

Central Intelligence Agency.

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DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

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West European Christian Democrats
and Transnational CooperationSummary

West European Christian Democratic and conservative parties are working to expand interparty links and to mobilize public opinion on East-West and Third World problems. Their aim in part is to create a counterweight to the Socialist International on issues such as INF and Central America. Their loose party structures, generally non-dogmatic outlook, and support for European integration create favorable preconditions for collaboration. The Christian Democratic parties lack the unifying force of a common ideology, however, and their philosophical affinities with secular conservatives are limited. As a result, the transnational efforts of both groups are dispersed among a patchwork of partially overlapping European and global groupings. [redacted]

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The three leading interparty organizations have differing memberships and purposes. The activities of the Christian Democratic International, until recently known as the World

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This memorandum was prepared by [redacted] the Office of European Analysis. It was requested by Gerald Helman, Deputy Undersecretary for Political Affairs at the Department of State. It was coordinated with the Office of African and Latin American Analysis, the Office of East Asian Analysis, and the Office of Global Issues. Research was completed on 6 May 1983. Questions and comments may be addressed to Chief, European Issues Division [redacted]

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Union of Christian Democrats, are virtually limited to sponsoring consultations among parties from Latin America and Western Europe. The European People's Party comprises the Christian Democratic delegations in the European Parliament, and focuses most attention on European issues. The European Democratic Union tries to promote cooperation between Conservatives and Christian Democrats. The three groupings are generally united on East-West issues and--to a lesser extent--on Latin America. Their ideological and institutional divisions, however, probably will continue to limit their individual and combined significance. [redacted]

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The Christian Democratic International

The Rome-based Christian Democratic International (CDI) is the oldest but least active of the Christian Democratic groupings. It has sponsored biannual congresses of party leaders since 1961. Its West European affiliate, the European Union of Christian Democrats (EUCD) formed in 1965, maintains a separate secretariat in Brussels and sponsors frequent meetings of party functionaries. [redacted]

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Aside from promoting consultations, the CDI has generally been inactive. [redacted]

Some Belgian, West German, and Latin American Christian Democratic leaders are attempting to reinvigorate the CDI, but so far without notable success. A congress in Quito last November adopted the organization's present name and elected Andres Zaldivar, a Chilean exile and former finance minister, as its first non-European president. The US Embassy in Brussels, however, reports that infighting among the European parties over leadership positions apparently prevented serious consideration of policy initiatives. Zaldivar has subsequently urged new

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efforts on Latin America, including a conference of all democratic parties of the region. The assistant CDI president, Andre Louis of Belgium, has told US officials he plans to establish an information office in Brussels charged with intensifying propaganda efforts regarding Central America in particular. While we believe Latin American Christian Democrats probably would welcome greater activism, most of their European counterparts show little enthusiasm for intensified cooperation under the aegis of the CDI. [redacted]

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The European People's Party

The European People's Party (EPP) in our judgment has proved to be a more effective forum for the eleven Christian Democratic parties representing eight countries in the European Parliament. Formed in 1976 to prepare for the first direct elections to the Parliament, it comprises the Christian Democratic delegation and aspires to become a single trans-European party. According to the US Embassy in Brussels, the EPP is considering a merger with the European Union of Christian Democrats, with which it already has formal links, but will remain separate from the Christian Democratic International. [redacted]

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[redacted] The EPP's bureaucratic structure resembles that of its member parties. Its leadership includes a president (Belgian Foreign Minister Tindemans), six vice-presidents, a treasurer, and a general secretary. A Political Bureau regulates finance, coordinates European Parliament election campaigns, and issues resolutions on EC issues. A smaller Executive Committee implements the Bureau's decisions and supervises a small Brussels-based secretariat. An EPP congress of national party functionaries meets at least biannually. The EPP receives funds from both the European Parliament delegation and the member parties. [redacted]

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East-West relations have been the EPP's central international concern. Even though it contains a party from neutral Ireland, the EPP strongly backs security cooperation with the United States. At its most recent congress last December, it condemned Soviet expansionism and supported NATO's dual-track decision on INF. EPP President Tindemans has stressed repeatedly that peace with freedom requires Western military strength. [redacted]

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[redacted] Recently, the EPP has become more active on Third World issues. In April 1983, it held a conference on Central America and the Caribbean in Brussels in conjunction with Latin American Christian Democrats. The conference established a permanent contact group on Latin America headed by Mario Pedini of Italy

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and promised increased material support for the region's Christian Democratic parties. It also urged the EC to increase development assistance in close cooperation with the United States. Substantive resolutions urged a peaceful dialogue among democratic forces in El Salvador and the restoration of basic freedoms in Nicaragua. [redacted]

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The focus of EPP activity, however, remains the European Parliament. The Christian Democratic delegation is the Parliament's second largest, and the four right-of-center groupings--the EPP, Liberals, European Democrats (British and Danish Conservatives), and Progressive Democrats (French Gaullists and three smaller parties)--enjoy a clear majority. While differences on national and European issues persist among and within the delegations, Christian Democrats and their Conservative allies generally present a united front on questions of foreign policy and ideology. Elections to the European Parliament in June 1984 will increase the visibility of the EPP because it will campaign as an EC-wide party. [redacted]

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The European Democratic Union

The European Democratic Union (EDU) provides a broader forum for Christian Democratic and Conservative contacts. Formed in 1978, the EDU grew from the desire of the West German Christian Democratic Union and its Bavarian sister party, the Christian Social Union, to strengthen ties with the French Gaullists and British Tories, as well as with Christian Democratic parties outside the European Community. [redacted]

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According to several academic studies, CSU leader Franz Josef Strauss took the lead in pushing for the EDU's creation; CDU chairman Helmut Kohl, while initially reluctant, decided to support the new organization in order to prevent its excessive rightward drift. The West German CDU leaders would have preferred to expand the existing Christian Democratic groupings, but other European Christian Democrats demurred. The Italians, Dutch, and Belgians, who have strong confessional and labor ties and a history of governing with socialists, rejected association with the more rightwing and secular British Tories and French Gaullists. In addition, the French and British parties insisted on upholding the distinctions between Christian Democracy and their own political traditions. [redacted]

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Unlike the EPP, the EDU regards itself as a "working association" rather than a single party. Its bureaucratic overhead is minimal. Its chairman, Austrian People's Party President Alois Mock, oversees a small Vienna-based secretariat funded by the member parties. The member parties contribute research efforts and draft most position papers. The national party chairmen meet annually. [redacted]

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At first, the EDU's broad membership sometimes prevented joint decisions. At the 1980 congress, the Finnish Christian Democrats and the other parties failed to reach agreement on a resolution specifically condemning the Soviet Union for its invasion of Afghanistan. EDU leaders now attempt to accommodate dissenters, however, and the last party leaders' congress in June 1982 published Finnish reservations to otherwise unanimous resolutions on East-West relations and security. [redacted]

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Despite its neutral members, the EDU is outspokenly pro-western and anti-Soviet. While leading an EDU delegation to Washington last January, Mock denounced the concept of a "third way" or equidistant policy between the superpowers and stressed NATO's contribution to European peace. At the 1982 EDU congress, Paris Mayor Chirac urged the creation of an independent West European arms industry and the gradual extension of a French and British nuclear guarantee to the rest of Western Europe, as well as continued close security cooperation with the United States. Resolutions adopted by the congress stressed the Soviet ideological and military challenge and called for INF deployment should the Geneva negotiations fail. [redacted]

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The EDU plans to expand its global contacts, but we believe its influence outside Europe is likely to remain marginal. Last year like-minded parties in Australia, New Zealand, and Japan formed a Pacific Democratic Union; this July a prospective International Democratic Union is scheduled to link parties in Western Europe, the Pacific, and North America. As yet, however, the EDU has found few allies in Latin America, Africa, or Asia. Both its market-oriented economic policies and its emphasis on East-West issues limit its appeal in most of the Third World. [redacted]

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Outlook

East-West relations are likely to remain the European parties' leading international concern. They are also the area in which the several groupings are most united. Conservative and Christian Democratic leaders are already using the international organizations in the struggle to generate public support for INF. They probably will also intensify interparty contacts to supplement official discussions of security and East-West trade. In addition, the EDU is seeking closer ties with both major US political parties in an effort to enhance American-West European understanding and coordinate policy toward the East. [redacted]

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The two specifically Christian Democratic groupings, which generally support US objectives in Latin America, probably will intensify their efforts in the region. They assert that common

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religious and political traditions form a solid basis for successful collaboration. Informal interparty contacts, they reason, can complement intergovernmental channels of communication. In the case of Central America, European Christian Democrats say they plan to use those supplemental channels to promote the settlement of conflicts and respect for human rights. [redacted]

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We believe that the groupings' activity and influence in other areas are likely to remain limited. Christian Democracy's European and religious focus restricts its appeal in most of Africa and Asia. Conservatism, while theoretically more adaptable, often contains strong nationalistic elements which hamper international collaboration. [redacted]

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Philosophical and strategic differences among the parties probably will perpetuate the institutional divisions, particularly between the exclusively Christian Democratic groupings and the EDU. The Italian, Dutch, and Belgian Christian Democrats remain skeptical of collaboration with the British Conservatives and French Gaullists. Helmut Kohl's election as West German Chancellor gives new prominence to the CDU/CSU, the major link between the two camps. The dispersion of the Germans' funding and activities among the several groupings, however, will continue to restrict the party's European and global role. [redacted]

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Membership in European Center-Right Party Organizations

<u>Country</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>CDI and</u>		
		<u>EUCD</u>	<u>EPP</u>	<u>EDU</u>
Austria	Oesterreichische Volkspartei (OVP)	X		X
Belgium	Christelijke Volkspartij (CVP)	X	X	
	Parti Social-Chretien (PSC)	X	X	
Switzerland	Christliche Volkspartei (CVP)	X		X
W. Germany	Christlich-Demokratische Union (CDU)	X	X	X
	Christlich-Soziale Union (CSU)	X	X	X
Denmark	Konservative Folkeparti			X
Spain*	Unio Democratica de Catalunya	X		
	Partido Nacionalista Vasco (PNV)	X		
France	Centre des Democratres Sociaux (CDS)	X	X	
	Rassemblement pour la Republique (RPR)			X
Britain	Conservative Party			X
Greece	Nea Demokratia			X
Italy	Democrazia Cristiana (DC)	X	X	
	Suedtiroler Volkspartei (SVP)		X	X
Ireland	Fine Gael	X	X	
Luxembourg	Parti Chretien Social (PCS)	X	X	
Malta	Partit nazzjonalista	X		X
Norway	Hoyre			X
Netherlands	Christen-Demokratisch Appel (CDA)	X	X	
Portugal	Centro Democratico Social	X		X
San Marino	Partito Democratico Cristiano Sammarinese	X		
Sweden	Moderata Samlingspartiet			X
Finland	Kansallinen Kokoomus			X
	Svenska Folkpartiet			X

* Until its dissolution in early 1983, the Union de Centro Democratico belonged to the EUCD. According to press accounts, the new Partido Democrata Popular may apply for membership in the EUCD and the CDI.

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