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**« The evolution of the European People’s Party
after the integration of parties from Western and
Eastern Europe. Lessons to be learned for
European Integration and the development of
Europarties »**

Διδακτορική Διατριβή Μιχαήλ Β. Πεγκλή

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Εισαγωγικό σημείωμα

Η παρούσα διδακτορική διατριβή δεν αποτελεί παιδικό όνειρο. Είναι για τον ερευνητή το αποτέλεσμα εκτός από πέντε χρόνια μελέτης και έρευνας και μιας δεκαετούς διαδρομής και συμμετοχής στα Ευρωπαϊκά κόμματα. Οφείλω πολλά σε πολλούς ανθρώπους που άμεσα ή έμμεσα συνέβαλλαν σε αυτό το ερευνητικό αποτέλεσμα και δεν κρίνω σκόπιμο να τους αναφέρω έναν προς έναν σε αυτή την εισαγωγή. Δεν θα μπορούσα όμως να μην ξεχωρίσω εκτός από την οικογένειά μου, και ιδιαίτερα τη μητέρα μου, πηγή της ζωής μου, δύο ανθρώπους που σφράγισαν τη διανοητική μου κατάρτιση και στο θέμα που πραγματεύεται η παρούσα διατριβή: τον παλιό καθηγητή μου Θανάση Διαμαντόπουλο και τον πολιτικό μου δάσκαλο Σταύρο Παπασταύρου. Η πολυετής συνεργασία μαζί τους συνέβαλλε καθοριστικά τόσο στην πολύτιμη εμπειρία της συμμετοχής στο Ευρωπαϊκό Λαϊκό Κόμμα που επηρέασε την επιλογή του ως θέματος για την παρούσα Διατριβή.

Το θέμα που πραγματεύεται η εργασία είναι κατά την κρίση μου επίκαιρο. Συνδυάζει ελληνική και ευρωπαϊκή επικαιρότητα τόσο στην επιστήμη όσο και στην κοινωνική και πολιτική μας ζωή. Έχει γίνει αρκετός λόγος ήδη στην Ευρωπαϊκή πολιτική επιστήμη για το ρόλο των ευρωκομμάτων. Ανεξάρτητα από την άποψη που διατηρεί κανείς πάνω σε αυτό το ζήτημα, τα Ευρωκόμματα είναι βασική ενότητα μέσα στο πλαίσιο της συζήτησης για το ευρωπαϊκό πολιτικό σύστημα. Όσο κι αν διαφωνούν επιστήμονες μεταξύ τους για το ρόλο και τη συμβολή που έχουν τα Ευρωκόμματα στο ευρωπαϊκό γίγνεσθαι σήμερα δεν υπάρχει ουσιαστική διαφωνία για την ύπαρξη ενός ευρωπαϊκού πολιτικού συστήματος μέσα στο οποίο λειτουργούν τα Ευρωκόμματα. Ακόμη κι θεωρητικοί όπως ο Majone και ο Moravcsic που βλέπουν την Ε.Ε. σαν ένα διεθνή οργανισμό και αναδεικνύουν τη σημασία της μη-πολιτικοποίησής του, ακόμη δηλαδή και με αυστηρά λειτουργικούς όρους, το Ευρωπαϊκό οικοδόμημα, αρκετά περίπλοκο ήδη, γίνεται σήμερα αντικείμενο μελέτης μέσα από πολλές οπτικές και θεματικές προσεγγίσεις. Τα ευρωκόμματα είναι μία από αυτές, αρκετά σημαντική, κατά τη γνώμη μου.

Δεν υπάρχει αμφιβολία ότι τα ευρωκόμματα δεν έχουν προκαλέσει ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον στην Ελληνική κοινότητα τόσο των πολιτικών επιστημόνων όσο και των

επιστημόνων της Ευρωπαϊκής ολοκλήρωσης και των Ευρωπαϊκών θεσμών. Και αυτό παρά το γεγονός ότι τα ελληνικά πολιτικά κόμματα συμμετέχουν σε αυτά, από τις αρχές της δεκαετίας του 1980, ενώ στελέχη τους έχουν διακριθεί με θέσεις σε εκλεγμένα προεδρεία.

Ειδικά για τη χώρα μας που τα τελευταία 6 χρόνια «ζει» σε καθεστώς πρωτόγνωρου «εξευρωπαϊσμού» η συζήτηση για τα Ευρωκόμματα μπορεί να απαντήσει αποτελεσματικά στην κριτική που ασκείται για το έλλειμμα δημοκρατίας και λογοδοσίας των πολιτικών που εφαρμόζονται «κατά παραγγελία» των Ευρωπαϊκών θεσμών. Πράγματι, σε Ευρωπαϊκό επίπεδο το ξέσπασμα της οικονομικής κρίσης και κυρίως της κρίσης χρέους από το 2010 και μετά, οδήγησε σε αναβάθμιση de facto των διακυβερνητικών δομών και οργάνων όπως το Συμβούλιο και το Ευρωπαϊκό Συμβούλιο ιδιαίτερα υπό την πίεση των συνθηκών για δημιουργία νέων θεσμών για την αντιμετώπιση της κρίσης. Αυτό ωστόσο δεν αποκλείει αλλά, αντίθετα, ενισχύει τους παράγοντες που τα καθιστούν επίκαιρα για τη συλλογικότερη ζύμωση σε ευρωπαϊκό επίπεδο των ζητημάτων και τον καλύτερο συντονισμό της θεσμικής πολυφωνίας που παρατηρείται. Από την άλλη σε πολιτικό επίπεδο οι κραδασμοί στην εμπιστοσύνη των πολιτών στο ευρωπαϊκό οικοδόμημα που τα ίδια χρόνια της κρίσης εντείνονται και μαζί τους οι φωνές που ζητούν ρήξη με τις δομές της Ε.Ε. τουλάχιστον όπως τις ξέρουμε είναι επίσης παράγοντας που καθιστά τα Ευρωκόμματα απολύτως απαραίτητα. Είναι βέβαιο ότι οι συνέπειες του Βρετανικού δημοψηφίσματος σε λίγες ημέρες θα είναι μεγάλες, ανεξάρτητα από το αν οι Βρετανοί θα φύγουν ή θα μείνουν. Το μεγαλύτερο ερώτημα που διαμορφώνεται πλέον είναι αν απέναντι στην κριτική προς την Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση και τις πολιτικές της που ορθώνεται σε αρκετά κράτη μέλη η λύση είναι λιγότερη ή περισσότερη Ευρώπη. Δηλαδή αν η Ευρώπη ως αποτέλεσμα της διογκούμενης αμφισβήτησης κυρίως από τα δεξιά του πολιτικού φάσματος σε αρκετές χώρες πρέπει να επιβραδύνει ή και να παγώσει «επ' αορίστου» τα σχέδια για περαιτέρω εμβάθυνση της συνεργασίας ή αντίθετα αν για τους ίδιους λόγους πρέπει να τα προχωρήσει γρηγορότερα.

Επιλέξαμε από κοινού με τους καθηγητές μου η διατριβή να εκπονηθεί στα αγγλικά με όρους εξωστρέφειας και συμμετοχής στην Ευρωπαϊκή κατά βάση συζήτηση για το θέμα. Παρά την ευχέρειά μου στη γλώσσα η επιλογή αυτή δυσκόλεψε την προσπάθειά

μου. Ωστόσο, θεωρώ προτεραιότητα τη συμβολή μου στην εγχώρια ακαδημαϊκή συζήτηση για το θέμα και προς αυτή την κατεύθυνση θα εργαστώ το επόμενο διάστημα.

Ένα διδακτορικό από πολλές απόψεις «ποτέ δεν τελειώνει». Κάπου όμως πρέπει να «κλείσεις» ώστε να μπορείς στη συνέχεια να ανοίξεις εκ νέου πτυχές του και να εμβαθύνεις περισσότερο. Ευχαριστώ πάρα - πάρα πολύ τους καθηγητές μου, τον κ.Νικόλαο Μαραντζίδα, τον κ.Ιωάννη Βαληνάκη και τον κ.Γεράσιμο Μοσχονά για την υπομονή και την επιμονή τους καθώς και όλη τη βοήθεια που μου προσέφεραν σε αυτή μου την προσπάθεια.

Με τιμή,

Μιχάλης Πεγκλής

Introduction

One of the things that make European parties, or Europarties, an inspiring topic is that the researcher is having difficulty from the start to describe even “what they are”. Europarties, a political phenomenon of the last four decades, some say a phenomenon on the rise, is a combination of traditional concepts of political parties with the sui-generis evolution of the European Union, the post war project of integration in the European continent. This correlation of traditional political science institutions with the dynamic social and political status quo of the European Union, is making the topic more intricate. There have been few rounds of academic interest over Europarties, driven by historical developments. The development of the Europarties after each one of these rounds was less enthusiastic.

The European parties is a contemporary academic topic that was taken upfront in the mid 1970s in the run up for the first European elections, bounded with enthusiasm over the contingent of the “European democracy”. A second wave of interest took off after the Maastricht Treaty in 1991/92 that, for the first time, made reference to their existence (article 138A) and prospects in the institutional design of the European Union. Some more interest was propelled over their positioning in the institutional architecture including their financial autonomy and transparency, legal status and affiliated organisations / think-tanks. The third and ongoing discussion was instigated by the latest Treaty named after Lisbon in 2009 and the role of parties putting forward candidates for the presidency of the European Commission. The ambition behind this reform has been to make the European parties more visible to the citizens of the member states by giving them a defacto role in the selection of the President of the European Commission moulding the further politicization of the European institutions. Should the ongoing crisis resolve we may head to a fourth round of discussion on the role of the Europarties during the crisis that has gone far beyond the economy and has institutional and political repercussions. The result of the British referendum specially if it decides to leave the European Union will certainly be a decisive factor for this new round of academic interest.

Despite these three rounds of academic inspiration “Europarties remain under-researched and underestimated¹”. As our Thesis comes after the first implementation of this clause we will not resist from positioning ourselves to this debate. The politicisation of the Union’s institutions, the Europeanisation of national political parties, both in western and the new democracies of the former Eastern Europe, the governance of the EU especially within and challenged by the financial and sovereign debt crisis are some of the hot contemporary issues.

Some very divergent trends are stimulating a new discussion at present. On the one hand the European Union has taken already a very long journey towards closer integration. On the other hand, right and left wing populism are driving new trends of Euroscepticism. How will these two opposing trends coexist in the next months and years will be a hot terrain for, not just, academic debate.

Our aim is primarily historical but focusing on very recent history of the 1970s onwards. We aspire to contribute to a deeper understanding of the Europarties’ evolution hitherto by exploring the historical development of the European People’s Party, the largest, by European institutions representation size and one of the three traditional European party families. This research started in the summer of 2010 and is concluding at present, spring 2016. During the course of the first year of our research we were anxious to make sure that our work will fit in the broader context of other research on the subject. As our work progressed, through the primary research conducted, there was less concern about this. Instead, we had to organise and exploit the research findings trying to straddle a timeline of history.

Presentation of the topic

The aim of this thesis is to review and, based on evidence, re-envisage the foundation and development of the European People’s Party (EPP) through primary research. Through this, we aspire to contribute to the academic discussion on the Europarties

¹ Johansson, K.M., 2015, p.1

within the European integration context. Starting from its creation and early-days period, in the 1970s, as the 'party' of the Christian Democratic parties from member states of the European Communities and going through the subsequent integration of political parties from Western and, later on, Eastern European countries, in the 1980s and 1990s to its status at the early 2000s. The originally founded 'Christian Democratic organisation' was transformed to a political family, or a 'network', of centre-right parties including Christian democratic, conservative and like minded parties. We will attempt to understand why this change took place, under what reasons, dependent and independent variables, normative conditions, within the historical context. We will follow the timeline of events in the wider context of the European integration that has been underlining, historically, our subject. Ultimately, we are looking for a deeper understanding of this evolution and how does it help understand the broader issue of European parties. Additionally, we are tracing theoretical patterns that its evolution can contribute towards the academic discussion about European integration and their prospects for the future.

Our Thesis is structured in two axes: A timeline of ten chapters on the one hand and four hypotheses that we are putting forward. We have also constructed and put in annex information that can be helpful for further research. Highlights are on Annex 8 the list of contents that we have reconstructed from the historical archive of the EPP.

First we walk through the historical timeline:

In "Chapter 1: History" we start from the years preceding to the creation of the EPP. We go back to the origins of transnational party cooperation walking through to the discussions in the 1970s for launching new European party federations. We took time to explore not just the EPP historical archive (Codification IX-007-XXX) but also the EUCD archive (IX-004-XXX) and even some volumes from the NEI historical archive (IX-002-XXX) mainly to get familiar with the level of integration of the earlier organisations and historical period in the 1950s and the 1960s.

In "Chapter 2: the creation of the EPP" the reader will find presentation of historical archive accumulated from both archive documents and interviews. We aim to better understand all the aspects behind the creation of the EPP in 1976. We reveal the

underlining factors cultivating the desire for a new political organisation, the map of interests of the key players and why it finally kicked off the ground in 1976. We have explored and analysed the historical archive of the EPP, consisting of several thousands of pages related to the foundation period from the early 1970s and the detailed minutes of the proceedings of its parent organisation, the European Union of Christian Democrats. We present material from the minutes of the EPP and also from key personalities that were actually present back then, including its long time president Wilfried Martens. We follow the subsequent years of development and the roadmap towards the first European elections in 1979. A lot of ambition was invested towards these first elections and their study can help bring about information and analysis. Very helpful for our research was that at this early period, as part of an organisational culture, the documents and minutes from the minutes are long and detailed, facilitating our research.

In “Chapter 3: the enlargement of the 1980s” we move on the 1980s, the change of leadership twice in the EPP, in 1984 and 1987, the enlargement of the EPP with new parties from western Europe and the talks about opening up towards the Conservatives. The chapter is built up with the presentation of the timeline of the integration of new member parties. Starting from the early 1980s, we present in more detail the case of Nea Demokratia from Greece due to its nationality revealing surprising conclusions given what we know. We go on to the Iberian countries after the 1986 accession of Spain and Portugal in the European Communities. We make a contribution to the discussion about the Spanish Partido Popular and how influential had the EPP been towards its creation. After the integration of Spain and Portugal in the E.C. the discussions in the EPP about enlargement and its master strategy were intensified and we reveal important aspects documented in the archive and minutes. Such was what we titled the “two-step” strategy. We present the complicated case of the British conservatives thanks to valuable archive material that help enrich the work done by other scholars on the subject. The British Tories application towards the EPP Group in 1989, as well as, the results from the European elections that year opened up for good the discussion about the profile and strategy of the EPP. As expected different actors had different agendas and expectations in this process.

In “Chapter 4: the opening up of Eastern Europe” we discuss the opening up of the EPP towards the countries of the former Eastern block in central and eastern Europe and the major historical events of the collapse of communism and the emerging new European countries. We present findings from primary research that reveal its strategy and tactics towards the new countries that were implemented with the support of other institutions and organisations, building a network of strong western influence in the new democracies. In particular, we have explored the interaction of the EPP with the new countries from the lenses of Europeanisation, that is an important topic in contemporary European studies. Some of our findings and their sources in the archive will be of help towards the research of other scholars on the Europeanisation effects from the interaction of western institutions with the new democracies at the early transition years. Getting together credible evidence on the Europeanisation of former eastern democracies is a difficult exercise, as other scholars admit and therefore the archive of the EPP and the elite interviews can help build up more knowledge on this front.

In “Chapter 5: the enlargement to the conservative parties” we explore the opening up to more conservative parties in the 1990s, especially towards the 1994 EU enlargement and the Scandinavian conservative parties. The 1990s is the decade where the EPP was overhauled. From its core christian democratic identity lasting since its foundation in 1976 but even before through EUCD, the EPP changed for good. A key date in this process has probably been the scoring of its historic low result at the 1989 European elections. Throughout the 1990s it gradually changed to become a less Christian Democratic political organisation but a bigger in size organisation, scoring first position at the 1999 European elections. This came as the desired end-result from a long process of its leadership. The product of a several years strategy that started at the beginning of the decade and was intensively pursued throughout the decade adopting the “mergers and acquisitions” attitude towards new parties. We bring in research findings on the hard won case of the Italian Forza Italia party and how crucial that acquisition was towards the completion of the repositioning of the EPP. We finally touch upon the Gaullists’ integration to the EPP when a window of opportunity appeared with the pro European leadership of Sarkozy.

In “Chapter 6: Merger with the EUCD and the EDU” we follow the developments between the EPP and its sister organisations. We put forward all the evidence that demonstrate the core strategy of the EPP to streamline the cooperation in the centre right into one single organisation despite the successful history and record of the EDU and the ‘parent’ background of the EUCD. We walk through the parallel history of the European Union of Christian Democrats and the European Democrat Union, organisations that were fused to the EPP at the end of the 1990s. This strategy was fully implemented bearing the fruits of becoming the largest group in the European parliament and the largest network of parties. It further succeeded to gradually increase in role and status of the European parties within the European institutions.

In “Chapter 7: Academic discussion and assessment of the EPP enlargement” we touch upon the Europeanisation concept, particularly in Eastern Europe and we contend that it has had different implications to different parties from different countries. Aiming to address this phenomena, we are introducing the term “inhomogenous Europeanisation” to capture this diversity of effects in the political reality of the actors involved. We are further assessing the enlargement beyond Christian Democracy in the context of its historical decline. Finally, we are reviewing the role of the key protagonists and the German actors in particular, who, from a minority position to the right side of the EPP spectrum in the 1970s and 80s, became the dominant power in the centre of the EPP from the 1990s hitherto.

In “Chapter 8: The EPP beyond 1999” we are discussing the developments in the 2000s, the years of reaping the fruits of its enlargement strategy in terms of its parliamentary and party size. After the enlargements of 2004 and 2007, where the EU moved from 15 to 27 member states the EPP continued its restructuring and repositioning. In every single country of the EU enlargement the EPP had already acquired the most important centre-right political party in its ranks. Given the overall decline of social democracy in Europe, this strategy helped EPP remain at the top position of size in the European parliament in all three European elections, 2004, 2009 and 2014. The dominance of the centre right parties in the majority of the EU countries, despite Christian Democracy receding in Europe, has remained firm for

several years now. Our analysis is helping the researcher understand the change of the EPP over time.

In “Chapter 9: Europarties and European integration” we are discussing the role of European parties within the European Union institutions and decision making. We are also discussing the widely debated concept of politicisation of the Union from the perspective of European parties. This discussion is relevant today in the period of the ongoing financial trouble in the Eurozone and how the crisis has affected the role of the European parties.

Finally, in “Chapter 10: Summary and end remarks” we are putting together the findings from our research findings and secondary sources reading and drawing conclusions on our topic.

The second axis of this work, running parallel to the Timeline, is to contemplate four hypotheses. Each one of them has come out of the primary research for the historical period involved, while it does revisit aspects of what we know today.

The first hypothesis focuses at the foundation period in the 1970s where we will present evidence that the EPP was not founded as a loose federation of parties that would evolve over time and parallel to the gradual integration of the European institutions. Insofar the European Communities did evolve gradually from the mid 1970s to the early 2000s following Treaty reform that delegated more and more powers and competences to the Community level, there is a broader understanding that the EPP followed a similar pattern of integration. We are challenging this universal idea with facts and figures from the historical archive that are probably brought about for the first time.

The second hypothesis is related to the enlargement of the EPP towards non Christian democratic parties. We will present that the original idea was not to enlarge to parties from other, albeit neighbouring, political traditions. Instead the original expectation was that these parties would adopt, would adhere to Christian Democracy. The idea of enlargement did not exist in the EPP culture and language during its early days in the 1980s and even early 1990s! Surprising or not, prospective members cooperated with

this attitude and declared their adherence to the Christian Democratic ideals, regardless from their differing political culture and diverging national context. This applies to parties from both western and eastern Europe.

The third hypothesis reveals the strategy of the EPP towards its enlargement during the 1980s and 1990s, in particular as regards the emerging of new democracies in the central and eastern part of Europe after the collapse of Communism. Opposite to what we knew up to now the EPP designed and implemented an active policy of proliferation of Christian Democracy towards the new countries and invested significant human and material resources in this direction. We have had very little information before about this but the evidence we bring in is strong and sound. Given that Christian Democracy was already in decline in western Europe in the late 1980s and the early 1990s this hypothesis says a lot about the culture and the internal dynamics of the EPP. The strategy originated and was inspired by the case of Spain in the late 1980s with the creation of the Partido Popular. Following Spain, the most difficult case of the British Conservatives was explored with a long lasting project that took over two years to complete with the 1992 agreement between the EPP group and the European Democratic Group in the European Parliament. From the early 1990s a large project of going east was deployed towards the new democracies.

Last but not least, our fourth hypothesis contemplates the comparative perspective of the EPP today with its early days. Contrary to what is widely accepted, even from sceptics, the EPP today is not more integrated than it was in the early days. The small number of members, the high degree of ideological cohesion and the core ideals of Christian Democracy were the three key factors that, aggregated together, created a highly integrated status. Especially given the broader loose integration of the European Communities. This hypothesis can have significant implications that challenge traditional theories content about the progress of integration.

Overall, these four hypotheses, if well supported by primary material, are innovative and can stimulate the debate about the Europarties and the EPP in particular further. Indeed, we unlock an important contemporary discussion about 'what next' for the

European parties. Why size of style is not important, rather than content and working methods.

Strategy of the Thesis

Our research is covering an extensive period of time, over a quarter of a century, from the creation of the EPP, in the mid 1970s, till the early 2000s. The topic entails a historical dimension, as the phenomenon under observation is a political organisation, functioning within a political system 'in the making'. We are tracing patterns and looking to establish theoretical conclusions that will contribute to the academic discussion. Our primary research and particularly the huge archive material gave us an endless number of facts and stories on the topic we are investigating. This is where our strength is. The research work on Europarties is historically driven through their public behaviour, through their work in the European institutions, their voting cohesion and behaviour, their public policy documents and the public profile of their leaders. The archive that we have explored is stimulating the discussion with material of a different perspective: the inside talks. We contend that this can be very useful to fully capture the historical development of the European People's Party but also to enrich what we know about the Europarties in general. Our concern has been to distinguish between those that help us build an argument, rather than the accumulation of stories that are somehow irrelevant. Associating historical events, behaviours of individuals, facts and figures to cohesive assumptions that make sense and lead to broader conclusions is the essence of a thesis and our ambition in this research.

The European People's Party (EPP) and its predecessor Christian Democratic organisations have been prime actors in the history of European integration. The EPP has been the subject of not very few books. We hope that our work can further stimulate the discussion about the EPP primarily due to the findings of our primary research in the archive material. There is a historical element when discussing about the evolution of the EPP from a Christian democratic organisation in the 1970s to a

broad coalition of centre-right parties today. As a result of our primary research our Thesis aspires to make a contribution at least in the following ways:

- We are revising the foundation of the European People's Party in the 1970s through new findings from the archive and a new Thesis that brings in a new dimension over the development of the EPP.
- We are revisiting the enlargement of the EPP towards Central and Eastern Europe with a new Thesis and with a lot of findings that aspire to contribute the uprising academic interest towards Europeanisation.
- We further revisit the enlargement of the EPP beyond Christian Democracy with a new hypothesis.
- Based on the first three Hypotheses we contend that the EPP has not gone through the 'linear' development credited by several researchers and mainstream academic discourse but has been a Europarty right from the start.
- At the final Thesis we attempt to contribute to the broader discussion on European integration and Europarties today, using the findings from our four hypotheses.
- We are highlighting the valuable historical archives of the EPP that is maintained by Adenauer Stiftung and the EPP headquarters. We are bringing a number of references throughout our thesis and we have worked to build up index tables that will facilitate future research.

Methodology

Primary sources

A. Research on documents and archives from the EPP. This was made possible with the permission that we were kindly given by the European People's Party in 2011 to access the archive that is professionally maintained in the headquarters of the organisation in Rue du Commerce 10, Brussels. The archive contains all kinds of documentation of the EPP proceedings and activities from the mid to late 1990s onwards, while some sporadic documents from before are also available. We visited the archive several times during the period: February 2011-February 2015. Many thanks are credited to the '*father*' of the EPP, and long time president, Wifried Martens

with whom I had the privilege to discuss during 4 interviews the key issues of this Thesis. Special thanks also to Antonio Lopez Isturiz, Christian Kremer, Tomi Huhtanen, Kostas Sasmatzoglou, Melanie Dursin, Brenda Furniere, Marta Przysiecka and a lot of other members of the team of the EPP headquarters who, in different ways, facilitated my research.

B. Research in the historical archive of the EPP (1974-2000) that has been maintained by the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS), the German foundation and is professionally maintaining the archive at its premises in the city of Saint Augustin in Germany. We were granted permission from the EPP to access the historical archive and we did so by visiting the KAS in St. Augustin, on September 2011. Our visit was facilitated by Mr. Christian Kremer dep. Secretary general of the EPP as well as Mrs. Keller, director of KAS archive and Mr. Shriner and Mr. Kremer from KAS who kindly facilitated my research by providing explanatory information about the archive, a helpful index etc.

At the time of our visit the archive on the history of the EPP (IX-007-XXX codification) consisted of 356 folders with an average of 500 pages per folder thus a total of 177.775 pages of documentation. Additionally, there are another 271 folders related to the history of the EUCD (IX-004-XXX codification) and another 227 folders on the history of NEI (IX-002-XXX codification), the predecessor organisations of the EPP. Covering the period from the origins of the EPP, the EUCD proceedings prior to the foundation in 1976 and going through till the mid 1990s, after which the last fifteen years are maintained at the EPP headquarters in Brussels. We were explained that according to the contract that the EPP has with the KAS, the foundation is responsible for maintaining the archive prior to the last 15 years that are kept within the EPP.

References to the historical archive of the EPP have been used by other researchers as well by referring to the label of the file where the archive evidence was found, but without reference to page number, as the archive files are a compilation of original material stored in Volumes and thus cannot have page numbering. Our research was conducted predominately using the digitised copy of the archive that KAS made by scanning all the original archival material. Each original 15cm thick volume was

digitised to a single PDF file. This enabled us to ‘invent’ a system of page numbering, by referring to the page number of the PDF that was made out of the original volume. We did this obviously to facilitate cross reference and further research on this valuable archive. For the future researcher that will be working on the original piles of docs stored in KAS the page number can help track where each piece of information was retrieved ‘grosso modo’, while for those who will access the digital material today available upon permission to see at the headquarters of the EPP this will be much easier. This is why we have developed an index with some reference on the content of each volume for all the historical archive of the EPP as an Annex including the information of the total number of pages for its folder-PDF.

C. Interviews with personalities related to our topic. The personalities whom we interviewed are related to the EPP, primarily to parts of its history or at the present day. It should be emphasised that despite our expectations, the interviews have played a supplementary role in our research that is predominantly based on the historical archive and the archive material of the EPP. Without underestimating their role in our work insofar as they helped bridge documents with stories of the people involved. I am very thankful to each one of the personalities interviewed for their time in contributing to this research. From a methodological point of view the problem we had with the interviews was that the people who were protagonists of the EPP at some point of its history were not as distant and as neutral as they could be. If they were not protagonists they lacked the inside information.

D. Participation of the author at the EPP proceedings. He has been regularly attending the proceedings of the EPP for the time: 1996-1999 and 2006-2013. His personal involvement in the EPP has been a source of both information, but also deeper understanding of the “situation on the ground”. The case of scientific neutrality of the researcher has been a priority and remains open for evaluation. The English language that, in agreement with the supervising professors, we chose is aiming to make the work easily accessible to other researchers from the international academic community.

E. Experience accumulated from working as an advisor for European Affairs in the office of the Prime minister of Greece (6/2012-1/2015). The delicate balance between the government vs party-politics was revealed as a 'factor' of the decision making in the European Union. In particular, working in the heart of the national government on European affairs offered to us the first hand experience of how the intergovernmentalism works in the EU, what factors enable its success in managing complicated issues. The Prime Minister of Greece at the time was a member of the European Council and of the EPP Summit while members of his government were attending the Council of Ministers and the EPP ministers meeting on occasions. The period of 2012-2014 was of profound Europeanisation as Greece was an "EFSF/IMF/ESM Programme Country" implementing conditionality reforms.

F. Secondary sources of literature on the subject. The Europarties have attracted modest academic interest in recent years, especially after the Maastricht Treaty in 1991 when they got finally into the statutory spectrum of the European Union. We have reviewed most if not all English and French literature, but not German due to the language barrier.

Chapter 1: History

Prehistory

As we are looking in the evolution of the Christian Democratic cooperation in the last decades of the 20th century, we will start by going back into history. We have not conducted new research for this part but we are tracing the origins of the transnational party cooperation in order to get the background of our topic. The cooperation of political parties with similar ideology is a phenomenon of the late 19th century, about a hundred years before the launch of the European integration journey. During the second half of the 19th century, supported by the growing capacity of people to travel longer distances, sources observe the rise of the contact and cooperation among individuals with similar political views in Europe. The content of this evolution was the communication and exchange of views and experiences with other people. The origins of the systematic contact of people with similar interests from different parts of Europe is another way to define the origins of what we call today globalization and Europeanisation in particular. For the political 'left' this was inspired by the consequences from the industrial revolution, the changing working conditions and the issues arising in the absence of regulation and labour protection laws. On the other side, the first Catholic Christian inspiration parties stood up against liberal authority at the time, as the latter pushed towards mitigating the role of the church in the society. The start is made from the 'left': the first Socialist International is founded in 1864. The launch of the international cooperation between Christian democratic parties came into the scene in the interwar period as a 'reaction' to the rise of Bolshevism, on the one hand and authoritarianism in Europe on the other. It was also inspired by the social effects of the economic recession. Understanding the historical evolution of transnational parties' cooperation is important for elaborating our topic, as well as, put our research in a historical context². Distinguished academics have explored the rise of international cooperation for the Christian democratic family: Van Hecke, 2004; Jansen 1997, 2006; Jansen-Van Hecke, 2011; Lorengini, Muller, Conway, 2004; Kaiser, 2007. At these early days, the channels of contact between political parties from different

² As Duverger has contented '*just as men bear all their lives the mark of their childhood, so parties are profoundly influenced by their origins..*' (Duverger, 1954, p. xxiii).

countries, was established at a regular basis for the first time. This is far before the origins of the European integration journey, even before the League of Nations were created.

The interwar period

Conway has described: “with the relative decline of liberal parties in many areas of Europe, it was now socialism that provided the enemy against which Catholic parties defined themselves” and “the spectre of revolution, manipulated by the agents of Moscow, constituted the ultimate evil of Catholic propaganda³.” In the interwar period Catholic politics is associated with the rise of anti democratic movements in Europe. According to Conway key factors for this phenomenon were “The legacy of nineteenth-century battles against the anticlericalism of the left, the social composition of the Catholic populations, the more militant character of Catholic spiritual and youth movements of the 1920s and the pervasive fear of communism⁴.” Approaching the interparty cooperation at this early stage, David Hanley contends that “[u]nlike their communist or social democratic rivals, Christian Democratic parties have had surprisingly perhaps, considerable difficulty in elaborating forms of transnational collaboration⁵”. Indeed, the first signs of such cooperation are found after 1914 in the form of a loose Secretariat of international collaboration.

According to Thomas Jansen, international cooperation among Christian democratic parties firstly spurs in Europe during the interwar period⁶. This is attributed to the experience of the First World War and the following escalation of nationalist trends in several countries of central Europe. Christian democrat leaders came together to exchange views and try to work towards common goals. In this direction, from the

³ Conway in Kaiser-Wohnout, 2004, p.196

⁴ Conway in Kaiser-Wohnout, 2004, p.202

⁵ Hanley, 1994, p.186

⁶ For the historical formation of the key components of the 20th century, Christian Democracy “*The Rise of Christian Democracy*” of Stathis Kalyvas is “perhaps the most influential recent political science study” (Conway, 2003, p.45).

start, were the first debates on the depth and content of this cooperation. Sources⁷ refer to the «Secrétariat International des Partis Démocratique d'Inspiration Chrétienne (SIPDIC/ The International Secretariat of Democratic Parties of Christian Inspiration)» that held its first meeting in Paris, December 1925 where they set up a Secretariat, ran by the French Parti Démocrate Populaire. We cannot assert any kind of close collaboration, outside a point of reference for the development of bilateral and multilateral contacts of national politicians. Protagonists at the time: Germans, Benelux, French and Italians⁸. Contrary to the Socialist international that, on occasions, pushed for the creation of national socialist parties, this first attempt of international cooperation of Christian Democratic Parties was the result of tentative efforts of national parties. Protagonist was the Italian, founder of Partito Popolare Italiano, Don Luigi Sturzo.

The foundation period of SIPDIC is marked by two contradictory trends: on the one hand the outburst of the internationalisation marked by the Socialist hyper-activity on the international level, the creation of the League of Nations and the rise of international trade. On the other hand, the rise of nationalism in Europe “towards self-sufficiency, isolationism and demarcation” (Muller, 2004, p. 209). It should be noted that their internationalisation trends spurred from an additional source, unlike socialists: the ‘international’, beyond nation state, attitude of the Catholic Church. During the first years of these attempts to organise this cooperation the prevailing nationalist trend was so immense that the “internationalism” of such an initiative was in principle suspicious of being a threat to patriotism. In this sterile climate parties made their first steps towards working together and aiming to give their response to this nationalist climax of the interwar period.

⁷ S. Lorenzini, "The White International and Peace in Europe, 1925-1932" in M. Petricoli, D. Cherubini (edited by), *Pour la paix in Europe. Institutions et société civile dans l'entre-deux-guerres*, Bern: Peter Lang NO, 2007, p. 367-386.

⁸ SIPDIC Members were: Belgium: Ligue des Travailleurs Chrétiens de Belgique within the Catholic Party; Germany: Centre Party (Zentrum); France: Parti Démocrate Populaire; Italy: Partito Popolare Italiano (representatives in exile were Luigi Sturzo, Domenico Russo and Francesco L.Ferrari); Lithuania: Christian Democratic Party; Luxembourg: Rechtspartei/Parti de la Droit; Netherlands: Rooms-Katholieke Staatspartij; Austria: Christlich-Soziale Partei, Switzerland: Schweizerische Konservative Volkspartei; Czechoslovakia: Tschechoslovakische Volkspartei, and a Catholic Party from Hungary. (Muller, 2005, p.215)

The content of the cooperation within SIPDIC was demarcated towards two directions: Italians who were pushing for an “interparliamentary permanent cooperation” and the French who preferred a “central information bureau”. With today’s terms we would talk about a debate for less or more integration⁹. The French approach was finally preferred. The second meeting took place in May 1926 in Brussels. At this first stage of international cooperation of Christian democratic parties we note their anti-nationalist and anti-socialist ideological stance and their rhetoric, at least their aspirations, towards European integration, prophetic against the contemporary nationalist trends. The sterile, nationalist climate poisoned their meetings as well, despite their commitment to the Christian ideals, as participants became cautious against “compromise”. This was the first hurdle they were faced while the second was the lack of consensus over their position against authoritarianism¹⁰. Nationalism prevailed in general and the continent was doomed to war. SIPDIC through Sturzo took a critical stance against fascism, albeit in certain countries Christian democratic movements had shown ‘readiness to collaborate with the radical right¹¹’.

SIPDIC’s last congress¹², held in Cologne in October 1932, a few months before the National Socialists seized power in Germany, and under the chairmanship of Konrad Adenauer, did vote for this final declaration *“We must strengthen and encourage comprehensive cooperation between all European nations in order to achieve a Common Market for production and the free movement and consumption of goods. (...) Full union, which is the final goal, cannot be achieved immediately or directly. So we must gradually remove customs barriers, and trade and financial barriers preventing the regular exchange of goods, in order to realise as quickly as possible, the free movement of goods,*

9 SIPDIC was dominated by the French not least due to always having the post of Secretary General (1925-1928 Raymond Laurent and then Philippe de las Casas, 1928-1932: Henri Simondet). The central issue for SIPDIC was peace.

10 Very good analysis about this part of history was found in Gehler-Kaiser, 2003, p.242.

11 Kaiser, Political Catholicism, p.120

12 From its foundation in 1925 till 1932 SIPDIC organised eight congresses: 1925 in Paris, 1926 in Brussels, 1927 in Cologne, 1928 in Hertogenbosch, 1929 in Paris, 1930 in Antwerp, 1931 in Luxemburg and 1932 in Cologne (Muller, 2005, p.207). During 1933-1939 Seven extended meetings of the executive committee took place (Muller, ibid, p.215). The first public declaration on the threats arising from the rising nationalism and the harsh economic situation came out in 1931.

capital, and people.” Furthermore, the resolution stated: *“Interpenetration of the economy and politics must lead to an examination and to the liquidation, in a spirit of mutual understanding, of all the obstacles that have hitherto been set against political cooperation¹³.”* It is quite impressive that already in 1932 SIPDIC comes with a declaration where they literally speak for European integration, even before the Second World War. It may have been the response of a small number of politicians that wanted to raise a voice of resistance against the outburst of nationalism of the time. On the other hand, it may have been the response to the major international event after the First World War: the crisis of 1929. During the war contacts among Christian democrats were kept alive only in exile, while some networks were created to organising events and speeches. The two most known are the «People and Freedom Group» and the «International Christian Democratic Union» (ICDU) founded in 1941 in London by politicians in exile including Sturzo (Gehler-Kaiser, 2003, p.243).

Our assessment about SIPDIC is that the cooperation back then was reactionary to the polarisation and the rise of the extremes on both left and right to whom the Christian democrats stood critical: the rise of Bolshevism and of leftist ideas on international movements and, on the other hand, nationalism and isolation in Europe. SIPDIC contemplated moderate positions, criticising the extremes but represented small - medium size parties or movements in their home countries. In Germany the Centre party was a party of about 12-13% of the popular vote, having a floating political spectrum that soon led to the seize of power by the extremists of Hitler. In Italy the PPI is about the same story with its founder and leader Don Luizi Sturzo been in exile already from 1924, due to his firm stance against the rising fascist movement of Mussolini. The French member, Parti Democrate Populaire, was a small and new political party. SIPDIC antinationalistic attitude is remarkable and can be explained with, on the one hand, the bonds with the Catholic church, as a pre-state institution and on the other hand the treatment of the state towards the church, by withdrawing some key competences on the level of local communities such as the provision of education.

¹³ Cited in Jansen-Van Hecke, 2011, p.9.

Lines of continuity after the War

Transnational cooperation among political parties in the interwar period faced difficulties, most importantly, the dominant nationalism and the major disagreements over policy direction. (Gehler and Kaiser, 2003, p.242) Researchers and politicians of the Christian Democratic political movement in Europe are, with few exceptions, in agreement that the history of what we call today Christian democracy in Europe originates from the SIPDIC. As Sturzo noted in 1944 “..the name Christian Democracy contains the most beautiful synthesis of economic and moral policy.”¹⁴ Papini also makes a case of the direct relations of SIPDIC with the post war cooperation of CD parties¹⁵. Muller challenges the perception of continuity in the Christian Democratic party cooperation before and after the Second World War. “*Lines of tradition are not evident in the case of biographies. The participants in the meetings prior to 1933 and after 1945 belonged to different groups of people. Hardly any direct connections can be made concerning the content of transnational links and debates, due to a lack of discussion at the congresses in the 1920s and early 1930s. It is difficult to even speak about Christian democracy in the inter-war period in terms of parties.*” (Muller, 2004, p.215) Conway is also susceptible towards accepting continuity: “*it would be misleading to extrapolate from them to present the Catholic politics of the inter-war years as a road that led to a logical terminus in Christian democrat politics after the Second World War.*” (Conway, 2004, p.203) The outlook of the post-war Christian democratic parties, emerging as a strong movement, hardly resemble their pre-war predecessors; Still besides changes there are key elements, in their profile and outlook, such as their anti-extremes positioning, the social concern, the Catholic antibolshevism, and the Christian values inspiration that can be traced back to their origins. Christian democracy was not a phenomenon that appeared ‘*ahistorically*’ in Europe after the second world war, but “*a dynamic and evolving phenomenon that was moulded more by circumstance than by intent.*” (Conway 2003, p. 47). (Kalyvas, 2010, p.191)

¹⁴ Luigi Sturzo, Scritti inediti, vol.3 ed F. Malgeri (Rome 1976) in Papini, 1996, p.120.

¹⁵ Papini, 1996, p.20

The end of the Second World War brought fascism to a tragic defeat and socialism isolated in the emerging eastern block of countries. Many of the politicians who were present but, not at the centre of attention in the interwar period, came out of the war as emerging leaders in the aftermath of the defeat of fascism and the catastrophe of war. Their ideas have now become widely popular, as a result of the anti-materialistic trend after the war, the rising threat of Communism, but also the fear from the “right” and the need of dialogue and coordination at the international level. The Christian Democratic parties were well positioned¹⁶ to take advantage. This implies a qualitative change in the content of cooperation of catholic politicians in Europe after the war. SIPDIC in the 1920s led to the exiled organisations during the big war and to the Geneva Circle, the informal talks among Christian Democrats, the Nouvelles Equipe International (NEI) just after the war. Key characteristics in the international dialogue of the Christian Democrats in the interwar appear either intact or customised by circumstance after the war. Secondly, the original transnational socialisation of Catholic parties in the 1920s was under the inspiration of the Catholic Church originated from the late 19th century and inspired by the Encyclicals that wrote about contemporary problems. At the time, they were taking a stand in favour of protecting the role of the Catholic Church and propagating the Christian concept of man against the international threat of the extremes: socialism on the one side and nationalism/authoritarianism on the other. Their political positioning changed dramatically, a couple of decades later, when they aspired and contemplated the European integration journey. As Stathis Kalyvas has contended, contingency and temporality are central in social phenomena. Muller is right to point out to a discontinuity in the role of the Catholic political movement in the European context. From a medium size, reactionary political trend emerging as a promising, leading movement, instigated by the catastrophe of war and the threatening rise of communism in the East. The extraordinary events that took place in Europe between the SIPDIC and the NEI, the Second World War, the political change of the European map, refounded the historical context and overhauled the social cleavages in all the

16 With notable exceptions within most of these parties who did not distance themselves from the anti democratic trends of fascism.

countries mostly affected directly or indirectly. As far as the set of people involved in the structures, in the case of Italy, Alcide de Gasperi was a prominent politician of PPI, member of parliament that followed a different path of life than Sturzo. He did not leave Italy, he was imprisoned later and during the second World War he founded Democrazia Cristiana (DC). In Germany, Adenauer was uprising in the Centre Party, during the SIPDIC era. In other countries similar things apply. The post war re-launch of the CD cooperation is distanced a whole fifteen years since the last congress of SIPDIC in 1932. This is a time span that justifies new people involved.

Carolyn Warner has made a significant contribution to the history of Christian Democratic cooperation. In his book “Confessions of an interest group: the Catholic Church and political parties in Europe” he puts together the following basics to understand the foundation of modern Christian democracy in Europe: The end of the second devastating world war finds the church in an influential position in continental Europe. It served the role of the spiritual shelter, it stood firmly against the racist ideals of national-socialism, and, with some variations, it suffered losses of influence out of the fascist regimes. The political movements associated to the protection of the church in the society of the 19th century had gone into history out of the complete change of social and political situation after the second world war. The German Centre Party was last to compete with the newly founded CDU in Germany, being a party of the Catholics against CDU claiming biconfessionalism. The Centre Party was punished due to its passive stance against Hitler. The right was discredited out of fascism, the left was the left, so the middle ground Christian democracy was well positioned. As Adenauer noted: *“the German system had always contained parties that ‘purposefully fought Christianity’* (Cary, 1996, p.183). As Warner contends: *“Reasoning that the problem of Weimar and the Third Reich had been the aggressiveness of the non-Christian parties, the CDU was not shy about calling itself a “Christian” party.”* (Warner, p.193) In a very intuitive work the researcher presents the turbulent first years of the inter-confessional CDU¹⁷. Although there were very different conditions in the different countries, Christian democratic parties in France, Italy and Germany had inherited the

¹⁷ Warner, 2010, p.196.

label from pre-war Europe. In Germany there was a need to distance from the “right”. Additional factors in favour of CDU were Centrum’s support to Hitler’s enabling act and the absence of resistance by its key figures, the post war ‘flirt’ of Centrum with social democrats and communists and the single-member constituencies. Built on the ruins of the post fascist West Germany and facing both Communism on the East and Fascism on its immediate past they strove for the “Union of the Christians”, Catholics and Protestants, with trial and error and with a strong anti-materialistic belief. These early years’ experience may have strengthened the commitment of the CDU/CSU, later on the European level, on wider cooperation of the right-of-centre political forces. This was evident when they advocated the co-operation with the non Christian democratic parties on the Community level. In this context the Christian democratic parties sprung after the war. They were a post war trend out of the fascist past and the catastrophe of war.

Few decades later, most, if not all, these conditions would fade away. Some researchers have concluded that, at the end of the day, these parties are just conservative parties, but, for the reasons we explained, they have created this different label -Christian democracy- with which they grew up. Opposite to that, Kalyvas, using research and the deductive thinking, has proved that historically Christian democratic parties have been the ‘by-product’ of the clash between the church and the state in the historical context of each country. As a result, Christian Democratic development is a distinguished ideological trend, deserving attention on its own merits (Kalyvas, 1996). Furthermore, he contends “*pointing to continuities between pre-war confessional parties and post-war Christian democratic parties should not be confused with a teleological reading of the Christian democratic phenomenon.*” (Kalyvas, 2010, p.190) His book on Christian Democracy contemplates Christian Democracy as a distinct political tradition that played a major role in the post war launch of European integration and should not be mixed up with conservatism (Kalyvas, 1996). The point is however whether CD remains the macro-historical result of the post war Europe in those countries that spurred, particularly those mostly affected by it. Politicians in the post war Europe used these powerful trends and took the Christian label on their political vehicles towards electoral success. The impact of globalisation and internationalisation trends

in the mid 90s onwards is equivalent with the rise of the international trade in the mid war period of the 1920s. While, no doubt that, compared to globalisation today the international trade rise back then had a smaller impact to the society and the trends it instigated can be assessed to be as strong.

1947-1965: The post war relaunch

After the Second World War the cooperation of the Christian democrats is structured along the “Nouvelles Equipes International¹⁸” (NEI, 1947-1965). NEI was founded in 1947 in Chaudfontaine, even before the 1948 “Congress for Europe” as a forum for Christian Democratic socialization and reconciliation. European Communities came to the scene few years later, thus, NEI was not directly associated with the support of the Group of Christian Democrats that was created in 1953 in the Parliamentary Assembly of the European Communities. It coordinated the contacts among Christian democrat politicians. From the start there was disagreement over the name of the organisation, as well as the depth and scope of work. NEI was basically a discussion forum on post war Europe and its future, based in Paris. According to Gehler and Kaiser (2003) the transnational cooperation of the Christian democrats played a role in the rehabilitation of the German CDU/CSU in the emerging European Communities, as they provided space for meeting, breaking the ice of the war and contemplating the future. The Geneva meetings were very important for creating the foundations of the Franco-German reconciliation that led to the entry of West Germany in the Council of Europe already in 1948¹⁹. Specifically, the newly born CDU participated at the second congress that took place in Luxemburg at the beginning of 1948 with a delegation headed by the later Chancellor Konrad Adenauer. According to Papini, NEI accepted in principle to invite representatives of the uprising CDU from Germany to the Luxembourg Congress

18 NEI was registered under French law a bit later. Its registration appears on the Journal Officiel de la République Française, December 10, 1949 (IX-002-001-Duplikate, p.6). The Chairmen on NEI were the French Robert Bichet 1947-1949, the Flemish August De Schryver 1949-1959 and also Flemish Théo Lefevre 1959-1965. Its congresses took place: Bad Ems 1951, Tours 1953

¹⁹ Geneva was selected for these confidential gatherings because it was neutral, central and easily accessible. The meetings took place on Mondays at 9:30 am till round about 18:00 (Papini p.130).

on September 1947 (Papini, 1996, p.125). It was actually the first international forum that opened the door to a German delegation with equal rights with the other groups. It gave therefore the possibility to German politicians immediately after the war to interact with French and others and, in this sense, precipitating to the restoration of the position of West Germany in the European family²⁰ or the “Abendland”²¹. Gehler-Kaiser built up the argument that the Christian Democrats rejected the idea of collective guilt of all Germans for the holocaust. The differentiation of Catholic Germans, in the West part, and the Prussian, Lutheran Germans in the East was responsible for destroying the “unity of Europe”. This enabled and speeded up the integration of West Germany in the Christian democratic cooperation after the war. The acknowledgment of this division in Germany served well for accepting the division of Europe, between the ‘good’ West and the ‘bad’ East. It further solidified the commitment towards the western institutions of American influence. (Gehler-Kaiser, 2003, p.252). This led to the concept of “re-Christianising” Germany through a swift Europeanisation.

The German delegation, with the status of “observer”, at the Luxembourg Congress of NEI included Adenauer as head of CDU British Zone, Kaiser as head of CDU Soviet zone, Muller, chairman of CDU for Bavaria and others. (Papini, 1996, p.126). Adenauer and Kaiser, both coming from Centrum, had different priorities according to Papini. German reunification was a higher priority for Kaiser while Western integration was more important for Adenauer (Papini, p.131). Dorpinghaus refers to a conversation between Adenauer and Dorpinghaus in 1946 where Adenauer asked him whether he agreed with Kaiser’s view that Germany could serve as a bridge between East and West and Dorpinghaus replied “*No, because the USSR is living under a dictatorship It can be resisted only with a tough determined policy, without any compromise*” Adenauer replied “*That means that we have to be political friends with the West*” and Dorpinghaus said: “*Yes because alone you are too weak to fight communism.*” (‘Genfer Sitzungen, p.540, in Papini 1996, p.129)

20 See also a comparative study of the political programmes of the first post war Christian Democratic parties in his Report to the NEI Congress in Fribourg, Switzerland, 1952 Force et faiblesse des chrétiens sur le plan de la doctrine”.

²¹ Meaning “Civilized Christian West”.

In May 1948 a Congress was convened at The Hague to contemplate on the future of cooperation in Europe with several hundred delegates not just professional politicians but also representatives of professional groups. The Congress *“came out in favour of the creation of a European Assembly and of measures for bringing European policies into line economically, socially and politically. According to Jansen, NEI was among the initiators and organisers (Jansen-Van Hecke, p.15).* The Hague Congress propelled important consequences, not least the Council of Europe, founded in 1949, as the first international organisation for building the structure of an integrated Europe. Here we find the roots of a European public: The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe would organise a debate among the representatives from the national parliaments of the European nation states on political, legal and economic questions.

For a variety of reasons, the Christian Democrats after the Second World War were the most pro-integration voices in the political sphere in Europe. Delegating power from the nation state to supranational institutions was rooted to confessional not just ideological reasons (Kaiser, 2007, p.228). It was also rooted in historical and cultural traditions, originating from history, while the Christian Democrats were inspired by the principle of subsidiarity and were positive in delegating power to different levels. They were speaking clearly from the very beginning about federal state as their goal for Europe. According to Kaiser *“The Christian democratic preference for core Europe was strengthened between 1947 and 1950 by the British policy of opposition to supranational forms of integration”* (2007, p.234). Christian Democracy is not linked to nation state. It is linked to the concept of communities at any level. The European level was ‘another level’ of coordination on policies and issues. In this sense it is an ideology that is not linked to the nation state. As Hanley notes: *“the person is open to others and only flourishes truly in a community; this term includes the family, neighbourhood, school, workplace, nation and Europe. None of these levels of belonging is necessarily superior to the other, which explains why CDs have less emotional difficulties with European integration than other party families.”* (2008, p.86). As Papini notes: *“in the early post-war years, the Christian Democrats’ idea of Europe corresponded to that of a third political position and of a third social model between the USSR and the United States.”* (1996, p.121) Gehler asserts that NEI remained far from developing to a deeper

integration level. And concludes: “Although the Christian Democrats increasingly operated in a common political space and had to arrive at decisions on common policies, national, cultural and linguistic barriers prevented the evolution of a European political public that would have provided a sufficient incentive for the creation of a European party.” (2003, p.258) It was quite early indeed, as most of the wounds from the war were still “bleeding” for Europe. Critical issues such as the Franco-German reconciliation, the new map of Europe out of Communism, national borders’ issues etc. had to be addressed. Gehler’s deep analysis for this period is very intuitive of the Christian Democratic cooperation of the first years after the war. With the research findings we bring in later on we enlighten the following period of the EUCD from the mid 1960s to the creation of the EPP with new information that can enrich the academic discourse.

The Christian Democratic group in the European Parliament

The basic treaties of the European Communities distributed seats to parliamentarians exclusively by Member State and members sat in alphabetical order. Ami Krepel in her important work on the history of the party groups in European parliament reminds us that the provision was that “*there should be five vice-presidents, so that each Member State could potentially have a representative on the newly created executive bureau*²².” The first leader of the Socialist group was the French Guy Mollet and the Dutch Emmanuel Sassen was the first leader of the Christian Democratic Members²³. The first draft of the Common Assembly’s²⁴ rules did not include reference on political organisations or even the existence of ideological diversity among the Members. Primarily a consultative body, the European Parliament and its predecessor, the ‘Common Assembly’, had from the start the “power of censure”. With a two thirds majority it could have the “High Authority” resigning, in a reflection of “parliamentary supervision”. Similarly, the Treaties made no provision for the collaboration between

22 Krepel, 2002, p.180.

23 Common Assembly Proceedings, no 2, March 11, 1953: 14 in Krepel, 2002, p.181

²⁴ European Parliament, 1968, p.22.

Parliament and Council. It was in 1957 the Treaty of Rome establishing the European Communities that “substantially widened not only the range of Parliament’s practical jurisdiction but also its scope for political action”. The mandate of those deputies came from the voters in their respective member state. They were elected to the national parliament and were appointed to go to Strasbourg. Accordingly, it was assumed that the General Assembly would in practice divide along national lines. The grouping together of parliamentarians by political groups in the General Assembly in 1952 was therefore rather a surprise. Given the ECSC’s specific competences, as well as the debate about the European Defence Community (EDC), opinions within the different Member States differed considerably. Much more affinity and understanding was found within the political families. Already from September 1952, at the election of the President of the Common Assembly, the ideological affiliation prevailed over national origin. The Belgian Paul Henri Spaak, socialist, was elected to the post with 38 votes instead of the German Heinrich von Brentano who received 30 votes. There were totally 38 Christian Democrat members²⁵, and 23 Socialist members, 11 liberals and another 5 unattached. Socialists voted on ideological grounds, while Christian democrats followed national lines, causing the defeat of the Christian democrat candidate despite majority²⁶. In the Christian Democratic Group, the two dominant delegations were the German union parties CDU/CSU and the Italians of Democrazia Christiana (DC). The strength of the Italians was further increased due to the decision taken by both the Italian Chambers not to send delegates of the Italian Communist Party PCI to the European Parliament. As a result, out of the 36 Italians members, 26 represented the DCI in the early 1960s, while the same applied for the French delegates²⁷. Later on in January 1953, four months after creation, when regarding the

²⁵ According to Kaiser: At the same time, it could not be dominated by the MRP, as the NEI was from its inception. The MRP had only 4 delegates, but the Dutch Catholic and Protestant parties combined 6, the CDU/CSU 8 and the DC even 14. With the growing electoral strength of the CDU/CSU, which achieved an absolute majority in the German elections in 1957, the German and Italian parties became by far the most influential national delegations in the CD Group, whereas it took them until the mid-1960s to exercise similar influence over the European-level party organisation. (2007, p.271)

²⁶ Guy van Oudenhove, *The political parties in the European Parliament—The first ten years (September 1952-September 1962)*. A. W. Sijthoff, Leyden 1965. xv, 268 pp. See also *European Parliament, 1968, The first ten years 1958-1968*, General Secretariat of the European Parliament.

²⁷ Fontaine, 2009, p136

nomination of members to the committees: “Nominations shall be forwarded to the Bureau (officers), which shall submit the necessary proposals to the Assembly, due consideration being given to an equitable representation of the participating States and of the various political traditions.” The Assembly approved the proposed text without debate²⁸. The Christian-Democratic Group was founded on 23 June 1953 as a political fraction in the Common Assembly of the European Coal and Steel Community²⁹.

The political groups on ideological grounds first appear subsequently at the European Parliament in 1958, after the creation of European Economic Community and the European Community of Atomic Energy. Liberals, Social democrats and Christian democrats create the first groups in the parliament.

The European Union of Christian Democrats

While the European Communities are evolving, in May 1965 the bureau of NEI decided to put forward a package of organisational reforms, where among other things, the name would change to European Union of Christian Democrats (EUCD)³⁰. The transformation of NEI to EUCD according to Jansen-Van Hecke (2011, p.22) was deliberated out of the political decline of the French MRP and its break of relations with President De Gaulle. The French influence had withhelded the organisation from expanding its European focus. Further it came as the intention of the Group and certain national parties to create a stronger extra parliamentary organisation in support insofar CD parties of Europe would try to establish “*a common political program*”³¹. According to Papini one reason for the creation of the EUCD was that NEI, as a concept, represented an International, but in reality it was a European organisation that

²⁸ Common Assembly Proceedings, January 10, 1953: 146, in Krepel. 180

²⁹ It was renamed to the “Group of the European People's Party (Christian-Democratic Group) in July 1979, just after the first direct elections to the European Parliament. Renamed to the “Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats) and European Democrats” in July 1999. Renamed to the “Group of the European People's Party” (Christian Democrats) in June 2009.

³⁰ The profile and structure of the EUCD was discussed in several meetings during 1965. Documents from these meetings were found at IX-004-116/05, IX-004-116/06, IX-004-116/07.

³¹ Article 2 of the charter of the EUCD, in Papini, 1996, p.86

brought together individual politicians. There was a need to strengthen the support given to the Christian Democratic action in the European institutions (Parliament, Commission and Council). According to Jansen-Van Hecke (2011, p.22) the secretariat of the NEI had moved from Paris to Rome already in 1964, before the actual transformation signalling the bold reforms that were coming up. The French dominance over NEI resulted to a less pro-integration organisation, more focused on national affairs. Under the Italian presidency of Mariano Rumor the EUCD was more supranational oriented. The actual changes were decided at the executive of NEI in Brussels on May 3, 1965 and were confirmed at the Congress³² in Taormina on 9-12 December 1965 (IX-004-116/05).

In the 1950's we also note the launch of another organisation named 'Central European Union of Christian Democrats' (CEUCD) with the participation of Christian democrats from Central and Eastern Europe that were in exile in Europe and the US³³. Their attempt was to keep the continuity and legitimacy with their past that was violently stopped by the communist regimes in these countries. CEUCD cultivated contacts with the democratic opposition in these countries trying to keep the political issue of the communist occupation open for the West. In the 1960s and '70s more CD organisations were created: Christian Democratic Women European Union³⁴, Christian Democratic European Workers' Union, Christian Democratic European Association of Local and Regional Representatives and European Union of CD Youth, Democrat Youth Community of Europe (DEMYC), European Democrat Students (EDS) etc.

The Hague Summit

The resignation of De Gaulle in 1969 was a catalyst of change. Not inspired by European integration, De Gaulle repeatedly blocked the entrance of the United

³² IX-004-115/01 p.166 the Statutes of EUCD in 1965.

³³ Statutes of Union Mondiale Democrate Chretienne at IX-004-115/02 p.20 from 1964. In the archive folder IX-004-115/05 we also found the Statutes of Union Mondiale Des Femmes Démocrates Chrétiennes (1978) Le Centre International d' Etudes et de documentation of EUCD. Docs about the centre from 1967 available: IX-004-115/02, pp.30 IX-004-115/03, pp.19-25 and for 1966 on IX-04-116/02

³⁴ Documents for this organization were found on the volume IX-004-115/05 comprising of 131 pages.

Kingdom in the European Communities, as well as further steps towards closer political cooperation. His successor George Pompidou was more principally positive towards deepening the integration. Shortly after he took over the French presidency he proposed to convene a European Summit to discuss all major pending issues of the Community. Being elected on a pro European manifesto, he indicated that the policy of France towards Europe would change for good. Under the Dutch presidency of the EEC at the time a meeting of the Heads of State and Government was convened at The Hague in December 1969. According to the source European Navigator. Étienne Deschamps. Translated by the CVCE. *“France, however, in the name of its Foreign Minister, Maurice Schumann, insisted that The Hague Summit³⁵ should examine the threefold policy based on completion, deepening and enlargement.”* At this meeting it was decided to head for the direct elections to the European parliament, to start negotiations, with four applicant countries, UK, Denmark, Ireland and Norway and to ask the foreign ministers to draw a report on the further steps of unification of the European Community.

That decision was monumental as it created a momentum for the run up towards further steps in European integration. The delay of the 1960s in progressing the European cooperation made this momentum take a spiral effect. For the Christian democrats who had advocated the political union of the European Communities this was a decisive moment for which they had waited many years. At the European Summit of 1974 the date for the first direct European elections was set for May/June 1978. This decision was a difficult one for the incumbent French president Giscard d’Estain. The European direct elections raised considerable controversy in France and he had difficulties getting the support of his Gaullist partners in the Parliament. Thus his consent was made possible via the clause that France would accept ‘No further’ increase in the powers of the European Parliament. This was passed without a vote from the French Parliament thanks to the article 49 of the French Constitution. “This allows a bill, which has been made an issue of confidence, to pass without a vote if no

³⁵ The Hague Summit in December 1969 decided to proceed with the direct elections to the European Parliament, while the Paris Summit of December 1974 set 1978 as the year for the first direct elections but later it was postponed for 1979.

censure motion has been tabled. It should be noted therefore that no positive vote in favour of direct elections was accorded by French Parliament”³⁶.

This is the broader environment that cultivated the cooperation of the Christian Democrats in Europe. Serving the cause of coordination in the European Parliament for over 20 years, since 1952, the decision in 1974 to set the date for the first direct European elections for 1978 ‘fired an alarm’ that more needed to be done. There are various, converging reasons all pushing towards the foundation of a “European Christian Democratic Party”. The echo behind the new burst of the European integration, after the gone of President De Gaulle in 1969, was so strong that everything pushed in a parallel mode to the same direction. European Communities were founded in the ‘50s with aspirations to flourish political integration and with the de jure provision to have elected members of the European parliament. It should be noted that the idea of directly elected members of the Common Assembly of the “European Coal and Steel Community”, the predecessor of the European Parliament, was as old as the European Communities. Already in the foundation Treaty of Rome (1957) the provisions were actually there. However, at that time France was against this idea, as it did not match its aspirations, at the time³⁷, conducive to the concept of “*Europe de patries*”.

Integration had to wait a few years after the Rome Treaty until it got again back on the table for progress in 1969, weeks only after De Gaulle was replaced by Pompidou. President De Gaulle envisaged the European Communities from an inter-governmental perspective. He de facto ‘halted’ the process of integration for over 10 years despite the strong will for integration of the Christian Democrats at the time. It was not just De Gaulle that made the direct elections to the European Parliament wait for so long. In the 50s this idea was abandoned primarily due to the fear of overrepresentation of communist parties that were completely against the European integration. Thus

36 p.24, Joyce Quin, France n the Communities: Presidential and Party attitudes” Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 440, the European Community after Twenty years (Nov. 1978) pp.21-32.

37 The original date for the first elections to the European Parliament was set for May-June 1978 (decision of the Council of Ministers), but had to be postponed due to delays in ratification of requisite legislation. They were finally held in June 7-10, 1979, electing 410 members (from 198 MEPs before).

member states preferred having appointed members to the EP in order to control “who goes to Strasbourg”. More information available at “Towards direct elections to the European Parliament” 2009. According to Irving (1978): why did it revive in the 1970s after declining considerably in the 1960s under the combined influence, inter alia, of secularisation, rural depopulation and a widespread reaction against non ideological, pragmatic centrist parties?” (1978,p. xviii) In this book back in 1978 Irving describes the new burst of integration of the 1970s as a “new European reliance.”

Chapter 2: the creation of the EPP

Introduction

A number of researchers and academics have studied the foundation of the EPP: Irving 1978; Papini 1997; Delwit 2001; Kaiser 2007; Hecke 2001; Jansen 1998; Jansen 2006; Jansen-Van Hecke 2011; Martens 2009; Hanley 2008. This part of history seems to be well presented as to the factors and the chronology of events while there are no major differences or controversies among researchers. Our Thesis invested time on the review of the material of the foundation period. After studying the huge archive material of the European People's Party we put together several pieces of evidence that, combined, revise aspects of the foundation of the EPP. These findings made us contemplate a new thesis over the creation of the European People's Party. Understanding the evolution of the EPP requires capturing the original idea, the actors involved and the overall context surmounting its creation.

The 'linear' approach

Despite divergent views on the overall role and prospects of Europarties, the foundation of the EPP in 1976 is a topic where views converge. It is widely appreciated today that it was literally the first step in the gradual development of the EPP, while similar things apply for the other two 'traditional' Europarties, the Socialists and the Liberals. A first step followed by more steps that led to what the EPP and the other Europarties are today. The assessment of the present "Europarty" status of the EPP, as well as of the other two traditional European party organisations (the Socialists and the Liberals) is not universal. There are variations primarily driven from a positive / sceptical position on the role of Europarties today. Despite these variations what is universally accepted is that the EPP today has reached a level of a gradual development, taking advantage of broader institutional changes that facilitated Europarties' development. These changes allowed their development, their financing, their role in the decision making, in putting up candidates for the top positions in the Union etc. Even among Europarty scepticists who consider them as unimportant

organisations you would still read that the EPP evolved throughout the years, primarily thanks to the broader institutional environment that incentivised this development. This widely agreed concept on the origins of the European party federations is what we name as the “linear approach”. We will therefore go back to the foundation years and explore what the EPP was. We divide this period in three parts: the years preceding the actual foundation in 1976, the first 15 years of operation until the systematic opening up towards other political traditions and Central and Eastern Europe and last the subsequent years until the start of the crisis in Eurozone.

The construction of the “linear approach” is to some extent contemplated by most academic interviews, as it is natural that personalities from the history of the EPP adopt such a ‘reasonable’ position on the history of the EPP. On the other hand, the archive material is a ‘less biased’ primary source of information that, especially due to the formalities of the EPP, where most of the important issues were dealt in a written format, such as minutes, letters etc. The historical archive of the EPP is also extensive and almost complete, covering all the years from the outset and before during the parent organisation, EUCD. So the research path we took over the foundation of the EPP is primarily dependent on the archive material work and, at secondary relevance, on the interviews with personalities that had or have a role in the organisation. Among the several interviews conducted we would distinguish the interviews with Thomas Jansen and Guy Korthoutd as with their insights contributed substantially in the research. Apart from our primary research, the work of Thomas Jansen and Steven Van Hecke on the EPP titled “At Europe’s Service” is very useful in restructuring the historical timeline of the EPP.

In the expectation of the first elections to the European Parliament by universal suffrage Christian Democrat actors set the aim to create a new party organisation that would dedicate itself to the European Communities³⁸, coordinate with and support the Christian Democrat Group in the European Parliament. They named this organisation a “European party” distinguishing it from its parent organisation the European Union of

³⁸ At the ratification of the Treaty of Rome the Christian Democrats expressed criticism that the Commission and Parliament were not strong enough. They were openly voicing for more integration. Unlike during the ongoing financial crisis where they did not put forward the same argument.

Christian Democrats (EUCD). The federalist aspirations were set on the name of the new organisation already³⁹.

Factors that led to the creation of the EPP

The decision of The Hague's European Council to go for European elections by universal suffrage created a momentum in both politics and society. Proof of this is spread in diverse findings including contemporary public opinion polls. There was a notion of the 'uprising of a European democracy'. Expectations may have exceeded actual facts at the time. Indicative of the climate, Lücker stated: *«That was a key decision for Europe. As a result of that decision we acquired in practice the role we had always said belonged to us in a representative democracy. But what has changed since then? Unfortunately, not what we had intended.»*⁴⁰. On 20 September 1976, Georges Spénale, President of the European Parliament, welcomes the signing, in Brussels, of the Act concerning the election of the representatives of the Assembly by direct universal suffrage. *«In the eyes of non-member countries, in twenty months' time, Europe will, at last, acquire for itself something it regards as a prerequisite for any State seeking to join the Community — a true system of parliamentary democracy, based on the dual plurality of parties and peoples.»*⁴¹ In September 1976, François-Xavier Ortoli, President of the European Commission, welcomes the signing, in Brussels, of the Act concerning the election of the representatives of the European Parliament by direct universal suffrage. *«But this is not all. In deciding that Parliament should be elected by universal suffrage, you also recognize that democracy is the very foundation of our Community, and*

39 Panebianco goes beyond Duverger's work, arguing that 'every organisation bears the marks of its formation, of the crucial political-administrative decisions made by its founders, the decisions which "moulded" the organisation' (Panebianco, 1988: p.50).

40 Interview of Hans-August Lücker / HANS-AUGUST LÜCKER, François Klein, Photo by : François Fabert.- Bonn: CVCE [Prod.], 15.05.2006. CVCE, Sanem. - VIDEO (00:04:27, Colour, Original Sound Track). Centre Virtuel de la Connaissance sur l'Europe, Château de Sanem, L-4992 Sanem (Luxembourg). www.cvce.lu. Translated by the CVCE.

41 European elections May-June 1978, 20 September 1976 Signature of the act. Luxembourg: Directorate-General for Information, [s.d.]

*that defending democracy is an essential part of what we are doing together.»*⁴² According to Walter Hallstein, President of the European Commission (1958-1967) the European elections would help create «*a truly European mandate [and] the emergence of truly European political parties'»* (Hallstein, 1972, p.74). It is under this overall 'pro-European climax' that one should evaluate the discussion about the creation of a 'party' at a European level from the most pro federal political actors, the Christian Democrats.

Evolution of positive/negative stance on the European elections⁴³

	SEPTEMBER 1973				APRIL/MAY 1977				EVOLUTION OF POSITIVE STANCE
	YES	NO	N/R	TOTAL	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	N/R	TOTAL	
LUXEMBOURG	67	12	21	100	85	7	8	100	18
NETHERLANDS	62	16	22	100	82	9	9	100	20
ITALY	74	12	21	100	80	10	10	100	6
IRELAND	45	31	24	100	76	12	12	100	31
FRANCE	51	18	31	100	74	12	14	100	23
GERMANY	69	12	19	100	69	8	23	100	0
UK	33	49	18	100	67	22	11	100	34
BELGIUM	52	14	34	100	64	13	23	100	12
DENMARK	36	43	21	100	44	27	29	100	8
COMMUNITY AVERAGE	54	23	23	100	72	13	15	100	18

IX-007-025/02⁴⁴, p.10

Extra reasons that pushed towards the creation of the European People's Party was the loss of the relative majority in the European Parliament for the Christian democrats to the socialists, who, for the first time, became the biggest group in 1973, when the United Kingdom, Ireland and Denmark joined the EC. These three countries had big labour parties that all joined the socialist group⁴⁵ while only the Irish Fine Gael joined the Christian democratic group. The integration to the socialist group of these three

42 European elections May-June 1978, 20 September 1976 Signature of the act. Luxembourg: Directorate-General for Information, [s.d.].

43 On the same archive volume very interesting is the Economist article of Nov 29, 1975 titled: "Who will rule Europe in 1995" IX-007-025/02, p.28

44 The 83-pages volume IX-007-025/02 is dedicated on surveys of the 1970s of the attitudes of the citizens of Europe. Interesting is the survey of 1974 where among citizens of all 9 member states of the EC the single "most important problem which the nine member countries try to solve jointly" is inflation with a community average of about 43,5% of public opinion far ahead of the second problem of energy - out of the 1972 crisis.

45 The Labour party MEPs only joined the European Socialists some two years later in 1975 ending the party's boycott of the EP (Johansson, p.142).

parties made a significant contribution to the power of the socialists in the European parliament. On top, the CD Group in the Parliament was not satisfied with the coordination they had with the EUCD. This had a longer history going beyond the EUCD to its predecessor NEI. The Christian Democrat Group in the European Parliament wanted to have an additional body of coordination between the national parties in order to assist the Group in the run up to the first direct elections to the European parliament 1978/79.

Already from the 1960s, the issues related to the European Community dominated the meetings of the EUCD. This led to the creation of the “Conference Permanante (DC) Des Six” as a type of working group within EUCD⁴⁶. This ad hoc body was transformed to the “Special Committee of EC member parties” within the EUCD. This was statutorily created in the revised Statutes of the EUCD that were adopted in July 1971 by the Political Bureau and in the actual text, in English, it reads “*Art.11. Within the framework of the EUCD and taking account of its Statute, the CD Parties of the member countries of the European Communities set up a special organism to examine specific problems concerning the Communities. This organism decides upon its activity by means of internal regulation which shall be lodged with the Bureau of the EUCD.*” (IX-004-001 Nach, p.833). On January 1, 1973, parliamentary group leader Lücker sent EUCD president Rumor a letter where he asked for the intensification of the cooperation between the national parties, the group in the European parliament and the people as well as appropriate resources (Jansen-Van Hecke, p.35). Arnaldo Ferragni has claimed credit for coming up with the original idea to create a European party as early as 1966 during a conversation with Hans August Lücker on the side-lines of a Parliament’s Committee in Gardone, in Italy: «*it was at that moment that the idea of the party germinated. I put forward the name that had come to me: People’s Party. Why People’s Party? Because Christian Democrats were traditionally representatives of the people*⁴⁷». Lücker, according to Ferragni, liked the idea.

⁴⁶ We traced meetings of this initiative and found some in IX-004-119/02 p.27, p.55. In general we explore only one part of the archive of the EUCD (codification IX-004-XXX) but only about 25% of the total 259 folders.

⁴⁷ From an interview to Pascal Fontaine 14/11/2007 (Fontaine, 2009, p.150).

At the beginning of the 1970s and in the run up for the first elections to the European Parliament discussions started on the idea to create “European parties”. Discussions at the time varied on how such parties should be organised, who should be invited to participate, what the organisational structure should be and so on. The Christian Democratic Group in the European Parliament had an active role in the preparation for the creation of the EPP as archive material reveals.⁴⁸ The European Union of Young Christian Democrats (EUYCD) at their meeting in Malta (May 1972) suggested that national Christian democratic parties be replaced by a European Christian democratic party. On his re-election as chair of the Christian Democratic Group in 1974, Lücker assured his audience that during his new mandate ‘a European Christian Democratic Party could be founded, a party with a single political programme’. (Jansen-Van Hecke, p.33)

The working group «European Party»

On September 26, 1975 EUYCD decided to create an ad hoc working group under the name «European Party» and with Rapporteurs the chair of the parliamentary group of the Christian democrats Hans-August Lücker⁴⁹ and Wilfried Martens⁵⁰, who at the time was the new president of Flemish CVP. According to the decision⁵¹ of the Political Committee: “*..all participants underlined the need to strengthen the cooperation of CD parties with the creation of a European Community Party*” ... “*we have decided to create a working group that will elaborate proposals concerning the programme, the constitution*

48 IX-007-040/03, pp.8-22 in 1975. Also at pp.38-66 a detailed report on the Belgium electoral results of PSC / Belgium of 1974, of Portugal on pp.67-77

49 Lücker born in 1915 was a member of the European parliament for Bavaria for the period 1958-1984. chairman of the parliamentary group of the Christian democrats for the period 2/2/1970-9/11/1975 and vice chairman of EUYCD. So at the time of the talks in the EUYCD the group was very keen in the discussion. (European Parliament website <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/members/archive/alphaOrder/view.do?language=EN&id=782>)

50 “*I never missed a single meeting*” is what Martens connotes about his participation in this committee. (p.36, Martens 2009). The other Belgium CD party was represented by Charles Ferdinand Nothomb. IX-007-006 p.575 position of Wilfried Martens on the future European party. Four pages very important doc as we see where he stood in the very early days. Very important in the course of time how he evolved.

51 Minutes from the meeting at IX-007-001/01 p.3

*and the name of this European party.*⁵² Martens in his book refers to the foundation of the EPP stating that, together with the German Lücker, they formed a successful couple, as Martens was coming from the Belgium party that preferred the cooperation only of the Christian democrats and Lücker, who came from the German Union parties, that wanted to include the conservatives. Members of this Working Group were the deputy secretaries-general of the EUCD, Karl J. Hahn (NL) and Heinrich Böx (D), the secretary-general of the CD Group Alfredo De Poi (I), and the executive secretary of the EUCD, Josef Müller (D). The strong interest of the Group of the Christian Democrats is evident from the synthesis of the WG. The WG met on the following dates:

November 17, 1975 - Brussels (Minutes found at IX-007-001/01, p.190)

December 11, 1975 - Brussels (Minutes found at IX-007-02, p.591)

January 16, 1976 - Luxembourg (Minutes found at IX-007-001/01, p.180)

January 23, 1976 - Brussels (Minutes found at IX-007-02, p.102)

The aim of the working group was to develop the statutory documents of the new organisation. At the meeting of the Political Committee of EC on February 20-21, 1976 the working group presented a draft Constitution and discussion took place⁵³. At the next meeting on April 29, 1976 the documents were agreed setting this date as the actual foundation date of the “European People’s Party. Federation of European Community Christian Democratic Parties” adopting its first Constitutions. The official foundation meeting of the EPP took place at the EUCD Political Committee on the 8th of July 1976 in Luxemburg⁵⁴. The inaugural Political Bureau of the EPP⁵⁵ on the 9th of

52 Decision of the political committee of the EUCD, 22 September 1975. source: EPP archive IX-007-001-01 p.3 my translation from French.

⁵³ On the 7th of March 1975 we found the news bulletin of the CD Group in the EP reporting: “La Comité Politique a ensuite réaffirme son engagement à rédiger un programme de la Démocratie Chrétienne européenne pour les prochaine élection directes du Parlement Européen, en prévision desquelles les partis Démocrates chrétiens sont engagé dans la formation d’un parti an niveau communautaire. » (IX-007-001/01, p.29).

⁵⁴ IX-007-02 old p.166 report on the creation of the EPP on July 1976. IX-007-02 old p.180 press report of the socialists from the EP on the creation of the EPP on July 1976.

July 1976 was chaired by the President of the EUCD Von Hassel. It unanimously adopted the Statutes and the Rules of Procedure that had been elaborated in the previous months. The Political Bureau elected the President of the EPP, Leo Tindermans, former General Secretary of EUCD and, at the time, Prime Minister of Belgium. As soon as he was elected he took over the chair of the meeting and a series of speeches took place from the new president and the heads of delegations⁵⁶. The election of the three (3) Vice Presidents took place just after where: 50 votes cast, 2 abstentions, 46 votes for Dutch Norbert Schmelzer, 45 votes for Italian Dario Antoniozzi, and 44 votes for the French Andre Colin. (IX-007-062, p.145)

The twelve founding parties of the EPP from seven countries were:

Belgian Parti Social Chrétien (PSC)
Belgian Christelijke Volkspartij (CVP)
Dutch Catholic People's Party (KPV)
Dutch Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP)
Dutch Christian-Humanist Union (CHU)
French Centre des Démocrates Sociaux (CDS)
German Christlich-Demokratische Union (CDU)
German Christlich-Soziale Union (CSU)
Irish Fine Gael (FG)
Italian Democrazia Cristiana (DC)
Italian Südtiroler Volkspartei (SV)
Luxembourgish Christlich-Soziale Volkspartei (CSV)

The meeting touched upon the finances of the EPP and the chair reported that the Christian Democratic Group would support the new organisation. However, the member parties should also undertake commitments in this direction. A financial

⁵⁵ In the archive ACDP IX-007-002 we found the press reports from the creation of the EPP in 1976. The reports relate the creation of the EPP with the upcoming first European elections. Some even reproduce the table with the electoral results of the constituent members of the EPP to show the strength of the new organisation (IX-007-002, p.248).

⁵⁶ Annexed in the minutes, IX-007-062 Reunion, p.145.

commission was established to prepare a draft model of funding for the next meeting (IX-007-026, p.18). Lücker, chairman of the CD group noted: *“The period when relations among the CD parties were reduced to admittedly useful but not binding forms of arrangements, coordination and cooperation belongs now to the past. In future political decisions will be adopted that are binding at the European level⁵⁷.”* Furthermore, Tindermans wrote: *« “Le PPE crée par les démocrates-chrétiens des différents pays de la Communauté Européenne a été conçu comme un véritable parti politique. Il ne s’agit pas d’un simple lien de concertation entre formations politiques ayant des intérêts communs, mais bien d’une structure de parti organisée en vue de la prise de décisions⁵⁸. »*

The reaction of the Austrian and the Swiss parties

The strong will of the EC member parties of the EUCD to create a new level of cooperation was not trouble-free inside EUCD. Jansen-Van Hecke connotes: *«EUCD member parties from non-Community countries, and in particular the neutral Austrians and Swiss, increasingly felt their interests were being neglected and their views relegated to the side-lines. The Standing Conference of the Six, set up within the EUCD in 1970, failed to allay such anxieties, as did the Political Committee of Christian Democratic Parties from the EC Countries, which was established two years later».* (2011, p.28). EC member parties were not the only ones with a high interest for international cooperation. Kaiser notes: *«The Austrian OVP first initiated talks between Christian democratic and conservative parties at the highest level in the mid-1960s. They were primarily designed to support Chancellor Josef Klaus’s attempt to negotiate a privileged Austrian EEC association short of full membership which, he was planning to argue, would be compatible with the 1955 neutrality law.»* (Kaiseri, 2007, p.315)

⁵⁷ ‘Il Partito Popolare Europeo: Un nuovo impulse politico per l; Europa’ DC-Europa bollettino, 1976, no.5’: in Papini, 1996 p.148.

⁵⁸ ‘Le parti populaire européen : finalité et perspective d’action » in La démocratie chrétienne en Europe’ in Papini, 1996, p.150.

The Austrian and the Swiss Christian democrats drafted a joint Memorandum⁵⁹ in December 1976 where they asked for the revision of the EPP Statutes that would: a) assure their participation in all the EPP meetings and b) allow them to participate in all the proceedings and discussion that affect them in a direct way. The issue was discussed in the EPP political bureau of 4-5 May 1977 and the EPP tried to accommodate the concerns of the two parties by agreeing on a Memo for the cooperation of the EPP with the EUCD⁶⁰. It was therefore agreed that: the statutes of both EPP and EUCD remain as they are. However, during all the Political Bureaus of the EUCD will take place simultaneously with an EPP Political Bureau. The political Bureau of the EPP may meet more frequently and whenever at their meeting there are issues of greater interest to other EUCD members they have the right to request participation as observers⁶¹. Also, the Commissions (Working Groups) of both organisations would be joint. (ibid, p.193) Jansen at our interview noted *“The protests of the Austrian and the Swiss friends was based on a misunderstanding concerning the nature of what the EPP should be. It should not be just another association of likeminded parties in order to enable their cooperation, but a party operating as a unity of action and taking over responsibility within the institutions of the political system of the EC. There was no discrimination. The mechanism that would allow the cooperation of the member parties of the EPP and the other CD parties was provided by the EUCD.”*

59 Original memorandum was found at IX-007-26, p.198. «Les deux partis sont d avis qu'une telle solution, ne serait pas seulement dans leur intérêt mais également dans celui de tous les partis démocrates-chrétiens d'Europe et qu'elle conduirait a un renforcement de la collaboration européenne»

60 Minutes from the Political Bureau, IX-007-26, p.188.

61 At that meeting in Brussels the political bureaus of EPP and EUCD had different agendas. In IX-007-063-01-279-014, p. 64 we find the agreement between EPP and EUCD of 1977. In IX-007-144, p.21 we have the agenda of the EUCD for that political bureau. The agenda had two topics: «1. La strategie et le tactique des partis communistes en Europe occidental and 2. Le conference a Belgrade».

The first years of the EPP

The first membership request on the newly established EPP comes already on the 21st of July 1976 from the “Equipe of Christian Democrats of Spain” representing five parties (!) and requesting its recognition as permanent observers of the EPP. The second one comes on the 30th of August 1976 from the European Young Christian Democrats (IX-007-026 p.89). In February 1978 the group of Christian democrats is renamed to “Group of the European People’s Party”, aligning forces with the new party structure in Europe and a sign of the commitment to its success as a European party. The discussion about the political programme of the EPP for the first European elections came at the Political Bureau of May 4-5, 1977 where Lückner as Rapporteur of the project “Political Programme of the EPP” and former president of the CD group in the European Parliament presented his views: *«Il faudra enfin formuler une plate-forme électorale en prévision des prochaines élections directes [1978]: cette plate-forme devra être beaucoup plus courte que le programme (au maximum 5 ou 6 pages imprimées). Ce projet de programme n'est pas une compilation des différents programmes nationaux; en effet, la politique européenne a ses dimensions propres, face auxquelles un programme particulier doit être élaboré.»* (IX-007-026, p.191) He went on to propose that this political programme should be ready by October 1977 to be given to the public, given that the European elections were scheduled for May 1978. So the original plan was to have the programme debated and agreed already by June 1977 and publicise it in the autumn, some eight months before the elections. He then defined the chapters of the programme:

Chapitre 1: Notre vision de l'homme et de la société

Chapitre II: Les politiques de la Communauté

Chapitre III: Le rôle de la Communauté dans le monde

Chapitre IV: La dynamique institutionnelle

Chapitre V: Notre option pour le développement de l'Union européenne

The programme was finally presented and finalised at the first Congress of the EPP named “Congres de Programme” that took place in Brussels in March 6-7, 1978⁶².

The cooperation with the Conservatives

During the period of EUCD the issue of cooperation with the Conservatives was put forward. According to Gehler-Kaiser the participation of British and Scandinavian conservative parties had created big debates in the NEI cooperation in the 1950s and early 1960s. Not surprising, the key supporters for such a prospect were the German Christian Democrats while Italians and Belgians were consequently vetoing their participation. As a result, according to Jansen-Van Hecke, the EUCD accordingly began a debate whether a “democratic centre” should or could be created. (2011, p.28). We researched the archive on this question and we found that the British Conservative party under Heath indeed applied to become a member of the EUCD in July 1965, while few months later it also applied to the Christian Democratic International at a press conference in Rome in January 1966. The application to the EUCD is brought, a year later, on the agenda of the political bureau of July 1966 and president Rumor handled it as follows: *«L'admission a l'UEDC du Parti Conservateur aurait cree de grave difficultes pour certains partis democrates-chrétiens qui forment l'Union. Par conséquent, M. Runor demande l'autorisation au Bureau de proposer la constitution d'une Equipe Anglaise. Elle pourrait être formée par des associations et des institutions d'inspiration démocrate et chrétienne et des membres des organisation politiques, qui, naturellement, partagent cette inspiration, pourraient aussi y participer.»* (IX-04-116/03 p.8). Rumor tried to overcome the disagreement inside EUCD by suggesting the continuation of a similar status of “equipe” that existed in NEI and the British. Not widely remembered, during the NEI period there was a “British equipe” member of NEI. During the NEI Hague congress the British were represented through a national ‘equipe’ headed by the Duchess of Atholl, a former minister that was nicknamed “Red Duchess” by Churchill

⁶² In IX-007-08-01 p.112-289 find speeches of leaders at the EPP first Congress on March 1978. Interesting to read the speech of president Leo Tindermans at the congress (IX-004-001 Nach, p.662) and the speech of von Hassel in German at the congress (ibid, p.705). See also over 300 pages of press reports from the first EPP Congress at IX-007-056 EVP-PPE, pp.128-427

due to her progressive views⁶³. She was later on succeeded by Lady Emmet who was in parallel head of the foreign affairs committee of the British Conservative Party. As a result according to Papini the equipe was absorbed by the Committee. However, it consisted of politicians from the Conservative and the Labour party and others. We found no further evidence as to what actually happened with this decision of the EUCD but it did not materialise. According to Papini *“the British started to look with increased interest at the CD parties, which had earlier been regarded for the most part as ‘papist’ and clerical’, particularly after the war, when the CD parties were widely successful*⁶⁴.”

The application was taken up again at the EUCD Political Bureau in Rome, December 1966. In the minutes of this meeting (IX-004-116/02 p.2) the application was presented by the representative of CDU and following discussion President Rumor concluded: *«RUMOR propose que la Presidence aborde le probleme des contacts avec d’autres formations politiques. Le problem d’ensemble sera soumis au Bureau.»*⁶⁵ (IX-04-116/02, p.8) Martens in his autobiography noted *«This was a mistake of truly historic proportions. The history of the Conservative Party and the EPP and perhaps even of Great Britain, might have been very different if we had the foresight and the courage then to allow the Conservatives into the family of Christian Democrats.»* (Martens, p. 119).

The question of enlargement has been around much before the creation of the EPP in 1976. According to Jansen: *«From the early ‘70s onwards the EUCD was increasingly compelled to address itself to the question of whether, and how, the Conservatives should be involved in Christian-Democratic joint activities. The issue moved centre-stage after the United Kingdom joined the European Community in 1972.»* (Jansen 2006). De Bruwer notes: *«Toute la période qui précéda la création du PPE, entre 1970 et 1976, fut caractérisée par un mouvement rampant d’adhésion des conservateurs britanniques, dont les premières cibles furent les organisations des femmes et des jeunes. »* (1992). It is

⁶³ Papini, 1996, p.249

⁶⁴ Papini, 1996, p.248. Papini names some of the members of the British equipe to NEI: M.Braine, M.Folly, G.Catlin, J.McCallum-Scott, T.Phiplips, G.Wedell and M. Fogarty. Once the labour party joined the Socialist international their members in the NEI equipe withdrew their membership.

⁶⁵ IX-004-007-Nachlieferung-UEDC, p.389 *« Note sure la demande d’adhesion du Party Conservateur Anglais »* December 1966.

however difficult to map all the converging and diverging views on the matter during the years around the foundation of the EPP, in the 70s. We put up this issue at the interview with Thomas Jansen and he noted: *“the main reason was, I think, a reflex nourished by the national political culture or tradition and more directly the party landscape at home. Those parties who experienced at home a position as centre parties competing with parties at their left and at their right preferred a clear cut centre identity also for the European party / the Italian case. Those parties who integrated at home the whole centre right area preferred the association with the Conservatives/ the German case.”* (interview Jansen May 2015).

According to Johansson *«Christian Democrats and Conservatives rarely meet head-on within the same national party system. Where secular Conservatism is strong, Christian Democracy tends to be weak or non-existent (in the Nordic countries, Greece, Spain and the United Kingdom).»* (1997, p.22) Interesting is the position of the Belgian Alfred Bertrand at the WG International Politics of EUCD 4 April 1975 : *«Il faut tendre à établir une coopération raisonnable, afin d'éviter de rester isolés; nous risquons autrement de devenir rapidement un groupe minoritaire sans importance au sein du Parlement européen; il faudrait réfléchir à la possibilité de créer un groupe "Démocrates chrétiens et regroupements voisins" pour voir si cette initiative pouvait représenter une solution utile»* (IX-007-208, p.429).

As we presented in previous paragraphs the topic of enlargement has been persistent in the history of party cooperation in Europe and did mark the foundation of the EPP. As this is a key issue of our thesis, we have invested resources towards the academic discourse as well as conducted research on both archive material and elite interviews aiming to analyse and present what and why has actually happened. Apart from the correlation of those in favour of the enlarged cooperation among conservatives and Christian democrats with their national party system their meetings did have distinct characteristics vis-a-vis the Christian democratic cooperation in Europe. The conservatives were using a language that was an anti-socialist, anti-communist, pro-market and without any federalist declarations. A good example of this language was the English version of the declaration of the Salzburg Party Leaders meeting in September 1975 organised by OVP Austria found in the archive.

Party Leaders' Conference, Salzburg, Sept. 8-9 1975

RESOLUTION

The leaders of the Christian-democrat, Conservative and Centre parties of Europe, assembled, in Salzburg, and after thorough discussion of the political, economic and social situation agreed as follows: Socialism in Europe has gone beyond its climax. The parties here represent the strongest most realistic democratic alternative. The present economic situation in Europe is characterised by growing unemployment combined with high rates of inflation. No socialist-led government has so far been, able to successfully fight stagflation and open up the road for the revival of the economy. We agree that cooperation within and beyond the frontiers of Europe is necessary for coping with the problems of the industrialized world today. The parties represented at Klesheim will do everything in their power to strengthen democracy and pluralism in Portugal. The party leaders call upon the European Socialist Parties to use their influence with the Portuguese Socialists not to enter into a coalition with the Communists. History shows that any form of cooperation with the communists will end in loss of liberty and dictatorship.

The party leaders agree that a renewal and revival of interest in basic ideas, is necessary. The main decisions for the present and future of a free society in the European democracies cannot be taken 'on the basis of day-to-day pragmatism. Only a dynamic and convincing identification with the lasting values of liberty and the dignity of man will guarantee an open and democratic society. In order to achieve these objectives. the parties represented at Kleaheim will intensify their contacts in order to secure better cooperation through regular exchange of view. To do this it was agreed:

- to hold annual meetings at Klesheim*
- to work towards a European umbrella organisation for the parties represented and to begin the necessary preparations.*

Found at IX-007-002, p.588

The British Conservatives

The British Conservative party, building alliances in Europe, organised the so called “inter-party conferences”. The German Union parties were preferred partners. This started already in the 1960s and Edward Heath while it continued when Margaret Thatcher became Tory Leader in 1975. According to Kaiser “*When she met the CDU secretary-general, Heiner Geißler, at the beginning of November 1977, Thatcher insisted that the Conservatives ‘as a pro-European party will have to demonstrate to their supporters and enemies that they are not isolated, but work closely with like-minded parties from other EC countries’*” (Kaiser, 2007, p.316). Karl Magnus Johansson makes a valuable contribution to the historical events of the discussions in the 1970s about the cooperation between the Christian Democrats and the Conservatives in the eve of the first European elections (1997, p.65). An interesting detail is the change of name of Conservative Group, of the EPP (not to include CD reference), even on youth (DEMYC) and the students (EDS) structures in order to facilitate the rapprochement between the two political traditions. This is valuable to our argument. In this context of the 1970s Johansson contends that Thatcher’s intention to cooperation with the Christian Democrats was genuine and derived from the concern to build up strong allies in Europe. (1997, p.68) According to Johansson: “*There was a working alliance in practice, but it was one between two “proud groups.”*”⁶⁶ *Under the EDG chairmanship of Plumb (1982-87), the Tories discussed the possibility of a formal alliance with the Christian Democrats, having been flirting with the idea over the years, but concluded that there was no need because of their own strength*” (1997, p.76).

As we presented, British conservatives had requested membership in the EUCD under Edward Heath in 1965. In 1975, his successor, Margaret Thatcher, wanted to participate in the different European forums for reasons of networking and at a period where Britain having just joined the E.C. was not yet critical over the power of Brussels against Austrians and Swiss Christian Democratic Parties were also evidently upset with the EUCD being dominated by E.C. politics and policies, and also dissatisfied for not being invited to participate in the development of the EPP project. The launch of the EDU in 1978 with the Austrians protagonising, Swiss and British on board is not a coincidence, but it is linked to the above.

Dilemmas

The issue of cooperation of CDs with conservatives and non-Christian democratic parties has been around Europe even before the creation of the EPP. At the EPP foundation years the issue was debated again. Among the 12 founding members of the EPP, all but the two German parties, stood against opening the cooperation towards conservative parties. In the period of consultation, the German CDU/CSU put up the following amendment: *«Le parti populaire Européen est composé des partis politiques de tendance démocrates chrétienne et des partis politiques de tendance équivalente. (...) qui adhèrent aux objectifs définies par la présente status.»* (IX-007-02, p.287). The amendment was not accepted but we keep notice of it as it is what the EPP actually decided several years later. As Martens noted *“According to the CDU/CSU only a permanent coalition of Christian democrats, conservatives and liberals in keeping with the German model, could offer any form of opposition to socialist dominance in western Europe. In the post May 1968 period Western Europe was predominantly red in colour. Socialist parties were in power in West Germany, Great Britain and the Netherlands, among other countries. The CVP/PSC was the only Christian democratic party capable of winning parliamentary elections in Europe in the 1970s”.* (2009, p.37)

Key factor for the CD parties' opposition towards non Christian Democrats was the national party context. The government coalitions with parties to the left of them were more often the case, while parties to their right were either hard competitors or not preferred allies. Each one of the 9 members of the EPP in its domestic political race had socialists not as natural opponents but, in most cases, as natural partners. So the idea of “uniting the centre-right” meant practically nothing. The core Christian democrats were against inviting non Christian democratic parties, especially to their right, as they were competitors in the national context. The non Christian democrats would not fit in the concept of the “European Christian democratic party”. Equally speaking, a second “NO” was extended towards inviting non EC members' parties to participate in the new structure. The combination of the two is labelled as “the two NOs”.

The second issue was the name of the new organisation. Germans argued that the name should be rather broad and not exclusive, preferring the “people’s party” concept than that of “Christian Democrats”. Other names were also put forward: European Christian Democracy, Christian Democratic People’s Party, European Social Party for Progress (Martens, p.39) Concerning the final name, ‘The Economist’ wrote “*They eventually settled on “the European People’s Party, a federation of Christian Democratic parties of the European community” not exactly slick, but it suited the Germans who wanted as bland a label as possible. Some of the constituent parties, like the Dutch, wanted religion to be specifically mentioned in the new party’s constitution, but found themselves outnumbered.*” (8/5/1976, found at IX-007-002/02, p.241).

The German Union parties

Over time, these two “Nos” became two “Yes”. German CDU/CSU had been committed, ever since, to integrating the conservatives into the EPP so as to compete with the socialists. They have had the same position since the 1960s and the British Conservative application to the EUCD. Kaiser states that «*Although it was chiefly promoted by the Bavarian CSU under its leader Franz Josef Strauß, the CDU thus helped pave the way for the creation of the European Democratic Union (EDU) of EC and non-EC Christian democratic and conservative parties in 1978*». As far as the position of the CDU/CSU on the issue of cooperating with the conservatives Thomas Jansen noted “*By the way, the question concerning the relations with the Conservatives was controversial also within the CDU; not all representatives of the CDU were agreeing with the leadership.*” (Interview, May 2015). The CDU is a very active partner in Christian democratic cooperation of the 1970s as its presence in the archive suggests⁶⁶. The clash of the core Christian democratic parties with the CDU/CSU in the 1970s on

⁶⁶ In the volume IX-004-005 we found the interview of the new CDU leader Helmut Kohl in 1973 at pp.65-74 in French, Various docs on the CDU period 1972-1973 at pp.86-284, Ideological and principles report of the CDU for its 1972 Congress pp.285-302, presentation of Junge Union of the CDU new programme (30.7.1972) at p.304, p.324-346 12/1971 interesting article on “Un aperçu de la politique de la CDU/CSU à l’égard de l’est” and summary report on the history of the CDU at pp. 347-356.

extending the invitation to the conservative parties at the time has been discussed by scholars. Each side had a different agenda. The Christian democrats were striving to create the Christian democratic Europarty while the Germans, without disagreeing to this cause, they strove for increasing the influence in the European institutions through a larger coalition of power. We have no proof or indication that the Germans had second thoughts over the creation of a European party, equally so for the Christian democrats we hardly can find evidence as to whether they “disliked” the conservatives. It was a matter of priorities. For the German Union parties the priority was to build a strong coalition of parties to the right-of-centre in Europe, mirroring their domestic party paradigm⁶⁷.

Due to these differences in the strategy of the cooperations, the German Union parties were positioned to the right side of the Christian democratic spectrum at the time. This should not be taken as proof for a more conservative identity. The differences were not evident when discussing policy issues with the core Christian democrats. Christian democrats and German CDU/CSU strove for more integration at this early stage of the European Communities. This is proven by the contrast of the big fights when discussing the cooperation with the other political traditions and the smooth consensus when discussing policies and programme. A sound example of this was the easiness with which they managed to adopt their first political programme and the first political manifesto in 1978 for the first European elections by universal suffrage⁶⁸.

The issue of who to cooperate with for the EPP was raised from the early days of the EPP history. Kurt Biedenkopf, Secretary General of the CDU at the foundation meeting of the EPP on July 8, 1976 stated: «*Europe does not end at the borders of the European Community, and we must be aware that the EC and thus the EPP and its founding members have a responsibility for the whole Europe*»⁶⁹. At the same meeting, Gerold Tandler, Secretary General of the CSU stated «*we must find ways to organize the*

⁶⁷ The German Christian Democrats William Paterson in Political Parties and the European Union John Gaffney, see also the very good analysis on the history of the CDU in Confessions of an Interest Group. The Catholic Church and Political Parties in Europe, Carolyn M. Warner, pp.185-202.

⁶⁸ See material from the first EPP Congress, March 1978 at IX-007-08/01.

⁶⁹ IX-007-062-Reunion, p.169

*cooperation with the Christian-democratic parties from those European countries that are outside the European Community, as well as with those, namely, the conservative parties, whose basic political concepts of our own kind»⁷⁰. In the archive we found a confidential report of Lücker dated September 21, 1976 (IX-007-191, p.115fr) At this report he presents two main scenarios: one the “grande coalition” where the EPP cooperates with the socialists and would be the junior partner and one scenario where he talks for the “*rassemblement du centre*” from the Christian democrats, the liberals, the conservatives and the Progressive Europeans. In this scenario the EPP would be the “senior partner”. He is indirectly advocating in favour of the latter scenario, but leaving all options open. The report concludes by advocating that dialogue should take place with all other groupings and, in this direction, he suggests that the working group ‘Programme’ should undertake the task of consulting all groups in the European parliament. Interesting the paragraphs that state : «*En cas de rassemblement du centre’ le rôle moteur revenent au groupe du PPE, les forces politiques entrant en ligne de compte devraient être contactées en temps utiles; il faudrait examiner parallèlement s’ il est possible d’ arriver a un degré de rapprochement ou de convergence susceptible d’ aboutir a une action politique cordonnées ou commune*⁷¹. » The EUCD for this purpose created the working group ‘Dialogue’ to discuss the cooperation with other groups outside the EPP. We note in the minutes of the meeting of this working group on December 7, 1977 in Bonn the comments made by the head of CDU, not yet chancellor, Helmut Kohl:*

« Pour les deux partis Allemands, le PPE a la priorité absolue; nous espérons un développement tel que les partis membres actuels puissent se considérer comme membres

⁷⁰ IX-007-062-Reunion, p.171

⁷¹ IX-007-191, p.125. Very interesting in the same archive are the proposals of the EPP founding parties on how EPP should be, such as the proposals of PSC-CVP Belgium p.128, the proposals of the Dutch equipe at p.165, of CDU/Germany at p.204. In the same folder we found draft statutes of the European Democrat Union, a sign of the interest of the EPP towards the EDU. Further we have found the draft statutes for the EDU developed by the CDU by Dr. Henrich Box at page 220. Two letters of Joseph Muller to Tindermans in german at IX-007-191, p.286). Interesting is the report titled “La CDU de la Republique Allemande vue par la CDU de la Republique Federale Allemande” issued in March 1980, IX-007-089, pp.317-320). Also another report on the CDU of Eastern Germany dated October 1976 is found on IX-007-089, pp.333-335.

ayant un rôle et une structure politique comparable à ceux des partis D.C. des landers en Allemagne. Les deux partis allemands sont décidés à mener la campagne électorale avec tout la force et l'intensité voulues. Nous devons cependant reconnaître franchement que nous, Démocrates Chrétiens, seuls, pouvons à peine obtenir la majorité absolue au Parlement Européen. C'est pour cette raison que le CDU et le CSU souhaitent que les Démocrates Chrétiens, s'assurent d'autres amitiés politiques, en mettant, par exemple, les conservateurs de leur côté. Cependant, il est tout à fait hors de nos intentions de créer un nouveau parti politique Européen. » (IX-007-191, p.332).

Helmut Kohl even brings as an example of such cooperation the election of Colombo at the presidency of the European Parliament as *«an example of cooperation between the Christian Democrats and forces of the political centre»* (IX-007-191, p.333). The minutes from this working group session are very important because with everyone present we get a fairly accurate understanding of where the member parties stood on this topic. (IX-007-191, pp.332-341)

Helmut Kohl is building the argument of the religious diversity along the lines of the union of Catholics and protestants that CDU and CSU have managed to bring together in Germany: *«Il serait fatal pour les partis de l'Union que l'idée subsiste dans l'esprit de la population protestante que nous représentons "l'Europe' catholique". Ce danger existe cependant car la plupart des partis avec lesquels la CDU et la CSU collaborent au sein du PPE, sont des partis catholiques. Lors de l'élection du Bundestag en 1976, les partis de l'Union ont obtenu 48,6 des Voix, avec 18 millions d'électeurs ; 38% de nos électeurs sont protestants. Par conséquent, une collaboration avec, les conservateurs, protestants britanniques et danois a pour nous une signification décisive.»* (IX-007-191, p.333)

The European Democrat Union

The European Democrat Union was the side-product of the failure of Christian Democrats and Conservatives to strike a deal of working together in the mid 1970s. Documents on the foundation period can be found at IX-007-191. In the same archive file IX-007-191 p.216 onwards we find documents of the CDU with draft statutes of the

EDU dated 1975 at the same period when the EPP creation was debated. Interesting on the relations of the EPP with the EDU is the letter that Garret Fitzgerald, leader of the Fine Gael sent to Leo Tindermans in July 1978 *“As a member of a coalition with a social democratic party you [Tindermans] will readily appreciate our position, as a former coalition partner with the Social Democratic (Labour) Party here, and as a potential future coalition partner with them.”* (IX-007-191, p.60)

Any comparison between the EDU and the EPP has to take into account that the fundamental characteristic of the EPP at those early days was “party aspiration”. This ingredient was missing at the EDU and, in that sense, the two organisations may look similar were actually different. Delwit names the German Union parties as «instigators» of the creation of the EDU. There had been a long period of consultation among Germans, Austrians, British and others on the establishment of a forum for the cooperation of both Christian Democratic and Conservative parties. *“After a preparatory meeting in Munich October 1977, the EDU was created at Klessheim in April 1978. Originally made up of eighteen parties, the European Democratic Union defined itself as “working partnership” of Christian Democrats, conservatives and non-collectivists. The CDU-CSU and the British Conservative Party were two of the driving forces.”* (2004, p.141) Martens claims the Germans responsible for the creation of the EDU as well: *“Because the CDU/CSU nonetheless wished to maintain structural contact with non-Christian Democratic parties both within and outside the European Community, a few months later they set up the European Democratic Union (EDU) in reaction to the founding of the EPP.”* (...) *“the EDU was not a federation of parties and did not form a group within the European Parliament, but its foundation put a damper on the enthusiasm with which the EPP got off the ground (...) the first years of the EPP were years of deadlock. Three associations of Christian Democratic parties in Western Europe - EUCD, EPP and EDU - worked separately and in some degree even against each other (...) Mistrust reigned.”* (2009, p.40) During the EPP foundation period The Economist wrote *“there are plans for setting up a second organisation, loosely linking all kinds of centre and right-wing parties inside and outside the EEC. This will include the British Conservatives as well as all the Christian democrats, plus parties from other west*

European countries. But this will be irrelevant to the European parliament and seems unlikely to carry any clout.” (May 8, 1976, IX-007-002/02, p.241)

Hypothesis 1: Europarty or Association of parties?

We are examining a hypothesis that if well supported it will be revisiting the creation of the EPP in a way with significant implications for the contemporary discussion about the European parties. Jansen-Van Hecke in 2011 presented what we call as the ‘linear’ approach on the history of Europarties applied in the case of the EPP: *“to be realistic, we must assume that a party at European level will only take shape gradually, and in fact will start from what exists; just as European union can probably only come about through the development of the Common Market to an Economic and Currency Union, and then on to political integration, which will have to take into account a transition period and a great deal of patience... Building a party at European level and the further development of European integration have to develop in parallel and at the same pace”* (2011, p.37). This approach is in line with what other scholars on the history of the EPP have presented either they position themselves on the Europarty enthusiasts or on the Europarty critics.

But what exactly was intended to create back then? A federation of parties, as the EPP is today or a “party” as its name is deliberating? Our hypothesis is that the aim was not just to create a better coordinating organ compared to EUCD for Christian Democrats in the EC countries. The aim was to create a truly European party, in the federal model, despite that the European Communities in the mid 1970s were not even a common market. We are certainly not looking to confirm the hypothesis at the level of “intention” or “declarations”. We need to prove that the EPP was not just a “wanna be” Europarty upon its creation, but that it did function as a Europarty for several years, as well as, that there must be a syncordy of evidence pointing in the same direction.

But how do we define the “Europarty”? We take as our basis what we have today as far as the profile and role of Europarties in the European Union. This applies to their contribution to the European elections, their day to day operations within the different

European institutions, the effort to influence the decision making of the Communities in a collective way, as a European party, the level of coordination of their national member parties, their role in the appointment of the top European positions. The broad perception that we will challenge is that the European parties developed during the past 40 years following the course of development of the European integration: From the 1970s and the first direct elections, to the mid 80s and the Single European Act, the Maastricht Treaty and the subsequent Treaties, the EMU and the waves of enlargement until today. The European Union today is multiple times more integrated compared to the European Communities in the 1970s. We don't need to prove this.

The EPP was born out of the expectation that the forthcoming European elections would transform the Communities from an international organization to a federal political system ruled by democratic institutions. The federalist concept of Christian democrats towards integration, at a time when the European Communities was not yet a free market area is critical for our hypothesis. Christian democrats stood firmly in favour not just of "more integration" but with the explicit aim to build the «United States of Europe». The public discussion about the coming direct elections created a momentum about building the European democracy. It is primarily the federal character of the Christian democrats at the time that was at its peak and was not shared by the other two mainstream political families.

We have divided the evidence we found in support of this hypothesis into six categories:

a. The high level of integration of the EUCD

Due to the "linear approach", the work of the EUCD before the creation of the EPP would be expected to be an even looser form of party cooperation. If the EPP needed over 30 years to reach the current Europarty depth of integration, then the parent organisation, the EUCD, not even a European party, in the 1970s would be expected to be a weaker form of cooperation. The archive material does not confirm this perception. On the opposite, the work of the EUCD in the early 1970s was already

assimilating to a European party. In the archive IX-004-005-Nachlieferung-PROCES-VERBAL we found the full documentation of the Political Bureau of December 1972 in Vienna. In the over 150 pages found only for this event, including 64 pages of detailed minutes (!) we note: full participation at a very senior level of EUCD member parties, a level of integration much equivalent to the level of the EPP, a combination of a “pan European scope” with a European Communities focus, while a special eye was kept over communist countries⁷², an in-depth discussion on all contemporary political issues. There were two communiqué de presse: a four pages analytical press statement with all main issues addressed at the meeting and a small statement as follows: *‘Le Bureau politique de l’UEDC, réuni à Vienne les 8 et 9 Décembre 1972, recommande aux membres démocrates chrétiens des gouvernements membres de la Communauté Européenne d’assurer une représentation adéquate au sien de la future Commission de la Communauté européenne de la force politique démocrate chrétienne.’* (p.232 *ibid*) A deeper research work in the EUCD period would be very useful in many directions but was not part of this thesis. However, from the first look upon the thousand of pages of archive material of the EUCD (series IX-004 in the Konrad Adenauer codification) the frequency of the meetings and the depth and scope of the deliberations of the organs we would risk the hypothesis that the EUCD had all the characteristics of a European party and this is precisely why the Group in the European parliament suggested that it takes the formal name of “party” towards the European elections, together of course with the ambition to improve certain aspects of the cooperation.

b. The discussions prior to the creation of the EPP

Most researchers agree that the EPP could not exist should there not be the EUCD before, NEI before the EUCD and so on. The EPP was created by a group of people who were cooperating for years in the context of the European institutions and the party cooperation. Practical know how, structure, statutes, a code-of-conduct etc. were developed on an “acquis communautaire” of the CD cooperation. The prior cooperation

⁷² In folder IX-004-117 in 1100 pages there are multiple reports on each Communist country state of play as well as a report of Joseph Haan on Christian Democracy in Europe (mid 1970s).

that took place in EUCD and NEI before, is indeed very important to understand what happened. The creation of the EPP is credited to the momentum on the 1970s ahead of the first European elections. It is the rise of the idea that the cooperation of Christian democrats should move to the next level, establishing not another federation of parties, as was the EUCD, but this time a “party”. The loss of majority in the European Parliament to the Socialists gave the idea a sense of urgency on the side of the Christian Democratic group. *“A Christian Democratic group had already been set up within the European Parliament in 1953. Our group wished to found a European political party in view of the first direct elections to be held in 1979” (...)* *“we had to hurry because the socialists, to whom we had lost the relative majority in the European Parliament since Great Britain’s membership, had already founded their “Federation of Socialist Parties in the European Community in 1974.”* (Martens, 2009, p.36).

Within the EUCD the discussion on EC affairs dominated the meetings in the early ’70s that some parties that were not coming from EC countries would feel underrepresented. Following this argument, the EPP is not the gradual evolution of previous organizations and the EUCD did not cease to exist upon its creation. In the huge archive material of both the EUCD (IX-004) and of the EPP (IX-007) there is valuable material of all kinds from the proceedings and the political debates of the period⁷³. We have found several pieces of evidence in this direction and not a single piece of evidence pointing to the opposite direction. To begin with, in this statement Hans August Lückner president of the CD group in the European Parliament at his re election in 1974 stated: *“in the course of his new mandate he would continue to devote himself wholeheartedly to the interests of the parliamentary group and the European Union of Christian Democrats so that a European Christian Democratic Party could be founded, a party with a single political programme⁷⁴.”* Different voices from organisations and parties in the early 1970s raised the case of founding a “European

⁷³ Such piece is the 45 pages presentation of Belgian secretary of state G. Geens at the political bureau of the EUCD on April 18, 1975 on the economic problems of Europe. (IX-004-001Nachlieferung, pp.176-221), or a report on the Italian elections of 1977 (IX-004-001 Nachlieferung pp.288-299) or the report on “Situation and strategy of the Communist parties in Western Europe” by Bernassola 66 pages at ibid pp.513-579). Interesting is the report on the political situation in the member states of the Christian Democrat Group of the European Parliament in March 1975 at IX-007-001/02, pp.86-104.

⁷⁴ Minutes of the 12 June 1974 meeting in Strasbourg from Jansen-Van Hecke, 2011.

party” as necessary for the preparation towards the European elections⁷⁵. When in December 1974 the European Council fixed of the elections for 1978 this gave additional impetus to the discussion about federal party institutions. Another example was the plea of Notomb at the EUCD committee for EC parties on March 1975: “ *M. Nothomb rappelled que tout ce qui peut conduire' à la création d'une véritable et authentique force politique démocrate - chrétienne, doit avoir priorité sur tout autre discussion. Il constate que les démocrates-chrétiens n'exercent aucune influence sur l'opinion publique et sur les évènements du fait qu 'ils n'ont aucune existence réelle.*» (IX-07-001/01, p.624)

c. The foundations of the EPP

The subtitle of the newly created European People’s Party “*Federation of Christian Democratic Parties of the European Communities*” has been used by researchers to justify that the aspiration was not that bold. According to Jansen-Van Hecke: “*the name expressed a bold challenge and an honest judgement by the party’s founders. It was bold because they were aiming high by calling the EPP a party and setting a goal whose realisation seemed to many, at the time, a chimera. It was honest in that the subtitle expressed what it was really about, namely an association of parties. There was a dynamic tension between that forward-looking claim to being a European party ‘in the making’ and the realistic insight that it could for the moment be no more than a European association of national parties.* (2011, p.42) In this analysis the critical term “federation” is presented as the balance that the founding fathers of the EPP stroke between the aspiration and the reality. So the conclusion of Hecke-Jansen about the use of “federation” in the subtitle of the newly formed EPP was that this was meant as an “association” and not a Europarty. We claim, opposite that it was the underlining that the EPP was not an association of parties, rather, it was a “European party” in the federal concept.

The term 'European party' was selected to title the working group that the EUCD created in 1975. In the same direction the Sec Gen of the CD Group De Poi with a letter on January 1976 to the Group Secretariat he contends: "*Lors de la dernière réunion du Bureau de notre Groupe, le Président a exprimé le désir que le Secrétariat prépare un premier projet-de programme en prévision de la création d'un Parti Européen pour présenter les positions des Démocrates Chrétiens aux élections de 1978.*" He even put down a structure of ten chapters and delegated the draft to his staff. (IX-007-057/2, p.120)

Further evidence is the statement of the representative of the French MRP at the EPP foundation meeting in April 1976 where he asked about the competence to form alliances on the national level, stating that if they were to be with non CD parties then the consent of the European party would be necessary! Colin on behalf of the French MRP: «*En ce qui concerne les coalitions pour les élections européennes, il rappelle que l'équipe française avait déjà considéré le 21 février à Paris, la possibilité pour chaque parti membre d ' avoir une liberté de choix sur le plan national, mais avait insisté sur la nécessité que les partis démocrates-chrétiens n'aient pas de relations politiques avec les partis non démocrates-chrétiens des pays voisins, sans l'accord du parti démocrate-chrétien de ce pays.*» More interesting is the reply of Martens: «*M. MARTENS indique que le problème des coalitions sur le plan national, en vue des élections européennes, devrait être défini au sein des organes du parti européen et non pas sur le plan national.* » (IX-007-001/02, p.23) Indeed this discussion at the proceedings of the EUCD is at a declaratory level and does not suggest that this is how the EPP operated. But it does help to restructure the launch of the EPP in the 1970s.

The term "federation" used in the subtitle of the EPP opposite to what Jansen-Van Hecke contend, referred to the concept of a European party based on federalism, a basic principle of the Christian Democrats for the European Union. When today we use the term "federation" we use it as another word for an "association", an organisation of organisations, a looser structure, compared to a party. In our interview Mr. Korthoutd remembers in the 1970s the model of federally structured parties was predominant in the EC countries. He explained that "*In Belgium for example the head of the regional structure for Bruges of CVP was very influential as to appoint candidates for that region. It*

had the exclusive and privileged relationship with the voters that were not overshadowed by the federal structures on the level of Belgium". (Interview, 2012) This model supported by the ideology of Christian Democracy was used as the model to create the European People's Party. Over the years, party structures on the level of member states became more centrally organised thanks to the strengthening of state provision for funding that was not allocated on regional or local structures but rather towards the central structures and also the influence of the mass media that elevated the role of the office holders on the federal level vis a vis the role of regional and local office holders.

Further evidence supporting the hypothesis is the position the EPP took towards the non Christian Democrats, as well as, the EUCD member parties that came from countries not yet members of the EC. All the member parties of the EPP, except the German Union parties, decided that both categories should not be included in the EPP. This "double No" is consistent with our hypothesis. They excluded the parties coming from countries not yet members of the European community because they were not part of the area of competence of the new political party, the European Communities. The NO to the non Christian democrats had to do with their Europarty ideology, but also with their national political competition. Their socialist and liberal counterparts created similar organisations but without federalist aspirations. They were influenced by Christian democratic federalist ideals, enthusiastic and ambitious about creating a European party. The name of the working group established in the EUCD is another proof of this.

Jansen–Van Hecke analysis continues: *"Every decision would require an absolute majority of members present, a rule which reflected the party's supranational and democratic character."* It is true that EPP's work is founded on the majority and not the unanimity principle and indeed this was inspired by the federalist ideology. But this alone is not a sufficient indicator of the depth of the cooperation. It is what is to be decided with the majority principle that defines the level of integration. The decision making rule can reflect the supranational character but solely if supported by content. EPP's work was supported by such content since the beginning.

d. The first years of operation – 1970s

A comparison of the discussions taking place in the EPP Political Bureau of the first years compared to the latest years, at both Political Bureaus (today Political Assembly) or even the EPP Summit reveal a high level of integration already from the 1970s. Today the language is similar, if not even less integrated due to the wider ideological spectrum represented in the party as well as the much larger number of people in the room⁷⁶. For example, the minutes from the PB of the EPP IX-007-026, p.144. The characteristics of the language contemplated by the EPP gives additional proof for its Europarty character. Several folders in the historical archive of the EPP contain policy documents, resolutions and minutes from its meetings, political bureaus, executive committees and working groups.

From the first year⁷⁷ of its existence the EPP provided policy coordination, as we note from the minutes of the Political Bureau where it notes: «*M. BERTRAND présente le projet de déclaration préparé per M. LÜCKER sur la prochaine réunion'du Conseil, européen. (...) Après un échange de vues approfondi, le Bureau approuve la proposition de M. Bertrand de confier à MM. COLIN, LÜCKER et HAHN la rédaction du texte définitif de la déclaration qui sera ensuite remis à la presse. (Le texte de cette déclaration est joint en annexe)*». (From the Political Bureau November 25, 1976, found at IX-007-026, p.151). As early as 1978 and with the aim to better coordination of forces in the different institutions, Secretary General Muller drafted an amendment to the Statutes that allowed for the participation to the EPP organs Community officials when they are Christian Democrats⁷⁸.

The first years of the EPP were committed in building up the party identity. This was done with a high frequency of meetings. The Political Bureau was convening once

76 At the Annexes we have created an index of the archive volumes of the EPP that working supplementary with the index of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation will help the researcher located minutes from meetings throughout the history of the EPP. The minutes of the EPP meetings are detailed and analytical and allow comparative analysis with the latest years in order to work on the evolution and the level of integration inside the EPP.

77 See also the full workplan of EUCD/EPP for 1976 at IX-007-056 EVP-PPE p.109.

78 At the same meetings the Portuguese CDS and of the Spanish Equipe were accepted as observer members to the EPP ACDP IX-007-026, p.255.

every month⁷⁹ (!) while working groups were meeting every 3-4 months in close integration with the Group in the European parliament and building up the “party culture”. In November 1976 the EPP developed a details “action programme” on the development of the “individual membership” that was included in the first EPP Statutes. The 10page Action Programme worked on details on its elaboration taking into account the balance with the membership in the national member parties. The author Alain de Brouwer stated *“[l]es adhésions individuelles constituent un élément essentiel de statuts du PPE (article 4,c) et qui distingue celui-ci des autres fédérations de partis a l’intérieur de la CEE (socialiste et libéral) qui ne prévoient qu’une collaboration et une coordination entre des partis nationaux souvent très différents.»* (IX-007-056 EVP-PPE, p.93).

A strong sign on this was the naming of the associations as “youth, women, workers”. Rather than their actual acronyms, like a national political party would do and is done today. The level of participation at the Political Bureau was higher than in the recent years, as Party Leaders and Prime Ministers regularly attended their proceedings. However, at the time, the Political Bureau was the highest political body, as the EPP Summit of prime ministers and party leaders was only introduced in 1983. The level of integration that such a frequency of meetings describe is actually very impressive given the higher constraints and cost of travelling, vis-a-vis today.

As we presented, in the 1970s the EPP was founded endeavouring the creation of a federal Europarty. This concept of cooperation was debated, as the German Union parties advocated a broader cooperation with non-Christian democrats as a counter weight to the Socialist group that came out stronger after the British Labour party joined forces in 1975. This is widely appreciated today among researchers.

This high level of integration of the early years of the EPP should be put into context with the broader European political landscape. Indeed, in the late 1970s Christian Democracy was a powerful political force in Europe. In 1976, in Italy Democrazia Cristiana had scored 38,7% and in West Germany CDU/CSU scored 48,6%. In 1977 in Belgium Christian Democrats received 35,9% of the vote in an upward trend and in the

⁷⁹ See the draft calendar for 1982 at IX-007-063-1-279, p.19

Netherlands the merge of the Christian Democrats into the CDA scored 31,9%. Albeit the smaller party of the UDF coalition in France, the Centre for Social Democrats (CDS) was part of the governing majority in the late 1970s. Overall as Irving contends “*By rejecting both nineteenth century liberalism and twentieth century totalitarianism (communism as well as fascism), they have helped to create a new political ‘milieu’ based on a commitment to liberal democracy, class reconciliation, concentration, and integration (both domestically through the concept of the inter-class Volkspartei and transnationally through their commitment to European integration.*” (1978, p.259)

e. The first years of operation – 1980s

As we go earlier in the years of EPP we note the classic “ideotypical” characteristics of Christian Democracy in the EPP: global perspective, federalism, care for SMEs, solidarity principle etc. For example the resolution of the EPP dated June 30, 1981: «*Le Bureau Politique du PPE propose 6 mesures concrètes pour enfoncer la coopération politique Européenne*» (IX-007-042, p.81 the English version). We researched the archive material particularly on this and have found several pieces of evidence. Such are: IX-007-042, p.139 and of p. 214, p. 238 we are dealing with a series of pro integration statements of the EPP p.238 resolution «*sur les actions a prendre dans le domaine monétaire en vue de l’Unification monétaire Européenne*» (p.248 the English text), p.303, p.318, p.352, P469, p.502, p.548, p.568, p.579, p.586, p.604, p.649 and p.669) Resolutions deal with all major contemporary issues. The language used by the documents at the time is of a federal European party and very integrated. «*le Bureau Politique du PPE réuni à Dublin invite les partis membres des pays qui ne l’auraient pas encore à s’employer a ce que les procédures parlementaires d’adoption de lois électorales nationales pour les élections du Parlement Européen soient rapidement achevées.*» (IX-007-042, p.679). The EPP throughout the 1980s kept a high level of integration and of “Europarty function”. It cooperated closely with its parliamentary Group, it followed

the work of both the Council of Ministers and the European Council and consolidated a Christian democratic view upon European and international contemporary issues⁸⁰.

There was a continuous discussion inside the EPP as to how to improve coordination. President of the EPP in Feb 1980 Tindermans⁸¹ at a strategy paper notes: *«Notre Group PPE du Parlement Européen est un groupe directeur lui seul est a même de constituer de majorités. Sans notre groupe, ou contre notre group, rien n'est possible au Parlement Européen. Afin de maintenir cette position favorable, la meilleure coordination, telle qui décrite ci dessus, doit être réalise entre le Parti Populaire Européen, le groupe démocrate chrétien au Parlement Européen, les partis nationaux, les groupes DC aux parlements nationaux et nos membres des différents gouvernements nationaux et nos membre de la Commission de la CE.»*⁸² In this direction the EPP started the coordination for the Council of Ministers already in 1983 with the critical for the Christian Democrats portfolio of the Agricultural sector.

Evidence for the first EPP ministers meeting as Guy Korthoudt recalls. *“in preparation of the next “special Council” in November [1983] it is wise that we, acting as Ministers of Agriculture, and all belonging to the EPP make an attempt to lining together the different points of view concerning the “key problems” of the CAP⁸³ rationalisation proposals.”* We also find that coordination was done also with the EP as we found on p.139 the invitation “a l’attention des membres PPE de la Commission de l’agriculture du PE” on November 3, 1983. The agricultural sector historically has had strong bonds with the Christian democrats. Fontaine asserts that “electorally, the EPP could not disappoint farmers, whether they farmed on a large or small scale, in the south or the north.” (2009, p.199).

⁸⁰ Interesting report on “East West economic and commercial relations” issued in 1981 October 30 (IX-007-89 pp.69-82).

⁸¹ Tindermans was re-elected smoothly at the Political Bureau on the 7th of October 1980, receiving all 30 votes casted in the Political Bureau. Vice Chairmen were elected: Bukman (27 votes) Fitzerland (29 votes) Lattanzio (25 votes) Pflimlin (28 votes) and Bertrand as Treasurer with 26votes (IX-007-025/1, p.267).

⁸² IX-007-027/02, p.225; IX-007-028/01 p.325 another declaration of the EPP on Dec 6, 1983 where they delcare their commitment towards integration *“affirment leur engagement pour l’unification de l’Europe.”*

⁸³ IX-007-027-02, p.106 working paper on CAP.

At the beginning of 1981 the Political Bureau set up a working group to examine further ways to improve the output of the EPP. The working group was named “Amelioration des activitees”. In June 1981 the WG drafted a paper to the Political Bureau with 13 proposals in this direction: 1. Regular meetings of the presidency members with the press, 2. Sessions on specific topics in cooperation with the think tanks of member parties (3-4 times/year) 3. Seminars hosted at the member parties’ countries bringing together “militants des partis” 4. Projects for the 1990s: bringing together personalities from arts and sciences, 5. International Activities, 6. publications, 7. Support for travel expenses of parties from far distance, and others such as “Participation of political bureau to the study days of the EPP Group” “Meeting of heads of press departments” etc, (IX-007-023/01, p.199)

At IX-007-040/01 p.362-375 we found a working paper for the first session of the newly established working group “European Union” with rapporteur Alfred Bertrand dated February 1980 where it states: *«as the new Commission is to take office on 1.1.1981 there is an urgent need for the EPP to put forward its ideas now⁸⁴.»* The working paper lays down several pages of institutional reforms proposals dividing them in those that require Treaty change and those that do not require Treaty change. The proposals come from different documents including the Tindermans report. It continues: *«these positions are embodied in the EPP programme with the ultimate objective of evolution towards a United States of Europe, through the first principal intermediate stage of the gradual attainment of European political union. (...) The report by Mr Tindemans can provide guidance for this first stage; »* The proposals that are included cover all the main institutions of the EC including Commission, Parliament, Council and European Council.

Klepsch in his opening remarks at the EPP Political Bureau of September 1981 stated: *“We regret that the decision making process in this body, the Bureau of the European People’s Party is sometimes rather too slow, so that the Group has to take decisions on its own, rather for lack of time. I can think of one or two issues which I have already mentioned. For instance, we had to take the decision on electoral law without having had*

⁸⁴ IX-007-027/02 p.237 paper of EPP on Feb 21, 1980 on the European Communities.

a vote in the European People's Party, although we had raised the issue in good time. And we also had to take a decision on our own on the question of the financial constitution. I should like to hope, therefore, that this process of using the Political Bureau of the People's Party as a policy clearing house will be further tightened up." (IX-007-028/02, p.117). Klepsch, head of the parliamentary group, five years after the creation of the EPP complains about the Group not coordinating enough with "the party". This is another piece of evidence of the high level of integration of the EPP at the time.

In folder IX-007-064 EVP PPE Kongress 2-4.4.1984 we find material for the 1984 EPP congress ahead of the second European elections. On p.295 we find the English version of the Action programme of the EPP presented to the Congress. The document is full of federalist language, while at a leaflet, cut-version of it, on p.322 it reads: *"The EPP upholds its political objective: to create a United States of Europe. The next important step on this road is the creation of a European Union provided with the necessary instruments to fulfill the role which we must undertake."* On p.348 in French we find the report of President Tindermans to the Congress and in the rest of the pages (total 643) we have the speeches of several leaders.

On November 11 1983 the EPP Political Bureau adopts a resolution ahead of the European Council December 5 in Athens criticizing « *the serious crisis in which the European Community finds itself because of the inability of the Council of Ministers to translate essential policy requirements into concrete Community action and to provide adequate financial resources to avoid paralysis of existing policies - all items which have been solemnly agreed at Summit of Heads of Government. The EPP reiterates, therefore, its support for the initiative of the European Parliament for a reform of the Institutions of the Community. The EPP asks, furthermore, that the Governments of the 10 Member States reach agreement on the decisions needed for the revival of the CAP, for the new policies needed by the Community, for the enlargement to Spain and Portugal, and for the increase in own resources. The EPP asks that, in order to determine those decisions, the Christian Democrat Heads of Government, Ministers and Party Leaders - meeting in Brussels on 26th November - adopt a common line of action for the next Summit in Athens.* ». (IX-007-044/02 p.228) Or the plea of the EPP towards the Council that *"has so far been unable to unanimously approve this draft which was adopted by a large*

majority [of the Parliament] in order to ensure that the next direct elections in 1984 can be held according to a uniform procedure in all member states.” (IX-007-044-02, p.524)

A Press release of the EPP announcing the meeting of the EPP Summit ahead of the European Council. The Summit takes place on November 26, 1983, 9 days before the European Council. According to the press release the five prime ministers of governments of the EC member states have confirmed their participation together with their foreign ministers, the Christian Democrat members of the European Commission and the president of the EPP Group in the European Parliament: *«L'objectif de la rencontre est de préparer une attitude commune sur une série de problèmes vitaux pour l'avenir de la Communauté : l'adaptation de la politique agricole commune, le financement futur de la Communauté, le développement de nouvelles politiques communautaires, la correction des déséquilibres budgétaires, la nécessité d'une plus grande discipline budgétaire et l'élargissement de la Communauté.» (IX-007-044-02 p.179)* The organisation for the first time in 1983 of the EPP Summit was meant to prepare and consolidate the position of the EPP Prime Ministers ahead of the next European Council. The EPP Summit from its introduction until the mid 1990s took place several days before the next European Council so as to have a time lag between the consolidation of the positions and the European Council to allow for further actions and better preparation of the European Council among the Prime Ministers, members of the EPP. We raised this issue to Guy Korhoudt who has been in the EPP from the early 1980s and has experienced the EPP Summit both ways. He confirmed to us that the EPP had a stronger impact on the EU Council thanks to the EPP Summits that took place several days before the European Council. At the political bureau of the 12th of January 1995 “The President [Martens] recalled previous EPP Summits and his memory is one of very lively and active gatherings. He did however stress that If we wish to have a strong media Impact, it would be better to hold the Summit on the eve of the European Council and in the same location, on the other hand, if we wished to have a valuable Influence on the Councils decisions, it would be better to have the Summit several weeks prior to the European Council.” (IX-007-175, p.212)

The EPP since its foundation had kept a strong interest on world affairs in line with Christian democracy. This was evident in the numerous resolutions such as resolution

on Uruguay 1984, (IX-007-040/02, p.5), Nicaragua 1984, (IX-007-040/02, p.13), visit to Nicaragua (November 1984) to observe elections. We observe (IX-007-044/02) several resolutions related to democracy and human right in different parts of the world such as Cyprus, Lebanon, Turkey, Santi, Latin America etc. they are even translated in all the languages of the EPP member parties. The language used in resolutions concerning contemporary issues of the Community openly criticising the EC decision making and suggesting what they should do upon serious topics at the time is referring to a level of integration rather than cooperation among family members. This language resembles is more integrated that a typical statement of a Europarty today and implies enhanced cooperation, united positions, commitment to the same ideals and high level of party integration and coordination through the institutions.

At the 1984 Congress in Rome on April 2-4, 2 months before the 2nd European Elections *“La programme électoral dont s’est doté le PPE à Rome est fédéraliste européen”* (LE SOIR, April 5, 1984 IX-007-011/04, p.111 - all folder containing press reports from the EPP 1984 Congress.) Tindermans at his opening speech said : *“Avec ce congrès, nous ouvrons la campagne pour les élections européennes. En juin prochain, les citoyens de la Communauté Européenne auront la possibilité, pour la deuxième fois d’élire directement leur délégués au Parlement Européen”* (IX-007-012/01, p.23, all volume contains material from the 1984 EPP congress). At his report to the Congress he emphasized: *“Nous sommes prêts à réaliser l’Union Politique Européen. Notre objectif est de créer les Etats-Unis d’ Europe. Et nous sommes résolue avec tous ceux qui comme nous veulent progresser, a pour suivre dans cette voie. L’Europe n’est peut attendre indéfiniment.”* (IX-007-012/01, p.68)

Also Pierre PFLIMLIN, Vice-President of the EPP and Vice-President of the European Parliament at the Rome Congress on April 1984: *“One of its main proposals is that the European Parliament has a share of the Communities legislative power and that unanimous voting in the Council of Ministers, which has hitherto been misused and has led to stalemate, should be limited to exceptional cases. The draft European Union proposes that the Community's sphere of action be extended to include new policies needed for European solidarity, such as industrial policy, social policy and joint defence under the Atlantic Alliance.”* (IX-007-12/01, p.493). This entire folder contains

speeches from the 1984 EPP Congress in Rome. At the 1984 EPP Congress in Rome Pflimlin presented the section of the Christian Democratic programme devoted to the Community institutions. *“The EPP unanimously endorsed the draft Treaty on the European Union adopted by the European Parliament which affords prospects that are both realistic and ambitious for the construction of Europe. Following along the lines of the 1950 SCHUMAN Plan and the 1976 TINDERMANS report, this draft is designed to make the Community institutions more effective and more responsible. (...) He called on as many national parliaments as possible to ratify the draft Treaty on the European Union as soon as possible.”* (IX-007-012/01 p.493)

Coordination towards the meetings of the European Council

We have searched the archive for evidence in this direction and following you will find a table that we have assembled putting together evidence of political interventions of the EPP at the European Council meetings for a period of five years, 1983-1988. This list is just indicative of the depth of the work back then. The intervention is done through a political statement either a “declaration” or “resolution”. The content of these documents is highly political and covers the hot issues of the European Council agenda at the time.

Year	Date	Document of intervention	Source in Archive	<u>EU Council presidency</u>	<u>President-in-Office</u>	Host city
1983	21–22 March			Germany	Helmut Kohl	Brussels
	17–19 June	May 10, Political Bureau Resolution	IX-007-024/00, p.616			Stuttgart
	4–6 December	26 Nov Summit	IX-007-044-02, p.179	Greece	Andreas Papandreou	Athens
		Resolution of Political Bureau	IX-007-044-02, p.228			
1984	19–20 March			France	François Mitterrand	Brussels
	25–26 June					Fontainebleau
	3–4 December	Declaration	IX-007-040-02, p.105	Ireland	Garret FitzGerald	Dublin
1985	29–30 March			Italy	Bettino Craxi	Brussels

	28–29 June	Declaration	IX-007-040-02, p.124			Milan
	2–3 December	Resolution	IX-007-040-02, p.182	Luxembourg	Jacques Santer	Luxembourg
1986	26–27 June			Netherlands	Ruud Lubbers	The Hague
	5–6 December			UK	Margaret Thatcher	London
1987	29–30 June			Belgium	Wilfried Martens	Brussels
	4–5 December	Declaration	IX-007-028, p.449	Denmark	Poul Schlüter	Copenhagen
1988	11–13 February	Resolution	IX-007-028, p.193	Germany	Helmut Kohl	Brussels
	27–28 June	Declaration may 30	IX-007-043-02, p.456			Hanover
		Resolution July 7	IX-007-043-02, p.482			-
		Statement of EPP president after EPP Summit	IX-007-119, p.2			-
	2–3 December			Greece	Andreas Papandreou	<u>Rhodes</u>

Table: Map of EPP interventions of the European Council in the 1980s. Source: data from the EPP archive in Brussels and in KAS.

Case study of the Dublin European Council (December 1984)

The EPP with all its key bodies was actively involved in the political development of the European Communities. The Working Groups, the Political Bureau but also the Summit were closely following the political discussion in the Communities and were intervening with resolutions and declarations using a “party language”. A good example is the European Council in Dublin, December 1984 where the EPP deployed a) the working group ‘European Union’ b) the Political Bureau and c) a common session with its Parliamentary Group all taking place in Dublin. From the minutes of the WG on European Union we read:

« Le Groupe de travail du PPE (Parti Populaire Européen) "Union Européenne" en réunion le 3 décembre 1984, à Dublin, sur base des rapports des deux Présidents M. Jim Dooge et M. Pietro Adonnino, a discuté de l'état d'avancement des travaux des Comités ad hoc "Développement Institutionnel" et "l'Europe des Citoyens", institués par les Chefs d'Etat et de Gouvernement de la CE, à Fontainebleau, et a adopté à l'unanimité la déclaration suivante: Le Groupe de travail a apprécié la tendance et l'esprit des rapports intérimaires soumis au Conseil Européen et a encouragé les membres des Comités ad hoc à poursuivre leur engagement vers une union européenne d'orientation et de

construction communautaires. En ce qui concerne le développement institutionnel, le Groupe de travail du PPE a souligné:

- l'importance du projet de Traité approuvé par le PE comme base pour toutes les considérations et décisions ultérieures menant à la création et à la mise en place de l'Union européenne;

- la nécessité de poser au plus tôt les actes conduisant irréversiblement à la construction de l'Union européenne, sans attendre une minorité de Gouvernements qui ne se sont pas encore décidés. En ce qui concerne les propositions pour une Europe des Citoyens, le Groupe de travail du PPE souligne la nécessité de se concentrer sur quelques mesures concrètes destinées à permettre l'identification des citoyens à la Communauté et à l'Union, à les convaincre de l'importance de l'action communautaire, à leur rendre très sensibles les aspects positifs du processus d'intégration européenne, tant au plan des idées qu'au niveau matériel. » (IX-007-040/02, p.92)

Few hours later the Political Bureau issued the following statement: *“Nous devons organiser, à cette intention, avant le Sommet de Milan en juin prochain, une Conférence réunissant nos Chefs de Gouvernement, les Présidents des partis-membres et de leurs Groupes parlementaires, le Bureau du Groupe du PPE et nos Commissaires; - Examiner par des contacts avec les Groupes socialistes, libéraux et conservateurs lesquels d'entre eux sont prêts à soutenir les initiatives envisagées par nous. Point 5 de l'ordre du jour : Rapport sur la réunion des Ministres de l'Agriculture du 12.11.1984 » (IX-007-022/02, p.229)* On the next day, December 5 in Dublin the EPP held a joint meeting with its group in the European Parliament and issued a joint statement:

« Le Bureau politique du PPE et le Groupe du PPE au Parlement Européen regrettent que le Conseil Européen, en réunion à Dublin, n'ait pu traiter d'une manière approfondie les propositions du Comité ad hoc "Développement institutionnel" pour la mise en œuvre de l'Union Européenne. Le PPE et le Groupe du PPE au Parlement Européen.

- soulignent l'importance du projet de Traité approuvé par le Parlement Européen comme base pour toutes les considérations et décisions ultérieures menant à la création et à la mise en place de l'Union Européenne; - mettent l'accent sur la nécessité de poser au

plus tôt les actes conduisant irréversiblement à la constitution de l'Union Européenne, sans attendre une minorité de Gouvernements qui ne se sont pas encore décidés ;

- exigent que le Conseil Européen adopte la proposition du Comité ad hoc de convoquer une Conférence inter-gouvernementale chargée de décider la constitution de l'Union Européenne. Les Institutions communautaires et surtout le Parlement Européen doivent prendre part à ces travaux;

- suggèrent qu'une Conférence, composée des Chefs de Gouvernement démocrates chrétiens, des Présidents des partis-membres du PPE ainsi que de leurs Groupes parlementaires, se tienne avant le Sommet de, Milan (en juin 1985⁸⁵), afin d'exprimer leur volonté politique de constituer rapidement l'Union Européenne et de prendre conjointement toutes les initiatives et mesures nécessaires. » (IX-007-040/02, p.102)

Common declarations of the EPP Summit are an essential product of the Europarty work. It is the product of a consolidation of views on the highest level, among party leaders and prime ministers of the Europarty. Especially when they agree to issue joint statements and use the leverage of their organization to influence the decision making of the European institutions.

Emphasis on ideology

From the speech of Leo Tindermans, as EPP President, at the joint meeting of the EPP group and the political bureau on June 27, 1984 IX-007-037, p.287-89 *“we are Christian Democrats and, as such, different from the other political groups, including the Social Democrats, Liberals and Conservatives with whom, taking a pragmatic view, we have a certain amount in common.” ... “We have an independent doctrine, a philosophy based on an image of man and society which we fundamentally derive from our belief in God as our Creator and Saviour.”...“Eight years after the EPP was formed it's time that Christian Democrats in Europe made a fresh effort to clarify the philosophical basis and cultural roots of their common interest and image of themselves”...“What do Christian Democratic*

⁸⁵ IX-007-017 Over 200 pages of press reports from newspapers from 1985-1986. See also the 1986 report of activities of EPP/EUCD at IX-007-028/01,p.715.

political beliefs mean today? "...What is Christian Democracy's specific answer to the challenge posed by the failure of Socialist and Liberal concepts with regard to economics and society? "...I have therefore suggested that a small working party should be set up, and this has already met;"

Indeed, two months before on the initiative of the EPP President Tindermans and chaired by Sec Gen Jansen a working group was established to analyse the spiritual basis of Christian Democratic politics. A working plan was adopted and the first seminar took place in The Hague in cooperation with the CDA think tank⁸⁶ on April, 1984⁸⁷ (IX-007-37 and on page 266).

f. The European elections: 1979 – 1984 – 1989

At the Political Bureau of February 8, 1978 where the budget of the year was presented by the Treasurer Bertrand an “extraordinary budget for 1978” was put on the agenda (before the transfer of the elections to 1979). The meeting considered the allocation of a budget of 40 million Belgian francs when the budget of the EPP for 1978 was 12 million BF to spend for a EC wide campaign of the EPP (!) The meeting discussed the distribution of this “extraordinary budget”. The over 3-times as big budget would be spent as follows: 50% in the member states and 50% on the EPP level including associations (youth, women, global, workers) *“Regarding the 40 million FB for 1978 suggests to Mr KLEPSCH Treasurer to prepare a draft budget that takes into account the UMDC, Youth, Women and l'UETDC and travel expenses for the most remote countries: Italy and Ireland.”* (IX-007-26, p.253) They even discussed how the distribution of the 50% going to be spent at the level of the member countries as follows indicating their “weight”:

⁸⁶ The Dutch christian-democracy is, since 1924, assisted by one or more scientific institutes. The eldest, the Dr. Abraham Kuyper Foundation, was the scientific institute of the first organized party in the Netherlands. The name of the party "Anti-revolutionaire party" refers to the opposition of the Dutch Christian democrats against the atheistic character of the French Revolution. From IX-007-037 p. 234

⁸⁷ This initiative was relaunched in the autumn of 1984 in cooperation with the Italian DC and the Jacques Maritain Institute. Material found at IX-007-014, p.910. The whole volume of 1196 pages is dedicated on the discussions about ideology in the 1980s in the EPP/EUCD.

Allemagne	6.400.000 FB
Italie	6.400.000 FB
Belgique	2.200.000 FB
Pays-Bas	1.800.000 FB
France	1.400.000 FB
Irlande	1.200.000 FB
Luxembourg	600.000 FB
 Total:	 20.000.000 FB

Source : ACDP IX-007-026, p.253

As we know when the European parties were institutionally enhanced in 2004 opening the door to the direct financing from the European Parliament. In 1976 there was no regulation or what so ever. Within a looser regulatory framework the EPP adopted an extraordinary electoral budget of three times the size of its ordinary budget. For this electoral budget the representative of the Youth of the EPP demanded that the distribution made to the member parties/countries should include also the Youth and Women association, as a national political party would do. This would be besides the other 50% spent at the European level and taking into account associations. A debate took place but finally the request was not accommodated. As a result he voted against the motion in the Political Bureau, alone, with everyone else been in favour and with one abstention from the Treasurer Bertrand⁸⁸. The campaign budget of the EPP today is only a fraction of its regular budget. A lot of evidence is provided by the detailed preparation of the campaign for the European elections. Further exploring historically the use of these funds towards the first European elections could help a deeper understanding of the period. Just after the discussion for the “electoral budget” Martens proposed that a simultaneous press conference take place on February 23 or 24 for the EC-wide presentation of the EPP programme, while President Tindermans would be at the Brussels venue (ACDP IX-007-026, p.254). Few days before the elections, finally in 1979, the President of the EPP invited the member parties for a

⁸⁸ ACDP IX-007-026, p.253.

closed session to evaluate the results as well as to hold an “international press conference”. In his letter just the day before the elections he stated “I am glad to note that almost all party leaders have accepted my invitation or will be represented by the General Secretary.” (IX-007-27/02, p.13). Those first elections that were universally labelled as «second order national election» a 62,5% of the European citizens went to vote. Four decades later the national member parties of the Europarties carry a greater level of “sovereignty” over the Europarties that, basically, are serving as references in the national campaigns.

The campaign for the European elections is a good case for comparative analysis. The ambition towards running a European Campaign back then is evident in both the first two European elections. The preparations of the EPP towards the second European elections in 1984 Elections started in the “Electoral Campaign” working group that was set up on February 1982 by the Political Bureau⁸⁹. The composition would be: the sec gen of EPP, the sec gens of the party members or their representative, the campaign officer of the member parties, one representative of the recognised associations. in October 1982. (IX-007-029/01, p.356). A year later, in September 1983 the EPP was inviting member parties to come forward with proposals for the common slogan for the campaign. (IX-007-029/01, p.13 in English).. Before the second European elections of 1984 the EPP started early enough to design the campaign of the Christian democrats. A whole folder IX-007-035/02 is dedicated on this topic. Especially interesting is on pp 258-266 of the folder the English document on the campaign design of the EPP. As per the evidence of the folder the preparations started already at the end of 1982, while already in February 1983 almost one and a half year before the elections with a detailed budget. In 1983 the working group “campaigning” is meeting every month. (IX-007-024) All this evidence related to the preparation of the second European elections builds up strongly towards our hypothesis.

Heading for the 1989 European elections we note that the EPP already from December 1987⁹⁰ called the member parties for the first meeting of the preparation of the

⁸⁹ IX-007-063-1-279-013, p.8

⁹⁰ For further reading see also IX-007-223 Volume dedicated to the working group “European Union” during 1987-88. In pp.201-205, “Elements d une strategie de communication et du realization des points de vue du

campaign. Camillo Zuccoli deputy sec general is inviting the member parties: « Afin de valoriser au maximum les travaux de cette rencontre et de donner au PPE l'écho et la diffusion qui lui sont indispensables pour mener à bien cette campagne, nous vous saurions gré, de nous transmettre toutes suggestions utiles à ce propos, compte tenu de votre grande expérience en la matière. » In the same direction of closer integration we also found material on the initiative towards EPP individual membership (IX-007-028 p.144) in 1987⁹¹ and 1988 ahead of the next European elections⁹². The 1987 highlight was the EPP congress in Luxembourg. After the congress President Santer⁹³ sent a letter to all the party leaders stating:

“The consensus which we have arrived at on policy has grown noticeably; our programme, which was hotly debated, but in the end unanimously adopted, is the expression of that consensus. It covers not just questions of European policy but also deals with economic and social issues, relations in society and foreign affairs. Our administrative capacity has also improved, including the level of cooperation of our secretariat with the secretariats of the member parties. This, together with the commitment of the Parliamentary Group and its staff, contributed to the smooth running of the Congress. There has been a real improvement in our image, which was reflected in the impact of our Congress on public opinion. We have never before achieved such coverage in all the member states of the Community. Our political influence has grown. The joint appearance of the Christian Democratic party leaders and heads of government during the Congress made an impact, particularly in view of the fact that our meeting of

PPE au sein des partis-members” report of the Sec Gen on 12 Jan 1987. IX-007-223 p.393-408 the European Omnibus Survey on December 1987 showing that in all 10 of the 12 member states of the EC were in favour of further integration. On pp.409-505 material from the European Movement during 1986-1987.

⁹¹ A 1987 EPP profile found at IX-007-57, p.39 as well as a detailed report of activities for 1987 at IX-007-028, p.687. For 1987 see also the volume IX-007-037/02. It contains articles from on ideology and European integration. On p.210 the English version of the document “A Christian Democratic View on the European Community and the European society”.

⁹² IX-007-044/01, p.50 and IX-007-017-Nachlieferung p.269 and IX-007-044-01 p.144.

⁹³ See also the speech of EPP President Santer at the opening of the 7th EPP Congress in Luxembourg, Nov 1988 (IX-007-057,p.16). Jacques Santer succeeded Piet Bukman as President of the EPP elected on March 31, 1987. A press statement on March 24, 1987 announced that on 31st of March the EPP would elect a new President, due to the Dutch regulation that forbids a minister to hold in parallel the function of a party president. (IX-007-57, p.329). Material from his election including the press release for the election of the new Presidency of the EPP is found at IX-007-028, p.571.

19th of October had taken place previously, during which we were able to make very clear the European federalist nature of our commitment.” (IX-007-57, p.137)

Epilogue on the hypothesis 1

Similar historical developments apply for the other two political families: the social democrats and the liberals. They both reacted to the strong trend of the 1970s. But they did so creating organisations without “party” aspirations. Rather, they created “confederal” structures to adapt to the changing political environment. What made the Christian democrats take the step further to create the first federal political party? The socialists at the time were more reluctant towards European integration, fearing that the corporatist social model would be at risk. As a result, they created a “confederation” of parties. The European Communities had from the very start put up the idea of progressing the integration. Christian democratic parties, the most federal political voices in Europe at the time, seize the opportunity and start the process of creating a new party, building upon the highly integrated cooperation at the level of the EUCD, as we presented. The federalist ideals of their ideology was a key factor for this⁹⁴: Christian democracy is not linked in an ultimate way with the national state. This level exists as the electoral field; still ideologically it is just one level. This concept, not identical for all the 12 founding parties, helps explain the attitude of the European party, at this early stage of the EPP.

Based on the evidence we presented that, is only a selected part of what we have found in the historical archive with the help of the interviews then we easily conclude upon this first important hypothesis that: the EPP was created as a European party, with the full sense of the word, in a party culture and cooperation among the member parties.

⁹⁴ In his speech at the first political bureau of the EPP in July 1976 Tindermans stated: “*the political structures in Europe are not yet at the stage of completion and it will take considerable pressure, strength of the opinion to make them evolve into what has always been our goal and our ideal: the advent of the "United States of Europe". Now I dare say that if we remain true to our core principles of solidarity, responsibility, participation, the United States of Europe, in short, the ideas for which we fought people in our respective countries, we find also at European level a response to the challenges of our time, we have the solution to current problems, we a common basis for fight together, so that a united Europe was born*”. IX-007-062 on p155

This means that the EPP today is not the linear projection of the EPP in the early days. The deep level of integration back can be directly compared with the level of integration today. But this comparison is risky from a methodological and technical point of view. The EPP is born in the 1970s as a European party out of the will of the Christian democrats. This aspect of the EPP history is different than what we knew so far and may help restructure other topics such as the European party's development in general, theories of European integration etc. At the same time the 1980s is the decade where the EPP starts integrating new parties, following the enlargement of the European communities. First comes Nea Demokratia from Greece. We did some extra work for this party due to its nationality.

Chapter 3: The Enlargement of the 1980s

The enlargement of the EPP towards non Christian democratic parties has been discussed in both politics and academia. Although the issue of whether conservatives should be integrated into the cooperation or not was rather old it came back along the way of the enlargement of the European Communities. The six founding states of the European communities were the “Bastions of Christian democracy” in the continent. And as it enlarged, Christian democracy became less and less popular. Greece becoming the 10th member of the EC in 1981 was the first country to consider enlargement after the creation of the EPP in 1976. In the Christian Orthodox Greece, without history of Christian democracy, the right-of-centre Nea Demokratia was the sole party-option EPP could have. The next enlargement came with the Iberian countries in 1986. The integration of Spain and Portugal as the 11th and 12th member state was another worrying factor to the strength of the EPP. The absence of big Christian democratic parties in these countries in contrast to the socialist parties that enriched the groups in the European Parliament brought back the issue on the agenda of the EPP.

Hypothesis 2: The EPP aspired not to ‘enlarge’ but to subscribe its new members to Christian Democracy

As we will present the EPP since its foundation was the European Christian Democratic Party. It carried the flag of Christian Democracy for over two decades, until about the end of the 1990s when an adjustment had to be made on the outlook of the organisation given the changed that had taken place. The gradual enlargement of the European Communities, starting in 1981, the rise of competences⁹⁵ of the European

⁹⁵ The Single European Act in 1987 gave the Parliament a right to two readings on Single Market related legislation. The Maastricht Treaty in 1992 introduced the “codecision procedure” that empowered the Parliament with Veto power on socioeconomic legislation. In 1999 the Amsterdam Treaty enhanced the legislative power of the Parliament to equal level with the Council and introduced the competence of electing the Commission President upon the proposal of the European Council.

Parliament through Treaty reforms, the opening up of Europe with the collapse of communism, the day to day fighting for policy issues as well as the decline of Christian Democracy as a political movement made the EPP look for partners beyond the traditional Christian democrats. What we will present here for the first time is that the enlargement of the EPP, to what we know today, had a previous stage of development that started in the early 1980s and the integration of the Greek Nea Demokratia and following to several other parties. The hypothesis that we will defend is that all these acquisitions were made on the grounds that these parties somehow “turn Christian Democrats out of their will to join the EPP.” The most dubious example of this strategy was the British Conservative party that in 1992 integrated in the EPP Group closing down its European Democratic Group⁹⁶. The aspiration was that parties would adopt the Christian Democratic ideals but at the end of the 1990s, an adjustment had to be made, adopting a new, moderate, centre-right profile.

The Integration of Nea Demokratia / Greece

Greece joined the European Communities as its 10th member state in the 2nd enlargement, on January 1st, 1981. The accession of Greece was requested for the second time in 1975 by the Greek government of Karamanlis, without popular support at the time and was successfully concluded by 1979. Upon accession, Greece scheduled its first European elections for October 1981. ND and all other parties in the Greek parliament on January 1, 1981 appointed the 24 Greek members to the European Parliament (MEPs) according to their parliamentary weight out of the 1977 national elections. As a result, ND sent to the EP a delegation of 14 MEPs, Socialist PASOK sent 7 and 3 MEPS were sent from the remaining 3 parliamentary parties⁹⁷. Going to

⁹⁶ that was formed in 1979 after the European elections and succeeded the European Conservative Group that was formed in January 1973 out of the British and Danish MEPs joining the European Parliament.

⁹⁷ The 14 MEPs of ND were: Leonidas Bournias (head) vice president of the Greek Parliament, Vardakas Michail, Vlachopoulos Dimitrios, Voyadzis Giorgos, Visas Themistokles, Gontikas Kostas, Dalakouras Giorgos, Dimopoulos Ioannis, Zardinides Nikos, Katsafados Ioannis, Markozanis Spiridon, Papaeftratiou Efratios, Soussouroyannis Evaggelos and Fragos Dimitrios. There was an ambassador N. Kampalouris to be the liaison of the MEPs with the ND party. The PASOK delegation consisted of 7 MEPs: Charalambopoulos Ioannis (head) Georgiadis Antonios, Koutsoheras Ioannis, Nikolaou Kostas, Peponis Anastasios, Plaskovitis Spiridon and Fotilas Asimakis. From EDIK its MEP was Ioannis Zigdis, from the Communist Party Loules Kostas

Strasbourg the new ND MEPs did not affiliate with any existing political group, nor did they create their own group. Their affiliation came almost a year later, on December 23, 1981 in the EPP Christian Democratic group. Almost two years later, in September 1983, the party was also integrated in the EPP Party. We researched the roots of the Nea Demokratia European affiliation in both Athens and Brussels. From the side of ND, we interviewed Dr. Ioannis Varvitsiotis, EPP vice president 1985-93 and leading figure in ND, who recollected that alongside the integration of the country to the European Communities there were discussions inside Nea Demokratia as to whether the party should ally with the British conservatives and the European Democratic Group or with the German Christian Democrats and the EPP. *“I was involved and played an active role in getting the support of the party leader, Evangelos Averof in the early ‘80s that the Christian Democrats is where we should go”*. We further interviewed Mrs. Marietta Giannakou, long time international secretary and MEP, and confirmed this information. She remembers: *“Our MEPs during these 11 months that took ND to take the decision had developed personal relations with the conservatives as well. For example, Yondikas, an outspoken Monarchist was in favour of going with the Brits. But the party decided to go with the EPP.”*⁹⁸ According to Giannakou from the side of the EPP there were few reservations primarily due to Turkish influence. She recalls Von Hassel and the CDU MEP Rudolf Wedekind being rather hesitant towards ND. In an interview Guy Korthoutd (Nov 3, 2012) confirmed Von Hassel positive stance towards the Turkish issues because of his past as defense minister of Germany who had the security dimension but could not confirm any hesitance towards Nea Demokratia.

The leftist climate in Greece at the time is confirmed by a press report of January 1 1982 criticising ND for allying with the *“strong industrialists, friends of NATO and the US, under the influence of the Vatican, pro Turkey and not sensitive to our national*

(replaced by Kappos Kostas a month later) and from KODISO Pesmatzoglou Yiagos. For the full list of all the Greek MEPs see: in greek <http://www.tovima.gr/politics/article/?aid=272114>

⁹⁸ Interview 23.09.2011. In 1983 Marietta Giannakou was elected Secretary of the international relations department in the central office of ND with Dionysis Papadoggonas, MP as Chairman of the department also elected. At the European elections of 1984 she was elected MEP. She soon after realized that MEPs of ND were not considered members of its Parliamentary Group. She requested President Mitsotakis in 1985 that they be recognized as Members which he did.

interests."⁹⁹ This triggered the answer of Timoleon Louis, general director and international secretary (1974-1981) of the party, few days later with an article in the same newspaper under the title: "Why did ND join the EPP" subtitle: "*that covers the political space from right to left.*"¹⁰⁰ In this article Louis contended that ND joined the EPP because it covers the political spectrum "from left of centre (Benelux parties), Centre (Italian DC) and centre-right (German CDU-CSU)", while its member parties "are not class parties", reflecting the political discourse at the time. Two more reasons are presented: the fact that the EPP was the second largest group (after the Socialists) with representation in 9 out of the 10 member states and, last but not least, because the EPP "after negotiations with ND accepted to sign a memorandum where it agreed to support the positions of Nea Demokratia on issues of national concern"¹⁰¹.

Both Varvitsiotis and Giannakou confirm that the accession of Nea Demokratia with the EPP Group was accompanied by a Memorandum, a document where the EPP Group stated that it would support ND on sensitive national issues like Greek-Turkish relations. Furthermore, ND was allowed to differentiate its vote on issues of national interest. Overall, from the side of ND the decision to ally with the European People's Party was taken at a period where the domestic agenda was heavily dominated by the leftist and Eurosceptic swing of the electorate in the light of the socialist rise to power in 1981 with a 48% of the public vote. ND had to mingle and double check the side effects of a European affiliation due to the political speculation that would be triggered back home. At the same time, it had to select a partner among the two closest ones: The German/Italian dominated EPP and the British dominated EDG.

For the Christian Democratic EPP, at the time, Nea Demokratia was not literally the ideal partner. ND, that had no Christian Democratic identity, could challenge the ideological cohesion of the organisation. The EPP, prior to ND's integration, had 12 member parties from 7 member states, having no members in Great Britain and Denmark. All of them were Christian Democratic Parties, by name and nature with the exception of the Irish Fine Gael that was not a Christian Democratic party by label,

99 Newspaper KATHIMERINI, January 1, 1982. in Greek

100 Newspaper KATHIMERINI, January 14, 1982. in Greek

101 Ibid.

albeit its policies and domestic party affiliations assimilated the centrist type of the EPP at the time. In this context, one would expect the acceptance of ND to be a rather difficult task. We researched the case of ND at the side of the EPP. Wilfried Martens in our interview remembers: *“The party [ND] had good credentials.”* He reflected that the accession of ND, first at the group and then at the party, was not a tough issue for the EPP. We traced the reasons that were in favour of ND: *“Karamanlis had enormous European credentials.. he was considered, I remember very well, as a natural European ally, a real European federalist. There was no objection as the party of Karamanlis was considered part of our political family. The Christian orthodox element may have also been played a positive role...”*¹⁰² We further interviewed Guy Korthoutd, who has been serving the EPP since the foundation period, as a youth activist, while in 1983 he was appointed deputy secretary general. He remembers that indeed there was no major debate on the case of ND however some of the members did raise the concern that through ND we may open the door to conservatives. He also referred to a kin supporter of Nea Demokratia, the Belgian Lieven Lenaerts, chairman of the small business association of the EPP, “a hellenophile” according to Korthoutd and a good friend to the Greeks¹⁰³.

We researched the relations in the historical archive of the EPP¹⁰⁴. In the EPP Political Bureau in October 1980, three months before the accession of the country, we note that an EPP Group delegation had visited Athens, on the invitation of ND, on September 28-30, 1980. The delegation was at a high level, revealing the interest on the side of the EPP. It comprised of Klepsch (incumbent chair of the EPP Group), Vergeer, Ryan, Pflimlin, Salzer. They reported:

“Cette délégation a informé les dirigeants de la Nea Demokratia sur le Programme du PPE, le fonctionnement du Parlement et du Grupe. Il s avère être évident que jusqu’a ce

102 Interview with Mr. Wilfried Martens in Brussels, Nov 11, 2011.

¹⁰³ In folder IX-007-050 we found material from the European Medium and Small Business Union headed by Lenaerts General Assembly of 1987 hosted in Athens.

104 Apart from the contacts with the Christian Democrat Leaders at the time, Nea Demokratia was in the European contact lists of the OVP / Austria and our of evidence it was invited at the Klessheim Conference of 1975 where attempts to form a coalition of conservatives and christian democrats were made at this early stage (IX-007-02 p.580).

jour le ND n'encore pris aucune décision quant à l'adhésion de ces députés à l'un ou l'autre Groupe du Parlement européen. Il est à supposer que les parlementaires de la ND qui feront leur entrée au PE le 1.1.1981 formeront provisoirement un groupe national propre¹⁰⁵. La première élection directe aura lieu en Grèce en octobre 1981 ; des décisions définitives seront sans doute prises après cette date. M. Rallis a fait savoir qu'une aile importante du N.D. se sentait apparentée au PPE¹⁰⁶».

The delegation proposed to invite representatives of ND to Brussels in November 1980 in order to discuss with representatives of the Group, as well as to give the possibility for some ND people to conduct a stagiaire programme at the Secretariat of the Group. Both proposals were smoothly accepted by the political bureau. (IX-007-025/1, p.266)

At the political Bureau of February 3, 1981 in his report EPP President Leo Tindermans reports: *«Avant Noël en Grèce, le Président a eu des entretiens avec le Président de l'Etat, Karamanlis, le Président du Parti Rallis et le Secrétaire Général de la Nea Dimokratia. La décision d'une adhésion à une famille politique sera prise probablement après les élections d'octobre/novembre.¹⁰⁷»* Later on at the same meeting Klepsch, Chairman of the EPP Group in his report says : *«Le Groupe estime irréaliste l'aspiration des députés grecs de former un Groupe avec des membres du P.E. "empruntés". Le Groupe a engagé un stagiaire de la Nea Dimokratia au Secrétariat Général. En outre, le Groupe s'est montré empressé en session plénière aux problèmes grecs.¹⁰⁸ »* The above evidence shows the

105 According to the Rules of Procedure of the European Parliament after the first direct elections of 1979 the formation of a Group required 14 MEPs from one country, or 10 MEPs from 3 member states or more. (Kreppel, 2001, p.245). The capacity of ND to form their own Group in the EP improved their status during this contact period with the EPP and prior to the European elections in Greece that reduced their MEPs from 14 to 8.

106 ACDP IX-007-025-1, p. 266-267. Actually the view of the Christian Democrat Leaders in Europe about Nea Demokratia in Greece were not always that favourable. Few years back in 1975 at the Working Group on International Politics of EUCD Egon Klepsch said: *« Il est difficile de prévoir l'évolution future des partis en Grèce: le groupe Mavros a été accepté par l'Internationale socialiste, alors que la tentative d'adhésion avancée par Papandreou a été rejetée; le seul élément d'union de Démocratie nouvelle est constitué par Karamanlis; il semble possible qu'elle soit partagée en plusieurs partis différents; Il est en outre possible que l'allié gauche du parti de Mavros se sépare du reste pour se joindre à Papandreou; à ce moment-là, une nouvelle orientation serait possible pour le parti de Mavros. Il semble par conséquent utile de soigner les contacts existants, d'attendre les évolutions futures et de ne pas prendre pour l'instant des décisions définitives. »* (IX-007-208, p.428)

107 ACDP IX-007-025-01, p.619

108 ACDP IX-007-025-01, p.620

strong preference of the EPP to get ND on board, particularly taking into account the ideological differences at the time and the fierce debates inside the EPP just a couple of years before on the issue of cooperating with non Christian Democratic parties.

In search for power

During the period of contact with the EPP group and before the actual integration (23.12.1981) the balance of power in the European Parliament was: Socialists 113 MEPs and EPP 107 MEPs. With the original 14 members that ND sent to Strasbourg on 1.1.1981 the EPP would become the largest group in the European Parliament with a total of 121-123 (107-109+14) as opposed to 120 of the Socialists (113+7)¹⁰⁹ (!)

	1.1.1981		1.1.1982 ¹¹⁰	
	EPP MEPs	Socialist MEPs	EPP MEPs	Socialist MEPs
BELGIUM	10	7	10	7
DENMARK	0	4	1	4
FRANCE	9	22	9	22
GERMANY	42	35	42	35
IRELAND	4	4	4	4
ITALY	30	13	30	13
LUXEMBOURG	3	1	3	1
NETHERLANDS	10	9	10	9
UK	0	18	0	18
TOTAL	108	113	109	114
GREECE	14	7	8	10
TOTAL	122	120	117	124

(on this see IX-007-028/01 p.154)

On the left side of the table we see what would happen if ND joined the EPP group from the beginning of the integration of Greece. On the right side is what happened a year later when they actually joined. The EPP at the elections of 1979 elected 107 MEPs and the Socialists elected 113. On January 1981 a French Pierre Baudis from the Union pour la France en Europe defected from the Liberal Group and joined the EPP Group

¹⁰⁹ The Greek Socialists, PASOK, although ultra radicals at the time, with straightforward anti-Europeanism, decided already from December 1979 to join the Socialist group in the EP, that was not the pro European group that evolved later on. PASOK only joined the European socialist party and the Socialist International later on in 1989. More info: Verney S. (1996).

¹¹⁰ Numbers of the EPP confirmed also by the 1981-1982 Report on the activities of the Group of the European People's Party (Christian-Democratic Group) of the European Parliament, p.14.

raising its members to 108. Later on in February 1981 Danish Erhard Jakobsen also joined the EPP defecting from the Democratic Group. We note that the socialists also acquired one extra MEP from another group/independent. The 8 MEPs of ND were: Leonidas Bournias, Gerokostopoulos Acchillefs, Gontikas Kostas, Kallias Konstantinos, Kalogiannis Konstantinos, Kazazis Filotas, Papaeftratiou Efratios and Protopapadakis Michail. The integration of Nea Demokratia's MEPs in the Group was subsequently followed by the appointment on January 1982 of Constantinos Kallias as one of the five Vice-Presidents of the Group. On February 1982 the EPP Group appointed the heads of the four specialist working parties, where it appointed Achilleas Gerokostopoulos as Vice Chairman of the Working Party on Political Parties. The aspiration of the EPP to deploy the first acquisition to boost its numbers in the European Parliament is strong. More evidence was found at a speech at the EPP Political Bureau of September 8, 1981 of Klepsch President of the EPP Group at the time that was found at IX-007-028-02 p.106 in English. There Klepsch speaks openly about the EPP Group aspirations: *"At the moment the Group comprises 109 members from 8 countries. We also have extremely close contacts with the 14 members of Nea Demokratia from Greece, and we are working on the assumption that after the Greek election our Group will be enlarged¹¹¹. There is, at any rate, every reason to hope so. This could in fact make our Group the largest in the European Parliament, if the result of the Greek election goes our way. But of course the crucial point is to ensure that the degree of integration our Group has achieved is not diluted."* (IX-007-028/02, p.121)

The 14 MEPs from ND would make the party the third largest group in the EPP group after the German and Italian delegations. This was a tool on the hands of ND to get more in return especially against its domestic criticism. We are discussing about a period of left-wing dominance in the Greek press, while the electorate did not have alternative news sources. ND had to show that it got something in return of membership otherwise it would risk be criticized for *"surrendering to the Vatican influence and to north European industrialist interests.."* This is in stark contrast with

¹¹¹ Actually, the result of the June 1979 elections was even tighter with 112 Socialist MEPs against 108 Christian Democrats as the Table below presents, but one MEP switched to the socialists in the following months. The Socialists however had received less votes compared to the EPP.

the later experience in CE countries and is useful information on the discussion on Europeanisation.

ND suffered a huge slip in its numbers at the national elections that took place in October 1981 and the number of MEPs it elected dropped from 14 to 8, while PASOK went up from 7 to 10 MEPs. As a result when they actually joined the EPP did not make it to the first place¹¹².

Political Composition of the European Parliament (1979)

	BELGIUM	DENMARK	GERMANY	FRANCE	IRELAND	ITALY	LUX	NETHER	UK	TOTAL
EPP	10		42	9	4	30	3	10		108
S	7	4	35	21	4	13	1	9	18	112
ED		3							61	64
COM		1		19		24				44
L	4	3	4	17	1	5	2	4		40
EPD		1		15	5					22
CDI	1	4			1	5				11
NI	2					4		2	1	9
TOTAL	24	16	81	81	15	81	6	25	81	410

Situation on 24th September 1979: S (Socialist Group) EPP (Group of the EPP), ED European Democrat Group, COM Communist and Allies Group L Liberal and Democratic Group, EPD Group of European Progressive Democrats, CDI Group of the Technical Coordination and the Defence of Independent Groups and Members, NI Non attached Members. Source: www.cvce.eu

Nea Demokratia joined the EPP “party” and the EUCD almost two years later at the joint EPP / EUCD Political Bureau of September 2, 1983. The admission as confirmed in the minutes found in the archive was smooth and without controversy¹¹³. ND was not represented at a senior level, another sign of the easiness of the accession. The integration was done at both EPP and EUCD with subsequent voting, instead of taking the topic under the EUCD agenda later on the day. Nea Demokratia was for several years the third largest member party after the German CDU and the Italian DC. This was due to the small parties from Spain and France and was confirmed also at the 1984 European elections and 1985 and 1989 Greek national elections.

¹¹² The following years ND had a constructive participation in the proceedings of the EPP, while it was represented at senior level by Ioannis Varvitsitis eight years Vice President in the EPP and Marieta Giannakou vice President of the EUCD, long lasting representative and MEP.

¹¹³ The minutes from the meeting were found at ACDP IX-007-028/01 p.13-19 in French.

At secondary level sources, Pascal Fontaine confirms our findings. At a paragraph titled “[T]he EPP Group persuaded Greek Members to join” he describes: “Klepsch thought of a way to persuade his prospective partners. He coloured in a plan of the Chamber for them, showing the EPP firmly and solidly in the centre of Parliament, while the centre right groups were to its right, more or less on the margins. This combined with the promise of two seniors posts for the EPP Group, including a position as vice chairman of the Group convinced the leaders of Nea Demokratia.” (2009, p. 179-180). Jansen connotes “..a party that is Christian Democratic neither in tradition nor programme” (...) “little discussion was provoked by the acceptance of Greek MEPs into the EPP parliamentary group, following Greek entry to the EC in January 1981, or by the recognition in September 1983 of New Democracy (ND) as a member of the EPP itself.” (1998, p.107) According to Jansen-Van Hecke: “Despite its lack of affiliation with Christian Democracy, the centre-right ND was a preferred partner. Its pro-European stance was uncontested and its membership did not change the balance of power within the EPP, so its accession took place without much ado.” (2011, p.49). Delwit confirms: “For the party to the centre-right of the Greek political scene, the operation took place in two stages and with relative discretion.” (2001, p.143). David Hanley views the accession of Nea Demokratia in the EPP as “an early sign that the looser conception of the EPP was gaining in strength came with the joining of the Greek Nea Demokratia (ND) in 1981; it had begun in the conservative European Democratic Group¹¹⁴, but its MEPs joined the EPP group and shortly afterwards the party itself joined EPP.” (2008, p.90). Wilfried Martens in his autobiography makes no special reference to the integration of ND inside the EPP. However, he notes that: “Karamanlis had the great foresight to orient his party towards Europe and lead his country into the Community, despite fierce opposition from Andreas Papandreou’s Socialists. In fact, he is one of the founders of the European Union.” (2009, p.124).

Assessment on the ND integration

All the above evidence, in line with the presented views of other researchers, consent that the accession of ND in the EPP, at the Group and at the Party was not

114 As we presented above this is not confirmed. Relations though existed among some MEPs that created this impression.

controversial. This becomes meaningful vis-a-vis later applications from other non-CD parties and the position of the 'core Christian democrats' against them. If this is correct how do we explain their easiness to accept the integration of Nea Demokratia? This integration was smooth because no other existing member of the EPP had intense preferences against the membership of this party. ND had a neutral-positive image, as the pro-European force in the newly integrated EC member state. The legacy of its founder, Karamanlis, as a senior and respected political figure, helped in this direction. Furthermore, there could be no prospects in Greece for a Christian Democratic party to evolve, in the absence of such political tradition. The ideological position of Nea Demokratia had a number of similarities with the continental Christian Democratic tradition as well as differences. The party system in Greece did not assimilate to the centrist profile of the continental Christian democrats, rather it was closer to the British or German party system where the party embraces the whole right-of-centre spectrum and is competing the left-of-centre that is dominated by a social democratic/labour party.

The European commitment of ND was genuine: *"Nea Demokratia believes that Greece not only deserves but can indeed have a central role and, through this, secure the wellness of the people through integration in Europe, where it belongs if it exploits all the skills and talents of the Greek people. Irrespective of size, Greece with its cultural heritage, the brightness of the Greek civilisation and the power of its people can contribute politically, morally and culturally in the realisation of the united Europe idea¹¹⁵."* The pro European orientation of Nea Demokratia due to its pro Western attitude in general was further supported by security considerations due to the "threat from the East", named Turkey.

The accession of a non-Christian democratic party in the EPP did not alter the equilibrium in the EPP against Christian Democrats since the newly Europeanised ND did not bring along a controversial political footprint that could challenge mainstream Christian democracy. The Christian democrats could feel that they got another 'ally'. From the Greek perspective, ND choosing between the Christian Democrats and Conservatives they had to take into account the social profile that was important for

¹¹⁵ From the 1974 founding declaration.

them to preserve at times of a social swing to the left. The conservative group had a more capitalistic, neoliberal profile with a negative connotation in Greece. “*The Tories tried to convince the Greek ND to join the EDG. ... Also this party has eschewed the word Conservative.*” (Clogg, 1987 from Johansson, 1997, p.75).

Nea Demokratia became a reliable and active partner in the EPP/EUCD cooperation throughout the 1980s and the 1990s, despite joining also the EDU at an early stage. After the collapse of communism it tried to play a role in the Europeanisation of the countries in the broader Southeast Europe¹¹⁶. Varvitsiotis served for several years EPP Vice President, while Marieta Giannakou served as EUCD Vice President in the 1990s. In 1997 Kostas Karamanlis, new leader of ND, continued the special focus in Southeast Europe together with Ioannis Valinakis, later alternate foreign minister. Karamanlis elaborated the EPP strategy for the region titled “The reconstruction of Southern and Eastern Europe” that was approved at the EPP Council meeting Sep 30, 1999. (IX-007-157, p.763) For the first time as part of the integration strategy the EPP designed tools that went beyond the standard process of party-integration through documents’ exchange. This project inspired to elaborate diverse tools towards democracy consolidation and reconstruction of the fragile region of Southeast Europe, including the creation of an international university in Thessaloniki. The document “The reconstruction of Southern and Eastern Europe” is annexed.

Integrating more parties in the 1980s

The Italian party of the German speaking minority of South Tyrolean’s People’s Party applied to join the EPP on 27.5.1982 (IX-007-208, p.50) signed by its President Dr. Silvius Mangago¹¹⁷. This despite being among the 12 founding parties of the EPP in 1976. The Italian South Tyrolean peoples party was voted as a full member of the EPP. From the minutes of the Political Bureau on June 1982: “*The SVP has been a member of*

¹¹⁶ For this purpose it organised a conference for “Democratic parties in the Balkan countries” in June 14 1991. (IX-007-080, p.39)

¹¹⁷ A few months earlier on October 1981 the Lebanese Christian Democratic Union (LCDU) became an observer member of the EUCD (IX-007-046, p.552)

the EPP with observer status since it was set up, and SVP Members of Parliament have been members of the EPP Group at the European Parliament for many years: the party now becomes a member of the Federation of Christian Democrat parties in the Community, and brings the number of such parties up to ten. The SVP has one Member in the European Parliament, Mr Joachim Dalsass.” (IX-007-46, p.324)

Portugal

The history of Portugal in the EPP goes back to the 1970s¹¹⁸. The CDS party was accepted as an observer member of the EPP at the Political Bureau of February 8, 1978 « *M. von Hassel signale qu'il a reçu une lettre du Président du CDS portugais, M. Freitas do Amaral, datée du 26 janvier, par laquelle il demande, sur base des statuts du PPE, que le CDS ait le statut d'observateur. La 'demande 'du CDS est acceptée. M. CANELLAS rappelle que l'Equipe DC de l'Etat espagnol avait fait la même demande depuis longtemps. M. Von HASSEL confirme la demande de statut d'observateur au PPE de Equipe espagnole. La demande de l'Equipe DC de l'Etat espagnol est acceptée.* » (IX-007-026/00, p.255) CDS from Portugal became a full member of the EPP just after the accession of Spain and Portugal in the E.C. in 1986. On IX-007-093 p.99 at the political bureau of the EUCD/EPP on June 12, 1986 Lucas Pireira resigned from being EUCD Vice President as he was elected vice president of the European Parliament¹¹⁹. He was replaced in the EUCD bureau by another Portuguese Mr. Moreira. “*The Christian Democratic party Centro Democratico Social (CDS) had been falling behind in Portugal*” (Martens, 2009, p.112). From the minutes of the EDU Committee on European Structures European Policy, 2 November 1987. “In the absence of a representative of CDS (Portugal) the Chairman instructed the Secretary to give a short report on the elections in Portugal. Andreas Khol presented that the CDS had “never recovered from the shock suffered after Freitas do Amaral had left the party leadership. Mr.Khol indicated that contacts should be sought with all the non socialist parties in Portugal,

118 On page 465 of folder IX-007-208 we found a few page discussion about Portugal's party landscape in Feb 1975 at the Working Group international politics of EUCD. It gives an idea of how European Christian democrats viewed the transition in Portugal.

¹¹⁹ Interesting report on the elections on October 5, 1980 Portugal from the CDS party in IX-007-184, p.610.

so that perhaps EDU could get a second member party from Portugal, in addition to the CDS. After a short debate on this matter the European Committee recommended the Steering Committee to take up this matter and to search for ways and means to enhance cooperation with like-minded parties in Portugal.” ¹²⁰ When Diogo Freitas do Amaral resigned in 1992 after the election result of 1991 he was replaced by the radical Manuel Monteiro who turned the party anti European. In a letter¹²¹ of Do Amaral to EPP President Martens he expresses his sorrow for the antieuropean rift of CDS and concerning his successor he states: *“Son élection s'est faite sur la-base de l'idée d'une rupture avec le passé du Parti, notamment en matière européenne, pue qu'on préconisait maintenant des thèses beaucoup plus à droite, à caractère fortement nationaliste et, sinon anti-européen, du moins complètement anti-fédéraliste, contraire à l'union politique et contraire à l'union monétaire.»* This event created a window of opportunity for the EPP and especially for those advocating the opening towards non Christian democrats to bring in the big party of the centre right in Portugal, the Partido Social Democrata (PSD). PSD was smoothly integrated to the EPP at the Political Bureau of December 6, 1996 as of November 1996 its 8 members of the European Parliament were individually integrated in the EPP Group. (IX-007-175, p.103) We traced the minutes from which we read:

« Le Secrétaire Général, Klaus Welle, rappelle que, lors de la dernière réunion du Bureau politique d'octobre, un accord unanime avait été recueilli quant a la proposition d'accepter le PSD comme parti membre à part entière du PPE. Le Président Martens retrace le cheminement politique du PSD jusqu'à sa demande d'adhésion au PPE. Le PPE possède a présent au Parlement Européen de fortes délégations de tous les pays de l' UE. Les huit parlementaires européens du PSD ont adhéré individuellement depuis novembre au Groupe-PPE au PE et ce grâce à l'article 5A du Règlement du Groupe-PPE. Le vide existant au Portugal va être comblé et ce des l'adhésion du PSD portugais au PPE comme membre à part entière. » (IX-007-156, p.74).

¹²⁰ IX-007-064, p.479

¹²¹ The letter is found at IX-007-141, p.567-570.

The integration of Spain

Christian democracy in Spain had a history going back to the early decades and the cooperation inspired by Don Luigi Sturzo in the SIPDIC. According to Martens: *“the Christian Democrats in the various regions of Spain (...) had worked together with Don Luigi Sturzo and his international secretariat until the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War put an end to their cooperation.”* (2009, p.114) The discussion on the European level about the revival of CD in Spain started as early as 1976 with a declaration of the Spanish Equipe in the EUCD¹²². Towards the first elections in Spain, after Franco, in 1977 Christian democrat parties sought the assistance of the EUCD. The Spanish équipe representing five parties at the EUCD Working Group in July 1976 requested assistance on the danger of fragmentation of the CD forces in the post Franco Spain *« l'UEDC doit manifester clairement sa solidarité avec l'Equipe démocrate chrétienne de l'Etat espagnol, à la fois par une aide publique et par une aide matérielle accrue (le PSOE bénéficie depuis longtemps et très largement de la solidarité socialiste au niveau européen.) »* (IX-007-208, p.315-319). The WG International Politics held interesting discussions and debates on contemporary political issues from an international perspective. A good example was the agenda item on “Strategy and tactics of the Communist Parties in Eastern Europe” where analysis was made vis a vis communist parties in western European countries. This topic was permanent on the agenda of the WG (material on IX-007-208). Generally, the situation in Spain was permanently on the agenda of the WG International Politics during the period 1975-1977. Few days later the Spanish équipe requested observer membership in the newly founded EPP¹²³. The Equipe was not smoothly accepted as yet due to the debate in the EPP about how to handle the EUCD parties from non EC member states. In October 1983 the application of the Spanish Partido Democrata Popular (PDP) was considered at the WG on International Politics of EUCD/EPP and provoked the reaction of the Spanish équipe. (IX-007-028/01 p.170). The case was finally brought for decision at the joint Political Bureau in Rome in November 1983 (IX-007-028/01, p.224) where it was finally

¹²² On the 13th of April 1976 (IX-007-208, p.333). Report on the national elections in Spain of 1977 at the minutes of the PB of 28-29 June 1977. (IX-007-025/01 p.320)

¹²³ ACDP IX-007-026 p.97 The second one comes on the 30th of August 1976 from the European Young Christian Democrats.

accepted as an observer member¹²⁴. Fontaine argues that *“the contacts made by the Group during the process of democratising the two countries had ensured that the Group would be joined by two Spanish regional Christian Democrat parties, the Basque PNV and a fraction of Conversion y Union de Catalunya, as well as the Union of the Democratic Centre.”* (2009, p.219)

Things got complicated when Spain and Portugal entered the European Communities in 1986¹²⁵ and the former equipe members of the EUCD became individual members of the EPP, namely the Democratic Popular Party (Partido Demócrata Popular, PDP), the Basque National Party (Partido Nacionalista Vasco, PNV) and the Catalanian Democratic Union¹²⁶ (Unió Democràtica de Catalunya, UDC). Their performance in the 1989 European elections was poor. Just 1 MEP elected against 35 MEPS elected with PSOE, the Spanish socialist party¹²⁷. The result for the EPP was the worst ever: 121 seats out of 519 in the European Parliament. Martens in his book states: *“the accession of Spain and Portugal to the European Community in 1986 had weakened the EPP from an electoral point of view, because these countries did not have strong Christian Democratic parties. (...) The EPP had tried for a long time to set up a national Christian Democratic Party in Spain, at first immediately after the fall of Franco and afterwards when Spain joined the European Community. In the mid-1970s I had already met Christian-Democrats such as Ruiz Gimenez, Javier Ruperez and Jose Maria Gil-Robles*

¹²⁴ Finally the PDP was unanimously accepted as an observer party (IX-007-028/01, p.237). The proposal of Sec Gen Jansen was: *“le bureau de l' UEDC decide a l' unanime que, dans la perspective de la demande d' adhesion, le PDP participe aux activitees de l' UEDC en qualite d invite permanent.”* (IX-007-028/01, p.224). few hours later the application is taken at the Political Bureau of the EPP where they are also accepted as observer members: *“ Le Bureau decide l' unanime, suivant l' article 12 des Statuts, d'accorder au Partido Demócrata Popular (PDP) espagnol le statut d'observateur. M. CUATRECASAS declare, au nom de l'UDC catalane et du PNV basque, que c'est avec joie qu'il accueille cette decision ».* (ibid, p.237) Few days before the meeting a telex explains the position of Spanish PNV on party (IX-007-028/01, p.300-301).

¹²⁵ IX-007-017, p.454 press release on Spain's integration in the EC from the EPP Group.

¹²⁶ It should be noted that Francoism in Spain had always portrayed itself as a protector of Catholicism in Spain. Inevitably the parties that hoped to inherit these political ideas considered themselves as privileged partners of the Catholic Church. This has been a prime reason why typical Christian Democratic Parties did not flourish in Spain. Report on Spanish political parties' system of 1987-88 in German at IX-007-135, pp.690-698.

¹²⁷ The Catalanian UDC managed to win one seat. For the 1989 elections EPP started the preparation for its programme at the WG 'programme' on Nov 19, 1987 chaired by Mr.Stavehagen, who set the aim of elaborating 3 documents: the electoral manifesto, the action programme *“actualize servant de base et d'orientation aux travaux du Groupe-PPE”* (minutes at IX-007-072, p.956).

senior. (...) Because their parties were members of the EUCD, they were not unknown to us.” (Martens, 2009, p.114).

The regional¹²⁸ member parties from Spain had their domestic disputes with the Madrid administration. This was their major issue and political cleavage rather than Christian democracy. This was occasionally expressed in the cooperation of the EPP and the EUCD with criticism over decisions of the national administration using every possible opportunity to expose the central administration. Indeed, the absence of a Spanish national political party in the CD cooperation gave them exclusivity in representation. This was a privileged right they had and they tried to preserve. This can only explain why they were fierce fully opposing the integration of other parties in the EPP/EUCD cooperation. Catalans and Basques in the European Christian Democratic cooperation were Christian democrats but in their own way. Christian democracy was a tool towards Europeanising their domestic issues and through the federal agenda to promote greater powers from Madrid.

The relations with the EUCD

From the early 1980s an internal discussion about the role of the EUCD¹²⁹ in the enlarging European Communities started. It was fuelled by the strengthening of the EPP that reduced the number of non-EC member parties to an all-time-low. With the election of Thomas Jansen as Secretary General (SG) of the EPP in 1983 he was further appointed¹³⁰ as SG of the EUCD fusing the secretariats into one based in Brussels, as

¹²⁸ According to De Bruwer 1992 « regionalism » had been considered in the history of the christian democrats: « Des députés européens belges et hollandais se sont même efforcés d'orienter l'élargissement du Groupe DC, puis du Groupe PPE vers les forces régionalistes, selon une vocation particulière de la démocratie chrétienne, manifestée entre autres par la Conférence de l'UEDC de Munich en juin 1973 sur la politique régionale européenne. »

¹²⁹ IX-007-063-01-279-014, p.58 report of the new president of the EUCD de Amaral in 1981 soon after he took over the organisation. Very important document. See also the several pages detailed budget of the EUCD for 1982 at 09-007-056-EVP-PPE.. p.52-58 and also the 1983 EUCD budget at IX-007-028/01, p.69. See also the 1988 EPP/EUCD/CDI budget at IX-007-028, p.73,135,251

¹³⁰ “On a proposal of Kai Uwe von Hassel, acting chairman of the European Christian Democratic Union, Thomas Jansen was also appointed Secretary General of the EUCD. Following the appointment of Jansen, Leo

opposed to Rome, where the seat of the EUCD used to be. The EUCD was already facing existing dilemmas as the discussion over European Communities' issues was over dominating the proceedings¹³¹. The issue went high on the agenda again in 1986 after the integration of Spain and Portugal in the EC. At the EPP Summit of 1st March 1986 we note: *«Suite à l'adhésion des partis démocrates-chrétiens espagnols et du parti démocrate-chrétien portugais, le PPE comprend maintenant 14 partis-membres. Seulement 7 partis-membres de l'UEDC ne sont pas en même temps membres du PPE: il s'agit des partis démocrates-chrétiens de l'Autriche, de la Suisse, de Malte, de Saint-Marin, de Norvège, de Suède et de Chypre. Au vu de la situation, il y a lieu de voir s'il ne serait pas opportun de fusionner les deux fédérations.»* (IX-007-018/01 p.124)

The discussion started at the joint Political Bureau of EPP/EUCD, June 1986, in Strasbourg (minutes at IX-007-093, p.96de, 99fr) where SG Thomas Jansen concluded: *«Le sentiment général, qui se dégage de cette discussion, est favorable à l'idée d'une fusion des deux organismes, à condition cependant de respecter certaines sensibilités et de trouver des solutions aux quelques obstacles pratiques. Le Bureau charge les deux Présidents et le Secrétaire Général de continuer leurs consultations avec les directions des partis-membres et de concrétiser les propositions.»* (IX-007-093, p.100) It was later on put up with a resolution from the Youth organisation EYCD¹³² at the EPP Congress in The Hague in 1986 with a roadmap aiming *"to bring about the complete merger of the two organisations¹³³."* The discussion about the merging of EUCD in the EPP started but, since it required statutory changes from the EPP, it took time to conclude, primarily due to the reluctance of some EUCD members to close down the

Tindermans paid a warm tribute to the outgoing Secretary General, MEP Jean Seitlinger.." IX-007-044/02, p.513.

¹³¹ According to Jansen: "The single leadership was supposed to ensure that Christian Democratic parties in Europe followed a coherent political line, irrespective of whether their field of activity was in the EC, the Council of Europe (CoE) or other European or international bodies." (2011, p.86).

¹³² Between 1983 and 1985, the European Union of Young Christian Democrats and the so called "Team of the Ten", the two youth organisations of the EUCD and EPP, completed their fusion and became the Young European Christian Democrats. In 1983 the EUCDA which had been founded in 1976 as the workers group of the EUCD, was accepted (on application) as an association, by the EPP. The European Association of local elected representatives was founded in 1978, as an association of the EPP and the EUCD at the same time. (IX-007-037/01, p.13)

¹³³ Report of SG Thomas Jansen, January 1988, IX-007-037/01, p.14.

organisation. A provisional decision was taken at the EPP presidency meeting on May 1988 where EPP president Santer *“clôture la discussion sur ce point en constatant que tout le monde est d'accord pour constituer un groupe de travail. Celui-ci devra se composer, d'après une proposition de Monsieur COLOMBO, de représentants des partis, des Groupes (PE et Conseil de l'Europe) et des organisations du PPE et de l'UEDC. »* (IX-007-043/02, p.601)

The discussion about the fusion of the EUCD continued and a special working group named “fusion” was created by both organisations. This group elaborated scenarios about the merge¹³⁴. In his report for 1988 the Sec Gen Thomas Jansen stated: *“The objective is to strengthen the unity of action of Christian Democrats in Europe. The renewal or revision of the statutes must take into account our experience over the last few years as well as the level of integration reached by the European Community, and the political future of Europe¹³⁵.”* Until the beginning of 1989 there was still no hint of what was coming up from Eastern Europe¹³⁶. In the course of 1989 and as the former communist countries, one after the other, started to change regime the whole discussion about the fusion of EUCD with the EPP became redundant. A new cause for the EUCD arised. The ‘new Europe’ provided a new raison d’etre for the organisation as it would be the vehicle of the EPP in its eastern Enlargement.

The Spanish Partido Popular (PP)

The case of integration of the Spanish PP in the EPP has been discussed in the literature: Jansen-Van Hecke (2011); Hanley (2008); Bartolini (2005); Matuschek, Peter (2002, 2001); Steven Van Hecke (2009, 2003a); Tavernier Ernie (2003); Johansson (1997); Van Hecke & Matuschek (2005); Martens (2009); and others. Matuschek explanation on the non flourishing on Christian Democracy after Franco in

¹³⁴ IX-007-204, p.188 a note on the two main scenarios: association or merger on February 1989.

¹³⁵ presented on Feb 1989, IX-007-041, p.228

¹³⁶ The Volume IX-007-041 is about the proceedings of EPP/EUCD and CDI during 1987-1989 beginning, until the successful EPP congress in Luxemburg where a public rally of about 3000 people and the new image of EPP towards the 1989 European elections was presented under the slogan “the heart of Europe”.

Spain pointed on few factors: the depoliticisation of Church-state relations in the post Franco first free elections, even from the communists; the distance of the Spanish Catholic church from politics, partly a result from the lessons learned in the past; the fragmentation of Christian democrat groupings (the most notable leaders were Joaquin Ruiz Gimenez and Jose Maria Gil Robles (later President of EP, 1997-99) and their inability to unite into a single political party. UDC, described as a 'substitute' Christian democrat party, absorbed some of these elements of the Spanish political system that later in 1982 split from UDC and formed PDP that could survive only in coalition with the large right wing, Alianza Popular (AP). PDP was renamed Democrazia Cristiana in a last attempt to form a national Christian Democratic party in Spain. Few years later it was finally absorbed by the Partido Popular (Matuschek in Hecke-Gerard, p.245-6)

For the EPP the preferred Christian Democrat partners in Spain were old time partners in EUCD but with, mainly, regional presence in Spain, as we presented above. The creation of a new party at the late 1980s became a win-win situation for both the Spanish and the EPP side. Jansen-Van Hecke made a detailed presentation of the actual events, thanks also to the personal involvement of Thomas Jansen in the capacity of SG of the EPP. The Spanish big party in the centre right Alianza Popular that grew stronger in the 1980s but losing twice (1982, 1986) to the Socialists. The 14 appointed Spanish MEPs of AP in 1986 and the 17 elected MEPs in 1987, after Spain had its first European elections, allied with the European Democratic Group (EDG), under the British Conservatives. They soon realised that they needed a more moderate, centrist profile to address the leftish swift of the Spanish society few years after the collapse of Francoism in Spain and under the hegemony of the Spanish socialist party. *"The Spaniards did not feel particularly at home in an EDG dominated by Britain's Tories, and it quickly became clear that they were far less conservative, or at least they wanted to be, than their British EDG partners."* (Jansen-Van Hecke, p.52) Martens in his autobiography notes: *"Did the Partido Popular really belong among its (EPP) ranks? Though they had different origins and traditions, the EPP and the PP were both people's parties in name and in purpose."* (Martens, 2009, p.115).

AP although major opposition in the 1980s in Spain after PSOE electoral victories realized that they needed a big change away from the clearly rightish profile in order to

seriously challenge the dominance of PSOE. In this direction Fraga “agreed to a change in his party’s profile and programme, to its acceptance of the political forces of the centre and to its ‘Europeanisation’ based on the model of the EPP, which his party, thus reformed, would join¹³⁷”. The EPP was involved in this transformation process. At a meeting in Luxembourg in January 1989 the EPP leadership, Santer, Klepsch, Jansen and the Spanish Oreja and Rupérez agreed to transform the AP to a centrist and moderate ‘Partido Popular’ that would run for the European elections with the EPP manifesto as its programme. The elected MEPs would be allowed to join the EPP group. The project was presented at the political bureau of the EPP on the 9th of February 1989 in Athens¹³⁸. In this discussion no reference is made on the wider issue of future allies of the Christian democrats. This issue has not yet opened; the European elections that alarmed the EPP for its future would take place few months later.

This complex exercise was well designed by the EPP. Thomas Jansen as Secretary General EPP was the chief operations officer of this task, in collaboration with President Santer. He deployed his long time relations with the Spaniards by undertaking to speak and convince Javier Juperez and Marcelino Oreja to engage in this project. He organised the final meeting between Ruperez, Santer and Klepsch to draft the strategy of implementation. *“Oreja Aguirre advocated a large People’s Party in Spain which leaned more towards the centre, could appeal to a wider electorate and so overturn the supremacy of Felipe Gonzalez’ PSOE. To re-fashion the Party’s image, which still carried echoes of the Franco-ist past, a young and modernist leader was needed.”* (Fontaine, p.262) Klepsch from the EPP group at the parliament was supportive by speaking to Oreja Aguirre, while the German Chancellery was not involved, probably not very fond of this idea. *“Kohl had a difficult relation with Ruperez to whom he reproached that he had voted against Spain’s membership in NATO. Kohl was ‘in love’ with Felipe Gonzalez. He did not like Aznar as he had not liked Fraga because he considered them too conservative and reactionary. And they were opponents of Felipe!”*

¹³⁷ Jansen-Van Hecke p.52. As Delwit contents “with the will to depart from its strictly conservative dress” (2001, p.144)

¹³⁸ IX-007-47, p.18. Interesting is also the annual report for 1988 presented by Thomas Jansen at this political bureau in Athens, February 1989. Further information is provided at the supportive letter of the Youth Organisation of the Democracia Christiana sent to the EYCD, April 1989 (IX-007-092, p.217)

(Jansen interview 2015). According to the press statement from Christopher Prout, Leader of the EDG Group in the European Parliament on May 25, 1989: *“we wish the Partido Popular success in the forthcoming elections. It is extremely important that they do well in these elections to preserve the position of the centre-right. We look forward to continuing our working relationship with them in the new Parliament, in whatever capacity, where together we will all form part of a close knit working alliance of centre right parties, sharing common ideals and objectives.”* (IX-007-020, p.328) This was preceded by a declaration by the EPP Group that following consultations between EPP and PP as of the upcoming European elections all candidates elected with the PP list will ally in the following legislature after the elections with the EPP group. (IX-007-020, p.329)

Martens in his interview recalled the role of Helmut Kohl in this topic. He explained to us the strong personal relation that he had with the socialist Felipe Gonzalez, the leading figure of post-Franco Spain. This personal relation made him challenge the profile of the young and unknown Jose Maria Aznar, the new president of PP, after the deliberate step back of Fraga Iribarne. *“This man will never become a prime minister”* appears that have been the opinion of Kohl towards Aznar. The fact that the Spanish vote in the European council through the relation of Gonzalez with Kohl was secured, the strategy of Klepsch towards integrating more MEPs from Spain to the EPP Group was not in conflict with Kohl’s views. Martens confirmed the fierce resistance against PP by Basques and Catalans that were integrated many years before in the EUCD and after 1986 in the EPP as well¹³⁹.

Martens in his interview reflected *“we had an enormous discussion about.. for several reasons. We had member parties: Catalans and Basques. We failed to create one Christian Democratic Party. The main figure there was Ruperez but he joined the PP from the outset.”* Martens also reflected on Kohl being very reluctant against Aznar at the beginning. Aznar according to Kohl: *“was not European minded. You can do nothing with him for Europe. I contradicted that of course. The smaller parties that were important for the EPP, the Benelux etc. were feared of big parties from big countries as they could*

¹³⁹ In the early ‘90s we note a lot of correspondence between UDC and the EPP. President of UDC Leida was an active partner in the EPP demonstrating his Christian democratic credentials (IX-007-020).

weaken their position. For instance between Kohl and Aznar it took years and years to achieve that. Before I managed to have a common photo of Kohl and Aznar it took months..” and continues: “Fraga as member of the European parliament decided to leave the European democratic group and join the EPP. Together with other MEPs were admitted to the EPP group. This was in line with our decision that said: any MEP elected by a list share by Christian democrats should automatically be allowed to join the EPP group.” Martens continues: “In the group and in the party there was enormous resistance against non Christian democrats. Nea Demokratia was not a problem, but Partido Popular was a big problem. It was also power politics in the European parliament. For the CDU this was also power politics.” Kohl according to Martens had a clear distinction about what the group and the party can do. He used to say: “the group can do that. Not the party.” The group according the Kohl had freedom of manoeuvre. For the party Kohl questioned the European commitment of Aznar. He used to say that Aznar ‘will never become prime minister of Spain.’ I organized a lot of meetings aiming to reconcile them.” (Martens interview, 2011)

Kohl had his special reasons to be against Aznar. According to Marieta Giannakou, Gonzalez had provided critical support to Kohl on the issue of the integration of Eastern Germany in the EC. On the 3rd of June 1989 the Presidences of the EPP party and the Group took a joint decision using a highly diplomatic language literally saying that given the Group’s decision to invite MEPs elected with the Partido Popular list to join the EPP Group, the EPP is committed to implement its Action Programme adopted at the EPP Congress of 1988 titled “Aux côtés des citoyens”. In this respect the EPP recommends to its Group to invite MEPs that would be elected in few days from other non-EPP parties to join the EPP Group. (Original resolution IX-007-045, p.83) With this resolution the EPP ‘softened’ as much as possible the integration of the Partido Popular MEPs into the EPP group by liaising it with the implementation of the Action Programme. Further to that they presented that this may apply to three other small parties in the fringes of the EPP member parties, not to show that this is just for the Spanish PP. Actually 15 MEPs were elected from the EPP at the European elections of 1989 plus 1 MEP elected by the Catalan party.

Jose Maria Aznar was elected president of PP in April 1990. He soon got in touch with the EPP and met for the first time with Martens¹⁴⁰ in Brussels on June 16, 1990 in the presence of Javier Ruperez, last Chair of PDP. As a new party leader, he was looking to make friends, both at home and abroad. His efforts though to get connected faced severe opposition from both the right wing fraction of the former Alianza Popular but also from the 'true' Christian democrats of the EPP. In the face of Wilfried Martens Aznar found a real and loyal friend and supporter. At a moment when the EPP was looking for ways to escape from the shrinking of Christian democracy and the collapse of its power, while Aznar needed the European credentials and the moderate profile to appeal in Spain.

Martens in his autobiography remembers the presence of PP at the Dublin Congress *"including the then unknown Jose Maria Aznar. His attempts to approach the EPP were hindered at the time by Christian Democrats from the various regions of Spain. Out of protest, the President of the Basque Partido Nacionalista Vasco (PNV) Xavier Arsaluz, addressed the congress in German. The purpose was to deliberately provoke Aznar."* (Martens 2009, p. 113) Martens presents the EPP strategy vis a vis PP and other new parties that was that the EPP would not change but the prospective members would declare commitment to to Christian Democracy. In the case of PP *"[a]dmission would become a fact as soon as Aznar embraced our values and principles. And this he did, which was far from obvious, given the prior history of the Partido Popular. His declaration during the EPP Congress in Dublin that he would uphold and promote Christian Democratic values in Spain caused uproar in the Spanish press. Aznar too had taken considerable risks."* (Martens, 2009, p.115). After considerable difficulties against old Christian democrats in the EPP the Partido Popular became an observer member of the EPP in October 1990.

Hanley is rather critical on the steps taken to bring in PP in the EPP: *"This use of the group as a sort of antechamber to full acceptance and legitimacy is an example of the creative instincts of parties when they have problems to solve;"* (2008, p.95). In fact, taking the party in at the parliamentary level has been the standard process of

¹⁴⁰ Martens in his book about Aznar: "I have always got on well with Jose Maria Aznar on a personal level. Every since our first encounter, we have shared an increasing degree of mutual trust" (Martens 2009, p.114).

integrating new parties in the EPP family. The same applied for Nea Demokratia few years before and for other members coming from EU member states. Albeit standard process, Hanley has a point. The integration to the group of the Europarty is a more diplomatic move as it brings existing members of the Group in front of the dilemma of accepting new members and strengthening the group via-a-vis the other groups, or rejecting them and as a result weakening the group against the others. The strong preferences against the Spanish PP would not be shared by some other fellow members, such as the French or the Greeks who, acting in good faith, to strengthen the group might vote in favour. Klaus Welle emphasised that the rise of PP in the EPP took place at a period of the immense decline of the Italian DC. It is no accident that at the Political Bureau of the EPP in Brussels in September 9, 1993, the first one after the acceptance of PP as a full member of the EPP, its president Aznar took part at the meeting where on the agenda was the election of the two deputy secretary generals of the EPP took place: the Italian Camillo Zuccoli was replaced by the Spanish Gerardo Galeote, put forward by the PP. The election of the deputy Secretary General is normally a non controversial topic. The second deputy secretary general Guy Korthoutd received 48 votes in favour and 3 abstentions. For the Spanish Galeote there were 26 votes in favour, 19 votes against and 3 abstentions. This was a sign of how divided the EPP was at the time. (IX-007-175, p.371) In June 1991 Partido Popular applied¹⁴¹ to become a full member of the EPP. Partido Popular was voted full member of the EUCD at the Political Bureau in Santiago de Compostela on 18 October 1991 with the objections of the Basuq PNV.

The smooth integration of ND in the EPP reveals that the traditional Christian democrat members did not object taking in a non-Christian democratic party and at the early days of the EPP, shortly after the 1979 European elections, during the 'honey moon' period for the EPP. As we presented earlier on, in the case of Nea Demokratia the EPP took a rational position to extend its influence in the European Parliament through the integration of a medium size group. This was only possible because there was no party with a strong motivation to be against. Ideology here did not prevail as a decision making factor. In the case of the Spanish PP the intense preferences of the old

¹⁴¹ IX-007-020, p.409 the formal application letter

EPP parties against it were the prime condition. Ideology was exemplified in the debate while support was offered by other parties such as the Benelux and the Italians.

The question of whether the EPP should be solely for Christian democrats or not was a serious debate at the foundation period as we examined earlier in this research. Then the majority strongly preferred the Christian democratic 'purity'. At that time CD was strong in Europe as an ideological and political movement. The EPP was, a few years later, faced with the first non CD party, the Greek ND. Although without substantial discussion on its impact on the model of cooperation, it was easily integrated without debate. The end of the 1980s found the EPP at a difficult moment due to the alarming results of the 3rd European elections in 1989. The figures went bad for the EPP as the socialists were gaining big numbers of new members from both new countries, Greece, Spain and Portugal, where the EPP, except from Greece, was represented by small political parties. As we presented above the regional parties of the Basques and the Catalans were long time partners in the European structures of Christian democracy but in a normative sense would hardly comply with Christian democracy. This further weakens the simple argument that PP could not be integrated because it was not a Christian democratic party. The acquisition of the Spanish PP has proved decisive for the enlargement of the EPP. It empowered the non-Christian democratic part that consisted of mainly CDU/CSU (DE) and the ND (GR) by that time. After the Partido Popular integration the equilibrium between those who wanted only the Christian democrats and those who wanted the opening of the EPP started shifting towards opening up.

The 'two-step' strategy for the enlargement

Martens was elected President of the EPP in 1990 succeeding Jacques Santer¹⁴². From the very beginning of his mandate he dealt with the issue of the possible enlargement, in the light of the application of the British Conservatives that was submitted already in June 1989. Several pieces of evidence were found on this, such as a letter of SG Thomas

142 The elections took place at the Political Bureau in Brussels. Martens received 65 votes in favour and 2 against. Minutes at IX-007-230,p.275de

Jansen to the President of the EUCD Emilio Colombo (Jan 1991) where he states that Martens *“has pledged to organize as soon as possible an informal meeting of the Presidents of the party and of the Heads of Government to discuss the future profile of the EPP and the question of a possible opening to the conservative parties.”*¹⁴³ Coming from the Bastion of Christian Democracy, the Benelux, Martens had to balance two trends: opening the party to conservatives to avoid political isolation and at the same time preserving its Christian democratic identity that was still holding strong at the time. The way out of this Gordian knot was designed in a double move. In his autobiography¹⁴⁴ Martens makes a clear link between the enlargement of the EPP and the adoption of the new basic programme: *“renewing the Basic Programme was for me a matter of fundamental importance and a high priority. I was convinced that the expansion of the Party would only prove durable and fruitful if there was agreement about the Party’s political foundations. Moreover, the acceptance of these fundamental principles had to be a basic condition for membership for new political parties. It was a fact that the greater the difference in parties the more important the common basis became.”* (Martens, 2009, p.123)

This strategy of Martens was two-fold:

A. The EPP would open to non Christian democratic parties that would apply for membership provided that they subscribe to the “basic programme”, thus the Christian democratic fundamental ideals.

B. For this purpose, the EPP would soon prepare the revised version of this Basic Programme to update it, since it was scripted in 1978. This would further attempt to relax traditional Christian democrats who would fear that EPP is losing its identity. The idea therefore was that since the applicant parties have to subscribe to our values, our identity is not threatened. This strategy had to be ‘dressed up’ with the legitimacy of the EPP. A Summit meeting of heads of states and parties of the EPP was called to discuss this plan and the question of a possible opening to the conservative parties.

143 My translation from original in Italian language IX-007-042, p.110

¹⁴⁴ Christian Kremer, from CDU, deputy sec gen of the EPP 1999-present out of several years working with President Martens has come to believe that Martens despite his perception as a politician driven by conviction and ideology in his day to day affairs he was a very pragmatic politician (interview).

This new strategy was legitimised by the adoption of the most important resolution concerning the opening of the EPP, the Resolution¹⁴⁵ of the 13th of April 1991 of the Heads of government and party leaders of the EPP where it states:

“The European People’s Party (...) 2. Will make special efforts for the safeguarding and the development of its Christian Democratic identity and its policy programme to face the challenges of the future. To this end an institute (possibly within the framework of the Robert Schuman Foundation) which was established by the EPP in 1977) must be created in order to coordinate and organise the necessary actions. (...)

3. Will work in the future in close cooperation with those People’s Parties who in their countries, are following policies for society, comparable with and sharing the objectives of the European policy of the EPP. Responding to its vocation as a leading force in Europe it is basically disposed to accept these people’s parties into its organisation if they ask for admission but only if they accept the principle, basic programme and statutes of the EPP.

4. Welcomes the rapprochement which has brought the British Conservatives closer to the European and Social policies of the EPP, confirming thus the strength and attractiveness of the EPP. Has noted with much satisfaction that over the course of the last two years, following intensive dialogue and constructive cooperation the MEPs belonging to the EDG accept not only the ‘basic policies of the EPP Group’ but also the fundamental points of the EPP-Programme adopted in Luxembourg (“On the people’s side”) and the document of the Dublin congress (“For a federal constitution for a United Europe”).” (EPP archive Brussels)

The reactions triggered by this resolution were multifaceted. We found different letters sent to the EPP secretariat. Such was the letter from the head of the youth organisation of the Fine Gael expressing also the disagreement on the perspective integration of the British conservative MEPs. Jansen replied “You can be sure that the christian

¹⁴⁵ Unexpectedly in support of the resolution and the opening of the EPP towards non Christian democratic parties was the head of the CSV from Luxembourg and former president of the EPP Janques Santer. In the critical meeting in April 1991 for the resolution that paved the way to the new EPP he strengthened the camp of the ‘open’ EPP. We asked Thomas Jansen about this position and to his opinion “Santer took, just as Martens, a position in accordance with his role as ex-President of the EPP, but in contrast to his own national party, in the interest of the EPP.” (Interview, 2015)

democratic identity and the policy profile of the EPP will not be weakened by the procedure which we have established. Whatever that final decision, you can be sure that Christian Democracy will be strengthened". (IX-007-16, p.922) Few days later at the political bureau of EPP of May 8, 1991 Martens reported:

«On souligne dans cette résolution la nécessité pour le PPE d'entreprendre des efforts afin de préserver et de renforcer, aussi dans le futur, l'identité chrétienne démocrate et son profil programmatique. La coopération entre partis ayant une orientation semblable ou proche du PPE doit être renforcée, dans la mesure où ces partis acceptent aussi les programmes et les statuts du PPE comme fondements de leur politiques européenne. L'orientation des Conservateurs britanniques en directions des positions du PPE en matière de politique européenne et au niveau de l'approche de la société en général a été clairement confirmée dans les lettres de Sir Christopher Prout du 5.4.1991 et de M. Chris Patten du 11.4.1991» (IX-007-230, p.99)

Martens in our interview remembered concerning the opening *«What is a serious foundation to do that. The answer is simple and clear. We wanted to become a party of values. The EU is a union of values. The answer is also in the preamble of the Polish Constitution.»* In his autobiography he wrote: *"in the reference to God. I continued to make a case the values of the EU compromise to those who believe to God the real criterion is: do you accept the values we are defending in our family? This evolution was made clear, it was expressed in the Athens programme and in later documents.*¹⁴⁶ (Martens, 2009, p.171) *"What can we do with our programme if we have no power?"* Helmut Kohl questioned according to Martens who argued that the EPP need "an ethical foundation" of the enlargement. The EPP had to answer the question according to Martens: *"what is our aim? What is our orientation? Is it real politic, or is it founded on values.."* (Martens Interview) For a Benelux Christian Democrat and founding partner of the EPP the opening up was progressed under the concept that EPP does not "open up" in the sense of watering out its core ideology. But instead, other parties declare their subscription to these ideals. For Kohl there was a different perception. German

¹⁴⁶ Martens was often referring to Christian values. But not just that. One of the new initiatives of Martens was the dialogue with the ecumenical Patriarche (IX-007-160, p.119-135). On the religious dialogue, see also the conference organised by PP in Cordoba Spain, April 17-19, 1998, see at IX-007-160, pp.304-418.

Union parties had always stood for EPP being the political family to bring together all trends of the centre right, along the lines of the German party system. That explains why for Martens working on the ideological foundations was necessary and this ended up to the Basic programme of Athens in 1992.

Very interesting is the report that reveals the strategy of the EPP found at 4.3.1. in the archive of the EPP in Brussels. At this report and concerning the accession of the Danish Conservative people's party, the Kokoomus party, the Moderaterna and the Hoyre it states: *"il convient de constater que le "Conservatisme" de ces partis ne doit pas être confondu avec celui des Conservateur Britanniques, et encore moins avec le Thatcherisme. L'attitude de ces partis est "modérée" et gouvernée par les valeurs "civiques". Il s'agit de partis du Centre, favorables à l'Europe et défendant l'idée d'une économie sociale de marché".* And continues: *"Le phénomène du rapprochement entre les Conservateurs et les Démocrates chrétiens doit être considéré comme une condition historique, dont les partis Démocrates chrétiens et conservateurs doivent tenir compte lorsqu'ils considèrent leur décision à cet égard".* (EPP archive 4.3.1.)

The request for alignment of the British Conservatives was certainly a landmark in the evolution of the EPP. According to Martens the opening up of the EPP in 1991 with the historic resolution of the April Summit was counter balanced with the launch of the process for the new Basic Programme where the Christian Democratic inspiration was highlighted.

At the EPP Summit of the EPP party leaders, in June 1992, Martens reported about the implementation of the 1991 April resolution and the integration of the EDG MEPs in the EPP Group. He also reported on the interest to join the EPP party expressed by the Swedish Moderaterna and Finish Kokoomus, both members of their respective national governments. (4.3.1.) In the "Aide-Memoire" of the SG Jansen to this meeting we read: *« La transformation de la Communauté européenne en une Union politique destinée à intégrer à relativement court terme les pays scandinaves et, à plus long terme, ceux d'Europe centrale et orientale, pose le PPE devant la question de savoir s'il est d'ores et déjà disposé à et capable de s'ouvrir à des partenaires venus de ces pays qui, tout en s'accordant avec le PPE sur les questions essentielles, ont néanmoins des traditions*

differentes. En effet, en sa qualite de parti "europeen", le PPE ne pourra rester credible et capable de s'imposer qu'en assurant sa presence dans tous les pays qui feront ou souhaitent faire un jour partie de l'Union europeenne. Cela vaut egalement pour les pays ou le contexte historique et culturel a empeche la formation de partis democrates chretiens ou leur transformation en grands partis populaires. Il en resulte qu'une integration des Conservateurs scandinaves dans l'unite d'action du PPE est objectivement dans l'interet de celui-ci.» (4.3.1. EPP Archive Brussels)¹⁴⁷.

Following this intervention Kohl according to the minutes *"Il s'interroge sur l'engagement europeen de certains partis qui attribuent le sigle "democrate-chretien" sans partager nos valeurs et notre ideal communautaire. La situation est dangereuse en Europe Centrale 00 certains partis se reclament du populisme et du nationalisms. Le PPE repose sur deux piliers indissociables: le personnalisme chretien et l'integration europeenne. Il ne doit pas accepter en son sein des partis qui constitueraient un frein à l'Europe."* (4.3.1. EPP Archive Brussels)

In the same direction, the EPP would emphasise more on cultivating ideology. This would only continue under the new plan to open up towards conservatives in the 1990s while strengthening the Christian democratic identity. In this respect we found in the workplan of the EPP several events dedicated to this cause¹⁴⁸.

This Basic Programme was prepared for several months and was finally adopted at the 9th Congress of the EPP in Athens in November 1992. At the same venue the EPP hosted a Summit that adopted a resolution stating: *"se félicitent des résultats du IXeme*

¹⁴⁷ At that meeting the Dutch Van Velzen, later president of the EUCD, expressed the view that the Swedish Moderaterna could join the EPP through an Equipe with the KDS "fait part de l' inquietude du CDA Netherlandais face a un elargissement du Groupe PPE qui pourrait avoir pour effet d'en affaiblir l'identite democrate chretienne. Il considere que le parti suadois candidat au statut d'observateur devrait s'associer au KDS en une seule equipe." (4.3.1.)

¹⁴⁸ IX-007-226, p.89 «Base spirituelles de la politique democrate Chretienne» aiming to strengthen the ideological foundations of Christian democracy October 5-7, 1990. IX-007-226, p.220 «Quelle est et quelle signification politique revete la conception chretienne de l'Homme et de la societe? 5eme Colloque "Bases spirituelles de l'action democrate chretienne en cooperation avec la Fundaci6n Humanismo y Democracia" (Madrid, 6-8 juillet 1990 IX-007-096, p.300 funding from the Stiftung zur Zusammenarbeit Demokraten Europas for Russian jChristian democrat party to visit European institutions (19.08.1992) IX-007-096, p.303 international conference La Democratie Chretienne Aujourd'Hui, St Petersburg, May 16-17, 1992, organised by the IDC. IX-007-096, p.665 international conference "Christian democracy today", St Petersburg, May 15-16, 1993, organised by the IDC.

Congrès du PPE et surtout de l'adoption d'un nouveau Program de base, qui définis des valeurs communes de tous les démocrates Chrétiens, et qui réaffirme en même temps leur volonté d'ouverture aux forces politiques, et qui poursuivent les même objectives". (EPP Archive 4.3.1) Martens implies that Helmut Kohl was not convinced about this priority. Instead, he thought it "could present the necessary expansion of the EPP" (2009, p.123). Welle¹⁴⁹ makes a step further explaining how dissatisfied was Kohl with the new Basic Programme. "it is not by accident that this document was never translated into German¹⁵⁰"

Concluding, we see that Martens upon taking over the leadership of the EPP, with Thomas Jansen, designed a strategy to 'enable' the integration of new members to the EPP, beyond classical Christian democrats. His predecessor, Santer, had left the 'hot potato' on the fire and Martens had to take it out. The British Conservatives' application was pending for nearly a year when Martens became EPP president and the member parties were seriously divided on the issue. This "two-step strategy" was prepared in 1990-91, deployed with the resolution of April 1991, following by several discussions in all EPP organs in order to disseminate the decision and give it some time for reflection, in the membership of the EPP. In parallel, it was preparing the new Basic Programme. EPP would become open to anyone that is ready to subscribe to Christian Democracy "at will". The new Basic Programme was adopted in November 1992 at the EPP Congress in Athens. On the other hand, at the time, those who wanted to open the EPP, driven by the German Union parties would rather prefer a faster procedure of integration, primarily of integrating the Scandinavian Conservatives. Helmut Kohl had put his leverage to convince them to join the EPP as we will present later on. It is the great diplomatic skills of the Christian democrat Martens that made this task a success.

149 The relation of Martens with Welle remains a questionmark in our research. Welle did not receive much reference in the autobiography of Martens although Welle was for five years thie Secretary General alongside President Martens and later on for another five years he was secretary general of the Group. For a ten-year working relationship there is something missing that perhaps is beyond the scope of our research. An incident of trouble relations was found at: IX-007-182, p.225 March 3, 2004.

[150](#) Interview of Klaus Welle

The rapprochement with the British Tories

The Conservative Party¹⁵¹ of the UK had been active with the so called “interparty conferences¹⁵².” Edward Heath led the Tories from 1965 to 1975 and Britain into the EEC. As soon as the UK joined the EC back in 1973 together with the Danish conservatives they created the “European Conservative Group”. According to Hanley (1994) *“The saga of the Tories and international Christian Democracy is older than is often recognised and goes back to the beginnings of the Council of Europe.”* (1994, p.193) Jansen-Van Hecke note that *“once the EDU was in place, it became pointless for the EPP member parties to make any further attempt to agree on a joint strategy for organized dialogue with the Conservatives.”* (2011, p.47). In 1979, following the first direct European elections, the group was renamed to “European Democratic Group” (EDG) probably in an attempt to relax “anti-right” sentiment in the light of aspiring to cooperate with the Christian Democrats. It was the third largest group in the European Parliament during the period 1979-1989.

The European People’s Party was established in 1976 without the British Conservatives, who, together with two Danish Conservative MEPs established their own European Conservative Group, later renamed to the “European Democratic Group”. Conservative MEPs and the EPP worked together informally in the European Parliament throughout the 1980s. Both sides co-operated on committees, sent representatives to each other’s meetings, engaged in extensive consultation before voting, and sometimes had joint spokesmen and joint group meetings. As time passed, the Tory MEPs came to the conclusion that it would be beneficial to formally join forces with the EPP Group.

151 “Conservative and Unionist Party” is the actual name dating back in 1912 when the Conservative Party merged with the Liberal Unionist Party. The nickname “Tory party” or “Tories” dates back to the Tory Party founded in 1678.

152 These took place: 1964 in Klessheim in Austria, 1971 Austria, 1973 Luxemburg, 1974 in Helsinki, 1975 in Munich and Salzburg, 1976 in Copenhagen and 1977 in Edinburgh (Kohl-Tobisson-Wintoniak, 1999, p.20), Additional information can be found at Johansson, 2005, p.135.

The rapprochement of the Tories with the EPP started a few days after the third European elections of 1989 with a letter dated June 28, 1989 to the EPP Group signed by the Chairman of the European Democratic Group, Sir Christopher Prout. Group Chair Klepsch brought it to the attention of the Bureau's meeting in Brussels few days later. The letter stated among other things that the two groups *"have enjoyed a good and fruitful period of cooperation during the life of the second directly elected European parliament. (...) Measures are also urgently needed to safeguard or improve our environment. We are convinced that by working together¹⁵³ we have a better chance of attaining our objectives. Membership of the EPP Group will strengthen the efficacy of our joint endeavours towards an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe"*¹⁵⁴

We searched the EPP archive for the minutes from this presidency meeting of the EPP. Jansen implies that the first reaction of Santer was to postpone it. It should be noted that the application came at the end of June 1989 just after the European elections. Under Santer, the Presidency discussed the issue at its meeting on July 7th 1989 in the presence of Christopher Prout. The meeting decided *«On the application for membership from the British Conservative members it was agreed that the conditions were not yet at hand for this application to be considered. Cooperation on parliamentary business would continue and the Group at some later stage might submit a report that the conditions had now changed. Mr. Klepsch suggested that this time should be fixed at two years.»*(IX-007-230 p.404) Although it was not put forward to a vote, the overwhelming majority of the meeting considered that, given the divergences¹⁵⁵ on

¹⁵³ A fierce opponent of the Conservative group application to join the EPP group came to the EPP office from the British Movement for Christian Democracy, founded in 1990. The letter (1991) sent to Martens stated: "The conservatives are not Cristian Democrats, their policies in Britain and towards Europe are in conflict with Christian Democratic principles. Their admittance on the EPP would seriously damage the cause of Christian democracy in Britain and might well bring about a fundamental change in the outlook of the EPP..." (IX-007-016,p.641-642).

¹⁵⁴ The letter was found at IX-007-120 p.78

¹⁵⁵ We found the letter of Diogo Freitas do Amaral to the President of the EPP Santer on the 12th of June 1989 where he states: "Ceci dit, il faut neanmoins tenir compte de differences essentielles entre les familles democrate-chretiennes et conservatrices au plan ideologique et doctrinal. Ces differences ne concernent seulement la construction europe- enne mais aussi la politique sociale ainsi que le rôle del' etat dans la vie economique. Nous pensons d'autre part que l'image des partis democrates-chretiens pourrait etre, affecte, au niveau national, suite à une entree des conservateurs au Groupe Parlementaire du PPE. En conclusion, nous pensons que l'on devrai maintenir la cooperation politique avec nos amis anglais tout en gardant l'autonomie des deux Groupes parlementaires. (IX-007-141, p.670)

policy issues and the different traditions of the Conservatives, the request could not be accepted. Jansen-Van Hecke with the first hand experience of Thomas Jansen share this analysis: *“The application was so controversial that the Group felt unable to discuss it, let alone to take a decision, so EPP Group Chair Klepsch called together the EPP party executive. This body decided, after a lengthy debate in July 1989, that the time was not yet ripe, largely because of Conservative Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher’s policy on Europe.* (Jansen-Van Hecke 2011, p. 56).

Looking to explain the British application

At the time of the European elections of 1989 one has to take into consideration the political landscape: the British Conservatives lost 13 seats and from 45 MEPs they went down to 32. Their Danish partners lost 2 of their 4 seats and the Spanish allies decided to leave the EDG to join the EPP. The aggregative result of this is that the EDG group lost almost half its size from (45+4+17) 66 members (or 13% of the EP) to 34 members (or 7% of the EP). Martens who at the time was not yet President of the EPP, in his autobiography reflects on the issue: *“the matter of the British Conservatives raised the question of our real political strategy and views, much more than the Partido Popular’s membership did: was the EPP an exclusive club of continental Christian Democrats, or was it open to non-Christian Democrats who accepted its main principles?”* (Martens, 2009, p.119)

Taking into account Euroscepticism within the Conservative Party, a decision to join a very pro-integrationist EPP Group seemed somewhat strange, given that at the time, the EPP was proudly declaring its federalistic views. For example, its manifesto for the 1989 European Elections called for a ‘United States of Europe’. However, membership in a big parliamentary group would bring access to power and influence in the EP as well as financial resources.

Since the 1970s the two groups had not managed to find a modus vivendi that would allow them to cooperate in the new, elected European parliament of 1979. Christian Democratic parties believed at that time that the British Conservatives are *‘too secular,*

too right-wing and too class-based' (Ashford 1992: 134). On the other hand, the Conservatives were quite suspicious about co-operating with Christian Democratic parties, which on the whole embraced a social agenda, proposed state-interventionism, had strong trade union wings, and last but not least, had a record of allying with the left in government. Furthermore, Christian Democrats disapproved of the secular Conservative Party, who lacked the objective of promoting a Christian vision of man and society. For their part, the Conservatives disliked the explicit link between religion and politics (Ashford 1980: 119-129; Johansson 1997, p.157-185). It should be noted that, as we presented in earlier chapters, the failure to strike a coalition between the Christian democrats and the conservatives after the 1979 is credited primarily to the EPP. The key factor to understand their "No" towards the conservatives is the "party" character that they were implementing. The EPP with its Group in the Parliament was a highly integrated European party and the EDG group (that had even moderated its name to become more attractive) was too distant from their ideals. The other factor that determined the cooperations was the "internal competition" and although there was no other British or Danish member in the EPP, it raised the objections of most other Christian democrats considering them "too conservative". The British Conservatives were looking to strengthen their role in the European parliament through allying with a big group. The pro Europeans, among them, hoped that through alliance with the EPP they could eventually be influenced and swift the party in a pro European direction.

Johansson (1997) has studied in depth the relations of the British Tories with the EPP. When they finally applied, in the aftermath of the 1989 European elections, there is not doubt that Margaret Thatcher had provided her consent to the application. Maybe not whole heartedly but still explicitly. Bearing in mind the later developments one needs to understand what was behind this *temporary 'leaning'* of the Tories towards the Christian democrats in Europe. Jansen-Van Hecke contend: "*The British Conservative MEPs understood, before their party friends in Westminster or in the Tories' central office did, that their country's future was 'at the heart of Europe'. It was they who committed themselves to a rapprochement with the EPP.*" (Jansen-Van Hecke, 2011, p. 56).

Indeed, Thatcher's resignation was a decisive factor to encourage the EPP take a more positive position on the matter. Her successor John Major soon declared his commitment to pursue a different policy towards Europe¹⁵⁶. According to Jansen-Van Hecke the German Chancellor was the critical factor that enabled the affiliation of the British Conservatives. *"[H]e had strategic reasons for wanting to open the EPP to the Conservatives, especially the British. Without Kohl, the breakthrough would not have come so soon. The decision could not have been taken at all, however, if EPP Chair Martens had not been so committed to the issue and had not taken political and practical responsibility for seeing it through."* (2011, p.57) It should be added that this positive attitude towards Europe was also shared by the British Conservative members of the European parliament. The need for the alliance became eminent in the context of the 1989 European elections, when the EDG saw its position fall from the third to the fifth group in size of the EP, thus depriving British Tories of strategic influence over Community policy and status.

Hard but successful admittance to the Group

The big debate took place at the EPP Summit at Val-Duchesse on 13 April 1991, a meeting, primarily dedicated to the application of the British Conservative Party. Both letters from Christopher Prout and from Chris Patten were distributed to the other leaders, (both letters are found at EPP archive 4.2.1. and also at IX-007-054, p.9). Letters expressed the consent of the British Conservative Party to the EPP programme. Albeit significant, these letters were not enough to remove suspicion and opposition, especially among Christian Democrats from the Benelux, the Italian DC and the Irish Fine Gael. In the absence of those concerned, there was considerable debate on Christian democratic identity, the constellation of party politics in Europe and the new developments within the Conservative Party, as well as, the timing and the modalities of a possible cooperation. Helmut Kohl was supported by the emerging big player, the

¹⁵⁶ IX-007-224 On the 1985-1994 debates on the European agenda of the British foreign policy over Europe and the clashes of the Eurosceptics and the pro European trends see IX-007-224. The folder contains material primarily from the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung office in London that was monitoring events, speeches etc.

Spanish PP, and also smaller allies such as the Greeks and the Luxemburgish. It should be noted that the Spanish played a double role in this direction: they had critically weakened the EDG group by defecting to the EPP and now, although young members, supporting the opening of the EPP towards non Christian democrats they provided key influence towards the opening of the EPP. Martens confirming the change of the balance of power inside the EPP remembered: "*Helmut Kohl was in favour of the application and was supported this time by Jose Maria Aznar, Jacques Santer and Constantine Mitsotakis. Dutch Roud Lubbers, the Italians and the Belgian Christian Democrats were totally against the motion.*" (2009, p. 120)

Martens seems in his autobiography to be supportive of their integration. The research indicates that he was less strong about it, but tried to compromise both sides. The resolution of the 13th of April was a success, albeit with great risks. He got the EPP to adopt a positive stance on the basis that the applicant party declares full support to their key political foundations and documents. At that moment the opening of the party is attempted on the basis that the applicant *subscribes* to Christian democracy. To please the opponents of the conservatives it outlines the importance of training and educating Christian democratic ideology, by all possible means, as well as, further contemplating the ideological principles by starting the elaboration of a new Basic Programme. (4.2.1.) What actually happened is that the April 13, 1991 Summit agreed to set up eight working groups to examine the key policy areas and how the two sides envisage them. Furthermore, to this exercise, by the first quarter of 1992 the two groups should create a "Fraktiongemeinschaft". These working groups produced a report dated 27.11.1991 that we found in the EPP archive in Brussels (4.2.1.).

Fine Gael had been a strong opponent on the British accession in the EPP. Bruton¹⁵⁷ with a letter to the EPP President Martens on March 21, 1991 and prior to the historic meeting, implied that the Fine Gael had not ultimately decided yet and that he would request additional information on certain key issues to their interest such as the

¹⁵⁷ Katherine Meenan Irish EPP senior staff in March 1991 sent a letter to John Bruton advocating "I no longer believe that it will do any harm to the party and I do believe that we could actually make a constructive gesture. And if we decide in favour of it, I believe that you should make a virtue of necessity and positively welcome the change in the Tories and in the EPP" (EPP archive folder 4.2.1)

common agricultural policy and social affairs. He pointed to a recent report by a European Parliament Committee on these issues stating: *“The position of the European Democrat Group on these matters will be of importance to us in making the decisions proposed for 13th April”* (4.2.1)¹⁵⁸

After intense negotiations, in April 1992 with 66 votes in favour and 22 votes against the Group of the EPP decided to accept individually the MEPs of the British Conservative party in the EPP Group¹⁵⁹. Two months before in his response letter to the leader of the Tories John Major dated 11/2/1992 president Martens commented: *“Unfortunately the opposition of some of my friends who always had doubts or psychological and electoral difficulties to accept such a step has been strengthened by the position of your Government since Maastricht. You are certainly aware of the fact that for the EPP (and I suppose also for your party) the question of a formal link between our Euro-parliamentary groups is of a far reaching strategic importance. I am convinced that Christian Democrats and Conservatives must and will come together in the perspective of an ever more intense europeanisation of the political and social life in the community as well as in the member states.”* (IX-007-091 p.1002) John Major had complained about the delay in addressing their application (ibid, p.1003).

A Loveless marriage

The accession of the Tories in the EPP Group¹⁶⁰ did not have the usual happy-end. according to Jansen-Van Hecke: *“[t]he Tories’ relationship with the EPP and its Group*

¹⁵⁸ On the Dutch view on the subject see JAM van Gennip Director of Wetenschappelijk institute of the CDA at 4.2.1. “La cooperation entre les Democratres Chretiens et les Conservateurs dans le context Europeen” and also an article of Theo Brinkel in the same archive. In 1994, David Baker et al. (1996) conducted a survey to show the opinions of then Tory MPs and MEPs on various aspect of European integration. The outcome of this survey clearly showed that then Conservative MEPs had a much more positive approach towards Europe than their colleagues at Westminster.

¹⁵⁹ 09-007-091 page1004 we found a complain letter dated 20/7/1993 of Thomas Jansen to the editor of the Sunday Telegraph for the report of the journalist Boris Johnson (...) on the Athens declaration and the british conservatives that in fact are not associated. It is another proof of the hard time British conservatives were given back home for the European aspirations to be “in the heart of Europe”.

¹⁶⁰ As far as the presence of Christian democratic voices in the UK we have also found the case of the “Movement of Christian Democracy”. On pp3-8 of IX-007-017 we found the letter (23/10/1997) of Klaus

went up and down, but many times more down than up" (2011, p.58) while according to Martens *"The conservatives floated into consecutive changes in the leadership of the party, while every new leader was contesting his predecessor in more Euroscepticism."* (Martens, 2009, p.158). The cooperation worked relatively smoothly for the first five years until 1997 and the rise of power of Euroscepticist William Hague who had very critical views over Europe and the EPP. In the aftermath of the 1999 elections when the EPP with the British and Danish MEPs became the largest group in the European parliament Hague decided to renegotiate their position, implying that their membership in the Group should not be taken for granted. The speculations about withdrawal ended finally on 30th June 1999, when a shadow cabinet meeting approved a compromise deal negotiated by William Hague, Foreign Shadow Secretary John Maples and McMillan-Scott. On the 7 July 1999 William Hague signed to Malaga Declaration, which declared that the name of the Group would become "European People's Party and European Democrats" reflecting the change in the membership and policies of the group (The Times, 8 July 1999). Towards the 2004 European elections the Tories negotiated further autonomy within the EPP Group and finally *"a majority of the deputies voted in favour of the amendments to the Internal Regulations which made it possible for the British Conservatives to continue to be 'ED' within the EPP-ED Group."* According to Lynch *"The Malaga Declaration signed by Hague at an EPP summit changed the group's name to the EPP-ED, the Conservatives being allied members in the European Democrat (ED) section with their right to vote separately strengthened."* (Lynch, p.33)

Thirty-six Tory MEPs rejoined a renamed EPP-ED Group, now including the French Gaullists and the Italian Forza Italia. The British Conservatives, as 'allied members', were granted the right to vote free in a situation of a difference of views. William Hague won the membership of the largest group in the EP, giving access to committee chairmanships and other positions of influence, on the one hand, and political

Welle EUCD sec gen to Michael Elmer regarding the application of the Movement of Christian Democracy of the United Kingdom to become a member of the EUCD. Welle presented that "the EUCD Council treated this application and came to the conclusion that there is no basis for admitting the MCD, which is neither a party, nor has presented candidates for national elections and whose leading representatives have been sitting in the Parliamentary group of another party".

independence for domestic use, on the other (Butler and Westlake 2000, p.206). Despite diachronical debate over the EPP Group membership the British Tories had been a relatively stable partner in the European Parliament. During the fifth term of the European parliament 1999-2004 the British conservatives voted differently from the EPP at around one-third of roll-call votes while voted with the EPP on two-thirds of roll-calls. *"The Conservatives are in broad agreement with the group position on important areas such as sound finance, labour market reform and competitiveness and Iraq and Atlanticism»* (Lynch-Whitaker, 2008, p.40)

The new Conservative party leader at the end of 2003, Michael Howard reverted to a policy of renegotiating membership of the EPP-ED towards the 2004 European elections. Howard believed that the Conservatives would have more influence as part of the EPP-ED, but sought greater autonomy within the group. Under a deal agreed with the EPP Group Chair Poettering in 2004, the group's constitution was changed. A new Article 5(b) allowed the ED to 'promote and develop their distinct views on constitutional and institutional issues in the new Europe'. MEPs applying to join the group could do so on the basis of either the EPP programme under Article 5(a) or the ED element under Article 5(b). The ED part of the coalition would also be allowed to have one of the eight positions of vice-presidents.

The EPP group had accepted all conditions in a last effort to keep them on board. Not for very long though. In the minutes of the EPP Presidency of March 2004 we read: *"After more, than a decade of negotiations with the British Conservatives - since Patten and Prout, over Hague, Duncan Smith and Howard - the differing stance on the Constitution and integration of the EU were even stronger; the EPP had not succeeded integrating the British Conservatives on that issue in the Group. Therefore, Article 5 provided now clear liberty for both pillars. The alliance with the British Conservatives was considered of mutual utmost importance to reach the goal of biggest party in the European Parliament."* (IX-007-182, p.212) From this paragraph we get a clear picture of how the EPP perceived the cooperation with the Brits.

The next Conservative leader, David Cameron, was elected in 2005. By that time Euroscepticism had grown stronger in his party, the Constitutional experiment of the

EU being one extra reason for this. Cameron promised his party to leave the EPP as soon as possible. *“In the run-up to the 2009 European elections it was already clear that the British Conservatives would not continue to sit in the ED section of the EPP-ED Group. With the Czech Civic Democratic Party ODS and a number of other parties, they created a new EP group, the European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR).”* (Jansen 2011, p.59).

Assessment from the integration of the British conservatives

After decades of the Tories flirting with the Christian Democrats, and despite the EPP gradually making the adaptation towards a moderate centre right outlook, the European question has been decisive in the break of the relations in 2009. From the firm application of Heath to join the EUCD in 1965 that ended up in the “doors closed” policy of the EUCD in 1966, we went on to the change of leadership and the rise in power of the anti-consensual Margaret Thatcher who initially advocated for closer relations with Christian democrats in continental Europe, driven by the need to network in Europe and inspired by her friendly relations with the German CDU/CSU. The 1980s were marked by the swift turn towards anti-European positions that suffocated the prospects for an affiliation with the Christian Democrats. After losing control over the party and her replacement by John Major, the relations to the EPP went on to a promising future, as both sides were seeking the benefits of a successful marriage. This marriage did not lead to actual integration; both sides kept their positions. Instead it brought benefits and goodies. The rise in the party power of David Cameron in 2005 led to opening again the discussion for a new group that finally materialized after the European elections of 2009. The European Conservative and Reformist Group was created in July 2009 ending a 17 years marriage with the EPP.

Anyone who had to choose in the 1990s to cooperate with both pro-Europeans and Eurosceptics of the British Tories was amazed by their differences. It is not by chance that Europe has been the most important dividing cleavage in the Conservative Party. As a young student activist the author had the chance to work with key figures from the two camps. Although in the same party, the differences they had were not merely

political. They were cultural. They shared a completely different perception about Britain, Europe and the world.

The relation of the Conservatives with the EPP has been a fragile¹⁶¹ one. Getting them on board a coalition with the EPP was the result of a deal of mutual benefit. From a substantial point of view the only logic apart from “sharing power and benefits” with the ED group could be the hope on the side of the EPP that by more and more socializing the British conservatives and their followers may become, over time, more inspired by the EPP ideals. The rest we know.

¹⁶¹ From the minutes of the Political Bureau meeting of May 5-6, 1994, EPP group chair Leo Tindermans reported on the two years of cooperation with the British in the EPP group: “*Voilà déjà deux ans et demi que le Groupe coopère avec les conservateurs britanniques et cette collaboration s'avère excellente.*” (IX-007-175, p.284)

Chapter 4: The opening up of Eastern Europe

Introduction

The transition of countries in Central and Eastern Europe from the communist regimes to democracy was the result of the collapse of communism. Pridham has specialised in the regime change in former communist countries. In his work "Building Democracy?" he presented that the experience of Europe in dealing with the countries in transition had its background in dealing with the southern European countries in the previous two phases of enlargement: Greece that moved from the military junta in 1974 to democracy and joined the EC in 1981 and Spain and Portugal that moved from dictatorship to democracy in the 1970s and were integrated in 1986. According to Pridham, during these two phases of enlargement the EC developed the principle of conditionality that was further during subsequent enlargement phases. This principle has been extended considerably as a working method in the European Union in dealing with diverse tasks. It is associated with increasing collaboration, the deepening of integration. Parallel to this, the consolidation of party systems in each new democracy is a complex exercise per se. According to Mair "*the particularly underdeveloped character of civil society in post-communist Europe, the continuing fractiousness of the political class, and the sheer intensity of political competition, all suggest that the varying obstacles which stand in the way of post-communist consolidation are significantly more pronounced than in any of these earlier clusters of democratizing polities, and it is this which is clearly worrying.*" (Peter Mair, p.197, Party System Change). The problem was not the Christian Democratic tradition but the 'context of competition' as Mair would have put it. A new system, bringing new problems and weak loyalties made parties and party coalitions very fragile.

The collapse of communism at the end of the 1980s was a breakthrough in the European status quo. It opened an area of numerous new countries that would seek, over time, their path towards the European integration. It also brought the EPP in front of dilemmas dealing with perspective members. At the end of the 1980s the EPP under the presidency of Jacques Santer was still a "European party of Christian democrats". A

political organisation with the main aspiration to build up a federal Europe and to proliferate the Christian Democratic ideals.

Most of these new democracies have had some kind of Christian inspired parties in their pre-communist period. After the collapse of communism in every single country appeared parties that claimed the legacy of Christian democracy and sought recognition and support from the capital of European Christian democracy. During the first period political and party instability was a dominant characteristic of the political system in the new democracies that were under regime change. Christian democratic parties took a fair share of the vote especially as many of them claimed a glorious legacy in the pre communist period. This was despite the fact that most of the citizens had no life memories of these parties. Several factors have contributed to this end, rising post communist cleavages and electoral laws were among the most influential. However some of the revived CD parties in the new democracies were assimilating to 'rightish' and nationalistic oriented parties, contrary to the Christian Democratic ideals that rised as a response to nationalism in the interwar period.

Year after year, country after country faced a different progress towards party system consolidation in the post communist life. Regime change was followed by winners and losers in every one country thus making it difficult for a party to survive consecutive elections, especially when it held government responsibilities. The numerous post-communist parties with ambitious young leaders were looking for ways to increase their domestic legitimacy. Getting an affiliation with a European organisation was an important factor for internal use and a strategic advantage vis-a-vis political competition. On the other hand, the EPP was 'obliged' to give affiliation status to a second or even a third party, had it given to one party already. It is interesting indeed how many Christian democratic parties were created in the first years of the regime change in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, while today, twenty years later, few of these parties still carry political weight.

Exploring the opening up of the EPP towards Central and Eastern Europe after 1989 on the ground is a multi dimension project. Thomas Jansen and Steven Van Hecke have made the most comprehensive presentation of this chronicle, the role of the EPP

parent organisation, EUCD, the parallel work of the EDU¹⁶² and the case by case, trial and error, work that took place. What our research will try to do is to shed light in aspects of this chronicle that may help get a deeper understanding of the interaction of the Europarties with the emerging political parties in the new Europe. As Hanley notes: *“In some cases, parties (mainly Christian or social democratic) had pre-existed the Stalinist period; TNP had to decide if it was worth reviving them, a task complicated in some cases by the existence of ageing leaderships in exile who thought that they were now entitled to take the stage, whereas new, younger leaders had emerged from the struggle against Stalinism.”* (2008, p.96). In fact fragmentation and fluctuation was rather the standard rule and the task of the EPP was to assist their convergence especially within the Christian democratic framework. According to Jansen-Van Hecke: *“The easiest of the applications were from parties that had historical roots in nineteenth and early twentieth century Christian Democracy.”* (2011, p.71). Working on the historical archive material we found evidence that when combined reveal new findings that can further stimulate scholar interest.

The EPP could not resist supporting groupings that claimed the CD inspiration usually accompanied with reference for pre-Communist existence, in the presence of a personality who might have been in exile. The credential of continuity with pre-communist presence was a de facto element in support of a candidate member. It was not official requirement, like party documents and statutes, commitment to democracy and party ideology. A report of International Herald Tribune on May 15, 1990 stated: *“West European parties are already providing money, training and advice for potential partners in Eastern Europe. ... The Western parties have been further encouraged by the results of the first free elections in Eastern Europe.. Religious values still carry more weight in Eastern Europe either because religious freedom was repressed for so long, or because the church was a safe heaven for intellectual freedom...”* (IX-007-115, p.627)

It is near resolving the chicken and egg problem to assess whether the birth of so many Christian democratic parties was due to social and political, albeit emerging, cleavages in the new democracies or whether it was due to the direct and indirect incentives

¹⁶² EDU report on central eastern European countries at IX-007-116, p.181-193.

provided from Brussels and other capitals. EPP gave the signal that “if you are Christian democrat then I am here for you”. On the other hand, emerging politicians from these countries had a better opportunity if they flagged an ideology that had some pre-communist reference in their country and at the same time liaise with the big mainstream parties of Europe. Christian democracy in the early days of transition was a passport to travel to Brussels and access the most influential politicians in Europe, if not get financial assistance from different institutions. So it was a win-win situation. Up to here we broadly knew. What has not received research attention is the actual strategy and tactics that the EPP used towards the new parties in the new democracies and its assessment some 20 years later.

Hypothesis 3: The EPP pursued a prudent policy of proliferation of Christian democracy in the new democracies that delivered results.

The prospect of integration in European institutions motivated emerging parties raise a CD flag aiming to enjoy the benefits from the affiliation with Brussels organisations. The benefits were primarily political.

Summary of findings on Hypothesis 3

The regime change occurred at the worst moment politically of the EPP, having suffered a historic low result at the 1989 European elections of 21%. From the outset of the change in former Eastern Europe the EPP elaborated an agenda to identify perspective members and prepare the grounds for their Europeanisation. This agenda contained moral and political support for anyone promising to flag Christian democratic ideals. From the outset the EPP was cautious not to give the impression that it would intervene despite continuous pressure from emerging parties and politicians for a more active role in their countries. The EPP/EUCD incentives included providing political and material support, especially towards elections, technical know how on running campaigns, ideological training for building up party identity, participation of high profiled Europeans to their events, invitations to Brussels and of

course membership affiliation to the EUCD organisation and to other institutions affiliated with EPP/EUCD. Further, the EPP would support their path towards integration to the western institutions, namely the European Union, NATO, Council of Europe etc. This framework of incentives was “too powerful” and had a big impact in the new democracies.

As a result of the above, the early years of transition, starting from 1989, were characterised by the rise of multiple political parties in each country that had adapted their profile to what the EPP wanted to hear¹⁶³. Eastern Europeans had to survive in the domestic competition, so an affiliation with a respectable European party, like the EPP/EUCD, was received highly to sell locally and to give its party a comparative advantage. If this meant that they had to sign a paper of Christian democratic doctrines that was the least they were prepared to do. The EPP headquarters and the EPP archive today are full of evidence from this period. Several political figures speaking on behalf of a new and rising political party, usually with some background and with prospects of success. The EPP responded in a positive way, encouraging these parties to cultivate Christian democracy and build social and political identities with their society. It also supported politically, morally and materially this direction, while at the same time organised several events in these countries.

Every party that was named Christian democratic and had a minimum presence in elections in the new democracies was integrated as member of the EUCD that was reformed so as to accommodate all these parties. Once the party became a member it was more difficult to refuse membership to another party from the same country with comparable characteristics. Consolidating democracy after decades of communism was a complex exercise. Besides the EPP and its Christian democratic partners, support from other institutions towards political initiatives, both governmental and non-governmental, was fragmented and loose. The EPP as a semi-governmental institution did have opportunity to help spread the communitarian *acquis* at least in democracy,

163 As Seymour Martin Lipset has put it: “Parties in new electoral democracies will be inherently unstable unless they become linked to deep-rooted sources of cleavage, as the parties in the older institutionalized western democracies have been.” (2001, p.4)

political and party institutions in these new countries. In parallel, this exercise became a field of competition of different national member parties and personalities of the EPP. It revealed spheres of interest among the traditional members for which they had a special interest. This was not static and it evolved throughout the years and along the evolution of membership of the EPP.

The first phase we would call the *ideological revival* phase. It started with the start of the regime change and the rise in politics of upcoming individuals claiming the legacy of Christian democracy in each country. This phase brought about encouraging results at the beginning. In the integration process of these parties a loose conditionality was exercised, usually in the form of minimum democratic credentials of the party's constitution. For principal and practical reasons conditionality at that early stage could not be tighter. Decades of communism made the societies reluctant to any strict conditionality from abroad at the early stages. An additional impeding factor was the fragile process of democratisation that made it difficult for parties participating in governments to survive at the next elections. Furthermore, Christian democracy for the new democracies was a set of ideals cultivated on a floating electorate that was under national identity consolidation. The party system in each country was on the move for some years. In some countries there were Christian inspired parties before the communist period, with good reputation, but with 50 or 80 years time distance. The hope for the revival of old Christian democratic parties and generally for the proliferation of Christian democracy is present throughout the archive documents of the period. The plan was that the EPP would build up a strong network of affiliated parties prior to these countries joining the European Union so as to strengthen its membership upon EU enlargement.

The second phase came a few years later and we call it *consolidation phase* when the new countries began stabilising and the EPP was more experienced on the ground. Round about the mid 1990s the EPP became stricter on the new parties by tightening the minimum standards for membership eligibility in the EUCD and to the EPP. The evolution of the strategy towards Eastern Europe in the 1990s went along the change of its identity and scope towards a more pragmatic direction beyond the Christian democratic past. As a result the EPP reshaped its strategy and focus, from the early

phase of ideological revival, towards building reliable partners. As a result, since the mid 1990s it extended this practice to the new democracies becoming open to parties without Christian democratic labelling. It further pursued a more active policy towards parties of the centre right encouraging and on occasions intervening to support mergers and consolidation of a united centre-right party in order to be more effective in elections.

The triptych of political parties, consolidation of the democratic system and the boost of economic development is well beyond any dispute in the academic research. Although most of the communist countries were liberated after 1989, their democratic institutions did not mature at the same pace. Some countries experienced a faster europeanisation, regime change was easier and party consolidation progressed quickly creating more stable party structures that allowed them to grow also at the European level. At the end of the nineties a number of these countries reached the stage of prospective European integration. The EPP had a major contribution in the party consolidation of the centre right in the former Communist countries, albeit with differences from country to country. Despite the sui generis of this very complex exercise, the absence of extended resources and the different priorities of different EPP members the impact on the ground of the centre right in the new countries has been significant albeit not always successful.

The role of Complementary institutions

The main operations instrument in this direction from the side of the EPP/EUCD was the joint working group on “Central and Eastern Europe” that was created in October 1989 with Joseph Haan as first Chairman and from 1990 onwards with Wim Van Velzen as Chairman. The first applications for membership appeared early 1991. (ACDP IX-007-131, p.321) EPP deployed and cooperated with a number of other organisations and institutions. First of all, it deployed the EUCD, its parent organization that was about to be fused inside the EPP. As we presented above the EUCD was just about ready to close down and merge with the EPP. With the realization of the changes in Europe the EUCD was deployed as the organization to work on the Europeanisation

of parties from the new democracies. Already in November 1989 the EUCD hosted its XXIII Congress in Malta with the participation of CD parties from Poland, Estonia and Hungary.

The presence of the EPP in the new countries was further strengthened through its **Associations**, primarily: SMEs, Women, Youth, Students and Workers. These organisations elaborated their programme of europeanising their prospective counterparts in each country. The fact that they were affiliated to the EPP gave them additional credibility and statue. Local organizations of the same type were kin to join the EPP Association, as this was a step closer to Europe.

The EPP in 1991 founded the **Christian Democratic Academy for Central and Eastern Europe**¹⁶⁴, based in Budapest. *“Depuis le début du mois d'octobre, l'Académie chrétienne del'Europe centrale et orientale fondée par l'UEDC (siège: Budapest) poursuit des travaux réguliers; elle a l atâched' organiser des séminaires d'éducation et de formation systématiques à l'intention des collaborateurs et des jeunes militants des partis d'orientation démocrate chrétienne. »* (IX-007-008, p.4). Additional information about this institution in the folder IX-007-046: the discussion about its creation at the WG of the EPP on Central and Eastern Europe at p.171 as well as at (IX-007-016, p.874); the Statutes of the Academy adopted at the political bureau of the EUCD of July 12, 1991 in Strassbourg where Wim Van Velzen was elected Chrairman of the Academy at p.738; minutes from the 2nd meeting of the International Board of the Academy at p.59 December 1991; the financial contribution of national parties for the Academy on p.72; See also the first Activity report for 1991 at IX-007-46, p.277-284 and also the monthly

¹⁶⁴ On page 35 of IX-007-046 we have the report from the EUCD International Board of the Christian Democratic Academy for Central and Eastern Europe in Athens of November 1992 summarising the activity of the Academy after the first year of operation with 13 courses organised where 232 participants from 20 parties from 11 countries attended.. The whole volume of ACDP IX-007-097 is dedicated to the work of the Academy. Interesting report on the Christian Democratic academy for Central and Eastern Europe, seated in Budapest ACDP IX-007-097, p.50. This was founded on June 26, 1991 through the working group Central and Eastern Europe of the EUCD (ACDP IX-007-131, p.142). We also found the first annual report for 1991 at ACDP IX-007-112, p.149. Also the draft program for 1992 at IX-007-112, p.267.

reports that was producing and the close monitoring from the EUCD aiming to ensure effectiveness in the use of resources. The key role in the preparation of this organisation was performed by the Dutch Vim Van Velzen in his capacity as chairman of the WG on Central and Eastern Europe¹⁶⁵. In 1995 the Christian Democratic Academy was replaced by the Union of the Robert Schuman Institute for Developing Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe', founded jointly by the EUCD, the EPP and national institutions.

Another institution that supported extensively the project in Central Eastern Europe was the **Robert Schuman Foundation** based in Luxemburg. This organisation financed extensively the participation of eastern Europeans in the EPP proceedings. In 1997 it financed even the translation of the weekly EPP publication "EPP News" to the Hungarian language for distribution to Hungarians and with a letter of Welle in January 1998 it was requested to finance the adaptation of the newsletter EPP News to the Czech language with estimated cost to be paid by Robert Schuman DM 7500 (ACDP IX-007-011, p.844). The support of the Robert Schuman foundation for the enlargement of the EPP in the former Eastern Europe was essential. As we note at the letter of Mrs O' Hara after the completion of yet another seminar of the EUCD in Bratislava: "As always the originals are available for inspection. We would appreciate if you transfer the aforementioned amount 13000 ecus to the usual EPP/EUCD account" (ACDP IX-007-030, p.4). The Robert Schuman Foundation is associated with the EPP since its foundation. It was originally created in January 19, 1977 few months after the creation of the EPP. Legal foundation partners were Tindermans, Bertrand, Gramme and Von Hassel (foundation minutes at IX-007-023/01, p.125).

Another complementary institution was the '**Christian Democratic Union of Central Europe**' (CDUCE) that was originally created in 1950 and was reorganized in 1990. (IX-007-016, p.430) The attempt was to revive an old organisation of Christian

¹⁶⁵ Find the letter of Van Velzen inviting the member parties to join the technical talks for the new organisation (IX-007-016, p.874).

Democratic Parties that was established in Washington DC in 1950 from exiled Christian Democratic Parties from behind the Iron Curtain. (IX-007-201, p.45) It « *is an international organisation which intends to promote a tight political, economic, social and cultural cooperation of Christian Democratic, Conservative and like minded parties and movements operating in the Central and Eastern European countries.* » (IX-007-201, p.90) In March 1990 CDUCE organised a congress for CD parties of Central and Eastern Europe in Budapest in collaboration with the CDI, the EUCD and the EPP. At this conference “*Les partis représentés ont exprimé leur espoir d’être bientôt admis en qualité de membres au sein de l’UEDC; ils ont également décidé, toutefois, de ressusciter l’UCDEC et de lui assigner la mission spécifique de promouvoir la collaboration entre leurs partis durant la période de transition.* » (IX-007-008, p.3) The UCDC Congress and General Assembly was organized in Bratislava on December 7-9, 1990¹⁶⁶. At the note to the Political Bureau of the EUCD Sec Gen Jansen reported that the christian democratic parties of the new countries were fundamentally interested to join the EUCD. The conference decided to revive the UCDEC «Il a été décidé d’installer un Secrétariat a Bratislava (Slovaquie) sous la responsabilité d’ Iwan Carnogursky, Secrétaire Général du Mouvement Démocrate Chrétien Slovaque. Monsieur Sandor Karcsay du Parti Populaire Démocrate Chrétien Hongrois a été nommé Président et Stanislas Gebhardt du Parti du Travail Polonais endevient le Vice-Président. Entretemps (le 30 mars), une première réunion du Comité d’ Organisation de l’UCDEC a eu lieu. Il a décidé de tenir fin octobre un autre congrès, qui devra discuter et décider de toutes les questions relatives l’organisation future (Statuts, Programme, adhésion de nouveaux membres, etc.). ACDP IX-007-008 p.136.

¹⁶⁶ Documentation on this at ACDP IX-007-201 p.31. They held a General Assembly meeting prior to the EUCD Congress in Warsaw on June 20, 1992 where they adopted a resolution stating that “decided to propose to the Congress of the EUCD (...) its decision to transform it into an autonomous Community of Central and Eastern European Countries becoming an integral part of EUCD.” (ACDP IX-007-201, p.4) Founding members were: Popular Democratic Party of Hungary, Polish Christian Labour Party, Christian Democratic Party of Lithuania, Popular Party of Slovenia, Popular Party of Czechoslovakia, Agrarian Party of Latvia. (ACDP IX-007-201, p.4) More information about the CEUCD can be found on ACDP IX-007-017, pp.180-187 (Statutes-correspondence).

The **Christian Democrat International** (CDI), a historical international organisation for Christian Democratic parties, but without a strong record in the recent years, the CDI contributed to the efforts of the EPP after the collapse of communism¹⁶⁷. Already in June 1990 CDI hosted a conference of party leaders in Budapest, to discuss the changes in Central and Eastern Europe. In particular, the mission they undertook towards the proliferation of the Christian Democratic ideals was Russia. In the early phase of the transition André Louis, CDI Secretary General, advocated that the CDI move in the direction of the Socialist International historically, thus towards a more 'active' role and intervention in national politics for the purpose of strengthening Christian democracy. His analysis advocated that integrating non Christian Democratic parties like the Greek ND and the Spanish PP is acceptable but taking in the British conservatives would be more complicated: *"In the long term, if we want the alliance to last, the Conservatives must be 'social-christenised'. It is by no means certain that they wish to. It would be a coherent step for CDI leadership to involve itself in this coming dialogue."*¹⁶⁸. In his paper titled "Some current problems concerning the Christian Democrat International" he further contends *"It is quite clear, however, that the present situation is unsatisfactory and places us in an inferior position compared with, for instance, the Socialist International, where the Political Bureau handles all problems with no restrictions and takes decisions if necessary. This provides the central leadership with a great tactical flexibility and unlimited scope for intervention. And it must be said that it works better than in our International."* IX-007-165, p.179

At the meeting in Bucharest November 1999 CDI decided to change the name to "Christian Democrats and People's Parties International". This was presented as CDI "has endorsed a policy of expanding its world movement to include parties from other

167 In the CDI there was a gentlemen's agreement stroke in 1982 between EUCD and ODCA that the President and the General Secretary elected for a mandate of 3 years will rotate between Europe and America. (09-007-041, p.122)

168 IX-007-165, p.179. Interesting report of CDI on L'avenir de l'International Democrite Chretienne (in 2.1.1. EPP Archive) in French, and also a 1997 paper on "Continuing dialogue between the CDI and Its regional members on our movement's future" in 2.3.1. Also see 1997 paper "the CDI and its regional organisations agree long term strategy" 2.3.1. Find also another report of 1997 on the future of CDI at IX-007-124, p.122.

traditions¹⁶⁹.” CDI and Anthony de Meeus were particularly involved in the spread of Christian democracy in Russia in early 1990s in collaboration with the EPP. In the archive we found the letter of Jansen to the member parties, August 1992, where he states: *“During the last meeting of the working group “Central and Eastern Europe” it has been decided to organise a “Sub Committee” that will regularly take care of the developments of the CIS. Mr. Anthony de Meeus from the Secretariat General of the CDI was asked to coordinate the work of this group.”*¹⁷⁰.

The **Konrad Adenauer Stiftung**, with offices in several capitals of the new European countries and adequate resources was an active partner in this process, the **Hanns Seidel Foundation** of the German CSU, the **Jarl Hjalmarson Foundation** affiliated to the Swedish Moderaterna, particularly active in the Baltic region, the **Political Academy**¹⁷¹ affiliated to the Austrian OVP, particularly active in the Balkan region and, since 1998, the **Karamanlis Institute** for Democracy affiliated to the Greek Nea Demokratia particularly active also in the Balkan region¹⁷². Other institutions, albeit

¹⁶⁹ (p.839, IX-007-157) see also the next pages with the announcement of the EPP presenting the change in the CDI.

¹⁷⁰ (IX-007-019, p.199) See also the “CDI work programme East Europe Nov 1993-summer 1994” at IX-007-012 p.152 and the “CDI work programme East Europe end 1994-1995” (IX-007-012 p.178). In the programmes it is worth noting the emphasis on spreading Christian Democracy with initiatives such as: the Russian edition of the EPP basic programme, second part of the video film in Russian on Christian Democracy, the Russian edition of “Christian Democracy Today”, papers like the “simple hand book of Christian Democracy in Russian: the essentials in short and concise form (questions and answers) for use by activists etc. with special reference to the Russian regions (provinces). “Likely to prove valuable in all emerging democracies” (ibid). IX-007-012 p.537 Memorandum of CDI on “Outcome of Russian Elections”. On IX-007-012 p.482 find the publication of EDU The Russian Perspective on Foreign and Security Policy H. Danzmayr.

¹⁷¹ 1990 August party index in Central and Eastern Europe ACDP IX-007-115, p.123-215

¹⁷² On the international party cooperation level, the International Democrat Union (IDU) the integration of centre-right parties from former communist European countries was sponsored primarily by the Westminster Foundation for Democracy a state funded British institution affiliated to the British Conservative party and the Swedish Harliameson Foundation. The British Tories explored the tool of modest public funds to support their international role as a party. The Secretariat of the IDU was hosted at the headquarters of the Conservative Party for the years 1992-2001 as Graham Wynn was Executive Secretary and Richard Normington was International Secretary of the Conservative Party. Equally, at the Swedish Moderate party the international work was headed by Eva Gustavsson who at the same time was Director of the Harliameson Foundation.

less active, were the International Institute Jacques Mauritian¹⁷³. The CDA Netherlands and its Eduardo Frei Foundation¹⁷⁴ as well as the Scientific Institute were also active in this direction and the CEPES Institute of Belgium (ibid).

The **European Democratic Union** EDU also organised a support programme for new political parties in Central and Eastern Europe¹⁷⁵. Interesting is that we found a joint meeting of the WG Central and Eastern Europe of the EUCD and the “European structures – European policy” of the EDU in October 1991, in Romania. (IX-007-112, p.594)

Reference to the role of supporting institutions is made also at the report of Thomas Jansen, sec gen of EUCD/EPP in 1992 for the seminars and other activities organised “*par les différentes Fondations et Instituts liés au mouvement démocrate Chrétien*” (IX-007-008, p.4). These institutions out of their statutory mandate could finance partly events and material aiming to the spread of Christian Democracy and the democratic consolidation in the new countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The scheme of having more than one institutions of this kind was typical in the early years facilitating full funding for these initiatives. An example of such cooperation is illustrated in the

173 see the report on September 1990 IX-007-115, pp.100-114. This organisation later in the 1990s focused its work on the fight against poverty and hunger. Evidence of this was found with the letter of Roberto Papini to EPP President Martens on April 2002 in his capacity as the International Jacques Maritain Institute where he states: “Since 1996, our Institute is committed to the project of an International Code of Conduct on the Right to Adequate Food. Thank to the work and efforts of a group of NGOs, this draft Code now exists and is well known at the international level, both by governments and civil society (see dossier enclosed). The next FAO World Food Summit, to be held from 8 to 13 June 2002, will be the occasion to take stock of the progress, unfortunately poor, in the fight against poverty and hunger. We hope that a resolution will be approved to set up a workgroup - at FAO, with the collaboration of the High Commissioner for Human Rights and the ONG involved - appointed to work out a Code of Conduct on the Right to Food. You therefore understand how important it is at this stage an accurate and specific action of lobbying and support in order to promote the project for the Code of Conduct with the governments of the member countries of FAO, which will take part in the next World Food Summit I think that it would be politically and ethically important if also the European Popular Party took position in favour of such a project, for instance through a resolution at the European Parliament”. (IX-007-150, p.26)

174 Such is the conference on “Christian Democratic Parties in the Democratic Process” organised on December 6-7, 1991 (ACDP IX-007-131, p.6). They even deployed American technical assistance such as from the “National Democratic Institute for International Affairs” ACDP IX-007-131,p.21

¹⁷⁵ report 13/2/1990 (ACDP IX-007-115, p.295)

following letter of EUCD president Wilfried Martens: *“the European Union of Christian Democrats has suggested the organisation of a conference on the problems of the Civil Society. The questions to be analysed are specifically important for our friends in Central and Eastern Europe, above all to help with the rebuilding of their democracies. The Institute for external relations of the Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung (Munich) and the Edoardo Frei Stichting (De Haag) will organise this conference..”* (IX-007-129, p. 261).

Evidence in support of hypothesis 3

At the end of June 1990 the CDI organised in Budapest a conference to meet new Christian Democratic parties. Conferences were also organised in the summer of 1990 and of 1991 from the EPP Group under the institution ‘Europe 2000’. *« Ces reunions ont surtout attiré les nouveaux parlementaires des différents pays d'Europe centrale et orientale qui avaient ainsi la possibilité de s'entretenir avec les députés européens et nationaux des pays d'Europe occidentale. Plusieurs partis membres de l'UEDC ont créé, au cours des années 1990 et 1991, d'autres occasions de rencontres et d'échanges. L'UEDC/PPE a participé à la plupart de ces entreprises. »* (IX-007-008, p.4)

The EPP Congress in Dublin in November 1990 discussed the issue of Central and Eastern Europe and adopted a resolution that reflects the strategy of the first phase: *“le dialogue et l'élargissement systématique de contacts avec les partis d'Europe centrale et orientale constituent une priorité de premier ordre. Une politique cohérente du PPE/UEDC à l'égard de l'Europe centrale et orientale s'impose avec la plus grande urgence. Les relations bilatérales doivent contribuer à cette politique. Il convient de soutenir en priorité l'extension de l'infrastructure des partis démocrates chrétiens et de la pensée démocrate chrétienne. Le Groupe de travail "Europe centrale et orientale" du PPE/UEDC a reçu la mission de prendre les initiatives appropriées »* (IX-007-008, p.4) At this congress the EPP adopted statutory changes in order to facilitate its work in Central and Eastern Europe. The main changes were: a. simplifying the subtitle of the EPP from « Federation of Christian Democratic Parties of the European Communities” to “Christian Democrats”, b. The designation of the “associate member” status to parties coming from EC applicant countries, c. the inclusion of the Summit meeting of

party and government leaders in the official organs and the repeal of the 'Executive Committee' streamlining the work in the elected Presidium and the Political Bureau, d. the overhaul of the financial regulations e. the introduction a clause that "member parties should represent the EC policies adopted by the EPP to their national context both signs of the EPP party identity" and f. the introduction of individual membership in the EPP. (Jansen-Van Hecke, 2011, p.91).

In this strategy a prime role was allocated to the EUCD through the WG "Central and Eastern Europe". For the same purpose the EUCD also adopted new statutes in September 1991 where in article 3C it stated: "*l' UEDC est ouverte à tous les partis européens de tendance démocrate chrétienne qui remplissent les conditions suivantes: leur activité a lieu dans un Etat de droit régi par les principes de la liberté et de la démocratie; ils ont participé à des élections parlementaires libres dans leur pays et sont représentés au Parlement par un ou plusieurs députés; ils adoptent le "Manifeste des Démocrates chrétiens d'Europe", le "Manifeste politique de l'Union Mondiale Démocrate-Chrétienne" et les présents statuts*" (IX-007-008, p.5)

For the issue of multiple parties seeking membership the article 3d stated: "*Lors de la présentation de requêtes émanant de plusieurs partis concurrents d'un seul pays, le Conseil peut faire dépendre son avis favorable de la formation par les requérants d'une "équipe nationale". Dans ce cas, les requérants !? ont tenus de créer une structure de coopération et de consultation adéquate qui leur permettra d'adopter une position commune et d'avoir une représentation commune au sein de l'UEDC.*" The article 4 of the EUCD statutes stated: "*Le statut d'observateur est ouvert aux associations politiques démocratiques et aux partis sympathisants de pays européens qui partagent les options politiques fondamentales et les principes intellectuels gouvernant l'UEDC.*" (IX-007-008, p.21)

With these two strategic moves the EUCD prepared itself towards the multiple new parties that had to be screened up in a uniform way. Important documentary information about the strategy of the EPP/EUCD in Central and Eastern Europe can be found at IX-007-008 pp.2-23 dated September 1992 by Thomas Jansen. He reflects the EPP position at the first phase:

«L'effondrement des régimes communistes d'Europe centrale et orientale et la mise à nu de l'illusion communiste-socialiste ont donné à la démocratie chrétienne un nouveau pouvoir d'attraction. Ce pouvoir se trouve confirmé de façon particulièrement spectaculaire par le recours de partis populaires d'Europe centrale et orientale au patrimoine de pensée et aux organisations des Démocrates-chrétiens; la plupart de ces partis n'avaient pu, à leur création, se référer à une tradition démocrate chrétienne qui était soit inexistante, soit embryonnaire dans leur propre pays; dans nombre de cas, ces partis correspondent aux "Conservateurs" des schémas conventionnels.»

As far as the status of observer member Thomas Jansen refers: *« Cette mission recouvre également une responsabilité pédagogique de l'UEDC vis-à-vis de partis qui souhaitent y adhérer; leur participation aux réunions et les possibilités d'observation permettent à ces partis d'élargir leurs connaissances et leur donnent la possibilité d'adapter leur programme, leurs outils et leurs procédures de manière à faciliter leur adhésion future. »* (IX-007-008, p.8).

Among the tools deployed towards Central and Eastern Europe there was also an "Extraordinaire budget Eastern Europe" that was adopted at the Political Bureau of March 6, 1990 (IX-007-230, p.286de). The work done at this early stage included visits of EPP/EUCD in the applicants' capitals followed by reports on the status quo¹⁷⁶. An October 1993 Report of Thomas Jansen stated *«The EPP is the supranational party organised in a federal manner and functioning in the institutional system of the European Union. The EUCD is the organisation that brings together all Christian Democratic parties from all over Europe.»* (IX-007-008, p.21)

In a report about the new democracies, EUCD in October 1993 stated about its special working group: *"the WG must ensure the exchange of information between the national parties concerning their bilateral activities in Central and Eastern Europe in the field of training and education. Furthermore the WG should act as a clearing house with regard*

¹⁷⁶ An early visit to Ljubljana and Zagreb 5-8 Feb 1991 with a 4-page report in German at IX-007-008 p.92 Several reports are found on volume ACDP IX-007-08, such as a 9page report on February 1992 at p.152, 9page report on September 1991, at page 171, 10page report on April 1991 at page 180, February 1991 at page 274, June 1990 in German at page 300. Also the 55 pages report in German of the EPP Group on Christian Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe in September 1990 at page 210. For this period a lot of the reports appear in Italian as well due to the Italian President of the EUCD, Emilio Colombo.

to information about the support that is necessary during the election campaigns in the several countries in 1994.” (IX-007-044, p.155).

This strategy of the EPP in the first phase was found also in a report¹⁷⁷ of June 1990 of the situation in the new democracies. Titled “Christian Democratic Parties in Central and Eastern Europe” the EPP acknowledged that in the new democracies Christian democratic parties is not the only rule and other parties of similar ideology that can be eligible for affiliation. With this position the EPP took a moderate stance, allowing us to debate that it pursued a “moderate proliferation policy” for the Christian Democratic ideals. The report continues:

“The gradual development of a democratic political landscape in Central and Eastern European countries is fostering the emergence of political groups other than the traditional Christian Democratic parties as partners of the EUCD and EPP. In the medium term once the situation has been clarified in free elections, coalitions or mergers between Christian Democratic parties and such groups with similar platforms are desirable. Indeed, EUCD/EPP are encouraging the tendency towards such an alignment. The natural partners of EUCD/EPP will, of course, continue to be the traditional Christian Democratic parties which are also members of the Union of Christian Democratic Parties of Central Europe (UCDEC) and the Christian Democratic International (CDI). Part of the same family, these parties are placing high hopes on the moral and political, as well as practical and material support they can expect from Christian Democrats in Western Europe. These hopes and aspirations must not be disappointed. The solidarity that has been promoted as part of the EUCD/EPP programme must now be put to practice. Nevertheless, this strategy should not hinder EUCD/EPP from cultivating contacts with other aforementioned groups and parties which are seeking co-operation, nor from supporting and expediting their participation in European Christian Democratic organisations.” (IX-007-08, p.321)

For the deeper understanding of the interaction and membership evolution of parties in former communist countries we have included in the Annexes membership reports from the EPP/EUCD covering the 1990s. This will allow further research on the matter

¹⁷⁷ IX-007-008. p.321

and it helps demonstrate the hypothesis that we contemplate. The former communist countries divide in three main categories: countries of central Europe, of South-Eastern Europe and of the Baltic region. Central European countries had a relatively smooth path towards the europeanisation, including their parties' integration in the European structures. Poland, Czech republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia were successful in making a smooth transition.

As Berge and Poguntke note *"in both the EPP (and EUCD) candidate countries from CEE usually had to go through a hierarchical three-step process: informal contacts, observer/associate status, and full member. Parties from CEE had to meet formal 'accession criteria' when applying for a certain membership status in the EPP"..."CEE parties were usually first included in the EUCD and only afterwards in the core EPP party. The EUCD established its criteria in 1991, the EPP in 1996."* (p. 326)

EPP's journey to Central and Eastern Europe

Together with the former Soviet Union area, the south East corner of Europe has been a difficult corner to deal from the Europeanisation perspective. Too much history produced in a small region, a spectrum of communities, religions, minorities and a heavy historical load from the 20th century. The EPP took careful steps towards integrating political parties, starting from mapping on the ground. EPP held various study visits (or 'fact finding missions') in the region that recorded the actual situation and produced several reports¹⁷⁸ on the situation in every candidate including minority issues etc. The CDU and the CSU from Germany, the Austrian OVP, the Greek Nea Demokratia and, few years later in the 1990s, the Swedish Moderates and others had a special interest for the Balkan region. At the early days of the transition it was mainly Nea Demokratia and the CDU that focused more in the region. Later on the 1990s the

178 Interesting information on the situation of minorities in Europe of the Council of Europe in July 1991 at IX-007-082, p.131-143, also various reports and supplementary docs on the minority situation in Yugoslavia, Romania, Slovakia and Hungary in the early 1990s. The whole 778 page folder contains documents on minorities. See also the analytical report of the United Nations on the "Situation of human rights in the territory of the former Yugoslavia" pp.47-86, also the "Memorandum on Yugoslavia" on pp.96-110, also the EDU report in German on IX-007-121, p.202-263 Jugoslawien nach Tito. Regular reports were produced on the situation in Central and Eastern Europe (IX-007-47, p.233 on December 1989)

Austrian OVP also deployed bilateral relations and the Political Academy to develop relations with the region, while in the 2000s the Swedish Moderates through the Jarl Hjalmarson Foundation also worked for the strengthening of democracy in the region. Among the first conferences in the Balkan European perspectives was the “1st conference of the Democratic Parties of the Balkan countries” in June 1991 organised by ND Greece (IX-007-115, p.650).

In **Albania**, the Democratic Party (ADP) and its leader Sali Berisha has been the oldest and most stable partner in the EPP/EUCD cooperation. They received ample political support at times of crises, not rare in Albanian politics. In the archive we found a lot of material from the interaction of Albanian political parties with the EPP/EUCD. Contacts with Brussels have been highly appreciated in Albanian politics and this is why from the early 1990s several political figures tried to get legitimacy from the European party structures¹⁷⁹. In line with our hypothesis, as early as 1992 we found the application of the ‘Christian Democratic Party of Albania’ to the EUCD (IX-007-008, p.25). The split of the Democratic Party of Albania between Genc Pollo ‘Partia Demakrate’ and Salli Berissa, was exported to the EUCD. Velzen reports¹⁸⁰ to the EUCD

¹⁷⁹ Several references on Albania were found on volume IX-007-054 such as: on p.47 the letter (September 1997) of Berisha to Velzen, president of EUCD, requesting support on an alleged political imprisonment of a prominent member of democratic party. On p.65 the joint draft statement of EDU and EUCD on the crisis of the democratic system of Albania between socialist party and DPA. On p.77 letter of DPA to EDU and EUCD presenting the crisis and Albania and requesting that a fact finding mission be held in order to help the situation. On p.81 the letter of Velzen to president of DPA Shehu expressing his concern over the crisis in Albania and “urgently call upon the restoration of the freedom of press.” On p.140 letter of SG Klaus Welle to the DP president where he welcomes the cooperation of the DP with the Christian democratic party of Albania April 1996. On p.228 we found correspondence between EUCD and the Christian democratic party of Albania where the later requested financial support from the CD family in Europe in 1996 towards parliamentary elections in Albania. On page 305 we found various letters exchanged between the EPP and the Democratic Alliance of Albania headed by Mr. Nantan Ceka, and the party of the Albanian Democratic Ideal (FIDSH) headed by Mr. Petrit Ishmi (1995-96) while on IX-007-128,p.35 letter of Ceka of the Democratic Alliance to declare that they are leaving the EUCD due to the bias of the organisation towards the DP and Berisha.

¹⁸⁰ Further material about Albanian parties’ interaction with the EPP/EUCD is found on IX-007-040. Genc Pollo Democratic party requested membership in the EPP and was accepted in October 2002 prior to the court decision over the name and logo dispute he had with Berisga s Democratic Party. Letter of Lopez Isturiz to Pollo IX-007-040, p.236 nov 18, 2002. Reference of the EDU report on page 252 volume IX-07-040 on study visit to Albania, also from page 265 conclusion. In the same volume on p.391 the Demochristian party addressed the EPP president complaining about the candidacy of the Republican party in the CDI

Council in June 1995: *“From the schism of the Democratic party two parties emerged and in the meantime a further three parties to apply for possible EUCD membership. On behalf of the ‘Central and Eastern Europe’ Commission, mr. van Velzen recommended the Council as follows: to accept the Democratic party as a full member and to accept the Christian Democrat Party and Democrat Alliance as observer members.”* (IX-007-215, p.,179). Another application was found from the Albanian Republican Party to the EPP/EUCD in 1998 with the support from the American International Republican Institute (IRI). (IX-007-187 p.479) A letter of application from another party the ‘Albanian Democratic Ideal’ signed by its president Petrit Ishmi sent in 1997 to the EUCD was answered by Sec Gen Klaus Welle explaining that the EPP can not accept any other parties apart from the 3 parties it already has from this country: *“a clear objective of the EUCD has been to act as unifying force and it has never been the policy of the organization to continue accepting several more parties.”* This letter indicates the strategy of the EPP in the second phase where it tried to encourage party consolidation in the new democracies.

Bulgaria has been another democracy with slow party institutionalisation and consolidation by European standards. As a consequence the party landscape in Bulgaria has been liquid and always in transition. Several parties appeared also during the first phase of our hypothesis for acquiring legitimacy from Brussels and raising a Christian Democratic flag. The first application to the EUCD we found in the archive came from the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BANU-Nikola Petrov) signed by Milan Drenchev Secretary General, November 1990 (IX-007-008, p.58). Further to that

signed by its president Jef Bushati, feb 3, 2000 εσύ το είχες μπλε αυτό. Albanian Christian Democratic Party IX-007-187, p.435 letter of application on June 2001. On page 438 we found the report of the EDU Mission to Albania April 1994 in order to assess membership questions from Albanian parties to EDU and EUCD. The reference to EUCD is made “under the recent cooperation agreement among EUCD and EDU.” The whole volume IX-007-061 of 558 pages is dedicated to the Parliamentary elections of Albania of April 1996. EUCD and EDU tried to play a double role: on the one support the Democratic Party but also secure a free and fair election. In page 162 we note a resolution issued by the EUCD Council in Malta 14 June 1996. We note contacts with other international organisations. Also IX-007-040, p14 letter of appeal signed by leaders of opposition parties of Albania claiming extensive fraud at the local elections of October 2000. In page 19 find a 30 page report on the fraud conducted by opposition parties in Albania. On page 51 find an interesting report on Albania.

we found the application of Christian Democratic Front of Bulgaria, party member of the Union of Democratic Forces, “the main anticommunist party in Bulgaria” (IX-007-008, p.48), but also the application of United Democratic Center of Bulgaria, both sent in July 1991. The party claimed “being Christian democratically oriented by its origin, the UDC *“definitely adopted the principles and the values of the Christian Democracy in its new Program on the last National conference”* (June 29, 1991). On page 50 *ibid* we found the application of the Democratic Party, another member of the Union of Democratic Forces sent also in July 1991 and requesting membership in the EUCD.

The UDF became a full member of the EUCD in a rather speedy process at the Council Meeting of the EUCD on April 17-18, 1997. (IX-007-124, p. 55) EUCD by that time had already two (2) observer members: the Democratic Party and the BANU party. However, as Bulgarian national elections were scheduled on just the next day, the UDF needed some kind of international support and credibility to maximise electoral result¹⁸¹. The request of the party within the EUCD was debated by some parties that *“Some participants felt that taking a decision on full membership at this time would be inappropriate given that there were no documents¹⁸² at all available for the meeting and given that it has become the norm at the EUCD for observer status to be accorded in the initial phase and full membership can be considered at a later date.”* The UDF was accepted as a full member¹⁸³ primarily to support an initiative for a strong centre-right in the fragile democratic institutions of Bulgaria. UDF had a moderate outlook compatible with Brussels standards. The centre right was fragmented for few years in the early 2000s until another new party GERB under the salient leadership of Boiko Borisov united the centre right and received 39,7% of the vote in the 2009 elections. GERB was supported in terms of technical know how from western institutions as a

¹⁸¹ Its leader was Ivan Yordanov Kostov, who won the elections with 52% and became the 46th Prime minister of Bulgaria (1997-2001). In the next elections of 2001 he faced a landslide drop down to 18,18%...

¹⁸² Report from visit of W.V. Weltzen to Sofia IX-007-124, p.87 (04.02.1997)

¹⁸³ IX-007-124, p.55. A few days later the “EPP News” bulletin wrote: Since 18 April 1997, the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF), winner of the Bulgarian elections, has been a full member of the European Union of Christian Democrats (EUCD), sister organisation of the EPP. Their success in the elections of April 20th confirms that the winds of change are blowing throughout Central and Eastern Europe, ushering in new centre-right government’s such as those which won the elections in Romania and Lithuania at the end of last year” (IX-007-199, p.164).

promise for a new generation to enter politics in Bulgaria. Since 2007 it also became a member of the EPP to the bitterness of the old parties that were keeping their seat in the EPP structures. Throughout this turbulent period in Bulgarian politics the europeanisation had not produced tangible results.

From **Romania** among the first parties to approach the EPP/EUCD was the 'National Christian Democratic Peasants Party' that was the continuation of the 'National Peasants' Party' founded in 1926 on Christian Democratic ideals. This party joined the EUCD as a full member in 1991 while it had joined the CDI in 1987¹⁸⁴. It played an important role in Romanian politics¹⁸⁵ as the big party of a coalition in the period 1992-2000. PNTCD was highly Europeanised from the early stages, and was positively received by the EPP. Volumes 09-007-069 and IX-007-133 contain documents and applications from various party initiatives towards the EPP/EUCD raising a flag of Christian Democracy in the country. Such applications in the early 1990s were the Hungarian Democratic Party in Romania in February 1991 (IX-007-008, p.54) and the Hungarian Christian Democratic Party of Romania. (IX-007-133, p.391)

Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) was, on the one hand, a successful example of a Christian Democratic party that managed the smooth transition of Croatia from communism to democracy. However, the case of its leader Franjo Tudman and his background in the communist era have made him a personality received with

¹⁸⁴ On the archive IX-007-133 we found evidence that the PNTCD received material and technical support at its early stages of development. Also find a report after the 1990 elections pp.227-231. On page 66 there is an application letter of National Peasants Christian Democratic Party of Romania for full membership of the EUCD (no date) accompanied by documents and, signed by Corneliu Coposu president. There is also a note on the party's history on p.213. On page 107, there is a letter of president of TNPCD to the President of the European Parliament on March 1990. More reports about Romania were found in the 759 page Volume for the period 1999-2002 (IX-007-078). Interesting is the 77page report of the European Commission on the accession progress of Romania in 1999 (page. 458). Also interesting is a judicial independence in the EU accession process on page 537.

¹⁸⁵ In the first free elections in 1990 conducted in the fragile regime change in Romania several EPP parties had delegations to observe the elections. The Centre Democrat Sociaux had three delegation observing the elections in 3 Romanian cities accompanied by journalists. Other parties sending delegations were CDU/Germany, PSC/Belgium and the CDA/Holland. (IX-007-133,p.88)

scepticism in Europe. His party HDZ, in the pattern of all former communist countries, tried to affiliate with the EPP to raise its credibility in Croatia as well as prepare its accession to the European Union. HDZ applied to join the EUCD as early as April 1991 (IX-007-008, p.52 application letter) and in May 1992 it applied to become a full member (IX-007-044, p.170). In a subsequent letter to Emilio Colombo they stated “As we would like to accomplish the democratic wish of many of our numberless numbers of sympathetic all over our country and all over the world, we would like to become a member of the European Union of the Christian Democrats – EUCD, to support the spirit of Christian democracy which is firmly established in the politics of this European association.” (IX-007-044, p.161) As a result, in 1993 EUCD organised a study visit to Zagreb (report IX-007-032 p.24). In line with findings in other transition countries, a second Christian democratic party HKDU emerged in Croatia and requested European affiliation. In 1994 the EPP WG on Central and Eastern Europe declared the need for the merge of the CD parties in Croatia: “To organise a seminar on Christian Democracy in Croatia with HKDU and HKDS in early 1994 aiming at the unification of both Christian democratic parties.” (IX-007-044, p.156): Stressing the importance of strengthening Christian democracy in Croatia, the delegation proposes to continue for HDZ and HKDU the status of observer membership in the EUCD, to give the same status to HKDS and suggests that the EUCD organize a conference on Christian-democracy in Zagreb in 1994.” 17 Sep 1993. HKDU additionally asked for financial support for the promotion of CD. IX-007-032 p.229 letter of HKDU to EUCD: “Croatian people lack the knowledge of Christian Democracy in general. I gather that this is as well the interest of EUCD to introduce this doctrine and the EPP programme to the recently recognised countries of middle and East Europe.” (...) “The HKDU application to EUCD was finally withdrawn¹⁸⁶ on 26/09/1994. Following a report of the EUCD from the 1995 study visit in Croatia (IX-007-048, pp.458-473) HDZ became a member later on that year¹⁸⁷. (IX-007-121,

¹⁸⁶ Letter of SG Jansen to HKDU two days before “the Council of the EUCD has thus withdrawn the observer status from HKDS and at the same time expressed his will to recognise besides HDZ only the HKDU as an observer within the EUCD. This goes together with the hope that HKDU will do everything in his power to bring together the different Christian Democratic forces which are working outside the HDZ.” 26/9/1994 IX-007-032 p.231

¹⁸⁷ IX-007-121, p.93 letter of HDZ to the EUCD president Van Velzen where it states “The Croatian Democratic Union has been a member of the EUCD since the Bucharest Council Meeting in 1995. Our present status is one of full member without the passive electoral right.”

p.345). In a 1998 EUCD report it states on Croatia: “the party has always been very much centered around the personality of the President who is also president of the Republic but the result in the last Presidential elections might suggest that Croatians are less favourable to him than before.” Interesting is also the report of the European parliament on, pp.441-459, also the report on the legislation of the Republic of Croatia pp.474-519. Despite the criticism in the 1990s on the political developments in Croatia the country had a successful and smooth transition to capitalism and democracy, despite the broader environment of south east Europe.

In the **Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia** VMRO-DPMNE applied to the EUCD early on in December 1992 (IX-007-032 p.545 letter of interest and supportive material). The application was trapped to the conflict with neighbouring Greece over the issue of respect of good neighbourly relations as the applicants contained various provocative elements in their documents and statements¹⁸⁸. Nea Demokratia, long standing EUCD member outlined the incompatibility of VMRO DPMNE to the Christian Democratic tradition of EUCD¹⁸⁹. The EUCD organised a study visit to explore the situation on the ground. VMRO resubmitted a completed application form to the EUCD in February 1996 (IX-007-118, pp.135-175) without success again this time¹⁹⁰.

Another application was put forward for observer membership to the EPP in 2005 after FYROM was granted candidate country status for EU membership. As the EPP was well informed about the strong reservations of its southern neighbour a second fact finding mission was organised in 2007 to Skopje. The result of the fact finding mission was the elaboration of a consolidated document that requested changes in party

¹⁸⁸ IX-007-118, p.1-183 information about primarily VMRO-DPMNE during 1995-96 and material about the country. IX-007-114 p.156 onwards info on FYROM period 2000. IX-007-118, pp 64-83 Report from the 1997 Young European Federalists Study Visit to Skopje, a 1995 European Commission Report on FYROM on pages 85-96, a draft opinion from European Parliament (1996) at pp.97-102, press report on FYROM at pp.176-183.

¹⁸⁹ Letters of Giannakou international secretary p. 546, of Mr. Pavlos Sarlis p.552 of IX-007-032.

¹⁹⁰ In the minutes of the EUCD Council in January 1997 we read “It was decided not to proceed with this application since the party is too panmacedonian and it does not correspond to Christian Democratic Standards” (IX-007-108, p.207).

documents for its compliance with the standards of the EPP. In the case of VMRO due to the intense preference of its neighbouring party, ND/Greece, against the prospect of membership, the usual screening that each applicant party received was more intense. When in 2005 the country had received EU candidate status and the new application was put forward, the EPP suggested certain reforms conditional for perspective membership. The conditionality that was accepted by VMRO¹⁹¹ included the repeal of some provocative statements from the website and documents of the party and the de jure commitment to avoid bringing in the EPP the issue with their neighbouring Greece, as well as to fully comply with the interim name they have FYROM and avoid using their preferred one (Republic of Macedonia). This allowed the integration of VMRO as an observer to the EPP and later on as an Associate member.

Kosovo is a special case for Europe and for EPP because not all EU Member States have recognised its independence from Serbia. In August 1991 the ‘Demo-Christian Party of Albanians in Kosovo’ applied for membership to the EUCD (IX-007-008 page 28) and on 29/01/96 there is a letter of interest to affiliate to the EUCD by the Democratic League of Kosova.(IX-007-054, p.536). Between 3-4 December 1999 EPP-ED held a seminar in Banja Luka, (IX-007-160, p292). A second application also from 1991 was presented by KDSHP for which the minutes of EuCD Council in January 1997 conclude: “EUCD has regular contact with the President of Kossova, Mr Rugova. As we have very little contact with this party it was proposed by Mr van Velzen that we ask Ms Doris Pack, MEP, Chairperson of the Working Group for South East Europe of the European Parliament, to consider this matter during her next visit to Kossova and report back to the Working Group. It was also suggested in the context of this discussion that EUCD should consider what partner parties we might have in Serbia and Montenegro.” (IX-007-108 p.200)

¹⁹¹ Exchange of letters between the president of the EPP Wilfried Martens and the president of VMRO-DPMNE Nikola Gruevski. (EPP archive Brussels).

More delayed has been the road to Europe for political parties from **Bosnia and Herzegovina**. Only after the restoration of peace with the Dayton Agreement in 1995 the situation stabilised and the Europeanisation could launch. The complicated institutional structures of the three communities assimilate a federal state albeit in a small size and population. In the 2000s the parties of the centre right enhanced their Europeanisation with the EPP. Several European institutions of centre right orientation are based on the ground and run programmes, such as the German Adenauer Foundation, the Swedish Jarl Hjalmarson Foundation, the International Republican Institute and the Austrian Political Academy. This network of institutions increased substantially the training and technical assistance opportunities for uprising politicians that help speed up the road towards democracy consolidation and European integration. For the political parties of the centre right the EPP has been an organization with strong clout and this increased. Parties from all the three communities joined the EPP in 2004. Reports on Bosnia were found at IX-007-118.

From **Slovenia** NSI's letter of interest to the EPP for membership, on December 22, 2000 see IX-007-187, p.455. SLS letter to the EPP November 19, 2000 at p.469. Before joining in 2003, SDS – SLS and NSI Slovenia was considered at the EPP Political Bureau of September 2001 first reading.¹⁹² These three parties became associate members in 2003 and full members in 2004, following Slovenia's entry into the EU¹⁹³. Peterle just after he was elected as vice president of the EUCD, sent also a letter to Thomas Jansen suggesting: *"I thus propose the presidency of the EUCD to meet very soon to discuss very seriously on the role of Medias in the development of Christian Democracy in the Central and Eastern Europe. We are all aware of the importance of Medias and how weak we are on this field in regard to the ancient regime forces."* (IX-007-44 p.332) All 420 pages of

¹⁹² See supported documentation at IX-007-187 pp.241-295. SDS, NSi-KLS and SLS.

¹⁹³ Material on Slovenia were found also in IX-007-035-Nachlieferung-Slovenia we found in p.69, 175 and 247-8, 271, 325 : SKD 14/6/1996 apply for EPP observer, 11/1/1998 application for EPP associated, Page 180 info about SKD in EUCD and EDU. (SKD: EDU member in February 1991, EPP Observer in December 1996 and associate in December 1998). 11/4/2000 SKD ceases to exist and O' Hara suggests its status to EPP to fall and apply as a new party. Page 213-4: 13/3/1998 SLS request membership in EDU in 1997. Page 240: 27/9/2001 observer status for SDS and NSi and SLS+SKD (merger in 2000).

IX-007-044 folder are dedicated to Croatian and Slovenian letters and documents in the period 1991-1994. Interesting is the letter of Peterle, vice-president of the EUCD, to Jansen on the threatening rise of Yugoslav army and the fear of war coming, sent on March 1991. (IX-007-44, p.362)

Turkish political parties have been sporadic partners in the Europarty cooperation. The broader issue of the prospect of EU integration for Turkey has been trapped in the differences of Turkey with the EU that have made several European capitals remain reserve over the prospective. In the 1990s the Motherland Party of Mesut Yilmaz and the True Path Party of Tansu Ciller had been occasional attenders of party cooperation in Europe through EDU. Both these parties were secular, by Turkish terms, and this made it easier to interact with other parties at the European level. They did not attend meetings regularly and this did not allow them to leave a footprint. Both parties coming from big, governing parties in Turkey, were interested primarily for the issue of Turkey's integration to the European Union. Besides the small participation in the European party structures these parties also developed bilateral and multilateral contacts with parties in the region, primarily, including with ND from Greece. The fusion of the EDU and the loss of strength for these two parties led to Turkey not have representation at the beginning of 2000s. In December 1999 the Helsinki European Council decision, granted Turkey eligibility status for EU membership. After December 2004 EPP summit and EC decision for starting membership negotiations, Justice and Development Party (AKP) the party that has ruled the country since 2002, was granted observer status in 2005, even-though there has been a big debate whether AKP should be accepted as an observer¹⁹⁴. The discussion at the time in the EPP was centered on whether the EPP is open to non-christian parties. The attitude that was supported by the majority in the EPP was a positive one. The AKP was a member sporadically attending meetings but with a constructive stance and without creating problems in the EPP proceedings.

¹⁹⁴ The French UMP for example insists to have a privileged relationship, see also Jansen quote on page 160 "starting negotiations did not necessarily mean that Turkey would eventually join the EU, and that there were other possibilities for the EU's long-term relationship with the country.

Russia has been country at the outskirts of Europe but due to its weight it could not be ignored¹⁹⁵. The EPP/EUCD cooperated with the CDI to run various projects mainly in the direction of spreading the Christian democratic ideals. As far as discussions with parties from Russia we found on IX-007-012 p.182 and on IX-007-019, p.79 International Congress "Christian Democracy Today", May 1994, in St Petersburg co-organised by the CDI and the EUCD. We further found the application letter from NTS-Alliance of Russian Solidarists in June 1990 to the EUCD signed by Jurij Borisovic Brunot (IX-007-008, p.61, 101). We note correspondence with the Christian Democratic Party of Russia (IX-007-012 p.156). Also on IX-007-019, p.89 we found the Christian Democratic Union of Eastern Europe, by the CDI, first political council, Saint Petersburg, 24-25 July 1993. Further information on this party found at IX-007-012, p.535. On IX-007-012 p.184 Russian Far Eastern Christian Democrat Union Founding Congress organized by the CDI 7 October 1994.

At the political bureau of January 1995 Mr van Velzen, chairman of the "Central and Eastern Europe" Commission, outlined the importance of establishing contacts with parties In **Georgia** and the **Ukraine** as these countries have considerably less experience of democracy than others. (ACDP IX-007-215, p.518). In 1995 the Christian Democratic Union of Georgia had applied to the EUCD for membership. (ACDP IX-007-215 p.253). In Georgia, the United National Movement (Ertiani Natsionaluri Modzraoba, ENM) was accepted as an observer in 2008. Before that in the last decade before 2000 we found a report about 1995 national elections IX-007-085, pp.422-446). See also the VERTIC report on Georgian elections of 1995 (ibid, pp456-460 the executive summary) and and various reports and news bulletins about Georgia (total pages on Georgia on file IX-007-085, pp.160-544)

¹⁹⁵ The whole volume of 927 pages 09-007-096 is dedicated on Russia, period 1990-1993. We also found a CDI Report on Russia (pp.3-21), Ukraine pp. 418-604, Belarus pp.22-159, Georgia pp.160-417 and other countries" of 1995 in IX-007-134.

The lack of democracy in **Belarus** was an important issue¹⁹⁶. Not much was achieved on practical terms despite endless discussions even though there have been some Resolutions about Belarus. Two parties were granted observer status in 2006: the Belarusian Popular Front and the United Civil Party (Jansen-Van Hecke, 2011, p.81).

In **Moldova** IX-007-008, p.34 Christian Democratic Popular Front application to the EUCD, 17.2.1992, headed by Mircea Druc Two parties were granted observer status in 2005 and 2011, Partidul Popular Creștin Democrat (PPCD) and Partidul Liberal Democrat din Moldova (PLDM).

Poland¹⁹⁷ delivered some early applications to the EUCD for integration. See also the first applications towards the EUCD found in IX-007-136, p.155 letter of application for membership in the EUCD from the Solidarnosc in 1991, April 5 but also the application of Centre Alliance sent to the EUCD on March 1991 signed by its president Jaroslaw Kaczynski (IX-007-008, p.67) Also find the application to the EUCD of Christian Democratic Workers Party from Poland at IX-007-008, p.63 21.1.1991 stating: “En 1946 Ch.D.S.P. ayant à l"époque le nom du Partidu Travail a participé dans la création du N.E.I., eten consequence nos membres ont activement participé dans la création et fonctionnement des N.E.I., U.E.D.C. et I.D.C., pendent que les dirigeants du Parti restant en Pologne ont été persécuté par le régime communiste. » the letter is signed by its president Vladyslaw Sila-Nowicki.

The 1992 EUCD Congress in Warsaw was an important step towards eastern enlargement. At his letter to Helmut Kohl, Thomas Jansen presents the idea of hosting the EUCD congress in Warsaw and he states: “There is currently no one in Poland, which would be better suited than Olszewski, to take an initiative to unite the Christian-democratically oriented forces” my translation from the original. IX-007-091

¹⁹⁶ IX-007-085 pp.1-158 various reports on Belarus (1998-2002), including a survey on Belorussian people on the economic and political situation in their country (p.54)

¹⁹⁷ Various reports on Poland were found in the archive such as the report of MEP Pierre Dechamps in 1983 at IX-007-024, p.684-694, the report about “Christian Democratic Movement in Poland on IX-007-131, p.361 and also the 48page report on Poland by Van Velzen in 1998. IX-007-128, p.48. On page 100 ibid find another report.

page 128. In Poland there is a 'cultural' cleavage competing with the economic while the Czech Republic is often used as the single country in CEE with a dominating 'western' socioeconomic cleavage structuring the parties. In Poland there was no Christian democratic party with stable prospects. As Stathis Kalyvas notes: This is a country where virtually the entire population is Catholic, half of whom regularly attend church; where a large proportion of the population is employed in agriculture; where there exists a strong, socially conservative union movement; and where an anticlerical left emerged in the early 1990s. (2010, p.195) Kalyvas traced the reasons for the absence of any serious cd movement after the end of communism and notes: "First, parts of es (e.g., female voters disproportionately do not vote for the center-right, and an agrarian party attracts the peasant vote). Second, potential competitors on the right were not discredited by association with the totalitarian past. Third, the Catholic hierarchy was unwilling to back a single Christian democratic party. Fourth, the most important civil-society organization, the labor union Solidarity, refused to support any of the center-right political parties. Finally, despite anticlericalism, there was no specific need for an actor to defend the church's interests, as nearly all political parties of the center-right were committed to Christian values and sympathetic to the church's social and political agenda." Kalyvas 2010, p.195

From a very intuitive report in October 1993 we read: "Especially the development of Christian Democracy in Poland is a matter of great concern. The WG will look for possibilities in organising conferences etc aimed at the development of a strong and united Christian democratic Party in Poland. Discussions with UD and other Christian Democratic forces will take place" (IX-007-044, p.155). For the case of Poland see also the report of the president of EUCD, Velzen from his visit to Poland on December 1996 (IX-007-050 p.679).

Letter of Prime Minister Jerzy Buzek to President Martens on April 1998 where he writes "It is too early yet for AWS in take a binding decision concerning membership in the EPP. The main cause of the delay is neither political nor program related but one of Expected organizational changes within the party. Nevertheless I think that the consolidation of AWS will be largely completed during the next few months and will allow a closer cooperation." (IX-007-101,p.32) Poland is a special case for a number of

reasons, from its size and catholic tradition to the EDU relationship, but also for the eurosceptic numbers. IX-007-026 is for Poland for the years 1992-1993. In p.8 we found an application by 3 cd parties and in p.126 preparation for visits of Welzen and Martens. On the next page Jansen talks about the article of the eucd statutes provisioning the formation of national equip. In 1995 there has been a Conference of Christian Democratic and like minded parties at Dolna Krupa June 1, 1995 (IX-007-132,p.197)[198](#)

EUCD interacted with **Czechoslovakia** before it actually dissolved to its two partners. As early as the first parties to approach the EUCD were the Czechoslovak People's Party that was characterised by EPP as "the traditional Christian democratic oriented (catholic) party, active as a 'block party' in the national front. Also the Czech Christian democratic party that was founded in 1989 and the Slovak social Christian Democratic of Slovakia that was formed by exiled politicians. The party leader was Jan Carnogursky. Both parties joined the EUCD in June 1990. Material on Czech applications to the EUCD were found: on IX-007-008, p.53 application from the 'Christian Democratic Party' of Czechoslovakia May 1991. IX-007-06 p.178 Mr. Thomas SVOBODA letter of Thomas Jansen to the international secretary explaining the current

[198](#) From the archive 09-007-230 p330 in the meeting of WG on central eastern Europe we read: "Concerning Poland, Mr van Velzen drew the attention of the meeting to the written report available (see Annex 3). Unfortunately, at this time, EUCD has no sister party in Poland which remains the largest and perhaps most important country in the region.. (...) Politically things have stabilized somewhat and today there are 6 political blocs which is an improvement on the time when there were as many as 30 political groupings. (...) It is clear that any government formed following the outcome of the upcoming elections will have to include the PSL and they have joined the EPP Group within the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. The AWS is presently the strongest showing in the opinion polls consisting of a mix of people from other backgrounds whose election programme is not expected until about one month prior to the polls. The Union for Freedom has suffered some difficulties and 6 of its deputies have left to join the AWS. The great danger with the forthcoming elections is that it will lead to an unstable government which may succeed in holding office for as little as two years. It is almost certain that the next elections in Poland will clear the political landscape somewhat but they will by no means give us a final political overview in that country. The PSL is currently refusing to hold early elections but that situation may change in the coming weeks. Mr van Velzen recommended in any event that contact should be kept with all of these parties. Some commentators felt that we should continue in our tactic of looking to people rather than to parties. This is however the tactic we have been following for ten years now and we seem not to have any clearer perspectives for the future. Western Governments seem to highly appreciate the current Polish President as a stabilizing influence and someone with whom we can do business.

situation in the EPP regarding the Czech parties' membership. IX-007-008, p.29 application of Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement in Slovakia, end of 1991. In the folder IX-007-109 we found related reports and material from the Czechoslovakian last few months and political forces during that period. Furthermore, in volume IX-07-136, p.253 we found a report on 1990 about Christian democracy in the Czechoslovakia. IX-007-011 the volume is dedicated to the Czech Republic and contains 946 pages of information about the party and major government developments from newsletters for the period 1995-1998. KAS report on the situation in 1997 (IX-007-011, p.857) in German, European Commission pre accession report, March 1997 (IX-007-011, p.864-876) Wim Van Welzen, EUCD president 2page report from visit to Prague, November 1996 (IX-007-011,p.877). EU-Czech Republic Joint Parliamentary Committee – 3rd meeting, March 1996, Prague (IX-007-011, pp.882-885), summary from the 1st meeting at IX-007-011, p.924 in english/french and German. Press reports and opinions at IX-007-011,p. 933-946. Further information at IX-007-011, p.886-889, 4page report of Welle and other material after a visit to Czech republic and Slovakia organized with the assistance and know how of KAS and Reinhard Stuth in March 1996 at 890-910 in French and German. In IX-007-011, p.587 you can find a 10-page report on the newly formed party Freedom Union in 1998.

In the mid 1990s the EPP/EUCD was involved in the merging of the Christian democrats and the conservatives in line with the broader culture of merging. This ensured political stability in the **Czech Republic** and the continuation of the reforms. According to the merging document (IX-007-011, p.841) “The Christian Democratic Party and the Civic Democratic Party are going to merge and to establish a strong conservative and Christian democratic block that would ensure the upkeeping of the speed of the economic and social transformation of the Czech Republic. The ODS, led by the Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus, is with a third of the votes the leading force in the conservative oriented government coalition and as the party that carried through the deep, but fast economic reform it is the guarantee of the whole social transformation after the fall of Communism in Autumn 1989. The KDS, led by the young Minister of Education Ivan Pilip, set up joint candidate lists with the ODS for the last parliamentary

elections and won 5% per cent of the seats for its firm Christian democratic policy. Both parties are members of the EDU and the Christian Democratic Party is an observer in the EUCD. The merger should take place after the adoption of the integration treaty by the respective congresses of the two parties in Spring 1996, but some steps in the process of integration have already been made. The KDS Chairman will become a Vice-Chairman of the ODS, the Christian Democrats will be represented on all levels of the ODS for a certain period of time, they will participate in the formulation of its political guidelines and election programme as well as its election campaign. In the parliamentary elections 1996, Christian democratic representatives will be present on the candidate lists."

The **Slovakian** KDH has been an enduring Christian democratic voice in the Catholic Slovakia since the early 1990s and a reliable partner of the EPP/EUCD. Jurah Kohutiar from KDH in 1997 presented a short paper about the prospects of Christian democratic party in the new democracies where he concluded that the CD parties have gone too far with the religious spiritual language and should reorient themselves towards the "people's party concept" if they want to increase their moderate electoral appeal. He presents: "CD parties in CEE countries have generally been established by committed Christians and former political dissidents. From the early stages, the public perceived those parties as aimed to organise Christians (in some countries only Catholics) and to advocate their particular interests. Some documents of those parties pledge to implement the Gospel in political practice. The composition of CD parties' members and electorate in some CEE countries is far from the composition of the population in the entire country (the electorate of the Slovak KDH consisted of 97% believers 142% of which declare themselves as being deeply religious;/ the electorate of the Hungarian KDNP consists of 94% religious people 155% closely following the teaching of the Church;/ the electoral results of the Czech KDU-CSL indicate a strong correlation between the electoral outcome and religiosity per constituency). The Hungarian MDF (with 74% of believers among its electorate in the last elections, 23% closely following the teaching of the Church) exhibited a more realistic picture of the composition of the population. While an increased proportion of practising Christians occurs regularly

also among members and the electorate of Western CD parties, they appear to offer much more incentive for others to attract them than their counterparts in CEE.

There is also some discrepancy between the natural age composition of the population and that of the electorate (one third of the Czech KDU-CSL electorate is over 60 years of age; over 20% in the Hungarian KDNP; this group is over-represented also in the KDH electorate, although the situation is slowly improving). Another discrepancy emerges with gender composition (women form 63% of the KDH electorate; 55% of the KDU-CSL; 5% of Hungarian men voted for the KDNP in comparison to 8% of Hungarian women in the last elections). Both the age and gender discrepancies are apparently related to the issue of religion. The hesitation of some CEE-CD parties to cooperate, form coalitions, and/or merge with other centre-right parties has roots in the protection of their "Christian identity" although often masked by other arguments (14 parties are represented in the Slovak parliament, 6 of which are centre right). This development continues in spite of the fact that the vast majority of the public calls for closer co-operation between the parties. Recent experience (Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia) has proved that closer cooperation through mergers and coalitions secures victory for the democratic forces in the region." (IX-007-030 p.137)

The soft **Hungarian** Communist regime was obviously ready to support and cooperate to enhance a democratic transition. The early visits were often accompanied by Hungarians who had left the country as children 1956 and now were politically active in different western Christian Democratic parties. The road to multiparty democracy started already in the early 1980's when 10 per cent of the Parliament seats were open for contest. After the regime change Hungarian parties were among the first to interact seeking recognition and support from the Brussels institutions. The first parties to get the EUCD membership were, in line with other countries, the Christian-Democratic People's Party (KDNP)¹⁹⁹ claiming pre-communist past and member of the UCDEC and the CDI, the Hungarian Democratic Forum of Jozsef Antall and the party of Small

¹⁹⁹ In IX-007-010-Nachlieferung-Hungary' we found material from the early days of the transition in Hungary in a total of 711 pages. Interesting 80 pages report on KDNP on page 212. Also a KDNP report from 1991 on page 382.

property owners (FKgP) that also raised a Christian democratic flag since it claimed to be the continuation of the biggest party prior to the seizure of power by the communists in 1947²⁰⁰. The first two parties were individually admitted in June 1990 to the EUCD, but in February 1991 the accession of the third party was accompanied with the formation of the Hungarian Equipe, in line with the new statutes of the EUCD²⁰¹. The MDF applied for associate membership in the EPP on 12th January 1995. (Application material at IX-007-113 p.519)

The rising star in the later years of the 1990s was 'Fidesz' party, originally affiliated with the European Liberals. The gradual implementation of the EPP transformation towards centre right parties made Fidesz eligible. Talks started as early as 1996 (Welle interview) and the official application to join the EPP party came in on December 1998 (letter found at IX-007-197 p.325)²⁰². In 1999 FIDESZ agreed on a 10 point roadmap of integration of Fidesz into the EPP as is reported from the meeting of Wim van Velzen with Jozsef Szajer in July 1999. (IX-007-001, p276). In the introduction of this agreement they stated: *"In September 1998, Prime Minister Victor Orban and Wim van Velzen, at the time president of the EUCD agreed to set up a co-operation plan between EUCD/EPP and FIDESZ to integrate FIDESZ into the EPP within two years. It was agreed that Jozsef Szajer of FIDESZ and Wim van Valzen would form a working group to lead the process."* Fidesz application for associate membership was accepted (second reading) at the Political Bureau on November 2000.

²⁰⁰ On FKgPP see an EDU report from a facti finding mission in Hungary as early as 1992 at IX-007-010-Nachlieferung-Hungary' p.479 and material about the party in subsequent pages.

²⁰¹ IX-007-033 is dedicated to Hungarian centre right Europeanisation material. p.5: documents from a seminar training of Christian democracy in Hungary probably in 1989 aiming to provide political education and training. Reports also on Hungary by Onno rudding (p.10) who placed important reference on the need to transfer know how rather than money. money 'will be gone with the wind'. See also page 79 declaration non paper in English to create in Hungary Christian Democratic union and a Christian democratic youth movement, supporting candidates who share these ideas irrespective of party affiliation. On p.184 we find democratic people's party application for membership to the EPP. p.374 and p.394 reports on Hungary. IX-007-030 p.575-756 programme of the Hungarian Democratic People's Party for applying to the EUCD in 1996 in English and German. (IX-007-001 Hungary) In Hungary the small MDF claimed the CD credential in the country upon the transition

²⁰² The EUCD organised a Study Visit to Hungary from 6 - 8 March 1997. During the visit the delegation held several meetings with the KDNP Leadership . More information on the minutes of the WG on Central Eastern Europe at 09-007-108 p.173

In the former Soviet republic of **Estonia**, among the first parties to establish contacts with Christian Democrats internationally was the Christian Democratic Union of Estonia, founded in December 1988, that was helped by Scandinavian parties in its first steps to Europe. It already became a member of the CDI in 1989 in Guatemala. The party applied for membership in the EUCD already in 1990 and became a member in 1991. In 1993 ISAMAA (Pro Patria) became full member of the EUCD (IX-007-008, p.22). From the outset of its Europeanisation there was attention towards cooperation with other parties in Estonia of the centre right. As early as 1989, another party, Eurosceptic Estonia Christian Union also applied to the EUCD (president Illar Hallaste IX-007-008, p.66). Pro Patria Union was accepted as an observer in 1997²⁰³.

Latvian parties appeared a bit later and evidence we find for the application of the Christian Democratic Union (KDS) that received 5% of the vote in the 1993 elections and applied to the EUCD in 1994-95. On June 1997 the Christian Democratic Union of Latvia and the Christian People's Party simultaneously held their party congresses both of which overwhelmingly voted in favour of a merger of the two parties with a view to further unite the forces of the political centre-right ahead of the 1998 elections²⁰⁴. (IX-007-087, p. 262). The parties of the centre right in Latvia have suffered from fragmentation and several attempts for mergers²⁰⁵ that delivered short term results. For many years in the EPP there have been three party members.²⁰⁶

²⁰³ IX-007-030, p.54 letter of Welle to Estonian party congratulating on unanimously accepted as observer member on 6 June 1997 of the EPP. Reports and documentation for Estonia and Lithuania from the Konrad Adenauer Foundation is found at IX-007-087 period 1997 as well as in IX-007-008).

²⁰⁴ The necessity to take such a step was brought about by the situation that, since the former Popular Front of Latvia changed its name in spring 1996 to Christian People's Party (KTP), IVIO parties existed in Latvia with very similar names. As municipal elections of April 1997 showed, the voters found it hard to distinguish between them, which led to the unfavourable situation that two parties competed for the already small support that KDS had managed to attract.

²⁰⁵ Letter of Meingaile to Klaus Welle in September 1998 just before the parliamentary elections where she states: *"The biggest part of the Latvian National Reform Party (LNRP) have made a decision to promote the consolidation of the right wing conservative parties before the Parliament election with the purpose to take part in election and work together in future. We are delighted to inform you that LNRP had very significant*

Lithuania had a more sound background with Christian democracy. The revived Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party celebrated in 1994 its 90th anniversary (IX-007-116, p.89). The history of the CD tradition was presented in various ways aiming to strengthen its legitimacy in the post communist Lithuania. (IX-007-116, p.131) while it applied for membership in the EUCD in 1990 (IX-007-008, p.59). According to the letter: "LCDP founded in the beginning of this century [1904] was one of the strongest parties in independent Lithuanian state and prohibited after soviet occupation in 1940 LCDP restored its activity on Feb o 16, 1989." The party was headed by Egidijus Klymbys. This party later on in March 13, 1996 headed by Algirdas Saudargas applied for observer membership of the EPP IX-007-175, p.151 using the new provisions of the EPP²⁰⁷.

negotiations with People's Party (PP) led by Mr. Andris Skele, former Prime Minister, where the common aims and programs have been found. Both parts decided that the biggest part of LNRP is going to form a federal unit within the People's Party with a separate leadership. The members of the Reform Party will help to make the modern conservative program of the People's Party. Mr. Aleksandrs Kiršteins , MP, Chairman of the Reform Party and former Minister of the EU Affairs, is a member of People's Party election list and the Reform Party is working together with the People's Party during election campaign. The part of LNRP have decided to collaborate with PP to influence state's political, economical and social future and to form really strong conservative ..." (IX-007-087,p.328)

²⁰⁶ Material about the political situation in Latvia, in the mid 1990s can be found at IX-007-087, pp.113-598, also on IX-007-008 and IX-007-103 pp.1-257 period 1998-2002.. The application of Tautas Partija for associate membership to the EPP was presented at the political bureau of Feb 10, 2000

²⁰⁷ More material on Lithuania was found such as the EUCD visit (IX-007-116,), EDU visit in 1994, report at IX-007-116, p.63 See also the voliume IX-007-029 were the first part contains material from the 1998 local elections in Lithuania and the EPP watch on the performance of the EPP member.

Chapter 5: The enlargement to the conservative parties

Cyprus Democratic Rally (DISY) had joined the EUCD already since 1979 and was also a member of the EDU. At the political bureau of May 4, 1994 in Brussels the party became an associate member of EPP208. *« Point 6 de l'ordre du jour g Demande d'adhésion du PDC-CH et du DR-Chypre en tant que membre associé Le Président demande que le vote soit reporté au lendemain. Le Bureau marque son accord. Monsieur Liveras prend la parole au nom du DR de Chypre. Il retrace l'historique du parti et confirme que son parti, en tant que véritable parti démocratique, partageant pleinement les idées du Programme de base du PPE et de son Programme d'Action. »* (IX-007-175, p.286)

The meeting continued the the next day and the minutes state: *« Le premier point évoqué est celui des adhésions du PDC suisse et du DR de Chypre en tant que membres associés. Le Président décrit les deux cas en présence : le cas de Chypre est identique à celui de Malte, il n'y donc aucune raison de refuser l'adhésion. Le cas du PDC suisse est différent, le gouvernement suisse n'a fait aucune demande formelle et aucun avis n'a été donné. Il est cependant impensable de refuser cette adhésion, vu l'effort du PDC d'orienter son pays dans le sens européen. La coopération avec le PDC revête une grande importance politique. Pour le Président, les cas des partis de la Pologne, de la Hongrie, de la République Tchèque, etc. qui demanderont éventuellement à être reconnu comme membre associé du PPE suivant les termes de l'article 6 des Statuts, demandent la réflexion d'un groupe de travail afin d'adapter les statuts. Madame Segmüller, ex-Présidente du PDC suisse rappelle que son parti est un vieux parti au gouvernement depuis un siècle déjà. Ce parti défend avec le plus de force l'adhésion de la Suisse à l'Union, son nouveau Président, Anton Cottier est dans la ligne de l'adhésion. Elle termine en soulignant la tristesse de son parti de ne pouvoir participer aux travaux du PPE. Le Bureau passe au vote, Le PDC est adopté unanimement en tant que membre associé du PPE, il en va de même pour le DR. »*

²⁰⁸ IX-007-148, p.287 official application of Democratic Rally to join the EPP on 24 Feb 1994, more docs from the Cypriot Application at the same folder at pp.460-487.

Further proof of the strategy of “subscription” is provided by the letter Sec Gen Jansen sent to Daniel Reuter Secretary of EUCD member party, EVP²⁰⁹, from Switzerland in March 1992 in response to his letter (p.235, IX-007-091) declaring the strong disagreement of the Swiss EVP over the inclusion of Scandinavian conservatives in the EPP/EUCD. Jansen explains that, as the EPP party leaders decided in April 1991, the EPP will be open to parties who agree with our programme. *“We are convinced that our ideals, beliefs and programs will be taken over by the “conservatives”, if we give them the possibility of participation. In any case we must always attempt to win others for our ideas.”* (IX-007-091, p.234)

The 1995 EU enlargement

Despite common perception it was not only the emerging democracies in Europe that have had difficulties in their political parties’ Europeanisation. The EU enlargement towards Scandinavian countries in 1995 opened up the tough mission for the EPP to sort out its relations with the both Christian Democratic and Conservative parties, in the light of the broader strategy towards strengthening the EPP.

The integration of Sweden, Finland and Austria in the EU in 1995 opened the floor for the full integration of OVP from Austria, Moderaterna from Sweden, Kokoomus from Finland and Høyre from Norway to the EPP structures in the light of the new strategy of the EPP towards parties of the centre right²¹⁰. In these countries, however, small Christian Democratic parties existed, with background of relations with the EUCD, but in competition and not in cooperation with the conservative parties. Notably in Finland, Sweden and Norway small Christian democratic parties were created in the 1970s in reaction to the secularisation of public life, with the exception of the

²⁰⁹ On IX-007-131, p.336 we find the letter of application of the Swiss EVP as well as supportive documentation.

²¹⁰ (IX-007-156, pp.200-end) The folder contains all material submitted by all four parties in support of their candidacy.

Norwegian Kristelig Folkeparti²¹¹ that was created in the 1930s. In comparison with the continental Christian Democracy their outlook was more Christian confessional and they were contending to bring into politics the teachings of the church. These characteristics made their case more troublesome for the EPP/EUCD structures. On the one hand they had to deal with the reservations of traditional Christian democrats in the European structures, on the other hand they had the Scandinavian Christian democrats to who in principle were an easier candidate for integration due to the label "Christian". As a result when the three Scandinavian countries, Sweden, Norway and Finland opened accession negotiation procedures with the EU their political parties also lined up for party cooperation in the EU party structures. However, the Christian democratic parties in these three countries (plus Denmark) were first to integrate to the EPP/EUCD structures due to the label of Christian democracy. This priority accession made the path of the conservative parties more troublesome due to the national party system in each one of these countries (Sweden being the exception). In an effort to address all these concerns the EPP leadership Martens and Jansen paid several visits to Scandinavian countries trying to bridge the relations of the parties. Visit in May and June 1992. (Material found at IX-007-165, p.29-32)

The chronicle of the integration of the Scandinavian conservatives starts in the early 1990s with the discussion in EPP about the cooperation with the conservatives and the first applications of British Tories and the Spanish PP to some extent. Chancellor Kohl was providing political push behind opening up the EPP, while President Martens had the diplomatic skills to walk through this difficult exercise with the help of Thomas Jansen and from 1994 of Klaus Welle as Secretary General.

Norway

²¹¹ According to a report of Thomas Jansen Kristelig Folkeparti from Norway had joined the EUCD in 1981. (IX-007-204, p.392). Further information on the relations with the EPP see the speech of the EUCD Treasurer at the KrF congress of 1995 (IX-007-147, p.291).

The Political Bureau of May 1993 dealt with the application of the conservative Hoyre to become an observer member of the EPP²¹². The application was presented by the secretary general of the party, Svein Gronnar²¹³. President Martens made positive reference: *“tient a souligner le profond engagement et la conviction pro-europeens du Hoyre »* (IX-007-175 p.385). The party was accepted unanimously. Another sign that the debates against the opening of the EPP were not of a general manner, rather they were party-specific. From the minutes of the Pol.Bureau May 1994 in Brussels we read: *«Monsieur Peterssen remercie le PPE d'avoir accepté son parti en tant qu'observateur. La chaleur exprimée lors des votes fait que les pays se sentent les bienvenus. Son parti fera l'impossible pour influencer favorablement le vote et participera activement aux travaux du PPE.»* (IX-007-175 p.285) Hoyre has been historically advocating pro EU membership for Norway and this has made it a valuable partner for the EPP. However, Norway in 1994 for a second time *rejected membership* of the European Union in a referendum. The first one was in 1972. The "yes" campaign had centred on the potential for Norway to become isolated if it doesn't join neighbouring EU countries in an era of expansion and change. However, the "no" campaign argued EU membership would undermine the country's independence and its control over its rich petroleum and other natural resources. Also fisheries' policies in the European Union also had an impact to the outcome of the referendum towards the 'NO'. Hoyre applied and became an associate member of the EPP at the political bureau of March 8th, 1995 (IX-007-215, p.300, p.443 documents). It could not become a full member since Norway did not become a member of the EU.

The Christian Democratic Party of Norway NRF joined the EUCD in 1981²¹⁴. KrF expressed its clear disagreement on the policy of opening the EPP/EUCD with a letter to the EUCD regarding the recent decision of the EPP to open the door to the

²¹² Interesting is the letter of the party leader of Hoyre Kaci Kullmann on December 1992 to Martens where he reiterates the pro European position of Hoyre in the light of the application of Norway to join the European Union.

²¹³ IX-007-147, p.416) and the English presentation of the party pp.418-432.

²¹⁴ See IX-007-204, p.392. Further information on the relations with the EPP see the speech of the EUCD Treasurer at the KrF congress of 1995 (IX-007-147, p.291). See also material from the visit of Sec Gen Jansen at the Nordic CD parties in August 1988 concerning the cooperation with CD parties from the Nordic countries. (IX-007-147, p.390)

Conservatives. The KrF expressed a clear opposition view on the issue based on the idea that:

“Distinctiveness is a precondition for growth for the Christian Democratic parties. People support us when they see that we are a political alternative to other parties and movements. EUCD and our individual parties should remain being such political alternatives, distinct from other political ideologies and blocks. A formalized political cooperation between the EPP Group and the Conservatives does the opposite. ... Such a co-operation will not increase the attractiveness of membership in the European Community to Norwegian Christian Democrats. The result will be the opposite.²¹⁵” At the political Bureau of the 9th of April 1999 the Norwegian Christian People’s Party (KrF) became a member of the EPP. At a statement the representative of the Høyre party said *“Ms. Stern reiterated the support of his party to join the Norwegian KrF. It stresses however, the Høyre turn is conducive to the accession of Norway to the EU.”* (IX-007-197, p.160)

Denmark

The case of Danish Christian Democrats is not very different than their Norwegian friends. Founded in 1970 the KRF aspired to express the *“disappointment among many Christians with the fact that neither among the socialist, nor among the non socialist parties of Denmark, was there any that as party would oppose the major liberalisation of the laws on pornography and on abortion that was being advocated during the 60s and in 1970. The fight to limit the number of abortions remains a top priority to this 'day, but the party now has a policy in all major areas of the political spectrum. The foundation is everywhere the Christian View of man. The command to charity and the Stewardship of nature. Economically, the party advocates a market-orientated economy with a social balance.”* (party statements at IX-007-180, p.217, and IX-007-165, p.189). Some early contacts between Danish parties and the EUCD were found in archive IX-004-003

²¹⁵ See IX-007-165, p.59. IX-007-147, p.298 we find the position letter of the KrF against the opening up of the EUCD/EPP towards the conservative parties. See also the response of Jansen at to KRF Sec Gen Gunnar Husan IX-007-165, p.57

Volume dedicated to Denmark. We note the English language, that is otherwise unusual to the archive material prior to the 90s, is used here. At his letter to the secretary of EUCD (ibid, p.10) Svendsen, president of the Danish Christian democratic party, dated July 29, 1981, requests support to get in contact with CD parties from Benelux countries. This was weeks only after the decision of EUCD to take in as members the Danish CDs. Of interest is also the invitation in April 1976, at exactly the period where the EPP is founded, of the Danish Conservatives under Paul Schlooter to the Interparty Conference where the invitation list is all conservatives and CDs (ibid. p16).

According to a report of Jansen who attended their congress in 1989: *“The party has always refused to become associated with us because of the uncertainty about their fundamental attitude towards the Community and because they regard the Christian Democrats as intensely conservative”* (IX-007-180, p.373). Biotechnology and gene technology was a preferred topic for them²¹⁶. In 1991 the Danish KrF president the young Jann Sjursen sent a letter to the EPP Sec Gen Jansen explaining that his party has eliminated the word “social liberal” from its object clauses. *“I am pleased that the expression ‘social liberal’ no longer forms part of the object clause of the KRF and furthermore that the party has now in its international relations has oriented itself toward the Christian Democratic World Movement. In continuation of this decision made by our Congress, the Executive Committee of the party has proposed that a resolution to apply for observer status at the EUCD/EPP be passed during the next year.”* (IX-007-165, p.175). The KrF applied for observer membership of the EPP in June 1991 (IX-007-180, p.306). With a letter of 27.3.1992 it requested the EPP to suspend the application because of the upcoming referendum in Denmark on the Maastricht Treaty scheduled for June 2, 1992 (IX-07-180, p.204). According to Niels Arbor from the pro European camp of the KrF and his letter to Thomas Jansen on June 6, 1992: “KRF under its new leadership with Mr. Jann Sjursen, recommended to vote against the treaty. The majority behind him. referring mostly to nationalist or democratic arguments, whereas a minority referred to the fact that the Maastricht-treaty were not fulfilling the federalist ideal). This has caused a split in the party, since the KRF parliamentary

²¹⁶ More internal documentation on the Danish KRF was found at the 19page (English) programme of 1991 at IX-007-165, pp.191-208 or the report from visit to a congress in 1989 IX-007-041 p.5.

leader and former chairman Mr. Kofod-Svendsen together with the majority (3-1) in the KRF parliamentary group, the former KRF chairman Mr. Jens Muller, other notabilities, and myself have been firm recommenders of saying yes to the Maastricht treaty.” (IX-007-165, p.147) The party’s radical profile may have been influenced by the fact that Jann Sjursen became party leader in 1990 at the age of 26. After the referendum “*the KRF shall have to form a new European policy – regardless of the outcome of the referendum. (...) When a new European policy has adopted, we shall ask you to resume the process.*” (IX-007-180, p.216). The anti Maastricht swift of the party was behind this letter. Finally, the Danish voters with a marginal majority of 40.000 votes rejected the Maastrich Treaty.

The EPP had kept contact with people in the party that were pro Europeans such as Niels Arbol²¹⁷. The Kristeligt Folkeparti (KRF) became a full member party of EUCD and EPP in January 1993 (IX-007-180, p.218) After the Edinburgh Agreement that outlined Denmark’s opt outs, the Danish people accepted Maastricht treaty in a second referendum held in May 1993. The opening of the EPP towards the conservatives in 1992 was debated intensively within the Scandinavian Christian democrats who were unanimously against this opening up (IX-007-180).

The KRF under the new leadership of Sjursen tried to coordinate with the other Scandinavian CD parties against the opening to the Conservatives. On January 27, 1992

²¹⁷ In 1992 Niels Arbor received financial support from the EPP for the publishing of his book ET NYT EUROPA (A new Europe, 1991) convicting christian democratic ideals, part of the strategy of the EPP at the time to spread his ideals. At the English summary of the book the author writes “In this book we shall take a look at one of Europe’s greatest and most influential political movements of today - Christian Democracy. Despite its limited success or hidden presence in countries like Britain and the Scandinavian countries, this movement should be entitled to a considerable interest for any European political observer. Firstly, because Christian Democracy represents a large and still growing influential political force in Western and Eastern Europe as reflected in the recent elections and the governmental situation in these countries. Secondly, because during the recent decades Christian Democracy has grown sufficiently coherent and united so that it has become the leading political force on European level vis-à-vis other trans-national political movements. Thirdly, because at a time in Europe when other political visions have been discredited, Christian Democracy presents a promising and reliable set of political ideas for the future, as it seems to have been capable of absorbing the new trends towards human values experienced in Western societies as well as the *elan* of the freedom revolutions of 1989-90 experienced in the Central and Eastern European countries. (IX-007-165, p.155 a 4-page summary of the book in English). Other CD elements in Denmark such as Ebbe Jensen Chairman of Christian Democratic Forum of Denmark were in some kind of open channel of contact with the EPP. (IX-007-165, p.159)

the 4 Scandinavian Christian democratic parties signed a letter addressed to the EUCD where they objected allying non Christian democratic parties in the EPP and the EUCD and naming specifically the Finish Kokoomus party as an example.

"We do not consider it appropriate that parties, like the Finnish Kokoomus, which are not built on a Christian Democratic foundation should be recognized as observers in the EUCD. Such recognition of conservative parties would inevitably identify the Christian Democratic parties with the conservative bloc. This is not in accordance with our understanding of Christian democracy, nor is it in accordance with the current political constellations in many different European countries. Many Christian Democratic parties are positioned in the centre politically, cooperating both to the left and the right in government and in parliament. (...) Furthermore in countries where there is both a conservative and a Christian democratic party, the recognition of conservative parties as observers and members of the EUCD will no doubt cause political problems for the Christian democratic parties. (...) We oppose the recognition of conservative parties in the Nordic countries - or in countries where Christian democratic parties exist - as observers or members of the EUCD. If the EUCD comes to the opposite conclusion, we will have to consider our own association with the EUCD. (IX-007-165, pp.212-213)

This caused the fierce reaction of Jansen who in replied *"Your party has finally - after long hesitations - decided to approach the International and European christian democratic movement and to ask for the recognition as an observer. But without hesliation you are starting immediately not even waiting untll a flrst occaSlon to participate In a meetlng of the EUCD - to tell to those who are actlve In the movements since ever what they have to do and what Christian Democracy really means and what the tasks of the EUCD are etc. I must tell you - friendly but firmly - that this attitude is not acceptable."* (24.1.1992 found at IX-007-165, p.210 and IX-007-180, p.238-239).

The Conservative People's Party of Denmark was founded in 1915/1916 as a movement succeeding the previous "Hoyre" (Right) and the "free conservative party". During its early years it was primarily a party of the middle class and the self employed. Over time *"it became what its founders had hoped, i.e. a people's party representing the interests of all' conservatively inclined citizens. One central figure in the*

history of the party between the wars was John Christmas Muller who laid special emphasis on the need for the Conservative people's Party to become a socially responsive, popular and defence-minded party". (IX-07-215, p.317)

Following the developments related with the EDG Group and the British Conservatives, the conservative party of Denmark applied to the EPP in 1993²¹⁹ endorsing the EPP's basic programme recently adopted at the Athens Congress. It finally became a full member in 1995.

Finland

Finish Kokoomus elected new leadership at its congress in Tampera, June 1991, electing Pertti Salolainen as Chairman. This was combined with a swift in policy over Europe towards pro membership position. The congress adopted a two-page resolution with the title "Finland should join the European Community" (IX-007-165, p.90) where they stated: "*Finland's goal should be to join the European Community. EC membership would guarantee Finland's national interests in integrating Europe in the best possible way. Only as a member of the EC can Finland take part in developing European legislation and cooperation through full participation in decision making.*" (ibid)

Kokoomus applied²²⁰ to the EUCD in May 1991, just after the breakthrough resolution of the EPP leaders in April 1991. It was in reality rather early for the EUCD/EPP structures to accept the Scandinavian conservatives. The application was discussed at its political bureau in the autumn (p.102) but Jansen suggested it not be decided at that meeting. With his letter to Anne Palm, International Secretary of KOK, on November 1991 he informed her that their application for observer membership of the EUCD was

²¹⁹ a letter signed by Poul Schluter party leader and long standing prime minister of Denmark. (IX-007-165, p.221). Read the full 4 page report in English about the Danish conservative peoples party also at IX-007-165, p.222-225).

²²⁰ The application IX-007-180, p.126. A 18-pages presentation in English about Kokoomus in support to the application to the EUCD was found at IX-007-165 p.122.

not accepted²²¹. Very interesting is that the Kokoomus application was supported by the KDS Sweden already in September 1991 with a letter to the EUCD stating “in our contacts during the years, however, we have always experienced a sincere demand for closer relations with Christian democracy. In contrast with the other Christian Democrats in Scandinavia this party was closer for cooperation with the Swedish Moderaterna and its long time leader Alf Svensson had always been a constructive and moderate politician. (IX-007-147, p.31)

In January 1992 the EUCD communicated to Kokoomous that another deferral of their application at the coming meeting of February 6 as: *“a week later we have a meeting of the EPP Party leaders which will discuss exclusively the problem of the relations between christian democratic and conservative parties in order to take a decision about the British and Scandinavian parties and to develop a strategy concerning the parties from Central and Eastern Europe.”* This is a strong proof that the conservative question was dealt in a central manner due to the British application and the broader discussion of the future of the EPP. It also proves that despite the resolution of April 1991 regarding the issue still the member parties were not ready to take the bold steps and enlarge the EPP with the conservatives²²². Chairman Pertti Salolainen sent a letter to the EPP president Martens on 5 Feb. 1992 stating: *“I would like to express my sincere wish to associate my party to the work of the European People’s Party”* and continued: *“I am aware that our application for getting an observer status in the EUCD has caused many questions in the EUCD’s decision making organs regarding our party’s historical background, ideological orientation and attitude towards integrating Europe...”* (IX-007-230, p.40) At the Political Bureau of January 1995 just before the integration of the Scandinavian Conservatives in March 1995 Martens went on to stress that the Kokoomus party of Finland has revealed itself to be considerably more progressive than the majority of our Christian Democratic parties In Europe He drew the attention of the meeting to the fact that a party such as the ND of Greece and the PP of Spain, although not of Christian Democratic origin, were accepted as members because they

²²¹ “Unfortunately the dynamics of the debate led to a situation in which I thought it would be wise to postpone the decision. (...) The next meeting will take place in February” (p.88, IX-007-165)

²²² Sources at IX-007-180,p.101 and IX-007-165,p.103

were prepared to accept our Programme and our Basic Principles. (IX-007-175, p.213) The Kokoomus have been an active and reliable member in the EPP ever since, especially in the 2000s thanks to its later leader Jyrki Katainen (2004-2014) who engaged himself as coordinator of the EPP Finance ministers meeting, while as of 2014 he became European Commissioner.

The Finish Christian Democratic Party SKL applied to the EUCD for observer status with a letter in November 1990 and was accepted in November 14, 1991²²³. Just after it got accepted as an observer member of the EUCD the SKL expressed a strong negative opinion about the Finish Kokoomus party. This objection was replied by a letter of Jansen that expressed the discontent of the EPP/EUCD about the behaviour of a new party member: *"I must tell you that I was very surprised and rather unhappy about your statement during the meeting on November 14, regarding the Kokoomus Party. It was most unfortunate that you used your plea for the recognition of your party to discredit the request of another party which had approached the EUCD expressing its interest for cooperation as an observer quite a time before your party was ready to do so."* ... *"the EUCD is not an evangelical and not even just a christian movement but an organisation of political "christian democratic" parties which represent in most cases a broad spectrum of forces and consequently a broad electorate"* (IX-007-180 p.23 and IX-007-165,p.115 letter of Jansen (25.11.1991) to Jori Ringman SKL). On March 18, 1992 the SKL applied for associate status of the EPP and Jansen replied that they are not eligible as they have not as yet become full members of the EUCD, according to the constitution of the EPP (IX-007-165, p.81) it then applied on January 1994 requesting to become a full member of the EUCD (IX-007-165, p.78 and IX-007-215, p.607) stating: *"The SKL was accepted as an observer in the EUCD in November 1991. With the experience of the past two years we now wish to become full members in the EUCD. As the inspiration for the work in the SKL we have the Christian view of man and his responsibility before God. We support the market economy enabling social well fare and equal rights of the citizens as well as respect for the creation and solidarity between the nations. since we have learnt the EUCD to be a movement of like minded we wish to start working together."* (IX-007-121,p.638) The negative experience this party had caused at the early phase of its

²²³ Application and material found at IX-007-180, p.121 and IX-007-165,p.76

accession made the EPP reluctant over accepting it as a full member and the application was repeatedly postponed. In July 2000 and after the closure of the EUCD, SKL presented a new application for observer membership to the EPP. In their letter Bjarne Kallis stated: *“At the moment our party has no official status in the EPP As EUCD was integrated into EPP our observer status in EUCD ended MEP Eija-hitta Korhola, who is a member of our party, belongs to the EPP-ED group in the European Parliament.”* (IX-007-187, p.534). It was finally accepted in 2001.

Sweden

The Swedish Christian Democrats (KDS) got a swift and early accession in the EPP as an associated member of the EPP at the Pol Bureau of November 1991 (IX-007-165, p38). KDS has traditionally been a pro European party in Sweden. KDS leader Svensson with a letter to EPP in 1991 stated: *“KDS will apply, being already a member of the EUCD, for membership in the European People’s Party as soon as Sweden has become full member of the EC”. ... “The Swedish Christian Democrats want Sweden to be an equal partner in the new European Union. KDS shares the vision of Robert Schuman, Konrad Adenauer and Alcide de Gasperi of a solidarity, peaceful and federal Europe”. ... “We support a process towards Political, economic and monetary Union with powers distributed on the basis of the principle of subsidiarity, as expressed in the final document adopted by the VIIIth EPP Congress in Dublin, 14-16 November 1990 and in the EPP Action Programme 1989-94, adopted at the VIIth EPP Congress in Luxembourg 1988²²⁴.”*

The Swedish Moderaterna firstly applied to the EPP for observer membership in February 1992 (IX-007-230, p.39) President Martens replied few weeks later stating: *“nevertheless you should know that observer status can only be obtained, according to the EPP – Statutes by parties from member states of the European Community. In order to accept Moderaterna as observer, we need to change the statutes. Perhaps we can solve*

²²⁴ IX-007-147, p.95 In the same folder interesting documentation from speeches of the KDS for the period 1987-1992.

the problem by inviting you to participate as permanent guests until this is done."²²⁵ At the Athens Congress in November 1992 the EPP changed its Constitution to make it possible for non EU members to become observer and associate members of the EPP. The application for observer membership from the Swedish moderates²²⁶ was resubmitted to the EPP on January 1993²²⁷. In an interview we conducted with the General Secretary of the EPP at the time, Klaus Welle he explained to us that the Moderaterna from Sweden were not very positive about joining the EPP. It was Helmut Kohl who put pressure on Carl Bildt, leader of the Moderaterna at the time to apply for membership. In fact the Moderaterna that attended as new members the EPP Congress in Madrid in November 1995 in the words of Welle "were actually shocked" by the content of the EPP, meaning its Christian democratic identity. The situation got better at the next Congress in Toulouse in November 1997 where the language of the EPP had started to change. This preference from the leadership of the EPP towards getting the Swedish Moderates in the EPP is confirmed also in the archive material (IX-007-165, p.12). The party was finally accepted as a full member of EPP together with the other Scandinavian parties at the political bureau in March 1995.

A difficult marriage with the Scandinavians

On page 596 of volume IX-007-152, dedicated to the German Union parties, we have the letter of Sec Gen, Jansen to Chancellor Kohl in March 1992 where he states: "*With regard to the integration of the Swedish "Moderate" and Finnish "Kokoomus" I can*

²²⁵ IX-007-147, p.277. Following is also the reply of Carl Bildt where he states "In my opinion, it is imperative to take new steps to further cooperation and integration between the Christian Democratic and likeminded parties in view of both the forthcoming enlargement of the Community and the move towards political union. Although national traditions might differ, it is obvious that our parties share the same fundamental values and believes and that we have common perspectives on the future development of Europe."

²²⁶ On the initiative of Moderaterna in November 1992 a party group was established within the Committee of members of parliament of christian democratic, conservative and like minded, EPP parties from EFTA countries. (IX-007-165,p.43)

²²⁷ (IX-007-165, p.14 and IX-007-147, p.260 "Our party has taken the position to apply for membership in order to reinforce our links with our Christian Democratic partners in Europe based on our common view on the development of Europe and society in general. The philosophy and political programme of our party are firmly based on Christian values."

assure you that we – especially Wilfried Martens – do everything, in order to reach soon the desired result (...) For just as the accession of the Spanish Partido Popular (1989 - 1991) as the opening of our group for the British Conservative Party (since 1990), we are also working for the inclusion of the Scandinavian "conservatives" (since 1991) (...) there is about no reason to doubt that we will bring this whole operation successfully completed. To us it is also important to hold together the 'store' because we have nothing to gain if the EPP break apart.²²⁸

The above letter is strong evidence about the interest of Kohl towards the enlargement. We asked Jansen about this letter found in the archive and he recalled that *"Kohl expressed his dissatisfaction in a rather unfriendly way at the phone. He wanted to see an agreement as soon as possible. The reason for the pressure he made was certainly the fact that the Nordic states were preparing their adhesion to the European Union. He knew off course that there existed an opposition from some Member parties against the enlargement of the EPP. Kohl wanted to be sure that the conservative or moderate parties from these countries joined the EPP as soon as possible in order to avoid that they were tempted to create together with the Brits a European Conservative Party. This danger existed though the British and Danish Conservative MEPs were prepared to join the EPP Parliamentary Group (but not the EPP-Party) which occurred in May 1992. My letter to Kohl dates from March 1992. But on the other side, I suppose that Kohl was also under pressure by certain politicians from Nordic countries, for example by Carl Bildt, who were not happy with the fact that the smaller Christian Democratic parties from their countries were already (via the UECD) Members of the EPP whereas they had to go through a time consuming procedur."* (Interview Jansen, August 2015).

This correspondence, complemented by Thomas Jansen's comments, confirm the well respected view that the CDU was a driving force behind the enlargement of the EPP. What comes new, however, is that Kohl considered that the whole process of enlarging the EPP was not progressing swiftly and that's why he complained to Sec Gen Jansen, who by that time in early 1990s did not enjoy the full confidence of Kohl. The above

²²⁸ Original in German. Translation by the author.

information provides evidence on the interest of Chancellor Kohl towards the opening of the EPP to the Nordic conservatives.

Soon after the Scandinavian conservatives joined the EPP at last, in early 1995, they also started openly talking about their differences with the EPP as it was at the time. With a letter in October 1995 signed by Moderaterna, Conservative party of Denmark, Kokoomus Finland, Hoyre Norway they expressed their disagreement with the proposed Statutory changes of the EPP. (IX-007-156, p.197) As far as the statutory changes of the Madrid congress in 1995 according to Jansen-Van Hecke was targeting *“at strengthening the party leadership by increasing the power of the presidency. In future, from 1999 onwards, it would no longer be elected by the board but by Congress. The presidency was also reduced in size by cutting the number of vice-presidents from 13 to 7.”* (2011, p.124)

According to EPP SG (1994-99) Klaus Welle, the compromise found was that the EPP would make certain reform. Welle was delegated to negotiate the content of this reform. The result of this negotiation was the creation of a new body of the EPP integrated in the EPP Statutes: the EPP Council²²⁹. This idea sprung out of the experience from SPD in Germany that has such a body. The chairmanship was offered to the French Bayrou. See the minutes from all its meetings at. 2.3.1. interesting minutes from the first Council meeting in Brussels, February 8, 1996 (2.3.1.) Klaus Welle in 1997 noted: “At this time the Council has been well accepted by member parties Participation at Council meetings has been close to 100% generally speaking, one third of participants are made up of party presidents and the remainder are either secretaries-general or vice-presidents The objective could therefore said to have been achieved of meeting the party leaders four times per year In order to have an intensive exchange of opinions on Issues of European policy.” (IX-007-199, p.170) In the first meeting of the EPP Council Klaus Welle stated: “the new party body should be the locus of political debate. It was above all seen as the party’s highest political organ, he said. Every meeting should have a political priority to discuss. The Council could, if leading

²²⁹ The “EPP Council” introduced to please Bayrou went on until 1999 when the December political bureau decided that it would be combined with the Political Bureau, in the absence of adequate interest to keep it as a separate body. (IX-007-157, p.754)

Christian Democrats committed themselves to it, become a truly useful instrument which could influence public opinion. Attendance would remain strictly limited to party chairman or secretaries-general or the vice-presidents” (2.3.1.)

Scandinavian²³⁰ representatives have been generally more outspoken compared to continental EPP parties. They like to talk about their differences and have no problem getting into lively debates. This cultural element increased the trouble of the EPP during the early europeanisation stage of the Scandinavian parties. The integration of both CD and conservative parties in the EPP was a traumatic experience as it brought about a lot of tension among the two trends both in the ranks of the applicant parties but also among traditional members. According to Klaus Welle at the beginning the conservative parties from these countries were shocked by the dominance of Christian Democracy in the EPP, later on it got vice versa: the Christian democrats were shocked by the swing to the right of the EPP.

Austria

The OVP from **Austria** has had a long history in international party cooperation, being a prominent party member of the EUCD but was unfortunate to the decision of the Christian Democrats from the EC member states not to include CD parties from countries not yet members of the European Communities in the newly founded European People’s Party. Their regret was expressed in different ways back then as. It actually led them jointly with the Swiss member of the EUCD CVP to present a “Memorandum” on 23.12.1976 concerning their position on the foundation of the EPP (IX-007-026, p.198). In this memorandum the two parties requested that they be allowed to become members of the EPP. This was responded by the creation of a committee on the side of the EPP that met on the 13th of April 1977 and concluded to reject the main claim of the two parties and instead to offer a closer cooperation and

²³⁰ On the 13th of January 1992 a letter came to the EPP from the Christian People’s Party from the Faroe-Islands seeking membership in the EUCD and the EPP (IX-007-180,p.154) It concluded “As a small nation we think we can contribute to your understanding of minority problems in Europe. We, Christian People’s Party, Faroe Islands, therefore apply for membership of EUCD and EPP”. Signed by Olavur Petersen

coordination between the EPP and the EUCD, so as from the EUCD membership to follow the EPP work.

This paved the way for their dominant role in the creation and functioning of the European Democrat Union (EDU) that was taken off the ground at the foundation meeting in Salzburg in April 1978. The country's neutrality status delayed their integration to the EU until after the collapse of communism and Austria, together with Finland and Sweden joined the EU in 1995. The Christian Democrats of OVP joined the EPP at that time. Its application for EPP associate membership was accepted by the Political Bureau of February 1991. (IX-007-230,p.175)

Throughout the 1990s the OVP has been an active partner in the EPP cooperation especially due to its dominant role in the EDU and the intense negotiations in the second half of the 1990s towards the merging with the EPP. The government coalition of OVP with the freedom party in 2000 triggered a severe crisis inside the EPP due to the fierce reaction of several other member parties. The crisis is found on IX-007-157 and the EPP due to the nature of the problem tried to work on a compromise solution²³¹.

The evolution in Italy: Forza Italia

Italy, apart from being one of the six founding members of the European Communities, has had a proud history of Christian democratic movement. Democrazia Cristiana (DC), founded in 1943, the successor of the Italian People's Party (PPI) was a key pillar in the European cooperation and a stable government partner in Italy. The history of Europe and of Christian Democracy is marked by great Italian Christian Democrats such as Don Luigi Sturzo, leader of the PPI and founder of the European cooperation of the Christian Democrats through the SIPDIC, Alcide De Gaspari, post-war founder of Democrazia Cristiana, prime minister of Italy and one of the founding fathers of the European integration, Mariano Rumor, Giulio Andreotti, Emilio Colombo, Rocco Buttiglione are among the great personalities of the European Christian Democracy.

²³¹ Letter of Barosso to Martens on the issue found on IX-007-157, p.742.

DC was the party of the political Centre, bringing together the so called ‘correnti’ model, ie different ideological trends, from liberal/conservative to social democratic and corporatist ideas. Its electoral strength gave DC the prime role in all the post war Italian governments until the early 1990s²³². According to Lynch apart from corruption revealed, the DC suffered from the decline of PCI, as DC had served for decades the role of the ‘shield’ against the communist threat or “*put differently the cost of dethroning DC dropped considerably.*” (Lynch, p.143). Additionally, the substantial increase of taxes in Italy during the 80s at a time when the growing business sector would expect otherwise further alienated DC. Finally, the “Tangentopoli” scandal in the early 1990s led to the discredit of the post war Italian party system and led DC to a blow. DC has been “the EPPs third essential pillar alongside the German and Benelux Christian Democratic parties”²³³ Its footprint in the history of the EPP is varying from providing leaders to the cooperation and regular venues for its meetings. To demonstrate the weight of DC in the European Christian Democratic cooperation in the 1970s we can see the contribution of this party in the 1976 and 1977 EUCD/EPP budget.

Membership fees	1976	1977
ITALY	3.913.000	4.050.000
GERMANY	3.722.000	4.050.000
BELGIUM	110.000	270.000
FRANCE	56.000	270.000
NETHERLANDS	190.000	270.000
IRELAND	---	63.000
LUXEMBOURG	23.000	27.000

Figures in Belgium Francs. (Source: IX-007-023-01,p.132)

²³² IX-07-031-04 p.20-30 report on the 1979 National election in Italy. See also Report of 1995 about the Italian political situation you can find at IX-007-127, p.217 by Sec Gen Welle.

²³³ Jansen-Van Hecke 2011, p.63.

Forza Italia and other successor parties

Out of the collapse of the DC several parties sprung hoping to inherit the large electorate of the DC. Forza Italia was the most successful one, albeit it had very little in common with Christian democracy. Other successor parties were Partito Popolare Italiano (PPI) (left wing leaning), the Centro Cristiano Democratico (CCD) (right wing leaning) and the Cristiani Democratici Uniti, CDU). Out of their legacy all three post-DC parties flagging Christian democracy were accepted as members of the EPP in 1994 while, not unusual, their internal disputes were occasionally imported in the EPP cooperation²³⁴. Especially among the Christian democratic parties that were created out of the collapse of DC each one claimed being the “sole inheritor” of Christian Democracy²³⁵. For the Forza Italia Silvio Berlusconi was too controversial to be accepted in the EPP and after the 1994 European elections FI formed a single nationality group “Forza Europa”²³⁶. This despite Berlusconi arguing that his party “was clearly rooted in the tradition of Christian Democracy in Italy” and preferring to be integrated in the EPP (Martens, 2009, p.140). This was not possible due to the fierce resistance of Benelux Christian Democrats and the other new Italian parties that were swiftly accepted in the EPP. Controversial Berlusconi and the long tradition of Italian CDs in the EPP cooperation was a difficult combination to balance. “[N]o one was in favour of suddenly ditching the Italian Christian Democrats..” (Martens, p.140). Later on in July 1995 their group was merged with the French Gaullist RPR and with the Irish Republican Party (Fianna Fail) forming the “Union for Europe” group in the European parliament that adopted “Eurocritical” positions. According to Jansen-Van Hecke “Berlusconi was still keeping an eye on the EPP, however, and in 1997, after much delay, he finally managed to establish a so-called contact group between FI and the EPP Group.”

234 According to Martens the EPP “forced both parties to reach an agreement or else face the risk of losing their membership” (Martens, 2009, p.139) at the EPP Summit in Cannes in June 1995. Indeed it was very common in the Political Bureau meetings to have the Italian parties criticising each other.

²³⁵ An example of such a debate is the president of PPI addressing the EPP Political Bureau in May 1992 « Au nom du PPI, Madame Jarvolino se prononce contre l'adhésion du CCD au PPE avant les élections européennes. Le CCD n'est pas encore constitué en tant que parti. Les élections démontreront s'il y a des élus sortant des rangs du CCD au Parlement Européen et le temps sera venu alors de voir dans quelles conditions coopérer avec eux. Le PPI a tenu son assemblée constitutive en juillet 1993 et revendique le titre de seul héritier de la DC. » IX-007-175, p.288

236 This would not be possible with later European parliament regulation over group creation.

(2011, p.63). These were regular meetings between the head of FI group in the EP Claudio Azzolini with a vice chair of the EPP Group Hans Gert Pottering and few other people. (Martens, p.141)

In the autumn of 1997 Martens was “dumbstruck” after reading at a local newspaper in Strasbourg that FI and the French RPR were planning to form a new “European party” out of the group “Union for Europe” besides their group in the EP. This provoked the EPP threatening the principle of “no democratic party to our right”²³⁷. According to Welle “Kohl was hesitant towards Berlusconi primarily due to his personal relation to Prodi but this event relaxed reservations. *“Kohl had a fax machine in his office that I used to communicate with him the news. I sent him a one page letter explaining the situation and asking for his opinion about getting the FI in the EPP. In less than an hour the German Chancellor responded with my letter and his notes on it with his consent to go forward and get the FI in. I have Kohl’s response letter in my personal archive.”* In his 2009 book Martens refers to this change in Kohl’s position of FI via a meeting invited by the Chancellor Kohl in March 1998 in Bonn At this meeting a broader discussion about the future and role of the EPP took place and important decisions were actually taken. *“Kohl took the initiative and on 24th March 1998 he invited all the important players to his cottage on the Rhine. ... Klaus Welle, who was still Secretary – General of the PP, had drafted a memo beforehand that was discussed in detail and amended during the meeting. I formulated a new text verbally, mainly because Welle could not be directly present at the higher levels of negotiation. ... It was therefore necessary that that Forza Italia and the neo-Gaullists be allowed to join our family. A merger also had to take place between the two organisations that addressed the centre right in Europe: the mainly EU centric EPP and the looser, nationally oriented EDU²³⁸.”* This is a crucial moment in the history of the EPP.

²³⁷ Klaus Welle interview.

²³⁸ Martens even revealed the informal text that was drafted during this meeting where it was agreed on page 143 (2009). The relation of Martens with Welle remain a questionmark but there are several indications that it was not of mutual trust .

Getting Forza Italia in the Group

The integration of the 20 MEPs of Forza Italia in the EPP Group was a difficult case and took place in two steps: the accession of the 20 individual MEPs of FI in the EPP Group and the integration of FI to the EPP party. The session of the Group took place on the 8th of June 1998 (Minutes found at IX-007-059-Protokolle-Fraktionssitzungen-EVP-1995-1999, p.184). A tough debate took place where Martens, chairman of the EPP Group, supported the integration of the FI MEPs on the grounds of the ‘Cottage talks’ held in Bonn with Helmut Kohl and others and the fear for creation of a new European party to the right of the EPP. The FI MEPs were accepted by the EPP Group with individual votes, each one receiving 90-96 votes in favour and between 34-38 votes against. Against voted MEPs from Benelux countries, Ireland and from the Italian PPI. With their integration the total Italian membership in the EPP went up to 35 MEPs, out of 87 Italian MEPs. The EPP Group with this decision reached the number of 200 MEPs with the Socialists keeping the lead with 213 members (EPP archive 2.2.1. EPP News, No 150, 1998).

From the minutes of this historic meeting of the EPP Group we note that all participants, that were H. Kohl, JM. Aznar, JL Dehaene, JC. Junker, C. Bildt and W. Martens expressed the view that the emergence of a party to the right of the EPP would cause negative consequences, and dangers. To circumvent this obstacle, three initiatives were proposed: Cooperation with the British Conservatives will be maintained; the RPR must comply with its obligations by 1994, and it should be encouraged that its MEPs join the EPP; and “*We call for the formation of a centrist party in Italy, by trying to pull the electorate of Forza Italia, to our side. the selected track in the EP from the list of Forza Italia, should have the opportunity to join the EPP Group*²³⁹.” (IX-007-059-Protokolle-Fraktionssitzungen p.184).

Few days later at the EPP Council in Vilamoura²⁴⁰ President Martens said: “*les raisons qui nous ont pousse a realiser cette demarche sont le rejet d’une droite euro-sceptique.*”

²³⁹ In an obvious attempt to mitigate concerns over the EPP losing its identity.

²⁴⁰ IX-007-101 EPP Council in Vilamoura Portugal in July 6, 1998. The folder contains 462 pages mainly administrative material of the organization of the event.

Philippe Seguin a announce le 18 Septembre 1997 la fondation d'un nouveau parti europeen Union pour l'Europe defiant ansi le PPE. Le but vise manifestement de scinder en deux le Groupe democrate Chretien au PE et de creer un Groupe euro-sceptique fort avec repercussions devastatrices sur l'integration europeene." The strategy of transformation of the EPP in light of the integration of the FI was presented thoroughly by President Martens at the EPP Council in Vilamoura few weeks later. IX-007-062 p.335.

« Les 20 deputés ont en premier lieu - contrairement aux conservateurs britanniques en 1992 - accepté le Programme PPE, se sont distancés de toutes formes d'extrémisme et se sont reconnus dans les principes démocrates chrétiens. » He goes on to answer the question whether the integration of FI will make the EPP lose its orientation by stating: « La politique d'ouverture du PPE à des partis d'autres traditions a évité avec succès la scission du centre politique dans les familles de partis traditionnelles nées au 19ème siècle et ainsi la marginalisation de nos idées, une candinavisation du paysage des partis en Europe avec une dominance continue des socialistes. Nous regroupons aujourd'hui des partis du centre, du centre-droit mais également du centre-gauche, des traditibns sociales chrétiennes, libérales et conservatrices, l'Europe protestante, catholique et orthodoxe, le Nord et le Sud, l'Est et l' Ouest, sur la base d'un programme politique commun. De ce fait, nous sommes aujourd'hui plus unis que les socialistes ne le sont et ne le-seront jamais.

J'ai insisté pour que s'élabore le programme de base d'Athènes en 1992 et peux revendiquer d'en être un de ses pères spirituels. Je ne me laisseai pas déposséder du droit d'auteur de ce programme par quiconque le découvre maintenant poussé par les événements actuels. Le PPE ne peut exister qu'en tant que parti programmatique: pour une Europe communautaire, pour l'économie sociale de marché, pour une vision personnelle de l'Homme. Ceci est le centre de nos convictions, ceci est notre âme. Cette boussole nous guidera de manière plus fiable que la politique parlementaire à oeillère du 19ème siècle. » (original, EPP Archive 2.3.1., the full itext is annexed)

FI applied to become a member²⁴¹ of the EPP with a letter dated June 30, 1999 (IX-007-197, p.223). Silvio Berlusconi sent a letter to Martens on September 1999 stating: French translation: « *Le 15 Juin 1998 les députés européen élues dans la liste de FI ont été acceptés au sein du Groupe du PPE au PE et ils ont collaboré activement à la vie politique du Groupe et ils se sont intégrés à plein titre dans les organes statutaires. Dans la perspective de la campagne électorale pour les élections européennes du 13 June 1999, le Conseil National de FI, réuni à Milano le 7 mm 1999, a approuvé à l'unanimité le programme du PPE. Il s'agit d'un choix qui a été approuvé par les électeurs qui ont voulu que FI devienne le premier parti italien. Sur la base de ces décisions je suis heureux de vous confirmer que FI se reconnaît pleinement dans les statuts et dans le programme, ainsi que dans les principes généraux, du PPE.* » (IX-007-197, p.82)

Silvio Berlusconi was invited to the EPP Summits prior to becoming a full member²⁴². Forza Italia however became a full member of the EPP in December 1999 (Minutes found at IX-007-157, p.757) with 73 votes in favour 18 against and 4 abstentions. As for the other parties inheriting DC in Italy we read from the minutes: “*On behalf of PPI, Mr. Castagnetti opposed the membership of Forza Italia. Mr. Buttiglione (CdU) was in favour of its membership. Mr. Casini (CCD) was in favour of its membership and noted that the CCD has supported this candidature from the outset.*” (IX-007-157,p.757) Overall the integration of the FI to the EPP is considered to be a success primarily due to the high level of cohesion in the group of the Italian members.

The last round of confrontation took place in the run up to the European elections of 2009 where the new Popolo per la Liberta was founded as a successor of FI and Alleanza National of Fini. The new party requested the recognition of them being a successor party to the FI instead of having to go through the normal evaluation procedure applying for all political parties seeking membership. When the issue was

²⁴¹ Documents from the integration of the UDR/Italy to the EPP in 1999 at IX-007-157, p.483. The party was renamed Partito l'Unione Democratica per l'Europa in 2001 and subsequently integrated into the EPP in September 2001 (IX-007-187 p.215).

²⁴² This was objected by the small successor parties of democrazia Christiana. On one occasion Sergio Matterela complained sent a complain letter to Wilfried Martens (nov 1999) about the invitation of Berlusconi. In his response letter Martens defended his decision to invite Berlusconi in his capacity as leader of a party applying for full membership in the EPP. (IX-007-197 p.142)

brought in the political Bureau for decision the only party expressing reservations for this procedure was the Swedish Moderaterna party.

Assessment on Italy

The integration of Forza Italia in the EPP group and then in the EPP party was a decisive moment as it concluded the change in the internal balance of power away from the traditional Christian democrats. This is confirmed at the Brussels Declaration on 30.09.1998 for the 50 Years of Support for balance and reconciliation that states *“Traditional Christian Democratic parties and people's parties of Christian inspiration, along with conservative parties from the Protestant, state-church countries of northern Europe, all work together in today's EPP We are thus making a significant contribution to overcoming the confessional barriers between Catholics, Protestants, and Orthodox, barriers which have divided the people and peoples of Europe for centuries²⁴³.”* What remained then was the big French party of the centre right, of the Gaullist tradition, UMP²⁴⁴ that came in later on.

France revisited

The French Centre des Democrates Sociaux, CDS, was a founding member of the EPP being the inheritor of the Robert Schuman legacy, one of the founding fathers of the European integration²⁴⁵. Ever since the mid '70s Christian democracy in France has gradually lost its glory. Already from 1978 the CDS participated at the coalition Union pour la Democratie Francaise, UDF, together with liberals and the Republicans. Towards the European elections of 1994 the UDF looked for a partnership with the

²⁴³ IX-007-062 p.357. This declaration marks the transformation of the EPP towards an all centre right party. The full text is annexed.

²⁴⁴ Martens explained to us that Sarkozy was in favour of FI to join the EPP even before the UMP joined. This was the case during the first presidency of Sarkozy in UMP also during the Spanish Partido Popular congresses Berlusconi used to be invited on a bilateral level while Aznar was also positive towards getting the FI inside the EPP. (Interview, May 3, 2012)

²⁴⁵ According to Kaiser NEI in 1960 created the Centre International des Etude Democrate Chretien et documentation, (2007, p.312)

Gaullists of RPR. As Jansen-Van Hecke note: “*Jacques Chirac, President of the RPR, and Valéry Giscard d’Estaing, the UDF President, reached agreement that all European deputies elected on the joint list of the RPR and UDF governing parties should join the EPP Group.*” (p.65-66) However after the 1994 the leadership of RPR renewed their alliance with the EDA setting back from the deal they had reached with the EPP. Two factors decisively enabled the accession of the historic right wing party of France: The accession of Forza Italia in the EPP group and the rise to the presidency in 2001 for a short time of Nikolas Sarkozy. These factors facilitated the RPR/UMP to follow after the 1999 European elections to joining the EPP-ED group in the European Parliament and two years later, in December 2001, to join the EPP party as well. The defection from the RPR of Charles Pasqua, the nationalist trend of the RPR and the rise of power of Nikola Sarkozy made the RPR restructure its political positioning. RPR was accepted in 2001 as a full member²⁴⁶.

The EPP beyond 1999

When Klaus Welle moved in 1999 from the EPP party to the EPP Group the younger Christian Kremer took over the position of deputy Sec General of the Party and has been serving the purpose of the EPP for over fifteen years already. Having completed the transformation, these past fifteen years are the years of the ideological consolidation in the new party model, where Kremer has been primarily responsible. The end of the 1990s is the era of the introduction of the Euro and of the preparation of the enlargement towards Central and Eastern Europe that materialised in 2004 with the integration of 10 countries and continued in 2007 and 2015. The several years active work of the EUCD on the ground had now beared its fruits with a strong membership list in all the new countries. As a consequence, the EPP took a firm position in support of the swift completion of the accession procedure for the applicant countries. On an EPP resolution adopted by the Council on Sep 30, 1999: “*The European People’s Party calls to the Helsinki Summit to open negotiations immediately*

²⁴⁶ Its application was dealt as first reading on Political Bureau of September 27, 2001 (minutes at IX-007-187 p.175) and second reading at the Political Bureau of December 6, 2001 (minutes at ibid p.4) RPR supporting material at ibid pp.180-214.

with the so called second round” EU applicant states, Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Romania and Slovakia.” ... “Moreover, consigning an applicant state to “second round” is profoundly discouraging for the populations of such countries, who must bear the brunt of often painful adjustments, and renders the political process more difficult.” (IX-007-157 p.765)

Hypothesis 4: The EPP today is not more integrated than in its early days.

There is a defacto consensus among researchers, who have touched upon the history of the EPP, that it has had **a linear evolution** from 1976 till present. They broadly agree that the EPP today is the step-by-step evolution from 1976 of the Christian Democrats’ cooperation with the enlargement in the 1990s with the Conservatives. We have revisited this linear evolution of the EPP history. We presented that the foundation of the EPP was a project to break with the past and create a “European party”, not another “Association of parties” like its predecessors. The aspiration of a European party is credited to Christian democracy, the federalist ideology of its constituent parties²⁴⁷. As the evidence we presented proved, the EPP achieved a high level of party coordination, reaching the stage of integration, following Niedemayer’s typology, from the outset. The enlargement of the EPP was not a result of its success; rather it was a strategy to avoid political and ideological shrink. Christian democracy in Europe, the flag of a dozen political parties in the 1970s, was becoming extinct as an ideological movement two decades later. French and Italian Christian democracy imploded, Benelux parties faced huge decline and together with Germans and Austrians moved to the conservative right, keeping the name as a symbol of history. The ‘enlargement issue’ has always been there since the 1960s and the discussions in the EUCD about opening up to the conservative parties. The debate was among the core CDs and the periphery (Germans). In the 1960s and 1970s the ‘core CDs’ had repeatedly won this debate. In the 1990s they were too weak any more and the EPP was facing decline. This

²⁴⁷ A phenomenon of ‘europarty enthusiasm’ could be traced not only during the EPP foundation period but also during the foundation period of its predecessors: the EUCD in 1965, the NEI in 1948 even the SIPDIC as back as 1925. Comparing the foundation period of these organisation could reveal this “enthusiasm” as a main characteristic with possible academic interest.

time the approach of the German Union parties prevailed. There are a lot of similarities of this evolution with the ideological repositioning of political parties on the national level as a means to save or increase their popularity. The EPP is no different than that. The new democracies in Eastern Europe were too young while facing consolidation challenges. As a result, they were not an active component in this evolution process. Still Christian democracy despite a moderate investment from the side of the EPP did not flourish.

If based on the above the EPP today has retained, albeit reformed, its Europarty status but has not moved to a deeper level of integration this is not just due to the decline of its Christian Democratic foundations. It is also due to the direction the decision making in the EU has moved to in the recent years, namely the rise of the inter-governmentalism in the decision making. The defacto strengthening of the Council and the European Council for the management of the European crisis in combination with the decreasing trust among the member states of the EU, the Eurozone in particular, has given intergovernmentalism the prime role in the decision making. Part of this was founded on the need for new institutions to be created, while part of it was also due to the reluctance towards the European Commission to handle this problem, that anyway was not in its core competence, to manage the single market. On top of the above, Eurosceptics have strengthened their popular support, across the European Union member states. It is not the Euroscepticism we knew from previous years and Treaty reform. Now it is in a revised context along with populism and simplistic solutions to complicated problems.

Today the EPP is a labelled European party with the most pro European and pro integration history. The evidence and the material we brought into light in this Thesis do support the hypothesis that the EPP today is not more of a European party than it was in its first years. A number of factors point in this direction, from both inside and outside the organisation.

To begin with the esoteric factors, the ideological transformation of the EPP towards a moderate centre-right profile, the integration of several parties that do not share federalist ideas in combination with the decline of the federalist concept of Christian

Democracy, the rise of intergovernmentalism in the EU despite the integration steps, the enduring economic crisis in the EU are the key reasons behind this phenomenon. Comparing some key outlook characteristics could point to the direction that the EPP has lost some of its integration force today compared to its history. On the other hand, managing an inflated number of national parties' MEPs in the parliament and another inflated number of Prime Ministers and Ministers with several EPP Ministers' meetings certainly complicates the conclusions. The EPP today is a different organisation than it was in the early days. Its smooth adaptation and transformation without breaking apart is to its credit. However, consolidating its identity and performance ever since has reached a new balance at a lower integration status. An attempt to quantify the key outlook characteristics could help enhance this comparative analysis but given the overall difference institutional context this is not part of this research.

Certainly this is up to academic and political interpretation and more research is needed. Finally, as we will present at the next paragraphs the ongoing integration and reform process of the EU creates opportunities for further integration to be expected in the following years dependent on the next steps of the institutional change.

Chapter 6: Merger with the EUCD and the EDU

As we presented in previous chapters, in the mid 1980s a discussion opened on the fusion of EUCD with the EPP. It did not materialize, despite serious preparation, due to the collapse of Communism and the new endeavours in Central and Eastern Europe. For the first transition years the EUCD and the EDU as well, served the role of a “kindergarden” for the emerging parties, a school for their Europeanisation while it was implementing prudently the project of proliferating Christian democracy. In the mid 1990s, when the opening up of the EPP towards non Christian democrats was full under way, the discussion about streamlining the cooperation and closing down EUCD and EDU arised again. It was the period of the race towards the first place against the socialists in the European Parliament through a strategy of “mergers and acquisitions”. EPP had got the British Conservatives in the EPP Group since 1992 and the Scandinavian Conservatives in both the Group and the party. So the next project was the strengthening of the EPP through the de-fragmentation of the European centre right cooperation, namely the EUCD²⁴⁸ and the EDU. Klaus Welle as new Secretary General of the EPP in 1995 was a kin supporter and the architect of this consolidation.

The words of Martens at the Parliamentary Conference organized by EPP Group – EDU and EPP/EUCD where a conference of Party Leaders of Applicant States in Luxembourg, July 1997 are revealing this strategy:

“For all of us, the romantic phase of the enlargement debate is ended. We are actually all facing a very long moment of truth. Wherever we are, we will all have to demonstrate that we are able to transmit yesterday's speeches 'into real politics. It will be of key importance that we stay united and even intensify our cooperation. It is in this spirit that we have decided to integrate the EUCD into the EPP. I remember, more than twenty years ago, we created the party here in this room. I was the young president of my party at that time. So the EPP and the EUCD have deecided to face the new realities in Europe and build a single structure for the 15 countries in the EU and the15 on their way to EU membership - Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, the Czech Republic, Siovakia, Hungary,

²⁴⁸ The whole folder IX-007-195 p.5 contains documents from the EUCD integration with the EPP.

Slovenia, Romania and Bulgaria from Central and Eastern Europe, Malta and Cyprus, Switzerland and Norway and probably Croatia.” (IX-007-099, p.150)

Van Velzen after a successful mandate in the EPP/EUCD working group Central and Eastern Europe, succeeded Martens in the presidency of the EUCD in 1996 with the main task, together with SG Welle, to close down the organisation. According to the plan, this would strengthen the EPP and streamline the Christian democratic cooperation in Europe. Upon his election²⁴⁹ as president Van Velzen outlined his priorities:

“First, party development in Central and Eastern Europe. Second, which is a part of the above mentioned project, the training of politicians in CEEC. Third, the development of new political concepts for Western as well as for Central and Eastern Europe. In this context, the Congress in Slovenia is of major importance. Finally, It is essential to strengthen the co-operation between Christian Democratic groups In different European bodies such as the Council of Europe, the WEU and the OSCE etc. The latter should also be seen as an Important step for integrating the parties of CEEC. Upon his election as president of the EUCD Van Velzen laid out three conditions for the integration of EUCD in the EPP: 1. Change the statutes of the EPP so as to offer EUCD full members an equivalent status. 2. Organizational arrangements in the EPP to balance the relationship of parties from countries who are closer to integration in the EU compared to others that are not. 3. EUCD and EPP cease to exist in the foreseeable future²⁵⁰. (IX-007-215 p.42)

Following the election of Van Velzen, the EPP Political Bureau few weeks later, in July 1996, adopted a “Memorandum on the integration of the EUCD within the EPP”²⁵¹ The integration procedure was designed in detail by the architect Klaus Welle. It was the end of a road map that started at the EUCD Congress in Lubiana in October 1996 where the decision in principle was taken, then going to the 1997 EPP Congress where

²⁴⁹ Van Velzen was elected in the EUCD Council meeting in Malta, June 14-15, 1996. Against him ran the Slovenian Alois Peterle, EUCD vice president. Velzen won with 31 votes against 17 votes for Peterle (IX-007-215, p42)

²⁵⁰ Additional primary sources IX-007-102, p.650 annex with membership status of EUCD and EPP as of 1996 and IX-007-102, p.680 resolution “The future of EUCD”

²⁵¹ In the EPP archive 2.3.1. Find the whole text in the Annexes.

amendments in the EPP Statutes would facilitate the EUCD members to join the EPP as associate members and finally going to the 1999 February EPP Congress (ahead of the June European elections) to conclude the integration of the member parties of the EUCD. According to Welle *“if you want the EUCD to disappear you need to offer them something.”* He explained to us how he implemented the smooth fusion of the EUCD with the EPP using the stability criteria for its member parties. According to Welle the stability criteria were designed for Helmut Kohl. Two parties did not make it: HDZ / Croatia and Democratic Party / Albania. Indeed the closing down of the EUCD was done at the EPP Congress in February 1999 with the final speech of President Van Velzen.

In April 1998 according to the report of Sec Gen of EUCD Welle *“the only EUCD parties eligible at this time have no status within the EPP – the Democratic Party and BANU-PU Bulgaria, KrF Norway, KRF Denmark and SKL Finland. It is believed that the first three parties will apply for EPP status in the near future”*. (IX-007-108, p.18) At the last EUCD Council meeting in November 1998 in Madrid Sec Gen Klaus Welle remarked: *“The Secretary General suggested a two fold strategy including placing more importance on our work in the media and second to stress that the European path is far from being complete and in that enlarged Europe, the presence and significance of the Christian Democrats is not to be underestimated. Access must also be given to our Prime Ministers and Heads of Government – not just in countries of Central and Eastern Europe but also in Malta and Cyprus.”* (IX-007-128, p.7)

The relations of the EPP with the other party organisation the EDU has not attracted ample academic research. Steven Van Hecke, Thomas Jansen and Ukko Metsola have shared their research findings on this topic, while important is the contribution of the EDU executive members, Andreas Kohl and Alexis Wintoniak that have written on the subject²⁵².

The general political climate in the 1970s was dominated by the climax of the cold war and the leftist dominance on the international scene. Andras Kohl reflected: *“the EDU was demonised as a “black international” even before its foundation. ... Accordingly, the*

²⁵² Ukko Elias Metsola, *Towards the Majority: An Analysis of the Rapprochement between the European People's Party and the European Democrat Union* (Helsinki, 2000)., Jansen-Van Hecke, 2011, Wintoniak 2006, Kohl (1998).

EDU parties wished to articulate a clear anti-Socialist line, which they could not do in the EUCD and European People's Party. For some Christian Democrats, the enemy was not Social Democracy but liberal Capitalism." (Kohl, p.28) The EPP has been discussing about the EDU already during the foundation period. At the Political Bureau of the EUCD on the 9th of July 1976, a day after the inaugural Political Bureau of the EPP, in Luxemburg a discussion took place on this matter (IX-007-062, p.145). Klepsch had attended the Inter-Party Conference in Copenhagen (11-13 June 1976) where the statutes of the EDU were discussed. EDU was created in 1978 due to the closed door policy of the EPP towards the non-Christian Democrats, as we presented in previous chapters.

From the archive material²⁵³ of the EDU, that is part of the EPP historical archive, we note some characteristics of the EDU in the 80s: efficient meetings, senior and stable representation, productive working groups, English language, all-centre-right concept of cooperation. The EDU had established already at the end of the 1980s the EDU Ministers meetings²⁵⁴. The EDU had attempted to increase the cooperation with the EPP in the light of the growing importance of coordination of the Christian Democrats and the Conservatives within the EU institutions. A good example of this strategy²⁵⁵ was the remarks at the 1987 EDU Steering Committee meetings of Dr. Ingo Friedrich (CSU) who insisted that after the sign of the Single European Act the EDU parties have to increase their cooperation in the European Parliament. The EDU *"will only be fully effective, if a total of 260 votes (absolute majority of 518 MEPS) is achieved. These 260 votes can only be secured if the' parliamentary Groups of the Christian-Democratic Group, the Conservatives, the Gaullists and Liberals coordinate their votes. To this end a "Coordination Group" under - the leadership of EDU-parties will regularly meet as of the*

²⁵³ For EDU related issues in the historical archive we found the following volumes: IX-007-064-Nachlieferung, IX-007-079-Nachlieferung and IX-007-105-Nachlieferung.

²⁵⁴ At the archives we note that the 3rd EDU Finance ministers meeting was held in Helsinki on the invitation of the Kokoomus minister. The 2nd one was hosted by the CDU federal Minister Dr. Gerhard Stoltemberg. The 3rd one was hosted in London on the invitation of Nigel Lawson, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Both these meetings discussed, according to the minutes privatisation and tax reform issues as well as worker participation in privatisation schemes. The meeting was called "EDU Finance ministers and economic spokesmen". (IX-007-064 p.30)

²⁵⁵ For example see the interesting report on EDU member parties electoral strength versus the other internationals in 1986. (IX-007-064, p.526)

October sessions of the European Parliament, in order to achieve the set political aims.”
(IX-007-064 p.541)

The efforts of the EDU and its members in the 1970s and the 1980s had developed the concept of the successful cooperation of Christian democrats and conservatives, while by the early 1990s it also developed a distinct Europeanisation role towards the new parties in Central and Eastern Europe. However, the EPP by the mid 1990s had become much stronger politically, for a few reasons: the European Union developing at the centre of attention in Europe, the integration of Austria, Sweden and Finland in the EU by 1995 reducing the scope for cooperation outside the EU, the EPP Group in the European Parliament “with its huge personnel and financial resources and above all its political power, which is increasing in step with the growing power of the European Parliament. (Wintoniak 2006, p.173), the gradual enlargement of the EPP party and the strong team of Martens/Welle in the leadership of the EPP with the political weight of the German Union parties at the time. Last but not least, the new EDU leadership of the Finish Sauli Niinisto and the Austrian Alexis Wintoniak that were openminded towards the merging of forces in the centre right.

The strategy coordinated by Klaus Welle²⁵⁶ was to merge the structures of cooperation of the Christian democrats and the conservatives. Newspaper European Voice wrote already in July 1996 *“There is a growing belief that the next candidate for change will be the European Democrat Union (EDU), which was founded in 1978 precisely to provide links with western European Christian Democratic parties whose countries were not EU members. Its loose structure also appealed to France’s Gaullists and British Conservatives who find membership of the EDU a useful vehicle for networking. But enlargement of the Union has undermined the EDUs raison d’etre and Its possible disappearance could leave both with no links - however tenuous - with the growing family of Christian Democrats.”*

²⁵⁶ At an EPP/EDU/EUCD joint event in 1997 Martens noted: “Une expérience, parce que l’histoire a séparé le PPE et l’UDE et qu’ils ont une manière de travailler différente et développé des positions politiques quelque peu divergentes. L’UDE se voit comme une communauté de travail, le PPE comme un Parti européen en devenir. Une expérience réussie, parce que tous ces débats ouverts sur d’importantes questions pour ravenir, nous ont enrichis. 8 des 10 partis membres de l’UDE de l’Union Européenne sont déjà membres à part entière du Parti Populaire Européen. L’ouverture du Parti Populaire Européen aux partis des pays candidats à l’Union Européenne de l’Europe centrale et orientale et n’intégration de l’UEDC au PPE lors du Congrès de décembre 1998 crée là une situation similaire. » (IX-007-199, p.92)

(IX-007-199, p.189) Given the commitment of the EPP to find a working solution with the EDU, by 1998 the new leadership of EDU at the 1998 congress in Klessheim, marking the 20th anniversary of the organization declared the priority to bring Christian Democrats, Conservatives and like minded parties under one single organisation. Intense negotiations with the EPP leadership started. In September 1999 an EDU document titled "Restructuring the cooperation of christian-democrat, conservative and like-minded parties in Europe" stated: *"Consequently, the EDU Chairman consulted with member parties, and a meeting of the presidiums of EDU and EPP was held in Cadenabbia in September 1998. On the basis of these consultations the Chairman issued his report as asked for and this report received a number of replies from party leaders. In general, the leaders supported the concept of aiming at a merger of EDU and EPP,* which was also agreed in the joint presidiums' meeting of EDU and EPP²⁵⁷." By the beginning of 2000 the talks were concluded and final decisions were agreed among the two organisations.

Jansen-Van Hecke sum up for the fusion of the EDU: *"In the period from 1994 to 2004, the EPP's development mirrored that of the European Union itself as it expanded and consolidated. The shared success of the EDU, EUCD and EPP in working together using different methods to unite the Christian Democratic, Conservative and like-minded parties had now made the EDU redundant, just as it had the EUCD."* (2011, p.106) With the fusion of the EDU there were few EDU member parties that were left with no affiliation in Europe, most well known being the British Conservative Party, the Czech Civic Democratic Party and the Turkish Motherland Party. Interested from a historical perspective that the transformed EPP after the merging with the EUCD and the EDU assimilated much more to the concept of the EDU right from the start in 1978. At that time however this model of cooperation was not just ignored but was overwhelmingly rejected by the 9 out of the 11 EPP member parties. Some twenty years later this model was now the 'paradigm' for the EPP as well. This aspect has been highlighted by Andreas Kohl: *"it was only when the European People's Party, utilising the experience*

²⁵⁷ IX-07-160, p.211 EDU, 16.9.1999 Restructuring the cooperation of christian-democrat, conservative and like-minded parties in Europe. See also the resolution of the EPP Summit of December 9, 1999, 160, p.229, 272

made by the EDU, started to move in a similar direction that it accumulated political power. Today, the main body of the European People's Party (which plays a subordinate role in many matters apart from the EPP parliamentary group at the European Parliament) is the EPP Party Leaders' Conference, which is held prior to each meeting of the European Council as a forum of the heads of state and government of the European People's Party. The forum is indeed highly efficient in co-ordinating and making European policy. this is where the decisions are actually made; the other bodies of the EPP, where European parliamentarians and international secretaries rom about, is just a preparatory playground." (Kohl, p.26)

Chapter 7: Academic discussion and assessment on the enlargement

Academic contribution on the topic has been conducted by distinguished researchers and intellects: Thomas Jansen and Steven Van Hecke (2011); Wilfried Martens (2009); David Hanley (2008); Karl-Magnus Johansson (2005, 2002, 1997); Steven Van Hecke (2004); Pascal Delwit (2001, 2003); Thomas Jansen (1998, 1998a); Khol, Andreas (1998) Tobisson, Lars & Wintoniak, Alexis (1998).

Thomas Jansen-Steven Van Hecke contend that the enlargement took place for the following reasons: *“the enlargement of the EU towards Northern and, later, Central and Eastern European countries where the EPP “naturally had to have presence in all member states if it was to remain credible and capable to make its mark” (...) “the EPP has to fight for majority representation if it is to translate its ideas into reality”* (2011, p.55) According to them in the process of realising this openness of the membership the EPP strengthened its ideological foundations through the new Basic Programme of 1992, labelled the “Athens Programme”. Quoting President Martens *“[T]he expansion of the party would only prove durable and fruitful if there was agreement about the party’s political foundations. Moreover, the acceptance of these fundamental principles had to be a basic condition for membership for new political parties. It was a fact that the greater the difference in parties the more important the common basis became.”* (ibid, p.55) Jansen and Hecke (2011) present the enlargement in a smooth way. Taking advantage of the personal experience of Jansen being part of the EPP history, they present the enlargement as a natural step of the EPP in its way hitherto. We contend that their work is very important for our work as it serves as a point of reference. It tries to build up the argument of a ‘success story’, while our aim is different.

Wilfried Martens needs no introduction. Until his death in 2013 he served for 23 consecutive years in the Presidency of the EPP out of which 21 full time devotion after finishing his prime ministerial post in 1992. In his autobiography (2009) he presents the enlargement of the EPP beyond the Christian democratic parties as necessary, while on the other hand he builds up his argument against his critics on the basis of not giving up the Christian democratic principles upon which the EPP was founded. He

particularly emphasises that the new Basic Programme of the EPP adopted at the 10th Congress in Athens in November 1992 the party did not water out its core, Christian democratic, federalist principles. All those parties that in the enlargement period did integrate in the EPP agreed on this Programme of ideals.

Delwit argues that “the tension between Christian Democrats trends and others in the forerunner groupings goes back a long way; it existed in the SIPDIC, in the New International Teams and in the European Union of Christian Democrats.” (Delwit, 2001, p.146) He emphasises that this rapprochement has been possible “because of an adoption of a moderate stance by the Conservative parties.” This is referred to Nea Demokratia, as well as Partido Popular, while even in Britain the rise of John Major “relegated the harshest Thatcherite view to other times”. He also outlines the role exerted by institutional features like the increase of competences of the European Parliament, the rise in importance of the size of the parliamentary groups, even the reference for the first time of the political parties in the Maastricht Treaty as well as the prospects of financing party federations contained in the Nice Treaty “as a form of encouragement towards a more in-depth construction of the European party federations.” (ibid, p.147) Furthermore, Delwit makes an analysis of how was the enlargement made possible stating that “Each new membership has weakened the opponents of this transformation.” The overall political decline of Christian democracy is also contended: “We have emphasised several times that the Christian Democratic parties are in a phase of political regression.”...“The new ideological version of the European People’s Party is taking part in a general movement in the European countries, including the democracies of Central and Eastern Europe.” The developments in the European Parliament have also pushed in the same direction according to Delwit: “The “confrontation” with the party of European Socialists has led the group, with the backing of the EPP, to expand.” Finally, “the prospects of a financing of the European party federations are contributing to the same trend.” (ibid, p.150) As far as the consequences from the enlargement Delwit asserts that “the enlargement of the EPP also resulted in the dissolution of its political identity. Initially, the EUCD and the EPP had an identity and a project based on ideological knowledge of Christian Democracy. The ideology of the EPP is now more vague.” (ibid, p.154) He further

anticipated that the reference to Christian Democracy when its members are not only of this ideology would soon lead to an adjustment. As far the ideology of the EPP Poettering wrote in 2006: *"The EPP draws its identity from a set of core values based on Christianity and a personalised view of humankind—as enshrined in the Basic Programme adopted in 1992 in Athens. In political terms this is reflected in a resolute rejection of the socialist conception, in which the state dominates. In this respect, the EPP and our Group in the European Parliament constitute an open Europe-wide political family of the centre, whose identity is based on the reconciliation of what are in fact only apparent opposites, namely freedom and responsibility, market efficiency and social justice, the nation state and Europe."* (2006, European View, p.112)

Johansson has made a large contribution in the exploration of the enlargement of the EPP and the rapprochement between Christian Democrats and Conservatives (1997, 2002a, 2002b, 2005). In his sheer work on the integration of the British Conservatives to the EPP group in the early 1990s he presents a theoretical tool for analysing the prospects of such exercises building on the triptych: motives, opportunities and constraints that drive the process. Such a model is consistent with our findings as one level of analysis.

Critical towards the enlargement of the EPP is Bartolini: *"the alliance between Northern conservatives and continental Catholics was an instrumental marriage made possible by the low visibility of the EP politics. It will therefore be strained only if and when the EP has real policymaking powers. The alliance and in general the expansive logic of European parliamentary groups is the result of the weakness of the EP, not a symptom of its strength."* (2005, p. 336). The main argument of Bartolini is that between Christian democrats and conservatives there are profound differences that are impossible to bridge. These differences lie in all main policy domains such as the economics, social policy, European integration, unionism etc. What this analysis may have not taken into account is that despite the Christian democratic foundations of the EPP during the last 10-15 years the transformation is not only superficial in some documents of the Europarty. National member parties have gone through a similar transformation

towards more right wing leanings. That explains why the EPP did not implode out of its internal differences but the opposite trend of consolidation is more likely to be observed. Bartolini is one of the strong critics of the 'marriage' of the Christian Democrats with the conservatives in the EPP, claiming fundamental ideological and policy making differences but also diverging values among the two historical political families. His analysis is however more founded on the most divergent issues that historically the two ideologies have had in Europe, while not taking into account the deep changes of those Christian democratic parties that survived after the end of the 20th century. Very few things had remained the same with their historical political identity mainly related to values and principles rather than policy making. In the first decades after the second world war Christian democrats stood for the corporatist role of the state in the economy accepting both state owned companies and the decisive role of syndicates as partners in the decision making. Gradually in the last two decades of the century they moved to the conservative positions particularly towards the economy but also in public administration issues in general. We have no evidence whether the rapprochement of Christian Democrats with the Conservatives in the late 1980s. Despite their historical differences, when the two groups would deal with day to day real issues in the 1990s their differences were diffused. This element has been one of the tools that Klaus Welle and Wilfried Martens deployed in the early 1990s towards facilitating the enlargement: take the discussion down to the real issues of the day to day decision making in the Parliament, rather than ideology and branding. Indeed on the majority of the topics Christian democrats and conservatives, even British, were much easier to agree. On the other hand this was not enough to keep the Group united in the 2000s from the British conservatives defecting to refound a conservative group. The rise of the anti-European sentiment in the British Tories was not bridgeable anymore. The European Union had gone far enough for the EPP and the British conservatives to stay together. The differences in the future of the Union are nowadays the single most important dividing line within the parties of both the centre right and the centre left. It serves as the most important political cleavage in the European Union especially among mainstream parties of the right, or the left, now that most of the traditional political jargon about differences in policy making have been de-politicised and become outdated.

Christopher Lord (1998, p.5) contends that *“in the case of the EPP, two political families – the Christian Democrats and the Conservatives have merged into a single parliamentary group in response to the Treaty rule that requires the Parliament to organize majorities of its membership and not just of those voting (absolute majority rule).”* Further in p.7 he connotes that *“both of these factors – the second order pattern of Euro-elections and the absence of a European demos – make it very hard for Euro-parties to cross the divide between elite and mass politics.”* This approach reflects the political state of play on the 1990s. In the years afterwards we are faced with the blending of the European People’s Party from a Christian democratic alliance with the conservatives to a moderate centre right pro-European organisation. Those EPP member parties that were not pro European finally left the organisation following the British conservatives and forming the new conservative Europarty in 2010. Our findings outlined the strategies towards the solidification of Christian democracy through the opening of the EPP through the “subscription” of new parties on the Christian democratic ideals. The reality within few years time proved different. But anyway this is not news now a days and the watering out of the Christian democratic status can not solely be credited to the enlargement with conservative parties, but equally so to the gradual weakening of the traditional Christian democrats.

Overall assessment

Our assessment on the enlargement from a normative aspect is that the academic discourse on the issue has overinvested its analysis on the politics involved in the process of enlargement rather than the analysis of its prospects based on its functionality. Johansson and Delwit are good examples of this approach. On the other hand Bartolini’s critical remarks on the functionality have not been confirmed. The European Parliament has acquired a semi-legislative role and the Europarties have performed, by all means, to an adequate level of coordination. Simon Hix has analysed the performance of European parties in the European parliament and the factors that have helped them deliver coordination. The enlargement has had a strong element of functionality that has not been assessed on its own merit. The race with the Social

Democrats over the largest group in the European Parliament has been a factor driving the enlargement, at least for most of the protagonists. For example, Martens in December 1996 stated at his report to the Political Bureau: « *Depuis 1989, notre retard vis-à-vis du Groupe socialiste s'est réduit considérablement. Nous sommes passés de 23% à 29% des élus. Sur les 181 membres de notre Groupe, la moitié nous ont rejoint depuis 1989, 94 membres proviennent des premiers partis démocrates-chrétiens avec une majorité pour la CDU/CSU allemande.* » (IX-007-156. p.75) And Welle also at the same meeting : « *Il est intéressant de constater qu'entre 1979 et 1989, notre nombre de sièges a reculé de 3%, les socialistes eux sont passés de 27% à 34%. L'écart s'est donc creusé. Par contre, depuis 1989, la situation est radicalement différente, nous sommes passés de 23 à 29% des sièges, soit un gain de 6% alors que les socialistes ont légèrement reculé. La tendance s'est donc inversée et ce grâce à l'ouverture du PPE à des partis d'autres tendances. (...) Si les socialistes se limitent aux nouveaux partis sociaux démocrates, comme nous, ils ne dépassent pas 10% des mandats. Par contre, si l'on inclut les expartis communistes nous atteignons un potentiel de 40%.* » (IX-007-156,p.76)

The enlargement reflects the consequences produced by the long term evolution of a debate inside the EPP between two main traditions: On the one hand are those who fought for the model of Christian Democracy being the centre of the political spectrum and cooperating on occasions with political forces to their right or left reflecting their domestic paradigm. On the other side were the German Union parties that reflecting their domestic paradigm they always advocated for the need to build up majorities. This debate is wide spread in documents of minutes from meetings at the early phase of creation. Especially at IX-007-191, pages 332-341 we have a strong and ideological debate on what EPP should do and with whom to cooperate already in December of 1977²⁵⁸. Even at the leaflet that was produced for the first European elections of 1979 we have evidence of this debate. See IX-007-08-01 pp.43-54. At this electoral brochure each leader has a short piece of speech that is printed and sends his message. Helmut Kohl piece is titled: “*Our purpose: to make the EPP the strongest political force in*

²⁵⁸ In this debate the so called associations, that is Women, Youth, Workers, SMEs are already closer to the open EPP concept cooperating with more countries and will less CD strong filter. They even use the English language.. example the resolutions adopted at the EPP Congress in 1978. IX-007-08-01 p. 79-111

Europe”, Franz Heubl from the CSU piece is titled: “*Ready to cooperate with all who are prepared to work for freedom and security in Europe*”.. On the other end H.A.de Boer from the CDA Netherlands titles: “*Avoiding polarisation into left wing and right wings peoples’ fronts.*”

Today the Christian democratic label of the EPP has been replaced by a “centre right” label. In the new “Platform” adopted at the 2012 Congress and replaced the “Basic Programme” of 1992 in article 2 of the Preamble it states: “*Our political family is the driving force of European integration. The European Christian Democrats founded in 1976 - as the first European party – the European People’s Party. It has become the party of the centre and the centre right.*” In the fifty pages document reference to Christian Democracy is done 3 times, while keeping the commitment towards political union as “the end of a road”.

The main argument all along the way of the gradual opening of the EPP towards non Christian democratic parties was that it would not affect the Christian democratic orientation or identity. As we see this is not the case. We have a departure from the Christian democracy as the party ideology that is now downgraded to an inspiration. As we presented in the previous chapters the hypothesis 2, the strategy of openness was followed deliberately from the early 1980s and the entry of Greek Nea Demokratia till 1998 and the integration of Forza Italia in the EPP Group. This difficult step taken by the EPP was critical, turning the pendulum away from the Christian democratic side. The strategy of “mergers and acquisitions” was ended originally in the Cottage talks on the Rhine with Chancellor Kohl in the closed meeting of the key leaders of the EPP. In the draft strategy paper that Martens himself is claiming to have written as a note from the meeting the EPP leaders agreed that “*the The EPP following its enlargement in recent years has become a broad political movement of people’s parties that come from various different geographic, historical and cultural contexts. We are no longer exclusively Christian Democratic (Christian social) but also adhere to Conservative and Liberal values.*” (2009, p.143).

This is the first time since the start of the enlargement in 1981 that the EPP acknowledges that it is not anymore a Christian Democratic organisation. This

happened in March 1998, while about a year before Martens was stating at the Political Bureau: « *Notre Groupe s'étant élargi, il nous faut nous poser la question comment ne pas perdre notre profil démocrate-chrétien? Le Congrès que nous allons tenir à la mi-novembre 1997 doit nous aider à renforcer notre identité. Nous devons aussi y aborder les graves problèmes de société afin de leur apporter une réponse démocrate-chrétienne. Fin juin, nous aurons rédigé un projet de texte traitant des sujets traités au Congrès.* » (IX-007-156. p.75)

Few months later in the autumn of 1998 the EPP publicly announced the “Brussels declaration” where it stated: “*Traditional Christian Democratic parties and people's parties of Christian inspiration, along with conservative parties from the Protestant, state-church countries of northern Europe, all work together in today's EPP. We are thus making a significant contribution to overcoming the confessional barriers between Catholics, Protestants, and Orthodox, barriers which have divided the people and peoples of Europe for centuries.*” (IX-007-062, p.357) This official acknowledgment of the repositioning of the EPP was done in the light of the Forza Italia acquisition but also ahead of its next goal that was to bring in the French Gaullists with their proud non Christian Democratic history and also to close down the EDU, that was a parallel structure. Both these aims are confirmed by Martens in the meeting with Kohl in the Cottage talks. What was not contemplated in the minutes and notes from that meeting that is was running in the background of this change was that by that time Christian Democracy in Europe had reached a historic low. In the second half of the 1990s Dutch CDA is losing half its electoral strength after two elections, Belgium Christian Democrats are also in decline, Italian Christian Democracy has just gone with history while the underlining factors that enabled the rise of Christian Democracy after the second world war are also in decline.

The 1990s in particular have been a decade exhausted in the politics of the enlargement rather than in the consequences of it. The content of the meetings became monopolized by the enlargement question. This obsession about achieving the goal had affected the content of the work. After the goal was achieved the EPP did not invest the energy to deepen the work. Parallel and to some extent as a parallel result of the

enlargement of the EPP, during these past twenty years the party has experienced a substantial growth of its budget²⁵⁹ and therefore of its organisation body.

The decline of Christian Democracy

CD originated as a Catholic social movement to influence the political system in support of its influential role in the 19th century in Europe in the community level. Adhering to the social encyclicals of several Roman Catholic Popes, the most important ones being the Rerum Novarum (1891) and Quadragesimo Anno (1931). The Rerum Novarum subtitled “on the conditions of labour” Pope Leo tries to take part in the debate of the time for the consequences of the industrialisation in western Europe and the rise of the urban poor living in bad conditions thus condemning unrestricted capitalism and suggesting the creation of trade unions aiming to introduce collective bargaining. He raises issues like dignity and rights of workers, fair wages, rights and duties of workers and employers etc. This social-political doctrine attempted to counter appeal against the rise of socialist ideas. The Quadragesimo Anno written by Pope Pius XI was issued in May 1931 and outlines the dangers from the excessive rise of capitalism and communism and introduces the ideas of solidarity and subsidiarity. It describes in detail the desired social order that is primarily a corporatist state or a ‘third way’ between capitalism and communism that has been criticised as been proponent to the rising movement of fascism in the interwar Europe. Although the above cited political doctrines are considered as the landmarks of CD ideology still in Europe the actual political expressions were blended with national experiences and values. This created a situation of at least three models of Christian Democracy in Europe.

²⁵⁹ Klaus Welle in his capacity as Secretary General of the European Parliament has been promoting the gradual increase of the funding of the Europarties. “I made independent funding. Every year I increase the funding. I do it for as long as they let me do it. I am responsible for presenting a budget for the parliament.” According to Korthout “this was not mainly for us. In 2009 they won with a bad result for the socialists. They lost some 20-30% of their subventions so they lost substantial income and were keen to replace that... The EPP being the largest group took advantage out of that.”

The fundamental elements of Christian Democracy in its original form was suspicion over state power and its support and encouragement over organizing social groups in the expectation that they would resist more successfully against the state and its effort to control vis a vis individuals. This ambition to resist state power against society, thus the church, is fundamental to understand the core concept of Christian Democracy. If this is the case then it makes sense why the electoral success of CD parties leading to control of government made the original concept blur and led to change, over time as it had lost its *raison d'être*. Over time the CD ideology through experience in government accumulated in several European countries developed distinct characteristics: Common to conservatism its emphasis on traditional moral values and their opposition to the secularization of modern societies. This characteristic distinguishes CD from liberalism. On the other hand CD had always been more open minded towards social change vis a vis conservatism that is closer to liberalism. Closer to liberalism its support on individual rights and private initiative as a source of power for the society. Furthermore, compared with socialism it shared the principle of solidarity, of the emphasis in communities, the support for the welfare state and for regulating markets. At the same time, against socialism, CD places trust on free market economy, labeled "social market economy" although this has been in reality appreciated by social democratic parties as well, especially after the collapse of communism in 1989.

Kalyvas notes that it is impossible to understand contemporary Europe without taking into account Christian democracy. «*The postwar era in democratic Western Europe was above all a period of Christian democratic primacy, in contrast to what the dominant social scientific cliché implies*²⁶⁰». According to Irving "[t]o some extent Christian democracy is no more than a manifestation of the eternal search for a middle way between liberalism and collectivism, between capitalism and communism, with a bias in favour of capitalism and liberalism. (1978, p. xviii). Gerard and Van Hecke (2004) argued that CD "is as much under-researched as lacking in theoretical elaboration." Kalyvas van Kersbergen assert that "research on Christian democracy pales when compared to the effort that has gone into theorizing and investigating empirically the twin political phenomena of socialism and social democracy." (2010, p.185) In his Book

²⁶⁰ Kalyvas van Kersbergen, 2010, p.185.

on Christian democracy Kaiser names as the most important factor for the decline of Christian democracy the rapid secularisation of European societies. (2007, p.306) Through his experience as deputy secretary general of the EPP since 1999, Christian Kremer in his interview presented the fundamental difference of the present with the near past of 20 or 30 years. Today there is less ideology and more pragmatism. Christian democrats and conservatives in the EPP are closer than some Christian democrats may have been with each other in the 1980s. An example is the comparison of the German CDU with the CDA from the Netherlands back in the 80s. CDA was assimilating to a confessional party back then while today it is a modern centre right party. (Interview, 2012)

David Hanley has contemplated on the roots of the decline of Christian democracy. These include the growing problems of sustaining a welfare state in the age of globalisation, the crises of social organisations that traditionally have been inspired by the Christian democrats, the decline of religious practice per se, the successive enlargements of the EPP that brought in countries without real CD tradition. Indeed these are the key parameters that explain the decline of Christian democracy but not the enlargement of the EPP. On the EPP enlargement Hanley (2008) connotes: *“The need to surpass the socialists was certainly a prime motive. (...) joining a growing and probably hegemonic grouping was always likely to be more attractive than starting up in a medium-sized and untried conservative group. (...) the party shifted its discourse away from the social-corporatist tones of classic Christian democracy towards a much more market friendly, neo-liberal posture.”* (2008, p.97) He also outlines the adaptation of the Christian Democrats, like the Socialdemocratic parties to the changing circumstances since the 1970s. Conway discerns by the end of the 1970s *‘a perceptible crisis within Christian democracy that subsequent events have only reinforced’* (2001, p.60). *“The growing problems of sustaining a welfare state in an era of increased global competition have hit the CD family as hard as the socialists. This is central role of social policy in balancing out the interests.”* (Hanley 2008, p.92) Irving in 1978 contended that the decline of religion as a factor on politics in the 1950s and 1960s was reversed in the 1970s due to high unemployment, inflation and successful adaptation to changing circumstances. In this way they have compensated their losses in traditional catholic

groups such as women or the rural populations. Further more in some countries it regained strength as a reaction against materialism and the consumer society (1978, p.253). Still, the long trends have been to Christian Democracy to lose its appeal in Europe.

Van Hecke paints a more diverse picture on this matter *“One must therefore differentiate with regard to parties and period. For those parties that gain more than 15% there is an almost steady decline until 1998-1999, with the exception of the sharp fall in the case of Italy, due to the sudden implosion of the DC in 1994. However it is worth noting that since then the Christian Democratic votes still count for 20% of the Italian electorate. Secondly at the beginning of the new decade, the share of Austrian, German and Dutch Christian Democrats started to rise again (Belgium being the exception). The results of the Scandinavian Christian democratic ,parties with the exception of the Finish, show an inverse tendency: an increase until 1997-98 and a loss of votes at the beginning of the new decade (but no return to the previous low results for the Norwegian and the Swedish).”* (2004, p.299)

Any reasonable assessment over the record and prospects of Christian democracy in Europe has to take into account primarily the structural characteristics of this ideology in the changing social and economic conditions post the 1970s, rather than just the electoral performance of the CD parties. Indeed the long term success of the CDU/CSU in Germany can hardly be assessed as the prevalence of Christian democracy in Germany. Indeed the structural characteristics of Christian democracy, i.e. the large public sector, the relations with the Unions, the religious and spiritual emphasis have been in decline in Europe and have become outdated during the last quarter of the 20th century.

Understanding the EPP Enlargement

Overall, the key factors that enabled the enlargement of the EPP have been:

- The competition in the European Parliament with the socialist group that in 1975 became the largest group, against the EPP, with the integration of MEPs from the UK

and Denmark. Ever since the leadership of the EPP group, usually German, has been a pro-enlargement factor.

- Subsequent European Union Treaties, starting from the Single European Act in 1986 and towards the Maastrich Treaty in 1991, strengthened the legislative role of the European Parliament, increasing the value of securing majorities. This is also a factor pushing the EPP Group towards a pro enlargement stance.

- The lowest ever result of the EPP at the 1989 European elections made the party enlargement a reasonable way to revert the trend of the decreasing power of the EPP group.

- The political realities in the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe after the collapse of communism and after the first period of aspiring to revive Christian democratic parties.

- The transformation of the Spanish centre right in 1989 allowing for the strategic acquisition of a, virtually centre right, new party labeled "People's Party" for the needs of its centrist turn to address the hegemony of the PSOE in Spain.

- The extended political weight of the German parties CDU/CSU through their domestic success, especially after the unification of Germany and particularly the political weight of Helmut Kohl in the EPP family in the early 1990s.

- The decline of Christian Democracy as a distinct ideological trend, particularly in the 1990s, in conjunction with the overall decline of ideologies as solid backgrounds for political parties.

- The collapse of the Democrazia Cristiana, one of the pillars of the Christian democratic cooperation in Europe in the early 1990s and the failure of the successor Christian social inspired parties against the conservative party of Silvio Berlusconi.

- Other less influential reasons were the first acquisition of a non Christian democratic party, Nea Demokratia from Greece, in 1982/1983 without dispute and the pro enlargement voice of Jacques Santer who stood by the CDU towards opening up the

EPP to non-christian democrats. His party the Luxemburgish CSV had been a core Benelux Christian democratic party that would normally resist the opening.

Reviewing the protagonists

The EPP enlargement was a success in strengthening the influence of the EPP originally at the European Parliament and, later on, at the European Council and the Council of Ministers. Nowadays several actors claim credit for this historical development. However, few of them have played the key role. The German CDU/CSU parties have aspired to move in this direction from the early days of the EPP, as we presented above. The leadership of Helmut Kohl, especially in the mid 1990s was highly influential in Europe and this influenced also the completion of this transformation. Enlargement may have never occurred however should the EPP not have Wilfried Martens as its President, since 1990. We cannot know whether he debated the historical resolution in April 1991 out of genuine commitment towards a non-Christian Democratic EPP or whether he did it out of pursuing the power of the numbers, but he delivered it while preserving the cohesion of the organisation.

Besides the great diplomat Wilfried Martens, the political inspirator and great European Helmut Kohl, special credit deserve to be given to the two General Secretaries: Thomas Jansen, General Secretary 1983-1994 served the administration of both the EPP and the EUCD for over a decade. He orchestrated the Partido Popular creation in Spain, he worked along four different EPP presidents, he had a critical role in the redirection of the role of the EUCD at the end of the 1980s, in the opening up to Central and Eastern Europe, in the 1991 “master plan” resolution, in the delicate accession of the British Tories in the EPP Group and last but not least, in the negotiations and initial stage integration of the Scandinavian conservative parties. All this today may seem normal but as we presented they were risky operations in uncharted waters. When he left the EPP he continued to serve its purpose as he became a researcher and author of the history of the EPP with several articles and few books, most important the latest work with Van Hecke in 2011.

Since 1994 and for another 10 years, five in the party and five in the EPP group, the successor of Thomas Jansen Klaus Welle, literally became the intellectual father and

the architect of the EPP enlargement. To this day the role of Klaus Welle for his 10 years contribution to the enlargement of the EPP has not received enough attention, since Presidents usually get the credit. Klaus Welle did not just perform the operational side of the enlargement since Helmut Kohl nominated him to succeed Thomas Jansen as the head of the administration of the EPP. He went much further than the administrative profile of the Secretary. He openly aspired the transformation of the EPP from a centrist party cooperation model (that fit well the history of Christian Democracy in Europe) towards the modern centre right party model. When in 1994 he took over the EPP and EUCD administration the situation was very difficult because the EPP had gone already some way in bringing in parties beyond Christian democracy but was still bounded by the old concept of the Christian democratic club. Most Christian Democrats, including probably president Martens would not dare to realise at that time what today looks normal: that the EPP cannot anymore operate as the power of the centre to combat the threat of left and right “extremes”, or the Benelux party model. This transformation albeit painful was necessary for the EPP to survive. As the well documented events imply, the result of this project could not be predetermined. From a 1996 interview of Welle at the newspaper European Voice, July 1996 on the 20 years of EPP we note: *“The core of our identity is our programme. The major role of the EPP is to build a joint identity with non Christian Democratic parties.”* (...) *“what is important for us is not just to concentrate on the parliamentary group. Our key role is coordination and the bringing together of the main players such as the Commission, national governments, national leaderships and party presidents. That coordination and the construction of a joint political identity are important. The function of a European political party is to bind forces together so they can be a major player in the European parliament.”* (IX-007-199, p.189) ²⁶¹ Welle further deserves the credit for streamlining

²⁶¹ In a prophetic article titled “Does the European Parliament have to be Socialist dominated” dated 1998 he presents his plan to make EPP the largest European party through the transformation of the European party system to the bipolar system of centre left vs centre right. More docs on Welle’s views in the 1990s: “Models of Christian Democracy”, speech of Klaus Welle to Konrad Adenauer Colloquium on “The Future of People’s Parties in Europe”, Brussels, Feb 12, 1998 (EPP archive 7.2.2) where he set the criteria such as: who is the political enemy back home, parties in government or opposition, the amount of effort needed at a national level to achieve political integration, the development of electoral results. See also the speech of Welle in the EUCD Congress where he concludes: IX-008-102, p.698 *“Christian Democrats cannot become the leading force in a country except as an open people’s party inspired by Christian values. Everyone regardless of*

the centre right cooperation in Europe from a model of three organisations to one. The fusion of EUCD and of EDU was primarily his project. Further he handled the fragmented party landscape in the new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe and towards the end of the 1990s he played the key role in bringing in the Forza Italia and the French Gaullists that completed the transformation of the organisation.

The German Union parties

According to Delwit: *“From a political point of view, the CDU-CSU²⁶² had been in power since 1982 and was the group that worked towards the rapid reunification of Germany after the fall of the Berlin wall. At the same time, the same fall of the Berlin wall got the Italian Christian Democracy, the other leading light of the EPP, into a route that led it to implosion. The accelerated erosion of the political and electoral positions of the Benelux Christian Democratic groups did not allow them to enduringly oppose the direction set by the German Christian Democrats, additionally strengthened by the financial clout of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.”* (Delwit, p. 147)

The debate among the German CDU and CSU against everybody else during the foundation period of the EPP concerning the profile of the cooperation is a crucial moment for the later history of the EPP and for our thesis. The German union parties have always propagated this cooperation as it reflected their domestic political paradigm: the CDU/CSU have always stood for bringing together Christian democrats, conservatives and liberals in one party. The political space covered by the FDP in Germany has always been claimed to be their political space. At the same time they consider the social democrats as their ‘natural opponents’. These elements construct a bipolar political system. This concept made them open minded towards cooperating with the conservatives in the European scale. On the other hand Benelux Christian Democrats and Italians have conceived socialists as natural government partners, out

their creed or religious beliefs must be included – provided they are ready to shape policy on the basis of the Christian idea of Man.”

²⁶² According to Kaiser, Kohl had met Tindermans back in 1950. Over the years they had developed a good working relation, while the Flemish leader had supported Kohl’s efforts to strengthen the relations with the Conservative parties in the 1970s. (2007, p.321)

of their domestic post war experience, while parties on their right have been treated with the bitterness, questioning their democratic credentials. The different models of Christian Democracy in Europe are critical to understand the developments in the EPP and analytically presented in Welle's articles and speeches.

The German CDU has also held influential positions in the EPP structure, after 1999 it is the deputy Secretary General Christian Kremer and before 1983 it was Joseph Muller, also deputy General secretary, under the French Jean Setlinger, General Secretary. The Secretariat is the heart of the organisation, a very influential position while it retains a low visibility that suits the German Union parties²⁶³.

From the mid 1970s to the early 1990s the CDU/CSU position in the EPP/EUCD did become more influential. On the one hand the successful development of Germany under Chancellor Kohl in the 1980s, being in power since 1982 that made him in the early 1990s one of the oldest members of the European Council combined with leadership and the reunification of Germany that further strengthened its position in Europe. In the EPP/EUCD structures the position of the Union parties was to the right end of the EPP/EUCD ideological spectrum in the 1970s. The "political centre" of the EPP was the "pure" Christian democrats that consisted of about 80% of membership. Twenty years later the Italian CD, the biggest party of the traditionals disappeared, while several others like French and Benelux have seen their political weight dramatically reduced, while most of the new members (Nea Demokratia, Partido Popular, British Conservatives in the Group, Scandinavian and parties from CEE countries) were not Christian Democratic. So from being the "right end" of the EPP in the 1970, CDU/CSU became the "centre" of the EPP in the mid 1990s, having the remaining traditional CD parties to the left and the conservatives to the right.

The success of the Union parties in the transnational party cooperation is not primarily built on their economic weight in Europe and there is a lot of public and academic

²⁶³ There are several volumes dedicated to their work in the EPP history: IX-007-009 for the period 1995-1998 or the IX-007-152 concerning 1990-1995. IX-007-038 a 239 pages folder containing press material on the unification of Germany, primarily newspaper clippings from different European countries. Interesting is the 70pages report of the KAS on its activities throughout the world on March 1990 (p.41), the article of Willy Brandt on the unification of Germany (p.136), the article of Delors on p.146 etc.

wrong perception on this issue. Their success is built on proper and stable representation, high level of preparation, moderate and constructive spirit by its key people. The simplification of CDU dominating the structures due to its economic strength is not supported by empirical evidence. On the opposite side member parties from small countries that have had a reliable, active and constructive contribution, such as the Austrian OVP, the Swedish Moderates and the Finish Kokoumous they have been key players in the decision making.

Chapter 8: Lessons for European integration

Europeanisation of Eastern European parties

What do we learn from the Europeanisation of the new political parties emerging in the new democracies and approaching EPP/EUCD? It should be understood that the prime motive for these parties was not the prospect of funding. On the contrary, it was the credibility and the legitimacy that the European affiliation would give them in their domestic competition. They went to Brussels declaring their full commitment towards Christian Democracy and to any conditions that would be requested by the EPP/EUCD. At the same time, being at the early stages of the transition the conditionality was not “too strict” and it probably could not be. Newly formed parties in the emerging democracies hoped and requested for support and assistance from abroad while making their efforts locally. One can question the type of conditionality that the EPP and other European parties implemented. The whole project was sui generis for everyone, in both sides.

The typical conditions for membership were those set forward in the statutes of the EUCD at the early stages of transition. These statutory conditions did not leave much space for the development of ‘ex ante’ or ‘ex post’ evaluation mechanisms at such an early stage of the transition. The typical requirements were:

"L'UEDC est ouverte à tous les partis européens de tendance démocrate chrétienne qui remplissent les conditions suivantes: - leur activité a lieu dans un Etat de droit régi par les principes de la liberté et de la démocratie; - ils ont participé à des élections parlementaires libres dans leur pays et sont représentés au Parlement par un ou plusieurs députés; - ils adoptent le "Manifeste des Démocrates chrétiens d'Europe", le "Manifeste politique de l'Union Mondiale Démocrate-Chrétienne" et les présents statuts²⁶⁴"

These were the criteria set for the status of full member of the EUCD in 1991. For observer member the criteria were looser, stating : "*Le statut d'observateur est ouvert*

²⁶⁴ Statutes in September 1991, article 3 C. (IX-007-008, p.5).

aux associations politiques démocratiques et aux partis sympathisants de pays européens qui partagent les options politiques fondamentales et les principes intellectuels gouvernant l'UEDC." (ibid) Literally, the integration process of the EPP/EUCD in the former communist countries was founded on a few lines of their Statutes that calibrated the general conditions. In fact, the procedure was based on documents' exchange, as well as, a fact finding mission from the EUCD 'on the ground' to meet the party leadership but also representatives from NGOs or other parties and understand the political context and party competition of the new country. The statutory and political documents of these parties if "well written" would be in compliance with the de jure criteria, but this did not necessarily reflect the political reality. The EUCD on occasions asked for changes in the documents or demanded that a "national equipe" be founded if there were a few parties requesting membership. This was meant to experiment or "teach" party consolidation; cultivate the spirit of cooperation among parties that in the domestic arena would be fierce opponents.

The clout that EPP/EUCD carried in the interaction with the parties in CE Europe was immensely high and, as we presented in the evidence, in fact there were no 'negotiations'. Whatever the Europeans would ask the candidate party would accept. Not necessarily because it would agree with the substance of the requested changes but because it meant little to nothing in the domestic arena, while the membership would mean something tangible ahead of national elections. The principle of conditionality as a concept "I ask - you deliver" worked fine, but the quality of implementation was rather superficial and most importantly it did not become subject to an evaluation at that or at a later stage from the side of the EPP.

The similar problem that the European socialist party had to face was to filter newly appearing parties in these countries from ex communist background. Indeed, the value and leverage from the membership for the political party of the new democracy was very important. The candidate party could do a lot more than declare commitment to the Christian democratic Basic Programme of the EPP, or some regulatory issues over party democracy. Our assessment and conclusion is that the process of integration through conditionality did not deliver durable results but, given the political and historical moment, it could not deliver more. We are at the beginning of the transition,

under the European Communities, before Maastricht, without “third-pillar” at an early stage of European integration and with small financial means. We put up this issue to Thomas Jansen as he was the “hub” of the Europeanisation for all these parties towards the EPP/EUCD. He told us:

“Obviously we looked, where ever they had been re-established by the survivors, to the traditional CD-parties having existed before the communist area, or to the so-called peasant parties who had had a similar profile. We followed in this respect the recommendations and advises of the representatives of those parties who had emigrated to Western countries and who had participated for many years in the activities of the EUCD and the CD World Union (later: International CD). We did, in no case, promote the creation of CD parties or of any other kind of party! We examined carefully the party landscape in the different countries trying to find out which of the new-born parties were more or less likeminded and compatible with the member parties of the EP. We established contacts especially with those parties which represented the democratic and anti-communist/socialist movements which had been at the forefront of the struggle for emancipation and liberation. I think that this was the only possible strategy at that time.”

“Wherever there existed two or even more parties who claimed to be our right or best partners, as was the case in Poland, we tried off course to convince them to work together or even unite in one organisation. With little success. As the political systems in these countries at that time had by far not yet reached a stadium of consolidation we were very reluctant in recognizing the one or the other party as member. By the way, we were speaking exclusively of association or observer status. Whether the conditionality of the EPP towards the new parties was tight enough? Perhaps not. I do not know. But I know that we made serious efforts. “ (Jansen interview, July 2015).

The enlargement of the EPP towards the former communist countries is part of a broader discussion about the Europeanisation of these new democracies. Significant contribution has been made by academics, such as Peter Mair (2000, p.28) who argues “there is very little evidence of any direct impact.” For Eastern European parties there are more favourable conditions for influence that work as “facilitating factors” for Europarty influence (Berge-Poguntke: 2012: 4) For the scholar work the results are

mixed. (Berge-Poguntke: 2012: 4) The majority of these studies arrive to the conclusion that the Europarties have made a large impact on the development of political parties in post-communist accession countries (zur Hausen, 2008: 265) and that *'the Europarties are the most crucial vehicles for standardization [of CEE parties]'* (Enyedi and Lewis, 2006: 245). However, it should not be ignored that Holmes and Lightfoot (2011) find only a relatively minor influence of the PES on CEE parties. Yet, as Pridham (2008: 201) rightly points out, *"the modest empirical evidence on the impact of European integration on national parties and party systems in the old member states of the EU should not be taken as a valid indicator of developments in new member states."* (Berge-Poguntke: 2012, p.4) According to Ladrech (2007): *"Europeanisation in this article is defined as changes in party behaviour and/or structures, traceable to influences emanating from the EU, whether direct or mediated through institutional and policy changes in the national political system member states."* Another common usage of the concept Europeanisation is the constructing of European institutions or really the construction/institutionalization of the European level (see fex Mair 2007b:155-156). According to Graziano and Vink: *"we thus understand Europeanisation very broadly as the domestic adaption to European regional integration."* (Europeanisation, 2007, p.7)

Academic discussion has focused on the different ways of interaction between Europarties and national parties, as well as, on the influence, the incentives and threats the European actor can exert on the basis of the conditionality principle in exchange of the valued membership perspective. What these analyses have not taken into account is the attempt of the EPP at the first years of transition, to play a decisive role in spreading its ideology in the countries in transition. This was not some kind of "side activity" from the side of the EPP. It was explicitly implemented through an integrated strategy towards the new countries aiming, in good faith, to revive in most cases, pre communist, pre-war, parties with some Christian democratic reference in their name or positioning. Besides, as we presented above, we confirm the top-down manner of the interaction. (Ladrech, 1994, p.69) as the European level actor is exchanging reforms for membership.

What is also less known is that the prospect of receiving the status of membership and some support, triggered a burst of self-proclaimed Christian democratic parties, in the

early years of transition in the CEE countries. Behind each one of these parties there were ambitious individuals that hoped to position themselves in the emerging party landscape of the new democracies. The actual birth of each one of these parties in CEE countries labeling Christian Democracy is part of the consequences from the Europeanisation of these actors, as it they were literally not born out of any *grass roots* Christian democratic movement in these countries. Beyond the classic academic approach that Europarties exerting influence towards national parties in the new democracies, to make party change, in exchange of membership and other other material support, here we have the opposite scheme. Emerging parties discover that Christian democracy is a mainstream political movement in the European Union to which they orientate themselves as a promising path for European integration and increased domestic legitimacy. This Europeanisation element deserves more academic attention today, some twenty years later.

In 2002, Robert Ladrech presented a framework for the analysis of Europeanization of political parties. His point of departure was that European integration influences the operating arenas of national political parties. He proposed five arenas or areas, where a process of Europeanization would be probable: (1) Policy/programmatic content; (2) party organization (3) patterns of party competition (4) party-government relations and (5) relations beyond the national party system. Although the study of political parties and European integration entered the field of political party research in the late 1970s, in response to the first direct elections to the European Parliament, it was not until the 1990s that the concept of Europeanization and political party research intersected. In an interesting article on the europeanisation exchange of parties from CEE countries with the Europarties Benjamin von dem Berge and Thomas Poguntke present a range of exchange objects namely 1. Material resources, 2. Legitimacy at home and abroad by cooperating with a europarty 3. Know how and expertise and 4.CEE parties gain easy access to powerful western European politicians and 5. Full membership as the final destination and “exchange object” Conditionality is the dominant element of this approach. As they conclude: “The influence of Europarties on Central and Eastern European partner parties: a theoretical and analytical model” (2012, p.9)

From the empirical evidence we draw primarily from the EPP historical archive we will comment on these 'exchange objects'. First of all the 'material resources' should not be overestimated. Not because the emerging political parties of the new democracies were not in real need, but because the Brussels organisations were reluctant not to be conceived as 'sponsors' while at the same time take a risk been exposed as 'intervening' with financial means in the fragile domestic political competition. This is founded on several pieces of evidence where EPP/EUCD the EPP Group and several foundations only offered almost wasted technical equipment, or printed material but there is no evidence of money transfers. Legitimacy was a predominant factor that incentivised the recipients. Know-how and expertise was generously offered but, looking on the results side, the situation is very diverse. It did have a potential of making a difference, especially with the assistance of institutions that specialize on this, but the impact it actually had is difficult to assess and it was certainly a tool with diverse results. Although training efforts were made in all new democracies, parties from some countries were better positioned to benefit from this than others. The hypothesis is that Central European parties benefited more, unlike southeast European parties and parties in the Eastern part of Europe benefited less²⁶⁵. Access to powerful politicians in Brussels was also provided through the Europeanisation process of the new parties. Full membership was the final destination. It would allow them to say that they are better connected in Brussels and that is why they should be preferred to govern against their opponents. Conditionality was exercised by the EPP but in a 'soft manner', meaning that there was no expectation of deep and lasting reform of the parties in respect. Rather it was mainly "documents oriented" and, in some cases, it was strong encouragement to cooperate with other small parties of similar ideology to enable democratic consolidation. With this we do not imply that, had conditionality been stricter, then the party consolidation in the new democracies would be more successful, as we presented earlier.

Europeanisation and Conditionality

²⁶⁵ The archive material if well explored provides evidence for such a hypothesis to be tested.

The impact of Europeanisation in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe has been a subject of academic research, particularly on the interaction of governmental institutions and political parties with Brussels institutions and organisations. Avowedly the universe of this topic is characterized by divergence and fragmentation of factual information. Our work is primarily exploring the valuable archive material of the EPP that has not been adequately explored up to now. Through the references and the findings we bring in, we hope to stimulate further research. The impact of the EPP on all these emerging parties in the different countries of Central and Eastern Europe is rather diverse. The efforts of the EPP, EUCD and the EDU towards facilitating transition to democracy and providing technical and financial support to parties in Central and Eastern Europe was extensive. Still the footprint was precarious and mixed, dependent on the cooperation level of the recipients of Europeanisation. The EPP/EUCD did not deploy strict conditionality criteria, but rather loose criteria, bounded on the compatibility of the regulatory documents of the applicant parties with the European standards, the ideological plea on Christian democracy and some moderate presence in elections. The question that we will attempt to answer is whether an EPP strategy of tighter bureaucratic and conditionality criteria, mirroring the methodology of the European Union, could deliver better results to the benefit of these democracies and their smoother accession in the European institutions. We do not raise this issue to the level of a key hypothesis of the Thesis but as a question it will underline our findings.

Expert on Europeanisation Georgia Delsoldato contends: *“Transnational party cooperation did not affect the democratic transition of Eastern European countries until its moment of completion, that is, during the founding elections, which were supported with financial aid and politico-educational efforts from sources such as the German party foundations, the US parties and party institutes, the British Conservatives, the Parti socialiste français (PSF), and so on (Pridham, 1996). It was only at the beginning of the 1990s that party Internationals fully oriented themselves towards Eastern Europe both informally and formally.”* (2002, p.276)

What our research brought about was aside from the parties that were successfully integrated in the EUCD/EPP numerous others that attempted to integrate in the EPP family as well as the steps taken to achieve integration, including correspondence, fax,

letters, telexes, visits of EPP officials to prospective members and organisation of events throughout the new countries.

The interaction of these political parties with the Brussels based EPP brought in light to problems such as the lack of experience from practicing democracy, the cultural differences with western style politics, the fierce domestic competition with other parties, usually of similar ideology. These phenomena were typical in the early stage cooperation after the regime change. New parties appeared very often, each one trying to network in Brussels declaring that it was the best representative of Christian Democratic ideals in that country²⁶⁶. Getting the blessing from a European credible party institution could give a strong push in the local electoral competition. These symptoms appear in almost every new democracy but were gradually diffused, as the country walked through the democracy and party system consolidation. We have explored their efforts to demonstrate how genuine Christian Democrats they were, knowing that this is key for the EPP, their fears ahead of elections, the political culture, their needs for support, their thirst for Europe.²⁶⁷

A lost opportunity

As we presented in previous chapters the EPP followed a policy of relaxed criteria and integrating primarily those who did better in the domestic competition. The integration process could last for several months, even few years if there would not be political support in favour. After the integration of the party inside the EPP all the evaluation criteria and processes would end for good. There was never again any type

²⁶⁶ One example is the letter of a Georgian politician, president of a party who in 1997 writes to Van Velzen: "In Post-Soviet Countries there are many organizations founded around one person or for the realization of certain political activities, Such organizations do not have stable ideological basis or efficient party structures. In Georgia there are many organisations of this type, We should mention that such parties have no influence whatsoever on political processes in the country or they are connected with different non-political groups (clans) and share their interests. Some of them call themselves Christian-Democrats." (IX-007-85, p. 294)

²⁶⁷ A request for financial support would look like this: "...we are publishing journal 'Christian Democracy'. There is big interest toward journal within political and academic circles, libraries, Universities and 1000 copies, which is number of each publication is not enough. We are interested to enlarge publication and of course it costs something. International foundations, which are working in Georgia, are not interesting to finance a political publication, even it is academic stilled. We need some financial sources to continue publishing the journal, but again we are not sure in interest and support of EPP and related foundations." (IX-007-085, p.329, on October 2000 letter of CDU Georgia Paata Sheshelidge CDUG).

of evaluation or technical training aiming to strengthen the democratic credentials of the member parties. Unlike the European Union that had several ways to check the member countries through programmes and redistribution policies aiming to converge the areas of Europe with lower economic indexes inside the EPP or other European parties there have not been any similar tools to strengthen the member parties. Membership of the EPP, once acquired was acquired for good. The EPP did provide training to its member parties through programmes running in different areas but this training was never compounded with any conditionality.

Inhomogenous Europeanisation

According to Claudio Radaelli's general definition of Europeanisation, it is "*a set of processes through which the EU dynamics become part of the logic of domestic discourse, identities, political structures and public policies*²⁶⁸." According to Bartolini, Risse and Strath²⁶⁹ "involves the evolution of a new layer of politics which interacts with older ones in ways to be examined" (1999: p.1) The history of the European Communities especially during its past enlargements towards new member states has been to teach Europeanisation to its prospective members in all stages: pre-accession process to get the status of candidate country, during the long accession negotiations and even after the integration during the process of working with the European institutions in particular through the implementation of existing funding instruments. Funding the agricultural sector, structural funds, regional development, technology projects etc. all come with conditionality that is aiming to make the recipient comply with certain standards or policy goals. Recently we have witnessed a whole new level of Europeanisation efforts through the sovereign debt crisis triggered in 2010, when the EU had to rush into the creation of new institutions, the European Financial Stability Facility (EFSF) and later on the European Stability Mechanism (ESM) through which it

268 Radaelli 2000, p.4

²⁶⁹ Between Europe and the nation state: the reshaping of interests, identities and political representation, Stefano Bartolini, Thomas Risse-Kappen, Bo Stråth, Robert Schuman Centre, European University Institute, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, 1999 - 68 pages.

lends money to countries who have no access to financial markets and are members of the Eurozone in exchange of Reforms.

The history of Europeanisation lessons is the study of a pendulum from the one side of «*sharing experiences and hoping you learn something*» to the tough conditionality of «*reform or you default*». Although the EU is moving towards tighter forms of Europeanisation, thus more strict conditionality, it still has several shades of lighter conditionality in some institutional or policy areas. Overall, approaching the European institutions through the “europeanisation lens” means to observe the evolution of conditionality in the interaction of the member states and their different institutions, public or private with the European institutions in the light of experience accumulated. With these comments we hope to further stimulate the discussion on Europeanisation with this dimension. Indeed, research on the shades of conditionality as the tools of Europeanisation would take the discussion a step further especially as the topic from a theoretical issue becomes a core principle and policy issue of the Union today.

An example of how Europeanisation is taking the hard way of tight conditionality in exchange of funding to avoid public sector ‘default’ has been the differences in effectiveness of the Adjustment Programmes in the Eurozone crisis of 2010. On the one end, Ireland, a client of this “enforced europeanisation” implemented the programme and in 2013 concluded the exercise. Today it is considered a successful example of this europeanisation tool. On the other end, Greece is running the same exercise and six years later it is still running at high risks. The party landscape in Greece, as a result of this Europeanisation exercise, has been completely overhauled after being stable for over 35 years, unlike Ireland where the party landscape did not change.

The relation of Europeanisation and Conditionality is of interest to be explored in its variations and implications. When a political party from Eastern Europe approached the EPP to seek membership and support, it was asked to comply with minimum principles and standards that the EPP “requested”. This is no different than when every European institution is asking a national actor to comply with certain regulation or when the European Commission observes the proper implementation of a programme in the agricultural or the telecommunications sector in a member country. Tight preset

goals and timelines in exchange of the money disburse. In principle such an exercise runs the risk of arbitrariness in the evaluation, since the European actor is asking the national actor to do things in a certain way'. This way usually is not the outcome of any legitimated process and is therefore subject to criticism. As the issues get too technical the political institutions increase the risks they take. What the European Union, utilising the experience of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), has tried to do is to reduce the risk of failure with the experience accumulated in the management of these programmes. This has been one good reason why the European institutions insisted that the IMF stays on board the recent programmes in Europe. It has the multicultural and multiannual experience to manage this risk, while it increases the credibility and the legitimacy of the programmes.

This discussion is related to a recent debate in the European Union on politicisation and whether the EU is better kept immune from political contestation and debate as this would diminish its credibility becoming unpleasant with its day-to-day decision making. The most extreme cases of this politicisation is, again, the Adjustment Programmes. In the eyes of the citizen of the recipient country the EU is seen as the imposer of austerity policies. This "enforced Europeanisation" has, in the case of Greece, certainly brought counter productive results, for reasons that are beyond this Thesis to explore. The failure of the country to meet the policy goals despite the broader compliance with this Europeanisation exercise is a fact.

To conclude, in the case of the Europeanisation of the parties in Central Eastern Europe the experience of the EPP has been mixed for the reasons we presented. One recipe does not deliver results in all countries. Elaborating diverse recipes would risk the criticism of arbitrariness and unfairness. It may also suggest that in some countries europeanisation "doesn't work", regardless of the recipe or the conditionality power. Although we can not agree with such a pessimistic scenario, we lack the evidence to exclude it a priori. We would call these diverse effects inhomogenous europeanisation. If we accept it as a phenomenon we would look into developing more diverse tools. Such an exercise however would run into serious risks going beyond the technical level. Departing from the principle of universal rules for all the member states or national level actors in the European Union would be a political exercise.

Chapter 9: Lessons for the Europarties

Political parties grow as phenomenon in defined political systems and the European Union has such characteristics. The European parliament from the outset has been a highly structured and defined political system; a play-field with tight rules and procedures, many players, the MEPs that need to cooperate to deliver the day to day tasks. These are ingredients favouring the formation of political parties. On the contrary this did not apply on the other key institutions: the European Council, the Council of Ministers and the European Commission. Less integrated Europarty activity is observed within these institutions. Instead the intergovernmental aspect is strong. National parties *“find it more productive to represent their electorate directly through representatives at the European level (ministers) than to strengthen the federations.”* (Bardi, 2006, p.14)

Today there is ample academic discourse on Europarties. On the one side we have those who approach the topic from the crossroad of the political science and the discussion about their similarities and disparities to traditional political parties. They are looking to compare with national parties and the functions performed at the national context in modern democracies. Vote seeking, political representation, ideological debate, or policy making within the context of the European Union. European parties create a new chapter on their own, while they take part in the discussion on the Europeanisation of political parties in both Western and transition democracies. On the other side, we have the more recent discussion on European integration, the functions performed by the institutions, their development and the roles of the actors involved. In this discussion European parties touch upon the broader debate on the “politicisation” of the Union as well as the discussion on whether or not there is “democratic deficit” in the EU. It further touches upon governance issues, the decision-making processes in the EU and what will come next heading down the road of more integration. According to Majone “Depoliticisation of European policy-making is the price we have to pay in order to preserve national sovereignty largely intact.

We have experienced almost three rounds of academic interest towards Europarties. The **first** one, as we presented, was in the early 1970s with the roadmap for the first direct elections to the European parliament. Although the EPP did succeed into what it aimed throughout the 70s and the 80s in the context of the European Communities the discussion about the rise of the European demos and a European party system did not flourish. The **second** burst came with the sign of the Maastricht Treaty, the launch of the second and third pillar of the cooperation and the article 138a²⁷⁰ but also through the Amsterdam Treaty (1997) and the Treaty of Nice (2000). The implementation of the “Party regulation” in 2004 further pushed the rise of new Europarties, mainly from Eurosceptic forces, as the new regulation set the criteria for recognition and subsequently for funding of these recognized organisations. This period went along the next rounds of enlargement that overdoubled its membership by 2004. During this period, European parties did not impress with their evolution or performance despite optimism. The EPP, as we presented, went through the process of an overhaul in the 1990s that made it a cooperation of centre-right parties, beyond the doctrine of Christian Democracy. The other two traditional political families, the Socialists and the Liberals, were refounded in the light of the Treaty of Maastricht while joining the pro European camp. The **third** burst of discussion spurred out of the Lisbon Treaty in 2009 that aspired to increase the visibility and the relevance of the European parties through their pivotal role in the appointment of the President of the European Commission. Despite the first, rather successful, implementation in the 2014 European elections, we do not observe any major steps taken by the EPP during the period 2009-2014 in the run up of the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty clause. The cooperation within the EPP has remained strong at the level of the party leaders and Prime ministers, imitating the intergovernmental mode of governance within the European Union, where the European Council has become the key body making headlines in the Union.

²⁷⁰ Hix and Lord's (1997) Political Parties in the European Union.

Indeed, the latest persisting financial crisis in the Eurozone highlighted this long lasting debate about the politicization of the Union. On the one hand one can credit the Union's institutions for smoothening out the financial crisis in most cases where it interfered through adjustment programmes with the participation of the IMF. Greece being an exception where the crisis still goes on. The cost of this new role has been the further rise of anti-Europeanism. The association of the two is easily proven as the politicization of the crisis became strong through the 'lending of money'. Overall on the one hand some countries do get precious support that had it not existed then they may have defaulted in the absence of monetary policy instruments. On the other hand this came with a price. The policisation of the whole process of the programmes was strong despite the fact that no direct or even indirect redistribution took place in the case of the countries in need. Still due to the instruments introduced and extensively used to lend huge junks of money in return of reforms this created perceptions in the lending countries of redistribution. Equally so in the countries receiving the loans, the so called programme countries this whole process of perceived with a negative connotation that of interference in the domestic agenda. Part of the explanation may be the strong interference of the intergovernmental body of the EUrogroup in this whole process as well as the European Council that both symbolize the intergovernmental character of the Union. The process also had a strong negotiation character one of zero sum flavor.

As Majone has put it: *"redistributive policies can be legitimated only by majoritarian means and thus cannot be delegated to institutions independent of the political process; efficiency-oriented policies, on the other hand, are basically legitimated by results, and hence may be delegated to such institutions, provided an adequate system of accountability is in place"* (Majone, 1998, p.28)

Do we need parties in the European Union?

The European Union has evolved to a fully-fledged political system with public opinion, institutions, regulation, ordinary and extraordinary decision making. It is also faced with Union-wide issues, not always visible to the majority of the citizens but still critical. Agricultural policy, regional development funding instruments, monetary

policy, economic policy coordination, regulation of internal market, rules of trade with the rest of the world etc. The status quo of the Union today is the product of a gradual evolution from the original Treaties in the 1950s, but mainly from Maastricht hitherto. The last five years and the enduring crisis in the Eurozone are pushing this integration further, despite the fact that no new Treaty has been attempted after the Lisbon Treaty ratified in 2009. This evolution, through enlargement and deepening, has completely overhauled the edifice. Today, the Union of the 28 member states, compared to the Union of the 9 in the mid-1970s, has institutions and bodies much larger in size that require more coordination.

The traditional debate is on the pros and cons of politicisation in the EU's institutions, primarily the European Commission and the Council and the European Council. In this debate the European parliament was never included, as it has had operated with organized groups for decades. It is important to clarify here that the "coordination role" of the European parties does not enforce the concept of politicisation. As the number of the people increases in the institutions there is growing space for coordination, speaking in terms of efficiency, not necessarily in terms of democracy. A Pareto-efficiency goal would support the functioning of European parties in the core institutions, the Commission and the Council. Starting each time from 28 (and increasing) national positions and aiming at the end of each meeting of the Council and the European Council to consolidate one position is strongly favouring the functioning of Europarties.

When the phenomenon of organized party groups took place almost surprisingly in 1953, at the Common Assembly of the European Community of Coal and Steel there were 78 MPs in the room from 6 different member states of the Community and from 24 different national parties²⁷¹. That alone was enough to stimulate the phenomenon of coordination along some common characteristics, such as ideology and divide by three. What is hard to understand and would need academic attention is that today with 28 different prime ministers and still the institutionalised coordination has not developed enough. Also, with 25 members of the Commission and a president elected on a

²⁷¹ Belgium 3 parties, Germany 5 parties, France 5 parties and 1 independent, Italy 4 parties, Luxembourg 3 parties and The Netherlands 4 parties.

manifesto and legitimized for implementation through the European elections it is also difficult to explain the absence of Europarties. On this point more academic attention is needed.

Bressaneli names another factor favouring the development of Europarties as “*the crisis of the national parties to provide, ironically, a more favourable context for the Europarties. Indeed, if key decisions on economic, monetary, environmental, budgetary policies and so on are now taken at the EU level, a meaningful representative channel needs to be structured at that very level.*”²⁷² Among the latest academic works on Europarties is Eduardo Bressanelli’s “Europarties after enlargement” where he contends that their enlargement was successfully managed and contributed to their institutionalization. In the case of the EPP we have demonstrated that the situation is slightly more complex. Bressanelli positions himself among the pro-Europarties academics that consider that they have made remarkable progress and with further reforms that can improve their perspectives.

Different researchers are taking different approaches on this issue depending the perspective they look upon, albeit the majority views are not enthusiastic on their performance²⁷³. Our view is that despite the huge steps taken towards integration in several policy domains by the European Union, Europarties have not followed a similar development. There is an *asymmetric development* of the European Union compared to the Europarties. The European Parliament indeed has a proven record of well-functioning European parties²⁷⁴. This is not the case however in the other major institutions: The Commission, the Council and the European Council. The Council and the European Council are critical institutions of the European Union where we notice activity of the European Parties. The key characteristic is the “informal character” through ministerial meetings on several portfolios for the bigger European parties in the Council of Ministers and Summit meetings prior to the European Council at the level of affiliated party leaders and heads of states. These meetings have a long history

²⁷² Bressaneli (2014), Perspectives on Federalism, Vol 6, issue 3, 2014, p. E-192

²⁷³ Bartolini (2012), Priestly (2011); Van Hecke (2010); Peglis (2010), Johansson (2009); Hanley (2008); Mair (2006), Hix (2002); Raunio (2006).

²⁷⁴ Kreppel (2002).

stemming from the 1980s. As we proved with research however, in the 1970s in the EPP the Political Bureau was performing the coordination role at the top level of party presidents and prime ministers. Not much has changed in these bodies in the past decades. On occasions these have proven constructive mainly in allowing more time for consultation prior to starting the normal session of the Council or of the European Council. Less activity is observed in the European Commission, despite the fact that it is often assimilated to a “European government”. These three institutions have over-doubled their members since the 1970s. This simple data suggests party organization and coordination. Member states are the key players still today in promoting their interests in the interinstitutional processes of legislation and policy implementation.

The way the European Union works has changed a lot in the past four decades. Particularly with the launch of the co-decision procedure and its gradual extension to almost all areas of decision making, the cooperation of the core institutions is critical for the output of the Union. This is very different than what we had back in the ‘70s or ‘80s when the Commission and the Council were individually legislating and the European Parliament was mainly a discussion forum. With the Lisbon Treaty and, especially with the ongoing financial crisis in Europe, the debate about the institutions remaining immune and outside from political confrontation is fully outdated. The European Union is a Union of states with a high degree of unification on some domains but not on others. The discussion on the regular decision making cannot be done on intergovernmental terms with 28 different national players. This is just not efficient. This issue postures opportunities and benefits from those political organisations that will manage to coordinate and consolidate their representation inter-institutionally. Albeit a complicated exercise, this is the direction where European parties should look even from a normative perspective.

Europarties and the debate on politicisation

The crisis in the eurozone has been a factor impeding integration for the EPP and the traditional Europarties at least. It virtually raised a fundamental question upon European integration: *are we all in this together?* It further questioned the fundamental

issue of the 'irreversibility' of the whole project. The sovereign debt crisis that burst at the beginning of 2010 had a major impact on the issue of Europarty development. It amplified Europarties' weaknesses and strengthened intergovernmentalism, despite the escalation of interdependence and the profound Europeanisation. As Johansson points out: "*the clash is between perspectives that tend to characterize the EU either as an international organization or as a political system. Where the first predominates, there is little if any recognition of the role of political parties, neither national nor European.*" (Johansson in Delwit, 2004, p.17). The crisis outlined the international organization dimension of the EU or the intergovernmental aspect, as it trembled its very foundations.

In recent years an inspiring debate on European integration has been on the so called 'politicisation' issue. Either the consequence of institutional engenering or the natural evolution of the long lasting trends of globalisation, this topic instigated a lot of academic talk. The debate has today become less intense. The financial crisis in the Eurozone has given strong political injections to institutions like the Eurogroup or even the 'Euroworking group', the Commission, and surprisingly even the European Central Bank. Also, the rise of integovernmentalism with the strengthening of the political footprint of the European Council, the increasing political status of the President of the European Commission given the implementation of the Lisbon clause. The increasing levels of politicisation in the Union's institutions is a fact beyond dispute. This direction of the Union was advocated by scholars on the basis of legitimacy, accountability and combating the 'democratic deficit'. But, until their hopes on making the EU a more democratic organisation, the fears of those opposing politicisation are more likely confirmed. According to Johansson and Raunio (2005) Europarties must make a greater effort to convince their member parties that they are relevant to them, and that the overall advantages of strongly correlating their activities to those of their Europarty outweigh the costs.

Some ten years ago Moravcic summarized the argments of the opponents of the poliicisation of the Union in one sentence: "the EU's greatest tactical advantage is that it is, in a word, so *boring*". The American academic argued that the EU was a legitimate and credible institution not because it had managed to associate its work with the

citizens of the European Union, but because it had kept itself distant from doing that. The immunity of the European Union institutions had contributed in preserving its status and serve its statutory goals. During the past ten years almost everything in the Union has worked towards the opposite direction and today its work is associated in many more ways with the citizen than in the past. This development has given rise to more Euroscepticism, the rise of Europhobic parties, the decreasing trust towards the institutions, more movements suggesting “exit” from the EU appearing in more and more member states, while the financial crisis has exacerbated distrust among member states.

This politicisation debate today, as a discussion of whether it is a desirable evolution or not, is out-dated. The EU has become more politicised. In this context a discussion over the emerging political system of Union and its desired characteristics for the benefit of the Union is highly necessary. Historically, the national political parties were always in the hot centre of the political attention in the member states but also in the European level. Their decisions are satisfying some groups of their societies and dissapointing other groups. This strong link with the citizen is further taken to periodic elections where politicians rise and fall, held accountable for their political decisions. Despite the increasing level of political development of the Union, the Europarties, so far, have not followed the same path. They are not as politicised one would expect them to be given the politicisation of the European Council, the Commission especially when debating the management of the crisis, the Council of financial ministers (Eurogroup) managing hot political issues. The poor performance of the Europarties in the years of the financial crisis could reflect the politicisation debate to be brought down to the level of the European party system. Europarties did not manage to consolidate positions on all the milestone decisions of this crisis. These have been the development of new institutions and procedures for the economic coordination, the provision of assistance for countries running under financial distress, the design and implementation of reform programmes in countries under such supervision etc. All these core political issues were addressed primarily by the technocratic European Commission, with the participation of the non-political European Central bank. The mandate was given by the Council of Finance ministers of the Eurozone (Eurogroup). The most politicised

institution of the Union, the European Parliament has had the least role in this management and the least politicised institutions has had the biggest role.

The steps taken in the course of the debt crisis in the eurozone during 2010-2015 created a peculiar “transnational intergovernmentalism”. This defines the behaviour of intergovernmental players by means of transnationalism. It applies to both ‘help recipient’ and ‘help providing’ countries. Behind the analysis of the government stance in each of these countries lies the salient position of its citizenry: in Greece demanding more ‘solidarity’ and intervention policies on behalf of the EU and in Germany demanding that they refuse to pay the prize of the state failure of another member state. This analysis brings in elements of transnationalism and of federal polity in an international organisation as the European Council of the European Union.

This contrast between the weight and magnitude of the financial crisis, the decisive role of historically non-political EU institutions and the negligent role of Europarties is a significant topic for academic research over Europarties today. It serves also as a ‘crash test’ for them, out of which they need to contemplate on their future. This stark contrast gives rise to the idea of Europarties as “*semi political institutions*”. Moravcic and other academics who strongly advocated the European Union to stay-out of political constestation might find this a good idea. Especially with the important role today of national political parties in ‘crashing’ into the hard choices they are called to take vis-a-vis their citizens. A structure of national parties being the “*wave breakers*” against the soft and, thus, more legitimate European parties, that take no decision to be blamed, or loved for. The historic role of the European Communities as a higher level of facilitating national governments address conflicting domestic interests can serve as a mirror to the discussion about the future of the Europarties in a politicised Union.

Turning this discussion upside down, however, if the fears of Moravcic from the politicised EU have materialised in today’s Union then the Europarties could be designed to become the “wave breakers”, to be the “bad guys” in Europe and get the blame of the electorates (on the name of democracy as well) allowing the space of neutrality and immunity the core Union institutions, as well as the national political parties to preserve their status and credibility. This concept comes out next from the politicisation debate. The European Commission and even the European Central Bank

has been recently asking member states to make large scale privatisations for example, or change the rules in regulated professions, or make cuts in their budget expenses, salaries and pensions in order to address deficits and financial distress. Hard political decision making has been seen as driven by the European Commission, undermining the credibility, the status and the legitimacy of this institution.

The more politicised EU is a fact nowadays, but, equally the fears of Moravcic, Bartolini and other critics have been fully confirmed during the ongoing crisis years. All their fears have materialised through the declining numbers of popular support and rise of Euroscepticism. Putting forward the Europarties aiming to take the credit and blame from the political decision making would allow the institutions preserve their legitimacy. This assimilates to a pendulum analysis: national politicians take the blame, on the one end, or European institutions take this blame on the other end. European parties could make the pendulum balance in the middle immunising institutions and national parties from political criticism, while rising the flag of democratic legitimacy. At the moment all the stress goes to the two ends delivering less efficiency in the output and enduring crisis.

Following the path towards the British referendum on whether to stay or leave the European Union Euroscepticism has taken a whole new impetus in Europe. While these lines are written weeks before the referendum day, still this referendum has escalated criticism that aggregated with other factors of the recent history are impossible to neglect anymore. The management of third world migrants, the intra EU migration, the financial failures of some member states creating consequences on the others and the weakness of the European flag to cultivate a new sense of identity are putting Europe in a path where the next Treaty will have to accommodate. It will not be possible anymore to neglect Euroscepticism in Europe when drafting the next Treaty, unless we go for more 'exit' referendums. In the centre of the discussion towards the next Treaty we will have to debate on the right of the member states to opt-out existing policies of the EU, while the model of 'enhanced cooperation' will become the dominant paradigm of the next steps of integration. Generating more rights for the member states not to take part in existing and not just future common policy areas could be the key to address the legitimacy crisis of the European Union today. In this discussion that has

hardly started yet the Europarties could pursue a more institutionalised role beyond the European Parliament, in the other two key institutions. If the European Union has accepted its new highly politicised role then the active role of Europarties coordinating the decision making of too many national actors will be necessary. However there are no signs that such a debate has emanated so far at least inside our case study: the EPP.

Europarties evolution «by statute and by practice»

Papini presents a critical line over Europarty congresses (1996, p.113): *“The EPP congresses have sometimes been criticized as much for their format as for their results.”* The EPP Congress, as well as any other Europarty body, is the combination of the Statutory design with the actual input members put in. The design of each body affects the outcome but so does the input of its members. The statutory environment describes the processes. The behavior of its members determines the results. Europarties usually have inefficiencies in results and not in processes. This is what explains why the EPP may have performed highly integrated as a Europarty in the 1970s and 1980s. The statutory environment has not deteriorated nor has it become less “federal”. On the opposite it has improved, out of experience. If the ‘Political Bureau’ has been renamed to ‘Political Assembly’ it obviously marks no difference per se. If the EPP President until the late 1990s was elected by around 50 representatives at the Political Bureau or by 1000 delegates of the EPP Congress can make some difference on the working style, the organizational culture but also the type of electoral campaign of the different candidates. Efficiency is not necessarily affected by technical changes in the processes but sometimes it is. Efficiency and effectiveness as statutory aims are affected substantially by the content the people give in the procedures.

The broader institutional environment for the Europarties has improved a lot since Maastricht and has become more Europarty-friendly: it started with the article 138a in Maastricht, literally acknowledging their existence within the EU. It evolved with enhanced reference in the subsequent treaties of Amsterdam in 1997, Nice in 2001 and

Lisbon in 2008. In addition, Regulation introduced in 2003 and amended later on, laid down the conditions for their legal status and funding. Besides, other institutional innovations further incentivised or facilitated the development of European parties. These were the increase of the co-legislator role of the EP, the lift of unanimity in the Council of Ministers and the European Council on several policy domains, the appointment procedures of the President and of the members of the College of the Commission, the rise of the legal status of the Europarties, their financing independence and strengthening, their think tanks²⁷⁵ and, with the Lisbon Treaty, their role in the election of the President of the European Commission. During this timeline the Statutory framework of the EPP did change a lot aiming to address contemporary issues, such as the integration of the emerging parties in Central and Eastern Europe, or the requests of their conservative allies in the 1990s, or the streamlining of its associations, or the gradual development of the staff numbers to become more professional, as the institutional and financial means were also improving.

Important here is to understand that Europarties themselves have worked a lot for these institutional reforms that strengthened their role. Starting from the Maastricht Treaty and the article 138A, Martens in his autobiography provides details on how he personally put the effort, coordinating with the leaders of the other two mainstream Europarties, for this article to be included in the Treaty²⁷⁶. Less known is also the role of the EPP behind the latest Treaty clause of article 17 of the Lisbon Treaty. In his interview deputy Secretary General Christian Kremer told us that EPP had inspired this reform. It had internally elaborated the idea of linking the results of the European elections with the nomination of the candidate for the Presidency of the European Commission. He pointed to the EPP Congress document in Estoril (October 2002). Indeed, the EPP Congress resolution in Estoril back in 2002, EPP stated:

Article 47. A candidate for the President of the European Commission should be proposed to the European Parliament by the European Council in light of the outcome of European

²⁷⁵ Gagatsek-Hecke (2014) The development of European Political Foundations and their role in strengthening Europarties, *Acta Politica* (2014) 49, 86–104. doi:10.1057/ap.2013.27; published online 18 October 2013

²⁷⁶ On this issue see Martens 2009,p.104, Jansen-Van Hecke, 2011,p.193.

elections, and by qualified majority vote. The European Parliament should give or withhold its approval by majority vote. This would give European political parties the opportunity to present their own candidates in the framework of the campaign for European elections. It would ensure a more personalised election campaign and increase democratic control and support of the European Commission.

Article 48. The President of the Commission should be granted the right to select members of the European Commission in accordance with needs. The Commissioners-designate selected by the President of the European Commission must be confirmed by the Council by qualified majority vote. The European Parliament must approve the President and the other members of the Commission thus nominated²⁷⁷.

Both these articles of the Europarty Congress resolution outline what five years later was included in the signed Treaty of Lisbon in December 2007, ratified by the member states in December 2009.

²⁷⁷ EPP Estoril Congress document, October 2002, found at http://arc.eppgroup.eu/press/pave02/eve30/congressdoc_en.asp

Chapter 10: Summary and end remarks

In this Thesis:

- We have conducted research in the foundation years of the European People's Party in the 1970s as well as the first 20 years of its existence.
- Through this research we brought strong evidence that the EPP had reached a high level of integration at the 1970s and the 1980s. Despite several positive factors that favour its development today that were not existing 30 years ago. We are exploring why this is the case.
- We unveil the richness of the valuable historical archive of the EPP through continuous references throughout our thesis but also we have worked to build up index tables that will facilitate the future researcher.
- We enrich the research for the period of enlargement towards Central and Eastern European countries revealing its early years strategy. The findings match with theories about the social and political foundations of political parties' creation in countries in transition.
- Out of the new data and information we present about the enlargement we put forward some ideas on contemporary topics: Europeanisation, politicization, democratic deficit.

The era of the Christian democrats was probably the highest level of "federalism" we know of, during the past century. How do we relate our thesis with the theory of Europarties? Theoretical approaches are two dimensional: Whether Europarties are effective or not and whether they are desirable or not. The pioneer work of Simon Hix and his colleagues on the European parliament voting behavior of party groups complemented with the work of other academics that have demonstrated that this is not to the detriment of national parties that remain the key players behind the important decision making. Indeed, the EPP group today has developed to a fully

fledged “party group” highly cohesive and successful²⁷⁸ in the day-to-day decision making.

What we have established is that the EPP had reached the present level of integration (if not more) already from the outset. Throughout history its commitment towards being a “European party” never actually changed. However, the fact that this stage of integration was reached in the 1970s and the 1980s is a critical finding that should be taken into account in our assessment today. Comparing the two periods in the European history strongly suggests that today there are more factors favouring Europarties’ development: A much larger membership of the EU, from 9-10 members, to 28. The European parliament went up from 410 members to 732 today, the Council of Ministers and the Commission also over-doubled their size. These changes favour coordination and Europarty development. Similarly, the European Union is much more interdependent today than it was back then. European parties have enjoyed the statutory recognition since Maastrich and subsequent Treaties. Their funding has been hugely increased and secured directly from the European Parliament, independent of their party groups, while they receive funding even for their think-tanks. They now have the background for their legal status under EU law and for campaigning directly and not through their national members. After Lisbon they have got the competence to name a candidate for the Presidency of the European Commission and increase public awareness over European elections. If we add to all this the broader effects from Europeanisation and globalisation, the comparison with the late 1970s is unparalleled.

According to Niedermayer’s famous typology (1983) we can distinguish between three stages of European party development: *contact, cooperation and integration*. The last one refers to delegating powers and resources from the national parties to the European organisations²⁷⁹. The breakthrough theory of Niedermayer would indeed apply in the case of the creation of the EPP. The member parties of the parent organisation, EUCD, decided to go on to the next level of closer party integration

²⁷⁸ See for example Simon Hix’s top 10 EP resolutions most from EPP. http://www.sieps.se/sites/default/files/2013_15epa.pdf And also http://www.votewatch.eu/blog/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/VoteWatch_Europe_2013_Annual_report_web_10_votes_that_shaped_the_7th_EP.pdf

²⁷⁹ Johansson and Zervakis, 2002

creating the EPP in 1976. However, given the development we presented and its transformation in the light of the enlargement today it is unable to capture the evolution of the EPP. The triptych of contact – cooperation and integration, as a tool to understand the development of the EPP, appears today as another *linear approach* against the actual development of, least, the EPP that we worked on. This may reflect other Europarties' development.

The conclusion we draw is that, given the immense changes in the broader environment of the European Union, the EPP 'normally' should have gone down the road of integration much further than it actually did, given its high starting point. The argument that it didn't based on the evidence we presented is deserving attention over why this is the case. It indicates that there are no standard conditions, despite what we may think of, for the development of Europarties. Even the reasonable argument over the increasing numbers of the EU organs is not enough to change history. Or it means that the phenomenon of intergovernmentalism has affected the Europarties as well and not just the European Union. The decline of Christian Democracy as a federalist set of political ideals is another factor especially compounded with increasing Euroscepticism, even inside the EPP. It is not by accident that the political goal to create the "United States of Europe" has disappeared from the EPP documents in recent years.

On the other hand, we should acknowledge the well functioning of the EPP inside the European parliament, where the party group has a high degree of integration. According to Hix the cohesion in the voting behaviour of the political groups in the European Parliament has increased over time. Even at the Parliament of the 27 member states some 84% of MEPs in a group vote the same way (Raunio 1997; Hix et al. 2005, 2007). The high level of integration of the EPP in the European parliament but not in the other three key decision making bodies of the Union, the Council, the European Council and the European Commission could be approached using the differences contemplated by academics between these institutions.

In the light of our findings we conclude that there is no single axis analysis of the European parties. An axis that deserves more attention is to follow the development of

the European parties in parallel with the development of the European Union, to which they apply. This is related to both the evolution of the European institutions through time but also the real balance of power inside the Union. Today more scope and competences have been delegated, while each one of the key institutions has changed dramatically.

What we can therefore suggest is that we take the analysis of the European parties to the level of each institution. There we can have a basis to evaluate their performance and their evolution and use the of comparative analysis methodology to draw conclusions. Such an analysis for instance at the level of the European Parliament would look into two dimensions: the development of the European parliament, as an institution with the increase of membership in MEPs, national parties and countries of origin as well as the fundamental increase of the competences and legislation role assigned over time. This background would serve as the independent variable and against this the development of each party group would be analysed as the dependent variable.

The European People's Party was ultimately the 'next step' towards the party integration of the Christian democratic parties from the European Communities. Through our research we presented the thesis that the foundation period of the EPP is marked in a crucial way by a core group of 9 parties from Benelux, France, Italy and Ireland that aspired and finally created a European political party, the first European political party, ahead of the first European elections in 1979. The two German Union parties aspired a broader cooperation with the conservatives at the time but they were not supported in this proposal. Against common scholar perception we put forward the **hypothesis** that the EPP was not created as a loose form of party cooperation, but as a fully fledged European party, by today's criteria. We consider the evidence provided through primarily the archive material that is a fully reliable source of information and overwhelmingly sufficient to support this hypothesis.

The question of who to invite in the cooperation has been there even before 1976 when the EPP was founded and originally dealt with the three new member countries, Great Britain, Ireland and Denmark, as a result of the first enlargement of the EC in

1973. At that point the EPP did not open its doors to non-Christian democratic parties from these countries as a result of a debate about this. Things turned out differently when Greece became the 10th member country in 1981. The case of Greece was unexpectedly smooth, as Nea Demokratia, although conspicuously not a Christian Democratic party, did not provoke any negative reaction. The next steps of the EPP enlargement however made us put up the second **hypothesis**: that the EPP for about two decades, the 1980s and the 1990s aspired to enlarge in order to strengthen its footprint in the European Union institutions through the concept of “acquisitions”. It aspired that other parties by joining the EPP and declaring that they agree to its ideological programme, the Basic Programme of 1978 and later on of 1992, they somehow became Christian Democratic parties, complying with its core values.

This strategy was further extended towards the Central and Eastern European post communist democracies after 1989 triggering important consequences. The third **hypothesis** we put forward on the Eastern enlargement of the EPP is that for almost a decade, until the late 1990s, the appeal of the EPP in the emerging parties of the new democracies triggered the creation of dozens of -self-proclaimed- Christian democratic parties in all the new democracies. This happened as a reaction from the Christian Democratic proliferation policy of the EPP that incentivised politicians in the new democracies to adopt Christian democratic language in their party, without necessarily addressing a social demand or historical political cleavages. More critically, they did not complement the christian democratic declarations with real ideological and political adjustment back home. This political endeavour produced moderate successful results especially taking into account the size of the project and the limited resources available. In several countries the new Christian Democratic parties became leading parties with long government record, while, in some cases, even after a quarter of a century, they remain today influential political forces.

The project of the Eastern enlargement of the EPP was two fold: spread the Christian democratic message in the 1990s and also Europeanise prospective partners ahead of the EU enlargement to these countries. In both these political tasks the EPP delivered results. Much more could be expected at the level of party consolidation and party

institutionalisation in the new countries of Central and Eastern Europe, but, as we presented, this could have negative side effects.

The strategy of inviting parties to join the Christian Democratic family went along for almost 20 years. However, at some point it was confronted with an aggregated sum that made this concept outdated. The last parties to come in were the Forza Italia and the French Gaullists. In 1998, under the leadership of Helmut Kohl, the EPP invited these parties to join the EPP putting the last brick towards its transformation to a moderate centre-right profile. This marked the departure from the Christian Democratic positioning for the new profile of the EPP of the 2000s. This is a moderate centre right, pro European party federation. Few years later the EPP, after the two enlargement steps of 2004 and 2007, with 12 new countries in the EU, Christian democracy became a point of reference in the documents but it hardly reflects a one third of its present members, the rest being different variants of conservatives, liberals etc in their respective countries.

Based on the evidence we provided in the first three hypotheses we put forward the **fourth hypothesis** that the EPP today is not more integrated than it was during its creation and until its grand enlargement that took place in the 1990s. This is the case, despite a much more favourable environment towards Europarties in recent years. If this is true then a lot of what we know today about the roadmap of integration can be revised. Old time classic neofunctionalist theories about the 'natural' development towards more integration become outdated. Without underestimating the fact that the growing Europeanisation and globalisation is increasing interdependence of the member states and is augmenting the scope and need for common policies, still, history is not written solely by these trends. The backlash effects against political integration triggered by the persisting financial trouble in the Eurozone after 2010 are further supporting this approach. The European political parties are key organisations in support of the smooth functioning of the European institutions in an enlarged Union of 28 and beyond member states. More can be done in the direction of strengthening their operation and promoting their role as coordinating vehicles in the decision making process of the institutions.

Annexes

Annex 1: Press reports from the creation of the EPP

RHEINISCHER MERKUR 16/7/76 Die Europäische Volkspartei - ein neuerweg
Die Kräfte der politischen Mitte rücken enger zusammen (IX-007-002, p.155)

Austrian Monatshefte

Christlich-Demokratischer Internationalismus

Die Bemühungen der christlich-demokratischen Parteien um internationale
Zusammenarbeit sind in eine neue entscheidende Phase eingetreten. Die ursprünglich für
Mai oder Juni 1978 vorgesehenen Direktwahlen zum Europaparlament, der ins Stocken
geratene Rhythmus der europäischen Integration, die in verschiedenem (ibid p.158)

Lösungen gegeben werden:

- 1) Die EVP und die christlich-demokratische Fraktion des Europaparlaments,
- 2) die EUCD und die christlich-demokratische Fraktion des Europarates,
- 3) die EUD und die Zusammenarbeit der christlich-demokratischen Fraktionen mit den
Konservativen und ähnlichen Gruppierungen. (p.160)

La Releve (3/7/1976) Ces jours prochains, l Luxembourg, prendra son depart le parti
populaire européen issu, au niveau des Neuf, d'une maniere de regroupement confederatif
des partis consideres comme de «tendance » sociale-chretienne ou chretien democrate et
notre Premier Ministre en deviendra le premier president. (p.166)

Franfurter Allgemeine Zeitung 8/7/1976: « Heute Gründungstag der Europäischen
Volkspartei »

Die Welt 8/7/1976: « Heute schließen sich Europas Christdemokraten zusammen »

Die Welt 8/7/1976 : Fuß in Europas Tür

Frankfurter Neue Press 9/7/1976: Christdemokraten als Block

Mannheimer Morgen 9/7/1976: Europäische Volkspartei

Die Welt 14/7/1976: CDU/CSU: Auch Wirtschaftsunion

Kolnische Rundschau 9/7/1976: Europäische Volkspartei gibt neue impulse

Die Welt 9/7/1976 :Biedenkopf: Kampf mit den Sozialisten um Europa

Die Welt 10/7/1976 : Tindemans: Auf den Bürgerwillen hören

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung 10/7/1976: Demonstration für Direktwahl geplant

Süddeutsche Zeitung 10/7/1976: Burgenahes Europa – eine Utopie ?

Süddeutsche Zeitung 11/7/1976: Direktwahl ist das beherrschende Thema

Süddeutsche Zeitung 11/7/1976: Tindemans erster Vorsitzender der EVP

BAYERNKURIER 17/7/1976 EUROPÄISCHE VOLKSPARTEI Die Gründung ist nur ein Anfang

Tageblatt 8/7/1976 Heute Gründung einer Europäischen Volkspartei

Tageblatt 9/7/1976: Tindemans stellt EVP vor

Luxemburger Wort 9/7/1976: Leo Tindemans erster Präsident der Europäischen Volkspartei

Deutschland-Union-Dienst 7/7/1976

Zur Gründung der Europäischen Volkspartei am 8. Juli 1976

Helmut Kohl: "Historisches Ereignis für Europa"

Deutschland-Union-Dienst 7/7/1976

DIE EUROPÄISCHE VOLKSPARTEI (EVP) wählt im Rahmen der Konstituierenden Sitzung am 8.7.1976 in Luxemburg (s. DUD Nr. 125) ihren Präsidenten. Bereits vor einigen Wochen waren die Regularien zwischen den gründenden christlich-demokratischen Parteien aus den Ländern der Europäischen Gemeinschaft verabredet worden. Der belgische Ministerpräsident Leo Tindemans ist für das Amt des Präsidenten der EVP vorgesehen. Am 9. Juli findet ebenfalls in Luxemburg eine Sitzung des politischen Rates der Europäischen Union Christlicher Demokraten (UEDC) statt. Sie wird geleitet vom Präsidenten der UEDC, Kai-Uwe von Hassel, MdB.

Kleine Zeitung 9/7/1976 Europäische Volkspartei der EG Staaten gegründet

Presse 9/7/1976 « Tindemans erster Präsident der "Europäischen Volkspartei" »

Agence Europe 29/6/1976 Parti Populaire Européen : Constitution du Bureau Politique

Sudost-Tagespost 10/7/1976 OVP nominiert Außenpolitiker

Le Republicain Lorrain 9.7.1976 M. Leo Tindemans premier president du parti populaire europeen (p.182)

NRC-Handelsb 9.7.1976 Belg Tindemans voorzitter van Europese CDU

De standaard 11.7.1976 Christen-demokraten klaar voor Europese verkiezing

De standaard 12.7.1976 Europese socialisten

Il Popolo 7.7.76: Nasce il Partito Popolare Europeo »

Il Popolo 10.7.76: i partiti dc e la « nuova Europa »

L ' Echo de la Bourse 10/7/1976 Un premier parti se crée a l'échelle de la C.E.E. : les Chrétiens-démocrates dans la P.P.E.

La Libre Belgique 9/7/76 : M. Tindermans est élu président du Parti Populaire Européen

La Libre Belgique 10/7/76 : Parti populaire européen risqué le modifier le puzzle politique Belge

The Irish Press 28/4/1976 FG to join new EEC party Direct elections plan

Fine Gael is adopting a fresh public image - tomorrow it joins the newly formed European Christian Democrat Party (ECDP) and the Minister for Education, Mr. Burke, is expected to be in Brussels to attend the inauguration ceremonies as an official FG representative. (IX-007-002, p.260)

Le Monde 3/5/1976 Les parties démocrates-chrétiens de sept pays de la CEE .. ont créé jeudi 29 Avril a Bruxelles le parti populaire européen en vue des premiers élections du Parlement européen au suffrage universel direct, en 1978.

The Times wrote: "a new Community wide grouping of most Christian Democratic Parties of the Nine, with the notable exception of the British and the Danish Conservatives." ... "British and Danish Conservatives have not joined the new grouping mainly because of disagreements over political labels like "Conservative", which many Christian Democrats consider distasteful". (p.235)

The Financial Times wrote: "a federation of EEC's centre right Christian Democrats. ... The formation of the EPP as the first multinational party to fight EEC elections on a centre right platform is posing some difficulties for the British Conservatives here. Though on many issues they are natural allies, differences over political labels in particular have so far ruled out any formal coalition." (IX-007-002, p.235)

Annex 2: 1984 Speech of EPP President Tindermans

From the speech of Leo Tindermans, as EPP President, at the joint meeting of the EPP group and the political bureau on June 27, 1984 IX-007-037, p.287-89

Ladies and gentlemen,

Whatever we do in individual policy areas, whatever line we take with regard to individual proposals and whatever action we take, we shall only be successful if we are credible, and in order to be credible we must constantly remind ourselves that we are Christian Democrats and, as such, different from the other political groups, including the Social Democrats, Liberals and Conservatives with whom, taking a pragmatic view, we have a certain amount in common.

Above all, the Christian Democratic approach means giving consideration to the whole range of people's material, mental and spiritual needs and on the basis of concern for the well-being of others, finding answers to their problems of living together which will take account of their needs, hopes and abilities.

We have an independent doctrine, a philosophy based on an image of man and society which we fundamentally derive from our belief in God as our Creator and Saviour. I should like to state this quite seriously and emphatically as our new EPP Group starts work and at the beginning of a new phase in the development of the EPP, which must increasingly show itself to be the European task force of the Christian Democrats in the European Community.

Eight years after the EPP was formed it's time that Christian Democrats in Europe made a fresh effort to clarify the philosophical basis and cultural roots of their common interest and image of themselves, in order to find impulses and guidelines for their political activities now and in the future. It's a fact that in recent years we have obviously failed to give sufficient thought to our 'doctrine'. This has led to a deficiency which we are starting to feel, for example in our confrontation with the flourishing pacifist and ecological movements, or in connection with the search for new ways of solving the economic crisis.

What do Christian Democratic political beliefs mean today? What is the common denominator for the different positions, based on different historical traditions, constitutional circumstances and present situations, taken by the EPP's member parties in their various countries? What is Christian Democracy's specific answer to the challenge posed by the failure of Socialist and Liberal concepts with regard to economics and society? And in the changed circumstances of the 1980s, which of the ideas and methods which brought the Christian Democrats success in the 1950s are still valid?

We must start a new debate on such issues within the EPP; quite apart from its possible results, it is also needed for the integration of the Christian Democratic movement in Europe.

We have to admit that neglecting these questions has led to a degree of crisis in Christian Democratic 'doctrine', which has necessarily also entailed a weakening of the Christian Democratic movement. Efforts to relaunch Christian Democracy in spiritual, theoretical and programme terms, on the other hand, such as were undertaken in the Netherlands and Germany in the 1970s, for example, have been crowned with political success.

Despite the unease that many of us feel about the lack of a clear definition of Christian Democratic identity, we enjoy a relatively broad general consensus • unlike the Socialists, for example - which facilitates our cooperation with each other and makes joint action possible. It's a fact that, as a rule, European Christian Democrats easily reach agreement and have little difficulty in finding common answers to both questions of principle and practical problems. This is probably due to the fact that our dealings and actions are based on common values and principles. We refer to these principles and values all too rarely however, and in presenting arguments we make far too little use of our 'doctrine', which we also hardly ever explain. The Christian Democratic 'doctrine' thus remains unexplained knowledge, something that people are unaware of, simply a vague memory. I believe that this is the root of the crisis in Christian Democracy.

In these circumstances I believe that it is important for us to have the courage to talk again about our 'doctrine' and in so doing to make ourselves aware of its values and principles, the image of man that informs them and our personalist philosophy, to use them to justify and explain our political actions.

I have therefore suggested that a small working party should be set up, and this has already met; its task is to come up with proposals for what can be done in this area. We shall have the opportunity to consider this in detail at one of the Political Bureau's forthcoming meetings.

I have one final point to make: the EPP has great hopes for successful work on the part of the EPP Group. As in the past, the Political Bureau and the EPP Group's representatives will work together, on the basis of mutual trust, to find solutions to the political issues coming before Parliament.

The answers found and the decisions reached must then be passed on - and more actively than hitherto - to the decision-making bodies of the member parties, so that they are in a position to convey European political happenings to the public and their own members, and make them comprehensible.

We should take this feed-back process seriously; I would ask this of the member parties' delegates in the Political Bureau, and also of all the EPP Group members.

There's no point in only starting to make use of this channel of communication when the next European elections are approaching; we must start today and stick to it.

Annex 3: Membership evolution

EPP Member Parties from Western Europe (1976–2010)

Country	Party	Membership
Austria	Österreichische Volkspartei (ÖVP)	1995–
Belgium	Christelijke Volkspartij (CVP)/	
	Christen-Democratisch& Vlaams (CD&V)	1976–
	Parti social chrétien (PSC)/centre démocrate Humaniste (cdH)	1976–
Denmark	Det Konservative Folkeparti	1995–
	Kristeligt Folkeparti/Kristendemokraterne	1993–
Finland	Kansallinen Kokoomus (KK)	1995–
	Suomen Kristillinen Liitto/Kristillisdemokraatit	2001– a
France	Centre des démocrates sociaux (CDS)/	
	Union pour la démocratie française (UDF)	1976–2004
	Rassemblement pour la République/Union pour un mouvement populaire (UMP)	2001–
	Germany Christlich Demokratische Union (CDU)	1976–
	Christlich-Soziale Union (CSU)	1976–
Greece	Néa Démokratía (ND)	1983–
Italy	Democrazia Cristiana (DC)	1976–1994
	Partito Popolare Italiano (PPI)	1994–2004
	Cristiani Democratici Uniti (CDUi)	1994–2002
	Centro Cristiano Democratici (CCD)	1994–2002
	Südtiroler Volkspartei (SVP)	1993–
	Rinnovamento Italiano (RI)	1998–2004
	Forza Italia (FI)	1999–2009
	Unione Democratici per l'Europa (Udeur)/UDEUR	
	Popolari/Popolari per il Sud	2001–
	Unione di Centro (UdC)	2002–
Il Popolo della Libertà (PdL)	2009–	
Ireland	Fine Gael (FG)	1976–
Luxemburg	Chrëschtlech-Sozial Vollekspartei (CSV)	1976–
Netherlands	Christen Democratisch Appèl (CDA)	1976–
Norway	Høyre	1995–
Portugal	Centro Democrático e Social (CDSp)	1986–1993
	Partido Social Democrata (PSD)	1996–
	Centro Democrático e Social-Partido Popular (CDS-PP)	2009–
San Marino	Partido Democratico Cristiano Sammarinese (PDCS)	1993– a
Spain	Partido Democrata Popular (PDP)/Democracia Cristiana	1986–1991
	Unió Democràtica de Catalunya (UDC)	1986–
	Partido Nacionalista Vasco (PNV)	1986–1999
	Partido Popular (PP)	1991–
Sweden	Moderata Samlingspartiet or Moderaterna (MS)	1995–
	Kristdemokratiska Samhällspartiet (KDS)/Kristdemokraterna (KD)	1995–

a observer status

b associate member

EPP Member Parties from former Communist countries (1989–2010)

Albania	Partia Demokratike e Shqipërisë (PDa)	2003–
Belarus	Bielaruski narodny front (BPF)	2006–
	Abjadnanaja hramadzianskaja partyja Bielarusi (UCP)	2006–
Bosnia and Herzegovina		

	Stranka demokratske akcije (SDA) 2004– Hrvatska demokratska zajednica Bosne i Hercegovine (HDZBiH)	2004–
	Partija demokratskog progresa (PDPbih)	2004–
Bulgaria	Graždani za Evropejsko Razvitie na Bălgarija (GERB)	2008–
	Săjuz na Demokratičnite Sili (UDFb) 2007– Zemedelski Narodni Sajuz (ZNS) 2007– Demokrati za Silna Bălgarija (DSB) 2007– Demokratičeska Partija (DP) 2007–	
Croatia	Hrvatska demokratska zajednica (HDZ)	2004–
	Hrvatska seljača stranka (HSS)	2007–
	Demokratski centar (DCc)	2002–
Cyprus	Dimokratikos Synagermos (DISY)	2004–
CzechRepublic	Křesťanská a demokratická unie–Československástrana lidová (KDU-ČSL)2004– Tradice, Odpovědnost, Prosperita 09(TOP09)	2011–
Estonia	Erakond Isamaaliit–Pro Patria Union	2004–2006
	Erakond Res Publica	2004–2006
	Isamaa ja Res Publica Liit (IRL)	2006–
FYROM	Vnatrešna Makdonska RevolucionerneOrganizacija– Demokratska Partija zaMakedonsko Nacionalno Edinstvo (VMRO-DPMNE)	2010–
Georgia	Ertiani Natsionaluri Modzraoba (UNM)	2008–
Hungary	Fidesz-Magyar Polgári Szövetség(FIDESZ) Kereszténydemokrata Néppárt (KDNP)	2004– 2007–
	Magyar Demokrata Fórum (MDF)	2004–2009
Latvia	Jaunais Laiks (JL)	2004–
	Tautas Partija (TP)	2004–
	Pilsoniskā Savienība (PS)	2010–
Lithuania	Tėvynės Sąjunga (TS)	2004–2008
	Lietuvos krikščionys demokratai (LKD)	2004–2008
	Tėvynės Sąjunga–Lietuvos krikščionysdemokratai (TS-LKD) ^b	2008–
Malta	Partit Nazzjonalista (PN)	2004–
Moldova	Partidul Popular Creștin Democrat(PPCD)	2005–
	Partidul Liberal Democrat din Moldova(PLDM)	2011–
Poland	Platforma Obywatelska (PO)	2004–
	Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL)	2004–
Romania	Partidul Democrat-Liberal (PD-L)	2007–
	Uniunea Democrată Maghiară din Romania/România Magyar DemokrataSzövetség (RMDSz)	2007–
	Partidul Național Țărănesc CreștinDemocrat (PNȚCD)	2007–
Serbia	G17 PLUS	2003–
	Demokratska stranka Srbije (DSS)	2003–
	Savez vojvođanskih Mađara–Vajdasági Magyar Szövetség (VMSZ)	2007–
Slovakia	Kresťanskodemokratické hnutie (KDH)	2004–
	Slovenská demokratická a kresťanskáúnia–Demokratická strana (SDKÚ-DS)	2004–
	Strana maďarskej koalície–MagyarKoalíció Pártja (SMK-MKP)	2004–
Slovenia	Slovenska demokratska stranka (SDS)	2004–
	Nova Slovenija–Krščanska ljudskastranka (NSi)	2004–
	Slovenska ljudska stranka (SLS)	2004–
Turkey	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP)	2005–
Ukraine	Batkivschyna	2008–
	Narodnyi Soyuz Nasha Ukrayina (NSNU)	2005–
	Narodnyi rukh Ukraïny (RUKH)	2005–

^asince 2006 merger of Erakond Isamaaliit–Pro Patria Union and Erakond ResPublica

^bsince 2008 merger of Tėvynės Sąjunga and Lietuvos krikščionys demokratai

Source: Jansen-Van Hecke, 2011

EPP/EUCD report on the situation at the end of January 1990

Source: IX-007-08, p.321

1. POLAND

a) The Labour Party: The traditional Christian Democratic party of Poland, re-constituted in February 1989, is member of the UCDEC and the CDI. The President of the party, Mr. Wladislaw Sila-Nowicki, participated in the CDI Congress in Guatemala (September 1989) where he was elected Vice President of that organisation; and the EUCD Congress in Malta (November 1989). The party had no chance in the elections held last summer, as Solidarity monopolised the opposition. Nevertheless, some of the deputies elected on Solidarity lists declared their allegiance to the Labour Party. In the beginning of December 1989, the party held its first convention of delegates to discuss the main planks of their platform which had been prepared by a commission. This programme is to be adopted at the party congress this-spring. Some 500 people (including many young members who in the meantime have formed a youth organisation) from all parts of the country took part in the convention.

b) Rural Solidarity: Some 50 senators and kejm deputies have come together under the leadership of;the President of the Senate and Head of Rural Solidarity, M r . Jozef Slisz, for.the purpose of founding a Christ<an-Democratic oriented Party. Close co-operation „exists with Dziekania, a political club of young, urban catholic intellectuals with a ~hristian-~emocratico;r ientation. The party's programme is currently being. chartered. A draft already available makes express reference to EPP as the corresponding force in the West.

c) The National Christian Party: Founded :by Professor Wieslaw Chrzanowski during the course of 1989. Discussions on an alignment with the Labour party are under way.

2. HUNGARY

a) The Christian-Democratic People's Party: Re-constituted in March of last year in the tradition of the Democratic People's Party, which had emerged as the strongest opposition party in the 1947 elections; Member of the UCDEC and the CDI. Party representatives participated in the congresses of the CDI and the EUCD held last year in Guatemala and Malta respectively. Representatives from several member parties of EPP/EUCD and the EPP group attended the party's (re-) constitution congress last October.

b) The Hungarian Democratic Forum: The big national emancipation and democracy movement, open to adherents of various political tendencies. A strong Christian-Democratic component includes the President"of the Forum, M r . Jozsef Antall, who has

recently created a Christian-Democratic Circle within its ranks, and has applied for the party's admission to the EUCD.

c) The Party of Small Farmers (or Small Landowners): Among the forces that represent Christian-Democratic ideas in Hungary, with a programme that aligns them with the EUCD parties; it was the country's strongest party before the communists took power in 1947. Politically, it corresponds very closely to the Forum and the CDPP. An application for membership in the EUCD is to be expected.

3. CZECHOSLOVAKIA

a) The Czechoslovak People's Party: The traditional Christian-Democratic oriented (catholic) party of the country, and a "block party" within the National Front for the last forty years. An inner-party revolt in the beginning of 1989 culminated in the removal of the compromised leadership in October of the same year. Led by reformist forces since then, the party enjoys structured organisation and publication organs. It has about 50,000 members (compared with 100,000 in 1968), 80% of which are supposed to be over sixty years old. The party currently headed by Mr. Josef Bartoncik, who is also the President of the Senate; the federal secretary is Mr. Richard Sacher (the minister of the interior).

b) The Czech Christian-Democratic Party: Founded officially on 26 November 1989. Precursor: the Christian-Democratic Club and other groups which had committed themselves to the Movement for Civil Liberties, and later the Civic Forum. A congress held on December 26 confirmed the leadership of Vaclav Benda (Signatory of Charter 77). The party is prepared to cooperate with the People's Party which is under intense reform pressure, and cultivates good contacts with Christian-Democratic circles in Slovakia.

c) The Slovak Social-Christian Union: Reconstituted on 7 July by representatives of exiles in co-operation with corresponding opposition groups and Christian-Democratic initiatives inside the country. The official foundation "in situ" is under way, and should take place at a congress scheduled for 17 February. The leading personality is the acting prime minister of Czechoslovakia, Mr. Jan Carnogursky.

4. GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

a) The Christian Democratic Union of the GDR (CDU): Founded immediately after the war at the same time as the CDU in West Germany, this party was involved forcibly in the block of parties headed by SED. The great majority of the party's members are personally untainted by this past. On the wake of the upheaval in the GDR in the Spring of 1989, reform and democratisation efforts have been undertaken, finding visible expression in the replacement of the compromised old leadership with new people of integrity. President: Lothar De Maiziere; General Secretary: Martin Kirchner.

b) Democratic Awakening: Originated as an opposition movement. Political orientation: Centre and centre-left. The leading people around President Otto Schnur concur with the positions of Christian Democrats. Founded as a party in December 1989. Contacts with the CDU/FRG.

c) German Social Union: Founded in January 1990 as an alliance of several christian-social and liberal conservative groups. Present especially in the south of the GDR. President: Pastor Hans Wilhelm Ebeling. The German Social Union (DSU) sees itself as the sister party of the CDU and the CSU, and cultivates contacts with both of these West German parties.

5. YUGOSLAVIA

a) The Croatian Peasant Party: The strongest party with an absolute majority until the communists took power, is a christian-inspired "people's party" that has resumed activities in the country itself since November 1989, supported by strong exile organisations in the West.

b) The Social-Christian Party of Slovenia: Founded in 1989 in the tradition of a former Christian party. Together with the Social Democrats, the (Christian-Democratic oriented) Peasant Union, the Green and the Democratic Union, it has united to form the Democratic Opposition (DEMOS).

6. ROMANIA

The National Peasant Party (christian - democratic) : Emerged on 22 December 1989 from the merger of the former Peasant Party which was banned in 1947 (its leader died in prison) ' and the Christian Democratic Party which was founded during the revolution. President: Corneliu Coposu. ' The party's programme corresponds to the programmes of West European Christian-Democratic parties.

7. THE SOVIET UNION

a) The Christian Democratic Party of Russia; Founded in February 1989. Its president, Mr. Alexander. Ogorodnikov, took part in the congresses of the CDI and the EUCD held in Guatemala and Malta respectively. Its candidacy for the CDI has been accepted. Efforts under way to set up a federation of existing or emerging -parties and associations of a christian democratic orientation in the various republics of the Soviet Union.

b) The Ukrainian Christian Democratic Front: Founded in spring of 1989. President of the central committee: Vasyl Sichko, General Secretary: Lidia Chakalska.

c) The Christian Democratic Union of Estonia: Founded in December 1988, it has since cultivated close links and co-operation with Christian Democratic parties in Scandinavia. Its candidacy for the CDI was accepted at the congress held in September 1989 in Guatemala. The party's president, Mr. Hallaste, took part in the congresses of the CDI and EUCD held in Guatemala and Malta respectively. The party has applied for membership in the EUCD. Efforts are under way for an alignment with the National Independence Party and other democratic forces of conservative and liberal orientation.

d) The Christian Democratic Union of Lithuania: Reconstituted in the tradition of the party which existed before the second World War and was a member of the UCDEC. President: Victoras Petkus.

Membership situation in June 15, 1992

Source: IX-007-112 p.73

Hungarian Equipe comprising of 3 parties :

- Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF)
- Hungarian People's Christian Democratic Party (KDNP)
- Hungarian small farmers party (FKgP)

Christian Democratic Union – Czechoslovakian People's Party

Slovakian Christian Democratic Movement

Slovenian Christian Democrats

National Peasants Christian Democratic Party of Romania

Observer members

Centre Alliance (Poland)

Christian Democratic Congress (Poland)

Czechoslovakian Christian Democratic Party

Bulgarian farmers Union Nikola Petrov

Bulgarian Democratic Party and Democratic Centre

Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania

Croatian Democratic Union

Christian Christian Democratic Party

Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party

Estonian Christian Democratic Party

Status of parties' members of the EUCD in 08 1992

Source: IX-007-008, p.73

Full members

Hungarian Equipe	In 1991 the following parties formed a Hungarian Equipe..	
Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF)	Large democratic movement, received about 40% at the 1990 elections and Josef Antall became prime minister of Hungary. Was integrated in EUCD in June 1990	EUCD Political Bureau June 7,1990
Hungarian Christian Democratic People's Party (KDNP)	Refounded in 1989, was opposition party at the 1947 elections. Received 6% at the 1990 elections and was partner in government.	EUCD Political Bureau June 7,1990
Hungarian small property owners party (FKgP)	The biggest party prior to the seize of power by the Communists in 1947. got 11% at the 1990 elections and was partner in government.	EUCD Political Bureau February 13-14, 1991
Christian Democratic Union / Czech	Traditional CD party back in history of the	EUCD Political

People's Party (KDU-CSL)	country, was a "block party", was revived in 1989, received 8% at the June 1990 elections and participated in government together with the Christian Democratic Movement of Slovakia and the Christian democratic Party of Czechoslovakia	Bureau June 7,1990
Christian Democratic Union of Slovakia (KDH)	Founded in February 1990, received about 18% at the June 1990 elections, as of November local elections received about 30% and was the biggest party. Its president Carnogursky in 1991 became Prime Minister of Slovakia.	EUCD Political Bureau June 7,1990
Slovenian Christian Democratic Party (SKD)	With a pre communist tradition. Allied with other parties and got 55% in April 1990 elections. Its president Alojs Peterle became Prime Minister.	EUCD Political Bureau February 13-14, 1991280
National Peasant's Christian Democratic People's Party of Romania (PNT-cd))	Founded in 1989 after the fusion of Peasants traditional party that was forbidden since 1947 and Christian democrats party, got 4% at the May 1990 elections.	EUCD Political Bureau June 6,1991281

Observer members

Centre Alliance, Poland (PC);		EUCD Political Bureau June 6,1991
Congrès Démocrate Chrétien, Pologne (KCD)		EUCD Political Bureau July 12, 1991
- Party of Christian Democrats (PChD,)		
- Christian Democratic Party (SCD),		EUCD Political Bureau June 6,1991
- Social Catholic Polish Union (PZKS),		
- Christian Democratic Party "Union" (CDDSZ),		
- Christian Democratic Forum (PFCD),		
- Catholic Intellectuals' Club of Lublin (KIK),		
- Christian Democracy of Krakow (CD);		
Parti Démocrate Chrétien de Tchecoslovaquie (KDS);		EUCD Political Bureau June 7,1990
Union des paysans "Nicola Petkov" (BANU), Bulgarie;		EUCD Political Bureau June 6,1991
Parti Démocratique Bulgare (DP) et Centre Démocratique (UDF), Bulgarie;		
Alliance Démocratique des Hongrois en		EUCD Political

280 See the 2 page report-recommendation of the Working Group "Central and Eastern Europe" to the Political Bureau of the EUCD at IX-007-008 p.100

281 See the 2 page report-recommendation of the Working Group "Central and Eastern Europe" to the Political Bureau of the EUCD at IX-007-008 p.90

Roumanie (RMDZ);	Bureau July 12, 1991
Union Démocratique Croate (HDZ);	EUCD Political Bureau July 12, 1991
Parti Démocrate Chrétien Croate (HKDS); .	EUCD Political Bureau July 12, 1991
Parti Démocrate Chrétien Lituanien (CDPL);	EUCD Political Bureau June 6,1991
Union Démocrate Chrétienne de l'Estonie (EKL).	EUCD Political Bureau June 6,1991
Uni	

Parties that have presented application for observer membership in the EUCD and the working group "Central and Eastern Europe" has given a positive recommendation to the Council for their acceptance

Mouvement Démocrate Chrétien Hongrois (MKDM), Slovaquie;*

Union Démocrate Chrétienne Bulgare;*

Parti Démocrate Chrétien des Albanais (KPSHD), Kosovo
(Yougoslavie);

Parti Démocrate Chrétien Albanais (PDS);

Front Populaire Démocrate Chrétien de Moldavie (FPCD);

Parti Démocrate Chrétien hongrois de Roumanie (RMKDP);

Confédération de la Pologne Indépendante (KPN).

Status of parties' members of the EUCD in 20.09.1993

Source : IX-007-008, p.22

- a) Equipe hongroise:
Parti populaire démocrate chrétien
Forum démocratique
- b) Union Démocrate Chrétienne /Parti Populaire tchèque
- c) Mouvement Démocrate Chrétien de Slovaquie
- d) Démocrates Chrétiens de Slovenia
- e) Parti National Chrétien Démocrate Paysan, Roumanie
- f) ISAMAA (Pro Patria), Estonie
- g) Parti Démocrate Chrétien de Lituanie

Les partis suivants sont reconnus en tant qu'observateurs

- a) Alliance du Centre, Pologne
- b) Congres democrate chretien, Pologne
- c) Parti democrate chretien de Tchechoslovaquie
- d) Union democratique de Croatie
- e) Parti democrate chretien de Croatie
- f) Alliance democratique des Hongrois de Roumanie
- g) Union nationale bulgare des paysans
- h) Parti democratique de Bulgaria
- i) Centre democratique uni de Bulgaria
- j) Union Democrate Chretienne de Bulgaria
- k) Parti des Petits Paysans - Aile Historique, Hongrie

Status of parties' members of the EUCD in 21.04.1995

Source : IX-007-215 p.253

Adhésions à l'UEDC des partis d'Europe centrale et orientale
(Situation au 21 04 1995)

1. Partis acceptés en tant que membres ordinaires

"Equipe hongroise" dans l'UEDC

- Forum Démocratique Hongrois (MDF),B

- Parti Populaire Démocrate Chrétien Hongrois (KDNP),B

Union Démocrate Chrétienne tchèque (KDU-eSL),

Mouvement Démocrate Chrétien de Slovaquie (KDH),

Démocrates Chrétiens de Slovénie (SKD),

Parti National Paysan - Démocrate et Chrétien (PNT-cd), Roumanie,

Parti Démocrate Chrétien Hongrois de Roumanie (RMKDP),

Parti Démocrate Chrétien lituanien (CDPL).

Coalition Nationale "Pro Patna" (ISAMAA), Estonie

2. Partis reconnus en tant qu'observateurs:

Alliance du Centre, Pologne (PC),

Parti Démocrate Chrétien tchèque (KDS),

Mouvement Démocrate Chrétien Hongrois (MKDM), Slovaquie,

Union Agraire Nationale Bulgare (BANU),
Parti Démocratique Bulgare (OP).
Centre Démocratique Uni (UDC), Bulgarie,
Union Démocrate Chrétienne Bulgare (CDU),
Alliance Démocratique des Hongrois en Roumanie (RMDZ),
Union Démocratique Croate (HDZ),
Union Démocrate Chrétienne Croate (HKDU),
Parti des Petits Propriétaires Agricoles Réunis (EKP) Hongrie,
Union Démocrate Chrétienne de Lettonie (KDS)

Les partis suivants ont introduit une demande d'adhésion:

Alliance Démocratique albanaise (ADP), Albanie,
Parti Démocrate Chrétien d'Albanie (PDS),
Parti Démocrate Chrétien albanaise (KPSHD), Kosovo,
Front Populaire Démocrate Chrétien de Moldavie (FPDC),
Parti Démocrate Chrétien d'Ukraine,
YMRO-DPMNE, ex-République yougoslave de Macédoine
Union Démocrate Chrétienne de Georgie
Parti Démocratique d'Albanie

Le PPE examine la demande d'adhésion

La Commission Europe centrale et orientale examine la validité du statut d'observateur

Status of parties' members of the EUCD in 2001

IX-007-187, p.176

EPP Political Bureau, 6 December 1996

PNTCD, Roumanie EPP-Observateur

ODA, République tchèque EPP-Observateur

KDH, Slovaquie EPP-Observateur

KDU-CSL, République tchèque EPP-Observateur

LKDP, Lituanie EPP-Observateur

SKD, Slovenia EPP Observer Status

Fatherland Union Lithuania EPP Observer Status (In order of application dates)

EPP Political Bureau, 6 June 1997

Isamaal Pro Patria Union, Estonia EPP Observer Status

MKDM, Slovak Republic EPP Observer Status

EPP Political Bureau, 4 December 1997

UDF, Bulgaria EPP Observer Status

EPP Political Bureau, 5 March 1998

RMDSZ, Romania EPP Observer Status

MDF, Hungary EPP Observer Status

UDF, Bulgaria EPP Associate Membership

LKDP, Lithuania EPP Associate Membership

UW, Poland EPP Associate Membership

PNTCD, Romania EPP Associate Membership

EPP Political Bureau 7 July 1998

Rinnovamento Italiano, Italy EPP Full Membership

EPP Political Bureau, 1-2 October 1998

KrF, Denmark EPP Full Membership

Udr, Italy EPP Full Membership

KDU-CSL, Czech Republic EPP Associate Membership

People's Union*, Bulgaria EPP Associate Membership

* (comprising the BANU-PU and the Democratic Party), Bulgaria

EPP Political Bureau 11 December 1998

SKD, Slovenia EPP Associate Membership

US, Czech Republic EPP Observer Status

Epp Political Bureau 9 April 1999

KrF, Norway EPP Observer Status

EPP Political Bureau. 1 October 1999

RMDSZ, Romania EPP Associate Membership

RS AWS, Poland EPP Associate Membership

PDCS, San Manno EPP Observer Status

EPP Political Bureau, 2-3 December 1999

Forza Italia Italy EPP Full Membership

SKL, Poland EPP Associate Membership

MKDSZ, Hungary EPP Observer Status

SMK-MKP,' Slovak Rep EPP Observer Status

EPP Political Bureau, 11 February 2000

Tautas Partija, Latvia EPP Associate Member

EPP Political Bureau, 6-7 June 2000

SMK-MKP: Slovak Rep EPP Associate Membership

EPP Political Bureau 9 November 2000

US, Czech Republic EPP Associate Membership

FKGP, Hungary EPP Associate Membership

FIDESZ - MPP, Hungary EPP Associate Membership

Epp Political Bureau 8 March 2001

SKL, Finland EPP Observer Status

Annex 4: Memorandum on the Integration of the EUCD within the EPP

Source : EPP Archive 2.3.1.

Adopted by the EPP Political Bureau, 11 July 1996, Luxembourg

The European Union of Christian Democrats (EUCD) will be integrated into the European People's Party, at the latest, by the December 1998 EPP Congress. In this regard the accompanying herewith outlined measures are necessary :

1. Parties from countries which have formally presented their candidatures for European Union membership can be recognised as EPP Associate Members. Associate members will not participate in the elaboration and the adoption of the Action Programme for the legislative period 1999 - 2004.
2. The 1998 EPP Congress will elect an additional Vice-President who will have as his/ her particular competence relations with the parties from future Member States of the European Union. The currently constituted "Central and Eastern Europe" Working Group will, by the integration of the EUCD, be replaced by an EPP / CD1 Working Group entitled "Central and Eastern Europe".
3. The division of work between the EPP, the EUCD and the EDU has, by the opening up of the European People's Party to political parties from other political traditions and to parties from outside the confines of the European Union, become outdated. The EPP and the EDU will initiate a dialogue in order to overcome this situation.

Planning and Calendar for Decisions:

04-06.10.1996 XV EUCD Congress

Decision on the integration of the EUCD within the EPP in accordance with Article 15 of the EUCD Statutes.

end 1997 XI1 EPP Congress

statutory modifications which will permit parties from those countries which have introduced their candidatures to the European Union to become EPP Associate Members.

following end 1997 acceptance of parties as EPP Associate Members

December 1998 XIII EPP Congress

Final deadline for achievement of the integration of the EUCD

Election of new Presidency

Annex 5: From the minutes of EPP Council in Vilamoura, July 6, 1998

Source : EPP Archive 2.3.1.

Point 3 de l'ordre du jour: L'avenir des partis populaires en Europe

Le Président Wilfried Martens fait rapport sur ce thème. Lors de la création du PPE en 1976, il y eut débat sur le nom même du parti et le choix se porta sur Parti Populaire Européen (Fédération de partis démocrates-chrétiens).

Les débats sur l'élargissement et l'approfondissement du PPE ont eu lieu pour la première fois à l'occasion de la demande d'adhésion des conservateurs danois et britanniques au sein du Groupe PPE au PE (Sommet PPE 13 avril **1991** - Programme de Base (Congrès PPE Athènes **1992**). Sur cette base, les partis frères de Norvège, de Suède, de Finlande, du Danemark et du Portugal ont pu nous rejoindre.

Le 9 juin 1998, le Groupe-PPE au PE a accepté 20 députés de Forza Italia en tant que membres individuels. Chaque candidature a fait l'objet d'un vote. La moyenne des résultats était 95 voix pour 35 contre et quelques abstentions et votes nuls.

Cette décision bien que relevant exclusivement de notre Groupe au PE a reçu une très grande publicité. Alors que la décision d'accepter Forza Italia prise par d'autres Groupes de notre Parti a provoqué beaucoup moins de publicité et de discussion (Groupe PPE au Conseil de l'Europe 1995, Groupe PPE de l'UEO quelques mois plus tard, Groupe PPE au Comité des Régions mars **1998**).

Le Règlement de notre Groupe au Parlement Européen prévoit que cette décision doit être prise à la majorité (180 membres = un quorum de 91 membres). Le quorum était donc atteint et dès lors ceux qui au départ ne souhaitaient pas participer ont rejoint les votants pour obtenir le résultat mentionné cidessus. Deux des trois partis membres italiens (Cdu et CCD) ont recommandé l'adhésion. Le PPI s'est opposé à cette décision par 7 voix sur 15.

Les 20 députés de Forza Italia, à l'inverse des conservateurs britanniques, ont accepté les principes et le programme du PPE dans une déclaration écrite.

Les raisons qui nous ont poussé à réaliser cette démarche sont le rejet d'une droite euro-sceptique. Philippe Séguin a annoncé le 18 décembre 1997 la fondation d'un nouveau parti européen Union Pour l'Europe défiant ainsi le PPE. Le but visé était manifestement de scinder en deux le Groupe démocratechrétien au PE et de créer un Groupe eumsceptique fort avec des répercussions dévastatrices sur l'intégration européenne.

Avec l'élargissement de l'union Européenne beaucoup de partis de l'Europe centrale et orientale, encore indécis quant au chemin à suivre dans la nouvelle Europe, auraient pu être séduits par cette offre. C'était, dès lors, l'heure de tous les dangers pas uniquement

pour le PPE mais aussi pour l'idée européenne. Non seulement notre droit mais aussi notre devoir nous poussaient donc à agir.

Monsieur Fini et Monsieur Séguin se sont rencontrés et plus que probablement au mois de septembre de cette année ici à Vilamoura, les 10 parlementaires de Alleanza Nazionale rejoindront le Groupe parlementaire UPE (élus RPR, Fianna Fail, ancien CDS portugais, Mouvement dissident en Grèce, une député socialiste néerlandaise et un député du CDA).

Devant une telle situation, la Présidence du PPE, au cours d'une délibération interne en janvier à Bonn, a souligné la nécessité d'agir en direction des conservateurs britanniques, du RPR et de l'adhésion individuelle des membres de Forza Italia.

Le Chancelier Kohl a réuni les premiers ministres appartenant au PPE le 24 mars à Bonn. Les conclusions de cette réunion ont été communiquées. Rendant ainsi possible ma démarche auprès de nouveau leader des conservateurs britanniques qui a promis de maintenir le statut de membres apparentés au sein du Groupe PPE au PE.

La Grande-Bretagne a adopté le système à la proportionnelle pour les prochaines élections européennes et par conséquent avec le même résultat que lors des dernières élections européennes, les Travailleurs qui ont maintenant 62 parlementaires au PE pourraient en perdre certainement une vingtaine et les Conservateurs qui en ont 18 pourraient en avoir 30 ou plus et les Libéraux qui comptent deux euro parlementaires pourraient avoir 10 sièges ou plus. Et un tel résultat, si la composition de notre Groupe restait la même, ferait de nous le Groupe le plus fort au PE.

Les deux autres directives à réaliser par le Président Martens, selon les conclusions de la réunion du 24 mars à Bonn, étaient de convaincre le RPR d'honorer son engagement de 1994, soit que ses députés au PE deviennent membres du Groupe PPE ou éventuellement membres apparentés et encourager la formation d'un parti du centre en Italie afin de renouer les liens avec les anciens électeurs de la DC.

Dès le départ, le PPE s'est distancé de la logique fatale droite-gauche italienne.

Cependant, le Premier Ministre italien, Romano Prodi n'est pas favorable à cette idée de promouvoir un parti du centre en Italie. Le Premier Ministre Prodi a été invité au Sommet PPE bien qu'il doive sa majorité au Parlement à une coalition avec les post-communistes de Rifondazione Comunista. Pour de nombreux partis membres du PPE cette démarche était à peine acceptable. Il en a été de même pour l'adhésion de Forza Europa. Nous avons fait cela car nous voulions rendre fort le centre politique par rapport aux extrémismes. Alleanza Nazionale et les post-communistes du PSD, Fini et D'Alema, veulent détruire le centre politique et se l'approprier. Maintenant, nous avons donné un toit commun à toutes les forces qui adhèrent au centre politique au sein de notre Groupe.

Cette démarche n'est pas garante de succès. La scission prévaut encore aujourd'hui en Italie sur la coopération et le prestige personnel sur l'intérêt général. Si on tient compte de la refondation de la Democrazia Cristiana de Piccoli, du Südtiroler Volkspartei, de l'UDR, la Liste Dini et du Patto Segni, on arrive sans peine à dix structures différentes.

On peut demander de trouver une solution à ce malaise italien. Même s'il n'y a pas de garantie de succès.

Une raison supplémentaire et très importante est que l'équilibre politique en Europe risque d'être compromis. Les socialistes possèdent actuellement 9 des 15 Chefs de gouvernement, ils sont dans 12 des 15 gouvernements de l'UE en tant que partenaire de coalition. Depuis 1979, ils sont, sans discontinuité, le Groupe le plus fort au Parlement Européen. Si, en plus, ils prennent la tête du gouvernement en Allemagne, nous nous trouverons alors devant une situation tout à fait dramatique. Pour faire passer les idéaux communs, nous devons avoir la majorité dans les instances importantes telles que le Conseil, le Parlement et la Commission.

Si le PPE veut rester la force déterminante au Parlement Européen, il ne s'agit pas de 2, 5 ou 10 députés en plus des socialistes. Il s'agit en premier lieu de la cohésion de notre Groupe et notre pouvoir de négocier sur un pied d'égalité dans une position de force et non de faiblesse

Evidemment, il vaut mieux remporter des majorités par des victoires électorales. Qui défend cette optique doit contribuer à sa crédibilité par le succès dans son pays. La politique d'ouverture du PPE à des partis d'autres traditions a évité avec succès la scission du centre politique dans les familles de partis traditionnelles nées au 19ème siècle et ainsi la marginalisation de nos idées, une scandinavisantion du paysage des partis en Europe avec une dominance continue des socialistes.

Nous regroupons aujourd'hui des partis du centre, du centre-droit mais également du centre-gauche, des traditions sociales chrétiennes, démocrates-chrétiennes, mais aussi des modérés et des centristes attachés aux valeurs conservatrices et libérales. Nous réunissons l'Europe protestante, catholique et orthodoxe, le Nord et le Sud, l'Est et l'Ouest, sur la base de principes fondamentaux et d'un programme politique commun.

Le Président Martens déclare qu'en tant que CO-auteur et **père** spirituel du programme de base d'Athènes en 1992, il ne se laissera pas déposséder du droit d'auteur de ce programme. Le PPE ne peut exister qu'en tant que parti programmatique: pour une Europe communautaire, pour l'économie sociale de marché, pour la conception chrétienne, de l'Homme. Ceci est au centre de nos convictions et continuera à guider notre Parti.

Annex 6: The 1998 EPP Brussels Declaration

Source : IX-007-062 p.357

EPP Council, 30.09.1998. first draft

50 Years of support for balance and reconciliation

The European People's Party stands in the grand tradition of European Christian Democracy in Konrad Adenauer, Alcide de Gasperi and Robert Schuman. We are identified with policies which knew how to unite national interests with European integration, economic success with social reform. Readiness to defend oneself with a peace policy. Politicians in our political family have played a major part in ensuring there has been a new dynamic in European integration since the mid 1980s, its fruits bring the internal market, enlargement from nine to 15 Member States, the Maastricht and Amsterdam Treaties, and in particular European Monetary Union

Breaching and overcoming confessional barriers

Traditional Christian Democratic parties and people's parties of Christian inspiration, along with conservative parties from the Protestant, state-church countries of northern Europe, all work together in today's EPP. We are thus making a significant contribution to overcoming the confessional barriers between Catholics, Protestants, and Orthodox, barriers which have divided the people and peoples of Europe for centuries

The EPP as a programme party

This cooperation is made possible by our common programmatic basis. The concepts of personalism, the social market economy, and the community of Europe, anchored in the Athens Basic Programme and developed and elaborated in the Congresses of Brussels (1993) Madrid (1995) and Toulouse (1997), are the foundation stones of our community which brings together the traditions of Christian Democracy, liberalism, and conservative values.

Politics of the centre

This common political basis makes possible the opening to non-Christian Democratic parties, and at the same time sets limits to them. We support a middle-ground, not one defined by where everyone sits in parliament, but one politically defined by balance and reconciliation of what only appears to be irreconcilable: freedom and responsibility in the concept of personalism, market efficiency and help for weaker members of society in the social market, regional identity, national interest and European unity in the idea of a communitarian Europe based on the subsidiarity principle.

Annex 7: List and Table of contents of EPP historical archive

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09-007-001-02	Docs from 1975 including reports from the Christian democrats group of the EP	200
09-007-002	1977 press reports from Spain on christian democrats from EPP group meeting in Madrid towards the first elections in 1977, press reports on the creation of the EPP in July 1976	616
09-007-003	1977-78 EPP programme working versions	545
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09-007-005	1977 documents from the internal discussion of the first EPP political programme.	494
09-007-006	1976-77 documents from the internal discussion of the first EPP political programme.	583
09-007-007-01	1976 Internal Regulation of first meeting July 6, 1976	196
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09-007-009-01	The folder contains docs from the EPP Congress of 1979 in Brussels before the first European elections. Congress document, leaders speeches etc	557
09-007-009-02	EPP congress in Cologne, 1980 speeches	88
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09-007-011-02	1984-1989 EPP programme aproved in Rome Congress in different languages	293
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09-007-016	EPP congress in Cologne, 1980 speeches and reports. The soviet invasion to afganista, the uprising of a global agenda of issues, the content of christian democracy, the rejection of the community budget, the surpluses of the agricultural sector	792
09-007-017-01	VI EPP congress in The Hague, Aprril 1986	506
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09-007-022-02	Docs from meetings 1984-85	572
09-007-023-01	politlcal bureaus from 1978-1985	489
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09-007-029-01	Contains minutes from the Campaign Working group 1982-1983	375
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09-007-031-01	docs from a conference on local government in Europe, Luxembourg July 1987	53
09-007-031-02	Docs from conference on Democracy in Africa, Asia and Latin America, Bonn, Nov 1986	59
09-007-031-03	docs from an event on 9/1987 in Paris on social market economy	202
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09-007-031-05	1986 June 30 EPP Symposium on the US-EEC relations	198
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09-007-013-Nachlieferung-Bulgaria-2000-2002	Docs about the Bulgarian political situation between 2000-2002, mail between EPP with UDF, BANU-PU, NMSII, mail within EPP about political parties and situation in Bulgaria. Also 1999 docs about Copenhagen's economic criteria for Bulgaria.	281
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09-007-017-Nachlieferung-XII-EPP-Congress-Toulouse-9-11-Nov.1997	various docs mainly from the 80s, period of Bukman. The title of the archive index is mistaken.	481
09-007-018-Nachlieferung-EPP-Congress-1988-Luxembourg	docs related to the VII EPP Congress, organisational material of the months prior to the congress.	860
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09-007-021-Nachlieferung-3rd-Dialogue-10-12.12.1997-Saloniki-EPP-Group	docs on the seminar on organised crime in Sofia 6-7 April 1998 first 358 pages and rest 100 pages on the dialogue with the Orthodox Church	453

09-007-022-Nachlieferung-Ukraine-Belarus-Georgia-94	Docs (pages 1-327 and 509-607) about political situation in Ukraine and relations with NSNU, RUKH (statutes, platforms, declarations) between 1990-94 and some news from 1988-89. Also docs (327-409) for Belarus for 1992-94 with reports from EDU and CDI and political situation. Finally docs for Armenia for 1993-94 and some info for 1991 in German, including relations with NDPG and CDU of Georgia (also main events for 1989-94 from CDU).	607
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09-007-034-Nachlieferung-Conseil-de-l-UEDC-Prague		708
09-007-035-Nachlieferung-Slovenia-1994-2002	Many docs and reports about Slovenia's political situation and elections between 1994-2002, mail between EPP mostly with SKD, but also with SLS (also after 2000's merger with the former) and SDS and NSi.	668
09-007-036-Nachlieferung-RS-Budapest-1996-2002	Robert Schuman Institute docs: statutes 1996, activity reports (1996-97), spare minutes (1996/97/99/01), spare Newsletters (1999-01), Seminars/ courses/ competitions (1996-97), PHARE democracy programme (1998-99), various internal emailing (1996-98) and Finances (1996-98)	633
09-007-037-Nachlieferung-EUCD-EVD-1.Kolloquium-Amsterdam	Folder with several speeches and papers on the christian democratic doctrine in the mid 1980s.	705
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09-007-062-Nachlieferung-Conseils- PPE	Docs about EPP and EUCD for 1984-86 (Political Bureau, resolutions, 1985 EUCD Congress). Also spare EPP resolutions and political Bureau minutes of 1988	396

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09-007-137-Nachlieferung-Courrier-S.G.-T.Jansen-7-1986-a-1-1	correspondence of EPP Secretariat during 1986-87	737
09-007-138-Nachlieferung-Solidarisch-und-Effizient	Contains the document of the 1988 EPP Congress.	57
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09-007-157-Nachlieferung-EVP-PPE- CDI-2000	A lot of CDI material	855
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09-007-170-Nachlieferung-IN-90-91-92-L-Z		605
09-007-171-Nachlieferung- Commission-Securite-et-Defense-87- Commission-Securite-et-Defense-86-8 8		566
09-007-172-Nachlieferung- Commission-Politique-Internation.-8	International Policy WG 1985-1989	486
09-007-173-Nachlieferung- Kommission-Rechtspolitik	Documents from the WG on Judicial Policy years 1987-1991	702
09-007-174-Nachlieferung-Lateinamerika-2-L-Z		447
09-007-175-Nachlieferung-GS-EVP		595
09-007-176-Nachlieferung-EVP-News		1181
09-007-177-Nachlieferung-I-738- EVP-Kongress-1995	Docs from EPP Congress in Madrid 1995 and EPP Group meeting in Bruges in 1995	531
09-007-178-Nachlieferung-EVP- Kongress-Madrid	1006 Madrid Congress docs and speeches and 1997 Toulouse Congress docs	415
09-007-179-Nachlieferung-VII-EVP- Kongress-Reden-Discours	Nov 1988 EPP Congress in Luxembourg, speeches from leaders	115

09-007-180-Nachlieferung-SF-SKL-Kokoomus-DK		454
09-007-181-Nachlieferung-PA-I-738-EVP-Dr.Schreiner-S	Few docs from 1996-98 on the EU enlargement	135
09-007-182-Nachlieferung-EVP-PPE-UDE-2004	EPP and CDI docs period 2003-2004	520
09-007-183-Nachlieferung-EVP-EVP-ED	documents on the process of cooperation between the EPP and the EDG group in 1991-1992	150
09-007-184-Nachlieferung-EVP-Nov.80-148	1980-81 docs EPP-EUCD	681
09-007-185-Nachlieferung-OVP-Partis-Membres-CDU	dedicated to the German Union parties (pp.1-504) and to OVP (pp.505-638) prior to becoming member of the EPP	638
09-007-186-Nachlieferung-Czech-Republic	Material from Czech Republic period 2002	226
09-007-187-Nachlieferung-EVP-PPE-IDC-2001		807
09-007-188-Nachlieferung-I-738-Kongress-1992-1993	Basic Programma 1992 and Action Programme 1994-99	635

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09-007-189-Nachlieferung-Runder-Tisch-Europa		244
09-007-190-Nachlieferung-A-I-738-EVP-Kongress-1992	Docs on the EPP Congress in Athens 1992	488
09-007-191-Nachlieferung-UEDC-EUCD-PPE-EVP	Minutes from critical sessions for the creation of the EPP during 1975-77	487
09-007-192-Nachlieferung-XXIII-Kongress-EUCD-Reden	Documents from EUCD Congress of 1989	142
09-007-193-Nachlieferung-The-Role-And-Function-Of-Political-	contains country reports and media reports on new democracies of south east Europe for a seminar organised in Chechoslovakia in 1991	743
09-007-194-Nachlieferung-CEI-GUS-Other-Pubblication		851
09-007-195-Nachlieferung-Integration-EPP-EUCD		361
09-007-196-Nachlieferung-Kosovo-1998		216
09-007-197-Nachlieferung-PPE-Parti-EVP-1999-2000	Contains a lot of internal documents, minutes, EPP bulletin from the period 1998-2000	639
09-007-198-Nachlieferung-Fusion-Statuts-02	folder containing material from the 1990 Statutory revision of the EPP. Draft in several languages including Greek (p.139) English p.446. This working group was named "fusion" until	585

the session of September 4, 1989 and was renamed to Statutes in November 1989 to address the changing of the statutes for both EPP and EUCD in the light of the developments in Eastern Europe.

09-007-199-Nachlieferung-EVP-Luxemburg-Juli-97		244
09-007-200-Nachlieferung-VII-EVP-Kongress	Summary of manifesto for European elections of 1989 and various EPP resolutions.	235
09-007-201-Nachlieferung-UCDEC	Docs of CDU/CD and of IDC 1988-1992	255
09-007-202-Nachlieferung-Organisation-Syndicale-en-Europe		162
09-007-203-Nachlieferung-I-738-VII.EVP.Kongress	Docs from the EPP Congress of 1988, mainly the Basic programme and the electoral program	606
09-007-204-Nachlieferung-Fusion	Documents from the EPP/EUCD discussion about merger in late 80s	442
09-007-205-Nachlieferung-Croatie-1999		353
09-007-206-Nachlieferung-Mouvement-Europeen		188
09-007-207-Nachlieferung-Discont.Events		167
09-007-208-Nachlieferung-UEDC-EUCD-PPE-EVP-Kommission		553
09-007-209-Nachlieferung-Afrika-BB-April-85	the international role of the christian democrats regarding Africa. Francophonie played a role	663
09-007-210-Nachlieferung-Lateinamerika-01	Reports and docs from CDI work in Latin America end of 1980s early 1990s.	548
09-007-211-Nachlieferung-Kommiss.-Regional-EU	Docs from WG on regional policy and programme, of 1973-1975-1979	168
09-007-212-Nachlieferung-1988-1989-1990-1991-EUCDA-ICDA		833
09-007-213-Nachlieferung-Wirtschaftskoll.-15.Mai-1984	09-007-213-Nachlieferung-Wirtschaftskoll.-15.Mai-1984 It contains documentation and corespondence on the event organise 15 May 1984 for the "Employment in a Europe with no frontiers"	284
EVP_Nachlieferungen_09-007-214-233		
09-007-214-Nachlieferung-Kommission-Sicherheit-u.Vertheidigung-II		705
09-007-215-Nachlieferung-EVP-EUCD-Gesamtordner-ab-Juli-92		875
09-007-216-Nachlieferung-AG-Sicherheit-u.Vertheidigung	Docs working group Security and Defense 1980-1982	456
09-007-217-Nachlieferung-USA		408
09-007-218-Nachlieferung-Europa-02		631
09-007-219-Nachlieferung-IN-90-Juin-91-92-Juin-A-K		752
09-007-220-Nachlieferung-EKPRV-92		183

09-007-221-Nachlieferung-Europa-General-Allgem-Varie		539
09-007-222-Nachlieferung-Commission-Politique-Juridique		662
09-007-223-Nachlieferung-Groupe-Travail-Union-Europe.	Very good material from 1980s EPP and EUCD particularly with the political discussion around the federal character of the union.	505
09-007-224-Nachlieferung-KAS-HSS		751
09-007-225-Nachlieferung-Groupe-Contact		253
09-007-226-Nachlieferung-AG-GdT-Doctrine	contains materian from seminars in 1990 on strengthening the ideological foundations of the EPP	369
09-007-227-Nachlieferung-Groupe-Contact-Ameriquelatine		549
09-007-228-Nachlieferung-AG-Umwelt-85-86		87
09-007-229-Nachlieferung-EKPV	documentation from the EPP association on elected officials from local and regional authorities	455
09-007-230-Nachlieferung-EVP-EUCD-Gesamtordner	Nachlieferung-EVP-EUCD-Gesamtordner, documents 1990-91	565
09-007-231-Nachlieferung-Asien		375
09-007-232-Nachlieferung-USA	Contains material from a brainstorming meeting in the EPP on EPP-US relations, IN 30 may, 1989, material from an EPP visit to the US, April 27, 1988	554
09-007-233-Nachlieferung-Commission-Securite-et-Defense		607

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Annex 8: Docs on EPP / EUCD / CDI meetings found in the archive

WORKING GROUPS		WHERE	WHO	WHO	ARCHIVE	PAGE	
November 21, 1972	International Politics	Paris		EUCD	09-007-208	528	
July 6, 1973	Mixed with CD Group	Strassbourg		EUCD	09-007-211	92	
September 1, 1973				EUCD	09-007-211	81	
January 17, 1974	East West commission	Luxembourg					
January 19, 1974	Ideas and Action	Paris					
march 20, 1974	East West commission	Brussels					
June 5, 1974	regional policy	Brussels					
July 4, 1974	Programme	Brussels		EUCD	09-007-211	14	
September 19, 1974	International Politics	Bonn		EUCD	09-007-208	548	annex resolution on Greece, missing from file
November 21, 1974	International Politics	Luxembourg		EUCD			
December 18, 1974	International Politics	Brussels		EUCD	09-007-208	501	
1975							
February 5, 1975	Working Group	Portugal		EUCD			
February 13, 1975	International Politics	La Haya		EUCD	09-007-208	463	

April 4, 1975	International Politics	Brussels		EUCD	09-007-208	424-438	
April 16, 1975	International Politics	Vienna		EUCD	09-007-208	390	
July 3, 1975	International Politics	Brussels		EUCD	09-007-208	376	
September 18, 1975	International Politics	Zurich		EUCD	09-007-208	354	
September 18, 1975	Iberian Peninsula	Zurich		EUCD	09-007-208	359	09-007-211
September 18, 1975	Dialogue	Zurich					
September 26, 1975	Political committee	Luxembourg		EUCD	09-007-191	434de, 420fr	
October 7, 1975	Economy						
October 22, 1975	Regional policy	Brussels		EUCD			
November 17-18, 1975	European party	Brussels		EUCD	09-007-191	407de, 420fr	
November 27, 1975	Regional policy	Rome		EUCD			
December 11-12	European party	Brussels		EUCD	09-007-007-02	591	
1976							
January 16, 1976	Relations avec les forces politiques en Europe	Luxembourg		EUCD	09-007-191	291de, 401fr	
February 19, 1976	International Politics	Paris		EUCD			
May 5, 1976	International Politics	Rome		EUCD	09-007-026	196	
July 7, 1976	International Politics	Luxembourg		EUCD	09-007-208	315 09-007- 030-02 p.43fr	
July 7, 1976	Programme European						
2-Sep-76	Programme EPP	Maastricht	EPP	EUCD			first meeting
October 7, 1976	International Politics	Brussels		EUCD			(ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΔΕΝ ΕΓΙΝΕ ΑΥΤΟ)
October 21, 1976	International Politics	Brussels		EUCD	09-007-208	298	
19-Nov-76	Programme	Maastricht	EPP	EUCD			
November 24, 1976	International Politics	Brussels		EUCD			

1977

	28-Jan-77	Programme	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		
	4-Mar-77	Programme	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		
May 3, 1977	25-Apr-77	Programme	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		
		International Politics	Geneve		EUCD		
June 22, 1977		International Politics- Political Economy	Brussels		EUCD	09-007-208	269
	8-Jun-77	Campaign	Luxembourg	EPP	EUCD	09-007-029-02, p.	first meeting of the Campaign Commission
	5-Jul-77	Campaign	Luxembourg	EPP	EUCD	09-007-029-02, p.291de	
	6-Sep-77	Campaign	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	09-007-029-02, p.254de, 262fr	
	17-Oct-77	Campaign	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	09-007-029-02	
October 26, 1977	18-Oct-77	Programme	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		
		International Politics- Political Economy	Lisbon		EUCD	09-007-169, p107 resolution (not minutes)+F27	
	30-Nov-77	Campaign	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	09-007-029-02, p.186de, 200fr	
December 7, 1977		Dialogue	Bonn			09-007-191, p324de, 332fr	Von Hassel

1978

February 7, 1978		International Politics	Brussels				
April 5, 1978		Diallogue	Brussels				
May 2, 1978		International Politics- Political Economy	Dublin				
	9-May-78	Campaign	strasbourg	EPP	EUCD	09-007-029-02, p.186de, 181fr	

13-Jun-78	Campaign	strassbourg	EPP	EUCD	09-007-029-02, p.144de, 153fr
7-Jul-78	Campaign	Luxembourg	EPP	EUCD	09-007-029-02, p.124de, 126fr
20-Jul-78	Campaign	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	09-007-029-02, p.115de, 117fr
15-Sep-78	Campaign	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	09-007-029-02, p.99de, 101fr
13-Oct-78	Campaign	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	09-007-029-02, p.70de, 74fr
November 5, 1978	International Politics- Political Economy	Malta	EPP	EUCD	
17-Nov-78	Campaign	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	09-007-029-02, p.55de, 57fr
December 5, 1978	International Politics- Political Economy				
15-Dec-78	Campaign	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	09-007-029-02, p.

1979

January 8, 1979	Campaign	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	09-007-029-02, p.35fr, 46de
January 9, 1979	Regional and Community policy	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	
January 9, 1979	International Politics	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	
23-Feb-79	Campaign	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	
September 28, 1979	Security and defence	Strassbourg	EPP	EUCD	09-007-216, p.448de, 450fr
October 26, 1979	International Politics	Strasbourg			
December 6, 1979	Sub commission for central and eastern europe	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	09-007-060-arbet p.261

1980

January 11, 1980	European Union	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	09-007-60-arbeitsruppe, p.15	09-007-40-01, p.283
February 15, 1980	Security and defence	Strassbourg	EPP	EUCD	09-007-216, p.438	
April 28, 1980	Security and defence	Sankt Augustin	EPP	EUCD		

September 19, 1980 Security and defence Strassbourg EPP EUCD 09-007-216, p.404

November 10, 1980 International Politics Brussels EPP EUCD

1981

January 9, 1981 European Union Brussels

February 6, 1981 Economic policy Brussels

February 2, 1981 Security and defence Brussels

February 2, 1981 European Union Brussels

March 2, 1981 Security and defence Brussels

March 6, 1981 European Union Brussels

April 1, 1981 International Politics Rome EPP EUCD

manifestation in Rome on the Occasion of 100 years from the birth of Gasperi

Rome EPP

April 3, 1981

April 22, 1981 Amelioration des activites 09-007-030-01, p.80

April 1, 1981 International Politics Rome 09-007-025-01, p.425 09-007-184, p.265

June 29, 1981 Amelioration des activites Brussels

July 1, 1981

October 5, 1981 International Politics Brussels EPP EUCD

October 22, 1981, 8th Security and defence EPP EUCD 09-007-184, p.34de

1982

March 2, 1982 Security and defence Brussels EPP EUCD 09-007-214, p.517 de, 519 fr

March 2, 1982 International Politics

April 28, 1982 Colloque Brussels 09-007-018, p.26

May 3, 1982 International Politics Brussels EPP EUCD 09-007-208, p.101 09-007-063-01-279-014, p.41de

June 7, 1982	International Politics	Brussels							
July 5, 1982	Security and defence	Strasbourg	EPP	EUCD					p.39de
September 8, 1982	Security and defence	Rome				09-007-063-01-279-013, p.97de			09-007-056-EVP-PPE-6.-7.3.1978-Bruessel, p.63de
October 4, 1982	CAMPAIGN	Brussels	EPP						
October 8, 1982	Security and defence	Brussels		EUCD					
October 29, 1982	Security and defence	Strasbourg	EPP	EUCD					
November 8, 1982	International Politics	Brussels				cancelled finally			
December 17, 1982	Campaign	Brussels	EPP	EUCD					09-007-029-01, p.329fr

1983

January 14, 1983	Campaign	Strasbourg	EPP	EUCD					
February 28, 1983	Campaign	Brussels	EPP	EUCD					
April 5, 1983	Campaign	Brussels	EPP	EUCD					
April 7-8, 1983	Conference "Une politiques de la CE a l'egard des pays d'Amerique Centrale e des Caraibes"	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	CDI				
April 8, 1983	Programme	Brussels	EPP						
May 9, 1983	Comite Europeen pour l'Enseignement Catholique	Brussels							
May 9, 1983	Campaign	Brussels	EPP						
May 9, 1983	Programme	Brussels	EPP						
May 10, 1983	Working Group Central	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	1st session				

	America						043,P377		
May 13, 1983	International Politics	Brussels	EPP	EUCD			09-007-167, p.400de, 402fr		
May 30, 1983	Campaign	Berlin	EPP	EUCD			09-007-029-01, p.160de, 164fr		
June 27, 1983	International Politics	Brussels	EPP	EUCD					
August 31, 1983	Working Group Central America	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	2nd session		09-007-043,P357		
August 31, 1983	Programme	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	3rd session		09-007-028-01, p.66	09-007-032-02, p.40 aide memoire	
August 31, 1983	International Politics	Brussels	EPP	EUCD			09-007-167, p.316de, 319fr		
September 1, 1983	Security and defense	Brussels	EPP	EUCD					
September 1, 1983	Campaign						09-007-028-01, p.61	09-007-029-01, p.128de, 133fr	
October 3, 1983	Campaign	Brussels	EPP	EUCD			09-007-028-01, p.173		
October 3, 1983	International Politics	Brussels	EPP	EUCD			09-007-028-01, p.170	09-007-167, p.271de, 274fr	
October 7, 1983	Program	Brussels	EPP	EUCD					
November 16-17, 1983	Program	Strassbourg	EPP	EUCD					
December 5, 1983	International Politics	Brussels	EPP	EUCD					
December 5, 1983	Campaign	Brussels	EPP	EUCD			09-007-029-01, p.76de, 80fr		
December 5, 1983	Working Group Central America	Brussels	EPP	EUCD			09-007-167, p.242de, 246fr		
December 6, 1983	Working Group Central America	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	3rd session				
December 9, 1983	Program	Brussels	EPP	EUCD					
1984									
January 9, 1984	Security and defense	Brussels	EPP	EUCD					
January 13, 1984	Program	Brussels	EPP	EUCD					
February 6, 1984	Program	Bonn	EPP	EUCD					
February 7, 1984	Working Group Central America	Bonn	EPP	EUCD	4th session		09-007-043,P304	Mario Pedini	
February 10, 1984	Relance Emploi	Brussels	EPP	EUCD			09-007-213 p.246		

May 2-4, 1984	Seminar on Christian Democracy	Paris	EPP				
May 7-8, 1984	Seminar on Latin America	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		09-007-042/01,p.52en	
May 14, 1984	"Wokers went Europe" seminar	Luxembourg	EPP	EUCD			
May 15, 1984	"Economic stimulation in Europe" colloquium	Luxembourg	EPP	EUCD		09-007-042/01,p.1	
May 15, 1984	Working Group Central America	Luxembourg	EPP	EUCD	5th session	09-007-043,p.306	Langes
May 16, 1984	International Politics	Luxembourg	EPP	EUCD			
June 25, 1984	International Politics Working Group Central America and on International politics	Strassbourg	EPP	EUCD		09-007-167, p.230de, 232fr	
July 16-17, 1984		Brusseis	EPP	EUCD	joint session on central america issues	09-007-043,P292	
October 6-7, 1984		Kampala, Uganda	CDI			09-007-167, p.204en	
November 5, 1984	International Politics	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		09-007-167, p.180de, 183fr	09-007-054 p.668de first meeting of european union working group
November 6, 1984	European Union	Brussels	EPP	EUCD			09-007-054
November 6, 1984	Security and defense	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		09-007-214,p.288	09-007-054 p.666de
November 12, 1984							
3-Dec-84	European Union	Dublin	EPP	EUCD		09-007-035-01 p.295de, 305fr	09-007-054 p.659de
1985							
7-Jan-85	European Union	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		09-007-035-01 p.244de, 246fr	09-007-054 p.641de
January 8, 1985	Economic and Social Policy	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		09-007-027-01 p.288de, 294fr	09-007-054 p.557de
4-Feb-85	European Union	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		09-007-035-01 p.200de, 204fr	09-007-054 p.637de

March 4, 1985	Security and defense	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		09-007-214,p.237	reactivation of the WEE
March 5, 1985	International Politics	Brussels	EPP	EUCD			
March 8, 1985	European Union	Brussels	EPP			09-007-035-01 p.183de, 185fr	
March 7-9, 1985	Meeting of heads of Press	Kreuth	EPP				
April 9, 1985	European Union	Brussels	EPP	EUCD			
April 12, 1985	Economic and Social Policy	Brussels	EPP	EUCD			
April 30, 1985	European Union	Dusseldorf	EPP				
May 9, 1985	Contact Group Latin America	Strassbourg	EPP	EUCD	1st meeting	09-007-043,P259	
June 5, 1985	European Union Working group on	Madrid	EPP	EUCD			
June 14, 1985	Agricultural policy	Brussels	EPP				
July 1, 1985	European Union	Brussels	EPP				
July 1, 1985	International Politics	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		09-007-167, p.41de, 43fr	M.Schmelzer president
July 2, 1985	Contact Group Latin America	Brussels	EPP	EUCD			
July 2, 1985	Security and Defence Working group on	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		09-007-214,p.168	
July 4, 1985	Agricultural policy	Brussels					
September 9, 1985	European Union	Strassbourg Brussels	EPP				
September 30, 1985	Security and defense	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		09-007-214,p.78	09-007-054 p.680de
October 1, 1985	Latin America	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		09-007-043,P193	
October 1, 1985	European Union	Brussels	EPP				
October 1, 1985	Ideology	Brussels	EPP	EUCD			
November 4, 1985	European Union	Brussels	EPP				
December 2, 1985	Security and defense	Brussels	EPP	EUCD			
December 2, 1985	Economic and Social Policy	Luxembourg	EPP	EUCD		09-007-027-01 p.254fr, 256de	09-007-054 p.496de
December 6, 1985	Contact Group Latin America	Brussels	EPP	EUCD			

1986

January 9, 1986	International politics	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		
January 7, 1986	Contact Group Latin America	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		09-007-054, p.359de
April 10, 1986	International politics Environment and Economic and Social Policy joint meeting	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		09-007-027-01 p.211de, 214fr
February 5, 1986		Brussels	EPP	EUCD		09-007-027-01 p.60-120 docs
February 11, 1986	Contact Group Latin America Environment and Economic and Social Policy joint meeting	Luxembourg	EPP	EUCD		Pol Marck, MEP
March 3, 1986	Security and defence and International policy joint meeting	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		
March 7, 1986		Brussels	EPP	EUCD		
March 12, 1986	Contact Group Latin America	Strasbourg	EPP	EUCD		
April 10, 1986	Contact Group Latin America 1st symposium of the working group christian democratic doctrine	The Hague	EPP	EUCD		
April 23-25, 1986		Amsterdam			Research Institute of the CDA and the Dr. Abraham Kuyper Foundation	09-007-014
September 10, 1986	Contact Group Latin America 3rd conference EC-Latin America	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		
October 16, 1986		Brussels	KAS-CDI-EPPGROUP			09-007-036-01
October 18, 1986	10th anniversary of the EPP Juristes Democratés Chrétiens	Brussels	EPP			09-007-036-02
October 30, 1986	- constituent meeting	Luxembourg	EPP			IX-007-014, p.917
November 14-15, 1986	Christian Democratic Ideology	Padowa	EPP			
December 2, 1986	Contact Group Latin America	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		

1987

January 12, 1987	European Union	Brussels	EPP			
January 15, 1987	Security and defence	Brussels	EPP			09-007-171 p.357fr, 353de
February 9, 1987	International politics	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		09-007-172 p.389fr, 391de

March 28, 1987	Law and politics in Europe, conference with KAS	Cadenabbia	EPP		09-007-222	p.254
December 10, 1987	European Union	Brussels	EPP		09-007-043-02,p.605de	
March 30, 1987	European Union	Brussels	EPP		09-007-054, p.192fr	
March 30, 1987	Contact Group Latin America	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	09-007-054, p.271fr	09-007-054, p.271
April 23-24, 1987	Christian Democratic Ideology	Vienna	EPP		09-007-014, p.414	
May 4, 1987	International politics	Madrid	EPP	EUCD		
May 5, 1987	Contact Group Latin America	Madrid	EPP	EUCD	Pol Marc	09-007-054, p.204de
May 10, 1988	Economic and Social Policy	Berlin	EPP		09-007-043-02,p.601fr	
June 6, 1987	Security and defence	Berlin	EPP		09-007-171	p.112fr, 115de
June 9, 1987	Economic and Social Policy	Brussels	EPP			
June 30, 1987	European union	Luxembourg	EPP			
7-Apr-87	Local government conference	Luxembourg			09-007-031-01	
September 18, 1987	Economic and Social Policy	Strassbourg	EPP		Fermand Herman	09-007-043-02, p.596
September 20, 1987	Christian Democratic Ideology	Paris	EPP		09-007-014, p.414	
September 29-30, 1987	L economie de Marche sociale et la democratie chretienne	Paris		Institute Politique Internationale et Europeene	09-007-027-01, p.24	
October 21, 1987	Contact Group Latin America	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	Pol Marc	
October 30, 1987	Judicial policy, conference with KAS (2nd)	Brussels	EPP			
November 9, 1987	Security and defence	Brussels	EPP			Von Hassel
November 10, 1987	Programe	Brussels	EPP		09-007-120, p.690	09-007-072, p.956
December 7, 1987	European union	Brussels	EPP			
December 7, 1987	Contact Group Latin America	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		
December 8, 1987	40 years of Christian Democratic tradition in Europe	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	09-007-137, p.238	09-007-028, p.235
1988						
January 11, 1988	European union	Brussels	EPP		09-007-054,p.60	Paolo Barbi,

							Chairman
January 12, 1988	International Politics	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		09-007-230,P.540	09-007-172,p.263en 09-007-054,p.65
January 12, 1988	Security and Defence	Brussels	EPP			09-007-171	09-007-054,p.63
February 1, 1988	Programe	Brussels	EPP			09-007-120,	
February 4, 1988	conference for the election campaign for the euroelections		EPP			p.539 09-007-120,	
March 4, 1988	Programe	Brussels	EPP			p.181 09-007-120,	
March 18, 1988	Judicial Policy	Brussels	EPP			p.574	
May 9, 1988	Programe	Brussels	EPP				
May 10, 1988	Economic and social policy	Brussels	EPP				
May 12-13, 1988	Law and politics in Europe, conference with KAS	Cadenabbia	EPP			09-007-222	p.41
May 30, 1988	EPP Summit	Bonn	EPP			09-007-171 (declaration)	p.90
June 6, 1988	Security and Defence	Brussels	EPP			09-007-171	p.43
June 9, 1988	European Union	Brussels	EPP				
June 9, 1988	International Politics	Brussels	EPP			09-007-172	p.241en
June 20, 1988	Programe	Brussels	EPP				
June 29, 1988	conference for the election campaign for the euroelections	Brussels	EPP			09-007-120, p.	
October 3, 1988	Programe	Brussels	EPP				
December 5, 1988	Fusion Association	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		09-007-204	p.299de, 302fr
December 6, 1988	Contact Group Latin America		EPP	EUCD	Pol Marck	09-007-225	p.242
1989							
january 10,1989	International Politics	Brussels	EPP			09-007-230,	09-007-172, p.203en
january 10,1989	Security and defence	Brussels	EPP			p.471en	Kai Uwe von Hassel
January 9, 1989	Contact Group Latin America	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	Pol Marck	09-007-225	

March 3, 1989	Judicial Policy	Brussels	EPP			09-007-173, p.267	
March 6, 1989	Fusion Association	Lisbonne	EPP	EUCD		09-007-204	p.159de, 161fr
May 18, 1989	International Politics	Barcelona	EPP			09-007-172	p.119en, 122de
May 19, 1989	Fusion Association	Barcelona	EPP	EUCD		09-007-204	p.81 very important paper
September 4, 1989	Fusion Association	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		09-007-204	p.4
September 5, 1989	International Politics	Brussels	EPP			09-007-172	p.77
October 2, 1989	bureau of the epp group	athens	EPP			09-007-172	p.60
October 2, 1989	International Politics	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		09-007-171	p.4fr, 7de
October 3, 1989	Contact Group Latin America	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	Pol Marck	09-007-225	p.232
November 13, 1989	Fusion Association	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	Thomas Jansen	09-007-198	p.500
November 14, 1989	Contact Group Latin America	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	Pol Marck	09-007-225	
1990							
January 8, 1990	Statutes	Berlin	EPP	EUCD			
January 20, 1990	Reform						
March 5, 1990	Central and Eastern Europe	Rome	EPP	EUCD			
March 13, 1990	Contact Group Latin America	Strasbourg	EPP	EUCD	Pol Marck	09-007-225	
March 29, 1990	Statutes	Brussels	EPP	EUCD			
April 4, 1990	Contact Group Latin America	Strasbourg	EPP	EUCD	Pol Marck	09-007-225	
May 5, 1990	Contact Group Latin America	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	Pol Marck	09-007-225	p.171
May 9, 1990	Central and Eastern Europe	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		09-007-131	p.541de, fr
June 8, 1990	Statutes	Brussels	EPP	EUCD			
July 3, 1990	Contact Group Latin America	Luxembourg	EPP	EUCD	Pol Marck	09-007-225	
September 6, 1990	Security and defence	Brussels	EPP	EUCD			
September 7, 1990	Central and Eastern Europe	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		09-007-131	p.460fr
October 26, 1990	Security and defence	Strasbourg	EPP				

November 15, 1990	Central and Eastern Europe	Dublin	EPP	EUCD		09-007-131	p.485fr, 495de		
1991									
January 16, 1991	Central and Eastern Europe	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		09-007-131	p.415de, 424fr		
January 17, 1991	Contact Group Latin America seminar with IDC and KAS	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		09-007-225	p.167		
February 25-26, 1991	The state of democratisation of Central America	Costa Rica	CDI			09-007-170 (docs, not minutes)			
March 6, 1991	International politics	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		09-007-168, p.470fr, 464de			
March 7, 1991	Contact Group Latin America	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	Pol Marck	09-007-225			
March 7, 1991	Judicial policy	Brussels							
May 7, 1991	Central and Eastern Europe 1st conference of Christian Democracy Today	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		09-007-131, p.311fr, 315de			
May, 1991		St.Petersbourg	CDI						
June 1, 1991	Contact Group Latin America	Luxembourg	EPP	EUCD	Pol Marck	09-007-225			
June 6, 1991	International politics	Luxembourg	EPP	EUCD		09-007-168, p.319fr, 325de			
June 26-27, 1991	Arbeitsgroup Mittel and Osteuropa	budapest	EPP	EUCD		09-007-168, p.319fr, 353de			
July 2-3, 1991	L avenir de la defense Europeen, EPP group	Brussels	EPP Groupe						
September 4, 1991	International politics and Central and Eastern Europe European structures	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		09-007-168, p.338fr, 335de			
October 14, 1991	European Policy - Central and Eastern Europe	Schwerin, Romania	EDU	EUCD		09-007-112, p.594			
November 13, 1991	Central and Eastern Europe	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	Van Velzen	09-007-112, p.485			
November 13, 1991	Contact Group Latin America	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	Pol Marck	09-007-225 p.112			
November 15, 1991	International politics	Brussels			Paolo Barbi	09-007-168, p.227fr			
December 4, 1991	Central and Eastern Europe	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	Van Velzen	09-007-112, p.341			

1992

February 7, 1992	Central and Eastern Europe	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	Van Velzen	09-007-112, p.237	
February 20, 1992	Contact Group Latin America		EPP	EUCD	Pol Marck		
March 5, 1992	International politics	Brussels			Paolo Barbi	09-007-017	p.199
April 1, 1992	Central and Eastern Europe	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	Van Velzen	09-007-112, p.124	
April 3, 1992	Contact Group Latin America	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	Pol Marck	09-007-225	p.106
May 6, 1992	International politics-security and defence	Brussels	EPP	EUCD			
May 6, 1992	Contact Group Latin America						
May 15-16, 1991	2nd conference of Christian Democracy Today	St.Petersbourg	CDI				
July 1, 1992	Contact Group Latin America	Luxembourg	EPP	EUCD	Pol Marck		
July 3, 1992	Central and Eastern Europe		EPP	EUCD			
September 16, 1992	Contact Group Latin America		EPP	EUCD	Pol Marck		
October 20, 1992	Contact Group Latin America	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	Pol Marck		
October 21, 1992	Central and Eastern Europe	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		09-007-019, p.201	
October 21, 1992	Sub committee on CIS	Brussels	EPP	EUCD			
November 14, 1992	Central and Eastern Europe	Athens	EPP	EUCD		09-007-112, p.4	
December 11, 1992	Central and Eastern Europe	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		09-007-019, p.172	

1993

February 3, 1993	Contact Group Latin America	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	Pol Marck		
February 4, 1993	International Politics	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		09-007-168, p.61fr, 64de	
April 19, 1993	Commission Programme	Strasbourg	EPP			09-007-059- Pour-Une- Europe-Overte- Et-Responsible	40

May 15-16, 1993	3rd conference on "Christian democracy today"	St.Petersbourg	CDI			09-007-019, p.177
may 19, 1993	International Politics	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		
July 7-8, 1993	Programme and Security and defense	Luxemburg	EPP			
July 12, 1993	Programme an security and defense	Strasbourg	EPP			
September 8, 1993	Contact Group Latin America	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	Pol Marck	
October 7, 1993	Central and Eastern Europe					
October 22, 1993	International Politics	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		
November 11, 1993	Contact Group Latin America	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		

1994

February 2, 1994	Campaign management	Brussels	EPP			
March 3, 1994	Campaign management	Brussels	EPP			
March 10-11, 1994	Central and Eastern Europe	Budapest		EUCD		
July 14, 1994	Central and Eastern Europe	Brussels	EPP			09-007-019, p.69
October 31-Nov 4,1994	Visit to Lithuania and Latvia organised by WG Central and Eastern Europe			EUCD		09-007-116

1995

January 10. 1995	Africa					
January 13, 1995	Latin America					
February 9,1995	Internal Security and Justice					
February 9,1995	White Bible					Stelios Argyros
February 16. 1995	Africa		EPP			
March 9, 1995	Security and defense	Brussels	EPP		1st meeting	Tom Finking
April 26, 1995	Africa					
April 27, 1995	White Bible					
May 11, 1995	Security and defense					

May 11, 1995	Internal Security and Justice					
May 29-31, 1995	Rights of National Minorities	Portoroz, Slovenia		EUCD	09-007-156	p250
June 6, 1995	Africa					
June 7, 1995	Latin America					
June 8, 1995	Judicial policy					
July 5, 1995	Security and defense					
July 5, 1995	White Bible					
September 10, 1995	Internal Security and Justice					
September 13, 1995	White Bible					
October 5, 1995	Security and defense					
October 6, 1995	Judicial policy					

1996

April 12, 1996	Central and Eastern Europe	wildban kreuth	EPP	EUCD	CDI	09-007-108 p.385
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1997

January 9-10, 1997	Central and Eastern Europe	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		09-007-108 p.200	09-007-050 p.686
June 19-20, 1997	Central and Eastern Europe	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		09-007-108 p.173	

1998

March 26, 1998	Enlargement	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		
March 27, 1998	Campaign	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		
April 6, 1998	Central and Eastern Europe Seminar on "fight against organised crime"	Sofia	EPP	EUCD	CDI	09-007-108 p.18
April 6, 1998		Sofia		EUCD		

May 4-5, 1998	Action Programme	Berlin	EPP			
May 7, 1998	Campaign	Berlin	EPP			
May 8, 1998	Enlargement	Berlin	EPP			
June 10, 1998	Latin America	Brussels	EPP			
June 11, 1998	Action Programme Christian Democratic and Conservative parties in the Commonwealth of	Brussels	EPP			
August 26-28, 1998	Independent States (CIS)	St Petersburg	EPP	EUCD	CDI	09-007-027

POLITICAL BUREAU/ CONGRESS / SUMMIT MEETINGS OF THE EPP/EUCD

WHEN	MEETING	WHERE	WHO	WHO	ARCHIVE SOURCE	PAGE	ARCHIVE SOURCE	PAGE
August 2, 1965	Political Bureau	Stresa		EUCD	09-004-116-06			2
October 11, 1965	Political Bureau	Brussels		EUCD	09-004-116-06			2
December 9-12, 1965	17th Congress	Taormina		EUCD	09-004-116-05			
April 5, 1966	Political Bureau	Brussels		EUCD	09-004-116-04			3
July 16, 1966	Political Bureau	Salzbourg		EUCD	09-004-116-03		09-004-007 p.422	4
October 23, 1966	Presidency	Locarno		EUCD	09-004-116-09			
December 17, 1966	Political Bureau	Rome		EUCD	09-004-116-02			2
June 17, 1967	Political Bureau			EUCD				
November 3-4, 1967	Journee de Etude sure l'Emmigration en Europe			EUCD	09-004-115-01			177
November 6, 1967	Political Bureau			EUCD	09-004-115-03			30
April 29, 1968	Political Bureau	Geneve		EUCD	09-004-115-04			2
September 12-15, 1968	18th Congress	Venice		EUCD				
March 29, 1969	Bureau?	Como		EUCD	09-004-115-01			104
May 10, 1969	Political Bureau	Rome		EUCD	09-004-115-01			3
October 23, 1970	Standing conference of the six	Brussels		EUCD	09-004-119/2			27
October 24-25, 1970	Political Bureau	Brussels		EUCD	09-004-120			

November 11, 1970	Meeting of chair of national CD groups with the chair of the CD group in the EP	Luxemburg	EUCD	09-004-119/2	55
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December 8, 1972	Political Bureau	Vienna	EUCD	09-004-118	09-004-005 nach, p.146 (minutes 62 pages!!)
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ARCHIVE

1973

March 30-31, 1973	Political Bureau	Malta	EUCD	09-004-005 nach, p.49
May 25, 1973	Political Bureau	Rome	EUCD	09-004-005 nach, p.15
June 27, 1973	Political Bureau	Munich	EUCD	09-004-005 nach, p.2
October 22, 1973	Political Bureau	Rome	EUCD	
November 7, 1973	Political Bureau	Bonn	EUCD	
November 7-9, 1973	Congress	Bonn	EUCD	09-004-001 nach

1974

January 18, 1974	Executive Committee	Luxembourg	EUCD	
January 18, 1974	Political Bureau	Luxembourg	EUCD	
January 25-26, 1974	World Committee	Rome	EUCD	
February 22, 1974	Executive Committee	Brussels	EUCD	
February 22, 1974	Political Bureau	Brussels	EUCD	programme of 1974 at 09-004-01 Nich, page 264
March 7, 1974	Meetings of EUCD president with CD Group	Brussels	EUCD	

March 26, 1974	Executive Committee	Brussels	EUCD
March 27, 1974	Political Bureau	Brussels	EUCD
April 19-20, 1974	Meeting of the Political Formation	Marsaille	EUCD
June 6, 1974	Executive Committee	Rome	EUCD
June 7-8, 1974	Political Bureau	Rome	EUCD
September 20, 1974	Political Bureau	Bonn	EUCD

1975

March 7, 1975	Political Committee of EC CD parties	Brussels	EUCD	09-007-001-01	623
April 17-18, 1975	Political bureau	Vienna	EUCD	IX-004-001Nachlieferung	256
May 30, 1975	Political Committee of EC CD parties	Paris	EUCD	09-007-191	268
June 2, 1975	Executive Committee	Brussels	EUCD		
September 18, 1975	Executive Committee	Zurich	EUCD		
September 26, 1975	Political Committee of EC CD parties	Luxemburg	EUCD	09-007-191	468
September 29, 1975	Political Bureau	Zurich	EUCD		

1976

21 February 1976		PARIS	EUCD	09-007-062	204	09-007-144	149
April 19, 1976	Political Bureau	Brussels	EUCD	09-007-001-02	12		
April 19, 1976	Political Committee of EC CD parties		EUCD	09-004-001 Nac		761 de	
6-7 May 1976		Rome	EUCD	09-007-062	187		
8 July 1976	Political Bureau	Luxemburg	EPP	09-007-062	156	09-007-026	18
9 July 1976	Political Bureau	Luxemburg	EUCD	09-007-062	145		
October 7-8. 1976	???	Brussels	EPP				

October 21-22. 1976	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP			09-007-026		103
October 23. 1976	Political Bureau			EUCD	09-007-025-1		108	
25 November 1976	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP			09-007-026		144
26 November 1976	Political Bureau	Brussels		EUCD				
December 1, 1976	Executive Committee	Brussels	EPP					
December 20, 1976	Executive Committee	Brussels	EPP		09-007-023-01, p.100de, 103fr	09-007-023-01		103

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January 19, 1977	Executive Committee	Brussels	EPP		09-007-023-01, p.112de, 114fr	09-007-032-01		13
February 1-2, 1977	Political Bureau	Madrid		EUCD				
March 2, 1977	Executive Committee	Brussels	EPP		09-007-023-01, p.142de, 114fr			
March 2, 1977	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-023-01		142	
May 3-4, 1977	Political Bureau	Brussels		EUCD				
May 4-5, 1977	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-026	188	09-004-001 Nach	507de
June 27 1977	Executive Committee	Brussels	EPP		09-007-025-1	317		
June 28-29 1977	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-025-1	320		
September 7. 1977	Executive Committee	Brussels	EPP		09-007-023-01	153	169fr	
October 18-19, 1977 ???		Brussels	EPP					
27-28 October 1977	Political Bureau- Executive Committee	LISBON	EPP	EUCD	09-007-191		385de, 390fr	
November 7, 1977	Executive Committee	Brussels	EPP					
November 8, 1977	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP					
November 30, 1977	Executive Committee	Brussels	EPP		09-007-023-01, p.11fr			
December 1, 1977	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-004-001 nach	580	Draft program adopted	

1978

January 11, 1978	Executive Committee	Brussels	EPP					
January 11, 1978	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP					

February 7, 1978	Executive Committee	Brussels	EPP			
February 7-8, 1978	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-026	251
March 6, 1978	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-026	263
April 5, 1978	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		
May 2-3, 1978	Political Bureau	Dublin	EPP	EUCD	09-007-056 EVP-PPE, p.454	
June 6, 1978	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		
June 27, 1978	Executive Committee	Brussels	EPP		09-007-023-01, p.56de, 58fr	
June 27-28, 1978	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-023-01, p.58	
September 5-6, 1978	Political Bureau	Rome	EPP			
October 5, 1978	Executive Committee	Brussels	EPP		09-007-026	389
October 5, 1978	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-026	394
November 5-6	Political Bureau	Malta	EPP	EUCD	09-004-001 Nich	267
December 4-6, 1978	Executive Committee	Brussels	EPP	EUCD		

1979

January 10, 1979	Executive Committee	Brussels	EPP			
January 10-11, 1979	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP			
February 6-7, 1979	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP			
March 5-6, 1979	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP			
April 17-19, 1979	Political Bureau	Killarney	EPP	EUCD		
June 14, 1979	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP			
September 18, 1979	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP			
October 16, 1979	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP			
December 4, 1979	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP			

1980

January 8, 1980	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP			
March 4, 1980	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		we note that all the PB up to now take place at 3, bd. De l'Empereur	

March 25, 1980	Political Bureau	Strassbourg	EPP		cancelled finally (09-007-025/01,p.182)	
April 8, 1980						
May 14, 1980	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-025, p.198	chaired by Kai won hassel
June 9, 1980	Executive committee	Brussels	EPP		09-007-023-01, p.67de, 68fr	
June 9-10, 1980	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-060 arbeidsruppe, p.143de	p.218 09-007-023/01, p.68
June 23-25, 1980	EUCD Congress	Lisbon		EUCD		
July 1, 1980	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP			
August 12, 1980	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP			
September 1, 1980	Political Bureau	Cologne	EPP			
September 1-2, 1980	Congress	Cologne	EPP			
October 7, 1980	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	09-007-025, p.266	elections for new bureau
November 10-11, 1980	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	09-007-025, p.290	09-007-158, p.807
December 9, 1980	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	09-007-060 arbeidsruppe, p.53	
1981						
February 3, 1981	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-025, p.619	
March 2-3, 1981	Political Bureau and Executive Committee	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	09-007025, p.476	elects Diogo Freitas do Amaral as President of EUCD
April 2, 1981	Political Bureau	Rome	EPP		09-007025, p.422	09-007-184, p.262de
April 27, 1981	Executive Committee	Brussels		EUCD		
April 28, 1981	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007025, p.389	09-007-184, p.181de
June 9, 1981	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-025, p.354	09-007-184, p.132de
June 10, 1981	Executive Committee			EUCD	09-007-184, p.143de	
June 29, 1981	Executive Committee	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	09-007-023-01, p.198fr	09-007-184, p.134de
June 30, 1981	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	09-007-042, p.17	09-007-028-02, p.5de, p.10fr
September 8, 1981	Political Bureau	Luxembourg	EPP		09-007-028-02, p.34de, p.37fr	09-007-158, p.516de

September 9, 1981	Executive Committee	Luxembourg		EUCD		09-007-158, p.536de
October 5, 1981	Executive Committee	Brussels	EPP			
October 6-7, 1981	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-028-02, p.124de, p.127fr	
December 9, 1981	Executive Committee	Brussels		EUCD	09-007-063-01-279-014, p.46de	
December 10, 1981	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-028-02, p.158de, p.160fr	
1982						
January 12, 1982	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-028-02, p.196de, p.200fr	09-007-014-02 p.321
February 9 1982	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-028-02, p.213de, p.217fr	09-007-057-2 p.220
May 4, 1982	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-028-02, p.245de, p.256fr	
June 8, 1982	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-028-02, p.297de, p.313fr	admission of sud tyroleans, reports about Libanon, Poland (p.325), SMEs (p.332)
June 28, 1982	Political Bureau	Luxembourg	EPP	EUCD	09-007-028-02, p.350de, p.353fr	09-007-056-EVP-PPE- 6.-7.3.1978-Bruessel, p.47de
June 29, 1982	Political Bureau	Luxembourg	EPP		09-007-028-02, p.383de, p.387fr	09-007-056-EVP-PPE- 6.-7.3.1978-Bruessel, p.22de
September 9, 1982		Rome	EPP		09-007-024, p.335de, p.340fr	
October 4, 1982	Political Bureau	Brussels		EUCD		
October 5, 1982		Brussels	EPP		09-007-024, p.357de, p.360fr	
November 9, 1982	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-024, p.384de, p.388fr	
December 6, 1982	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-024, p.407de, p.410fr	

Congress of 1982	Congress	Quito		CDI	
1983					
February 1, 1983	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-024, p.422de, p.428fr
March 1, 1983	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-024, p.444de, p.448fr
April 7, 1983	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	09-007-024, p.499de, p.514fr
May 10, 1983	Political Bureau		EPP		09-007-024, p.576de, p.601fr
May 31, 1983	Political Bureau		EPP	EUCD	09-007-024, p.710de, p.702fr
September 1-2, 1983	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	09-007-028-01, p.13fr
October 4, 1983	EPP Summit				
October 4, 1983	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-028-01, p.137fr
October 17, 1983	Meeting of Ministers of agriculture	Luxembourg	EPP		09-007-027/02, p.110fr
November 10, 1983	Political Bureau	Rome		EUCD	09-007-028-01, p.222fr
November 11, 1983	Political Bureau	Rome	EPP		09-007-028-01, p.237fr
November 26, 1983	Summit		EPP		09-007-020-01, p.6fr
December 6, 1983	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-028-01, p.314fr
1984					
January 10, 1984	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	09-007-028-01, p.366fr, p.362de
February 7, 1984	Political Bureau	Bonn	EPP		09-007-028-01, p.411fr, p.401de
April 2, 1984	Political Bureau	Rome	EPP		
April 2-4, 1984	Congress	Rome	EPP		
March 5, 1984	Political Bureau	Amsterdam	EPP		09-007-028-01, p.441fr, p.437de

09-007-044-02,
p.179fr

March 5, 1984	Budget presentation			09-007-028-01, p.459fr
May 14, 1984	Political Bureau	Luxembourg		
June 26, 1984	Political Bureau	Strassbourg	EPP	09-007-022-02, p.49de, 61fr
September 3-4, 1984	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP	
September 4, 1984	Executive Committee	Brussels	EPP	09-007-023-01, p.318de, 320fr
October 2, 1984	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP	09-007-022-02, p.119de, 127fr
November 12, 1984	Meeting of Ministers of agriculture	Brussels	EPP	
December 4, 1984	Political Bureau	Dublin	EPP	09-007-022-02, p.224de, 228fr
December 5, 1984	Joint meeting of Political Bureau and of EPP Group	Dublin	EPP	

1985

February 5, 1985	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP	09-007-022-02, p.280de, 286fr
February 5, 1985	Political Bureau	Brussels		EUCD
February 19, 1985	Meeting of Ministers of agriculture	Brussels	EPP	
March 5, 1985	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP	09-007-022-02, p.342de, 344fr
April 23, 1985	Summit	Luxembourg	EPP	09-007-018-04, p.
April 29, 1985	Executive Committee	Dusseldorf	EPP	09-007-023-01, p.378fr
May 9-10, 1985	Political Bureau	Strassbourg		EUCD 09-007-054, p.628de
June 6-8, 1985	Congress	Madrid		EUCD
June 20, 1985	Summit	Rome	EPP	
July 2, 1985	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP	09-007-022-02, p.478de, 481fr
September 20, 1985	Political Bureau	Malta		EUCD

October 1, 1985	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-022-02, p.537de, 544fr
November 5, 1985	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-093, 419FR, 415DE
November 11, 1985	Summit	Brussels	EPP		09-007-017-01 Summit docs, p.29 declaration
December 3, 1985	Political Bureau	Luxemburg	EPP	EUCD	09-007-093, 370FR, 366DE
1986					
January 7, 1986	Contact group Latin America		EPP	EUCD	
January 8, 1986	Joint session of EPP and EPP Group presidencies	Brussels			
January 28, 1986	Executive Committee	Rome		CDI	
February 6, 1986	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	09-007-093, 325FR, 319DE
February 24, 1986	Agriculture ministers	Brussels	EPP		
March 1, 1986	Party heads conference	De Hague	EPP		09-007-18-01
March 4, 1986	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	09-007-093, 185FR, 181DE
March 13-15, 1986	General Assembly	Lisbon		CDI	???
April 10, 1986	Political Bureau	De Hague	EPP	EUCD	
April 10-12, 1986	VI EPP Congress	De Hague	EPP	EUCD	09-007-017-01 congress docs and resolutions
June 4, 1986	Executive Committee	Lisbon		EUCD	09-007-093, 106FR, 120DE
June 4-6, 1986	General Assembly	Lisbon		CDI	09-007-093, p6de, 105FFR
June 12, 1986	Political Bureau	Strassbourg	EPP	EUCD	09-007-093, p.96de, 99fr
September 29-30, 1986	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	09-007-093, p.9de, p.18FR 09-007-054, p.303de

1987

January 13, 1987	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-054, p.282de	09-007-028,p.660	
February 10, 1987	Political Bureau			EUCD	09-007-028,p.683		
March 31, 1987	Political Bureau		EPP		09-007-024,p.82de	09-007-028,p.536de, 548fr	
May 5, 1987	Political Bureau	Madrid	EPP	EUCD	09-007-024,p.86de, 89fr	09-007-028,p.333	09-007-054, p.196
May 30, 1987	Party Leaders Meetings		EPP		09-007-018-02		
June 26-27, 1987	Political Bureau	Brussels		CDI			
July 2, 1987	Political Bureau jointly with the EPP Group	Luxembourg	EPP		09-007-024,p.92 de, 94 fr		09-007-054, p.185
September 17, 1987	Political Bureau	Strassbourg	EPP	EUCD	09-007-024,p.99de, 102 fr	09-007-028,p.230	09-007-054, p.159
November 10, 1987	Presidency		EPP		09-007-057,p.74de, 73 fr		
November 10, 1987	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-024,p.122 de, 154fr		09-007-028,p.174
November 26-27, 1987	Political Bureau	Santiago de Chile		CDI	09-007-172, p.325-348		09-007-054, p.136
December 8, 1987	Political Bureau	Brussels		EUCD	09-007-028,p.179	09-007-028,p.450	
December 10, 1987	Presidency		EPP		09-007-043-02,p.605de		

1988

February 2, 1988	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-024,p.149 de, 154 fr	09-007-028, p. 45de	09-007-054,p.45fr
April 30-May 5, 1988	Visit to the USA				IX-007-028, p.110 report		
May 10, 1988	Presidency	Brussels	EPP		09-007-043-02,p.601fr		
May 11, 1988	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-230, p.511fr, 528de	09-007-028, p.50de, 58fr	09-007-024,p.209
May 30, 1988	Summit	Bonn	EPP		09-007-119,p.192- docs	09-007-028, p.23fr	
June 7, 1988	Political Bureau	Brussels		EUCD	09-007-230, p.491de	09-007-028,p.5fr, 8de	
June 28-30, 1988	Political Bureau			CDI			
July 7, 1988	Presidency	Strassbourg	EPP		09-007-119, p.99	09-007-043-02, p.596	
July 7, 1988	Political Bureau	Strassbourg	EPP		09-007-230, p.506de		

October 4, 1988	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	09-007-024,p.223de		09-007-047, p.633fr
October 19, 1988	Summit	Brussels	EPP		09-007-119,p.2-190 docs		
November 6, 1988	Political Bureau	Luxemburg	EPP				
November 7-8, 1988	VII Congress	Luxemburg	EPP		09-007-138 on the Congress doc		
December 6, 1988	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	09-007-230, p.481de		

1989

January 30, 1989	Political Bureau	Panama		CDI	09-007-174	p.374	
February 9, 1989	Political Bureau	Athens	EPP		09-007-230, p.459de		09-007-047, p.17fr
March 7, 1989	Political Bureau	Lisbon		EUCD	09-007-41	p.158	09-007-230, p.444de
April 6-7, 1989	Political Bureau	Brussels		CDI			
May 18, 1989	Political Bureau	Barcelona	EPP		09-007-230, p.452de		09-007-047, p.365en
June 3, 1989	Presidency of EPP and of Group joint session	Luxembourg	EPP		09-007-041		83
July 7, 1989	Presidency of EPP	Brussels	EPP		09-007-230,p.403en		
September 4-5, 1989	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-230,p.399de		09-007-024,p.241fr
September 18-20, 1989	Congress	Guatemala		CDI			
October 3, 1989	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	09-007-047, p.268fr		
November 5-7, 1989	23rd Congress	Malta		EUCD			
December 6, 1989	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-230,p.378de		09-007-047, p.168fr
December 10, 1989	Political Bureau			EUCD			

1990

January 9, 1990	Political Bureau	Berlin		EUCD	09-007-230,p.343de		09-007-047, p.322fr
February 6, 1990	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-230,p.350de		
March 2-4, 1990	Congress	Budapest	UCDEC		09-007-198, p.415 resolution		
March 6, 1990	Political Bureau	Rome	EPP	EUCD	09-007-230,p.286de		
May 10, 1990	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-230,p.274de		
June 7 1990	Political Bureau	Brussels		EUCD	09-007-230,p.249de		
June 14 1990	Comite directeur	Bratislava		EUCDU	09-007-201,p.131en		
July 1, 1990	Political Bureau	Brussels		CDI			

July 4, 1990	Political Bureau	Luxembourg	EPP		09-007-230,p.225de
September 6, 1990	Comite directeur	Bratislava		EUCDU	09-007-201,p.126en
September 6, 1990	Political Bureau	Brussels		EUCD	09-007-230,p.152de
October 4, 1990	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-175, p.544, 09-007-230,p.177 de
November 14, 1990	Political Bureau	Dublin	EPP		09-007-230,p.149de
November 14, 1990	EPP Congress	Dublin	EPP		
December 7-9, 1990	CDUCE Congress	Bratislava			

1991

January 17-18, 1991	Political Bureau	Brussels		CDI	
February 13-14, 1991	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		
February 14, 1991	Political Bureau	Brussels		EUCD	09-007-054,p.34fr
March 7, 1991	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-230,p.111de
May 8, 1991	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-230,p.99de
June 5-6, 1991	Political Bureau	Luxembourg		EUCD	
July 3, 1991	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-230, p.58
July 12, 1991	Political Bureau	Strassbourg		EUCD	
September 7, 1991	Political Bureau	Brussels		IDC	
September 13, 1991	Political Bureau	Strassbourg		EUCD	
October 18, 1991	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		
November 14, 1991	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP	EUCD	

1992

February 6, 1992	Political Bureau		EPP	EUCD	
February 14, 1992	EPP Summit	Brussels	EPP		
March 5, 1992	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-229, p.90
March 16-17, 1992	CDI Congress,	Santiago de Chile	CDI	EUCD	
April 2, 1992	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-230, p.7
May 4, 1992	EPP Committee "Programme Base"		EPP		
June 5, 1992	EPP Summit	Brussels	EPP		4.3.1.
June 12, 1992	EPP Committee		EPP		

"Programme Base"							
June 21-23, 1992	EUCD Congress	Warsaw		EUCD			
September 25, 1992	EPP Summit	Brussels	EPP		4.3.1.		
October 22, 1992	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-190, p.83		
November 12-13, 1992	EPP Congress	Athens	EPP				
November 14, 1992	EPP Summit	Athens	EPP		4.3.1.		
1993							
January 13, 1993	Council	Brussels		EUCD			
March 5, 1993	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP				
May 19, 1993	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-175	p.384	
June 2, 1993	Summit						
June 17, 1993	Council			EUCD			
June 17, 1993	conference on national minorities	Bratislava		EUCD	09-007-104 docs		
	conference on Civil Society	Bucharest		EUCD			Hanns Seidel and Eduardo Frei
July 8, 1993	Political Bureau		EPP				
August 30-September 1, 1993	Visit	Croatia		EUCD			
September 9, 1993	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-175	p.371	
October 8, 1993	Council	Vienna		EUCD	09-007-215	p.624	
October 21, 1993	Political Bureau		EPP				
December 8, 1993	Political Bureau		EPP				
December , 1993	Congress		EPP				
1994							
February 3, 1994	Political Bureau		EPP		09-007-175	P.317	09-007-215 p.652
March 3, 1994	Political Bureau		EPP		09-007-175	p.296	09-007-215 p.587
March 3-4, 1994	Steering Committee	Athens	EDU				
March 10-11, 1994	Council	Budapest		EUCD			
May 5-6, 1994	Political Bureau		EPP		09-007-175	p.284	09-007-215 p.575
June 20-21, 1994	Political Bureau	Barcelona		IDC	Emilio Colombo		

July 13, 1994	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-175	p.255	09-007-156	p. 560fr
July 14, 1994	Working group of central and eastern Europe			EUCD				
September 22-23, 1994	Council			EUCD	09-007-215	p.564		
November 10, 1994	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-215	p.541		
November 10, 1994	Working group of central and eastern Europe	Brussels		EUCD				
December 8, 1994	Summit	Brussels	EPP					
December 15, 1994	Political Bureau	Strassburg	EPP					
December 16, 1994	Council	Strassburg		EUCD	09-007-121, p.634			
1995								
January 12, 1995	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-175	p.210	09-007-215	p.517
February 9-10, 1995	Political Bureau	Brussels		CDI				
march 9, 1995	Political Bureau		EPP		09-007-215	p.300	09-007-156	p.fr, 303de
may 18-19, 1995	Political Bureau	strassbourg	EPP		09-007-215	p.275	09-007-156	p.262fr, 256de
june 1-4, 1995	Meeting of CD parties from Central and Eastern Europe	Dolna Krupa			09-007-132	199en		
june 8-9	congress			idc				
July 6, 1995	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-215	p.284	09-007-156	p.fr, 210de
June 30-July 1, 1995	Council	Bucharest		EUCD	09-007-215	p.177		
July 10, 1995	EPP Summit		EPP					
July 11, 1995	Political Bureau		EPP					
August 31, 1995	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-156	p.fr, 202de	09-007-178	p.fr, 198de
September 27-28, 1995	Seminar on Social Market Economy	Prague		EUCD				
September 29, 1995	Council	Prague		EUCD				
October 5, 1995	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP		09-007-156	p.fr, 190de		
November 5, 1995	Political Bureau	Madrid	EPP		09-007-156	p.fr, 181de		
November , 1995	Congress	Madrid	EPP					
December 14	Political Bureau	strassbourg	EPP		09-007-156	p.fr, 155de		

1996

January 11-12, 1996	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP	09-007-215	p.80	09-007-156	p.119fr, 125de
February 8, 1996	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP	09-007-215	p.71	09-007-156	p.102de
February 8, 1996	Council	Oslo	EPP	2.3.1.			
February 4-6, 1996	Council	Oslo		EUCD 09-007-215	p.57		
April 11, 1996	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP	09-007-175	p.141	09-007-156	p.94de
April 12, 1996	Central and Eastern Europe	Wildbad Kreuth		EUCD			
May 10, 1996	Council	Dublin	EPP	2.3.1.			
June 11, 1996	EPP Summit	Brussels	EPP	4.7.1			
June 14-15, 1996	Council	Malta		EUCD 09-007-215	p.40	09-007-102	p.231
July 11, 1996	Political Bureau	Luxemburg	EPP	09-007-215	p.14		
September 9, 1996	3rd Council	Vienna	EPP				
September 12, 1996	Presidency	Brussels		EUCD			
September 12, 1996	Political Bureau	Brussels	CDI				
October 4-6, 1996	Congress	Ljubljana		EUCD 09-007-102	p.31 (docs)		
October 17-18, 1996	Political Bureau		EPP	09-007-156	p.81de, fr		
December 5	4th Council	Brussels	EPP	2.3.1.			
December 5-6	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP	09-007-175	p.103	09-007-156	p.68de, 74fr
December 5	EPP Summit		EPP				

1997

January 9-10, 1997	Central and Eastern Europe	Brussels		EUCD			
February 13, 1997	Presidium	Brussels	EPP				
February 13, 1997	Presidium	Brussels		EUCD			
February 13-14, 1997	Political bureau	Brussels	EPP				
March 4, 1997	Mini Summit		EPP				
March 24, 1997	5th Council	Porto	EPP	2.3.1.			
March 25, 1997	Future Forum on "Democratisation in Africa"	Porto	EPP				
April 17-18, 1997	Council meeting	Bratislava		EUCD 09-007-124		50	
April 18-19, 1997	seminar	Bratislava		EUCD			
May 21, 1997	Extraordinary EPP	Brussels	EPP				

	mini Summit					
June 5, 1997	6th Council	Brussels	EPP	2.3.1.		
June 6, 1997	Political bureau	Brussels	EPP			
June 10, 1997	Mini Summit	Strassbourg	EPP	09-007-160		423
June 19, 1997	Central and Eastern Europe	Brussels		EUCD		
July 11, 1997	Council meeting	Luxemburg		EUCD	09-007-124	246
September 22-23, 1997	7th Council	Hannover	EPP	2.1.1.		
October 12, 1997	East West Forum	Berlin		EUCD	09-007-128,p.283	
October 27, 1997	2nd EPP/EUCD EU Applicant State Party Leaders Conference	Brussels			09-007-045 ALL	
November 8, 1997	8th Council	Toulouse	EPP	2.3.1		
November 9-11, 1997	Congress	Toulouse	EPP			
December 4, 1997	Political bureau		EPP			

1998

March 5-6 1998	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP			
March 16, 1998	9th Council	Prague	EPP	2.3.1.		
April 7-8, 1998	Council	Sofia		EUCD	09-007-128, p.19	
April 1998	EPP Summit	Brussels	EPP			
June 14, 1998	EPP Summit	Cardiff	EPP			
July 6, 1998	10th Council	Vilamura	EPP	2.3.1.		
July 7, 1998	Political Bureau	Vilamura	EPP			
September 3-4, 1998	Steering Committee	Rome			EDU	
September 30, 1998	11th Council	Brussels	EPP	2.3.1.		
October 1-2, 1998	Political Bureau	Brussels	EPP			
November 13, 1998	Council	Madrid	EPP	EUCD	09-007-128 π.3	
December 11, 1998	Political Bureau	Bratislava	EPP			
December 1998	Summit	Vienna	EPP			

1999

January 25, 1999	Political Bureau		EPP			
February 4, 1999	Council	Brussels	EPP			2.3.1.

February 4, 1999	Congress	Brussels	EPP		
April 8, 1999	Council		EPP		2.3.1.
April 9, 1999	Political Bureau		EPP		
July 8, 1999	Council	Marbella	EPP		2.3.1.
September 30 , 1999	Council	Brussels	EPP	09-007-157, p.761	
October 1, 1999	Political Bureau		EPP		
November 19, 1999	FFM	Slovakia		EDU	
December 2-3, 1999	Political Bureau		EPP		
December 2-3, 1999	Political Bureau		EPP	09-007-157, p.753	

Annex 9: Interviews

Interviews with personalities related to our topic. The interviews as we presented at the methodology have not been our prime research tool. Rather, they complemented our work on the archive of the EPP both the old one located at the Adenauer Foundation in Germany and the one of the last 15 years located at the EPP headquarters in Brussels. Specifically, we interviewed:

1. Interview with Wilfried Martens, (May 2011) President of the European People's Party since 1990 and a personality involved in the the EPP since its foundation in 1976. Wilfried Martens kindly accepted to contribute to this Thesis and gave altogether 4 interviews. All interview were given in his office in the EPP in Brussels.
2. Interview with Wilfried Martens (Sep 2011)
3. Interview with Wilfried Martens, (Nov 2011)
4. Interview with Wilfried Martens, (Feb 2012)
5. Interview with Klaus Welle (May 2011), Mr. Welle (German), currently Secretary General of the European Parliament, was the successor of Thomas Jansen in the position of Secretary General of the European People's Party in 1994. After serving five years in this position he moved on to the Parliament and he became Secretary General of the EPP Group in 1999. He was a kin supporter of the opening of the EPP and through his position he worked strategically for this cause.
6. Interview with Klaus Welle (Nov 2011)
7. Interview with Christian Kremer (Nov 2011), Mr. Kremer (German) is serving as deputy General Secretary of the EPP since 1999. who kindly assisted our access to the historical archive of the EPP in the premises of KAS in Germany.
8. Interview with Marieta Giannakou (Sept 2011). Marieta Giannakou had a long career in the EPP in her capacity as International Secretary of Nea Demokratia. She had been attending EPP events from the early 1980s till present, while she had a long career in the European Parliament.
9. Interview with Guy Korthoutd (Nov 2011). Mr. Korhoudt among the few people who have lived the history of the EPP since its foundation. He followed the EPP work since its foundation through his capacity as an activist of the Belgium youth organisation. He was employed by the EPP as early as 1981 while later on he became for several years the Deputy General Secretary

responsible for administration and finances. He knows the EPP like very few people.

10. Interview with Guy Korthoudt (Sept, 2012)
11. Interview with Ioannis Varvitsiotis (Oct 2011). Dr. Varvitsiotis a retired senior politician of Nea Demokratia had a long record in the EPP, having served as Vice President during the period 1983-1994. He further followed the work of the EPP for many years till the early 2000s.
12. Interview with Alf Svensson, former President of KDS, Sweden (Nov 2011). Mr. Svensson coming from Sweden was among the Christian Democrats from Scandinavia who joined the EPP in the early 1990s after Sweden applied to join the European Union. In this respect he represented the new comers in the EPP of the early 1990s while being a Christian Democrat.
13. Interview with Kostas Sasmatzoglou (Nov 2011). Mr. Sasmatzoglou (Greek) was the spokesman of the EPP in 2011 having joined the EPP Secretariat since 2005. He gave us the contemporary reflection on the EPP.
14. Interview with Nikolas Briec, EPP international Secretary (Nov 2012). Mr. Briec (French) was part of the team of Wilfried Martens in the EPP Secretariat in 2012.
15. Interview with Thomas Jansen (July-September 2015). Dr. Jansen a historical personality of the EPP, founding member and Secretary General for 1983-1994 is also himself a researcher on the history of the EPP. He is the author of a couple of the most important books on the EPP and of several articles on European parties. He kindly contributed to our work through an interview made over email exchange of questions. We are very appreciative to him for his contribution.

Annex 10: List of Abbreviations

AP Alianza Popular (Spain)	IYDU International Young Democratic Union
CAP Common Agricultural Policy	Kd Kristdemokratiska Partiet (Sweden)
CCD Centro Cristiano Democratico (Italy)	KDH Krestansko-demokratické Hnutie (Slovakia)
CDA Christen Democratisch Appèl (The Netherlands)	KdS Kristdemokratiska Samhällspartiet (Sweden)
CDI Christian Democratic International	KDU-CSL Krestanská a Demokratická Unie-Ceskoslovenska Strana
CDS Centre des Démocrates Sociaux (France)	Lidová (Czech Republic)
Partido do Centro Democrático Social (Portugal)	KF Det Konservative Folkeparti (Denmark)
CDU Christlich Demokratische Union (Germany)	KOK Kansallinen Kokoomus (Finland)
CSP Christlich Soziale Partei (Belgium)	KrF Kristeligt Folkeparti (Denmark)
Confederation of Socialist Parties of the European Community	LKDP Lietuvos Krikscioniu Demokratu Partija (Lithuania)
CSU Christlich Soziale Union (Germany/Bavaria)	M Moderata Samlingspartiet (Sweden)
CSV Christlich-Soziale Volkspartei (Luxembourg)	MCD Movement for Christian Democracy (United Kingdom)
CVP Christelijke Volkspartij (Belgium/Flanders)	MEP Member of the European Parliament
Christlich-DEMOKRATISCHE Volkspartei (Switzerland)	MP Member of Parliament
DC Democrazia Cristiana (Italy)	ND Nea Demokratia (Greece)
DEMYC Democrat Youth Community of Europe	NEI Nouvelles Equipes Internationales
DR Democratic Rally of Cyprus (Cyprus)	NGYO Non-governmental youth organisation
EC European Communities	NTB No Turning Back Group
ECCS European Union of Christian Democratic and Conservative Students	ODA Obcanska Demokratická Aliance (Czech Republic)
ECSC European Coal and Steel Community	ÖVP Österreichische Volkspartei (Austria)
EDA European Democratic Alliance	PCS Parti Chrétien Social (Luxembourg)
EDG European Democratic Group	PDP Partido Democrático Popular (Spain)
EDS European Democrat Students	PES Party of European Socialists
EDU European Democrat Union	PINGO Party international non-governmental organisation
EEC European Economic Community	PN Partit Nazzjonalista (Malta)
EFTA European Free Trade Association	PNT-cd Partidul National Taranesc, crestind i democrat (Romania)
ELDR European Liberal, Democrat and Reform Party	PNV Partido Nacionalista Vasco (Spain/Basque Country)
EMU Economic and Monetary Union	PP Partido Popular (Spain)
EP European Parliament	PPDF Parti Populaire Démocratique Français (France)
EPF European Policy Forum	PPE Parti Populaire Européen
EPP European People's Party	PPI Partito Popolare Italiano (Italy)
EPU European Political Union	PR Parti Républicain (France)
EU European Union	PS Patto Segni (Italy)
EUCD European Union of Christian Democrats	PSC Parti Social Chrétien (Belgium/Wallonia)
EUCDW European Union of Christian Democratic Workers	PSD Partido Social Democrata (Portugal)
EUW European Union of Women	RI Républicains Indépendents (France)
EUYCD European Union of Young Christian Democrats	RPR Rassemblement pour la République (France)
EVP Europäische Volkspartei	SDP Social Democratic Party (United Kingdom)
Evangelische Volkspartei (Switzerland)	SEA Single European Act
EYCD European Young Christian Democrats	SKD Slovenski Krscanski Demokrati (Slovenia)
FD Force Démocrate (France)	SVP Südtiroler Volkspartei (Italy/South Tyrol)
FG Fine Gael (Ireland)	TD Teachta Dála (member of the Dáil Éireann)
H Høyre (Norway)	UCD Unión de Centro Democrático (Spain)
IDU International Democrat Union	
IGC Intergovernmental Conference	
INGO International non-governmental organisation	

UDC Uniò Democràtica de Catalunya
(Spain/Catalonia)
UDF Union pour la Démocratie Française
(France)
UUP Ulster Unionist Party (Northern Ireland)
WEU Western European Union

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