

**MANIFESTO**  
**FOR THE ELECTIONS**  
*to the European Parliament*  
*of June 1994*

ADOPTED BY THE CONGRESS OF THE PARTY  
OF EUROPEAN SOCIALISTS 6 NOVEMBER 1993

**LABOUR**

## PREFACE

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

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

But these new facts have also caused a certain malaise : for the first time in forty year a war is being waged in Europe and it is incapable of finding a solution to this conflict. Exacerbated nationalism is emerging again and threatens political stability on our continent. To this we must add serious structural economic problems

which result in an unemployment level which is totally unacceptable. We must find answers, new answers which are adapted to this new situation.

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

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

The Party of European Socialists, which regroups both countries from the EU and from the EFTA countries, and associate and observer parties, is working towards this. In close collaboration with the Group of the PES of the European Parliament, it is constructing the Europe that we want.

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

It is underlining the main themes : create employment whilst guaranteeing social protection and reinforcing social and economic cohesion, to work to reach

equality between men and women, to guarantee peace and security, to fight rascism, solve the immigration problem and fight against organised crime.

However, all this is only possible within a strong and united Europe which dares to demand more democracy. These are the priorities which we want to shape the Europe of tomorrow, which will continue to reap rewards through its cultural diversity.

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

For all the above reasons, we - socialists - need you. If you too want this Europe,

you can count on us. we will be united under the banner of the Party of European Socialists.

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

**WILLY CLAES**

*President of the  
Party of European Socialists*

## EUROPE AT THE CROSSROADS

### *A CHALLENGE FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM*

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

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

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

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

defeat nationalism and racism;

fight mass unemployment and guarantee social progress;

tackle environmental problems to leave the planet safe for our children;

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

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

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

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

Throughout Europe, conservatives place their faith in the dogma of the market place, undermining social achievements. They are on the wrong path:

peace and neighbourliness;

democracy and human rights;

social justice and ecological renewal;

solidarity and responsibility;

employment and social welfare;

that is what our Europe should look like.

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

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

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

The Maastricht Treaty on European Union is a step in the right direction. It gives the European Parliament more influence and makes the European elections more important. The next parliament will have a historic opportunity to influence the choice of the Commission and to control it democratically. The votes of socialists on this issue will be decisive.

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

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

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

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

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

This is the course for Europe we want to pursue:

create jobs, safeguard social progress and encourage cohesion;

work for equality for women and men;

protect the environment and the consumer;

create peace;

fight racism and xenophobia;

combat organised crime;

work for more democracy.

## CREATING JOBS, SAFEGUARDING SOCIAL PROGRESS

### *AND ENCOURAGING COHESION*

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

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

We want to concentrate all our efforts on a massive reduction in unemployment. Our aim is to create as soon as possible a society in which everyone will have a job or an occupation. We can achieve

this only through a co-ordinated European strategy.

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

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

We need a European agreement on employment and future investment; a common initiative from member states - if possible with the world's other major industrialised nations - to create jobs. This should include low interest rates, measures to build homes and modernise our cities, rebuilding of the weaker regions, ecological renewal of the economy, an environmentally-friendly transport system and effective vocational training.

We need also to create and maintain more jobs by reorganising work and safeguarding competitiveness with measures agreed between the social partners. These include a substantial cut in working time to ensure a better division of the available work. Several approaches are possible, including a working week of

35 hours or four days, leave for training and voluntary part-time work.

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

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

necessary condition for the success of economic and monetary union.

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

That is why the Structural Funds and the Cohesion Fund set up by the Treaty on European Union are important investments in Europe's joint future. They must be put to work as efficiently as possible. These funds help the weaker regions to develop and the old industrial centres to adapt.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Trade relations with other industrial nations must be fair and based on the principle of reciprocal concessions by all partners. The European Union must take action against unfair trade practices. And, of course, the European Union must also ensure, through international treaties, that human rights, environmental protection and social rights are respected in the world economy. The principle of free trade must not be used to undermine social standards in Europe. We must protect our economy from unfair trading and we must try to combat social and environmental dumping.

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

progress which characterises our countries today.

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

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

To tackle the enormous tasks we face we need efficient and unbureaucratic states able to face up to their social obligations and guarantee to all citizens free access to

public services. This calls for substantial public resources and, through Union measures, we want to avoid a tax-cutting competition between member states. We stand for a tax system which favours work but penalises those who pollute the environment.

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



## EQUALITY FOR WOMEN AND MEN

**W**e want to achieve equality for women and men in the economy, in society and in politics.

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

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

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

equal opportunities in the labour market;

equal treatment in social security systems;

equal pay for work of equal value;

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

equal opportunities to participate in politics.

## PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT AND THE CONSUMER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We also need a common European policy on waste, in which our priorities are prevention and recycling. High minimum standards must be applied to dumps and

incineration plants. We reject the export of waste to eastern Europe or the developing countries of the south.

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

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

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

To this end, the European Union's transport policy must stop granting one-

sided advantages to road transport and should instead promote the transport of long-distance freight and dangerous cargoes by rail or water.

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

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

We recognise the contribution made by agriculture to maintaining our natural inheritance and believe special compensation should be offered to

reward outstanding efforts to protect the natural environment.

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

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

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

## CREATING PEACE AND SECURITY THROUGH CO-OPERATION

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

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

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

Our most important task in the search for peace is, therefore, to find a balance between north and south, east and west, and rich and poor countries.

The EU cannot exist as an island of wealth in a sea of poverty. That is why we must

spend more on development and less on arms, to be less protectionist and do more to promote a fairer world economic order. And even if improving the situation of poorer regions of the world is demanded as an act of solidarity we gain also from the contribution to our own economic well-being.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Together we want to create a European peace-keeping force which will be made available to the CSCE and United Nations. No country would be obliged to participate in this force.

An open EU will contribute to greater partnership in the world. Prague, Warsaw and Budapest are European cities just as

much as Paris, Lisbon or Copenhagen. And the Mediterranean is as much a part of Europe as the Baltic Sea.

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

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

We want to open up the European option to the reforming states of central and

eastern Europe. Most of all, they need help now to rebuild access to the EC's market, and cultural and political co-operation.

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

## FIGHTING RACISM

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We want to build a European society which ensures equal rights and opportunities for all regardless of their sex, race, religion or beliefs.

## FIGHTING ORGANISED CRIME

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

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

This is why we demand:

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

- rapid implementation of EUROPOL under joint democratic control;

- stricter measures against money laundering and economic crime;

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

## WORKING FOR DEMOCRACY

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

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

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

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

We want the European Parliament to have a right of initiative, and for co-decision

between the European Parliament and the Council of Ministers and majority voting in the Council to be the rule.

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

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

We want to apply strictly the principle of subsidiarity.

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

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

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

- expand partnerships between local authorities;



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

strengthen and expand the successful EU youth exchange programmes, in order to increase mutual understanding amongst Europeans;

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

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

A stable democracy requires credible politics.

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

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

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

## EVERYONE IS TALKING ABOUT EUROPE

*ONLY WE CAN MAKE PROGRESS*

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

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

But we share a vision. Together we must make Europe grow.

The EC must be more than just a giant market. We want to turn it into a real community, dedicated to the great

European traditions of parliamentary democracy, human rights and the welfare state. And a community in which the great wealth of our cultural diversity is maintained and reinforced.

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

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

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

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

*PARTY OF EUROPEAN SOCIALISTS*