in our living and transportation patterns. Preserving the climate should become a driver for new, sustainable growth. Technology transfer to the developing world is crucial. All large, polluting sectors, such as aviation or maritime, should be tied into emissions reductions. Deforestation is a central cause of climate change and a threat to humankind. It must be halted and reversed by 2020.

There are no acceptable reasons for a failure to act. The future of humankind depends on it.

4 To promote strong, fair and effective welfare states in a globalized world: a New Social Europe

Europe's welfare states have been fundamental in protecting people from the harshest effects of the financial and economic crisis. But there are now far higher pressures – resulting from mass unemployment and an ageing population – in a context of tighter financial resources. The risk of permanent social divisions and inequalities has grown due to the crisis. European solidarity is essential to prevent these divisions from rising. The fight against inequalities in all its forms is our collective priority for a new Social Europe. We must reshape Europe's welfare states to meet these challenges – providing adequately financed high social standards and protection in the long term – based on proactive European cooperation.

We propose to seek agreement on a European Social Progress Pact, proposing goals and standards for national social, health

and education policy to contribute to the fight against poverty and inequalities as well as the social and economic development of the EU. We demand needs-based social welfare benefits for all those who are retired, unemployed or unable to work in all European countries, to guarantee a life of dignity. We propose to include a social progress clause in every piece of European legislation, and to take into account social and environmental impact assessments when developing European legislation. We propose a European pact on wages, guaranteeing equal pay for equal work and setting out the need for decent minimum wages in all EU Member States, agreed either by law or through collective bargaining and applying both to citizens and migrant workers. Social rights include the right to a fair level playing field for workers. We propose to strengthen workers' rights to information and consultation. Employee participation at European and global level is a key issue for the future – a vital element of a more social Europe and a precondition for decent work. We will seek to enhance participation in economic decision-making processes at European level.

The EU should guarantee the primacy of labour law – including collective agreements and workers' rights such as equal pay for equal work – over single market rules.

European policies and resources should be geared towards promoting strong, fair and effective welfare states to deliver for people in a new Social Europe. The PES manifesto presents detailed proposals on how to achieve this goal. There can be no high, stable, quality employment without a well-functioning welfare state – and no sustainable welfare state without high, stable, quality employment. So, we must resolutely fight unemployment through our strengthened recovery plan and entry strategy into the labour market and by proposing a European Employment Pact, with new, short-term and longer-term solutions for high quality employment throughout the life course. Solidarity between generations is essential for the future of our welfare systems. We must ensure full and equal access and opportunities in the labour market for older and younger people as well as for women and for vulnerable and disabled groups. Attention should be paid to facilitating entry

into the labour market for young people through equal access to good quality education and large-scale support for internships and apprenticeship programmes with a decent remuneration. The European-wide programme “New skills for New jobs” should ensure a massive re-skilling for new jobs. Schemes should be implemented to enable employers to prevent job cuts, such as through the intelligent combination of working time with training programmes. European employment and social legislation should be strengthened wherever necessary to maintain high standards and a level playing field across the Single Market, for example to ensure mobility does not undermine working standards and wages while it provides fairer chances and more guarantees for both employees and employers. The EU should move to dismantle all the remaining barriers that still prevent free movement of workers. It is also essential that European business and competition rules must not conflict with our ability to deliver public services. Therefore, we believe a European legal framework for strong public services is essential, guaranteeing universal and equal access for citizens, quality, local autonomy and transparency in public services, irrespective of linguistic skills, maintaining their integrity as defined at national level, so that European competition and business rules do not run counter to citizens' rights.

As a strategic tool and programme, the European Social Agenda sets out the objectives on which the Commission will work and the means for implementation in order to reach them. As such, it is an essential instrument, which should be maintained. We therefore need to adopt a Social Agenda for 2010-2015 using a policy mix and defining the instruments to be implemented (legislation, open method of coordination, social dialogue and financial instruments).

We are also committed to ensuring that EU legislation respects citizens' rights as enshrined in the European Convention on Human Rights and in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union. We want to strengthen anti-discrimination legislation to ensure equal treatment on grounds of gender, race, disability, age, sexual orientation and religion or belief. Efforts should be stepped up in favour of minorities and socially excluded and vulnerable

groups in society, including access to public goods such as education.

The financial and economic crisis throws the challenge of building a new Social Europe into stark relief. But we cannot falter. Strong, fair and effective welfare states are fundamental for ensuring a better future for our citizens into the twenty-first century.

5 To pursue gender equality

Our vision of progressive societies is contingent on gender equality. Gender inequalities continue to have deeply negative consequences for the economy, social justice and democracy.

Women still earn, on average, 17.4% less than men for doing the same work; they are much more likely to be unemployed, discouraged from entering the labour market by the lack of decent jobs, or in lower-paid, low-quality or part-time jobs. The financial and economic crisis has highlighted the very low number of women in top decision-making positions in the banking sector and in listed companies. Overall, the result is that women have not been able to contribute fully to generating new prosperity and providing sound stewardship in the economy.

The extent to which gender equality has been achieved varies across Europe. Those European countries which have done most to increase women's rights and opportunities are amongst the leading sustainable societies in Europe with the highest proportion of women in the workforce and the highest birth rates.

We believe gender should be mainstreamed throughout all EU policies and instruments, including national and European

economic recovery plans. It is urgent for the EU to adopt a European Women's Rights Charter to improve women's rights and opportunities and promote mechanisms to achieve gender equality in all aspects of social, economic and political life. Moreover, this Charter must be carried by a visible, effective, target-driven platform with a sufficient budget to ensure that its content is implemented and respected in all Member States.

Improving paid and shared parental leave rights and pre-school child care and education would benefit labour market participation and economic performance, reduce poverty – thereby alleviating welfare burdens – as well as improve the life chances of children. We must reach the EU Barcelona childcare targets. The use of quotas in politics and the private sector should be explored in order to overcome latent discrimination and entrench gender equality.

We will continue to campaign for equal political representation of women and men in all decision-making bodies at European level. In this respect, we are proud that the first EU High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy, following the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty; is Catherine Ashton, a woman from our political family.

We welcome the forthcoming Spanish EU Presidency's placing of women's rights at the top of the European agenda. We will promote women's sexual and reproductive health rights throughout the EU. We propose to step up European efforts to eradicate human trafficking and sexual exploitation through closer judicial and police cooperation. We also propose to encourage and support the EU and its Member States in their efforts to stop domestic and gender-specific violence, including that perpetrated against women of ethnic minorities, through all appropriate EU programmes and funds.

We are convinced that pursuing gender equality will bring far-reaching benefits for European societies.

6 To shape a globalization of human progress and security in a new global order

Today's enormous global challenges are deepening inequalities and compromising the ability of developed and developing countries to secure progress for people across the world.

A new global order is emerging of regional powers. The European Union must ensure that other powers do not decide our future for us. We now have a window of opportunity to build strong partnerships with progressive governments, such as the US, Australia, Japan, South Africa and Brazil, to shape together a new globalization of human progress and security. We must also work with renewed purpose to strengthen our relations with the EU's partners across the world.

While conservatives and liberals want people to adapt to globalization, we want to shape it. Together with progressive forces in the world, we want to shape a new age of worldwide human progress. International solidarity is at the heart of our parties. This is reflected in the priorities we set for the EU external agenda. The Lisbon Treaty will equip the EU with a strengthened capacity to enlarge and to act more efficiently in the globalized world: a unified office of EU High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy and a President of the European Council to give a stronger and clearer voice globally; the ability to pursue a more consistent and coherent external action comprising CFSP, trade, cooperation, humanitarian aid and the external dimension of internal policies such as energy, research, education, employment, gender equality; and a service of external representation to promote our collective interests in third countries.

We must define a progressive European external agenda to shape a new globalization of human progress and security, aimed at ensuring a better future for people and planet into the twenty-first century. This includes ensuring that governments keep their commitments on aid as well as helping developing countries cope with the effects of climate change. Decent work, environmental protection and the global ability to manage climate change, social justice, gender equality, the fight against poverty, security, peace keeping and peace building, disarmament, financial market reform, upholding international conventions on migration and asylum, fair, free and sustainable trade. These are amongst the ingredients for a better world.

In this framework, it is of crucial importance that the European Union should rethink its policy, among others towards sub-Saharan Africa. The Millennium Development Goals should remain a priority. Therefore, special emphasis should be laid on the development of food-producing agriculture and of basic public services, such as health and education. The European Union should also closely follow the different regional integration processes in Latin America in order to promote its own vision of an integration that is not only economic but also political and social.

The underlying assumption of our progressive peace policy in the global 21st century is a wide-ranging concept of peace, security and development. We know that in the long run, peace can only be achieved with a package of political, economic, cultural and development cooperation measures, with effective multilateralism and an even-handed international economic and legal order. The EU must strengthen its collective efforts to tackle global security challenges with our international partners. In this respect, we fully support the initiative of the US administration in favour of global disarmament. We are committed to stepping up European efforts to support international disarmament, including strengthening international agreements on arms control and non-proliferation, and making the EU Code of Conduct on weapons exports more restrictive and transparent. It is a matter of urgency for us to enter into a new phase of détente policy, and thus once again make

treaty-based international arms control and disarmament into a fundamental organisational principle of international relations. We want a world without nuclear weapons. For this purpose, we must engage fully with the rest of the world: extending peace, stability and prosperity in our neighbouring regions through an energetic and expanded neighbourhood policy; deepening transatlantic cooperation with the new US administration; nurturing our strategic partnerships with key global players; vigorously pursuing the reform, representation and development of global governance institutions, building on the new momentum created by the G20 process.

It has been 20 years since the Berlin Wall came down. We cherish this moment. It was the people of Central and Eastern Europe's desire for freedom which made it possible for our continent to be reconciled. The enlargement of the EU is a success story, of great benefit to people in the new and old Member States alike. We are committed to proceeding with European enlargement as an integral part of a wider European peace policy. This applies to the countries of the western Balkans, whose European prospects we expressly acknowledge as vital for the stability of the region. We support an open-ended process of negotiations with Turkey towards EU accession, based on clear criteria, and that both Turkey and the EU should fulfil their respective commitments.

We want all people to live in peaceful, sustainable, free and socially just societies. We promote EU programmes, which support civil society and democracy in countries that are not free. International peace keeping and peace building can be elements for this. When we have dialogue with authoritarian regimes or dictatorships we always put human rights at the top of our agenda.

The crisis is hitting the poorest countries the hardest. We have a responsibility to act and help improve their situation. Corporate social responsibility, for example fighting child labour and modern slavery are at high priorities for our international agenda. We will promote fair trade and programmes against poverty. In addition, we will support trade unions in their fight for decent work and wages. Lastly, we demand that an end be put to the financial speculation

on basic foodstuffs when it threatens to undermine the right to feed oneself.

The European Union must also support the multilateral trading system, to the benefit of developing countries in the WTO Doha Development Round, and to ensure a fairer domestic distribution of the benefits of trade opening, as well as guaranteeing better social and environmental standards.

It is our profound conviction that we must secure a Global New Deal for a new global order of social justice, equality, sustainable development and democracy.



PES

Socialists & Democrats

Towards a new Europe **PES MANIFESTO**

Adopted by the PES Election Congress in Rome on 1 March 2014

European Parliament elections
22 - 25 May 2014

www.pes.eu



Towards a New Europe

We strongly believe that the European Union must change. This May, in the European Parliament elections, your vote will give us the opportunity to deliver the EU that you deserve. A Europe that progresses, a Europe that protects, a Europe that performs. Our political family of parties across 28 countries will dedicate themselves to fighting for a secure future for you. The right wing has created a Europe of fear and austerity. During 5 years of an EU conservative majority, we have fought for a strong, socially just and democratic Europe. But now it is time to lead from the front. To do that we need your support, your help, your vote.

Our programme for the next 5 years of the European Union will bring back job creation, a productive economy, a sense of community and respect for people. We want to put you as a citizen and as a voter back in charge and bring back hope to Europe's youth.

This May for the first time you will have a say in who runs Europe. Your vote will decide who the next President of the European Commission is. To change the right-wing majority in the European Union, the only vote that counts is a vote for European Socialists, Social Democrats, Labour, Democrats, and Progressives.

A Union that progresses

1. It is time to put jobs first

This is our first and main priority: Europeans, women and men, must have a decent job that allows for a good quality of life. Yet here is the legacy of the economic policies of the last five years, in stark figures: nearly 27 million Europeans who want to work cannot find a job, including nearly a quarter of young people. 120 million in Europe are at or under the poverty threshold. Creating jobs for young people is a challenge which will define us, for this generation and the next, and will remain a key priority for us as part of our long-term commitment to full employment. Central to our job strategy is the full implementation of our Youth Guarantee plan. To make it successful, we will substantially increase its budget and extend it to everyone under the age of 30. To create jobs, we will introduce an ambitious European industrial policy and will support our Social Economy and our Small and Medium Enterprises. We will promote innovative green technologies and improve the performance of our economies. We want to put an end to social dumping, by ending the practice of exploiting workers and precarious contracts that harm many Europeans. We want to promote social justice. We will insist on strong rules to guarantee equal pay for equal work, the protection of workers' rights and quality jobs; on reinforcing trade unions' rights, social dialogue and anti-discrimination legislation; improving the protection of workers posted in a different country by revising the Posting of Workers Directive; and promoting better cooperation at European level on labour inspections. We will introduce decent minimum wages across Europe, established either by law or through collective bargaining.

The jobs we create must allow all our citizens to participate in the economy as proud equals. All trade agreements, including the one currently under negotiation with the United States, must be bound to the protection of people's human and social rights, decent work, environmental standards, culture as well as corporate social responsibility and fair trade.

2. It is time to relaunch the economy

The austerity-only policy has harmed our economies and punished those least responsible for causing the crisis. To create jobs and relaunch the economy, we will prioritize innovation, research, training, and a smart reindustrialization policy, so that amazing breakthroughs discovered in European laboratories and universities can be translated into more jobs for workers in Europe. Our solution is more room for manoeuvre for investments through national budgets that expand rather than shrink our economy. While the crisis has demonstrated that the Euro can act as an effective buffer, the last 5 years have shown that the European Economic and Monetary Union's construction is still incomplete. It has shown the importance of mutualising responsibility and rights within the Eurozone. We will bring down deficits in a sustainable and fair way and manage public debt in Europe with new instruments. We want to put in place a real coordination of the economic and fiscal policies in the Eurozone that understands the social effects of those decisions on your community. The European Parliament and national Parliaments must keep their sovereignty and be fully involved in the exercise of the democratic control over these policies. The legacy of the Troikas in this regard is a clear failure. After the end of the Troika missions, another model within the framework of the EU Treaties should be established, which has to be democratic, socially responsible and credible. We will be tough guardians of public money, enhancing the quality of public spending, cutting out waste, and directing expenditure to get the best value for Europe's

people. The fight against tax fraud, tax evasion (which represents about €1 trillion every year), and tax competition are key priorities for a just tax system. Halving tax evasion by 2020, and cracking down on tax havens are our key priorities. We will also promote tax rules that ensure transparency and prevent tax dodging.

3. Putting the financial sector at the service of the citizens and the real economy

Europeans had to pay for the mistakes and irresponsibility of an unregulated financial sector. The rescue of banks has cost €1.6 trillion of taxpayers' money. Over 5 years, the finance sector has said that it has learned from its mistakes. We will make sure that banks never gamble again with citizens' lives. Instead, we must actively put in place the framework that will make the financial sector work for the real economy and contribute with its fair share to society. Regulation will force banks to serve your communities instead of stripping them. Investors should take responsibility for the losses of banks, not only for their gains. We will further regulate the banking sector, curb financial speculation, and implement adequate firewalls between Commercial and Investment Banking. We will cap bankers' bonuses and will speed up the introduction of the Financial Transaction Tax that we have been supporting for years as a fair contribution of the financial sector to society. We will insist on the creation of an independent and public European credit rating agency. We will continue our efforts to build a robust Banking Union that is designed to protect European citizens and to give equal and fair access to credit in Europe.

4. Towards a Social Europe

The right wing has used neoliberal policies to cut provisions that have helped people bounce back after tough times. We will fight for a Europe that leaves no-one behind. A decent income, the quality and affordability of education, of

housing, including social housing, of healthcare, childcare and elderly care, as well as the adequacy of pensions, are crucial components of our societies. To achieve these aims, the EU must support Member States in the effective and fair redistribution of wealth and opportunities. Binding targets on employment, education and social cohesion are essential. Social policy objectives must be respected in all European policies. We need to ensure that the EU is a real Social Union as much as it is an Economic Union: economic freedoms cannot outweigh social rights. We will give opportunities for Europeans to develop their potential by investing in education, skills, childcare provision, life-long learning, culture, student mobility, research, and knowledge.

A Union that protects

5. A Union of equality and women's rights

The principle of equality must be at the heart of what it means to be a European citizen. We all benefit from living in a more equal society. Ensuring, promoting, and enhancing women's rights and gender equality remains one of our highest priorities. We need a binding commitment to end the gender pay and pension gap. Violence against women must be ended. Reconciling professional and family life must mean promoting balance not sacrifice, and promoting women's free choice. Access to sexual and reproductive rights must be urgently and vigorously protected in the face of the conservative backlash. We will be relentless in our fight against all forms of racism, sexism, homophobia, transphobia, and intolerance. We stand for the values of equality and of non-discrimination and promote that women and men must equally share work, share power, share time, and share roles, both in the public and in the private realms. We will safeguard the rights and wellbeing of children, and ensure that no person is denied a job, a position, a future or any other fundamental right because of the colour of their

skin, their sexual orientation, identity, religion, age, gender, disability, political opinion, or any form of discrimination.

6. A Union of diversity

Against rising extremism, we will fight for a Europe that respects everybody's rights and obligations, not one that is based on prejudice, hate, and division. Everybody must have a real opportunity to participate and contribute to the societies they are living in. Freedom of movement is a right and a founding principle of the EU. The rights of citizens and their legally recognised families must be respected, while we must fight against fraud and abuse. True solidarity among all EU member states has to be shown in migration and asylum policy to avoid more human tragedies, and sufficient resources allocated. In order to save lives, Europe and its Member States must act in solidarity and have the right mechanisms to share the responsibilities. We want effective integration and participation policies, assistance to the countries migrants have left. The fight against human trafficking must be reinforced.

7. A Safe and Healthy life for all

European citizens deserve to live a safe and healthy life. We want stronger rules that give consumers power. We will protect Europeans' right to enjoy safe food, safe products, and a safe living environment. We recognize the strategic role of agriculture and fisheries for our societies, and want to promote a sustainable and thriving rural development. The EU must adapt to new challenges, especially the digital agenda and guarantee broad access to the internet. We need solid EU legislation on the protection of citizens' personal data and access to information. Striking the right balance between privacy, freedom, and security is vital. The EU should guarantee citizens' right to security by promoting cooperation in the fight against organised and cross-border crime.

A Union that performs

8. More democracy and participation

For the first time in EU history, you will have a direct say to designate the President of the European Commission. We are proud to lead this real step towards a more democratic Europe, and to have paved the way that other political parties now also follow. The European Union is a political union which ensures the equality of its citizens, and the equality of its states. European citizens, civil society, and social actors must have full democratic participation and control in European Union decisions. We will promote a prominent role for the European Parliament that has legislative, budgetary and control powers, as the EU institution representing its citizens. Decisions must be taken at the most appropriate level, be it local, regional, national, or European, in the interest of European citizens. All policies must be efficient, respect democratic values, fight corruption, and serve citizens in an open and transparent way. We will put in place effective European responses to breaches of fundamental rights, democracy, and the rule of law.

9. A Green Europe

The EU must regain global leadership on the protection of nature and natural resources and the fight against pollution and climate change. This requires both close cooperation with our global partners and leading by example. We will support clean technology and environmentally friendly production. As we approach the 2020 deadline, we will support further binding targets on the reduction of carbon emissions, the increased use of renewable energy, and improved energy efficiency. We will promote the implementation of Project Bonds to finance good investments in the green economy, renewable energy and technology. Production, consumption, and mobility patterns

must change and the use of recycling must improve. This way we will reduce pressure on scarce natural resources and help citizens to reduce their energy bills and their ecological footprint. We will fight energy poverty and will guarantee minimum access to energy for everyone.

10. Promoting Europe's influence in the world

The European Union must carry the universal principles of democracy, peace, and respect for human rights, including women's and children's rights. In a globalised and changing world, with conflicts and growing inequalities, Europe must be a global player. We must build strong alliances to respond to common challenges. We want Europe to have a strong voice and the proper tools to lead in promoting peace, democracy, and shared prosperity throughout the world. Europe combines defence, development, trade and diplomacy efforts to maximize the positive effects in its foreign policy. The EU must be an effective agent of peace abroad and an efficient promoter of defence cooperation. We must support the people struggling for democracy, social justice, non-discrimination, and freedom against any form of occupation everywhere in the world. We will support the Eastern Partnership as an important instrument to bring countries closer to the EU and will promote strong relations with the Mediterranean region. We must maintain support for European enlargement. Fundamental rights and European values must continue to be respected unequivocally in any future accession. We must fight global imbalances and poverty by promoting policy coherence for development and making the Millennium Development Goals and the UN post 2015 agenda a success.

With these 10 projects we, Socialists, Social Democrats, Labour, Democrats and Progressives, will change Europe over the next 5 years. We count on your vote and we will act tirelessly on your behalf. Together, we will change Europe.



A **NEW** SOCIAL CONTRACT FOR EUROPE.

Party of European Socialists
2019 Manifesto

Adopted at the PES Election Congress, Madrid, 23 February, 2019.

The European Union must better serve its people. The May 2019 European elections are our opportunity to change the EU and build a fairer Europe. Our societies are still bearing the social costs of the 2008 economic crisis, and we have urgent challenges to face. Europe needs to overcome inequality, fight for tax justice, tackle the threat of climate change, harness the digital revolution, ensure a fair agricultural transformation, manage migration better, and guarantee security for all Europeans. Europe needs a change of leadership and policy direction, leaving behind the neoliberal and conservative models of the past, and focusing on quality jobs for its people, a healthy environment, social security, and an economic model which addresses inequality and the cost of living. The status quo is not an option. Radical change is required to build a project for the future which all Europeans can believe in. Nostalgic nationalists are selling nothing but dangerous illusions, putting past progress and European values at risk. We, Socialists and Democrats, must guarantee citizens' wellbeing and ensure social and ecological progress, leaving no person and no territory behind in the green and digital transitions. Europe must move to a circular model of production and consumption that respects our planet's limits. We want to strengthen Europe's unity while respecting its diversity. As Socialists and Democrats, we propose a new Social Contract for Europe.

A FREE AND DEMOCRATIC EUROPE

Democracy is a founding value of the EU. It must be respected in Europe and promoted abroad. We pledge to defend and improve our democracy, encouraging citizen participation from the local to the European level. Civic engagement, public accountability, and fair and transparent decision-making processes must be enhanced at all levels. We want open and vibrant societies, where individuals have equal rights and can live free from discrimination, prejudice and sexism, and with full respect of their privacy and safety. Cultural diversity enriches Europe and its people. Diversity is part of Europe's identity and strength; the rights of all minorities must be protected. We propose that Europe Day — 9 May — become a public holiday in all Member States to celebrate peace and unity in Europe. We will fight those who preach hatred, intolerance, and discrimination against others. We will defend the rule of law and human rights in all Member States and ensure that the EU has all the necessary tools to do this. We want strong measures to prevent any misuse of

EU or public funds, whether this happens for private profit or to reinforce political power. We will ensure that organisations protecting citizens do not face undue pressures on their funding and their right to operate. We stand against those who put our democracy under pressure through spreading 'fake news', manipulating public debate, or deliberately disrupting democratic exchange. Free and independent media and civil society must be supported and allowed to play their role in democracy, and whistle-blowers must be protected. Strengthening police and judicial cooperation will boost the fight against cross-border organised crime and terrorism.



A EUROPE OF SOLIDARITY FOR THE MANY, NOT THE FEW

We will not bow to uncontrolled market forces and we will finally put an end to austerity policies. Europe must create economic opportunity for all, and ensure that prosperity is sustainable and shared fairly by all Europeans. We need a long-term Investment Plan to prepare our industries and workers so they benefit from the green transition, the digital revolution, and the growth of artificial intelligence. Europe's industrial strategy must channel investment into research and innovation, support training and life-long learning, and ensure that jobs are created and protected in the EU. The Eurozone also needs substantial reform and its own budget. European fiscal rules must be reviewed to make sure that they foster sustainable growth and employment. Social rights for citizens must take priority over economic freedoms for big corporations. We want tax justice and will continue to lead the fight against tax evasion, tax avoidance, and aggressive tax

planning. We will promote a common European approach to ensure a proper level of effective taxation and stop downward corporate tax competition. Every citizen and every company must make a fair contribution to society by respecting their tax obligations. Profits must be taxed where they are generated. We will strengthen the rules of the financial and banking sectors because citizens should not bear the cost of mistakes made by banks or see their deposits at risk. Europe needs a stronger budget to ensure cohesion and solidarity between citizens, regions and countries, improving living standards throughout Europe and reducing inequalities.



A PROGRESSIVE EUROPE WITH A YOUTH PLAN

Our societies will face the future with more optimism once our youth have better prospects and our elderly no longer fear insecurity in later life. Young Europeans must be empowered and given the skills to shape their future and become active citizens. The development of future generations must be built upon the principle of intergenerational solidarity. It is unacceptable that close to one in four children is at risk of poverty. Every child must have access to quality healthcare, childcare, education, housing and nutrition. We will implement a European Child Guarantee to make sure this becomes a reality. To reach our goals of full youth employment and reducing social exclusion, we will also extend the Youth

Guarantee – which already helps millions of young Europeans to get a quality job, traineeship, or further education. Education is a right that must be accessible to all. We will continue to support and reinforce Erasmus+ and ensure that it can benefit people from all social backgrounds. Finally, we want European Culture Cheques to support young people's access to culture.



A FEMINIST EUROPE WITH EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL

Any form of discrimination is unacceptable in our modern European societies. We want a binding EU Gender Equality Strategy, through which we will continue to lead the fight to end the pay and pension gaps, combat sexual harassment and gender-based violence, and ensure that every individual has access to their full sexual and reproductive rights. Every person has the right to decide over their own body. We believe in a society where women and men enjoy the same work-life

balance and equal political participation; every woman has the right to a career, just as every man has the right to raise his children and care for his family. We will be relentless in our fight to end all forms of discrimination. Europe should remove legal and societal obstacles for LGBTI people to live freely, equally, and with respect.



A SUSTAINABLE EUROPE THAT PROTECTS OUR PLANET

Europe must be a leader in fighting for the environment and tackling climate change, particularly as some of our international partners are falling behind. Europe must protect biodiversity on our continent and globally and stop pollution. Our vision combines the protection of our planet with the interest of all our citizens; clean air, clean water, clean energy, and quality food must be accessible to all. The EU must adopt a Sustainable Development Pact with social and ecological targets to ensure that economic interests do not trump the environment. A Just Transition Fund will help to implement the UN's Sustainable Development Agenda and Goals by 2030 in a socially fair way. We will raise the EU's climate ambition in line with the Paris Agreement and the latest science on climate change. Protecting the environment requires the renewal of European industry, to make us a leader in renewable energies and become climate-neutral by 2050, at the latest. CO2 emissions should be taxed EU-wide in a socially fair way,

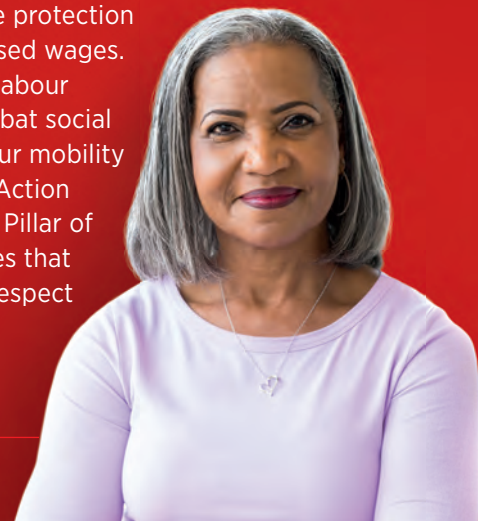
making polluters pay and supporting investment in affordable clean energy. By improving mobility and air quality and providing affordable and energy-efficient housing, we can improve citizens' quality of life. To deliver this, we will promote a Plan for Affordable Housing and Clean Public Transport in Europe. We will fight energy and water poverty, and guarantee accessible, healthy and good quality food, safe products and an end to damaging exposure to toxic chemicals. A reform of the EU's agricultural policy should help meet new societal demands, including sustainable production methods, better nutrition, reduced food waste, better animal welfare, climate protection, and the preservation of biodiversity.



A EUROPE OF EQUALITY AND FAIRNESS

Inequality must be dramatically reduced and the concentration of wealth and property in the hands of a privileged few must stop. A Europe of welfare with strong welfare states, social safety nets, and quality public services is crucial to preventing poverty and protecting those in need, including youth, elderly people, vulnerable workers, and the unemployed. We have a duty to protect people if they fall sick, lose their job, suffer disabilities, or fall on hard times. The right to quality healthcare, education, and decent pensions is universal and must be defended. People of all ages have a right to work and to live in dignity. Unemployment and social exclusion must be tackled collectively, not dismissed as individual failings. The principle of equal pay for equal work at the same place must be respected. All workers must have the same rights: no job without a contract, no job without a fair salary, and a ban on zero-hours contracts and fake self-employment. We will fight for decent

minimum wages across Europe. In-work poverty is morally and economically unjustifiable. We want a European complementary unemployment insurance mechanism, to support Member States in the event of a strong increase in unemployment. Effective social dialogue and trade union membership are the best way to guarantee the protection of working people and increased wages. We want a strong European Labour Authority empowered to combat social dumping and ensure fair labour mobility throughout the EU. A Social Action Plan is needed to turn the EU Pillar of Social Rights into binding rules that strengthen welfare systems, respect labour market models, and improve living standards.



A STRONG AND UNITED EUROPE THAT PROMOTES A BETTER WORLD

In an increasingly unstable world, Europe must be a beacon of democracy, peace and stability, as well as a benchmark for social justice, dialogue, multilateralism, human rights, decent work, the rule of law, sustainable development, and gender equality. We must be united in the face of unpredictable and isolationist partners, and promote a different form of globalisation. At the same time, the EU should push for reform of the United Nations. We will make sure the EU includes binding social and environmental standards, human rights, consumer protection and workers' rights in all future trade agreements. These agreements should be subject to democratic oversight, ensuring the due participation of civil society. We oppose the old-fashioned private arbitration system. We will stick to the promise of investing 0.7% of our GNI in official development assistance, and strengthen our partnerships with developing countries. We will further develop our common European defence, pooling and sharing our resources to ensure peace and security, in cooperation with NATO and other international organisations.

Europe needs a fair common asylum and migration policy, based on shared responsibility and solidarity among Member States, and cooperation with countries of origin and transit. We could all benefit from a well-managed, regular, and fair migration system; it can help strengthen the economy, generate new jobs, and maintain our welfare system. Europe must manage migration in a more dignified, just, and orderly way, maintaining effective control of its borders while fighting human trafficking and the criminal exploitation of people, and enhancing the protection of those in need of asylum. To do this, we must open safe and legal channels, support protection capacities in adjacent regions, and tackle the root causes of migration, including climate change. This will require a new partnership with Africa and a comprehensive European Investment Plan for Africa. We will promote better funding of integration policies and support host cities and communities.

The European elections in May 2019 are the moment to sign a new Social Contract for a Europe which protects citizens' rights and promotes solidarity and a Europe that guarantees a better life for the many, not the few. We are in a fight for the soul of Europe and for our common future. The Party of European Socialists will bring progress and will improve citizens' lives in villages, towns, cities, and regions throughout Europe. By supporting PES member parties, you will be supporting and building this Europe.



Willy Claes (Belgium, 1938) was PES president between 1992 and 1994. From 1972 to 1994, he served as a Belgian minister in three different positions: education, economic affairs, and foreign affairs. He was the Eighth Secretary General of NATO from 1994 to 1995.

WILLY CLAES:

We will have a bright future if we dare to fight for our principles

The context was very clear: Europe made an important step forward with the Treaty of Maastricht and the legal ground was laid. The other political families, the Liberals and the Christian Democrats, had made much more progress in constructing their new political structure. We had to catch up. We were still in the old situation of the Confederation, which had been presided over by Joop den Uyl, and later on by Guy Spitaels. So it was two minutes to midnight for us to create a political instrument. That was the situation.

It was not easy. The experience during the period of Confederation indicated that it was very delicate and difficult to convince all our parties to discuss common programme points. But anyhow, everybody understood that we urgently needed to create the party, so we did it, building on the foundation we had with the parliamentary group.

Here I would like to highlight the good work of Axel Hanisch (SPD), the first Secretary General of the Party, who played a very important role to bring all the parties together.

My first aim as elected president was to get, if possible, all

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the parties to support the same positions on a European programme. I created regular leaders' conferences to work on common positions ahead of European summits, which were controversial, because the parties in government did not want to meet with other colleagues who were in opposition. It was difficult, but I got to push that idea forward. We had to be prepared and to speak with the same voice as socialists in Europe.

I regret some missed opportunities to push our agenda further, especially during my time, when we held a majority in the then twelve-member EU.

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Our fundamental principles concerning solidarity, social justice and peace are very important. We need to stay true to them.

After the fall of the Berlin Wall, we were overly optimistic about the triumph of democracy and we embarked in a strong enlargement of the European Union without deepening the construction. Now times have changed. And that is a problem today. I very much support Chancellor Olaf Scholz's proposal to end unanimity voting and adopt majority voting.

The influence of social media in politics is a concern, as well as growing inequalities and the climate crisis. I also believe Europe has to have common, strong, and independent positions on the international stage.

More than ever, we have to take action against racism and populism. Our fundamental principles concerning solidarity, social justice, and peace are very important. We need to stay true to them. That will be the basis for our success in the future. We will have a bright future if we dare to fight for our principles.

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KARIN JUNKER:

Be proud of the struggle for equality for women



Karin Junker (Germany, 1940) was the first PES Women president, from its foundation in 1993 to 1999. A statutes decision made her PES Women honourable member for lifetime. She was the Chairwoman of the Women Standing Committee in the SPD between 1992 and 2004. From 1989 to 2004, she was member of the SPD Leadership and in 1999 she also got a seat in the SPD Presidency. From 1998 to 2004, she was a member of European Parliament.

I was elected to the European Parliament in 1989, just after I had been elected president of the Women's organisation of the SPD in Germany. I had been very involved in gender equality policy for a long time and was familiar with international campaigning, too.

Back then, left parties in the European Parliament held regular meetings on women's rights. These supported the cause and secured some good progress, but no specific social-democratic structures existed for women. That troubled me, because I wanted to be able to express that we, as European social democrats, stood for equality between women and men. And, more than that, I felt we needed a platform to show that social democratic women could and wanted to be elected to the European Parliament!

The journey to create this structure, which would become PES Women, began with a meeting between all social-democratic women MEPs, as well as the people responsible for policies on women within national parties. This was a bold step, because in general women were not well represented back then in social-democratic circles. When delegates from national parties met to discuss common positions, almost no women were in the meetings. And where social-democratic organisations already existed, for example focused on youth, women were also heavily underrepresented.

From that initial meeting it was clear that our first struggle was to gain visibility and secure influence within the social-democratic group. We demanded to participate in the leadership meetings, to strengthen the policies on women in the youth organisation, and to involve women as experts in all sorts of discussions. Eventually, the

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leadership, almost all men, agreed to invite me to appear at events with a real possibility of press coverage. That was the beginning of a run of successes. Mandatory quotas were implemented, and Pauline Green from the UK Labour Party became the first woman to become the chair of the socialist group at the European Parliament.

There were moments when I worried we would not achieve our goal of having a voice in the committees though, which were still dominated by men. I remember one day in particular. I had come back to work after going to the dentist. I was in pain, my face

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I hope the next generation will continue the work for a world of democratic values, with a focus on equal opportunities and equal living conditions for women and the politically underrepresented.

swollen. Some male colleagues were advancing an argument more excruciating than my dental work. They wanted to deny women the right to participate in committees, just so they would not have to also listen to demands from disability groups, foreigners, or other disadvantaged people. It was a painful conversation, but eventually they understood that the participation of women is not about one social group: it is about one gender, in which all groups have members.

Some colleagues had a hard time understanding, and we had good fun about that afterwards at the women's bureau. But in spite of the toothache, I argued my cause, and they conceded. From then on, I and indeed any woman could have our say on everything. That felt like a real victory.

It was not just in Brussels that old barriers were collapsing. It was around this time that one of the most profound political moments took place in my country, for women and men. After decades of division between East and West, the Berlin Wall fell. I was in Brussels and my busy schedule meant I did not receive the news straight away. But when I saw the evening broadcasts it moved me. I had experienced the war, witnessed the division of Germany, and felt the consequences. I could not imagine that it would end. When it came, it gave me hope.

I have been an active member of the SPD for 58 years now. I have met many great people, especially women, but also men, who have helped and supported me. Everything I have helped to achieve would not have been possible without them.

As PES Women reflects on its 30 years, I hope the next generation will continue the work for a world of democratic values, with a focus on equal opportunities and equal living conditions for women and the politically underrepresented. There have been great achievements in the last decades, but there is still much to be done, especially on gender equality. To those women and men now setting their sights on change, I wish you good luck and stunning success!

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RUDOLF SCHARPING:

The construction of a humane global player

I was a young leader, I represented one of the strongest economies in Europe and I thought that the European level was essential to our political aims, because one individual country can only master global challenges through the European Union. Standing alone was not, and is not, an option, even for a big country with a big economy like Germany. Therefore, we needed to build an EU that would become a strong global actor. If we Europeans did not, no-one would.

And the same applied to social democracy: we had to build the European political party that would unite all social democratic parties in Europe and all social-democrats in Europe. So we did.

Obviously, the challenge is to build a common, consistent strategy for the EU, starting from very different countries and political traditions, and from the ideological differences typical in free, diverse societies. One thing was clear to us, though: European citizens deserved a peaceful, prosperous, and just future.

In the 1990s our political family was on the rise in Europe. We were not in government in many countries, but we were about to gain power in the UK, in France, and in Germany as well. We became the most powerful political family almost from the start, and we were able to use that influence to shape the EU in ways that would transform it beyond just a big, international market.

The most moving memory I have from that time is everything



Rudolf Scharping (Germany, 1947) was the President of the State of Rhineland-Palatinate from 1991 to 1994, and a German Federal Minister of Defence from 1998 to 2002. He was also the national chairman of SPD and PES president between 1995 and 2001.

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concerning gender equality and women's rights, which had not been a mainstay of the agenda even for us progressives, until it slowly gained prominence. Many of the discussions were emotionally charged, but very important for progressing towards equality.

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It is a challenge to build a common, consistent strategy for the EU, from very different countries and political traditions, but Europeans deserve a peaceful, prosperous, and just future.

There were also hard moments like the wars in the Balkans, and the struggle to keep unity among Europeans and social democrats throughout them. It took some sleepless nights, but we were able to build a common position, with everybody's contribution. As is usually the case, the human factor was key.

I have enjoyed cooperating with many leaders in my party and from other European parties. I have learnt a lot from all of them. I was in my early twenties when Willy Brandt was elected German Chancellor, and I also liked Helmut Schmidt as a young politician very much.

I am certainly not a neutral person, but I strongly believe that, to this day, social democratic and socialist parties in Europe are the only power that can balance the concern for the immediate needs of the people, with the future we want to build - investment in education, innovation, and sustainability. We are the true humanists, we care about people's freedom and dignity, we want good material conditions and humane relations for everyone. That is what we fought for back then and that is what we should keep fighting for.

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POUL NYRUP RASMUSSEN:

Creating a new progressive synthesis

My election as president of the PES in 2004 took place at a game-changing moment for Europe and its fledgling political parties.

In 2001, the Nice Treaty had provided a new, specific legal basis for political parties, updated the past system in which party secretariats were supported by their respective political groups in the European Parliament. After an EU regulation was adopted in 2003 to define what a European political party is, and how it should be funded, in April 2004 the PES organised the election of its new president.

Suddenly, our political family found itself in a whole new, open, beautiful, and dramatic democratic process for the first time in our party's history. Instead of a cosy arrangement between the major national parties, we had a proper, democratic, contest. Giuliano Amato and I, both former prime ministers, presented ourselves as candidates.

My candidacy took many by surprise, and at the outset few believed I had a chance of winning. At this time, "third way" thinking was emerging and Giuliano, with major parties supporting him like the UK Labour Party and the SPD, wanted to position the PES as a sort of European version of the US Democratic Party.

I was concerned that this approach may split our political family into two. In particular, our French partners and many smaller parties in the North, South and East were either opposed to such a transformation, or were simply not yet aware of what was intended.



Poul Nyrup Rasmussen (Denmark, 1943) was president of the PES from 2004 to 2011, prime minister of Denmark from 1993 to 2001, and leader of the Danish Social Democrats from 1992 to 2002.

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I felt strongly that the new European political party should be a unifying project, bringing together all our national parties as a large political family: a new progressive synthesis.

Coming from a modernised Scandinavian approach, as prime minister for nearly nine years, I wanted to offer this positive experience to our sister parties in a strengthened European political framework through a new PES. My project convinced a vast majority of parties across the EU, and I was elected.

As the new President, I began immediately to build up the new PES, both internally in Europe and globally, building on my experience as Rapporteur on Globalisation for the PES.

My first task was to build a new party organisation with its own legal status, its own budget, and a totally new team. In many ways I was starting completely from scratch. I created several working groups involving the PES Group and national party representatives to provide innovative solutions across the full range of our future activities. This process delivered several changes to the way the PES functions, the essence of which remain in place today.

Alongside regular leaders', presidency, and coordination team meetings, we developed regular ministerial coordination meetings in several policy areas, including economy and finance, social affairs, environment, foreign affairs, and more. We created thematic policy networks on several key areas, in particular on economic policy and on social affairs and employment. Step by step, we developed closer strategic policy coordination on key issues with our parliamentary group. To involve national party militants more in our work, we created the PES activists, which brought together 20 000 grassroots campaigners from across Europe.

Perhaps the biggest initial achievement of this new PES was its first-ever political programme, containing 62 concrete detailed policy recommendations, for the European Parliament



The PES has the responsibility and the capacity to lead transformational change.

elections in 2004. From here, the party developed. We adopted our vision and ten key principles at the PES Congress in Porto in 2006, and the report A New Social Europe, known as the Delors/Rasmussen report, set the way forward to balance the Single Market and Economic and Monetary Union, with the need for stronger social rights. New, concrete answers to the 2008 financial crisis were put forward: stronger and investment-led economic policy coordination, financial regulation, notably on hedge fund activity, a Financial Transaction Tax, concrete actions on financial speculation against countries, a stabilisation plan for debt management, and controlling speculation against member states, most obviously against Greece. By 2009, the PES had built a coherent and highly ambitious election manifesto.

The PES was achieving more visibility, within our own political family and within the European institutional setting. We developed regular political coordination with key partners such as the ETUC and key NGOs, and we became a natural and permanent partner to PES Group members. I worked to develop a regular dialogue with the President of the European

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Commission, too.

When I reflect on all this progress, I keep going back to one memory: the first Congress of the new PES in 2004. It really was a historic moment for all of us. We held the hope of a better future for ordinary people in Europe, the enthusiasm of national parties, and an energy to reform and unite. I still see this momentum in the PES today.

The PES worked to build global progressive momentum, too. Our PES initiative with the Global Progressive Forum worked to realise a conference on the global crisis, held in the European Parliament in April 2009, which brought together more than 1,500 people from all over the world, including trade unions, NGOs, and international leaders. Former US President Bill Clinton opened the event which, after much discussion, agreed a unifying demand: time for a new global deal. It was a clear message to coincide with the G20 meeting in London and the NATO anniversary.

There have, of course, been many light-hearted moments too. At the beginning, as new president of the PES, I would often have meetings with the newly elected president of the group, Martin Schulz. He would ponder that he was president of “so many” parliamentarians, and would sometimes say, with a twinkle in his eye, “Poul, where is your army?”. “All the parties in Europe!”, was my reply.

We had a lot of good cooperation in the PES. In all the years, Prime Minister António Gueterres stands out as a very close friend and ally. We worked alongside each other as PES leaders and in the European Council as prime ministers. I supported him in shaping the Lisbon strategy in Council. And, when he had become the president of Socialist International, he supported me in launching the Global Progressive Forum. António continues to work for a better world as a secretary general of the UN and he deserves all our support.

The PES has come a long way since 2004. Together, we have created a more political and relevant party, that has a proven capacity to generate new proposals and influence European policymaking. It is certainly true that now more than ever, progressives across Europe and in the world need a strong political party at European level.

In this changing world, we face a challenge to redefine what we stand for. Here I underline the value of the comprehensive analysis and proposals contained in The Great Shift, recently published by the S&D group through its Progressive Society Initiative, an independent commission which I have the honour to co-chair with Spanish deputy prime minister Teresa Ribera. The Great Shift provides more than 200 concrete policy proposals for an ambitious progressive agenda, built on a fully-fledged, social-ecological concept. I invite the PES to make full use of this work when it formulates its next European election programme for 2024.

Today, in the middle of a perfect storm of insecurity, war, economic crisis, inflation, climate crisis, and social crisis, the PES has the responsibility and the capacity to lead transformational change.

It was a privilege and an honour to serve as president of the PES. The PES has been with me all my political life. I have seen how the PES can make a positive difference. And, I know that it will continue to do so for people, for the planet, and for the European project.



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ZITA GURMAI:

Women lead social change

When our organisation was 10 years old, an excellent Italian MEP, a former president of the Lombardy region, Fiorella Ghilardotti was its leader. Unfortunately, she decided she didn't want to run again. The race was thus open at PES Women, and several wonderful colleagues mulled or put forward their candidacies. I also thought about it. I had been working on gender equality policy for a decade then. I knew the stakeholders, like EWL and others. Most importantly, I was from Central Eastern Europe, and I knew PES Women wanted someone from the new member states, to bring freshness and a new dynamism, so I decided to run. My sisters, entrusted me with this important job and I am eternally grateful for their support.

So much has happened since. We have been particularly successful in leading information and awareness raising campaigns. For instance, pay gap has become a political issue to tackle in practice. Finally! Also, the ratio of appointed and elected women is on the rise. This is our success, too. Yet much remains to be done to advance and even protect women's rights from the constant attacks we suffer, like all the legislation being past against abortion rights, in Europe and elsewhere.

I remember our anti-trafficking campaign in the context of the 2006 World Cup, when we collected 122 000 signatures, as we launched an online petition to take urgent action to stop the trafficking of women and girls for sexual exploitation. I fondly remember our first 50/50 campaign on gender balance in politics from 2009.

When, in 2019, we succeeded to reach almost parity in the



Zita Gurmai (Hungary, 1965) is the President of PES Women, which promotes gender equality inside and outside the Party of European Socialists. She was MEP from 2004-2014, is the current Vice-President of FEPS and re-elected as Member of the Hungarian Parliament since April 2018. In the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, she is the general rapporteur on violence against women and on the Istanbul Convention of the SOC group. In 2022, she has been reelected deputy leader of the Socialist Group in the Hungarian Parliament.

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European Commission and Helena Dalli, from our political family, became Commissioner for Woman Rights, it was our success.

I have also had funny moments leading the PES Women, such as when we organised the demonstration in front of the European Council, wearing ties, and holding fake job applications in our hands to protest for the lack of women in high political positions. It had a great press coverage.

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If you want positions of power, of influence, you have to go get them, you have to fight for them.

Throughout this time, I have had the honour to work with many wonderful women and I am proud to call some of them my friends and mentors. It is difficult for me to highlight one or two people, but I will try. Yvette Rudy, the first French Minister for Equality. Martine Aubry, the first woman to become First Secretary of the French socialists; Christa Randzio Platz, a former MEP from Germany. Also, Britta Thomsen, a former MEP from Denmark and a great academic. A great Italian politician, Pia Locatelli, who is absolutely

committed to the cause of women. It has been a pleasure to work with her, to learn from her. I must also mention Dasa Šašić Šilović, a 2020 Silver Rose award recipient, who taught me what feminist commitment and international network building meant in practice. And of course, my list would not be complete without a former President of the European Women's Lobby, a great gender specialist and an inspiring woman, Sonja Lokar from Croatia.

Even if we have been very successful, we have every reason to remain dissatisfied. We cannot wait decades for real equality. However, we are also aware that political change is always underpinned by social change. We want to be an essential actor of social change.

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INGVAR CARLSSON:

A starting point towards a social Europe



Ingvar Carlsson (Sweden, 1934) was Prime Minister of Sweden from 1986 to 1991 and from 1994 to 1996. He was the leader of the Swedish social-democratic party through the whole period.

The world changed with the fall of the Berlin Wall and it was only natural for Sweden to join the European Union in 1995. We are a strong social-democratic country, so it was even more obvious to join and support the creation of the PES in the runup to our accession. We needed a place where social-democrats from throughout Europe would discuss the way ahead to influence the EU.

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PES’s role is essential
for progress in the
European Union.

From the start, our common endeavour was to form a more democratic, equal and fair union. Building that shared prosperity is a long task full with obstacles, as we can see just now. Today’s challenges, just like 30 years ago, are international and require common solutions. That’s why the PES’s role is essential for progress in the European Union, to shape a social Europe.

With climate change, threats to peace and security, and people’s quest for more equal societies, our work is even more important today. This should be our source of inspiration and the starting point for our plans for the next 30 years.

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FELIPE GONZÁLEZ:

To strengthen Europe, we must strengthen our shared political space



Felipe González (Spain, 1942) was the leader of PSOE between 1974 and 1997 and Prime Minister of Spain from 1982 to 1996.

When I think back to the beginning of the Party of European Socialists, it did not seem like a radical start to many people. Its potential was not fully understood at the time, despite all my efforts to explain it.

The basic idea in early 1990s was simple. If we were to build a shared public space — through the Treaty of the European Union, the Maastricht Treaty, with transfers of sovereignty — that space would require some sort of specific citizenship, namely European citizenship. And additionally, this new European space, this pluralistic citizenship, would require political organisations.

This was important because these new political organisations would not focus on defending national interests, which hitherto political organisations had, but instead would concentrate on common European interests. It was the beginning of a progressive — and, indeed, conservative — party at the European level, beyond national borders. That was not well understood, and even seemed radical back then.

At the time, my main goal was to explain that a German citizen who agreed with our social-democratic vision for Europe could potentially run in a European election as a Spanish candidate, or vice versa. But to do that at a political level, we needed to start moving forward.

European countries were already going beyond national borders in policy terms, pooling competences. We were

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starting to develop the fourth pillar: a common foreign and justice policy. I remember conversations where I stressed that I should be as concerned about central and eastern Europe as Helmut Kohl and, conversely, Helmut Kohl should be as interested in the southern Mediterranean as I was. This common thinking would make common foreign policy a success. And it was why it made sense to build structures like the PES, too.

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A common European public space requires common political organisations.

Even now, thirty years after the PES was founded, a truly European approach is not in place. It has gone forwards and backwards over the years. In recent years, I see two distinct phases. The first is the crisis in 2008-2010, which was a huge mistake. We paid a huge bill for it, there was little solidarity and much short-sightedness. Then there was the pandemic — the second phase — where we saw solidarity and more European, more inclusive, policies.

Now we face arguable a third phase: Putin's aggression towards Ukraine. Everyone is talking about common policies again, even in areas where no common policies existed, such as gas interconnections in Europe, which I advocated for during my years in government. The need for common policies has never been clearer.

We must always bear in mind that European politics has two cleavages: one between progressives and conservatives, and another between pro-Europeans and anti-Europeans. We must never forget the latter. It is very important for unity among progressive pro-Europeans.

Despite the turns of history over the last thirty years, the basic fact remains: common European policies require a common political space, and that is organised through political parties. There is still much to be done, and reality keeps pressing us forward.

As European citizens and political families, we may not always agree, but the same is true internally in every country. The important point is that we must never give up on our common, European project.

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BEN FAYOT:

Europe has a long way to go, but I still have hope

Creating a European ‘party’ was a revolutionary idea — perhaps an overly revolutionary one — for socialists in 1992. It meant replacing a union of national parties with a truly transnational party.

The initiative came from the Socialist Group in the European Parliament. The Parliament was about to become a legislator at the same level as the Council, and so the political groups would have much more power. But to whom would MEPs be accountable? The idea was born: there had to be a European Socialist Party.

My hope was to establish a political forum to discuss Europe and its future among socialists, and thus, overcome national divisions. I knew that national parties were only interested in European politics when their voters were angry with Europe. Now, it was necessary to go beyond this populist electoralism. We needed to create a platform where national decision-makers could meet with European decision-makers to analyse and direct European policy according to their political ideals.

That journey began with the first PES Congress in The Hague on 9 and 10 November 1992. I will never forget the beautiful staging of the signatures creating the new PES, surrounded by enthusiast activists.

That enthusiasm was particularly special because of the long discussions that I held with socialist party leaders in the run up to the Congress, in the summer of 1992. Every detail of the



Ben Fayot (Luxembourg, 1937) signed the PES founding declaration in 1992 on behalf of LSAP. He was President of LSAP from 1985 to 1997 and a Member of the European Parliament from 1989 to 1999.

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fledgling party was discussed. I remember preparing the new statutes and thinking ‘I have to find a name, could it be the European Socialist Party?’ In the end, everyone was satisfied with a party of European socialists.

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We fought a good battle during the 2019 European elections with our candidate Frans Timmermans. Unfortunately, the European Council short-circuited it.

The Maastricht Treaty institutionalised the European parties in Article 138A, but it was not until 1997 that a symbolic budget line for the financing of European parties was included in the European budget. Today, looking from the outside, the European Parliament’s groups are still better known than the European political parties. But perhaps this is inevitable.

I have one regret from the early days of the PES: we did not create local sections of European socialist activists at grassroots level. I remember there were a few ad hoc groups in the 1990s in Luxembourg, London, Brussels and elsewhere. But they were technically “illegal” under the statutes. Instead, national parties directed the work of their activists on European issues, rather than passing this on to the European party.

But I also have a lot of hope.

The PES fought a good battle during the 2019 European elections with the socialist candidate Frans Timmermans running for the Commission Presidency. The pre-eminence of the European Council, and the scheming of leaders, unfortunately short-circuited that European democratic debate. It is clear that European parliamentary democracy still has a long way to go. But I have faith that we will get there.

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PHILIPPE BUSQUIN:

PES: the obvious choice for international cooperation



Philippe Busquin (Belgium, 1941) was President of Parti Socialiste between 1992 and 1999. He was a Belgian federal minister three times in the 1980s and the 1990s and a Wallonian minister twice. He served in the Belgian Senate for one term and was a European Commissioner in the Prodi Commission (1999-2004), and a Member of European Parliament from 2004 to 2009.

I never considered the creation of a European political party to be a radical idea. We were already quite involved in the Socialist International, an organisation of much weight back then. Willy Brandt was the president. We wanted to create the PES to position ourselves towards the Commission and Council, to better prepare our meetings and coordinate our political family better. And we wanted to influence the political debate around the European construction, too. It was a rather practical decision.

I was the Vice President of the Socialist International. And I would liaise with the PES, attending their meetings. I hoped for the PES to be able to address the challenges of globalisation and to bring leftist forces together.

In March 1992, as we were discussing the creation of the PES, there were twenty of us, the presidents of the parties. I sat next to António Guterres, I remember vividly how he would switch from French to English to Spanish. Unfortunately, even with António's abilities, we were not able to reach an agreement in that meeting. Old tensions persisted.

So, we had to start negotiations again. It was mainly Frank Vandenbroucke who steered the work. That is how we agreed on appointing Willy Claes as the first president of the PES, even though he was not a party leader.

After we reached that milestone, everything went well. PES meetings proved useful to prepare Council meetings (we ran thirteen governments back then). We prepared the Amsterdam summit. I remember Blair, Jospin, a lot of famous people around

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the table. Felipe Gonzalez's dynamism was extraordinary.

But there were also moments of tension. I, for one, remember feeling that parts of our family drifted too far to the centre in the late 1990s. This divided us to a certain extent; we could not bridge our positions anymore and the gap between those in favour of Europe as a market, and those who wanted a Europe of values, got more noticeable.

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**We did not manage
to reign in markets.
I hope the PES of
today can correct
that: it must
campaign strongly
on the challenges of
globalisation.**

I have the feeling that these differences unfortunately meant we never managed to provide a clear social democratic answer to globalisation. We did not manage to reign in markets. I hope the PES of today can correct that: it must campaign strongly on the

challenges of globalisation from an eco-socialist perspective. We have beautiful fights ahead of us!

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FRANK VANDENBROUCKE:

Standing firmly together, united and in solidarity



Frank Vandenbroucke (Belgium, 1955) has served as Deputy Prime Minister of Belgium and Minister of Health and Social Affairs since 2020. He was President of Socialistische Partij from 1989 to 1994, and as such he signed the PES founding declaration in the Hague in 1992.

In 1992, it was evident that what existed before the PES, the Confederation of Socialist Parties of the European Community, had undoubtedly had its day.

I remember the atmosphere in the room when the new PES officially came into existence. There was a feeling of excitement. We all wanted to take that leap forward, to roll up our European sleeves; not for the show but to deliver results to the citizens of Europe. Everything was so well organised, and I remember a beaming first PES president, Willy Claes. He put in an astounding amount of work into the process leading up to that day.

It was a clear sign of political insight, common sense and logic to create the PES as a way give more collective and political direction to both the activities and the structures of European socialist parties. Among national party leaders, there was a common desire at the time to take this qualitative leap and form a genuine European party.

As a young leader myself, I was convinced that the long-established and strong European commitment of my party needed to be anchored politically on the European level. In order to achieve maximum results, and influence on European policymaking, we all needed to move towards common consultation and positioning.

With 14 socialist party leaders in Europe, there was the political opportunity to finally, and collectively, jump beyond

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our own shadow and achieve something together. It was a necessary and very timely leap forward. Not least because the Christian democrats, coordinated predominantly around German Chancellor Kohl, politically outweighed us in European policymaking at the time.

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There was the political opportunity to finally, and collectively, jump beyond our own shadow and achieve something together.

The new PES provided a new structure to coordinate, and then streamline, common political objectives and actions. At the centre: the challenge of reversing the dynamic where the national reflex predominated the European one. The PES was not about taking socialist family pictures, the aim was to really weigh on and influence European policymaking.

For me personally, as then SP Leader, the new PES was as an opportunity to anchor our socialist core business, employment and social protection, at the European level. And this is what

the PES allowed us to do, by providing useful regular meetings of like-minded national ministers before various Councils.

Although I should add that the effective political coordination of our positions before European Council meetings required a lot of effort, and sometimes remained an uphill battle.

It is always an uphill battle to get national leaders to move in favour of a common European position. The second half of the nineties and first part of the 2000s was a period in which we were successful at this. And indeed, in the following years, the PES discussed both the EU Employment Initiative and the Lisbon Strategy and developed them with great care – with an exceptional role for now UN Secretary General António Guterres. These were milestones of the 1990s for EU policy and socialist political objectives.

However, during and after the Great Recession that started in 2008, our political family lacked order, which obviously diminished our capacity to influence EU policies. The consequence was austerity, which had a very damaging effect on society.

With the current success of number of socialist parties in Europe and the coming Congress in Berlin leading up to the European elections, I am convinced that we will stand up firmly together, united and in solidarity.

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FRANZ VRANITZKY:

International solidarity through social democratic co-operation



Franz Vranitzky (Austria, 1937) is an Austrian politician. A member of the Social Democratic Party of Austria (SPÖ), he was Chancellor of Austria from 1986 to 1997.

The Federation of Social Democratic Parties in the European Community accepted the Austrian Social Democratic Party as a member at the beginning of the 1990s, even though Austria was not yet a member of the Community. We didn't join until January 1, 1995. For us, being admitted to the federation was a pleasant experience, as it demonstrated the solidarity and collegiality of the European party family.

Consequently, we were also involved in the founding of the PSE which took place at the congress of The Hague, on November 9th and 10th, 1992. In addition to myself, Ingvar Carlsson, as chairman of the Swedish party, was one of the founding members as well, even though Sweden was not yet a member of the EC, either. Like Austria, it joined on January 1, 1995.

The majority of the states, that were responsible for European integration in 1989/90, had governments led by social democrats. Official and personal relations were close and friendly. The establishment of a common level of political understanding among our parties was therefore considered more appropriate than being radical.

The EC, now the EU, is often perceived to be “business-friendly” in its basic economic policy interpretation. Countering this with a credible alternative is still the goal, the intention, and the main task of the transnational social-democratic solidarity.

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So, now, what lies ahead? Anyone who thinks European, must actively advocate for a united Europe. If only for no other reason than to secure our existence against an aggressive Russia and the power blocs in Asia and North America. This is the existential challenge par excellence for 500 million people in social, economic, cultural, and intellectual terms.

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The race to repeatedly cut taxes, which is constantly advocated by conservatives, cannot be supported by social democrats.

Conservatives fail completely in matters of social balance, material, and immaterial justice in our societies. Even when their governments here and there have policies with state benefits for those in difficult living conditions, colossal fortunes in the hands of a few grow at a rapid pace. If one also considers their rising influence on political decisions, the threat posed on democracy by extreme inequalities becomes evident.

The race to repeatedly cut taxes, which is constantly

advocated by conservatives, cannot be supported by social democrats. On the contrary, it must be fought against, except when concerning the lowest income brackets.

The Climate and Energy crisis has to be placed at the center of our commitments, even to a much greater extent than before, if we don't want to be part of the political and social destruction of existence. In these matters, little can be expected from the conservatives and nothing at all from the right-wing extremists and those who refuse to accept reality.

Finally, let us work on a social-democratic European and global policy. Despite all the hurdles that block the way in coalition governments, there has to be policy that faces international challenges from a social-democratic perspective. For example, on topics like migration, extremism, foreign interventions, violations of human and fundamental rights, and others.

Surely, we must not accept the thinning out of social-democratic international solidarity. In addition to strong pillars of the PES, it is an encouraging ray of hope that Pedro Sánchez will take charge of the Socialist International.

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Defining moments for Europe's socialists and social democrats

As remembered by **Jan Marinus Wiersma**



Jan Marinus Wiersma (Netherlands, 1951) was International Secretary of the Dutch Labour Party PvdA (1987-1999), Member of the European Parliament (1994-2009), Vice President of the PES (1998-2004), Vice President of the PES Parliamentary Group (2004-2009), and is Vice President of the EFDS. He is senior associate fellow at the Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael and fellow at the Wiardi Beckman Foundation. He is the author of 'An Inheritance of Willy Brandt: 25 years of European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity' (2018).

November 9th 1992

A moment I remember vividly is when Wim Kok, PvdA leader and deputy Prime Minister of the Netherlands and Belgian Foreign Minister Willy Claes, the first President of the Party of European Socialists (PES), signed the founding act of the new party in The Hague. Finally, after two years of preparations, members of the 'Federation of Socialist Parties of the European Community' had come to the agreement to set up a European party.

Discussions about accelerating the European integration process — leading up to the Maastricht Treaty of 1991 — converged after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989.

The same was true for all European political families. There was a clear need for more effective coordination between the parties, social democratic and socialist governments, and the Socialist Group of the European Parliament. But how far should we go? How could we manage the process keeping the member parties together?

Some parties stood for real transfer of powers to a European party body with a federal programme for the future. Others were less ambitious not being ready for example to accept binding majority voting.

Around that time my own party would have approved some sharing of sovereignty, but we were pragmatic in accepting

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that seeking consensus would be better in the initial stages. We, in particular, wanted to keep the UK Labour Party on board — the UK being an important member state. Our British sister party had great difficulty in accepting the change from a looser ‘Federation’ to a ‘Party’. This had to do with the expected backlash from the tabloids. The same reasoning applied to the substantive reforms of the European integration: our British comrades were against the Maastricht Treaty. That was actually the reason why Labour leader Neil Kinnock withdrew his candidacy for the chairmanship of the PES in the end.

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The founding resolution from the 1992 Congress was praised as the first comprehensive, social-democratic text on Europe. I am still proud of having taken part in it.

Party of Parties

The PES thus started as a party of parties, without individual membership. But discussion on the role and functioning of the European party did not end there. The growing number of member parties made majority voting unavoidable when consensus failed.

The UK Labour Party signed up to PES membership but during the initial years kept making reservations on resolutions adopted. Likewise, the Danish social democrats demanded disclaimers on common texts dealing with areas where Denmark had opt-outs.

With hindsight — after Brexit — it may seem strange that the Dutch as co-founders of the European Community, supported the UK Labour Party, but among the twelve sister parties we always considered the British to be an important ally.

PES parties have learned to live with the reality that common positions such as election manifestos leave space for national interpretations — for example in the form of additional electoral platforms. I don’t believe this is or was a major problem since all member parties undoubtedly operated on the basis of common social-democratic principles. Having said that, today — in 2022 — the differences seem to be smaller than they were around 1990.

‘The Hague Declaration’

The final resolution of the founding congress in 1992 — “Europe our Common Future” — still makes for an interesting read. It was praised at the time as the first comprehensive, social-democratic text on Europe. I am still proud of having chaired the drafting committee that was commissioned to prepare the joint text. Of course, it was no blueprint of a federal, social-democratic Europe. But it did provide a clear

direction on how to carry the integration process forward around some elements: a more democratic functioning (e.g. with co-decision rights for the European Parliament), a strengthened social dimension of the single market, a one speed Europe, the emphasis on tolerance, the introduction of European citizenship, the promotion of cultural diversity, and striving for common positions on foreign policy.

Shortcomings

Soon after its foundation the PES became heavily involved in the EU enlargement process. Many new parties knocked on its door.

Social democrats turned out to be frontrunners in promoting a speedy accession of the former communist countries. But with hindsight I have to admit that the ‘big bang’ enlargement was not as successful as everyone claimed in 2004.

With hindsight, we failed to see in some countries serious shortcomings in the consolidation of important democratic principles and the respect for fundamental rights. It should not have been enough to only make reforms on paper, leaving behind the implementation. To my personal frustration, no real improvement took place in the dire situation of the Roma population in the CEE countries, despite earlier demands of the European Parliament and promises made by some of the applicants. I also believe we should have set up much stronger monitoring of new member states — and for that matter also the old ones — with regard to the development of their democratic institutions and respect for the rule of law. It might have prevented the situation in which we find ourselves today.

In terms of political success, our European family went through ups and downs since its establishment in 1992. A dominant force with many parties in government during the nineties was followed by a period with many social democrats back in opposition. In 2022 the situation looks better again.

Social democrats are leading on issues like the minimum wage — the fight against poverty — and with our combined government power we can and should lift a strong barrier against the Orbáns of today.

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ALÍCIA HOMES:

I am a part of this fight

From my young age I was concerned about social issues around me. After the financial crisis, a moment when young people were not especially eager to join political parties, I became a member of the Spanish socialist youth — JSE —, and later of PSOE. My dad convinced me that I should stand to change the things that I deemed unfair, and become a political activist. And during those years in Spain, and especially in the Balearic Islands, where I am from, there were many unfair decisions taken by right-wing governments. This is why I joined PSOE.



**European
integration is not
possible without
the social Europe
we fight for.**

Because I have always been interested in European and international politics, I went on an Erasmus programme to Brussels and I did my internship at the European Parliament. That is when I properly got to know the PES.

The main value of the PES is that it unites all the different



Alicia Homs (Spain, 1993) is a Member of European Parliament and the president of the Young European Socialists (YES).

socialist and social democrats in one single European family. This gives us strength that we have used to shape EU politics. In the last years, our efforts have been fruitful: the EU has moved from neoliberal economic orthodoxy, to acknowledging that European integration is not possible without the social Europe we fight for. We have a long way to go, but we are very determined.

If we are to preserve democracy in the new world order, we need a social-democratic and ecological Europe. We must strengthen the role of the state after decades of eroding it. With a wider and more EU-integrated welfare system, Europe will be able to reduce social inequalities and reinvigorate citizen's trust in democracy. European social democrats will only achieve this if we stay united, and PES is the instrument for that. I want to be a part of this fight.



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VICTOR NEGRESCU:

Once a social democrat, always a social democrat



Victor Negrescu (Romania, 1985) is a Member of the European Parliament, Vice-President of PSD Romania, and national coordinator of PES activists Romania.

Growing up in Romania in the late 1980s and early 1990s, I was aware that inequality was very high, and getting worse. I became involved in politics to change that.

My early experiences led me to a simple belief: every life is important. From childhood, I have believed that everyone deserves access to healthcare, education, and a decent income, enabling them to reach their full potential.

When I had the opportunity to live and travel all over Europe at a young age, I discovered places where my belief was not an aspiration, but a reality. There were societies that valued fairness and human dignity just as much as I did.

At that time, my country was not in the European Union, so Romanians had to struggle by themselves. But, my trips showed me a path to a better future for my country.

I began to strongly believe that the EU was an essential factor in stimulating growth, development, and making people's lives better. And I learnt that it was social democrats all over Europe who were fighting for it.

Living in France, I quickly joined Parti Socialiste (PS) and, after coming back home, Partidul Social Democrat (PSD) in Romania. I started to get involved in promoting the debate about the EU and the activities of the Party of European Socialists (PES).

This led me to create, alongside a small group of colleagues, the PES Activists Romania Network. From its humble beginning, this

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group today is an official PSD structure dealing with European and international issues, with more than 10 000 members from Romania and our diaspora. Through it, we continue to fight for our beliefs, convinced that our political family — the PES — can build a fair Europe where citizens are protected and are treated with respect.

There has been a lot of progress in this progressive journey. The EU has achieved a lot in the last 30 years, becoming a place of

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**From cohesion
policy to minimum
wages, from the
Youth Guarantee
and the Child
Guarantee, to the
Recovery Plan, the
PES has delivered
concrete results for
three decades.**

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peace, hope, and common values, covering almost the entirety of continental Europe. And, despite the difficulties and the challenges, most Europeans appreciate what has been secured. But, they also have high expectations about what the EU could and should do for the future.

I believe that Europe can still do more: more protection for people, more social rights, more sustainability, more equality. There is a long way to go to build this fairer society and history shows us that the PES is the only political family that can do it. From cohesion policy, to minimum wages, from the Youth and Child Guarantees, to the Recovery Plan, the PES has delivered concrete results for three decades now.

The PES has learned how to have a strong impact and we, as members and activists, understand the power of working together behind a common cause. We have achieved so much, and we are only at the beginning.

Looking ahead to the next decades, it is up to all of us to deliver on our commitments and defend our core values. To do this, the PES must continue to develop its structures, securing a stronger impact in the European Parliament and the Council, and working to strengthen its important pan-European network of activists, volunteers, and supporters. It must continue to support its member and associate parties and organisations, too, as a strong partner for their activities and objectives.

No matter where the future takes me, I commit to playing my part in this work, contributing to the development of the PES and the strengthening of social democracy in Romania and across the EU.

There is a saying in Romania: once a social democrat, always a social democrat. I know that in 30 years I will still be around, fighting for what I believe in, together with the rest of my colleagues, and perhaps contributing to the edition of this book marking the 60-year anniversary of the PES.

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DELARA BURKHARDT:

Multi-tasking for the future



Delara Burkhardt (Germany, 1992) is a Member of European Parliament. She was a part of her party's delegation in the working group on climate protection and energy policy, in the negotiations leading to the current German government coalition.

The 30th birthday, final call to grow up. The wild youth is over. Time to slow down, to settle. At least this is what I hear from some people — half as a joke, half seriously — as I turn 30 this year.

Turning 30 this year as well, the Party of European Socialists might be in a similar position. As the oldest of the two (I was six days old on the founding day of the PES!) allow me to give you one piece of advice: don't slow down. Don't settle. Look at all the crises on our continent and the whole world: we cannot afford a social democracy in slow motion. Because we need to be guardians of the promise of Europe.

The promise of Europe is something that is deeply rooted in my family's history. After Khomeini's regime in Iran killed my grandfather, my grandmother fled to Germany with her six children, including my mother. My grandmother dared to leave everything she knew. To give her family a chance to live in a free country. To make sure her daughters could speak up for their rights. To get an education and not have others to decide their fate. To her, this is the promise of Europe: Europe as a home to freedom and democracy.

But this promise is under attack from inside and outside the European Union. My background makes me feel compelled to defend it and shape it.

As if it was not already overwhelming enough, I am convinced that the promise of Europe goes even further. It is also the promise of safety from material deprivation and from environmental harm.

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The climate crisis looms as one of the biggest threats to the promise of Europe. So, I want the European Union to step up its game. For a society of wellbeing, that grants prosperity to everybody within planetary boundaries.

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**Europe is the
promise of safety
from material
deprivation
and from
environmental
harm.**

But progress does not happen on its own and you cannot expect it to happen if you don't act yourself. This is what made me run for office, for a social-democratic party. Because social democracy is the political family that is most capable of challenging the status quo and improve people's daily lives. It understands that prosperity is a combination between social progress, economic development, and environmental protection.

In the past, sometimes these three pillars were presented as a false dichotomy, that tries to play jobs and the economy

against environmental concerns. Never again I want progressives to play along with this. Progressives must be capable of addressing multiple problems simultaneously. We can tackle several problems at once. We can multi-task. We can do the job. And the Party of European Socialists is the place for that.

Let's do it.

To the next 30 years!

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HABTAMU DE HOOP:

Europe means equal opportunities



Habtamu de Hoop (Adis Abeba, 1998) is a Dutch young politician and a TV host. He served as a member of a local council in the Netherlands between 2018 and 2021, until he was elected to Dutch Parliament as a member of PvdA.

In 1998, my parents adopted me from Ethiopia. When I was a few weeks old, my birth mother abandoned me in a coffee bar in the middle of Addis Abeba. Two police officers dropped by the closed orphanage and I had to stay there for a couple of months.

After 8 months, two of the sweetest people adopted me and I ended up on a farm in a little village of the Netherlands. A community and an environment where I've had opportunities that were unimaginable at the start of my life. Not many of people share my story. But everyone should get equal opportunities.

I am convinced that social democracy has the ability to provide equal opportunities. Our focus is on providing everyone in need with secure livelihoods.

I wasn't born in Europe, but I definitely feel European. I see European politics as the answer on the big issues of this century. We can't do it on our own. Look at the climate crisis or the challenge of offering asylum to people fleeing war. Beyond that, we all have to protect employees against the disadvantages of free markets. Europe should provide more security and improve the quality of life of all its citizens, especially children.

I am a big fan of the Erasmus scholarships, but we shouldn't forget those who won't make it to a University. I want to extend the Erasmus+ programme to them, too, a current PES policy. Because, everyone deserves to see with their own eyes the different cultures, people, and chances Europe can offer. It would take us a step closer to the goal of having everyone benefit from the European social model and the opportunities that Europe gives. For the many, not the few!



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JULIA HERR:

The financial crisis scarred my generation, we won't let it happen again



Julia Herr (Austria, 1992) was the first woman to become Chair of the Austrian Socialist Youth, a position she held from 2014 to 2020. She also chaired the youth organisation BJV, between 2016 and 2018. She is now a Member of Parliament in Austria.

I am part of a generation that grew up with the consequences of the crisis of 2008, triggered by the greed of big banks and corporations. A crisis inevitable in capitalism, where working people had to pay the bill for the mistakes and greed of a few. And the ones who caused the crisis never had to pay anything or face any consequences. Quite the contrary: they were (and still are) being paid millions in bonuses.

As a young person, I feel that the system we live in is unfair and rigged in favour of a few rich people. This led me to join the Socialist Youth of Austria, where I came into contact with the Young European Socialists (YES) and then the Party of European Socialists (PES).

As socialists, cooperating on an international level is crucial in today's world, especially in Europe. A lot of problems and crises can only be solved if we find solutions on a European level. That's why the role of the PES is so vital, as a European alliance of socialist and social-democratic parties.

In our collective fight for a better and more progressive Europe, the PES brings together socialist, social-democratic, labour, and democratic parties to work on the most pressing issues we face. It is not always easy to find common ground, but having a platform to connect and discuss is a big achievement in itself.

When we look at the current state of the European Union,

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Cooperating on an international level is crucial in today’s world – especially in Europe. A lot of problems and crises can only be solved if we find solutions on a European level.

As progressive parties under the roof of the PES, we stand together for the interests of the 99 percent! That is what we have done for thirty years.

As we reflect on this milestone for the PES, our thoughts also turn to the future. It is difficult to predict how this fight will evolve over the next thirty years, but I hope we can look back and say that we were able to solve the big crises we face today. I know that my generation will continue the fight that previous ones began, the fight to live on a continent with peace and where people are more important than the profits of the few.

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it is clear that progress is far from sufficient. The EU still struggles to effectively address the crises we face today. There is a climate crisis that threatens our very existence and an economic downturn that is pushing millions of Europeans into poverty. But the interests of big business and companies too often take precedence over the needs of the working people in Europe, for instance when it comes to taking effective action to tackle climate change or limiting the power of big corporations.

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BRANDO BENIFEI:

A coherent and united socialist voice for Europe



Silvio Berlusconi: he was the person who got me interested in politics, ironically. When I was a student, his government decided to cut funding for public schools. It was a deeply, deeply, unpopular decision among young people and it led to big student demonstrations across Italy, including at my school. For me, it was a lightbulb moment. When I joined my classmates at that protest for the first time, I realised the potential of collective political action.

It might have been school funding cuts that drew me into politics, but it was not long before I developed a real passion for campaigning. Like so many young people, I wanted to change reality around me in favour of those most in need: from the local level, to the global one.

I became politically engaged in the early 2000s, and at that time the debate around globalisation was exploding. For me, politics has always had this wider perspective. I think that is why, after I visited the European Parliament as a newly elected young local politician, I decided to get involved in European political issues. I wanted to take a step forward and engage to build a better Europe, as well as a better Italy.

Brando Benifei (Italy, 1986)
is a Member of the European
Parliament for Partito
Democratico

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It was at this time that I was first introduced to the Party of European Socialists, first through ECOSY, the predecessor to the Young European Socialists. Here I found my political home, built on our shared struggle for human rights, social justice, and democracy. I was Vice President of ECOSY from 2009-2013. Then I was elected as a Member of the European Parliament for Partito Democratico in 2014 and again in 2019.

I was born more or less at the same time the PES was founded.

“ The European model ties social protection together with political freedom.”

In fact, I am six years older, so perhaps I can use my seniority to reflect here on the past thirty years.

European socialism and social democracy have certainly changed a lot during this time, but there is no doubt that the foundation of the PES was a major achievement for our movement, perhaps the major achievement in recent times. I say that because it reminds me of what inspired me to get involved in politics in the first place: uniting people for change.

The strength of the PES lies in bringing together all our progressive political histories in Europe. We have achieved

so much together, yes, but also separately as political parties and politicians, and we can learn so much from each other's successes.

There is still quite a long way to go to build the better Italy, and Europe, I was inspired by as a student. But it is clear that socialists and social democrats must lead that work. We must confront climate change without forgetting social justice and employment issues. We must roll out Next Generation EU, we must ensure a strong social agenda, with better platform work and strong minimum wages. This is all possible because we have fought together as European progressives under the PES.

Achieving these results will be a big task, one that cannot be achieved to its full extent by single member states, with a nationalist approach. It requires a coherent and united socialist voice in Europe.

Over time, I hope to see a different Europe, a United States of Europe. That is something I have always believed in and fought for. It will take many years for it to become a reality, as well as a strong push from progressives. But we must do it. Why? Because unity in Europe is not enough. We also need ideas, policies, and a long-term vision that guarantees a future to the European model, one which ties social protection together with political freedom.

In 30 years' time — no matter where I will be or what role I will have in politics or society — I will still be interested in people and defending social justice and freedom. When I reach that point, I hope to look back and see what we in the PES have achieved. But I hope, too, that we can look forward to the future with the conviction of having fought and still wanting to fight for Europe and a world with more happiness for everyone.

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EVIN INCIR:

Standing against inequalities and discrimination



Evin Incir (Diyarbakir, 1984) is an MEP. She has been serving in the Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice, and Home Affairs, and has been part of the EU-Turkey Joint Parliamentary Committee since 2019. She is also a member of the European Parliament Anti-Racism and Diversity Intergroup and the European Parliament Intergroup on LGBTI Rights and is serving in the Committee of Foreign Affairs of the EP.

I grew up as a young immigrant from the Kurdistan region of Turkey in the suburbs of Gothenburg, the second largest city in Sweden. The oppression that minorities suffer in my birth country, as well as the inequalities in the country where I grew up, shaped me and strongly changed my outlook on the world. Since an early age, I pledged to work for change in society, to make societies more democratic and inclusive. Drawing from my own experience, as a person of colour with a migrant background, it became clear to me that solidarity is crucial to ensure that no people in need are left behind, and that solidarity should not stop at national borders. International solidarity and the fight for democracy all around the world is at the core of the social-democratic agenda. PES is the umbrella organisation of social-democratic parties in the EU and beyond and plays an important role in this struggle.

I am proud of the achievements of PES over the last few years, but I am also convinced that we can achieve even more. We live in a time affected by multiple crises, which pose many challenges to our societies, with a staggering increase in inequalities, poverty, and a backlash on fundamental rights. These crises call for progressive reforms, with equality and democracy at the centre. While some forces only focus on one single issue — and we have seen forces even trying to dismantle decades of progress —, our social-democratic ideology understands that only through ensuring both social rights and civil liberties we will be able to achieve societies and a world that is inclusive and leaves no-one behind. One of the most successful achievements, I would say, is the leadership our progressive family has taken for

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We are the leaders of feminist domestic and foreign policies.

feminist domestic and foreign policies. One of the biggest challenges, yet imperative, is to step up our efforts to reach the sustainable development goals, including a green just transition.

My dream has always been to contribute to changing the world into a better place. I hope that I will still have the chance to continue to do so also in next 30 years from now, through either politics or in another capacity with legislative change as a tool. PES has the potential to be an even stronger leading force in the EU and for the whole European continent, by putting forward an agenda that addresses the challenges in our own societies, but also allows for the EU to act as a global leader. It is in the very DNA of social democracy to work in close cooperation with civil society and other key actors. That has always been our strength in the past and it must continue to be in the future to ensure that every person has the right to reach their full potential.

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PES ACHIEVEMENTS AND MILESTONES

1992-2022

EQUALITY AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS

30 years of feminist determination

- 1992: PES Women Standing Committee recognised as integral part of the PES. Since then, gender equality has been central to the PES agenda.
- 1999: PES European elections manifesto sets out policies for “Creating equality between women and men”.
- 2009: PES recognised as the most gender-friendly European party running for EU elections.
- 2011: PES supports adoption of the Council of Europe Convention to combat violence against women and domestic violence, known as the Istanbul Convention.
- 2014: PES manifesto calls for “A Union of equality and women’s rights”.
- 2019: Frans Timmermans (PvdA, Netherlands) proudly identifies a feminist Spitzenkandidat.
- 2020: First ever EU Commissioner for Equality, Helena Dalli (Labour, Malta), presents EU Gender Equality Strategy 2020-2025.

JUSTICE AND HOME AFFAIRS

30 years of strengthening fundamental rights

- 1998: PES Congress in Milan sees all member parties sign Charter of European political parties for a non-racist society.
- 2000: EU Commissioner for Justice and Internal Affairs, António Vitorino (PS, Portugal), creates The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU, enshrining fundamental rights for all people in the EU.
- 2011: PES Congress commits to presenting a common candidate for the next European elections — the first political family to endorse this democratic step forward.
- 2012: PES defends civil liberties and leads EU rejection of highly controversial Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement (ACTA).
- 2017: After Poland attacks fundamental EU rights, EU Commission First Vice-President Frans Timmermans (PvdA, Netherlands) triggers the most serious political sanction – the Article 7 procedure – for the first time.

**PES ACHIEVEMENTS
1992-2022**

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■ 2021: Portuguese Presidency of the Council of the EU overcomes months of deadlock and initiates the Conference on the Future of Europe.

COHESION

30 years of building a cohesive Europe

- 1992: The Jacques Delors (PS, France) European Commission doubles the Structural and Cohesion Fund budget, increasing finance for environment and transport infrastructure across the EU.
- 1994: PES manifesto commits to further invest in Europe's joint future and "put investment to work" for citizens.
- 2019: PES manifesto calls for the creation of Just Transition Fund to support all of Europe to achieve climate neutrality in a socially fair way.
- 2020: EU Commissioner for Cohesion and Reforms, Elisa Ferreira (PS, Portugal) delivers €40bn Just Transition Fund as part of the wider European Green Deal.

ECONOMY

30 years on the path to a fair economy

- 1994: PES welcomes the establishment of the European Investment Fund.
- 1999: PES plays a key role in the introduction of the euro, led by the socialist EU Commissioner for Economic and

Monetary Affairs Pedro Solbes (PSOE, Spain).

■ 2009: PES launches a campaign to fight against the financial crisis, calling for a strong recovery plan and proposals to regulate financial markets.

■ 2010: PES President Poul Nyrup Rasmussen (SD, Denmark), at the forefront of the campaign to implement a Financial Transaction Tax.

■ 2014: After the 2008 financial crash, progressives succeed in creating the Single Resolution Mechanism. Citizens are now better protected from bank failures.

■ 2020: PES leads calls for a massive recovery package to tackle the crisis caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. The EU agrees on a 750bn euro recovery plan.

■ 2020: Socialists and social democrats successfully fight for the EU to trigger the General Escape Clause, allowing Member States to invest in the recovery from the pandemic.

■ 2021: Following progressive campaigning by EU Commissioner for Economy Paolo Gentiloni (PD, Italy), the G7 agrees to implement a global minimum corporate tax rate.

GREEN AND ENVIROMENT

30 years of promoting a green and sustainable Europe

■ 1992: Following extensive socialist and social democratic campaigning, Europe bans CFCs.

■ 1994: PES manifesto calls for a joint European environmental

**PES ACHEVMENTS
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policy focused on industrial transformation, renewables, environmental protection and green transport.

■ 2009: European Commission Vice President Günter Verheugen (SPD, Germany) demands mobile phone industry to harmonise chargers in the EU. The measure spares an estimate 51 000 tons of waste. In 2022, USB-C chargers are introduced for laptops, phones, and tablets.

■ 2015: PES leaders adopt 21 Progressive Proposals for COP21 ahead of the Paris Agreement. PES President Sergei Stanishev (BSP, Bulgaria) is the first to sign the proposals.

■ 2019: EU Commission Executive Vice-President Frans Timmermans (PvdA, Netherlands) presents the European Green Deal — the EU's biggest ever sustainability plan.

■ 2021: Portuguese Presidency secures agreement on the European Climate Law, setting binding targets for greenhouse gas emissions reductions. To achieve them, EU Commission Executive Vice-President Frans Timmermans (PvdA, Netherlands) presents the Fit for 55 package.

EMPLOYMENT

30 years of fighting for jobs

■ 1994: Socialists leaders at the Essen Council successfully push for the adoption of the European Employment Strategy (EES), the starting point for EU employment policy.

■ 2008: EU Commissioner Vladimír Špidla (CSSD, Czech Republic) and European Parliament rapporteur Harlem Désir (PS, France) secure the adoption of the Temporary Agency Work Directive, guaranteeing better protection and working

conditions for agency workers.

■ 2015: PES presents the Programme for Progressive Reforms to counter the austerity agenda put in place by neoliberals and conservatives following the financial crisis.

■ 2018: PES EPSCO ministers and European Parliament Rapporteur Agnes Jongerius (PvdA, Netherlands) secure the revision of the Posted Workers' Directive, improving protections for workers posted in different countries.

■ 2020: EU Commissioners Nicolas Schmit (LSAP, Luxembourg) and Paolo Gentiloni (PD, Italy) create the EU instrument SURE to protect jobs affected by the COVID-19 pandemic - €94.4 billion of financial support is provided to 19 Member States.

■ 2021: Commissioner Nicolas Schmit (LSAP, Luxembourg) proposes a Directive on improving working conditions in platform work, to strengthen rights for workers in the digital gig economy.

■ 2022: Commissioner Nicolas Schmit (LSAP, Luxembourg) and MEP Agnes Jongerius (PvdA, Netherlands) secure a political agreement for a Directive on adequate minimum wages in the EU.

SOCIAL

30 years of hard work for stronger rights

■ 1988: 'Nobody can fall in love with a common market' declares EU Commission President Jacques Delors (PS, France), as he pushes to add social policy to the European agenda.

**PES ACHIEVEMENTS
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■ 2003: Commissioner Anna Diamantopoulou (PASOK, Greece) introduces the European Health Insurance Card, giving EU citizens access to affordable healthcare when visiting any Member State.

■ 2010: EU Commissioner László Andor (MSZP, Hungary) announces Europe 2020, a 10-year strategy for a greener, more competitive, and more socially inclusive economy.

■ 2017: EU Social Summit hosted by Prime Minister Stefan Löfven (SAP, Sweden) proclaims the European Pillar of Social Rights. It sets out EU citizens' rights covering the labour market, work conditions, and social protections.

■ 2021: Commissioner Nicolas Schmit (LSAP, Luxembourg) presents the European Pillar of Social Rights Action Plan – the next step to implement EU initiatives for employment and social progress in Europe.

■ 2021: Prime Minister António Costa (PS, Portugal) hosts the Porto Social Summit, securing endorsement for the Commission's European Pillar of Social Rights Action Plan and shifting the EU's focus back to employment and social policies.

YOUTH

30 years of ensuring better future for the youth

■ 2012: EU youth unemployment reaches a peak of 25%. PES and the S&D Group call for a European Youth Guarantee to provide education, training, or a job for all 18-25 year olds within four months of leaving education or becoming unemployed.

■ 2013: EU Commissioner László Andor (MSZP, Hungary) puts forward the European Youth Guarantee proposal. Five years after the launch, youth unemployment is down to 15%.

■ 2016: PES President Sergei Stanishev (BSP, Bulgaria) calls for a European youth plan to extend the Erasmus and Erasmus Plus programmes, prolong the Youth Guarantee, and for the introduction of other EU measures to support young people.

■ 2020: Against the backdrop of the COVID-19 pandemic, EU Commissioner Nicolas Schmit (LSAP Luxembourg) proposes a permanent Youth Guarantee, extended to under-29-year-olds.

■ 2021: Commissioner Nicolas Schmit (LSAP, Luxembourg) proposes the European Child Guarantee to ensure children have a fair start in life.

MIGRATION

30 years promoting justice for migrants and refugees

■ 1994: PES manifesto calls for common immigration and asylum policies with guarantees for equality of opportunity regardless of race, religion, or beliefs.

■ 2014: PES manifesto calls for EU-wide approach to migration based on “true solidarity among all EU Member States to avoid more human tragedies”.

■ 2016: PES Europe ministers call for a review of the Dublin agreement, which was also backed by the PES High-Level Working Group on the future of Europe in 2018.

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■ 2020: EU Commissioner for Home Affairs Ylva Johansson (SAP, Sweden) presents a new Pact on Migration and Asylum — a milestone plan after years of deadlock — and a new Action Plan on Integration and Inclusion 2021-2027.

■ 2022: Following Russia's brutal aggression against Ukraine, EU Commissioner for Home Affairs Ylva Johansson (SAP, Sweden) activates the EU's Temporary Protection Mechanism for the first time, providing support and rights to millions of Ukrainian refugees.

■ 2022: The European Council endorses the Cohesion's Action for Refugees in Europe (CARE) put forward by EU Commissioners Elisa Ferreira (PS, Portugal) and Nicolas Schmit (LSAP, Luxembourg).

ENLARGEMENT & NEIGHBOURHOOD

30 years of supporting prosperity and cooperation

■ 1994: PES manifesto declares "Prague, Warsaw and Budapest are European cities as much as Paris, Lisbon or Copenhagen. And the Mediterranean is as much a part of Europe as the Baltic Sea. We want to enlarge and open up the EU."

■ 2001: The PES Congress in Berlin: "Welcoming new member states to the EU is politically necessary, economically important, and a moral imperative. This will bring us close to achieving our ambition of a stable and democratic continent."

■ 2004: EU enlarged under the Romano Prodi (PD, Italy) EU

Commission, with Günter Verheugen (SPD, Germany) as EU Commissioner for Enlargement. PES welcomes Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia to the EU.

■ 2007: PES welcomes the EU accession of Romania and Bulgaria.

■ 2009: PES manifesto: "We are committed to proceeding with European enlargement as an integral part of a wider European peace policy. We believe the future of the Western Balkans lies within the EU".

■ 2013: PES welcomes Croatia's accession to the EU.

■ 2015: EU High Representative Federica Mogherini (PD, Italy) leads the new Neighbourhood Policy, boosting cooperation and increasing flexibility in EU funding.

■ 2018: PES Western Balkans Summit in Sofia sees prime ministers of Albania, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and Greece support accession negotiations for Albania and FYR Macedonia. PES has pushed for progress on EU accession ever since.

■ 2020: PES leaders played a key role in the European Council decision to open accession negotiations with Albania and North Macedonia.

INTERNATIONAL

30 years of promoting democracy and multilateralism

■ 2012: PES is among the founders of the Progressive

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Alliance — a network which today encompasses more than 140 progressive parties and organisations from Asia, Africa, Australia, Europe, and South and North America.

■ 2013: PES welcomes the establishment of the Organisation Committee of the Arab Social Democratic Forum by PES observer member parties from Tunisia, Egypt and a Palestinian observer party. PES becomes a key backer of democratisation of the region after the Arab Spring.

■ 2014: A PES delegation in Israel and Palestine declares the restarting of the peace process a central priority. The PES organises a series of missions supporting peace and de-escalation, the two-state solution, and the negotiated end to all conflict situations.

■ 2015: Iran Deal: High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy Federica Mogherini (PD, Italy), together with the five permanent members of the UN Security Council and Germany, broker a deal to prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear military capabilities.

■ 2016: Turkish authorities prevent a PES delegation from visiting imprisoned Turkish political prisoner and HDP co-leader Selahattin Demirtaş. Since then, the PES has organised regular missions to Turkey to support Demirtaş and all political prisoners in the country.

■ 2016: PES condemns Dilma Rousseff's impeachment in Brazil.

■ 2018: PES expressed support to the wrongfully arrested former president of Brazil Lula da Silva. Former president of the European Parliament and PES common candidate Martin Schulz (SPD, Germany) visits Lula in prison.

■ 2022: PES Presidency condemns in the gravest manner Russia's unprovoked military attack against Ukraine and stands

in support with the Ukrainian people.

LGBTI RIGHTS

30 years of fighting discrimination

■ 1994: PES manifesto calls to “build a European society which ensures equal rights and opportunities for all”.

■ 2006: Rainbow Rose – the LGBTI organisation of the PES family – approved as an observer organisation of the PES at the party's Congress in Porto.

■ 2015: Rainbow Rose becomes an associate organisation at the PES Congress in Budapest.

■ 2017: PES commits to strengthening LGBTI rights in EU legislation, with the PES Presidency adopting the PES LGBTI Roadmap.

■ 2020: EU Commissioner for Equality Helena Dalli (Labour, Malta) presents the first-ever EU LGBTIQ Equality Strategy.

■ 2022: PES and Rainbow Rose are the biggest delegation at WorldPride Copenhagen.

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INSTEAD OF AN EPILOGUE

Against Nostalgia

What is the biggest task for European socialists in this “force majeure” moment for Europe?



By Ivan Krastev*

It is a “force majeure” moment. In the last decade, the European Union has been practising a dance that very much resembles the 19th century quadrille: it was dancing with the eurozone crisis of 2009-10; it was pushed off balance by Russia’s annexation of Crimea; it was spun by Brexit; and it was profoundly destabilised by the refugee crisis of 2015.

*Ivan Krastev, well known across the European Union from his book “After Europe”, published in 2017 (UPenn Press) is a political scientist, writer, and chairman of the Centre for Liberal Strategies in Sofia, Bulgaria. He is a permanent fellow at the Institute of Human Sciences in Vienna, a founding board member of the European Council on Foreign Relations, and a member of the board of trustees of the International Crisis Group. Krastev is a contributing opinion writer for “The New York Times”. The books written by Ivan Krastev include titles such as “Shifting Obsessions: Three Essays on the Politics of Anticorruption” (CEU Press, 2004), “The Anti-American Century”, co-edited with Alan McPherson (CEU Press, 2007); “In Mistrust We Trust: Can Democracy Survive When We Don’t Trust Our Leaders” (TED Books, 2013); “Democracy Disrupted. The Politics of Global Protest” (UPenn Press, May 2014). He is a co-author with Stephen Holmes of “The Light that Failed on East European politics”.

In 2020, the pandemic put the European Union on hold for a while. All these crises had a deep impact on the way Europeans see their future. Each could have brought the end of the European project. Yet, contrary to the expectations of Eurosceptics, the Union has survived and its chances of enduring have increased.

Each crisis exposed divisions and fault lines within the Union,

which in turn were redrawn by the next crisis, thus creating new political constellations and alliances between the member states that were thought unimaginable during the previous crisis.

The financial crisis exposed the South-North divide in Europe, but the refugee crisis cancelled it. The refugee crisis brought to the surface the East-West divide but, while dancing with this crisis, it became clear that the most important divide in Europe is not between states but within every single European society and particularly between urban centres like Berlin, Paris, or Budapest and what the French called peripheries (rural or de-industrialised areas that feel left behind by globalisation and the process of European integration).

Russia's invasion of Ukraine marked the return of all those crises, it heralded their "second coming". Europe lives now with a fear of inflation and recession more destructive than the one brought by the 2009 global financial crisis, the inflow of refugees from Ukraine is twice as big as the refugee wave of 2015, and Europe's neighbourhood is witnessing instability not seen since the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Russia's war in Europe deprived Europeans of their most fundamental illusion, namely the expectation that the future is just the next day. Europeans are being forced to re-imagine the future of their continent.

How will the European project change and survive in a world re-focused on sovereignty? Sovereignty of the individual as re-defined in the days of the pandemic; sovereignty of the member states as defined in Brussels' struggle for the rule of law in Poland and Hungary; and sovereignty of the EU as dreamt by the latest occupant of the Élysée.

The EU's crisis is the crisis felt by all pro-European parties, but it is probably felt most strongly by the two pillars of the European project: European Socialists and European Christian

Democrats.

The question is, what is the role of European Socialists in this "force majeure" moment? What strategy should the Party of European Socialists adopt in a Europe where "parties" are viewed with suspicion by a section of the population, where "socialism" is associated with a glorious past rather than a bright future, and where younger Europeans are moving to the left but socialist parties are not reaping the full electoral rewards?

The new reality is that European politics is structured not by the traditional opposition of left and right, but by the clash of two extinction rebellions, two apocalyptic imaginations. The ecological imagination is starting to define what is 'left' in Europe today. It is triggered by the prospect of the coming ecological disaster. It galvanises the feeling that if we do nothing to change the way that we are living and producing, soon there will be no more human life on Earth. Indeed, scientific research published by the US National Academy of Sciences suggests that up to 3bn out of the projected world population of about 9bn could be exposed to temperatures on a par with the hottest parts of the Sahara by 2070.

What is 'right' is defined by demographic imagination. It is driven by the fear that when "my people" disappear, our way of life is going to be destroyed. German poet and political thinker Hans Magnus Enzensberger brilliantly diagnosed Europe with "demographic bulimia", the bottled-up panic triggered by the fear "that too many and too few people could simultaneously exist in the same territory". Too few of us and too many of them.

While the ecological imagination is cosmopolitan and works with the assumption that humanity could be saved if only we act together, the demographic imagination is nativist and acts under the assumption that others want to replace us and we should stop them. Climate activists doubt the morality of

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having kids in a world driven to self-destruction. Nationalists see any family with less than three kids as traitors. But both imaginations are marked by a sense of extreme urgency and cultural pessimism. Both climate activists and national populists share the sense that they are living in the last days of the world.

I could be wrong, but it is my feeling that socialists' enchantment with nostalgia is partially to be blamed for this state of affairs. In 1688, the Swiss physician Johannes Hofer coined the term "nostalgia" to label a newly discovered disease. Its symptom was mainly a mood of melancholia that derived from a longing to return to one's own land (now we can say also one's own time). Those who were afflicted often complained of hearing voices and seeing ghosts. And while Hofer considered nostalgia a curable disease, no one can say this for sure.

In 2019, the same year this European Parliament was elected, the Bertelsmann foundation conducted a pan-European survey that revealed that the vast majority of Europeans believe that the world was better yesterday. Exactly when this golden yesterday was remains a secret. But it is clear that ageing socialist voters are one of the agents of the nostalgic wave.

Reversing the left's drift into nostalgia is, in my view, the most urgent and important task for European socialists. While conservative parties were created as spaceships that can help us to travel to the past, it was the mission of socialists to drive us to the future, to make us collectively dream about the future.

As someone who is not a socialist voter, but who is aware of the important contribution of the socialists' parties to the creation of today's Europe, I see this as the most dramatic question that European socialists have to answer: are socialists ready to redefine socialism as Europe's bright future, rather than defending Europe's glorious social-democratic past?

It is not easy to answer this question in ageing societies, where defending against what could be lost motivates people more than imagining what could be gained. But, at least in my view, nostalgic socialism is a betrayal to the biggest legacy of the European left: its ambition to imagine a better future.

When socialists get nostalgic, Europe becomes a fortress or at best a monastery.

As Michael Montaigne noted in the 16th Century, "the surest sign of wisdom is constant cheerfulness". It is the historic task of European socialists to make Europe cheerful again.

PES Presidents and Vice presidents from 1974

Date	President	Vice presidents	Date
April 1974 January 1979	Wilhelm DRÖSCHER (SPD, Germany)	April 1974 - June 1978: Sicco MANSHOLT (PvdA, Netherlands) Robert PONTILLON (PS, France) Ivar NORGAARD (SD, Denmark)	
January 1979 March 1980	Robert PONTILLON (PS, France)	June 1978 - April 1980: Sicco MANSHOLT (PvdA, Netherlands) Bruno FRIEDRICH (SPD, Germany) Karen DAHLERUP (SD, Denmark) Karel VAN MIERT (SP/PS,SP, Belgium)	
March 1980 May 1987	Joop DEN UYL (PvdA, Netherlands)	April 1980 - February 1983: Manuel MARÍN (PSOE, Spain) Bruno FRIEDRICH (SPD, Germany) Lionel JOSPIN (PS, France) Frank CLUSKEY (LP, Ireland)	
		September 1985 - October 1987: Jacques HUNTZINGER (PS, France) Rui MATEUS (PS, Portugal) Gwynneth DUNWOODY (LP, UK) Karsten VOIGT (SPD, Germany)	
May 1987 January 1989	Vítor CONSTÂNCIO (PS, Portugal)	February 1983 - September 1985: Bruno FRIEDRICH (SPD, Germany) Jacques HUNTZINGER (PS, France) Anker JØRGENSEN (SD, Denmark) Rui MATEUS (PS, Portugal)	May 2001 April 2004
		October 1987 - March 1990: Gwynneth DUNWOODY (LP, UK) Guy SPITAELS (PS, Belgium) Elena FLORES (PSOE, Spain) Pierre GUIDONI (PS, France)	
February 1989 May 1992	Guy SPITAELS (PS, Belgium)		May 2004 November 2011
		March 1990-November 1992 Elena FLORES (PSOE, Spain) Gérard FUCHS (PS, France) Roy HATTERSLEY (LP, UK) Lelio LAGORIO (PSI, Italy) Thijs WÖLTGENS (PvdA, Netherlands)	
November 1992 October 1994	Willy CLAES (SP, Belgium)	1992 - 1995: Elena Flores (PSOE, Spain) Gérard Fuchs (PS, France) Roy Hattersley (LP, UK) Lelio Lagorio (PSI, Italy) Thijs Wöltgens (PvdA, Netherlands)	November 2011 September 2012
		1995 - 1997: Philippe Busquin (PS, Belgium) Heinz Fischer (SPÖ, Austria) Pierre Guidoni (PS, France) Lena Hjelm-Wallén (SAP, Sweden) Raimon Obiols (PSOE, Spain) Achille Occhetto (DS, Italy) John Prescott (LP, UK) Akis Tsochatzopoulos (PASOK, Greece)	
March 1995 May 2001	Rudolf SCHARPING (SPD, Germany)		September 2012

until 2022

President

Vice presidents

1997-1999:

Robin Cook (LP, UK)
Heinz Fischer (SPÖ, Austria)
Lena Hjelm-Wallén (SAP, Sweden)
Henri Nallet (PS, France)
Raimon Obiols (PSOE, Spain)
Achille Occhetto (DS, Italy)
Akis Tsochatzopoulos (PASOK, Greece)
Jan Marinus Wiersma (PvdA, Netherlands)

1999-2001:

Jean Asselborn (LSAP, Luxembourg)
Robin Cook (LP, UK)
Heinz Fischer (SPÖ, Austria)
Lena Hjelm-Wallén (SAP, Sweden)
Henri Nallet (PS, France)
Raimon Obiols (PSOE, Spain)
Achille Occhetto (DS, Italy)
Ruairi Quinn (LP, Ireland)
Akis Tsochatzopoulos (PASOK, Greece)
Jan Marinus Wiersma (PvdA, Netherlands)

2001-2004:

Giuliano Amato (DS, Italy)
Heinz Fischer (SPÖ, Austria)
Trinidad Jiménez (PSOE, Spain)
Ruairi Quinn (LP, Ireland)
Rudolf Scharping (SPD, Germany)
Jan Marinus Wiersma (PvdA, Netherlands)
Lena Hjelm-Wallén (SAP, Sweden)

2004-2006:

Giuliano Amato (1st Vice-President), (DS, Italy)

2012-2015:

Jean-Christophe Cambadélis (PS, France)
Katarina Nevedalová (SMER, Slovakia)
Jan Royall (LP, UK)
Elena Valenciano (PSOE, Spain)

2015-2018:

Carin Jämtin (SAP, Sweden)
Katarina Nevedalová (SMER, Slovakia)
Chi Onwurah (LP, UK)
Jean-Christophe Cambadélis (PS, France)

2018-2022:

1st VP - Iratxe García (PSOE, Spain)
Katarina Nevedalová, (SMER, Slovakia)
Marita Ulvskog /Heléne Fritzson (SAP, Sweden)
Francisco André (PS, Portugal)



PES Congresses throughout the years

1st Congress of CSPEC	Luxembourg	January 1957
2nd Congress of CSPEC	Luxembourg	June 1957
3rd Congress of CSPEC	Strasbourg	October 1958
4th Congress of CSPEC	Strasbourg	May 1960
5th Congress of CSPEC	Paris	November 1962
6th Congress of CSPEC	Rome	September 1964
7th Congress of CSPEC	Berlin	November 1966
8th Congress of CSPEC	Brussels	June 1971
9th Congress of CSPEC	Bonn	April 1973
10th Congress of CSPEC	Brussels	January 1979
11th Congress of CSPEC	Luxembourg	March 1980
12th Congress of CSPEC	Paris	November 1982
13th Congress of CSPEC	Luxembourg	March 1984
14th Congress of CSPEC	Madrid	April 1985
15th Congress of CSPEC	Cascais	May 1987
16th Congress of CSPEC	Brussels	February 1989
17th Congress of CSPEC	Berlin	February 1990
1st Congress of the PES	The Hague	November 1992
Extraordinary Congress	Brussels	November 1993
2nd Congress of the PES	Barcelona	March 1995
3rd Congress of the PES	Malmö	June 1997
4th Congress of the PES	Milan	March 1999
5th Congress of the PES	Berlin	May 2001
6th Congress of the PES	Brussels	April 2004
7th Congress of the PES	Porto	December 2006
8th Congress of the PES	Prague	December 2009
9th Congress of the PES	Brussels	September 2012
Election Congress	Rome	February 2014
10th Congress of the PES	Budapest	June 2015
11th Congress of the PES	Lisbon	December 2018
Election Congress	Madrid	February 2019
12th Congress of the PES	Berlin	October 2022

30 years of PES, 30 Years of Progress

Brussels, October 2022

This book is compiled by the communications department of the PES, from the contributions of our member parties, of some of our past, present, and future leaders, and from the historical resolutions of PES congresses, PES documents, official PES statements, declarations, previous PES publications, and press releases from the PES archives.

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PES MANIFESTO
1999

30 YEARS OF
PROGRESS

PES FULL MEMBER PARTIES AS OF OCTOBER 2022



Austria SPÖ



Belgium PS



Belgium Vooruit



Bulgaria BSP



Croatia SDP



Cyprus EDEK



Czech Republic
ČSSD



Denmark SD



Estonia SDE



Finland SDP



France PS



Germany SPD



Greece ΠΑΣΟΚ



Hungary MSZP



Ireland Labour



Italy PD



Italy PSI



Latvia Saskaņa



Lithuania LSDP



Luxembourg
LSAP



Malta Labour



Netherlands
PvdA



N. Ireland SDLP



Norway LP



Poland UP



Poland SLD



Portugal PS



Romania PSD



Slovakia SMER



Slovenia SD



Spain PSOE



Sweden SAP



UK Labour

The Party of European Socialists (PES) brings together the Socialist, Social Democratic, Labour and Democratic Parties from all over the European Union, UK and Norway. Together with 33 full member parties and 12 associate and 12 observer parties, we fight for a better and more progressive Europe.

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