

**Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai Cluj-Napoca**  
**Facultatea de Studii Europene**  
**Catedra de Studii Europene și Antropologie Culturală**

**PhD Thesis Abstract**

**Contribution of Christian democracy to the development of  
European community projects  
1947 - 1992**

**PhD Coordinator:**  
**Prof.univ.dr. Nicolae Păun**

**PhD Candidate:**  
**Ovidiu Vaida**

**Cluj-Napoca**  
**2010**

## **Table of contents**

1. Introduction
  2. The emergence and development of Christian democracy
  3. Period 1947-1965
  4. Period 1966-1979
  5. Period 1980-1992
  6. Conclusions
- Annex
- Bibliography

## **Keywords**

Christian-democracy, European integration, European community, political parties, elections, European elections, European Parliament, European Commission.

The following PhD thesis, *The Contribution of Christian democracy to the development of European community projects. 1947 – 1992*, aims to examine the relationship between Christian Democracy, as a political family and the process of European integration, namely the extent to which the former has influenced the community project.

This paper addresses an interdisciplinary phenomenon: (a) the dynamics of Christian-democracy, namely the Christian-democratic parties, within the context of European Community creation and (b) how this political family influenced the integration process. Although the methodological tools used come from the analysis of political science and European studies, the research will be mainly from a historical perspective.

The paper has six chapters, which present both chronologically and by looking into several fields, the impact Christian-democracy had on the development of the European Community. The six chapters are:

1. Introduction
2. The emergence and development of Christian democracy
3. Period 1947-1965
4. Period 1966-1979
5. Period 1980-1992
6. Conclusions

Chapter 1 (Introduction) has a dual role: it analysis the literature in order to find out the state of research in the researched area, then it outlines the analytical and methodological coordinates on which the text is based.

The literature related to the study of the relationship between a political party family and the European integration falls within a broad category of general studies that examines the occurrence and development of what we call today the European Union (a) and in a narrow sense, within the analysis of the development of the political parties the European Union (b). A third category, a distinct one, includes studies designed to directly link a certain political *familles spirituelles* and the European Union, to which this text is intended to belong to.

In order to simplify our analytical approach, we will call the analytical phases (approaches) as: the classical- historical one, the ideological-promotional ones and the political-European one.

#### *The classical and historical studies*

In the first category fell the historical works, those that study the development of Christian Democracy or of the Christian Democratic parties in different countries.

#### The ideological-promotional studies

These are a set of studies written in the '70 and '80, and have a rather ideological feature (e.g. Papini, Jansen).

#### *The European and political studies*

The third group of texts look at the relationship between Christian Democracy and the European Community. Most of the are, yet, not looking beyond the development of the European party federations (EUCD, EPP), or simply analyze the performance of Christian Democratic parties during European elections.

### **Thesis aim and objectives**

The main objective of thesis is to investigate the link between Christian Democracy and the process of European integration. In order to describe and

evaluate in all its complexity the contribution of Christian-democracy to the building of the European community, we believe the analysis should start from the very first days of post-war European cooperation. Therefore, we can lay down one of the arguments of the thesis: Christian democracy is the political family with the biggest contribution to the foundation of the communities that led to today's EU, at both political and ideological level.

### **Originality of the paper**

The paper tries to bring some clarification needed in a multidimensional context, framed by the following milestones:

- the European integration process slowed down, a sign of that being the rejection of the European Constitution;
- the incomparable enlargement of the EU, from 15 to 27;
- A decline at ideological and electoral level of the Christian democratic parties, marked primarily by the shift to the right of the European People's Party;

The thesis is aimed to be a comparative synthesis, which goes beyond the one-dimensional analysis of Christian democracy in a country, a certain organization or in a certain context.

### **Methodology**

Given the complexity of the topic there is necessary to use more research methods and because of the interdisciplinaryity of the thesis, these methods from history, political science, or electoral studies.

One of the main methods used and by which you can see Christian democracy dynamics at different stages of European integration process is benchmarking. The ideological influence of Christian-democracy on the Community Treaties was explored through documentary analysis and content analysis, in its quantitative version.

### **Structure of the paper**

After the introductory chapters, chapters 3, 4 and 5 constitute the main part of the work and include an overview and analysis junction points of Christian Democracy and the integration process. The chapters have an identical format, the essential differences between them are related to timing. The three chapters are framed according to 3 phases took into consideration between 1947 (launch the Marshall Plan) and 1992 (adoption of the EU Treaty): 1947-1964, 1965-1979, 1980-1992.

**The next Chapter** (*The emergence and development of Christian-Democracy*), which will consider a time stretched over a century, concerns the emergence of Christian-democracy, first route of action, the historical context in which it was developed. In this chapter, but in a separate category will be analyzed the dynamic of Christian democracy in the interwar period and the first steps towards a European cooperation. There will be reviewed the two founding roots of Christian democracy, namely the social and liberal Catholicism. Then, there are described the circumstances in which Christian-democracy appeared and developed in Europe's three largest and important countries, namely Italy, Germany and France. Toward the end of the chapter there will be an evaluation of the Christian-democratic party family during the inter-war period.

**The third chapter** (*The 1947-1965 years*) examines, in its first part, the activity of Christian Democrats within transnational party organizations. This occurred through two associations: The Geneva meetings and the *Nouvelle Equipes Internationales*. Much of what was to become the strong collaboration of Christian Democrats and of the first steps of European integration has its origins

in the Geneva meetings, as known in the literature.

The Geneva meeting and collaboration across the Christian Democrats, had as side effect reintegration of Germany in the European economy and politics. Less than two years after the war, the Christian democrats held the first meeting within the *Nouvelle Equipes Internationales*.

The main objective of NEI was, under the by laws, to provide

"regular contacts between political groups and personalities from different countries, attracted by the Christian-democratic principles; they will monitor both the internal and international situation; following these principles, they will share experience and political ideas and, following the international agreements, will fight to preserve the social and political peace. "

In Europe, the Christian Democrats held the majority of important political positions (including the prime minister or foreign minister ones). Therefore, the targets set under the Treaty of Paris, as previously discussed at meetings in Geneva and the NEI, could be implemented smoothly, so were those established by the Treaty of Rome.

**Figure 1 . The political colour of the EEC head of governments, 1950-1965**

	1950	1954	1958	1965
Germany	Christian-democrat prime minister			
Italy	Christian-democrat prime minister			
Belgium	Christian-democrat	Socialist	Christian-democrat	
Olanda	Socialist		Christian-democrat	
Luxemburg	Christian-democrat prime minister			
France	Socialists Christian-democrat liberals gaulist			

Note:

- With blue are underlined the Christian-democracy, with red the socialists, with grey, diferent other party groups. .

Besides the role played by the heads of government in different EC levels, one should not omit the efforts made by the foreign ministers of six founding countries. It can be said without exaggeration, that the establishment of the first stages of building the European Community is the result of the work done by the foreign ministers of the six. It seems that without the contribution and efforts of Adenauer, Spaak, Schuman, Bidault, Beyen, Van Zeeleand or Bech, the Schuman plan and what followed would have been stalled and the common projects of the '50s might have had a different end.

**Figure 2. The political colour of the ECC ministers of foreign affairs, 1950-1965**

	1950	1952	1954	1956	1957	1958	1959	1961	1963	1964	1965	
Germany	[Blue bar]											
Italy	[Blue bar]											
Belgim	[Blue bar]											
Olanda	[Yellow bar]	*	[Blue bar]									
Luxemburg	[Blue bar]											
France	Socialists – liberals - conservatvs											

Finally, the chapter ends with an analysis aimed to measure the content, at semantic level, of the links between Christian Democracy and the founding treaties. It is difficult to quantify or assess the extent to which a *familles spirituelles* can influence a treaty or pact. However, it can be assumed that the Community Treaties of the '50s, being drafted by representatives of governments dominated by the Christian Democrats contain to a greater extent Christian-democratic principles or mechanisms than socialist or liberal ones. We believe that, above all, the most important contribution made by Christian Democracy to the texts of ECSC Treaty, EEC and Euratom is the term "community" in the name of each organization.