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FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN
PROGRESSIVE STUDIES
FONDATION EUROPÉENNE
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“EUROPE, OUR COMMON FUTURE”

CELEBRATING



OF THE PARTY OF EUROPEAN SOCIALISTS

By: *Dr Ania Skrzypek*
Senior Research Fellow FEPS

The Hague, The Netherlands, November 16th 1997
Willy Claes, President

Socialist Group European Parliament
Sveriges Socialdemokratiska Arbetareparti, Sweden
Partido Socialista, Portugal
Partido Socialista Obrero Español, Spain
Partij van de Arbeid, The Netherlands
The Labour Party, Great Britain
Parti Socialiste, France
Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
Parti Socialiste, Belgium
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Europe

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Socialist Group European Parliament
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“EUROPE, OUR COMMON FUTURE”

CELEBRATING

20 YEARS

OF THE PARTY OF EUROPEAN SOCIALISTS



“Europe, Our Common Future”

is the title of the founding “The Den Haag Declaration”, as adopted by the First Congress of the Party of the European Socialists in the Hague on 9th -10th November 1992.

By: **Dr Ania Skrzypek**

Senior Research Fellow FEPS

Published in Belgium in 2013

By **FEPS** - Foundation for European Progressive Studies,
with the financial support of the European Parliament

Design: **p-l-a-s-m-a . net**

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ISBN: 978-3-85464-037-0

Number was received thanks to Renner Institut

Responsible Publisher: **Ernst Stetter**, FEPS Secretary General
at ernst.stetter@feeps-europe.eu

For more information, please contact also :

Alain Bloedt, FEPS Communication Advisor
at alain.bloedt@feeps-europe.eu

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-The terms "socialist", "social democrat", "labour" and "progressive" are used in this book accordingly to their application in official PES texts.

-The terms "EU" and "Europe" are used in this book as synonyms. Whenever needed, the distinction is specified.



Dear Friends,

it is my enormous pleasure to be able to present this book “Europe, Our Common Future” which is a special contribution of FEPS to celebrate the PES 20th anniversary.

As I always followed closely the process of the building up of the European party, I am delighted that so many of us can be here to share this occasion.

I hope that this publication can help us to see where we have come from, what has been established and what we have achieved. Today, we have to really show our gratitude to those colleagues that showed so much commitment to the project. Also the fundamental principles which were laid down in the creation of the PES are still true today. We have travelled so far in our journey of integration and unity, we have accomplished so much.

For instance, since the creation for the Party there has always been a common manifesto for the European elections. Now looking towards the future, the next important stage is having a common top candidate for the President of the European Commission.

Being a visionary, I would like to witness even further developments; indeed an authentic European Party gathering on a transnational basis, a common list for the 2019 European elections.

In some ways twenty years doesn't seem that long ago, but so much has been accomplished, and today, through this short history, we can be proud to remember all that we have done together, is better.

Massimo D'Alema

President of FEPS

Former Prime Minister of Italy

An anniversary is always a moment to assess. It is a time to balance well-deserved tribute with honest appraisal. It is an exercise in historical and political memory that reminds us who we are and from where we have come. It allows us to draw the lessons that will help us to build our future. For our progressive family - our full, associate, and observer member parties and organisations - the 20th anniversary of the Party of European Socialists (PES) is above all an occasion to mark our successful coordination and our togetherness.

The PES of 2013 is very different to the PES of two decades ago. Since its birth, the PES has experienced a constant process of renewal: we have strengthened our cooperation between parties, we have refined and defined our common vision and – election by election, country by country and day by day – we gain citizen's trust. Over twenty years of changes, sometimes tumultuous, of ups and downs, victories and defeats, one thing remains constant: our principles. Of course, these principles predate the PES by a considerable margin. The European project is older than these two decades. Socialism and social democracy is older than these two decades. Later this year, our friends in Germany will celebrate 150 years since the foundation of the SPD. So you see, our shared tradition is a long one. It is also a proud one. Our call for a welfare state, for universal access to education and healthcare, our demands for fundamental rights and freedoms are the very basis of our society because they are the very basis of our history. This we must never forget.

The PES is part of the European chapter of that history, a chapter that is most evidently still being written. Although the landscape of our journey may have changed, the values with which we travel remain the same. What most concerns European citizens is that their fundamental rights and freedoms are protected along the road. What most troubles those citizens is that they and their families will have sufficient opportunity in the good times and sufficient support in the lean times.

Today we are facing one of the most difficult challenges to the European idea. The 'austerity only' policies imposed by Conservatives over the last five years are destroying the very fabric of our societies. Confidence and trust in the EU is diminishing, solidarity is fading away. Our core values are threatened by the Right and by 'technocratic' policies.

In the face of this, our shared mission is to continue to listen to people's aspirations, hopes and concerns and to shape them into a European project that reflects the best of progressive values and which will bring back hope to the citizens of our union.

As you enjoy this publication, remember that we, the PES family, are about to set the collective strength to the challenge of the European elections 2014. These shared strengths – our togetherness and our values – will be successfully reflected in these elections. Your role in building that success will be fundamental.

Happy 20th anniversary!

Sergei Stanishev
PES President
Former Prime Minister of Bulgaria

PES



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

“Europe. Our Common Future. Celebrating the 20 years anniversary of the PES” is a record of the inspiring history of the Party of European Socialists’ political and organizational creation. Starting from the establishment of the working group within the Socialist International and continuing until today, the story unveils how the vision has been shaped and how the europarty has been built.

Writing a chronicle of the PES is a great honour, but also a great responsibility. Comprehending different developments, following meanders of negotiations and capturing the spirit of motivation would not be possible if not for the honourable witnesses of the times. They have been so kind as to offer their time to guide the conversation on the past down memory lane. Their support in recapturing profound ideas and crucial moments is invaluable and hence words of appreciation should be addressed to (in alphabetical order): Giuliano Amato, Ieke van den Burg, Richard Corbett, Enrique Barón Crespo, Ton (Antony) Beumer, Willy Claes, Philip Cordery, Alfred Gusenbauer, Zita Gurmai, Axel Hanisch, Lena Hjelm-Wallen, Wim Kok, Henri Nallet, Ruairi Quinn, Achim Post, Poul Nyrup Rasmussen, Rudolf Scharping, Sergei Stanishev, Jean-François Vallin, and Jan Marinus Wiersma.

Realising this book would neither be possible without the great support of the PES leadership, of the PES Deputy Secretary Generals Yonnc Polet and Marije Laffebber, as also the colleagues from the PES Secretariat from nowadays, but also from the past, such as Friedrich Roll, whose encouragement and help have been invaluable.



Partij van de Europese Sociaaldemocraten

Founding declaration
Les fondateurs parties établies

The Party of the European Social Democrats
Le parti socialiste européen
Partido Socialista Europeo
Partei der Europäischen Sozialisten
Il partito socialista europeo
Partido Socialista Europeo
Partido Socialista Europeo
Partido Socialista Europeo
Partido Socialista Europeo

PES

1

1

SPRING OF EUROPEAN SOCIALISM 1951-1992

A history of institutionalised cooperation among the socialist and social democratic parties in uniting Europe begins 62 years ago. It was in **June 1951**, when **the Socialist International (SI) established the very first working group** of selected European representatives. They came from the countries, which in the spirit of the Treaty of Paris would belong to the new European Community of Coal and Steel (ECSC). The mandate, which this group was given, was to prepare a programmatic document that would outline the socialist position concerning the European integration processes.

Although the initial year featured more informal cooperation within the SI only, this was about to change already in September 1952, when the first plenary meeting of the Common Assembly of the ECSC (predecessor of today's European Parliament) took place. At this constituting meeting, all the socialists united behind a common candidate for a position of Assembly Speaker. This is how **Paul Henri Spaak** (Belgian Socialist Party) was elected. Five months later, the existence of initiated herewith political groups was officially acknowledged by the Assembly's rules, on the bases of which socialists (parallel to the Christian-democrats and liberals) constituted their own fraction half a year later.

The European socialist family has continued consolidating parallel to progressing European integration, which two processes have been always mutually shaping one another. The Intergovernmental Conference in Messina (June 1955) and the work afterwards (including the deliberations within a Spaak's Committee) was echoed in a PvdA proposal that led to the subsequent decision of six socialist parties to establish **Liaison Bureau of the Socialist Parties of the European Community** (created in

Luxembourg in January 1957). This tool gained in significance in the times of the Treaty of Rome and the creation of the European Economic Community (entering into power in January 1958). This Liaison Bureau had its seat in Luxembourg together with the offices of the Socialist Group. Its first president was **Pierre Comin** (SFIO – French Section of Workers’ International) and its first secretary general was **Fernand Georges** (POSL).

The first ideas to create a pan-European socialist party appeared already in the aftermath of the 7th Congress of the Socialist Parties of European Community (Congress of SPEC), which took place in West Berlin in 1966. A group led by **Henk Vredeling** (PvdA) proposed to transform the Liaison Bureau towards a “*Progressive European Party*”. The initiative was subsequently carried by two socialist Commissioners: **Sicco Mansholt** (PvdA) and **Lionello Levi-Sandri** (PSI), as also within the Socialist Group by its President **Francis Vals** (SFIO) and **Lucien Radoux** (Belgian Socialist Party). They and their supporters advocated already then for direct elections to the European Parliament as “the only way to establish also a common market of political parties”. The initiative was rejected as “too radical” in 1969.

Despite that, there was still small progress achieved with the 8th Congress of SPEC (Brussels, June 1971), when the name of “Liaison Bureau” was replaced by “**Office**”. The new name was to signify that there is a shift from “coordination” to “cooperation”. Socialists also started anticipating on possible direct elections on one hand, while feeling more and more a need to clarify the role of the “Office” (especially in relation to the Socialist Group in the EP). This is why the Congress entrusted **Alfred Mozer** (PvdA) with a mandate to prepare an expertise on possible reform and further consolidation. The challenge wasn’t small; especially that it coincided with the pressure imposed of adaptation through enlargement towards the UK, Denmark and Ireland.

A turning point in the programmatic cooperation of the socialist parties is marked by the 9th Congress of SPEC (Bonn, April 1973). It followed the Summit of October 1972, where the Chancellor **Willy Brandt** (SPD) introduced through his intervention the term of “social union”, which ever since has been anchored in the political vocabulary of the European communities. In the same spirit the above mentioned Congress gathered under the title “*Towards a Social Europe*” that became a hallmark of socialist mission in Europe. This congress showed an exceptionally great deal of ideological unity among socialist parties, despite the fact that it was the meeting that also introduced a “disclaimer” mechanism, allowing parties to exempt themselves from supporting parts of, or even entire common decisions.

Encouraged by those developments, the Office returned to the hopes, which in 1969 seemed to have been buried. The “**Mozer’s Report**” was re-discussed and

subsequently the next working group was established under the leadership of **Lucien Radoux** (French PS). The new Radoux Report was adopted. Following its conclusions, “Office” had evolved towards a **Confederation of the Socialist Parties of EC** (CSPEC), which was officially created by nine parties on **5th June 1974**. It is interesting to note that this name was translated in different ways by the member parties, which highlighted their diverse traditions and perhaps slightly dissimilar ambitions towards it. In English it functioned as *Confederation*, in Italian as *Confederazione*; in Dutch as *Federatie*; in German as *Bund* and in French as *Union*; and finally in Danish as *Samenslutningen*. CSPEC mission entailed “defining common, freely agreed positions concerning the issues connected with the Communities’ existence (article 2). **Wilhelm Dröscher** (SPD) was elected CSPEC’s first president, together with three Vice-Presidents: **Sicco Mansholt** (PvdA), **Robert Pontillon** (French PS) and **Ivar Noordag** (Danish SD).

The CSPEC preparations towards the first direct elections speeded up with the decision of the Leaders’ Meeting (Hague in November 1974 - a half a year before the decisive European Council meeting in Dublin in 1975). The aspiration was to draft the first common electoral manifesto. The strategy was to begin with comparing the national parties’ programmes in order “not to find the lowest common denominator, but on the contrary, to find all the elements that really unite socialists and will consolidate them in the future”.

The launch of that process was enthusiastically received, however soon after it became clear that diverse circumstances in which the national parties operated predetermined the fact, that there were many differences among them. Also, not many of the successful proposals from the local or national levels could simply be translated onto the European one. Nevertheless the leaders sustained their support for the idea (Helsingor, January 1976) and created a new Steering Committee. It was led by the President of CSPEC **Wilhelm Dröscher** (SPD) and included 4 members, each responsible for one working group: **Michel Rocard** (French PS, in charge of economic policies), **Lionello Levi-Sandri** (PSI, social policies); **Schelto Patijn** (PvdA, democracy and institutions), and **Bruno Friedrich** (SPD, international affairs).

The efforts continued for one and a half years. A great number of meetings took place. At least, four reports were consolidated into one document of over 30 pages (presented for the first time at the meeting in Luxembourg on 6th June 1977). It was given the name “**Manifest**” and was supposed to be debated at the 10th Congress (foreseen for March 1978). Then, however, all went wrong. Since each member had a different tradition as far as writing and adopting manifestos, the procedure on the European level was approached in different ways by them – some involving themselves through submission of many amendments, some others simply contesting even the sense of the word “Manifest”. In the end of that exhausting

process the original manifesto (“European Socialist Programme”) was dropped.

With the first direct elections to the EP approaching, there was a need to recuperate from the programmatic impasse. An Electoral Committee was established with Bruno Friedrich as its chair. Its task was to coordinate national campaigns – as it was acknowledged that each member would apply a tactic that fit best within the national circumstances. As for the message, it was decided to aim at a “Political Declaration”. Four new working groups were established under the leadership of **Sicco Mansholt**, supported by: **Joop den Uyl** (PvdA, in charge of “labour”); **Willy Dodelinger** and **Ole Espersen** (respectively POSL and Danish SD, in charge of “human rights”), **Karen Dahlerup** (Danish SD, in charge of “women’s rights”) and **Karel Van Miert** (Belgian PS, in charge of “enlargement”). Final document was composed of 31 points and was adopted in June 1978 (in Brussels in Palais d’Egmont). The document outlined the framework of cooperation for the socialist parties and also highlighted their guiding principles “*freedom, social justice, equality and harmonious economic development*”.

The document was met with a lot of criticism, especially due to its general and hence ambiguous character. The Bureau of CSPEC drafted therefore a new document, which as “***Appeal of the electorate of the countries of the European Community for the first elections to the European Parliament (7-9 June 1979)***” (adopted at the delayed, 1st Congress of CSPEC in January 1979) became the first electoral platform of the European socialist family. It was composed of an introduction and seven chapters, and indicated 3 priorities: peace, democratic economy that supports workers and care of the governments for its citizens.

The first European campaign was mostly a sum of the national campaigns. The Electoral Committee helped with inviting European personalities to the events of the member parties, as also facilitated exchanges of information on the campaigns developments among the members. It held a Press Service and since January 1979 it was issuing a daily electoral bulletin. More than 200 candidates and representatives took part in the campaign meeting held in Luxembourg, and more than 20.000 participated in the culmination event “***Spring of European Socialism***” that was held on Champs de Mars in Paris on **25th May 1979**. The key momentum of that event was a speech by **Willy Brandt** (SPD, at that point President of SI) and common press conference together with **François Mitterrand** (PS France) and **James Callaghan** (LP UK).

The further chapters of the CSPEC history unveil through the 1980s, which years observed profound historical developments. The progressing deterioration and the collapse of the Soviet Block, a chance to reunite Europe, fall of communist ideology and regrouping within the left worldwide – all these demanded strong political

answers, especially from the socialist family. The integration of the Communities progressing ultimately towards European Union required them to reform internally. This search for adequate answers was mirrored predominantly in the Electoral Manifestos of 1984 and 1989.

From today's perspective, the years 1951 -1992 of the *European Socialist Genesis* may of course appear as almost "pre-historical". Therefore they are usually predominantly perceived as a purpose for historical excavations. Indeed, in that sense they constitute a chronicle of European integration vis-à-vis political consolidation of the socialist family. The record of different achievements is a reason to feel proud about belonging to the movement that has been constructed through courageous visions and vigorous efforts of so many outstanding comrades. Their stories should be kept alive in grateful memories for their idealism, commitment and perseverance.

But beyond the trip down memory lane, this history shows that certain struggles tend to reoccur. In 1952 the socialists won the leadership position in the Common Assembly, because they united behind one candidate. In the 1960s they struggled for further ideological and organisational consolidation to be better prepared for the direct European elections, should they eventually take place. In the 1970s finally they experienced the first enlargement that increased their membership by 50%. These years were also particularly demanding, since they experimented with the first electoral manifesto and the first electoral campaign. Finally in the 1980s, the movement faced historical questions – that required redefining what democratic socialism should be about and on that bases open the euro-party further. Naturally, none of these challenges is to repeat itself exactly. But the way they were tackled unveils certain obvious truths underpinning the mechanism of the European socialist cooperation. On their heritage the contemporary Party of European Socialists is built and from them it can learn how to proceed with the issues such as programmatic work, organisational reform and electoral strategies.

This history proves that throughout these 60 years, the socialists have always managed to recuperate, even from the greatest predicaments. This has been the case whenever they followed the principles in aiming for unity that overreaches the common denominator, but instead grasps strength from focusing on the elements that unite them. This is the hope for the further years that are to unfold – for which mission is best described in words of **Axel Hanisch** (SPD, Secretary General of CSPEC and then PES between October 1989 – March 1995) *"Being in a European socialist party is like running a marathon. Of course, after 5, 10, 15 kilometres you are tired. You start wondering, why on Earth you are not at home, cosily relaxing instead. The key is never to stop and let those doubts make you turn back, but to mobilise and run proudly the entire long distance through."*

2

FOUNDING THE PARTY OF EUROPEAN SOCIALISTS 1991-1992

The historical Rubicon of the European integration was crossed through signing the **Maastricht Treaty** (7th February 1992). The Treaty established the European Union. Among numerous provisions, it entailed the article 138a, which stated that ***“Political Parties at European Level are an important factor for integration within the Union. They contribute to forming a European awareness and to expressing the political will of the Citizens of the Union.”*** Herewith the history of the European political party system and its components, known broadly as “europarties”, were officially born.

■ Consolidating the movement

Even though the actual act of establishment of the **Party of European Socialists (PES)** is associated with its **1st Congress (Hague, 9th – 10th November 1992)**, the preparations towards this momentum had been preceding even during the negotiations on the Treaty. The motivation was not only to anticipate the institutional changes with an adequate organisational reform, but also to find better answers to contemporary capitalism evolving through economic integration. This is why CSPEC created a working group, which was mandated to search for the ways to modernise and strengthen the Confederation (1989). **Wim**

Kok (PvdA) was entrusted with leading it. His final report, which was presented at the 17th Congress of CSPEC (Berlin, February 1990), called for enhanced cooperation in the larger amount of areas, as also for more involvement of the members. It suggested extending the number of decisions taken through majority voting, as also it pointed out the need for autonomous funds. The philosophy behind the report and the tone in which it was drafted mirrored an optimism that a number of the CSPEC shared at this point. The progressing unification of the European Communities brought hope for installing primacy of politics over the economically driven processes. **Wim Kok** recalls nowadays that there was then a rising conviction that the parties should therefore enhance cooperation and place themselves in a position that would enable them to shape the future of Europe. In that sense the **“Kok Report”** also correlated with the report **“Towards a European Socialist Party”**, which was prepared by **Eisso Woltjer** (PvdA) for the Socialist Group in the EP.

Reception of the **“Kok Report”** was overshadowed by the proceedings of Intergovernmental Conference and the questions of economic and monetary union. Furthermore, there were also tensions within the CSPEC, as traditionally sceptic members were not ready to commit beyond the Confederation. Despite these unfavourable circumstances, the parties in favour kept on backing the CSPEC leadership strongly in search of the next step. As an interim solution to the internal dichotomy, another set of Working Groups was established. The first one was devoted to **“The Architecture of the New Europe”** and was led by **G rard Fuchs** (French PS). The second was to explore the challenges of **“Economic and Social Cohesion”** and was led by **Elena Flor s** (PSOE). And the third, on **“Strengthening of the Confederation”**, was created under the leadership of **Ben Fayot** (POSL) and **Thijs W ltgens** (PvdA). Their report, which was subsequently presented at the Congress in the Hague, provided in fact the foundations for the creation of the PES.

Fayot-W ltgens proposed that the new party should be named **“European Socialist Party”**. This proposal was also strongly backed by **Bj rn Engholm** (leader of SPD at the time). This idea was rejected upon the objections by **Neil Kinnock** (leader of the British Labour Party, at that point a potential future President of the CSPEC and subsequently of the PES) and echoed by the others. The arguments against the suggested name were that the definition of **“European Socialism”** was still very vague and hence there was a need to find a formula that would better mirror the diversity and pluralism of the European socialist family. There were also worries that the name **“party”** can provoke further euro-phobia among socialist euro-sceptics, which appeared as a real threat after the Danish rejection of the Maastricht Treaty by referendum earlier that year (June 1992). After lengthy deliberations, upon a proposal by Fayot, the approved name was to be **“Party**

of European Socialists". As previously in case of the CSPEC, also for the PES, it was up to the member parties' to find adequate translations into their mother tongues. Different historical and political contexts explain why in some languages it is interpreted as "Party of European Socialists" (English, Spanish, French and Greek) and in others as "Party of European Social Democrats" (Danish, Dutch, Finnish, Norwegian and Swedish). Different translations were also observed in German, Portuguese and Italian.

Recalling the struggle about the party's name, **Axel Hanisch** (SPD, first Secretary General of the PES) commented: *"This was not a matter of changing the name only [from Confederation to a Party]. It was a significant, defining step from a "loose union" towards "a real political party"*. **Rudolf Scharping** (SPD, President of the PES 1995 – 2001) echoed that by saying that it was extremely relevant that herewith 16 different socialist and social democratic parties agreed to cooperate more on the bases of a common programme – for which he considered leaders' support for **"The Den Haag Declaration"** and for the future Electoral Manifesto 1994.

■ Shaping the external context

The internal work accompanied the negotiations that were led among the leaders of the European-parties to be and their respective groups in the European Parliament. Though the Maastricht Treaty formalised European parties through the article 138a, there were many questions pending concerning their status, prerogatives and financing.

A compromise among the three largest federations was indispensable to nail the answers down. This process was facilitated largely due to what was then just a purely curious coincidence. All the Confederations' Presidents at that point were Belgian, while all the Secretary Generals were German. This, among other aspects, permitted the work to be intensified around frequent formal and informal meetings.

After the first meeting among the Presidents (March 1992), the Secretary Generals launched their work. In this group were: **Axel Hanisch** (CSPEC), Thomas Jansen (EPP) and Christian Ehlers (ELDR). After 3 months they were ready with a working paper on the **"Political Follow-Up to the Article 138a"** (June 1992), which then was to be presented to the European Commission and the Council. The thesis of the paper outlined an initial proposal of a **"Statute of European Political Parties"**. It was built around 5 themes:

1. what constitutes a European party
2. what basic requirements their statutes and constituting documents shall abide by
3. what their roles and duties are
4. what financial resources they should be based on
5. that their organisational independence should be recognised.

Despite these clarifications much was still to be done before the europarties could proclaim themselves as officially established.

■ Establishing the organisation

The first Congress of the PES (Den Haag, 9th-10th November 1992) was composed of the delegates from the members of CSPEC, along with Italian PDS, Swedish SAP and Finish SDP. The Congress defined the new party's goal as triple-folded and mirrored the strategic, ideological and organisational ambitions of its founders. First of all, it was responsible for defining common policies. Secondly, it was in charge of common electoral manifestos for the European elections. Thirdly, it was to continue strengthening the organisational structure that would support the constantly enhancing cooperation within the European Union. The last two were a novelty in comparison with the statutes of the CSPEC.

The first statutes of the PES was much more focused on deepening the intra-parties integration than any other set of rules by CSPEC. In the first article, it was stated that the PES is composed of the socialist and social democratic parties of the European Union, which act accordingly to the rules of SI as far as regional cooperation of the affiliated parties is concerned. Among other recognised members were: associated, observers, 14-members secretariat, the President and the Secretary General. The associate parties and the Socialist Group were given a right to initiative within the PES, while observers were entitled to formulate recommendations (which should then be submitted to the Bureau). This formulation may today appear odd, however at the point of the statutes adoption it was a confirmation that there is an autonomous organisation existing, which is extracted at least nominally from the Socialist Group secretariat. Of course, the overall provisions could now sound ambiguous – but they resulted from the fact that there were no legal regulations concerning, for instance, the financing of European political parties.

However the statutes introduced certain limitations, it still preserved the character of a confederation and in that sense failed in creating a federal organisation. Although scope of the decisions that required majority voting instead of unanimity

enlarged, their power was more binding for members and the Presidential prerogatives were strengthened, still the very prominent decision-making body was the *de facto* Leaders' Conference (articles 16 – 18). To balance that a bit and strengthen the Party's leadership, the role of Vice-Presidents was enhanced and they were from that point on to be elected by a Congress.

Following the changes, the first elected Presidium of the PES was composed of: President **Willy Claes** (PS Belgium) and Secretary General **Axel Hanisch** (SPD), as also 6 Vice-Presidents: **Elena Flores** (PSOE), **Gérard Fuchs** (PS France), **Thijs Wöltgens** (PvdA), **Jack Cunningham** (LP UK), **Mario Dido** (PSI) and **Heinz Fischer** (SPÖ).

Politically and organisationally, there were two more substantial changes that happened in conjunction with the creation of the PES. The first one was a **focus on gender equality**. The new statute (article 7) read that the PES would be committed to ensuring that the gender balance principle is abided by both during all its meetings, as also within all its bodies. To emphasise this pledge, a specific "**Resolution on Women**" was adopted. It read that "The Socialist and Social-Democratic Women" welcome the PES as a platform, which would bring stimulus to the construction of democratic and social Europe. It reaffirmed that "*women are a fundamental subject of socialist and social democratic polity and that the feminist movement is a driving force for democratic and progressive policies*". And furthermore it presented an agenda, which encompassed demands for:

- Recognition of women's contribution to economic, social and cultural life;
- Adequate representation of women in decision making that would reflect women's responsibilities in society
- Gender balanced representation of women in politics, and especially within the PES
- Abolishing gender pay gap, fighting female unemployment and entrapment of women in atypical work conditions
- Balanced relation between men and women regarding domestic duties and in family lives
- Equal opportunities through provision of childcare, education, health and social services; as also through protection of pregnant women and mothers in the workplace

The second development was the **creation of ECOSY (European Community Organization of Socialist Youth)**, which was to remain an autonomous organisation associated to the PES. This was a significant step. Despite the fact that the youth organisations existed by all the national parties almost as long as they themselves existed, there had been a lot of resistance against a proposal of creating a European organisation. The political arguments of many members-to-be evolved around contestation the European integration as a process of “capitalistic, liberal” nature. It connected with opposition against creating a “euro-centric” youth organisation. The more organisational concern was a belief, that since there is IUSY (International Union of Socialist Youth) and it has a European Committee, there is no need for “double the structures”. The architects of a new consensus were **Philip Cordery** (MJS) together with **Joris Jurriens** (JS in PvdA), **Ricard Torrell** (JSE, Secretary General of IUSY), **Nicola Zingaretti** (SG, President of IUSY) and **José Antonio Seguro** (JS Portugal). ECOSY was established on 9th November 1992 in Voorburg (den Haag). It immediately received recognition from the PES in its main declaration, where it was written that it is expected to *“play a vital role in ensuring that young people are incorporated in a socialist plan for the future”*.

■ Explaining the political mission

The Congress adopted a number of resolutions. Amongst them, there was the already mentioned “Resolution on Women”, as also:

- Common Declaration on Immigration “Towards a European Immigration and Asylum Policy”
- “Resolution on the Conflict in Ex-Yugoslavia”
- “Resolution on Racism and Xenophobia”
- “Resolution on the Situation in Angola”

Nevertheless the most important was the **“Declaration”**, which constituted the first programme of the newly created PES. Its title was **“Europe, Our Common Future. The Den Haag Declaration of the Party of European Socialists, 9 November 1992.”** It was composed of five chapters. The introduction, which could be seen as the PES credo, stated:

European socialists and social-democrats are fully committed to the process of European integration. The European Community is an instrument for promoting

peace, prosperity, welfare and social justice as well as for building cooperation, whether locally, regionally, nationally, or internationally. It is an anchor of stability in Europe.

Socialists and social-democrats have played an important role, as the biggest political family in Europe, in building a strong Community. We maintain the ideal of democratic Europe that is both open to its citizens and to the world; a Europe that brings economic and social prosperity for all; a Europe where solidarity between and within the nations as well as between generations is a guiding principle.

This is the essence of our message and our appeal to the people of Europe which contrasts sharply with those who wish to promote only a Europe of free market. Their approach only leads to more unemployment. We are convinced that we have to develop this Europe together: the concept of a two-speed Europe undermining the solidarity between member states is thus unacceptable.

These three paragraphs outline three key aspects of the socialist mission in uniting Europe, which are still very relevant today. First of all, it stresses the commitment to European integration, whose process should lead to the implementation of socialist values. This overall commitment to the united Europe can perhaps today be seen as obvious, but not in 1992 – when a number of parties within the movement were still very sceptic and hence distanced. Diverse disagreements can be traced through disclaimers of the respective documents, and especially the electoral manifestos of 1984 and 1989. Secondly, it underlines that they have always believed that Europe should become more democratic. As the declaration reads, it has always been seen as the guarantee that Europe will remain a promise of progress and prosperity for all. And thirdly, the aim was to create a different Europe – as opposed to the one driven by economic integration and free market principles only. This is also why on one hand it should be internally cohesive and inclusive, and on the other also open towards the rest of the world. The validity of this original pledge is best proven by similar formulations that occur nowadays, in the global crisis aftermath, in most of the PES documents.

Particularly interesting, as far as ideological directions are concerned, was the 3rd Chapter of the declaration. It presented a 10-points agenda for Europe. Agreeing on those points took many efforts and the degree of concretisation should be seen as a major achievement – especially that it marked a new style of exercising common socialist policy building. That is even though the “Declaration” was still footnoted with a disclaimer from Danish Social Democratic Party (which could not agree on the paragraph “A People’s Europe”). While editing the commitments and stripping them from declarative rhetoric, the following pledges could be extracted:

Table: Pledges of the PES Declaration “Europe, Our Common Future” (1992)

<p>Economic and social cohesion</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - For solidarity in Europe - For economic, environmental and social balance between and within the member states - For equal opportunities for member states and citizens - For promoting and strengthening position of women in society - For a common approach towards Monetary Union - For joint objectives economic and social developments - For a united, one-speed Europe
<p>Social Europe</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - For indispensability of social dimension of the single market - For building a social dimension of the European Integration - For focusing social policy on job creation, working conditions, positive action, industrial democracy and social cohesion - For strengthening social dialogue at the EU level - For implementation of the Social Charter - For protecting vulnerable in the societies against the consequences of the economic failure
<p>An Environmental Europe</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - For solidarity between generations - For high European environmental standards and protection against pollution - For further development of European environmental policies, including protection and improvements - For linking environmental policies with Cohesion Fund and for making them binding across the Union - For implementation of the resolutions from Rio summit and strict control of polluting emissions

<p>A Democratic Europe</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - For the Treaty on European Union to be the way to move forward towards a democratic Europe - For co-decision right for the EP, where the decision in the Council are taken by majority - For involving national parliaments in a search for consensus - For a revision of treaties by the next Intergovernmental Conference
<p>A Tolerant Europe</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - For tolerance as the movement's key value - For fighting racism and extreme nationalism - For protecting stability of societies through defending of minorities' rights - For understanding cultural diversity as Europe's asset - For a democratic alliance to be formed with other democratic forces in the name of this struggle - For convergence of immigration policies and conditions for the exercise of the right of asylum
<p>A People's Europe</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - For national and European citizenships to be complementary to one another - For European citizenship seen as evolutionary concept that entails: freedom of movement, residence and establishment - For the right of European citizens to vote in their place of residence in local and European elections - For the creation of a European legal area - For the developments of rights embodied in the European Social Charter - For the introduction of a charter of rights of citizens to a high level of environmental protection - For promotion of a charter of the rights and responsibilities of European Citizens
<p>Adequate funding of the Union</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - For adoption of the measures of the "Delors II" package

<p>Common Foreign and Security Policy</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - For European common foreign policies, which adoption will strengthen the European identity - For placing peace and security high on the agenda - For assuming Europe's responsibility to create and maintain stable and more equitable relations with the East and the South - For coherence in activities within the European external relations, which translates into: mutual information, constant cooperation, common actions whenever necessary, close cooperation within the international organisations and at international conferences. - For Europe playing an active role in promoting human rights and helping in development worldwide
<p>Community Enlargement</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - For concluding without delay the ongoing negotiations with Austria, Sweden and Finland - For institutional reform that would enable the enlarged Community to be more democratic and efficient, while safeguarding the interests and rights of each of the Member States - For a Community assuming active role in the process of democratisation and economic and social development of Central and Eastern Europe, as also in the Mediterranean Basin. - For a clear vision of relations between the Union and its neighbouring European regions, through which common standards should be established. - For active involvement of the applicant countries within the common and security policy.

While studying this **Declaration** nowadays, the contemporary may notice that a great number of the pledges have remained principally unchanged. Twenty years later the struggle for a different, Social Europe continues. Following the crisis of 2008, the debates about its impacts and possible ways to preserve economic stability for the future, can remind the 1992 debate on recuperation from the

1970s energy and 1980s banking crises. The commitment to stick to a principle of one-speed Europe is also very much alive in the light of the current debate on perspectives for EMU and Euro-regime. However, unity in terms of pooling sovereignty in terms of foreign policy is still very difficult to be achieved.

Should one then despair that the “founding members” of the PES set “unrealistic goals” and hence perhaps not much has been achieved? On the contrary! First of all, the socialist contribution to the development of the European Union is unquestionable. The later chapters will explore the details of it. Secondly, the “Declaration” shows that the socialist family had upon its creation of the PES one important characteristic; it was visionary. Its members showed a great deal of responsibility for Europe, which encouraged them to overcome internal differences and agree on further consolidation in the name of political mission. The principles they laid out are so important, because even if they need re-adapting to today’s reality, they are still profoundly correct in stipulating the need for an alternative to the current order. And current generations are so much stronger, equipped with this political heritage that is still applicable at the core.





3

3

FORMULATING A SOCIALIST AGENDA FOR EUROPE

The ambition outlined at the 1st PES Congress in The Hague was to enhance political and organisational cooperation among socialist and social democratic parties in Europe towards gaining even more influence in shaping the future of the then established Union. The crucial historical developments at the end of 1980s and the beginning of 1990s, as also the post-Maastricht framework of the political reality, required formulating new answers that could prove the applicability of the social democratic principles in (then) modern times. The progressing consolidation of the European party and its subsequent enlargements required furthermore anchoring the vision of a Social Europe in a more concrete policy agenda that socialists in inter-governmental and communitarian pillars could carry on executing.

The programmatic work within the PES has been concluded through a number of different ways. There have been short and long term processes, internal and open consultations, standing and ad-hoc working groups, officially adopted documents and discussion papers, brief statements and long policy papers – to name just a few categories. This shows the diversity of both the working methods and the formats of communications. The IT revolution opened new possibilities and became an impetus for the PES to embrace virtual political spaces through an active website, internet exchange platforms, as also blogs by leaders and invited experts.

The catalogue of the PES policy statements, in all its diverse formats, is a lengthy

one. Analysing them all in dept remains an inspiring exercise, especially in the contemporary times when social democracy is seeking a profound renewal. Though one would wish to pay respect to all those honourable figures who led different policy initiatives and framed the detailed agenda of the PES throughout all those years, naming them all, as also listing all the diverse areas on which the PES has been active, is regrettably not be feasible in this short publication.

■ 3.1 PES Manifestos in the last two decades

Between 1992 and 2012 there were 4 PES Manifestos written and adopted. The fact that they were all voted by the Congresses and Councils, as also their recognition in the PES statutes, was ensuring their special status as superior programmatic documents. This is especially true, as until 2009 there was neither a Declaration of Principles nor a Fundamental Programme in existence. To that end, the periodical recurrence of the Manifestos allows capturing ideological evolution of the PES over the last 20 years.

The Manifestos' character as 'addresses to the European citizens' implied also that they were the public statements and entailed the symbols of unity of the socialist movement in Europe. Their contents included the broadest range of themes in comparison with any other political statement made in the same period. Their increasingly detailed formulations (see Annex 3) mirrored also the growing complexity of the European politics. Their editorial layer show that from a relatively general policy agenda manifesto's transformed towards electoral campaign documents, visible on one hand through a shift from broader proposals (1994) to concrete commitments (1999 already), and through a development of a characteristic polarising socialist rhetoric (especially in 2004 and 2009).

Each of the Manifestos is a pan-European socialist answer that includes an in-depth-analysis of the respective realities and also outlines the socialist vision forward. In that sense they are important proof that at every given moment the PES tried to provide the movement with a common story; feeling responsible for Europe and trying to identify adequate ways to facilitate crossing a "historical junction". In 1994 for instance, the profound challenge was to frame a vision for a new Europe which was to emerge after the collapse of the Soviet Block and the Fall of Berlin Wall. Defining the principles of European socialism at that time was a profoundly relevant task, taking into account the dialogue with the parties from Central and Eastern Europe. Five years later, the task was about using the window of opportunity that the socialist majority within the EU provided. The programmatic work needed to find ways out of internal dichotomy and towards

a common strategy. Especially that then the growing unemployment and poverty called for immediate action, which was needed to counteract the rising disappointment in Europe's promise and parallel re-emergence of the right wing extremist and populist parties. The 2004 Manifesto echoes the debates about globalization on one hand and the emergence of the new social movements, and herewith new forms of participation in politics, on the other. This manifesto aims at responding to more than 450 million citizens in 25 Member States. Finally, the 2009 attempts to provide an answer to the global crisis by advocating for a new, reformulated, Social Europe.

Even though the Manifestos are themselves extremely complex documents, they do not exhaust the richness of the PES programme. The proposals included in the Manifestos were in a vast majority resulting from extensive programmatic work, which outcomes were presented and approved in the same period. Frequently they constituted resolutions adopted in parallel by the same Congresses (Councils). Examples of that are: The Declaration **"The European Employment Initiative – Put Europe to work"** (based on the work led by **Allan Larsson**, SAP and adopted in December 1993); The report **"A European Employment Pact – For a New European Way"** (presented by **Antonio Guterres**, PS Portugal and President of SI; document was adopted at the Congress of Milan in 1999); The policy reports **"Europe and a New Global Order – bridging the global divides"** (resulted from the working group led by **Poul Nyrup Rasmussen**, SD Denmark, May 2003) and **"Approving the new constitution: democracy and transparency"** (prepared by PES Vice-President **Giuliano Amato**, DS, April 2004); and finally **"A New Social Europe"** report by **Poul Nyrup Rasmussen** (PES President) and **Jacques Delors** (former EC President) that was presented at the PES Congress in Porto in 2006. As these documents decisively complete the 'story' about the PES programme at respective moment, these and several additional ones have also been mentioned in this short publication.

As elaborated above, the Manifesto differentiated in many aspects (content, style, etc.). Depending on the moment in which they were written and the challenges they wish to provide the answers to, the focus may shift – even if the building blocks remain similar and always predetermined by the guiding principles of the socialist movement. The new proposals result from continuous and consistent political work that has been carried tirelessly within the PES. The uniting aspect of all Manifestos is in fact their pro-European character, which shows a great degree of commitment and a strong conviction that *"Another, better, Social Europe is possible"*.

In order to provide a clear overview of the main aspects of each Manifesto a initial, general comparison has been developed, summaries of individual Manifestos' can be found in Annex 3.

	Manifesto 1994	Manifesto 1999	Manifesto 2004	Manifesto 2009
Title	Manifesto for the Elections to the European Parliament of June 1994	21 Commitments for the 21 st Century – PES Manifesto for the 1999 European Elections	Growing Stronger Together. Five commitments for the next five years.	People First: A New Direction of Europe
Construction	-Preface by President -9 Chapters	-Introduction -21 pledges within 4 Chapters	-Preface -4 chapters	3 main parts: -Introduction -Challenges -Proposals (6 Chapters) - Final statement
Indicated challenges	-Emergence of “a new Europe” through historical changes -1 st War in Europe since the Second World War -Crisis of confidence in Europe’s Construction -New international situation, in which Europe needs to find its way to cooperate and compete	-Need to reform Europe to bring it closer to citizens -Realising a vision of a better Europe that is an area of freedom, stability, prosperity and justice -Equipping Union to play a full part of the world stage -Opening the way for Europe that is ready for the new millennium	-Historical elections due to involvement of the citizens from 25 member states -Need for citizens’ support for common solution to common problems -Enabling Union to deal with major challenges of unemployment, social justice, international terrorism and global environment	-Consequences of the global crisis- need to re-launch Europe’s economy and create a new Social Europe -Global challenges such as: environment and security -Need to make Union more democratic -Time to make a fundamental political choice on what Europe

Chapters	9 Chapters:	4 main Chapters:	4 Chapters – 21 Commitments:	6 Chapters – 71 pledges:
	<p>1. Europe at the Crossroads – a Challenge for Democratic Socialism</p> <p>2. Creating jobs, safeguarding social progress and encouraging cohesion</p> <p>3. Equality for men and women</p> <p>4. Protecting the environment and the consumer</p> <p>5. Creating peace and security through co-operation</p> <p>6. Fighting racism – regulating immigration together</p> <p>7. Fighting organised crime</p> <p>8. Working for democracy</p> <p>9. Everyone is talking about Europe – Only we can make progress</p>	<p>1. A Europe of Jobs and Growth</p> <p>2. A Europe that puts citizens first</p> <p>3. A strong Europe</p> <p>4. A Europe that works better</p>	<p>1. Boost Europe's Growth, fight poverty and create more and better jobs</p> <p>2. Bring Europe Closer to its citizens</p> <p>3. Manage migration and pursue social integration</p> <p>4. Build a more secure, sustainable, peaceful and just world</p> <p>5. Promote Europe as an area of democracy and equality</p>	<p>1. Relaunching the economy and preventing new financial crises</p> <p>2. New Social Europe – giving people a fairer deal</p> <p>3. Transforming Europe into the leading global force against climate change</p> <p>4. Championing gender equality in Europe</p> <p>5. Developing an effective European migration policy</p> <p>6. Enhancing Europe's role as a partner for peace, security and development</p>

Table: General comparison between PES Manifestos from 1994 to 2009

■ 3.2 Manifesto 1994

The process leading to the Manifesto 1994 was a very demanding. Internally, the PES has just been constituted, a process that required much political and organisational attention. The debates concerning the follow up to the TEU Article 138a and the actual role of the hereby recognised Europarties was still ongoing. And during this period of transition between Confederation and Party, there was also a change in the position of the President. The subsequent election process is remembered by **Axel Hanisch** (SPD and then Secretary General) as very uneasy, also due to certain tensions within the Socialist International.

- ■ Emergence of a “New Europe”

The internal struggles, however demanding they were, were just a small part of the challenges that lay ahead of the socialist movement those days. The Manifesto 1994 was supposed to become the movements’ pan-European answers to the profound historical developments at hand. The European landscape was undergoing a great transformation with the collapse of the communist ideology and dissolution of the Soviet Block. The Fall of Berlin Wall marked the beginning of German unification, as also a possibility to open a new chapter of relations with the countries in Central and Eastern Europe. These developments made the historically perceived impossible appear suddenly politically possible and, hence, required a vision on how to pave the way forward for the EU and for the continent as a whole. It also induced a debate on how social democracy was to be defined in this new era, especially vis-à-vis parties with communist pasts and their wishes for a socialist future.

Socialists wished the European Union to become a promise of peace, progress and prosperity for all in Europe. This is why their attention was indeed absorbed by the developments on the East, but also in the Western Balkans – where the situation after dissolution of Yugoslavia developed into a war. Consequently also, they were closely monitoring the developments in the Mediterranean region – where especially the Middle East was a reason for grave concerns and in need of development of a new strategy.

Internally, the European Union was also facing difficulties. Though the Treaty of Maastricht was a turning point in the history of the European Integration, it did not appear as a symbol of profound change in the broader public opinion. The repercussions of the crises from 1970s and 1980s were still gravely sensed, while the crisis in the European exchange rate mechanism ERM (September 1992) further

undermined the credibility of the notion of the EU as a promise of a better, fairer future. This was inducing euro-scepticism.

■ Putting employment first

These circumstances predetermined that the PES focused on the two main initiatives at the beginning of the 1990s and, hence, also in aftermath of establishment of the PES. These were: **a debate on New Europe and on Employment**. By organizing those, the socialists wanted to remain an avant-garde in terms of shaping the constituting Union on one hand, and on the other to ensure its feasibility to the European people. They believed that employment was the key to that; as a tool to organize social life and as a way to jointly contribute to development of well-being and welfare of all. If united, Europe was to champion the agenda of employment, they reasoned, people would hold it more credible and would be more inclined to extend their support for it. What should be mentioned on the margin of these observations is that this correlates with an interesting ideological evolution within the European socialist family – that started formulating their mission of compromise between capital and labour not so much in terms of traditional industrial democracy, but rather as a pledge to full employment.

Already the main message of the first PES Leaders' Meeting after the establishing Congress (Edinburgh, 9th – 10th December 1992) was to “put employment first”. This gathering, taking place in the eve of materialisation of the Single Market, indicated herewith the prior objective of the socialist mission in the uniting Europe. As it was such a clear alternative to the pure market logic of integration, this communication gained much attention from the media as well.

The intention was primarily about “jobs creation”, as also about shaping Europe to be economically sustainable and competitive on the global level. There were three pillars of the initial PES “Full employment strategy”, which entailed: coordination and correction of national economic policies, establishment of a European work programme and more efficient work organisation (ranging from reorganisation to its re-distribution). At that point already, the PES was calling for adequate budgetary means that would enable the realisation of a pan-European strategy and would follow the so called “Delors Package II”. And what perhaps very interesting to notice, in the aftermath of the global crisis of 2008, is that since the very beginnings of the 1990s the socialists were thinking in terms of “European economy” and hence advocating against economic nationalism.

The Employment initiative was consequently developed through subsequent

Leaders' debates (during meetings in Copenhagen, 19th-20th June 1993; and Arrábida, 4th-5th September 1993). The later one was actually a "conclave", in which participation was restricted to leaders (without advisors or assistants) and through its format was supposed to ensure a more open debate. In Arrábida, **Gérard Fuchs** (PS, Vice President of the PES and at that point also chair of the working group on economy) held a presentation during which he identified core challenges and fundamental questions as far as both economy, as also the sense of politics and roles of states were concerned. Following these reflections, **Allan Larsson** (SAP) was asked to lead a specific consultation process. After the months of work a new document, known in PES jargon "**Larsson's Report**" and officially entitled as "**Strategy of growth and employment for Europe**", was completed on time of the Extraordinary Congress. It divided the agenda into 12 key areas, which included: investment in human resources; reorganisation of work; ensuring equal opportunities; creating a new productive capacity; improvement of infrastructure; development of social security; promoting ecological policies; investment in research and development; advancing with regional development and cohesion; progress of East-West integration; accelerating effectiveness of the employment services; promoting cooperation. Summarising the initiative was very ambitious, especially for the conditions in which it was presented. As an entirely own, independent project it goes down in a history as the **first autonomous PES initiative**.

The programmatic work on the question of employment continued beyond the presentation of "Strategy..." at the Congress. Following the "Larsson's Report", the subsequent Leader's Meeting (Brussels, 9th December 1993) adopted a lengthy declaration "**The European Employment Initiative – Put Europe to work**". It was in fact a 6 points action plan (pledges) for the subsequent legislative. Hence, this also explains the importance of it in the context of the Manifesto 1994. These pledges were reconfirmed by Leaders in Corfu (June 1994) who added to the earlier lists a greater emphasis on building "a new partnership in Europe". This would include common efforts for enhancement of tri-partite dialogue in economy, labour and social affairs.

- ■ Drafting and adopting

The debate on employment, as also the mentioned earlier deliberations on the "new Europe" institutional set up significantly fuelled the debate on the Manifesto 1994. The procedure concerning writing the manifesto was agreed already at the Bureau Meeting at the end of the 1992 (9th December) and **Gerd Walter** (SPD) was entrusted with a mission to draft it. As also in case of the previous key documents,

this nomination was followed by the establishment of five working groups: on the Future of Europe and the Role of European Socialists – chaired by **Heinz Fischer** (SPÖ) and **Thijs Wöltgens** (PvdA); on Joint Campaigns and Publicity – chaired by **Ben Fayot** (POSL) and **Jan Marinus Wiersma** (PvdA); on International Relations – chaired by **Elena Florès** (PSOE) and **Jack Cunningham** (LP UK); on Economic and Social Policy – chaired by **Gérard Fuchs** (PS France) and **Mario Dido** (PSI); and finally on Public Safety and Internal Policy – chaired by **Conny Fredriksson** (SAP). As the result of their work, a first draft was released already in March. The end of April was foreseen to be the deadline for amendments, of which over 1000 were submitted.

The Manifesto was finally adopted at the PES Extraordinary Congress in Brussels (6th November 1993). It was entitled simply “**Manifesto for the Elections to the European Parliament of June 1994**”. It was composed of nine Chapters and its published version included also a preface by the PES President, **Willy Claes** (PS Belgium). The first Chapter outlined the main challenges of “Europe at the crossroads”, while the last one was an electoral pledge, finishing with an electoral message “*Everyone is talking about Europe, but only we, socialists, can make a progress*”. The middle seven chapters reflected the key policy areas, including always a short description of the (social) reality and a list of socialist proposals. These, of which further aspects can be found in the Annex 3, were framed as follows:

- *“Creating Jobs, Safeguarding Social Progress and Encouraging Cohesion”*
- *“Equality for men and women”*
- *“Protecting the Environment and the Consumer”*
- *“Creating Peace and Security through Cooperation”*
- *“Fighting racism – regulating immigration together”*
- *“Fighting organized crime”*
- *“Working for democracy”*

In comparison with the earlier CSPEC manifestos, the first electoral programme of the PES was already more focused on providing detailed policy proposals. It also presented a short record of socialist contributions towards building “a new democratic and socially aware Europe” in the past legislature. Furthermore, the manifesto promoted the concept of “**a new Europe**” which remained referred to and visible in graphic designs also later throughout the 1990s (please see for example the cover of the 1999 Manifesto). This Europe was to emerge after the

transformation, as also after the era in which “Hope and fear are intertwined”. Socialists believed that it should be based on following principles: peace and neighbourliness; democracy and human rights; social justice and ecological renewal; solidarity and responsibility; employment and social welfare.

Willy Claes (PS Belgium and the President of the PES then) recalls that this *Manifesto* had a great historical meaning. It was the first complex policy statement of the still-then newly established PES. It showed that there was a commitment and that there was a political will within the movement to reach this, as he says “very socialist” compromise. W. Claes points that the distinctive ideological character is especially speaking through the passages concerning the social and employment debates. Furthermore, the Manifesto did not suffer (unlike the previous ones) from footnotes and disclaimers. It was therefore seen as “a declaration of consolidation”, that was formulated also thanks to the personal involvement of different party leaders who helped the process through numerous phone-calls with one another and common searches for a pan-European agreement. Among them, W. Claes pays tribute especially to **Felipe González** (then Secretary General of PSOE). This leader’s personal involvement gave the European Manifesto 1994 a ‘different sort’ of additional credibility. It enabled it herewith to become a document that could be disclosed to the public as a “truly united socialist statement on the future of Europe”.

■ 3.3 Manifesto 1999

The second half of the 1990s observed a changing tide for the socialists across the European Union. Already the atmosphere at the PES Congress in Malmö (5th- 7th June 1997) echoed enthusiasm after the subsequent electoral victories. **Jean-François Vallin** (PS, PES Secretary General 1995-1999) summarised that event with the following passionate words: *Two thousands participants, three thousands guests, five hundred journalists, twenty six television channels, nine workshops, working groups and ministers meetings, six round tables, eleven prime ministers, twenty ministers and state secretaries, thirty party leaders, a dozen of personalities and Jacques Delors among them... This is how the 3rd Congress of the PES looked like – a Congress of a party that is alive, that is human and not bureaucratic.* Indeed, even from the perspective of 20 years later this gathering appears as a true celebration. For **Lionel Jospin**, it was the first journey as the new French Prime Minister. **Tony Blair** had been in the office only for two months.

With so many powerful officials, PES started facing a challenge that **Rudolf Scharping** (SPD, PES President 1995 - 2001) described as “luxurious”. Namely, the PES found

itself in a position of strength and capacity to shape Europe, which following Scharping's comments meant that it "could no longer behave like an opposition vis-à-vis the EU". Even from today's perspective, R. Scharping emphasises: *Those were monumental times of great opportunities. The will to pursue European interests and to understand them as something more than just a lowest common denominator of the diverse national interests was there. Only that this will was soon to face the most severe tests.* Among them R. Scharping enumerates: ways to European unity after the historical change; building new geopolitical strategies and forming new relations with Russia-in-transition; ensuring security and peace especially in the Balkans; agreeing on a new strategic conceptualisation of the NATO; solving the EU's internal difficulties on in the spheres of employment and social policies; as also related to those fears connected with re-emergence of the nationalistic and anti-democratic parties. Last but not least, the test was also the devastating attacks of 9/11.

Returning to the Malmö Congress - it was a sign of a beginning, of a new era in the PES policy making. It manifested itself in the agenda as also the style of debating, and herewith also the new degree of pragmatism. Regardless of the initial euphoria, it has proven to be by far more challenging than could have ever been expected. On one hand, the subsequent years made PES a stage for an ideological battle of the two streams within the movement. The cleavage was between supporters and opponents of the "Third Way" ideas - and both sides led audacious struggles that went even beyond the governmental mandates of parties executing the "Third Way" agendas. On the other hand, the PES had to seek ways to consolidate further and to define its role as a "governing party" in the complex, multi-pier institutional system of the EU.

■ The "Cook-Nallet" drafting tandem

The process leading to creation of the 1999 Manifesto was profoundly different than the four previous attempts. The somewhat ritual setting of the closed working groups was this time replaced by a series of experts' round tables. This new logic reflected the working methods applied after 2nd PES Congress (Barcelona, 6th – 8th March 1995). After then, the working groups were no longer "standing", but became more *ad-hoc*. Their mandate was always limited by a strict time-framework, and the expected output was usually a paper (declaration, resolution etc.).

Following numerous meetings, the PES Leaders Conclave in London (April 1998) empowered two Vice-Presidents: **Robin Cook** (LP UK) and **Henri Nallet** (PS France) with a mandate to draft the text. The work began in spring 1998 and the first script

was completed by August. Then, in November, the member parties were consulted on the text. As in the past, it received numerous amendments. Cook and Nallet worked then further, trying to include as many proposals as possible. The final text was then presented to the Congress. There **Henri Nallet** pronounced the manifesto in its final shape to show progress within the PES. Herewith socialists were showing a clear agenda with credible commitments, which for the first time ever reached such a degree of precision. Nallet believed that the publication of the manifesto would give therefore a higher profile to the PES. It was, in his words, raised also by so many newly-elected heads of states and leading European politicians present in Milan (1st–2nd March 1999), where the text was voted upon (following the Congress booklet “The New Europe”).

The appearance of a relative smoothness of the drafting process could not be more misleading. The debate on the manifesto, the preparations towards the ‘Milano’ Congress and eventual campaigning, were taking place precisely during the peak of the internal ideological dispute. That was marked among the others with the release of a declaration by **Tony Blair** (LP UK) and **Gerhard Schröder** (SPD) “Europe: The Third Way / Die Neue Mitte” and events such as the “Third Way” Conference in Florence. According to **Jean-François Vallin** (PS France, PES Secretary General 1995 – 1999), they obviously influenced not only the framework of the programmatic debates, but also predetermined the potential role that the Manifesto could play. In those circumstances, having achieved a compromise and unity behind one, consolidated text, even if that was symbolic, was, according to **Ton Beumer** (PvdA, Secretary General 1999 – 2004) a great achievement of the French-British drafting duet and per extension of the entire PES.

Reflecting on the process today, **Henri Nallet**, remembers the unique spirit of the work within the tandem Cook-Nallet. The discussions that paved the way for the Manifestos were most fervent and not without the difficult moments. Every time, they would arrive to an impasse, they would have the courage and respect to put the disputable issue “in between brackets” and move on, trying to help one another find a better, consensual approach. Passion, patience and trust framed their cooperation. And a great feeling of responsibility first and foremost for the European party and an ambition to see it grow and progress were stronger than the temptation to confine oneself into a narrow defence of the national parties’ agenda. This is why it was possible to find a way to a coherent, inspiring proposal that accommodated all the sides of the ongoing most passionate ideological debates on core movement’s issues such as meaning of solidarity in the context of employment and social policies. The willingness to continue in that spirit was also the reason why it was so crucial that the process involved younger ‘thinkers’ amongst others; **Philip Cordery** (PS France, PES Secretary General 2004 – 2012) and **David Miliband** (LP UK, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs 2007 – 2010).

Following his fond memories, **Henri Nallet** emphasises that it was a great, encouraging experience of comradeship to be working together with **Robin Cook** (LP UK, later PES President 2001 – 2004). Following Nallet's words; R. Cook was a great *militant travailiste*, a true European who combined a grand visionary perspective with a feeling for the movement's needs in its broad alliance with trade unions and civil society organisations. A real solidarity with one another, and willingness to support and encourage each other were most unique, especially in the times of the movement's growing cleavages.

■ For a New European Way

As in the past, also in Milan, the adoption of the Manifesto was accompanied by a vote on several key resolutions. The first of them was “**A European Employment Pact – For a New European Way**”, which was prepared by **Antonio Guterres** (PS Portugal). In some ways, it reconfirmed the commitment from the beginning of the 1990s to the agenda of full employment. Following the earlier work of **Allan Larsson**, the theme was reoccurring at the different Leaders Meeting and was further explored throughout this decade. The example of was a discussion paper “**A Fair Deal for Employment, the Environment and Equality**” prepared by **Svend Auken** (SD Denmark) and **Ann Lindh** (SAP). The novelty of the “**Guterres paper**”, was the ‘New Way’ it promoted – which even rhetorically embedded it in the ongoing ideological debate. The innovative character of the new approach was that it was shifting the focus from primary preoccupation with employment towards a “policy mix”. This last became a key concept, following which PES should aim in the next mandate to create a coherent agenda of social and economic policies. The three key pillars should therefore be: combining higher growth with a control of inflation, public deficits and debt; creating full employment and hence involving more people in the labour market; and combining social protection and competitiveness. The “Pact” emphasised the new risks of globalisation, future financial crises and of outdated European Social Model policies.

As **Lena Hjelm-Wallén** (SAP, PES Vice-President 1997 – 2004) recalls in the context of those debates, they have always proven to be very difficult and show divisions especially between the southern and northern social democratic parties. The cleavages have always concerned in how far Europe should apply a federal model and following that, how much of the welfare state issues would be put in the programme. It was very difficult to reach a consensus also on how to finance the European Social Model, as the northern philosophy of raising taxes has not been accepted by the north. Lena Hjelm-Wallén underlined that “*The discussions were very passionate and for the Scandinavians especially that was a matter of principle.*”

You can be nice and tell people, what according to the opinion polls they would like to hear. But if you are serious and responsible in politics, you need to explain how you are going to finance your proposal”.

Another issue that pre-occupied the Congress was a **“The New Culture of Openness and Transparency in the European Union”**, which report was drafted by **Victor Klima** (SPÖ). It entailed a complex, but clear answer of socialists concerning the way forward after the outbreak of the scandal and the subsequent fall of the European Commission led by Jacques Santer. In this crisis period, the Socialist Group in the European Parliament played a crucial role in seeking answers. It was **Pauline Green** (LP UK, President of the Socialist Group), who tabled the motion of censure and upon the withdrawal of socialist support the Santer’s Commission finally fall. The Report envisaged a number of measures to ‘clean’ European politics, which in the opinion of the socialists was indispensable in order to prove to the citizens that the EU and its resources are responsibly governed. Among the proposals were: introduction of an independent agency to fight fraud, claim of individual responsibility by respective commissioners and establishment of a new code of conduct for all the functionaries.

There were three more major debates that the Congress featured. The first of them was connected with the perspective of enlargement of the European Union. The PES has been consequently declaring its support for the accession of the new member states, and at the moment of the Milan Congress has already had well established, structural relations with the social democratic parties in the Central and Eastern Europe. This was mirrored by the PES Leaders’ Conference held in Budapest (5th October 1996) and the declaration that was then released. The second of those debates, concerned the question of the movement’s principles and was held under the theme “the values and commitments of European social democracy for the twenty first century”. It featured an exciting debate, but in terms of concrete outcomes or recommendations remained inconclusive. And thirdly, the Congress adopted a resolution on terrorism. It followed a number of earlier statements, such as a declaration from Conclave in Sintra (9th – 10th March 1996) and called for peaceful solutions to all conflicts and promotion of the intercultural dialogue.

The Manifesto 1999 “21 Commitments for the 21st Century” was composed of four chapters. Each of them began with articulation of one of the core socialist ambitions concerning Europe. These were formulated as:

- *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.*

- *Europe must enable its people to secure a better future and give priority to the issues that matter most to them.*
- *Europe must be able to secure its common interests and promote its values of democracy, solidarity, justice and freedom on the global stage.*
- *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.*

These were followed by pledges, each of which was shortly described and finished off with a specific commitment. The structure and the main proposals are reflected in the table enclosed in Annex 3.

The Manifesto appeared as a programme of a new kind. The text was framed in a way in which it became a certain roadmap that was composed of 21 relatively concrete commitments. Herewith it could have been hoped that the PES reached a new stage of its programmatic work. One of the incentives for such an evolution was the fact that there was socialist majority in the European Council and that socialists were the largest group in the EP in parallel. Hence, they needed to coordinate better internally to be able to present a common and credible governing proposal for the Union externally. This is why, following the words of **Robin Cook** (3rd February 1999), the PES family was therefore approaching the 1999 European elections with confidence, being in a situation in which it could not only agree on a strategy for Europe, but also had the resources to fulfil it.

■ 3.4 Manifesto 2004

The years 1999 –2004 were exceptionally challenging for social democracy in Europe. On one hand, it held a leading position as far as governing within the EU is concerned. Although, in 1999 it effectively lost for the first time in the history its position as the largest group in the European Parliament. On the other, it was internally divided on many issues. The first cleavage concerned the question of the ideological renewal strategy. The second was connected with the strategy after 9/11 and the subsequent War in Iraq – that exposed the split perhaps most drastically in those years.

- ■ For a Democratic Union

In the meantime, the EU was undergoing a great transformation. At the down of its first decade after Maastricht and in the eve of the enlargement, it was obvious that the European Union needed serious institutional reform. The Nice Treaty was supposed to bring about profound reorganization, though lengthy negotiations provided an outcome that was broadly criticised as a flawed consensus and was to be remembered (mainly) as the struggle for the ‘number European Council national votes’ and inevitably was rejected in the first referendum in Ireland. In this misshaped picture it is frequently forgotten that the socialists provided a number of new ideas, such as the “Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union”. The special role of **António Vitorino** (PS Portugal, there representing the President of the European Commission **Romano Prodi**) within the Convention and **Robin Cook** within the PES family, advocating for this Charter, should not be forgotten.

Nevertheless, all was pointing that a more ambitious agenda for change was required. So, though the Nice Treaty had been signed only in February 2001, already in December 2001 there was a new initiative growing in significance. It was the “European Convention” (officially named as the “Convention on the Future of Europe”). Its mandate, following the “Laeken Declaration” was to construct a Constitution for Europe – a process that was finalised by July 2003 with a text “Draft Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe”.

The idea of a Convention was welcomed and embraced by the PES, which is mirrored by numerous documents – and the most important among them was so called “**Tallinn Declaration**” (December 2001). In this process, the socialists were planning to play and indeed played a significant role. There was a sort of a fraction established within the Convention which would gather “PES Members of the Convention on the Future of Europe”. Their efforts within the Convention were coordinated by the Convention and the PES Vice-President **Giuliano Amato**. Hence, it was also explicitly the PES (and not the Socialist Group) that was in charge of convening their meetings. The coordination soon evolved towards establishment of 6 working groups. Their work was summarised at the seminar in Birmingham a year before the final text of the “Draft Treaty” was ready.

Recalling this chapter of the PES history during the FEPS “Renaissance for Europe” project (in Turin, 8th February 2013), **Giuliano Amato** said that the socialist family behaved then in a very wise manner. Being conscious of the diversity of opinions within the movement, everyone was aiming at agreeing on a common position and not on keeping up appearances that the family had one opinion only. Solidarity with one another and a positive passion to enable a change for the better – these were the motivations that enabled efficient cooperation. This meant that there was enough

confidence to focus on the functionality and feasibility of solutions.

- ■ For a Prosperous Union

Another internal development, close to the PES heart, was the so called Lisbon Strategy. Adopted in Lisbon in year 2000, the Strategy was a beacon of hope for EU's transformation into a most competitive, knowledge based economy. It was to be a mix between innovation and sustainability. Regardless of the criticism that it may be meeting now, at the point of its introduction is constituted a credible and promising proposal that would equip the Union and its citizens to meet the challenges of the new millennium. The Strategy incorporated numerous outcomes of the socialist debates on employment since the 1990s. It was fully supported by the occasions as the PES Congress in Berlin (Declaration "**Security in change**", 7th – 8th May 2001) and also was claimed as a "socialist's success" in for example the PES Manifesto 2004.

Following the earlier paragraphs, the edge of the new millennium was a momentum of societal anxieties. Though there were promises of a fairer future, which for example the Lisbon Agenda framed, the major problems of unemployment and poverty remained present. The perspective of EU enlargement made many citizens question in how far it would further contribute to the loss of jobs in the Western Europe, with the potential arrival of 'cheaper' labour and 'cheaper' products from the East.

- ■ For a pluralistic Union

The above described concerns were further enhanced by right wing extremists and the populist rhetoric of the parties, which re-emergence was becoming more apparent. They started to present a serious challenge through their messages and action, especially that growing in size they had a potential to threaten pluralism and diversity in Europe. The results of the Austrian elections 1999 and FPÖ's result of 27% were to prove it. The PES families' historical memory, as also strong attachment to the democracy and its principles was an incentive for immediate action. These varied, from political statements through manifestations and protests. The central document, that reaffirmed the PES commitment to oppose any form of anti-democratic movement(s), was the "**Charter of Political parties for non-racist society**". This introduced the philosophy of a 'sanitary cordon', which meant that all democratic parties should agree not to uphold any form of cooperation and not to

enter in any coalitions with extremist parties.

Subsequently, the PES Congress in Berlin adopted a declaration **“For a modern, pluralistic and tolerant Europe”**, which was a pledge to fight foremost racism as a fundamental contradiction to the socialist believe of equality of all people. The document defined therefore a European Identity as a matter of the unity of principles and respect for human rights. **Robin Cook** (LP UK, President of the PES 2001 – 2004) emphasised that point in his closing speech from 8th May, saying *“Our second priority for Europe is to make it a common area of freedom and equal rights. (...) Therefore the PES must champion equal rights for every citizen. Whatever their race. Whatever their religion. Whichever their gender. Our enemies are not foreign countries. Our enemies are: Racism, Xenophobia. Discrimination. (...) The nationalist chauvinism of the far Right is incompatible with European values.”*

Though the declarations reaffirmed the principle approach, it was clear that the reality demanded a more detailed strategy. Hence, the Presidium mandated **Alfred Gusenbauer** (SPÖ) to draft it and was presented at the Presidium Meeting (13th September 2002). The document was elaborated in cooperation with a number of experts and finally was composed of 10 recommendations. They included policy proposals (concerning globalisation, role of state, migration policies, enlargement), as also more strategic issues (such as strengthening European public sphere, reform of political parties, building new alliances and ensuring possibility of a real political choice for citizens). This agenda was in fact indicating two important developments, according to the reflections of A. Gusenbauer. The first one is that it proposed a compromise between two socialist strategies concerning right wing extremism. The first of them was traditionally aiming at “immunising” those parties through i.e. anti-fascist rhetoric. The second one was about identifying the issues that they built upon and trying to politically beat them on that front. The first could look rather like a struggle for power in a partisan system; the other could allow the extremists to dictate the terms of the debate. The new PES agenda was in that sense innovative, proposing rather to focus on identifying the core social questions instead, showing capacity of socialists to find solutions and ways to implement them.

■ For an Enlarged Union

The end of 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s marked also a new enlargement of the PES, this time towards the parties of the Central and Eastern Europe. After the collapse and dissolution of the “Soviet Block”, the political scenes of the respective national states were undergoing profound transformations. These were met by the socialist family with a great enthusiasm, and as all the witnesses of

those times recall: with a great optimism. The assessment of the changes was firstly done within the respective PES working groups. In 1993 the European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity was established, based on the cooperation of the parties and foundations. Its role was to be a better framework for the process of establishing and re-establishing the relations with the partners in the CEE region. The group of them consisted of the 3 sorts of parties: historical (that survived in exile), reformed post-communist and the newly created ones.

The political question underpinning the dialogue with those parties was their ideological character. Even if from today's perspective it may astonish, in the 1990s the word "socialist" was not well-associated in the countries of the post-Soviet block. Especially the reformed post-communist were on the search for new credibility, which meant that often they were lurking much into the liberal agenda. Another query was if that was possible to make these parties of three different types cooperate with one another and establish herewith a sustainable, strong left. **Jan Marinus Wiersma** (PvdA, PES Vice President 1997 – 2004), who together with **Lena Hjelm-Wallen** (SAP, PES Vice-President 1995 – 2004) and **Heinz Fischer** (SPÖ, PES Vice President 1997 – 2004) coordinated the process within the PES, reminds himself that there were three dimensions on which the exchanges with partners from the CEE region were focused: their programmes and openness to coalitions; their approaches to the EU and NATO, and their attitudes to pluralism and especially minorities' rights. The Forum for Democracy and Solidarity was in this process instrumental.

After the enlargement of the Socialist International (20th Congress, 9th – 11th September 1996) the process within the PES gained new speed. Differences among the PES member parties concerning the CEE parties smoothed and merged into one, pro-enlargement strategy. The exchanges contributing to further enhancement of the mutual relations became more frequent. In parallel, the fact that the centre-left started winning elections also in the central and Eastern Europe was a sign of those parties growing in force and (re-)gaining societal trust. Following the words of **J. M. Wiersma**, it was of a great importance also in the larger context of the enlargement – as the socialist family, and herewith the PES, was the forum gathering all the leading figures who became architects of the EU unification after the "**EU Enlargement Summit**" (Copenhagen on 12th – 14th December 2002). The PES was a step ahead of this official "happy end" of the accession negotiations, coming with its 1st PES Council to Warsaw (November 2002) and soon after enlarging (24th April 2004).

- ■ For a New Global Order

The first years of the new millennium were also witnessing a debate about a need for a new global order. The incentives for it were on one hand new grand international pledges, such as Millennium Development Goals. On the other a question of “globalization”, contestation of which gave the ground for new social mobilizations. These promptly developed towards more structured, nevertheless open formats of debates and action, such as World Social Forum (first of which was held in São Paolo, Brazil in April 2001). Though the Charter of the WSF would indicate the similarities between the socialist agenda and principle WSF mission, the Forum was, especially at the beginning, strictly un-partisan. The emerging challenge was to create a link of a new type between those organizations and individual involved and the PES family. Out of search for an answer to these two questions - facing globalisation and emergence of the new social movements - the initiative known later as the **“Global Progressive Forum”** was born.

Though the debate on globalization was not new to the movement, as it had been framing already the ideological debates in the 1990s, it became explicatively more central for the PES at the beginning of the new century. At the first PES Council in Warsaw (14th – 15th November 2002), that was also celebrating the first 10 years of the PES existence and marking politically readiness of socialists for the enlargement, PES returned also briefly to the earlier concept of “a new Europe”. It was then seen as a united Europe of West and East that was to play a significant role in the world. This was reflected in the Council’s Declaration, composed of two chapters: “A United Europe’s Global Responsibilities” and “The future of Social Democracy”. The first of them was built upon 5 points, which consisted of: Solidarity among people, Global Social Market, vision for Common and Security Policy, Transparent Global Institutions, sustainable development. The core message of this part of the document was that the socialists promote another, different globalisation that is based on the principles of international solidarity and social justice. From that originates the support for the grand projects such as Millennium Development Goals.

The debates from the Council were followed through two initiatives. The first one was the **PES Working Paper on “Sustainable development”** that was prepared under the leadership of **Göran Persson** (SAP). And the reflections and consultations within the second one were captured in the report **“Europe and a New Global Order. Bridging the Global Divides.”** by **Poul Nyrup Rasmussen** (SD Denmark). The report emphasised the conviction that Poul Nyrup Rasmussen reiterates nowadays as: *there is always a choice and bringing about any change is always a matter of a political will. Hence also in terms of globalisation, following this report the PES was to show the choice between the one that was at hand and the progressive one.*

The document was showing clear cleavages in between those two. The first one was “a process of divides” – in security; in sustainability; between North and South; in labour, social and human rights; and governance. The one that the socialists proposed was “an agenda of bridges” in the aspects of:

- *European Policy Agenda* (through CFSP, internal actions on jobs and growth, managing migration, unifying and enlarging Europe, while strengthening its position);
- *Developing World Agenda* (through regenerating development policies; focusing on job creation and social progress; achieving fair trade, promoting sustainable development, deepening democracy);
- *A Global Policy Agenda* (based on: New Deal at the world level; international efforts to fight terrorism, global legal order and Global Charter of Fundamental Rights; reform of international financial system; developing cultural understanding and recognition; providing global public goods and creating a global recovery);
- *A Governance Agenda* (through a World Convention on Governance and framing a roadmap for change; medium-term improvement of the system of global governance; long-term reform of the system of global governance; developing global democracy; addressing financial and taxation issues; ensuring regional integration and inter-regional cooperation).

These four pillars framed in fact the progressive way of thinking about the new multilateral global order. “Building bridges”, being the core intention, was not only concerning political agenda, but also the organisational strategy. The proposals were used as an invitation to a debate not only for the member parties, but also for the trade unions and broadly civil society. Initial consultations took place in between October 2002 and April 2003. After the presentation of the report they were transformed into the second round of exchanges, which finished with a Conference in October 2003 in Brussels during which the **Global Progressive Forum** (GPF) was established as a common platform of the PES, Socialist Group in the EP, as also the Socialist International.

The GPF was a great development for the PES. It was both in terms of the policy proposals, but also as far as the way of organising debates. The Forum meant a great mobilisation that included member parties; their members; their affiliated organisations; trade unions, civil society representatives and numerous international officials and guests. It marked a new opening and reiterates the question on the

ways to create a stable, capable progressive alliance. These queries are naturally reoccurring also today. And **Poul Nyrup Rasmussen** (PES President 2002-2011), when asked for his reflection almost a decade after the establishment of the GPF, strongly believes that the ideas laid forward then and the created organization, will experience very soon a profound revitalisation. Especially, in the global crisis-aftermath and the era in which also the US progressives, to give an example, are also searching for answers.

■ Growing Stronger Together

Next to those three threads (Constitution, Enlargement, Globalisation), there were naturally several other parallel debates. They concerned different matters, ranging from global issues – such as security and climate change, through neighbourhood (here especially the focus was on the Balkans and Euro-Mediterranean region, however there were also debates on Russia and Eastern Europe), up to the more internal on the EU budget and ensuring cohesions after the enlargement. These initiatives (together with the ones described in details above) were seen as supplementary or complementary to the Manifesto. These were: “Europe’s new neighbours – a post-enlargement strategy for European foreign policy” – drafted by the PES Vice-Presidents **Rudolf Scharping** (SPD) and **Jan Marinus Wiersma** (PvdA), (March 2004); “Promoting investment, sustainable growth and full employment” and also “Momentum for recovery in Europe promoting public and private investment” by **Poul Nyrup Rasmussen** (2003/2004); “The Roma people: discrimination and exclusion” by **Jan Marinus Wiersma** (PvdA) (November 2003); “Managing migration and integration” by **Anna Terrón i Cusí** (March 2004); The Reform of the Common Agricultural Policy and Food Safety by **Henri Nallet** (PS France, PES Vice-President), **Will Görlach** (SPD) and **Frans Timmermans** (PvdA) (November 2002); “Transatlantic Dialogue: building global alliances for the 21st century” by President of SI **António Guterres** and President of PES **Robin Cook** (March 2004); European Party Statute: strengthening the Party of European Socialists: PES Treasurer **Ruairi Quinn** (LP Ireland) and Secretary General **Ton Beumer** (PvdA) (April 2004). At the Brussels Congress, where the Manifesto 2004 was adopted, also following resolutions accompanied it: “Statement of behalf of the Congress on Belarus”; “Declaration of the PES Congress in support of Madrid and against terrorism” (which was a call for solidarity after 11th March bomb attack); “Declaration of the PES Congress on the entire Middle East”.

The Manifesto 2004 was adopted at the PES Congress in Brussels (April 2004). Structure-wise, the Manifesto 2004 was composed of 5 chapters. Each of them reflected respectively one of the 5 commitments for the upcoming 5 year term.

Every chapter included a description of the issue at hand and finished off with the listing of aims. Its details are shown in the Annex 3 in the Table 3.3.

Even though it was an important document, towards which the fundamentals had been laid out by the extensive programmatic work described above, its role is often questioned. While it framed the event with the candidates, which PES organized on the eve of the Congress in the European Parliament and which was broadcasted by major television stations across the continent, it was not really carried within the campaign. There are two reasons offered as an explanation. Firstly, the document was adopted relatively late – just a couple of weeks before the European elections were taking place. Secondly, the PES Congress that was to adopt it was carried away with another preoccupation. For the first time there were two contenders for the position of the PES President, which absorbed much of the member parties' attention then.

Despite already mentioned criticism, the historical value of the Manifesto 2004 lies in the fact that it was the first one for 25 member states. It was to form an agenda for much larger political family and convince herewith over 450 millions citizens Europe wide. And this manifesto, especially within its introduction, was very much focused on citizens; meaning of legitimacy, support, need for a democratic mandate. This reflected obviously also the spirit of the European Convention and the Constitutional debates, as also the own new opening of the PES in the shape of the GPF. The new feature of the Manifesto of 2004 was a slogan, which constituted the title and hence leading theme of the manifesto. It was **“Growing Stronger Together”**, which was underlining a political message of unity after the years of marked by described above conflicts and separatory positions.

■ 3.5 Manifesto 2009

The preparations towards the European elections 2009 began very early. In fact, the organizational changes introduced at the Council in Vienna (24th - 25th June 2005) framed the initial path through the introduction of a new rhythm of work. The two and a half year cycle allowed to structure the programmatic debates better, linking them more clearly with the European Institutions' term (and mid-term). It enabled embedding the Manifesto writing process in a longer-term strategy. Furthermore, the adoption of statutory changes at the Congress in Porto (2007) meant that the Council would be in charge of the Manifesto and the Congress would take place only after the European elections. Hence the leadership could proceed with planning the campaign also on advance.

- ■ Crossing the referendum junction

The 2nd PES Council in Vienna (24th – 25th June 2005) was taking place within a month from the Dutch and French referendum on the so called “Constitutional Treaty”. The European Union found itself in a state of shock. The uneasiness was accelerated by the fact that unlike the French and Dutch voters, the Spanish had expressed their support already and soon the Luxembourgish were to follow. In those grave circumstances, the EU Commission called for a “pause for reflection”.

Within the PES, the situation wasn’t an easy one either. The PES representatives under the leadership of the Vice-Chair of the Convention, **Giuliano Amato** (PES Vice-President 2001 – 2006), had contributed vastly to the drafting of the Treaty. The support for the document had been expressed a number of times and through different documents. Furthermore, a network to coordinate the PES and its members in the ratification process was established under the leadership of **G. Amato**. He, together with **Poul Nyrup Rasmussen** (PES President 2004 – 2011), visited a number of countries campaigning and organizing seminars (Copenhagen, January 2005 “Winning the EU’s referendum: coordination and exchange of experiences”; Amsterdam, March 2005 “Socialist arguments for the Constitution”; Cracow, May 2005; and finally also the Leaders’ Meeting in Paris in May 2005). Hence, the situation during June 2006 was also extremely challenging for the PES internally as well.

The Viennese Council “**Our Europe – Jobs, Social Progress and Environment**” gathered therefore in a much tensed atmosphere. There was much at stake especially that the PES leadership had worked tirelessly in the period 2004 – 2005 to put on track a great internal reform. Taking into account the mood of the meeting and the opening speeches by the respective member parties’ leaders – approval of anything at that moment could have proven to be impossible. The 26 opening addresses showed the deep divides. It seemed to have been impossible to reach a consensus in some sensitive areas. Therefore there was a relatively dramatic, but courageous and responsible decision taken to withdraw the document, which in fact was supposed to become the main Council’s resolution “Europe in crisis: Bringing Europe closer to the People”.

Poul Nyrup Rasmussen, while opening the Council, said that he had spent his first year as the President on working towards a common vision for the PES, hence travelling across Europe and engaging in a dialogue with member parties. The aim was to reunite and consolidate towards drafting a new agenda. “*If we are united, we are strong; if we are divided, we are weak*” he stated. Following that, he interpreted the results of the referenda in France and the Netherlands as “no” to a future “*without direction, to unemployment, to poverty*”. This is why the

words with which he inaugurated the Council were: *“We have to face now what I consider to be an enormous responsibility. We have to seize a great opportunity for the progressive forces to pull this continent out of its worries about the future, its reticence against change, and its increasingly inward-looking attitude. (...) we will not give up Europe. Because Europe is not part of a problem; but a part of the solution. But Europe will only be relevant if it can make a difference in people’s lives: contributing to stronger economic growth, to more and better jobs, to social justice, and to clean environment. Then it will be our Europe.”* It became in fact the central message of the meeting. Therefore this speech, which called to “focus on a real agenda”, should be considered also in fact as the initial statement of what became subsequently a **“New Social Europe”** initiative. The launch of the later one was also reflected in the final press release (24th June 2005).

Recapitulating the “Pause of Reflection”, the European Commission proposed on 13th October 2005 to realise so called “Plan D – for democracy, dialogue and debate”. **Margot Wallström** (EC Vice-President, originating from SAP Sweden) was its main author and responsible for its execution. The plan’s philosophy was based on the assessment that the European Union lost its credibility as a project and had become too distant from the people. Hence “Plan D” was designed to become a framework of enhanced exchange of ideas between citizens and the politicians. There were three themes around which the debate should have evolved, namely: economic and social development; public attitudes towards the EU and its tasks; Europe and its role in the world.

PES consequently supported the European Commission’s approach. It was clear that proposing any other political step would require more time, while remaining indefinite in the phase of “pause” was not an option either. Following the “Plan D” logic, the PES together with the PES Group in the EP launched on 20th November 2005 a programme called **“People’s Dialogue on the future policies for Europe”**. Based on the recommendations from Vienna concerning “building a stronger PES” and “opening it” at the same time, PES was planning to hold number of discussion forums. The first of them took place in Dublin on 27th January 2006. It included a closed high level seminar, as also a public event.

The dialogue supplemented the **“New Social Europe”** initiative, within which the focus remained on three areas: *Active Society, Open Society, European Dimension*. Each of them was led by two politicians and featured at least 2 seminars hosted by respective member parties. The impulse was directed by the conclusions of the Viennese Council, while further the discussions’ background was constituted by discussion papers and the “Social Europe” series of publications. Its first issue “First contributions” was published in October 2005) (featuring **Poul Nyrup Rasmussen, Anna Diamantopolou, Franz Münterfering, Vladimir Spidla, Hans**

Karlsson, John Monks, Kinga Göncz). The programme ended with a conference in Paris (September 2006), after which also the other volume was published (with articles by: **Poul Nyrup Rasmussen, Jacques Delors, Katya Koleva, Marisol Perez Dominguez, Jet Bussemaker, Lise Christoferssen, Evy Christofilopoulou, Pedro Marques, Kurt Seifert, Zita Gurmai, Eero Heinäluoma, Ania Skrzypek, Simone Burger, Petroula Nteledimou, Benoît Hammon, Donata Gottardi, James Purnell** and a collective article by **SAP Sweden**).

Asked about those difficult years, **Poul Nyrup Rasmussen** (PES President 2004 – 2011) recalls that indeed, PES (so as the EU) found itself at the cross-roads after the referenda in France and in the Netherlands. The movement was divided. Hence the challenge was to re-unite it and re-focus on the ‘real agenda’, which could in fact only emerge from the return to the most fundamental values. In translating them and applying them consequently in the post-referendum period through the conceptualisation of a “**New Social Europe**”, PES managed to re-emerge even stronger. The focus on the ‘real agenda’ was real and the new proposals truly emerged as a result of it. Poul Nyrup Rasmussen summarised that further by stating *“We, socialists, we never asked people to ‘love Brussels and its buildings’. We have been asking and will keep on asking them to understand that their future lies in Europe, for which path they can choose and help shaping.”*

■ A New Social Europe

The initiative of a “**New Social Europe**” took the PES from the momentum of disarray and doubts into a new era. Different seminars, forums and exchanges enabled internal debates and dialogues with diverse partners. The full member organizations contributed to those debates through their respective actions. An example of that can be the ECOSY leading campaign “Social Europe for Everyone” (run in 2005 – 2007). Furthermore, the opening to the idea of **PES activists** essentially contributed to both promotion of the PES among party members and to revitalising it internally. The 7th PES Congress in Porto (7th – 8th December 2006) was expected with excitement by more than thousand participants.

The main concept, that was to be discussed and adopted through a resolution in Porto, was the “New Social Europe” agenda. Work leading to its formation had been preoccupying the PES since the Council in Vienna. Intellectual and political steering of that initiative was in hands of **Poul Nyrup Rasmussen** (PES President) and **Jacques Delors** (three terms’ President of the European Commission in years 1984 – 1995). They were supported by the chairs and rapporteurs of the above mentioned forums, among whom were: **Hans Karlsson** (SAP), **Angelica Schwall-Düren** (SPD),

Stephen Timms (LP UK), **James Purnell** (LP UK), **Anna Diamantopoulou** (PASOK), **Anne Van Lancker** (PS Belgium). Furthermore the work was consulted with **António Vitorino** (PS Portugal and former EU Commissioner), and outstanding academics such as **Allan Larsson** and **Gøsta Esping-Andersen**.

The **Rasmussen-Delors report** reiterated the need for formulating a common direction for Europe. It enumerated the challenges, among which the raising inequalities and growing societal divides were emphasised. The report referred to the need of re-thinking of the welfare state. The pressure coming from globalization on one hand, and from evolving societies and demographic challenges on the other, were the reasons to reform it. Responding on the changing world of labour and new societal risks, the report was offering a new approach that would “combine social justice and security with full employment, growth and competitiveness” while succeeding in preserving the most precious communitarian values of solidarity, equality, as also the principles of social justice and fairness.

Following enthusiastic reception of the report, the Congress adopted also the Declaration “**10 principles for our common future**”. The later one translated the reflections and recommendations of the report into actual policy pledges. These framed the new PES mission, which was described in the document with following words: “*Our task is to renew and strengthen Europe’s welfare states. This does not mean preserving our welfare state as they are. We know that in today’s world, this would be doomed to fail. At the heart of the renewal of our welfare systems is a new set of rights and duties. They form the bases for a new deal between people and the government.*”

The Declaration underlined that the aim was not less, but better social policies. This logic should help ensuring that the new risks are being tackled, while everyone has the equal right to new opportunities. The roadmap that was to ensure that was composed of 10 points, which were following:

1. *Rights and duties for all – the essence of cohesion*
2. *Full employment – the basis for the future*
3. *Investing in people – we take the high road*
4. *Inclusive societies – nobody left behind*
5. *Universal childcare*
6. *Equal rights for women and men*

7. *Social dialogue – we cannot do without*
8. *Making diversity and integration our strength*
9. *Sustainable societies – tackling climate change*
10. *An active Europe for people*

In the light of those 10 cornerstones, the New Social Europe was to be:

- *A green Europe with more and better jobs*
- *An inclusive Europe*
- *A learning Europe*
- *An innovative Europe*
- *A Cohesive Europe*

The significance of both the report and the declaration are fundamental. They represent a substantial ideological shift. While in the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s the focus was predominantly on the issue of full employment as the constituent pillar of a social deal, with the “New Social Europe” the attention was rather on the question of well functioning “European Social Model”. Poul Nyrup Rasmussen recalls today that the motivation was a strong conviction that “*we had to reform our welfare society. Europe has enjoyed being the largest concentration of wealth, while more and more people were beyond its brackets*”. The backbone of the new approach was a philosophy of an inclusive society, in which everyone should be ensured equal opportunities in order also to be equally empowered to contribute to the society. Reciprocity embodied belief in equality of all and their respective talents and potentials. This was captured in the demand for “equal rights and duties”. The investment strategies leading to increase of qualifications and social security nets were to enable it. It explains also the focus on issues such as a universal childcare.

Next to the programmatic innovation, **Poul Nyrup Rasmussen** emphasises one more feature of the “New Social Europe” agenda. “*It wasn’t a classical agenda*”

of the EU versus national policies. It was a common pledge to realise jointly the EU and the national globalisation policies.” In the memories of Philip Cordery (PES Secretary General 2004 – 2012) “*The New Social Europe was essential in bringing the positions of our members closer to each other and developing a common vision and was followed by a very ambitious Manifesto for 2009 elections*”. This assessment is also shared by **Zita Gurmai** (PES Women President 2004 – till now and also FEPS Vice-President) says “*The New Social Europe initiative, lead by 2 inspirational figures, Poul Nyrup Rasmussen, former PES President, and Jacques Delors, former President of the European Commission, was a success story in terms of bringing together our parties and putting forward a common roadmap for Europe on common values and priorities as well as clearly mark our political priority of eradicating poverty and leaving no-one behind. It was an important milestone for our work and project, leaving our footprint at the European political scene. Also for gender equality, the New Social Europe had dedicated an entire chapter on gender equality and women’s rights. (...) the current crisis and right-wing dominated politics of austerity-measures only, unravels the achievements in that fields and hence why certain proposals such as combating the gender pay gap, sharing of parental responsibility, work-life balance for women and men are still relevant.*”

■ Anticipating the Financial Crisis

The “New Social Europe” initiative is one of the key examples on how the PES succeeded in positioning itself in ahead of the debate, politicising the issue and consolidating behind a message. Another key one for that period is connected with the financial crisis.

“*We saw the financial crisis coming – even though we did not know when it would strike and what extend of it would exactly be*” said **Poul Nyrup Rasmussen**, asked about his first European Parliament’s Report. This first statement, which was elaborated by Poul Nyrup Rasmussen together with **leke van den Burg** (MEP, PvdA) was dated as of April 2007 and was in fact a vast study for the PES Group in the EP on hedge funds and private equity funds. It outlined six concerns about the European social market economy, which analysed the New Social Europe agenda versus the capital markets in aspects of: labour rights, private and public sectors, stability of the markets and nonetheless issues of “coherence, co-responsibility and ethics”. It finished off with recommendations. The first of these pointed out that “the market cannot be alone” and that market transparency is in common interest. The others included the demands on hedge funds (harmonisation for the European hedge funds and creation of a single supervisory body; need for better information standard; safeguarding of the pension funds; supervision and management of

systemic risks; corporate governance provisions) and on private equity funds (improving transparency, as well corporate governance provisions; new approach to social rights and tax policies). This work was followed by an actual EP report that was voted on 11th September 2008. Next to Rasmussen and van den Burg, a significant role in the process was also played by **Pervenche Berès** (MEP, PS France).

The subsequent PES documents (such as the Resolution on financial markets adopted by the PES Council in Sofia on 23rd – 24th November 2007 or Leaders' Statement on the EU Agenda adopted in Brussels on 18th June 2008) PES reaffirms the position that indeed, the markets should not and could not be 'left by themselves'. With all the different distortions, with lack of equilibrium caused by different factors (unequal access to information among them) and with the detachment among primary and secondary markets, it was obvious that liberal doctrine had to prove failing. Further exchanges between Rasmussen and leading economists, among them **Joseph Stiglitz** (who came to Europe for numerous conferences invited by PES and FEPS together), were all confirming the PES standpoint that the "markets are not perfect and surely the financial markets aren't". The growing detachment between the financial transactions and the real economy was to cause a bubble, for which the ordinary people were to pay high price when the crisis stroke. With all that intellectual and political work, the socialists in Europe together with the progressives worldwide were getting ready to profoundly challenge the neo-liberal order.

Just after the so called "**Rasmussen Report**" was adopted by the European Parliament, the PES made another step forward, presenting a PES Presidency resolution "**Goodbye to unregulated markets. Welcome to a new progressive roadmap for jobs and real value**" (16th October 2008). It called for new markets regulation that would "triumph over greed and irresponsibility". The socialists blamed in this statement the "conservative market ideology" for having plunged Europe into crisis. In order to make the market "our servant and not our master", the PES called for:

1. *Universal legislation covering all financial players with supervision across the financial markets reinforced.*
2. *Transparency and disclosure of financial records, with those of debts included*
3. *Mandatory 'capital requirements' for all financial players*
4. *Rules to prevent excessive borrowing*
5. *Limits on executive pay and remuneration, and mechanisms to ensure that earnings*

6. *reflect losses as well as profits in the financial markets*
7. *New rules to prevent conflict of interests*
8. *Protecting workers interests such as by ensuring that employees are consulted during all takeovers including leveraged buy-outs*

The PES pledged to continue working with different partners, especially trade unions, but also externally with the US Democrats to work on a common strategy out of the financial crisis. For the last purpose the “Financial Market Reform Network”, as also a “World Summit on global governance” were supposed to serve as tools.

This resolution was followed up by the Leaders’ Declaration **“Taking Europe out of financial and economic crisis: an urgent European plan of action”** (Brussels, 5th November 2008). This marks the momentum, when more directly the global predicament is described by socialists as not only a financial, but also economical one. The crisis was called there “the great defeat of the neo-liberal capitalism”, calling the EU and the member states to counteract its negative impact on “millions of innocent, working families”. The fear was that the period of recession was to begin, in which no jobs can in fact be created or safeguard and no welfare provisions properly sustained.

There were two pillars in which actions needed to be primarily taken. These were: “economic policies to defeat a recession and create new jobs” and “Regulatory reform of financial markets” (in which Europe should take the lead). In both, the PES proposed a detailed action plan. As far as the first one was concerned, it included: *measures to protect the most vulnerable from the impact of increasing prices of living and sustaining their purchasing power; creating new opportunities for young people; better coordination of the respective recovery plans; considering new financial opportunities such as European green bonds; better support for SMEs; widening of the scope of the Globalization Adjustment Fund and more flexibility for co-financing of the Structural Funds; targeted intervention to help also the members not belonging to the Eurozone.* The second pillar would be composed of: *new regulations on all financial players; new standards of transparency and disclosure for all financial players; a European supervision to cope with cross-border financial market players; establishment of a European credit rating agency; putting end to irresponsible, excessive borrowing and un-transparent debt packages; limits on executive pay and remunerations combined with fair taxation; protection of workers’ interest; fighting against tax evasion and elimination of the international tax havens.*

The political agenda continued being developed. It also gave base to a joint

campaign of the PES and its full members on issues such as “**Financial Transaction Tax**” (see i.e. the PES Leaflet of September 2010 and the PES Presidency Declaration from 14th April 2011). It united progressives from both the PES and PES Women, PES Groups in the European Parliament and Committee of the Regions, FEPS, ECOSY, ESO, RainbowRose Network, Global Progressive Forum and SOLIDAR – to name just key participants. This political mobilization had a very concrete impact, resulting in the EU financial transaction tax to be proposed by the European Commission in September 2011. One and a half year later (January 2013) the EU finance ministers gave a “green light” for the 11 Eurozone members to prepare such a tax.

Philip Cordery (PES Secretary General 2004-2012) asked about this particular momentum commented, *“Since the beginning of the financial and economy crisis, the PES has been extremely active in proposing alternatives to the conservative austerity only policy. Many PES proposals are now part of the European debate and have or are in the process of being widely accepted. The principle of financial transaction tax for instance was launched by the PES and the idea of solidarity mechanism of the Eurozone was firstly developed in PES.”* There are three features worth of mentioning in the context of this debate on financial markets and subsequently financial and economic crisis. First of all, the work of **the PES President Poul Nyrup Rasmussen** placed the PES in a position of a political avant-garde in an emerging debate, long time before the crisis broke out. This was of fundamental importance as the PES herewith was not only reacting on different developments, but also actually succeeded in defining the “political conversation”. Secondly, the logic of the debate abided by a principle that the solutions should be elaborated and promoted by the EU and national level simultaneously. That was what strengthened both sides. And finally thirdly, this was an initiative that was followed by a successful campaign. It created “political ownership” of the PES over a certain number of policy proposals. And this has been and remains a great challenge in the context of the complex, multi-pier and generally consensus-demanding decision making process within the EU.

Recalling the discussion and assessing the impact, many academics underline the great progress that the PES has made also internally thanks to this initiative. The party grew stronger, united behind a clear, pan-European agenda. Poul Nyrup Rasmussen reflected that indeed, PES can and should be proud that it began the debate on financial capitalism in the right moment. That it has been promoting equity and hedge funds regulations early and successfully in the end. Especially, that it meant fighting not only against heavy corporate lobbyism, but also against attitudes of greed that have been corroding the world of labour. Instead of resigning at any point, it has remained consequent, against all odds. It succeeded in imprinting a message “transparency is in fact to everyone’s best interests”. Summarizing, **Poul Nyrup Rasmussen** said *“This reform has always been a political quest and a question*

of political will. It is a matter of getting strong in your conviction, as when you are in doubts you indeed find yourself under the pressure. Socialists have been strong in the past – with first social reforms, with first unemployment benefits. These were not easy battles back then, but any change is about making a political choice and pursuing it. We have always believed that the markets should be servants and not masters, and this is our political choice also in the times of the crisis and the belief we should continue standing for”.

■ Drafting the Manifesto 2009

The actual debate on the upcoming elections began at the PES Leaders Meeting in Berlin (24th March 2007). In the letter to the PES member parties’ Leaders, **Poul Nyrup Rasmussen** (PES President 2004-2011) was writing that this meeting would be an opportunity to make a progress accordingly to the Council’s mandate and to begin broad, open consultations that “could facilitate success in 2009”. The detailed action plan followed within a month. In the document that the Presidency subsequently adopted, there was an innovative approach that foresaw the process involving not only members, but also activists, party-political foundations and think tanks, experts groups, trade unions and civil society.

The action plan consequently followed the “Viennese Reform” in terms of keeping the party “open and visible”. The positive examples of the methodology of the debates from the times of “People’s Dialogue” and “a New Social Europe” were used in designing a pre-2009 strategy. It was aimed at mobilising, raising awareness and creating a sense of the European partisanship. Consultations started with a meeting of press spokespersons and on 27th April 2007 there were 4 documents published, which served as the background notes for the debates. They encompassed the themes: “A new Social Europe”, “European democracy and diversity”, “Europe in the world” and “Save our planet”. From the moment of launching until June 2008 comments and interventions of all (members, activists, partners etc.) were invited, both through Internet and through consultation meetings. Each of the documents was composed of 3 parts: short introduction to the context and the main challenges; the ideas that have already been adopted and have been being realised by the socialists; a set of questions that could facilitate the debate. The strategy was very ambitious and it raised some scepticism. One of the reasons was the question if external observers, once they receive discussion papers, could not draw wrong conclusions concerning PES positions. There were still obviously many tensions as far as what “openness” should mean in practice. Another anxiety was connected with the vast empowerment of activists, who in such a process gained a great say.

Despite those reservations, the idea to involve **PES activists** on such a scale has proven to be substantially strengthening to the PES. Following the PES Report (“A New Direction for Progressive Societies. The PES in action 2007 – 2009. Activity Report of the Party of European Socialists adopted at the 8th Congress” in Prague, 7th – 8th December 2009), the PES activists vastly contributed to the Manifesto consultations. There were over 300.000 visits on the consultation website and over 600 written contributions, not to even mention 30 PES activists city-group statements. A great culmination of this process was in fact the **1st PES activist Forum** 4th – 5th July 2008, hosted by PES and SPÖ together with FEPS (Foundation for European Progressive Studies) and Renner Institut, and gathered over 200 members. Among discussants there were representatives from the PES, EP and CoR, foundations and the world of civil society. The process has proven to be inclusive, allowed opening the PES to new ideas and enabled a feeling of ownership among the member parties and their members.

The PES (full member) organizations (PES Women, the PES Group in the EP and the PES Group in the CoR, ECOSY, ESO, Rainbow Rose Network) – were all offered adequate space and actively contributed to the process, organizing respectively their own activities to frame their inputs and formulate their proposals in advance. To illustrate their involvement, it is worth recalling for example the involvement of the PES Women. As **Zita Gurmai** (PES Women President) recalls: *“PES Women had a decisive role in drafting the Manifesto and including a chapter on gender equality and women’s rights. Thanks to the pressure of PES Women on the PES leadership the manifesto was gender mainstreamed and specific chapter on gender equality and women’s rights with several proposals such as the ‘Women Rights Charter’ was included. The PES/PES Women aim of the Women’s Rights Charter was to improve legislation from women in all fields and across Europe, which the European Parliament could work on. But it was taken over by the right-wing Commission but watered-down to a symbolic text. This chapter was a pre-requisite for PES Women to campaign for the European Elections.”*

Within the drafting process, there were also for the first time more formalised consultations with the representatives of the civil society and the trade unions. Aiming at building a pan-European progressive alliance, the PES held regular meetings – in which over 30 representatives on pan-European umbrella organisations representing different non-governmental associations and trade unions took part.

Encouraged by a substantial progress, especially in the late spring and early autumn, the 3rd PES Council in Sofia (22nd – 23rd November 2007) sustained the four working themes. To give them more visibility on one hand and anchor them stronger in the inter-party debates, it decided on entrusting four leaders with chairing them from

that point till the end of the process. Herewith **Kurt Beck** (SPD) was in charge of “A new Social Europe”, **Mona Sahlin** (SAP) of “Save our Planet”, **Piero Fassino** (DS) “European democracy and diversity” and **Sergei Stanishev** (BSP) of “Europe in the world”. They shaped the debate in the respective pillars and together with their respective parties all hosted at least one thematic seminar during the consultation process.

Subsequent Presidency meetings served as momentums to update the members about the progress. In the framework of the strategy, a “Campaign Unit” was established within the PES. It took care of campaign coordination, collecting materials and answers from the consultation process. There was an Internet room “Your Space” that was used as a forum and where the four themes were debated. Debates, blogs, and interviews - these materials made it very lively and provided true inspirations for the actions Europe-wide. Herewith the PES shaped and proudly upheld political competition vis-à-vis other European parties.

Summarising all the new developments and enhancement of the internal political work made the report of the consultation to be truly impressive. The actual result, the first draft of the manifesto was presented in September 2008. After a process of amendments, which also included adding a chapter and reorganising the order, the text was finally adopted at the 4th PES Council in Madrid (December 2008). There was a vast presence of leaders, who took part in the momentum of the Manifesto’s presentation and adoption.

The PES Manifesto 2009 was composed of two introductory parts (the challenges and the proposals), and 6 chapters. It has been the longest manifesto in the history of the PES in fact. Its title was “**People’s First: A New Direction for Europe**”, which underlined the message that **Poul Nyrup Rasmussen** included in the foreword “*We have listened to people through a wide-ranging public consultation (...) These are our answers to what we have heard: our manifesto – the people’s manifesto.*” In the same introduction it was highlighted that the European elections are about making a choice what kind of Europe there should be.



4

BUILDING A EUROPEAN SOCIALIST PARTY

Following difficult negotiations (as described in the Chapter 2), in 1992 all the CFSPEC members agreed on establishing “Party of European Socialists”. The symbolic relevance of the name “party” was fundamental. There was a readiness within the European movement to commit to a new type of organization. It would on one hand presuppose further consolidation and better coordination among socialist parties, and on the other it would be a forum to design common policies for Europe. The apparent problem was that at the moment of establishment, the ambitions were politically grand and organizationally relatively unclear.

The narrative included in this chapter is therefore an account of 20 years of continuous efforts that led to creation of the PES that is an independent EU policy actor able to shape the EU agenda and present to voters a credible programme for Europe’s future. It captures a number of proposals, which sometimes gained ground immediately, sometimes needed to wait a couple of years and sometimes needed to be dropped completely. All the debates described below are a record of demanding processes, aimed at seeking consensus among the member parties. Their respective organizational traditions have been so diverse due to various national, historical, political and societal contexts in which they had been born. Despite these differences, the mutual respect they have cherished as also the strong conviction that the PES should grow to live up to its task and hopes that have been entrusted in it from the meeting in The Hague onwards has been the motor of progress.

The amazing part of this story is that these two decades have been a momentum of creation of not only the PES, but also a pan-European partisan system. The internal developments within the PES have substantially influenced the pan-European framework, while also certain steps forward were taken under impulses coming from progressing EU integration. In the light of current discussions on what is needed to become a “real” Europarty, one should perhaps first and foremost focus on the fact that the PES itself had to become a political organization of new qualities and capacities. And this achievement is as historical, as it is instrumental in politicising Europe and bringing it closer to citizens across the continent.

From a confederation operating in offices of the PES Group in the European Parliament to a party to discussing the unification of the PES family within the Anna Lindh House, and from the instrument involving primarily leaders of the member parties to a democratised structure open for PES activists, from a platform facilitating to reach a common denominator to an actor ready to frame a Fundamental Programme – this all today may appear most natural. Nevertheless, each of the steps leading to the respective subsequent stages required bold ideas, outstanding solidarity within the PES and the courage to risk all. And the visionary approach of numerous actors, as also their hard work and determination to reach broadly acceptable consensus and always outstanding support of the PES Secretariat’s Team, are to be commemorated and honoured here as well.

■ 4.1 The morning after...

The introduction of the **new statute of the PES** (as adopted at the First PES Congress in The Hague in November 1992) met with several disputes and hence it was not marking a momentum of profound change. Nevertheless its heritage should still be recognised as it included a few new features, which at the later stage were of great significance.

First of all, the new PES statute introduced the aims of the organization. The delegates gathered in The Hague agreed that the sense of the PES should be on one hand to enhance the collaboration of the member parties, on the other to be in charge of preparations of electoral manifestos. The first of them clearly put emphasis on the intra-parties relations, however the second allowed hoping that the PES would also be able in the future to propose a political agenda that goes beyond the (lowest) common denominator.

Secondly, article 8 of the PES Statutes formally installed the **PES Leaders’ meetings** as an “organ” within the PES, and with it formalised an already existing forum.

Thanks to the new logistical possibilities that the PES (as also other parties) were to acquire soon, it was to become one of the key activities. Ensuring a framework that would allow the leaders (often Prime Ministers) to meet and consult each other, to exchange with the socialist representatives in the EU institutions (especially the European Commission) has offered the PES a footage as a “policy enabler” and in the future as “policy designer”. It also, however, brought the predominant focus on the inter-governmental pillar of EU activism. The struggle between those who saw the PES role more specifically in that field and those who dreamt about more anchoring in the communitarian pillar was to accompany the PES from that point onwards.

Thirdly, there was also a change as far as policy designing and the decision making process were concerned. Article 9 established new rules for majority and unanimous voting. Before, the decisions concerning the issues of the European Council Agenda had to be decided with a qualified majority. From that point on a simple majority was sufficient. Even though the culture of consensus seeking first and foremost would prevail, these statutory possibilities were incorporated to move eventually also towards more controversial debates. What is more, the PES Group in the European Parliament, together with the other associated members received the right of initiative. This perhaps seems as very little in comparison with the Group’s full membership and the prerogatives of today, but then the situation was sensitive. The PES was born out of the Confederation, which in fact was located within the Group’s premises and, hence, sustained different sort of relation.

Fourthly, also the new statutes introduced the requirement of gender balance by article 7. This linked strongly with the Declaration and in fact established the PES as a party willing to champion gender equality, reinforced by the adopted resolution on women. This led to the establishment of “**Women Standing Committee**” in 1993, that later changed from “Standing Committee” to “**PES Women**” in 2006. This process transformed “PES Women” into a fully-fledged political and campaigning structure – these all represent another valuable development within the PES.

These statutory changes were a catalyst of the transformation within the life of the PES. The formal recognition, and herewith new logistical possibilities allowed a better focus on internal party life. The conceptualisation of the PES Leaders’ Meeting was followed by a tendency to call for those reunions on the eve of the summits, which also enabled the PES (alongside with the other europarties) to gain additional visibility. Periodical congresses grew to be larger meetings, with new items on the agenda and more open to external guests.

There was a sense among all the europarties that they still were very young organizations without clear legal framework to anchor. This made the original cooperation between political families, thanks to which the article 138 a of the Treaty of Maastricht (now comparable with 191 of the Lisbon Treaty) had been achieved, continue. And, in that spirit, the three secretaries general of the PES, EPP and ELDR returned to the negotiation table. Their work resulted in a document called “**Political Follow-Up to article 138a**”, which was ready by June 1992 (almost half a year before the 1st Congress of the PES).

From then on further progress was very slow. Only four years later, and after many rounds of negotiations, did this document developed by the secretaries general find its translation into the europarties **Dimitris Tsatsos parliamentary report**. (MEP, PES). It was presented on 16th July 1996 and voted in December the same year. The report focused on the evolution of the europarties since its establishment. It described the **europarties’ goals as: voicing opinions on the European policies and seeking representation within the European Parliament**. It essentially also required the europarties to be supporting the EP groups and their parliamentary work. The emphasis on a need for europarties to mobilize and aggregate the citizens’ will was additionally very strong. Furthermore, the report reviewed the possibility for europarties to transform themselves into organizations fully based on majority decision-making processes, as also it raised the question if those organizations could ever be based on the individual memberships. And finally, it also introduced a requirement that a europarty should be active and “organizationally present” in at least two member states. All in all, Tsatsos report introduced a number of questions, which were especially relevant in the context of the Intergovernmental Conference leading to a new (Amsterdam) Treaty. Nevertheless the report did not manage to make the European Commission present a desired green paper on the matter.

■ 4.2 The first decade: from The Hague to Berlin (2001)

Following the 1992 statutory change, which had put emphasis on the importance of the PES Leaders’ Meetings, the changing political circumstances were to reaffirm the significance of those gatherings. The PES member parties began to gain in the respective national elections; hence there were more and more heads of governments present at those meetings. As **Jean-François Vallin** (PES Secretary General 1995 – 2001) recalled, *all the parties were very keen on upholding this cooperation tool. For the opposition leaders it was a chance to have indirect access to the debates of the Council, and for the governing ones it was a great opportunity to pre-agree on common positions.*

This last one was not an easy task. Even if the ideological bond within the PES has always been a very strong one, nevertheless different national circumstances would confine the leaders to hold certain positions. An example of such limiting circumstances would always be a coalition government, in which the PES party, even if it was the senior partner, had limited space for manoeuvre. Since the meetings were growing to incorporate more and more staff members (sherpas, officials etc.), at a certain point an institution of **PES conclave** was introduced, that was a meeting in which strictly and only leaders could take part. It was argued that then they could afford a more honest, open debate. The first of *conclave* took place in Arrábida, Portugal on 4th – 5th September 1993.

The PES Extraordinary Congress in November that same year did not introduce further organizational changes. Its preoccupation was anyway the Manifesto. Nevertheless there are three decisions that deserve mentioning. First of all, the Norwegian Labour Party was accepted at that Congress as a full member. Secondly, the **PES Women Standing Committee** got formalised and at same time also its first President - **Karin Junker** (SPD) - was elected. And thirdly, **the logo of the PES** was confirmed to be a “*red rose with a green stem, in a circle of twelve stars*”. On the margin of that it is worth to mention that altogether PES has had 4 logos since its establishment until now.

Within the period 1995 – 1999, the consolidation of the PES was induced by four factors. The first were the already mentioned electoral successes of PES members, which meant that more of them were now more directly involved in the EU structure and needed the platform the PES could offer much more. Secondly, the post-Maastricht demands and ongoing institutional negotiations required that PES anticipated on its own future. Hence, many efforts were put on conceptualising the idea of europarties. Thirdly, there was also a question of financial subvention that now allowed more activities and also permitted for a larger secretariat (even if that one was still placed together with and still enjoyed the support of the secretariat of the PES Group in the EP). And fourthly, **Jean-François Vallin** underlines that the leadership of **Rudolf Scharping**, as the PES President, was in fact what ensured that there real progress possible. In the above-mentioned period, there were altogether 3 Congresses (Barcelona, Malmö and Milan) and 26 leaders meetings.

The **PES Leaders' Meeting in Corfu** (June 1994) is especially worth quoting in this dimension. This was the first meeting after the first European Parliamentary elections since the establishment of the PES. And the socialist family had reasons for enthusiasm; having once again become the largest group in the EP as a result. The Declaration of the meeting expressed that thrill, underlining that the PES is proud to be entrusted with a “leadership” position. This made them consider a

necessity to accelerate their activities within the PES in order to properly serve a mission of *a new, constructive politics for employment and social justice in Europe, for environment and enhancement of democracy*. Therefore the Leaders reconfirmed their commitment to the The Hague Declaration. Following that they expressed the hope that the upcoming mandate will see the European Parliament, and the socialist family within it, getting even stronger. The way to ensure the latter was to be achieved through strengthening the PES. Among tools, **an annual PES summer university** was mentioned as a way to “*open up for members, and especially the younger generation*”. What is more, Leaders’ welcomed the idea of setting up several **thematic round tables** that would allow broader exchanges with experts.

Remaining in the same spirit, the PES Leaders’ Declaration of Essen (7th – 8th December 1994) added to this more general framework some specific focuses. The EU enlargement towards Austria, Finland and Sweden (1st January 1995) was welcomed enthusiastically, however induced a reflection that future steps in this area, as also the need for institutional reform that should facilitate it, deserved more attention. This is why the PES set up a **Coordination group for the Intergovernmental Conference (IGC) of 1996**. The hopes connected with it was, that it would allow better coordination within IGC, as also would be a mechanism through which the PES would be able to elaborate “socialist” positions. These could then be better explained to the voters across the Union. This reflection came especially urgent after the fiasco of the EU referendum in Norway. On its margin, the PES decided to reaffirm its approach to the Norwegian Labour Party as an integral, full member of the PES.

The subsequent Congress in Barcelona (6th – 8th March 1995) was mostly devoted to the revision of the Maastricht Treaty. It followed in its tone the PES Leaders meetings (among them especially the one of Cannes-Valbonne on 24th – 25th June 1995). The new development that was born here, rather out of practice than out of official decision, was that the PES was referring more frequently to previously adopted documents. It allowed on one hand a proper assessment, on the other this ensured more continuity of the debate. This practice was reoccurring in different periods, however has never been institutionalised. There is no statutory answer as for what happens to the documents after their adoption and what kind of evaluation is expected. This question animates also contemporary debates on establishing criteria of appraisal of the European partisan politics.

The fundamental decision that was taken in Barcelona concerned the **enlargement**. The monumental step taken was to accept **six parties from the Central and Eastern Europe within the PES**. The process of rapprochement, as also the main difficulties were already broader touched upon in the Chapter 3.

Nevertheless it is important to say that the next step was the first leaders meeting of both Western and Eastern social democratic parties in Budapest (5th October 1996). It established precedence, including herewith the **Observer parties**. The second opening towards East was to happen, however, only in March 1998.

Leaving Barcelona, the PES was still therefore a “*party of parties*” and was supposed to remain predominantly a “*network*”. This logic was underlined a number of times in different documents, among them also the work plan. The ambition for the coming years was to continue developing and building better relations with the PES Groups, Socialist International, trade unions and civil society. The planning also included sustaining different working groups, however it was underlined that the financial means are still very limited and hence their number should also be eventually restricted.

The evolution within the PES, the negotiations around Amsterdam Treaty and the still unresolved issue of the European party status, these were all constituted reasons to believe that a first assessment was needed. The new secretary general **Jean-Francois Vallin** was entrusted with framing a new concept for “**The Future of the PES**”. He submitted his text to the Bureau on 30th May 1996. The paper was written in an unconventional way as for the PES, as in fact it was an essay. It posed a number of questions, as much as offered some recommendations to the question of “*raison d’être*” for the PES further on. Vallin described this as to “*to be a party, to be socialist and to be European*”. Hence also the paper was composed of three chapters, and three main set of proposals were:

- The PES Conference of Leaders is a great success. But to make the initiative even more useful, there should be **Sherpa meetings** a few weeks before the leaders’ reunions. That will enable better preparations of all the sides involved. The organization of pre-Summit Leaders’ Meetings should also be more seized by the PES itself to gain visibility. Hence both the President and Vice-Presidents should address the broader public(s) at these occasions.
- The PES Bureau should become a place of real policy debates and policy making. They should be better prepared through diffusion of information through communication channels such as “**PES FaxInfo**”.
- The PES Networks should be more consisted and better organized. As there is a financial concern related to their functioning, they perhaps could in the future use more the ‘new tools’ which Internet offers through ‘intranet’.

- PES could serve in enabling better exchanges of information among parties. This could entail also: exchanges of publications and establishing a network of journalists to be invited to leaders meetings. The idea could be that every leading newspaper in the Union could have a sort of a “PES Tribune”. Next to that, there should also be more efforts to disseminate documents through “PES FaxInfo”, continue with summer schools and consider a possibility of joint campaigns.
- PES and PES Group should improve and enhance their mutual relations. It would be possible by organizing the **joint meetings of the two bureaus**, as also sharing the information and invitations. It would contribute to clarifying the relation between the Group and the party.
- PES should further open and start organizing debates with intellectuals, researchers and politicians on “Socialism in the 21st century”. Cyclical meetings with foundations and research centres on the European socialist movement would be a step in a good direction.
- A sufficient improvement in terms of ensuring funds for the PES would also be crucial.

The points highlighted in the “**Vallin Report**” served as guiding principles for that period, which can be visible in the Report 1996 – 1997 (adopted at the 3rd Congress in Malmö). This period marks a substantial transition in the direction of the European socialist party. The metamorphosis was to be seen through seven achievements, that the Report enumerated. The organization-programmatic evolution was underlined, proving that the structure is on its way to consolidation. Establishment and improvement in the work of the working groups allowed to debate more intensively policy issues. An example of that was the new Committee for Employment. Furthermore, with the successes of social democracy, it was possible to expand the number of ministerial meetings and open up towards coordination in new areas. Among them were for example transport and research. PES also tried to ensure better exchanges between the parties and representatives from within the EU institutional context (here especially European Commission).

Additionally, the PES was further interested in building mutual connections with potential partner organisations. Still the priority remained to be ETUC and youth. Concerning the latter, the success of the First PES Summer University in Vienna 1996 was underlined (the next one was to be held jointly by SPD and PvdA in Aachen/Maastricht), however the main formal step was to include ECOSY as a member in the PES Statute. Herewith (articles 4, 6bis, 9) ECOSY was recognised *as a youth structure of the PES, that it gathers the members of the socialist youth*

organizations in the EU. It was to still elect its own bodies and determine its positions autonomously accordingly to its own statute. It would however have a right to participate in all the PES bodies and meetings.

What followed also the “**Vallin Report**” was a focus on how to engage more activists and attract them to take part in the PES life. The seminars were one way, but as an opportunity, it was still burdened with financial and logistic limitations. The report and the activity plan were attaching much hope to development and popularisation of the internet. There was a new strategy to be planned.

Encouraged by those developments, the plan for 1997 – 1999 was entitled “*From Internal Coordination to External Presentation*” and that was capturing a new mission. The central political goal was to “*To maximise the influence of the PES on the Political Agenda of the European Union Concentrating on the Elaboration of an EU Social Agenda, Employment creation, environmental protection, the implementation of EMU and the enlargement of the European Union*”. Central Organizational Goals were however:

- *To shift the emphasis from internal coordination to external presentation, promoting a public role of the PES.*
- *To prepare with its member parties and parliamentary group the 1999 June elections to the European Parliament.*
- *To strengthen the political link between the PES and the Group of the PES in the European Parliament and to define more clearly the Organizational links.*

The strategy would still remain focused on enhancement of cooperation among the parties and evolve around the existing tools (such as leaders and ministerial meetings; working groups etc). But there were some interesting shifts. PES was encouraged herewith to start the work on the Manifesto as soon as possible. Again it was repeated that Internet and intranet forums may become an extremely useful in preparations for the campaign. Also for the first time the question of direct and individual membership within the PES was raised. It was agreed to discuss that, also in the light of the existing statutes. If created, PES individual membership was expected to contribute to the creation of “circles of friends” on local and regional level. It was left for further debate to be picked up again only 8 years later.

The subsequent Congress in Milan (1st – 2nd March 1999) did not advance on that agenda of organizational consolidation in structural sense any further. The PES was

leaving Milan with a Programme of activities 1999 – 2001 “**A Common Strategy for a new Europe**”, that still underlined that the PES is a “*party of parties*” and all of “*sharing sovereignty*” within that by the member parties can only happen “*based on free will*”. Of course that position reflected the growing tensions within the socialist family, which political dimension was broadly described in the earlier chapter.

■ 4.3 Berlin Reform 2001: Strengthening awareness and internal cohesion

Following the earlier attempts, the cooperation among the europarties was resumed. It is shown through a document entitled: “**Working Document on a European Party Statute**” (dated of 29th November 1999, but released only on 15th February 2000) signed by **Ton Beumer** (Secretary General PES), Alejandro Agag (Secretary General of the EPP Christian Ehlers (on behalf of ELDR party), Niki Kortevelyessy (on behalf of European Federation of Green Parties) and José Luis Linazasoro (on behalf of Democratic Party of the People’s of Europe / European Free Alliance). The statement was elaborated in the light of the article 191 of the new Treaty, where the constitutional basis of existence of the europarties was recognised. It argued for a *European parties’ statute*. The document was composed of 5 sections:

1. **Definition:** European parties are federal-type associations of national and regional European Countries, which actively support a democratic Union. They have constituted or aim to constitute a joint political group within the EP. They are represented in more than 1/3 member states. They may provide individual membership.
2. **Organizational provisions:** included a handful of points. They started from the requirements concerning name and headquarters, and continued through compliance with standard of democratic organizations to up to financial regulations and secretariat.
3. **Tasks:** enlisted a number, among which were: to contribute to forming European awareness and to expressing the political will of citizens; to serve as a link between the citizens and the EU; to contribute identifying candidates for the EP elections; to draft a programme for shaping EU and contribute to election campaigns.

4. **Funding:** reiterated that the europarties are entitled to receive EU funding, however they must also have own resources. The financial means should be allocated under a special chapter of the European Commission's budget. The europarties must keep their accounts public and declare to the European Court of Auditors the source of their resources.
5. **Recognition:** the europarties should be assessed by an independent, inter-institutional committee. The European Commission can also decide on the recognition of the European parties

What is important to add, on the margin of the debate on the statute, is that indeed at the later stage the Nice Treaty called for a new action that could lead to the *European parties' statute*. It was assumed that there was a chance to indeed create a proper legal framework and to equip the parties with rules, scope of functioning and funds. Nevertheless an agreement on any regulation would require unanimity. Hope for that was lost on the way, and completely buried with the results of the elections in Austria (10th November 2001), when the FPÖ entered the government. Following that the Austrian government established a position, according to which it would be more than enough to have europarties that are composed of members registered in two different national states. Hence, the new Statute was then only taken after the entry of the Nice Treaty into power and based on a new co-decision (Regulation EC No 3004 / 2003 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 4th November 2003 on the regulations governing political parties at the European level and the rules regarding their funding).

Regardless of that setback later, the “**Working Document on a European Party Statute**” represented great progress vis-à-vis earlier statements and the Tsatos report. The common understanding reached among the europarties allowed herewith to envisage what would be the framework for the europarties to grow eventually and was an impulse to return to internal conversations and start anticipating on it.

This had influence on the agenda and mood of the 5th PES Congress (7th – 8th may 2001). The Nice Treaty on one hand, the upcoming enlargement on the other, were seen as the external preconditions for a debate on internal renewal. At the same time, the decade since establishment of the PES required also a solid assessment. The recent elections of 1999, when the PES Group in the EP for the first time lost the position of the largest group, required more profound reaction. Preparing towards these debates, a working group under the leadership of **Ruairi Quinn** (LP Ireland PES Vice-President and Treasurer) and with a great involvement of **Ton Beumer** (PES Secretary General 2001 – 2004) had drafted a document

“Strengthening awareness and internal cohesion of PES”. This was to give a conceptual framework to the first of the three grand reforms of the PES.

The report served a following objective: *The Party of European Socialists has gained ground over the last years especially in terms of a coordinating mechanism for Socialist and Social Democrats in the European institutions. This development has however not coincided with a more public role of the PES, nor with greater involvement and the European identity of the Members of PES member parties. While respecting the basic autonomy of the national parties constituting the PES, a number of steps could be envisaged which could strengthen the profile of the PES within the national parties as well as leading to a reinforcement of the democratic basis of our European party. There is a clear link between this discussion and the preparation of a statute for European political parties. The statute discussion is however not the prime focus of this note.*

The **“Quinn Report”** was composed of 6 chapters:

- *PES in national parties’ statutes* – This point explained an intention to improve the mechanisms of coordination of socialists and social democrats in the European institutions. This would require development of the community that the PES was to become. The recommendation was to take actions to popularise the PES within the member organizations. The aim was to include the mentioning of the PES, and the respective party’s membership, within all the member parties’ statutes. This would be done with full respect towards those members’ statutes. The underpinning question here was in fact in how far the parties identify themselves with the PES – and the Bureau was mandated to complete further research on the matter and to propose a formula that would be acceptable for all.
- *The PES on Membership cards* – The report recommended that the PES logo should appear on all the respective party members’ membership cards. It was also suggested that it should be on the member parties’ leaflets and other significant materials.
- *A mandate for PES Congress delegates* – The note expressed regret that only part of the PES Congress delegates is being elected through internal elections (for example during the respective member parties congresses) or through other formalised, reoccurring procedures. Hence, it was recommended that in future the processes should be more institutionalised and transparent. It would then positively influence the organisation, facilitate the preparations and solidify further the

democratic bases of the PES Congresses. Such a formal procedure should have also enabled the process of exchange of information before the congresses to be more efficient, and also would enhance the feeling of ownership among the Congress delegates.

- *The use of the PES name and logo* – There were a number of informal practices in terms of the PES name and logo being used by the members. An example was the occasion of different bilateral meetings. It required clearer indication. Hence, it was recommended that the PES Bureau could actually take the decision in which conditions a permission to use the name and logo would be granted. It was underlined that the name and the logo are and will be under protection, an issue that was also supposed to be defined in the future pan-European statute.
- *The engagement of Social Democrats living abroad* – The practise of involving and mobilising so-called “expats” (in here: EU citizens living and working in other EU country than the one of origin) was not very much developed. Only a few parties had any experiences, while by the EU common labour market this issue was expected to gain in significance. Especially, that “expats” could vote in local elections in the country of residence and could also chose to vote there in the European elections. There was no further recommendation on how to advance on that field, expect that the PES should look into it prior to the 2004 campaign.
- *The role of the PES in elections to the European Parliament* – Until now the European elections have been typical “2nd order” elections, in which the member parties were running on their own, promoting their national manifestos and presenting their own candidates (the PES had no influence whatsoever). The recommendation was to aim to change it and to seek beyond just a common lowest denominator. It was argued that the PES, “the largest and the most consolidated” political family on the EU level, could do better than fragment itself into 15 separate campaigns. There were several options presented for further exploration, such as: using the PES name and the national party name together on the electoral materials, presentation of common candidates etc.

The note presented by **Ruairi Quinn** was very ambitious in terms of the recommendations it formulated. These opened several new fields of the debate concerning the future of the PES and its actual role ☒ especially vis-à-vis its members. The proposals prepared the ground for further negotiations among

those parties, who would prefer seeing the PES as first of all a network of parties and those who would prefer to see it more as a consolidating political actor in itself. The proposals by R. Quinn and his working group stipulated, unlike the debates in the past, that those visions and different traditions can actually be merged into a compromise that would still steer the PES towards a new stage, in which it could better serve the interests of all.

Presentation of the “**Quinn Report**” was a great momentum, which marked the beginning of a new organizational era within the PES. It was furthermore launched by several statutory changes, which had been prepared in the same spirit in parallel by **Heinz Fischer** (SPÖ and PES Vice-President 1995 - 2004). The 5th PES Congress agreed on replacing “Bureau” by the two new bodies called “**Presidency**” and “**Coordination Team**”. Both had been already meeting informally and were to serve improvement of the relations between the PES and its members. The Coordination Team was to be essentially the meeting of the international secretaries and would devote therefore also more attention to organizational issues. PES Presidency was hoped to be composed of the representatives closely working with respective parties’ top leadership and, hence, its preoccupation was supposed to be more political. The Presidency would also be, instead of the Congress, the body to elect the Vice-Presidents. It would also be the guarantee that the PES would be able to react faster and in a more consolidated manner to ongoing political developments. Membership in the Presidency became restricted to two representatives per party only. What is more, the statutory changes limited the number of the congresses to only two per EU legislative term of 5 years, while introducing a new body called “**the PES Council**”. The latter was to become a forum of a political debate and strategic discussions inside the PES.

The “Activity Programme 2001 – 2004” corresponded with the “Quinn Report” and followed the statutory adjustments. “Consolidation and democratisation” – these were the two principle rules and they reflected the spirit of the Nice Treaty. Furthermore, the new financial possibilities granted in conjunction with Nice Treaty allowed thinking about the PES more ambitiously. The “Activity Programme” was composed of two chapters, being: (1) political priorities and (2) organization and activities.

The main focus was on the policy developments. This is why one of the key tasks was to prepare the 1st PES Council in order to realise the ambitions of enhancing political exchange within the PES. What is more, the Leaders’ meetings on the eve of the summit were to be sustained. Once per year they were to be enlarged with the leaders of the parties from the accession countries. Also, the ministerial exchanges were to continue, however it was added that they should be better prepared and eventually external experts could be invited to join the debates.

The agendas of both the leaders and the ministerial meetings should be better accorded with the debates within the PES presidencies.

The **working groups** created at various occasions were to be sustained. They should be further developed and include also more of the representatives from the PES in EP and PES in CoR. Above all, these groups were considered to be crucial regarding the good preparations for the upcoming elections.

Furthermore, PES was mandated to find better ways to engage with different age groups, following also the pledges of the 1999 PES Manifesto. It was underlined that the focus on the youth, as taken during a successful conference “What kind of Europe for the future generations” (Paris 1st July 2000 with more than 500 people), was especially important and the PES “Summer University” was repeated to be an appropriate forum for inter-generational exchanges.

The “Berlin Reform” was profoundly important. So it was characterised by Ton Beumer (then PES Secretary General, and before in years 1994 – 1999 Deputy Secretary General). First of all, it renewed the PES so that it could re-emerge stronger and more effective in the new institutional reality. Secondly, it focused on enhancing its political and programmatic role, opening possibilities for the members to be part of the shorter decision-making process (through Presidency) and long term (through introduction of the Council). Finally, the statutory changes and the “Quinn Report” opened new questions that the PES both in the context of the debate on the European party statutes – and in the context of its own, internal transformations needed to face.

■ 4.4 From Berlin 2001 to Vienna 2005

The “**Growing stronger together**” 6th PES Congress (24th April 2004) was taking place in new conditions. There was a new Regulation (EC) No 2004/2003 of the European Parliament and of the European Council from 4th November 2003. It presented a legal framework and the rules that allowed introduction of new funding mechanisms. Herewith, the europarties could begin their lives as autonomous beings even if amendments to the regulations were further to take place both in 2004 and later in 2007.

With many queries around the new regulation, the PES Congress acknowledged the document “European party financing: questions and answers”, which was prepared by **Ton Beumer** (PES Secretary General 1999 - 2004) and **Ruairi Quinn** (PES Vice-President and Treasurer). Though it was especially focused on

the question of finances (and their transparent and clear management), it also included 8 key questions and possible answers concerning the Regulation. The main issues of that time would present themselves as follows:

1. Q: *Why europarties are needed?*

A: The europarties constitute a dimension of the EU democracy, creating a possibility for the European ideological families to organize themselves on the European level. They offer a platform for organisations and representatives of a political family to meet in order to exchange information and debate on a common strategy. This also constituted the main goal of the PES. Furthermore, the PES was in charge of creating useful programmatic platforms for the European elections and was supposed to elaborate policy proposals, through ministerial meetings, on the eve of the EU meetings and Councils.

2. Q: *Are the europarties true parties*

A: The europarties are not exact copies of the national parties, they serve a different goal. PES was expecting that the meaning of europarties would raise, however they would remain smaller structures and would never replace national parties. National parties would still be the epicentres through which policies are formulated and articulated.

From 20th July onwards the PES (together with other europarties) was to gain the right to European subsidies. The PES was expecting that it would allow it to continue its work organizationally and budgetary wise. At the point of the transition, the PES was employing 13 people, was financially stable thanks to the membership fees and was using the rooms of the PES Group in the EP.

3. Q: *Why should there be subsidies?*

A: In most of the EU member states the parties have limited resources that would not allow them on fulfilling all the obligations on the EU level. Enhancing and strengthening the EU parties is in the direct interest of the EU Institutions. Furthermore, the direct elections to the European Parliament are the greatest challenge that requires a full engagement of the entire structure and of all the MEPs. According to the Statute, 75% of financial means would be guaranteed from the EU budget, 25% would need to come from own resources.

4. Q: Why there is a need for a Statute?

A: Rules need to be just and transparent. Socialists rephrased and underlined 5 key elements of the Statute: transparency (public audit), sponsoring (up to 12.000 yearly – and PES did not have “sponsors” then); temporality (it was to be introduced from July 2004 onwards); division of funds (85% accordingly to the number of MEPs, and 15% among all the europarties proportionally); democratic control (accordingly to EU principles); threshold (the europarties would have to have at least one elected representative and be registered in at least 4 member states).

The adoption of the Regulation meant that there was a necessity to amend the PES statutes again. PES claimed that it would continue its activities, realising these goals, being organized and financed accordingly to the **Regulation of the 4th November 2003**. This was defining the political party as an association of the citizens, who would be treated as subjects in the political field and who have a right to assemble in organizations with legal entities, which are granted on the bases of European regulations. Hence, the **PES was setting up a non-profit organisation “PES”, which was registered on 1st May 2004**. Its headquarters would be Brussels and it was established according to the Belgian law.

In the new statute, the PES enumerated several goals. Among them the priority was given to *“close cooperation with the socialist ad social democratic parties within the EU”*. Furthermore, the third chapter was enriched by a prerogative *“and adopts a political programme that describes the goals, which it would present to the EP accordingly to the 4.2 b of the regulation”*.

Another change was a difference in allocation of votes for the congress. The new enumeration was relating the amount of votes per party to 50% of the votes that its country of origin had in the Council. The Bureau Members of the PES Group also gained the right to vote, while there was one delegate extra for all those parties not represented in the Bureau.

While implementing the report **“Strengthening the PES – Implementation of the Berlin Resolution”**, there was also a focus on the developments after Berlin. Following them, there were more changes introduced concerning the PES Presidency. Its relevance was growing, the article 8.3 stated that it was to meet at least once a year and take all the decisions that would connect with organising and managing the activities of the PES. The members of the Presidency were the representatives of all the member parties and their list was to be adopted by the Congress.

On the margin of it, the same report included a table that showed the realisation of the pledges from the 5th PES Congress by the member parties. They were systematised in a form of a table, which presented the progress in the areas of: introduction of the PES into the party statutes; adding PES logo on website and documents; formalising the procedure of distributing the mandates for the PES Congress among the party representatives; interlinking the PES and the respective party websites; and working on engaging “expats”. In general, the member parties advanced, but there were still some areas where many were lagging behind. Especially the second and the last crosschecking criteria seem to have been amongst the most problematic commitments to fulfil.

Next to the statutory changes, there was a political and organizational development of a historical relevance. The PES 6th Congress was a “**Congress of enlargement**”. Following signing of the Accession Treaty by several candidate states on 16th April 2003, 12 parties were accepted as full members (ČSSD (Czech Republic), Mõõdukad (Estonia), MSZP (Hungary), LSDP (Lithuania), MLP (Malta), SLD (Poland), UP (Poland), ZLSD (Slovenia); as also MSzDP (Hungary), LSDSP (Latvia), SDL and SDSS (Slovakia)). There was also further opening to the Balkans.

Summarizing the organizational development, the Activity Report 2001 – 2004 underlined the great progress made in the consolidation and strengthening of the PES through the introduction of the PES Presidency and the PES Coordination Team, as also through the establishment of the PES Council. Other initiatives that helped opening the party were surely the continuing “**PES Summer Universities**”, but also a new traineeship “**Joop den Uyl**” programme (by 2004, 10 young activists were awarded with it). Especially the “Summer Universities” Ton Beumer recalls with a great sentiment as “*unique gatherings of selected group of promising socialist and social democrats*”.

Furthermore, numerous publications served in the years 2001 – 2004 as tools to promote the PES and its policies. Next to numerous policy reports and briefs (that are described in the Chapter 3 in a more detailed manner), there was **the 1st PES Yearbook** published (by PES together with Policy Network in 2002). It featured contributions of all the leaders of the European social democracy concerning their “*Visions for Europe*”.

Finally, last but not least, in order to enhance promotion of the PES before the upcoming European elections, there was a New Campaign network of professional campaign organisers established. They had been meeting between March 2003 and 2004. One of their sessions was held in Budapest and was focused on capacity building in the Central and Eastern Europe before their first European Elections.

■ 4.5 Vienna Reform 2005: “For Stronger PES”

The European Elections of 2004 brought a disappointment for the PES family. Following the report of **Jan Marinus Wiersma** (MEP and former Vice-President of the PES), there were two aspects that required special attention. The first one was the continuously declining turnout (at that time reaching 45,7%). The second was growing euroscepticism. Wiersma distinguished two categories of “euroscepticisms”. The “soft” manifested itself not in opposing the EU as such, but in disapproving certain policies. The “hard one” was about contesting the EU entirely – and this group started rising in numbers. The diagnoses offered was that it mirrors the lack of deliberative democracy that would bring the EU and its citizens closer to one another. This is where the PES could retrieve its role.

The bad electoral result mounted the difficulties that the PES was battling with. After a difficult Congress, it found itself in a multi-layer transition. Adding to political questions, it also faced organizational and logistical challenges. Having moved out from the European Parliament (following the new regulations) it was still searching its new premises, temporarily “squatting” in the hospitable PS Belgium Headquarters in Brussels. This situation was to remain unchanged till the beginning of 2005, when it opened the offices at **Rue du Trône 98**. Firstly it occupied only the 2nd floor, but later on, while the Secretariat grew, it also rented the 3rd floor and established a “**Robin Cook**” meeting room, in commemoration of this distinguished PES President. The situation called for bold measures and these were expected from the new PES Secretary General, **Philip Corderoy** (PS France).

Any new vision for the PES would require a more profound compromise among the members. This may have been expected to be a ‘hard to get’, especially in the post-Congress circumstances. Nevertheless there was a hope. The PES Presidency adopted on 8th June 2004 a decision, which in fact opened the chapter “**Building strong PES**”. It was to be advanced politically during the PES Council in Vienna (2005), and technically through the work of a statutory group and the decisions of the 7th Congress in Porto (2006).

Following the above-mentioned decision and an organizational tradition of deliberation of sensitive themes within the working groups, there were three of them established in July 2004. They were respectively to analyse a possibility for a new PES reform from three angles: *strengthening the PES in the EU institutional system; how to make PES a solid partner for its member parties (especially how to bring it closer and how to make the decision process more efficient); and how to make it a partner for the PES Group in the EP*. The groups were composed of experts and politicians. The results of their work were presented to the subsequent

PES Presidency on 21st October 2004. They were composed of recommendations, tabled in 4 chapters. These were:

- *more visible and more influential PES*
- *more democratic and more effective PES*
- *PES engaging more its members*
- *PES opened to the partners*

This influenced the Leaders' Declaration that was adopted in December under the title **"Developing Europe. PES – prosperity, equality, solidarity. 2005 – 2009"** (16 December 2004). It included a list of political goals, together with an "action plan". This last one obliged the PES to present annually what sort of political priorities it envisaged for the year to come. This was an innovation, especially in comparison with the more declarative and more general documents from the past. These "Political Priorities" would then become a sort of a political manual for the PES vis-à-vis the annual planning of the European Commission. Like that, the PES would find itself better anchored in the context of European policies.

The declaration was a prelude to the document **"For Stronger PES"**, which after a numerous amendment was adopted at the PES Council in Vienna (24th – 25th June 2007). The declaration's opening statement was underlining that the PES entered into a new phase, which began with the creation of the regulations for the European partisan politics on the EU level. This new framework would allow PES to identify better its role within the constellation of the European institutions, as also would help it to build a strategy to combat the democratic deficit of the European Union. This last one was naturally much discussed in Vienna, especially in the light of the recent referenda in France and the Netherlands. The way forward would entail creating a proper, "true" party, which would develop a real, distinctive programme and would battle its political opponents in getting a chance to shape the future of Europe.

The first chapter of "For Stronger PES" was composed of three proposals. To begin with, the role of the leaders meetings was to be strengthened. This could be achieved if these reunions would again become meaningful, if which one could sense a bit of nostalgia after the Leaders' meetings in the 1990s. The number of Leaders' Meetings was limited to two PES Leaders' Conferences. At least one of them should take place before the EU Summit. The Leaders' Meeting scheduled for mid-June should annually be the one, where the list of political priorities was to be adopted. Such a systematisation of work was supposed to allow the public

to notice the process that the PES was engaging its national leaders in, while designing the agenda simultaneously on national and European levels. However, attaching relevance to the leaders' meetings was a familiar proposal, the emphasis was stronger at that point also due to the growing importance of the EU summits.

Furthermore, the PES was aiming at accelerating its policy expertise. This would enable to design better policies. This is why it was recommended that the **special experts' groups** should be established to accompany key policy development processes. They could be called by the Leaders' initiative and as structures would remain mostly loose "networks". They would include also officials from within the different EU institutions, allowing herewith the progressives to consolidate on the EU political stage. The structure of work forums would include: ministerial groups (which would meet before EU Ministerial meetings); working groups (which would be composed of the national parties' members and would be mandated together with eventually invited experts to prepare expertises) and wider PES networks (of mixed compositions, which were to be set up to discuss a theme – such as for example Lisbon Strategy). These different groups would serve different purposes, all however allowing developing more in-depth analyses and ensuring more adequate policy designing. Focus on engaging in their work experts from within the member parties (ministers, spokespersons etc.) mirrored also a growing conviction among the socialists that the EU policy from the external issue became an internal, domestic policy.

Moreover, the declaration returned also to the earlier debated question of the PES logo. It was argued that a "new, stronger PES" should be represented by a modern logo. There were earlier attempts to replace the rose with stars by an alternative design. Example of that was a rose that appeared shortly by the times of the PES Council in Warsaw, but was not sustained. At the Council of Vienna, however, the rose was to be bided farewell. The new red box, which reminded of a speaking bubble, was welcomed in its place.

The second chapter of the declaration was entitled "A more democratic and effective PES". PES identified four ways to accomplish it. The PES Congresses and Councils rhythm was to be changed and become 5 years cycle. This would better reflect the legislative period of the Commission and Parliament. Prolonging the mandate on one hand, and demanding annual priorities at the same time would enable the PES to elaborate both short and long-term strategies. Longer mandates would also allow better process within the member parties. They could use time to elect delegates for the PES Congresses and Councils, and those would be able to take part in the preparations and eventually discuss the drafts within the larger circles within their respective parties. This would enhance internal democracy.

The PES Congress was to take place in autumn of the EP election years. It would elect PES President, as also alongside the PES Presidency for two and a half years. The Congress would adopt the priorities for five years. This Congress was to be followed by a Council. Then the next Congress should be called for spring. Its task was to decide upon the strategy towards the upcoming elections and elect new leadership (shall that be necessary). The drafting of the manifesto would be finalised by the next Council, which would be called one and a half year after the Congress. This may have looked a bit complicated. The Congress lost herewith the right to decide on the manifesto. And there was no congress just before the elections, which could prove beneficial ensuring continuity of the leadership during the campaign.

The further proposals of “more democratic and effective PES”, recapitulated some pledges from Berlin. They were encouraging the member parties to improve preparations of their own delegations to Congress and Council, especially ensuring that there would be broader consultation meetings within the delegations before their departure to the PES meeting in question. These ideas could only be seen as recommendations, as they did not have binding power and PES had no footage to interfere in internal processes of its member. In fact, some parties were already applying those ideas (electing for example the “PES Delegations” through their national congresses). Of course, at the same time some parties would not even consider such options. Regardless of the impact of such a recommendation, it was still relevant to make this point.

The last recommendation of this chapter of the “Declaration” touched upon the representation in the working groups. It introduced a rule that no gender will be represented by less than 40%. The PES was expecting that each member party would nominate two representatives to each of the working groups (one man and one woman). Among them, the PES would elect one person ensuring that the composition of the group would always be gender balanced. The application of this proposal of course depended heavily on the member parties; but it remained very much in line with the PES flagship proposal of the “Roadmap to equality between men and women 2006 – 2010” that was introduced through the European Commission by Commissioner **Vladimir Špidla** and heavily supported and campaign for by **Zita Gurmai** (PES Women President).

In the third Chapter of the Declaration “The PES involving members” it was argued that the PES had to become more open and gain more of the mobilization power. This philosophy was behind the idea to create **PES activists**. Such a formula would allow party members to engage on the European level. It would help them developing and sustaining contacts with the sister parties’ members across the continent, through which a European identity could be fostered. It was underlined

that such a move would raise awareness that the members of the PES member parties are not members of a 3-levels-party, but 4 (i.e. local, regional, national and European). As for the rights, the PES activists were to have access to the intranet and internal debate forums, as also to be invited at least once a year for a PES event. They would have no vote and would not be able to adopt any statements. This specific proposal became a symbol of a new opening. It showed a great shift from the debates in Berlin, where the PES was mostly composed of the member parties, while hereby it was to become a party of activists.

This idea was not enthusiastically welcome by all. Especially parties of central and central and Eastern Europe remained unconvinced, however effectively did not oppose to the experiment. By the creation it was still a very sketchy idea and this actually was one of the features, following **Philip Cordery** (who advocated for the PES activists and who had enabled similar mechanism in ECOSY while remaining its Secretary General in 1992 – 1997), which allowed the PES activists to develop so well. Following his words; *creativity, remaining spontaneous and passionate - these were the key ingredients. Herewith the PES was in fact also a pioneer in introducing into the political partisan European life a new form of activism.*

Another issue was the question touched upon in Vienna was a challenge of the pan-European campaigns. Though it was still much ahead of the Lisbon Treaty that effectively allowed the parties to campaign, the PES was already in 2005 becoming a pioneer of transnational partisan campaigning in the EU. What was decided in Vienna was that the subjects of the campaigns were to be the key issues, which would be especially relevant for the socialist family in the context of the EU integration. This was a groundbreaking proposal that opened the way to the number of the campaigns that successfully united all the PES members under a year long programmes of actions. It took two years before the first campaign was launched. It was a bit experimental and it was devoted to one of the issued of “A New Social Europe”, namely childcare. It was framed through a PES Presidency note (21st February 2007) and was held under a slogan “Make Childcare available to everyone”. The concept involved: making the leading theme a transversal issue of all the PES meetings; holding special events and a conference; as also mobilizing PES activists and campaigning online.

The campaigns were to become an important tool in the years to come. **Zita Gurmai** (PES Women President) recalling the PES Women campaign stated that *Under the motto ‘My Body, My Rights’, PES Women has campaigned across Europe to call for equal rights for all women in Europe, no matter what the social or geographical situation of women is. In preparation of the Common Status of Women at the UN, in New York in 2010, PES Women coordinated together with Bibiana Aido, former Spanish Gender Equality Minister during the EU Spanish*

Presidency the Gender Equality Ministers from our Political family to sign a common declaration in order not surrender to the pressure from the right wing governments, who do not promote or implement women's sexual and reproductive rights, including prevention and educational methods. Unfortunately due to the right-wing dominance, growing extremism and religious pressure, SRHR remains an ongoing fight throughout Europe.

The last, fourth chapter of the Viennese declaration was "PES open to its partners". PES promised here to invite representatives of its sister organisations (such as ECOSY, PES Women, PES Group and PES Group in CoR) to leaders meetings, to ensure exchange of information. It had an intention to work further through the Global Progressive Forum as also to (hopefully) unite all the socialist organisations under one roof of "Anna Lindh" House.

These ambitious proposals, once adopted by the Council, constituted political indications for a new statutory reform that were to be translated into concrete statutory formulations by a new PES Statutory Committee, which was established by the Council. Its Chair was: **Ruairi Quinn** (Treasurer of the PES), its Secretary was **Philip Cordery** (Secretary General of the PES) and its members were: **Achim Post** (SPD), **Alain Richard** (PS France), **Ian McCartney** (LP UK), **Alexandra Dobolyi** (MSZP Hungary), **Vytenis Andriukaitis** (LSDP Lithuania), **Luciano Vecchi** (DS Italy), **Inger Segelström** (PES Women and SAP) and **Ania Skrzypek** (ECOSY). Herewith the reform entered a new phase – as the political compromise was to be translated into statutory solutions. These were ready by Congress in Porto.

The 7th Congress in Porto was called for 7th – 8th December 2006. It approved of the report of the PES Statutory Committee and adopted together with it a number of amendments. The changes fell into three categories. The first concerned the adjustments that were required by Belgian law. The second was a matter of systematic changes. The membership issue was reorganised, dividing the members into full, associated and observer. The first incorporated: PES Women, ECOSY, PES Group in the EP and PES Group in the CoR. Associated were for example SI, and observers IUSY and IFM-SEI. The last group of amendments included political amendments resulting from the agreements in Vienna. Following them, the new statutes enumerated the goals and the values of the PES. There was a change allowing SI members from the accessing countries to become members (until now only the members from within the member states could become full), which was a question of a great historical importance. And a possibility to withdraw from the PES was introduced.

The reform brought three major results. The first was to open a debate on the europarties even before the Lisbon Treaty. The second amended the statute in a

way that the members shared more of responsibility for the PES. The thirds one organized and regulated the mutual relations within the progressive family.

The Congress in Porto adopted also **“Our Common European Ambitions. Framework for PES Action 2007 – 2009”**. A interesting detail about this document is that it is in fact the first official PES work plan that speaks about “socialist, social democratic, labour and **progressive**” members. The Framework consists of 6 concrete proposals as far as actions are concerned: (1) to create a pan-European foundation (in a follow up of the **“Jo Leinen Report”**); (2) to reform of the Leaders’ Meetings; (3) to enhance the influence of the PES and its member parties by reorganizing the networks and calling for different working groups; (4) to prepare the Manifesto 2009, while implementing “bottom-up” strategy and mobilising grass-root activists; (5) to increasing the number of PES activists, reach out to the NGOs, trade unions, academics; (6) to focus on the new generation of political activists.

Assessing the execution of this plan, the document **“The PES in Action 2007 - 2009” – Activity Report of the Party of European Socialists**” was adopted at the 8th Congress (Prague 7th – 9th December 2009). It has underlined all positive aspects of reform, including broadening the network and enhancing the intra-party coordination. The PES was developing its capacities in terms of running campaigns, and also managed to multiply the number of registered PES activists (which reached above 20.000 members). As for the statutory changes in Prague, it introduced **FEPS (Foundation for European Progressive Studies)**, the newly created political foundation. Its establishment was commented in the report in a following way: *European political foundations, a long time claim of the Party of European Socialists, are now reality. The Commission first approved a pilot project to establish such foundations before the formal decision was taken by Regulation of the European Parliament and Council on 18 December 2007. The Foundation for European Progressive Studies (FEPS) was founded on 4th October as the political foundation linked to the PES. FEPS adds value to the existing work of the PES by providing a forum for debate on European progressive ideas, organizing longterm thinking and in-depth analyses of key policy issues*”. The first President of FEPS is **Massimo D’Alema**, and Secretary General is **Ernst Stetter**.



5

5

INTO THE FUTURE

The results of the European Elections of 2009 bitterly disappointed. The overall turnout was the lowest in history (42,94%). The newly elected Parliament shaped to be the most fragmented in the history and one fifth of mandates were belonging to anti-European forces. For the PES the outcomes were very disappointing. It did anticipate on not winning, but it did not expect to lose that much. The victory in 10 member states did not sweeten the fact that the PES members lost in all the largest states, in some of them noting the worst result in the history.

The first reaction of the PES was resumed in the statement that was issued at the occasion of the PES Presidency on 8th June 2009. It called for **“More, not less PES”**. The message was that this was a time of test and progressive forces should not give up striving for a better, fairer Europe. It was argued that the elections exposed the expanding gap between the EU and its citizens. The democratic deficit resulting from it is very the reason why the *“sofa party”* won, as **Poul Nyrup Rasmussen** (PES President) summarised the fact that the voters chose to stay at home.

The results of the European elections were more in-depthly analysed by **FEPS (Foundation for European Progressive Studies)**. It issued an initial assessment *“Ten Observations on the outcome of the 2009 European Elections”*, in which it pointed out the main reasons for the overall loss. The publication was shortly followed by a round table that gathered researchers and commentators from all leading socialist think tanks in the EU. Their concern was that the electoral result was just a symptom of a larger predicament of social democracy. This conclusion gave birth to the Next

Left Research Programme that since 2009 is chaired by **Alfred Gusenbauer** (former Chancellor of Austria) and is devoted to studies aiming at indentifying the paths of renewal for the progressive movement.

The PES shared those concerns. Hence, the 8th PES Congress (Prague, 7th - 8th December 2009) was called with the theme **“A new direction for progressive societies”**. **Poul Nyrup Rasmussen**, in his opening speech, called the PES members to support and actively engage in the renewal of social democracy. This appeal was responded to positively – and the two leading resolutions were adopted. The first of them was **“People first. A Progressive European Agenda”** and the second was **“A New Way Forward, a stronger PES”**. They both reaffirmed the commitment to the 2009 Manifesto. As for the actions, the “way forward” included: a need for deep reflection, finding new ways to engage with people, challenging right wing and confronting the far right, strengthening the PES.

The strategy on **“Strengthening our methods and instruments for a stronger PES”** was composed of both the reconfirmation of the vision of the PES (as emerging from diverse political processes and from the reforms of Vienna and subsequently Porto), but also included proposals to use the momentum and review operational tools. First of all, the Congress was setting herewith a PES network of modernising politics. Its mandate was to revitalise the party structures. Secondly, the role of PES activists was to be enhanced. One of the ways was establishing the **“PES activists initiative”**, which more or less mirrored internally the philosophy of “Citizens’ Initiative” (as introduced by Lisbon Treaty in 2007). Thirdly, the PES was to work on a strong, common Manifesto towards the subsequent elections and to reframe its vision and programme.

With a solid plan and a clear mandate from member parties, the PES succeeded in recuperating from the post-2009 depression. The additional mobilising factor was the evolving global crisis, which repercussions hit Europe. The economic and societal erosion caused by neo-liberalism on one hand, and the subsequent politics of austerity and cuts of the governing right wing made progressives united in search for a common alternative for Europe. Paradoxically, the more the others were deconstructing the Union, the more united the PES has been becoming in calling for a different scenario, and herewith for strategies towards a new deal based on new economic growth. The emerging social mobilisations, the popular opposition to greed and injustice, all allowed to hope for a restoration of communitarian progressive values and eventual revitalisation of progressive ideas.

The ideological renewal has been mostly conducted within the programme called **“Our progressive societies”**. This was firstly chaired by **Maria Joaõ Rodrigues** (former Minister of Labour, Portugal). The result of the first round of the consultations was the **“PES Declaration of Principles”**, which was adopted at the 9th PES Council (Brussels,

24th November 2011). The Council was organized then in conjunction with the so called “**PES Convention**”, that gathered more than 2000 participants (delegates of the member parties, activists, representatives of the partner organisations, think tanks, civil society, trade unions etc.) The event was broadly acknowledged as a great success, which reenergised the internal debate of the PES on one hand and, also through its openness, allowed reaching out and discovering new ideas. At the same time, by bringing so many progressives together it also was an encouraging meeting that restored in many ways the belief and ownership of the members over the party. After the adoption of the “PES Declaration of Principles”, the second phase began – which is still ongoing. Under the leadership of **Caroline Gennez** (former Chair of SP.a Belgium), a so called “**Advisory Board**” is currently drafting the very first **PES Fundamental Programme**. It follows recommendations and findings from the PES Convention and the Policy Forums and is expected to be presented for a vote at the Council this year.

As for organizational renewal, there have been two main channels of accomplishing the task. The first one is consolidated around the **meetings of member parties’ secretary generals**. This new dimension of cooperation opens a number of new possibilities and enables the participants to exchange on best practises in building modern political parties. The last of those meetings took place in London in late autumn 2012, and the next one is foreseen to take place in Madrid in spring 2013. The second pillar has been so far focused on the so called question of “**top candidate**”. A need of working towards presenting one on behalf of the PES is rooted both in the motivation to use the opportunity provided by the Lisbon Treaty, as also in negative experiences from 2009 (when PES did not succeed in agreeing on having one). It seems possible that if all the europarties were to present such candidates, there would be a chance for the aggregation of inter-party competition and further politicisation of the question of the EU’s future. The 8th Council in Warsaw (2nd – 3rd December 2010) established therefore a “**PES Working Group Candidate 2014**”. It was to be chaired by **Ruairi Quinn** (PES Treasurer, LP Ireland) and involve 19 members. The Working Group was entrusted with a mandate to formulate both rules of selection and also the adequate statutory provisions. The resolution on “Selecting our Common Candidate in 2014” was subsequently adopted by the PES Council on 24th November 2011. The statutory adjustments were adopted by the 9th PES Congress (Brussels, 28th - 29th September 2012), together with other changes (such as the ones introducing the “Declaration of Principles” into the PES Statutes).

Furthermore, the ongoing process of revision of the Regulation (EC) No 2004/2003 governing political parties at the European level will have an impact on determining further possibilities for the PES and for FEPS to grow. **Ernst Stetter** (FEPS Secretary General) commented that “*The work that we are putting jointly in place will hopefully be of a historical relevance. If amended adequately, the new regulation can give a solid*

base for the political parties and political foundations to develop. There is a chance for a proper statute that would finally fulfil the promise of a true European status for the European parties. It would be profoundly important in enhancing European political party system, further politicization of Europe and bringing that closer to the voters. I do hope that following this reform, the europarties will be able to offer very soon direct membership to the citizens. And to be an enabler of such a political empowerment is the mission, in which I wish the PES all the best of luck in the coming decades.”

Parallel to that, the PES has continued to struggle for its programmatic agenda. Following the impressive development of the campaign tradition within the PES, it has been for over a year now engaged in **the PES Campaign “Your Future is My Future”**, which deals with the questions of youth unemployment and effectively calls for a European youth guarantee. The background of it was the PES Report “Combating Youth Unemployment” (adopted at the PES Presidency on 9th February 2012), which had been prepared by a working group led jointly by PES and ECOSY. The campaign has been extremely successful for its political impact, but also as far as mobilization is concerned. It united not only PES and ECOSY members, but also PES Women, the PES Group in the CoR, S&D Group in the EP, FEPS, ESO, GPF and partners such as trade unions and civil society organizations, such as SOLIDAR.

In 2011, there was the first change within the PES leadership. The Council bid farewell to the PES President, **Poul Nyrup Rasmussen** – whose resignation speech carried however a hopeful promise of his constant support for the PES and frequent returns as a PES activist. A year later, **Philip Corderoy** finalised his mandate as PES Secretary General – having been elected to the French National Assembly as the first representative of the French citizens living in BeNeLux countries. The Brussels Congress elected **Sergei Stanishev** (BSP and former Prime Minister) as PES President, following his year 2011 – 2012 as an interim Chair. Through the Presidency, there were four Vice Presidents elected: **Jean-Christophe Cambadélis** (PS France), **Katarína Nevedalová** (SMER Slovakia), **Jan Royall** (LP UK) and **Elena Valenciano** (PSOE); a Treasurer – **Ruairi Quinn** (LP Ireland) and the Secretary General – **Achim Post** (SPD). In parallel, the Presidency elected also **Yonnec Polet** (PS Belgium) and **Marije Laffeber** (PvdA) as deputy secretary generals. Soon after the new work plan was adopted, that mirrored the willingness to prepare the PES in order to take back Europe in 2014. This is why there is a focus on campaign, as also on capacity building through initiatives such as PES activists forums or a training academy.

This Brussels Congress could be therefore seen as a new turn in this contemporary chapter of the history of the PES. As **Martin Schulz** (President of the European Parliament) stated in his speech that day *“The European Socialists are back! We are winning elections in Europe again! (...) For a century, we social democrats have made greater democracy, greater social justice, greater freedom and greater equality the*

leitmotif of our actions. Our parents fought for those ideals. Some paid their lives. We are proud of them. (...) We have established the world's most progressive and most civilised society. We succeeded in bringing capitalism under control within the nation state. Now we must bring capitalism under control once more – at the European level! This is a task before us (...) otherwise solidarity, democracy and Europe will soon come to an end. That is why we must fight. Friends, how can we European social democrats become stronger? By winning elections at national level. But also by being united at the European level”.

Sergei Stanishev (PES President) also thanked the Congress for the confidence placed in him, underlining that; *“our values are our strength. If we want to change the direction of Europe away from austerity and short-sighted politics, if we want to get out of the crisis together, we must set the example both inside and outside our political family. This is the reason why democracy and solidarity are the essence of the PES Congress – because they are at the very core of being progressive and of being European”.* S. Stanishev added: *“This Congress shows that we are a unified party. Our major goal is to give back hope to the European citizens, to restore the confidence that the European project is the path for a better future. People here believe that an alternative to austerity is not only possible but necessary. We have taken big steps on economic policy, on social policy and on democracy. On economic policy, we have pushed for movement on Financial Transaction Tax, on regulation of credit rating agencies, on a genuine banking union and on Eurobonds. On social policy, we are calling for a social pact, so that people can believe that Europe is about them, and on democracy we have set in stone our plans for a democratic common candidate”.*

While addressed in the context of this book, several of the distinguished interviewees conveyed jubilee messages for the PES upon its 20 years anniversary.

Poul Nyrup Rasmussen framed a following wish *“All the national parties, their leaders and international secretaries, their members – they all have to take the PES into their hearts in their day to day work. They should think about the PES not only as about partners – this is what they already do. They should engage even more, feel the responsibility and ownership of it. We have a historical task. This is to join efforts and to break the illusion that conservatives spread, which is that every nation can deal with challenges on their own. New generation has to liberate itself from this tragic confinement and reach further in building a progressive society. This is why keeping family strong, united behind a common mission for a new Social Europe is so important. Now and in the next 20 years.”*

Philip Cordery wished PES unity and relevance: *In the next 20 years, I would like to see the PES winning elections at national and European level but also being in capacity*

to collectively transform the European Union so that European citizens see it as a progressive project which they support and defend. It is our collective responsibility at all levels from Leaders to activists to turn this ambition into a reality! Let's do it together!

Willy Claes emphasized also the necessity for progressives to continue working together. *Especially now, when the economic integration is so advanced and the social is still lagging behind.* This motivation should encourage the PES members to make further efforts, to review and renew ideological fundamentals and stand together struggling for a United, not multi-speed Europe.

Henri Nallet joined in with his wishes for the PES to remain united and in that also clear in terms of its own *raison d'être*. He underlines that the current crisis and its impact requires social democracy to step in strongly with an alternative. Elaborating one will however only be possible if the members are ready to commit, showing a high degree of solidarity, responsibility and respect.

The wishes for progressive family's unity were also expressed by **Lena Hjelm-Wallén**: *"I wish the family all the strength in keeping together. We come from diverse contexts, our parties may distinguish among each other and we may carry different stories. But to find what unites us is very important! The next 20 years will observe a great ideological battle, which is framed by globalization and which will be about the power of the markets. They may not be permitted to define our lives. It is therefore of a great relevance that socialists and social democrats are leading that struggle in the name of the principle of democracy, according to which it is the people, who decide."*

Ton Beumer's reflections also were concerned the PES in the times of the crisis: *I wish the PES patience and endurance when it comes to its ambition to become the platform where common EU strategies are decided upon. In these times of crises the PES should not to forget that European Social Democracy is about more than promoting growth, jobs and the environment ; we should reinvest in our proud history of defending progressive values and promoting true freedom in Europe and around the world.*

Zita Gurmai added to that agenda that: *The 20 years of the Party of European Socialist have demonstrated positive steps towards more equality between women and men and slowly becoming thanks to the pressure of the women's movement a true engagement for women's rights. Although our political family has always been the frontrunner for gender equality and in times of crisis, we need to remain more than ever the front runners; now that we have clear engagement on paper in our statutes, the PES demonstrates its true engagement of being 'the party for women'. Women's equal participation and representation will contribute towards creating and achieving a progressive society, a progressive Europe including in terms of economic benefit and*

peace-building activities. I want a Europe that invests in women, that has balanced representation of women and men in European decision-making, where women earn the same as their male counterparts for the same work and that will be freed from gender-based violence. Together with our colleagues in the European Parliament, the Foundation for European Progressive Studies, the GPF and in the civil society we can work under the motto 'The same rights, the same fights'. The time is also for 'The same rights, the same fights for women'

Achim Post summarized that *"During the past 20 years, the PES has grown into a key player on the EU political scene, a strong voice and a coherent political family. I am sure that in 20 years' time, everyone will acknowledge that the PES has been a frontrunner in paving the way for a more democratic and social Europe."*

And in those wishes, he was joined by **Wim Kok**, who will be presenting the historical Declaration "Europe. Our Common Future" on the evening of the anniversary. Wim Kok underlined that the social democracy needs to double its efforts and ensure a realization on the agenda of economic growth, quality jobs and high standards of life. In achieving those across the Union, the role of the PES should never be underestimated. Social democrats are more and more in position and are ready to assume their historical, political responsibility again.



ANNEXES

Annex 1

Congresses and Councils of the PES

1 st Congress	Den Haag, the Netherlands	9 th – 10 th November 1992
Extraordinary Congress	Brussels, Belgium	6 th November 1993
2 nd Congress	Barcelona, Spain	6 th – 8 th March 1995
3 rd Congress	Malmö, Sweden	5 th – 7 th June 1997
4 th Congress	Milano, Italy	1 st – 2 nd March 1999
5 th Congress	Berlin, Germany	7 th – 8 th May 2001
1 st Council	Warsaw, Poland	14 th –15 th November 2002
6 th Congress	Brussels, Belgium	24 th April 2004
2 nd Council	Vienna, Austria	24 th – 25 th June 2005
7 th Congress	Porto, Portugal	7 th – 8 th December 2006
3 rd Council	Sofia, Bulgaria	22 nd – 23 rd November 2007
4 th Council	Madrid, Spain	1 st – 2 nd December 2008
8 th Congress	Prague, Czech Republic	7 th – 8 th December 2009
5 th Council	Warsaw, Poland	2 nd – 3 rd December 2010
6 th Council	Brussels, Belgium	24 th November 2011
9 th Congress	Brussels, Belgium	28 th – 29 th September 2012

Annex 2

PES Presidents

November 1992 – October 1994	Willy Claes	PS Belgium
March 1995 – May 2001	Rudolf Scharping	SPD Germany
May 2001 – April 2004	Robin Cook	Labour Party UK
May 2004 – November 2011	Poul Nyrup Rasmussen	SD Denmark
November 2011 – September 2012	Sergei Stanishev (Interim) Ruairi Quinn (Congress and Presidency Chair)	BSP Bulgaria LP Ireland
September 2012 -	Sergei Stanishev	BSP Bulgaria

PES Secretaries General

(October 1989) November 1992 – March 1995	Axel Hanisch	SPD Germany
March 1995 – September 1999	Jean-François Vallin	PS France
September 1999 – May 2004	(Antony) Ton Beumer	PvdA the Netherlands
May 2004 – September 2012	Philip Cordery	PS France
September 2012 -	Achim Post	SPD Germany

PES Women Presidents

1993 – 1999	Karin Junker	SPD Germany
1999 – 2004	Fiorella Ghilardotti	DS Italy
2004 -	Zita Gurmai	MSZP Hungary

PES Vice-Presidents

1992 – 1995	Elena Flores Gérard Fuchs Roy Hattersley Lelio Lagorio Thijs Wöltgens	PSOE Spain PS France LP UK PSI Italy PvdA the Netherlands
1995 – 1997	Philippe Busquin Heinz Fischer Pierre Guidoni Lena Hjelm-Wallén Raímon Obiols Achille Occhetto John Prescott Akis Tsochatzopoulos	PS Belgium SPÖ Austria PS France SAP Sweden PSOE Spain DS Italy Labour Party UK PASOK Greece
1997 – 1999	Robin Cook Heinz Fischer Lena Hjelm-Wallén Henri Nallet Raímon Obiols Achille Occhetto Akis Tsochatzopoulos Jan Marinus Wiersma	Labour Party UK SPÖ Austria SAP Sweden PS France PSOE Spain DS Italy PASOK Greece PvdA the Netherlands
1999 – 2001	Jean Asselborn Robin Cook Heinz Fischer Lena Hjelm-Wallén Henri Nallet Raímon Obiols Achille Occhetto Ruairi Quinn Akis Tsochatzopoulos Jan Marinus Wiersma	POSL Luxembourg Labour Party UK SPÖ Austria SAP Sweden PS France PSOE Spain DS Italy Labour Party Ireland PASOK Greece PvdA the Netherlands
2001 – 2004	Giuliano Amato Heinz Fischer Trinidad Jimenez Ruairi Quinn Rudolf Scharping Jan Marinus Wiersma Lena Hjelm-Wallen	DS Italy SPÖ Austria PSOE Spain LP Ireland SPD Germany PvdA the Netherlands SAP Sweden

2004 – 2006	Giuliano Amato (1 st Vice-President)	DS Italy
2012 –	Jean-Christophe Cambadélis Katarína Nevedalová Jan Royall Elena Valenciano	PS France SMER Slovakia Labour Party UK PSOE Spain

These lists were provided by the courtesy of the PES Secretariat.

Annex 3.1: Manifesto 1994

The 7 thematic chapters included following recommendations:

1. **“Creating Jobs, Safeguarding Social Progress and Encouraging Cohesion”** – focused primarily on finding a panacea to unemployment and poverty. The proposal included a creation of a pan-European strategy focused on reaching full employment through jobs creation, reorganisation of work and working time, inventing specific measures to help disadvantaged groups at the labour market (such as women and young people). Solidarity was to be seen in the context of economy as a smart guiding principle, which why economic recovery and social cohesion would be seen as the two sides of the same coin. The importance of investing in the industrial and research policies was underlined both in the context of possible paths for Europe’s development and in the light of the global competition. Last, but not least a pledge to European Social Charter was made, as the ambition was to make economy more democratic, give a stronger bargaining power to the workers (through i.e. work councils) and establish EU minimum standards in terms of: working conditions, minimum wage, equal opportunities, social security and public services.
2. **“Equality for men and women”** – the strategy here entailed 5 points specifically referring to: equal opportunities (in the labour market, in combining work and family lives, and in politics), underlining a demand for “equal pay for work of equal value” and “equal treatment in social security systems”.
3. **“Protecting the Environment and the Consumer”** – was a manifestation of a common responsibility for Europe’s nature. This is why PES demanded a legally enforceable EU Environment Charter. The first preoccupation was a question of energy sufficiency and efficiency, where it was advocated that ways to gain renewable energies need to be developed. On the fringe of that, PES took a relatively ambiguous position on nuclear energy – calling for improving safety of reactors and closing those that would prove dangerous. The subsequent points touched upon: need for a common European policy on waste; measures

on clean air; promotions of reserves and nature parks; promoting public transport and decreasing traffic pollution; as also a set of guidelines to reform Common Agriculture and Fisheries Policies.

4. **“Creating Peace and Security through Cooperation”** – focused on search of peace and stability in Europe and worldwide. The key words here were reaching a balance (between all the regions) through fairer world economic order. The efforts towards it should be accompanied with actions promoting democracy and human rights. The United Nations should be reformed to be able to accomplish a new agenda of peace and the question of “a seat for the EU on the Security Council” was addressed. Other points of this agenda included disarmament and insistence on peaceful resolution of conflicts. As far as Europe’s neighbours, the priority was enlargement and the opening up of the EU towards the countries ready to fulfil accession criteria.
5. **“Fighting racism – regulating immigration together”** – was an appeal for EU’s tolerance and hospitality, even if “the EU cannot accommodate all who seek refuge in the European Union”. PES foresaw a “safe haven” for political refugees, but at the same time was for fighting illegal immigration. It called for stricter, legal punishments for right-wing extremists and racists, and for a fight against xenophobia and anti-Semitism.
6. **“Fighting organized crime”** – called for uniting against all its forms and especially: drugs trade, arms smuggling, money laundering, terrorism, and human trafficking. This led to a demand for closer cooperation in judicial and police areas, stricter measures and implementation of EUROPOL.
7. **“Working for democracy”** – was in fact a declaration concerning strategies on upcoming Treaty’s modifications. It emphasised the need for democratic and informed participation of citizens; strengthening the European Parliament (with a right of initiative); supervision of national parliaments regarding respective state’s European policies; underlined the importance of the Committee of Regions for involving local and regional levels; strictness in application of the subsidiarity principle. Youth exchanges and educational systems should foster a better understanding of Europe. Political parties, as basic instruments of participation, should improve their functioning and regain public confidence. Their finances should be clear and subjected to public control.

Annex 3.2: Manifesto 1999

A Europe of Jobs and Growth	Putting Jobs First	Through promoting employment opportunities for all.
	Working for Growth	Through closer economic coordination that aims at sustainable growth and high levels of employment.
	Promoting Social Europe	Through modernising and strengthening the European Social Model, promoting dialogue between the social partners and tackling social exclusion.
	Making the Europe a Success	Through ensuring that single currency is smoothly introduced and provides growth, employment and stability.
	Completing Single Market	Through effective Code of Conduct and better policy coordination, as also through ensuring that Europe's businesses have free and equal access across Europe's markets and employments is boosting through increased trade.
	Promoting Education, Skills and Technology	Through promotion of Europe of knowledge built upon philosophy of lifelong learning, workers' training and investments in research and development.

A Europe that puts citizens first	Promoting Citizen's Rights	Through promoting European Charter of Rights and building Europe that is an area of freedom, security, justice and equal rights.
	Supporting Youth in the 21 st century	Through increasing opportunities for young women and men in Europe that secures the well-being of future generations.
	Creating Equality Between Women and Men	Through ensuring equal opportunities and promoting this principle in all the Union's policies.
	Combating Racism and Managing Migration	Through fighting all forms of discrimination, prejudices and through defeating racism and xenophobia with an objection to create a common European strategy for integration.
	Ensuring Healthy Environment	Through cutting greenhouse gasses, protection of natural resources, and preservation of diversity, improvement of food safety and financial consequences for polluters.
	Developing Strength Through Cultural Diversity	Through preservation of distinct cultures, promoting understanding between them and ensuring the right of free expression to all.
	Strengthening Security and Fighting Crime	Through stepping up law enforcement cooperation in the EU and improving effectiveness and accountability of EUROPOL.
	Bringing the European Union Closer to the People	Through ensuring "integration, whenever necessary and decentralisation wherever possible".
A Strong Europe	Meeting the Challenge of Globalisation	Through developing more effective global governance by reforming international institutions and regulating better international financial systems.
	Uniting Europe	Through leading in enlargement based on thorough negotiations and with an aim of enabling the accession of the new Members as soon as possible.
	Acting Together for Peace and Security in the World	Through building stronger cooperation in foreign policy and enhancing Europe's capacity and means to prevent conflicts and respond to security crises.
	Promoting Solidarity with Other Nations	Through pursuing policies on aid, trade, investment and debt reduction, as also to the international fight against poverty.

A Democratic Union that works better	Reforming the European Union's Policies	Through reviewing, reshaping and making them relevant in the 21st century.
	Reforming the European Union's budget	Through developing new sources of investment, maintaining budget discipline and improving efficiency of the EU's financial management.
	Reforming the European Union's Institutions	Through a transformation that should take place before enlargement. It should make the EU more efficient and transparent.

2

YEARS

Annex 3.3: Manifesto 2004

Boost Europe's Growth, Fight Poverty and Create more and better Jobs	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
Bring the European Union closer to its citizens	Introduce measures to help women and men achieve a better balance between working life and family commitments
	Adopt a European Constitution that brings the EU closer to its citizens
	Give the highest priority to the fight against terrorism by ensuring effective coordination of the judiciary, police and intelligence agencies
	Improve access to information technology and aim to provide broadband internet access for all citizens by 2012
Manage migration and pursue social integration	Strengthen accountable European police cooperation through EUROPOL to step up the fight against cross-border crime, drug trafficking and money laundering
	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
Manage migration and pursue social integration	Improve the standard of living in countries of origin of migration through international organisations and cooperation agreements

Build a more secure, peaceful and just world	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 Agriculture 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 businesses
Promote Europe as an area of democracy and equality	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-Racism 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.

YEAR

Annex 3.4: Manifesto 2009

Relaunching the economy and preventing new financial crises	Reforming financial markets to serve real economy, jobs and growth	New rules for financial markets, encompassing all players and ensuring: transparency, full disclosure and adequate supervision.
		End to tax havens, tax avoidance and money laundering.
		Reform of global financial architecture and subordinating it to democratic scrutiny.
	A European strategy for smart green growth and jobs	Transforming European transport to most efficient, cleanest and affordable.
		European initiative to expand energy and broadband infrastructure with the purposes of economic modernisation.
		Multidimensional European cooperation aiming at strategies for energy efficiency and ensuring affordability of it.
		Investment in research, development and innovation.
		European Pact for the Future of Employment.
		Completing EU's Internal Market, generating more European trade and jobs, as also supporting SMEs through a new statute for European Private Companies.
		Making ECB encourage growth and employment while maintaining price stability.
	Ensuring workers and businesses benefit from economic transformation	Safeguarding existing and creating new jobs by anticipating on changes.
		Supporting businesses in job creation.

New Social Europe — giving people a fairer deal	Ensuring a fairer deal for people	Seeking agreement on a European Social Progress Pact.
		Including social progress clause in every piece of European legislation.
		Establishing European framework for public services, guaranteeing in it citizens' rights to universal and equal access, and high quality.
		European Pact on Wages guaranteeing equal pay for equal work and setting out the need for decent minimum wages.
		Addressing the problem of brain-drain.
		Promoting fair tax policies, which guarantee financing of welfare state.
		Acting against exploitation of workers.
		Strengthening workers' rights to information and consultation on all the levels, including European and global.
		Developing strategy on children's rights and eradicating child poverty.
		For a European Charter for Internships.
		Strengthening individual and collective consumer's rights.
		Setting EU targets for providing care to elderly.
		Protecting citizens' rights
	For citizens' rights and for stronger anti-discrimination legislation.	
	For equal rights for all citizens using their right to mobility within the EU.	
	For a greater role of regions and local authorities in European affairs.	

Transforming Europe into the leading global force against climate change	Successfully leading international negotiations for a global climate deal	For the EU as a leader in reaching agreement on 30% global target on emissions reductions in 2020.
		For increased EU support for developing countries to fight and adapt to climate change.
		For establishment of global energy and development forum.
	Leading by example – a more ambitious climate and energy policy for the EU	For a comprehensive EU climate change directive.
		For a European Common Energy Policy based on sustainability, energy security and independence, diversity of energy sources and solidarity among Member States.
		For a modern Common and Agriculture Policy that promotes comprehensive rural development, values the role of farmers, and ensures quality of food and preservation of environment.
For freedom for each Member State to decide whether to use nuclear power, which however should be monitored on the EU level.		
Championing gender equality in Europe	Making gender equality a reality for all	For a European Women's Rights Charter.
		Improvement in parental leave rights for both men and women.
		For equal political representation in all the EU bodies and creation of a European Commissioner for Gender Equality.
		Support for reconciliation of professional and private lives through, among others, binding EU targets on childcare.
		Fight against the gender pay gap.
		Support for women entrepreneurs, scientists and researchers.
		For promoting women's sexual, reproductive and health rights throughout the EU.
		To join in European efforts to eradicate human trafficking and sexual exploitation.
		To encourage EU and member states to fight against domestic and gender-specific violence.

Developing an effective European migration policy	Managing migration effectively	To establish common standards for legal migration into the EU.
		To establish a European Charter for the Integration of Migrants.
		To enhance European efforts to combat illegal migration through a common External Border Control Policy and better cooperation.
		To strengthen cooperation with third countries in order to manage migration more effectively, while promoting economic and social development of those countries.
		Support for further development of the Common European Asylum System.



An Enhancing Europe's role as partner for peace, security and development	Promoting peace and security	For increasing EU's role in conflict prevention, resolution and post-crisis management abroad, through better joint capacities and sharing the burden with the UN missions.
		Fight against terrorism and strengthen police, judicial and security cooperation.
		For establishing European coherent disaster prevention tools.
		For EU enhanced efforts for disarmament.
		For promoting Alliance of Civilisations through the UN.
		For increasing defence cooperation among the EU member states. This initiative should be developed without affecting characteristics of these states and in coordination with NATO.
		For the reform of the UN, and especially the Security Council, as also WTO, World Bank and International Monetary Fund.
		For moratorium in application of death penalty in the UN.
	Promoting partnership	For the future of Western Balkans in the EU and for an open-ended process of negotiations with Turkey, based on clear criteria.
		For strengthening the EU neighbourhood partnerships, creation of a Black Sea Union and Eastern Partnership, as also structured dialogue with Russia.
		For strengthening of EU-Mediterranean relations.
		For developing EU – Latin America relations.
		For strong transatlantic relations, especially with the new democratic leadership.
		For deepening relations with China and through that encouraging improvements in human, social and economic rights.
		Stronger ties with India.
		For consolidation and implementation of the Afrika-EU Strategy and conclusion of EPAs.
	Eradicating poverty	For advancing the MDGs.
		For EU support for multilateral trading system to the benefit of developing countries in the WTO Doha Development Round.
		For addressing the global food crisis by working to prevent speculation on food prices.
		For ensuring that the EU trade agreements all include appropriate, enforceable human, environmental and social right clauses.
		For promotion and expansion of fair trade goods across Europe.
For decent work as a global objective to which all institutions are committed.		

Annex 4

This publication is largely reflecting the research completed by the author of the booklet (Dr. Ania Skrzypek) within the PhD dissertation “*Cooperation of socialist and social democratic parties in a uniting Europe. From Liaison Bureau till PES 1957 – 2007*”, which was awarded *cum laude* at the Faculty of Journalism and Political Sciences of the University of Warsaw in 2009 and was published as a book a year later (Ed. Aspra, Warsaw, ISBN: 978-83-7545-188-7).

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Phone +32 (0)2 234 69 00

Fax +32 (0)2 280 03 83

info@[feps-europe.eu](mailto:info@feps-europe.eu)



Partij van de Europes

Founding declaration

The undersigned parties establish

the European Party
with the following objectives:
to promote the interests of
the European Union
and to ensure the stability
and prosperity of the
continent.
The undersigned parties
are committed to the
values of democracy, freedom
and justice.
They will work together
to achieve a common
future for Europe.
Signed at Brussels on 1st
January 1993.
The undersigned parties:
[List of names]

e Sociaaldemocraten

PES

20 PES

YEARS



Published in Belgium in 2013 by FEPS - Foundation for European Progressive Studies, with the financial support of the European Parliament.
ISBN: 978-3-85464-037-0

€ 5,00