

cd-europe

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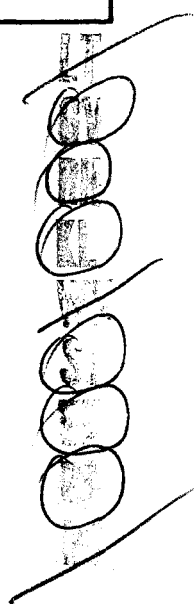
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Contents:

	<u>Page</u>
CD GROUP SEMINAR	1
Mr LEO TINDEMANS ON EUROPE	3
EEC-AASM ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE AT DINARD	4
EUROPEAN TRADE UNION CONFEDERATION CONGRESS	5
THE CD PARTIES IN BELGIUM AND EUROPEAN POLITICAL UNION	5
ELECTIONS : LUXEMBOURG AND THE NETHERLANDS	6
POLITICAL PARTIES IN PORTUGAL by ALAIN DE BROUWER	8
EUROPE IN CRISIS	
2. National crises and European stagnation by Mr H. AIGNER	11

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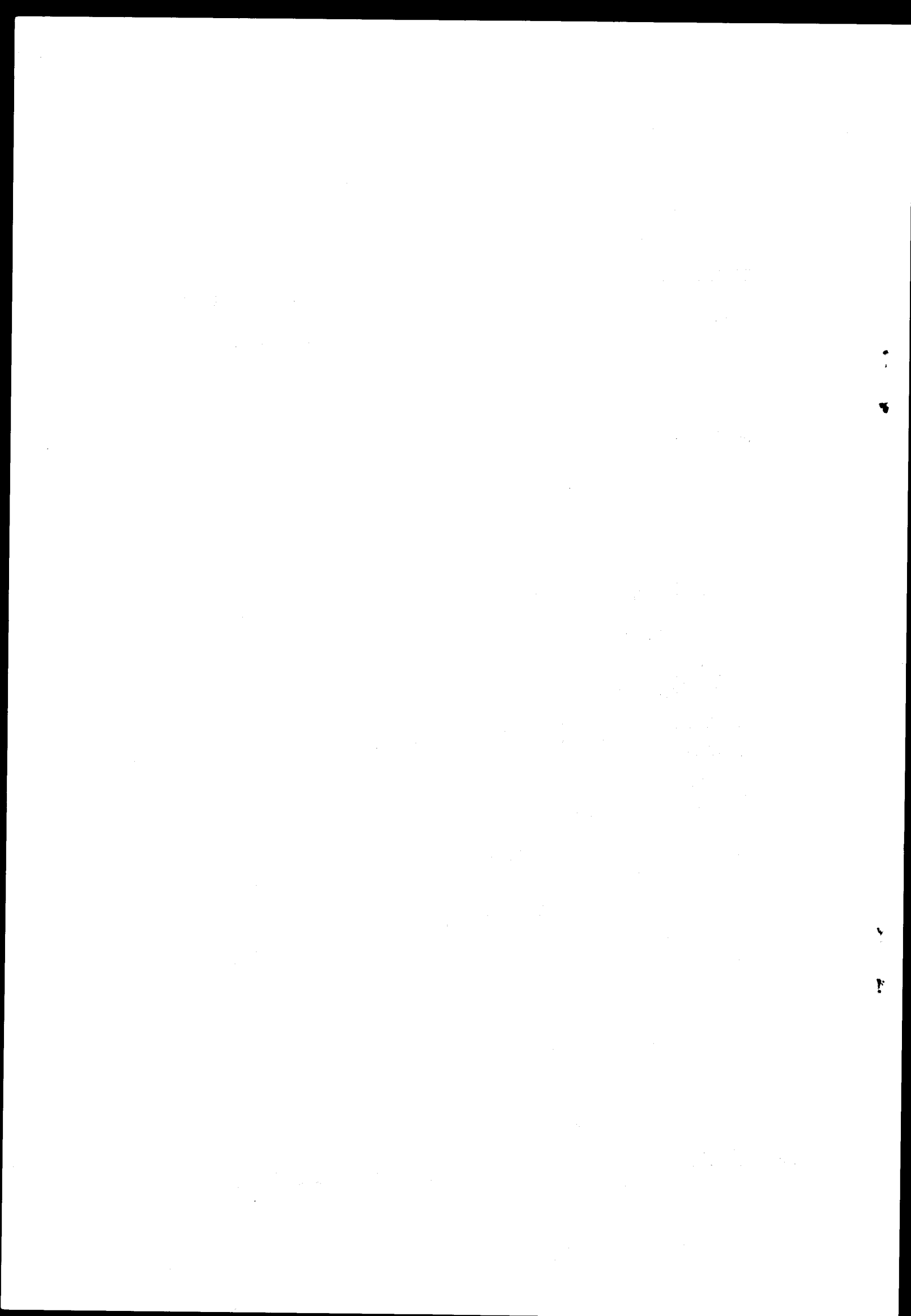
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CD GROUP STUDY DAYS

Under the chairmanship of Mr Hans August Lücker, the Christian-Democratic Group of the European Parliament held a seminar in Dublin from 20 to 22 May 1974, to discuss European political union and cooperation in foreign policy and East-West relations.

In addition to nearly all the members of the Group, and notably the Irish members, Mr McDonald, Mr Creed and Mr Dunne, the Irish Prime Minister, Mr Cosgrave, the Finance Minister, Mr Ryan and the Minister for Education, Mr Burke, also took part in the discussions.

The rapporteurs were Mr Alfred Bertrand, chairman of the European Parliament's Committee on Social Affairs and Employment, who submitted a report on European union, and Mr Giulio Andreotti, Minister of Defence in the Italian government, who submitted a report on political cooperation in foreign policy and East-West relations. The co-rapporteurs were Mr Aigner and Mr Giraud for the Bertrand report and Mr Bertrand and Mr Klepsch for the Andreotti report.

The Group approved the contents of the report submitted by Mr Bertrand on achieving political union within the time limits laid down by the Heads of State or Government at the Paris Summit. The CD Group expressed the opinion that in order to give fresh impetus to the construction of Europe, a decision-making centre must be set up, since it was essential for the implementation of economic and monetary union, a Regional Development Fund and a common energy policy in the transition period.

The strengthening of the European Parliament's powers was a necessary precondition for any Community progress.

The CD Group also decided to intensify its own efforts to coordinate the activities of CD parties in various Member States and to prepare jointly with them a European programme to alert public opinion and to attract the attention and strengthen the resolve of the governments of Member States.

With this in mind, the CD Group, believing the present Community infrastructure to be inadequate, has decided to call for the formation of a political secretariat within the secretariat of the Council of Ministers to coordinate the work of the governments.

As regards cooperation in foreign policy and East-West relations, the Group approved the report by Mr Andreotti, agreeing on the need not to disappoint American public opinion, but to accept the principle of consultation on pressing problems at critical moments, and not to impede the policy of

détente and efforts towards negotiated disarmament. The Group agreed that such a policy should be backed by consistent and coordinated initiatives, in the knowledge that in East-West contacts the risks are all on the side of the West.

The CD Group considers that all military problems are primarily political problems.

The CD Group attaches great importance to increasingly close coordination between the aims and organization of the Western European Union and of the European Communities.

In the course of the seminar, talks were held to establish closer contact between the Fine Gael party and the Christian Democratic parties of Europe: the Deputy Secretary-General of the European Union of Christian-Democrats, Karl Hahn, and the Deputy Secretary-General of the World Union of Christian-Democratic parties Mr Angelo Bernassola, took part in the discussions.

MR LEO TINDEMANS ON EUROPE

Presenting his new government in the Belgian Parliament, the Belgian Prime Minister, Mr Leo TINDEMANS, Vice-president of the European Union of Christian-Democrats (UECD) spoke at length about the new government's contribution to the construction of Europe. Premier Tindemans listed the following fundamental points in his government's policy:

- the political objectives laid down in the preamble to the Treaties of Paris and Rome and the ultimate aim of European Union remain the basis for political unification;
- Europe will only be able to resolve the problems of modern society by establishing solidarity in economic, social and scientific matters. The creation of economic and monetary union is a fundamental necessity as is the implementation of a common energy policy, both internally and in relations with third countries. The Belgian government proposes that the Council meet to reach early agreement on a common price policy for oil;
- this solidarity implies common external action on all major world policy issues;
- Europe will be able to attain its objectives if it can rely on firm democratic institutions. Pending agreement at Community level on democratic elections to the European Parliament, the Belgian government recommends the adoption of the bill tabled by three parties in the Belgian Parliament for the election of Belgian Members to the European Parliament by direct universal suffrage. It is the task of the whole government to pursue a dynamic European policy. European policy will therefore be conducted by the Ministerial Committee for Economic and Social Coordination headed by the Prime Minister himself.

Mr DEWULF: The role of the Parliament in the process of unification

Senator Maurice Dewulf, Vice-president of the European Parliament, spoke in the debate which followed in the Senate. He stressed the significance of the decision to entrust the coordination of European policy to the Ministerial Committee and expressed the hope that the Prime Minister himself (possibly by arrangement with his Dutch and Luxembourg opposite numbers) would be able to take part in the meetings of the Community's Council, and endeavour to put into effect the principles formulated in his statement.

Senator Dewulf also proposed setting up a joint working party from the Chamber and the Senate to study the role of the parliamentary institution in the process of European unification.

Mr Kai-Uwe von HASSEL : We welcome the Belgian government's declaration

At a meeting of the CDU, the President of the European Union of Christian-Democrats (UEDC), Mr Kai-Uwe von Hassel, welcomed the initiative of the Belgian Prime Minister in proposing that the fourteen Belgian Members of the European Parliament be elected directly. 'At last', he said, 'one country is taking the first step towards strengthening the European Parliament'. He described the Belgian Prime Minister's declaration in the Belgian Parliament as 'an example to all the Community'.

EEC - AASM ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE AT DINARD

'Our final declaration is a cry of alarm for the European Community. We are witnessing a clear deterioration in the climate of negotiations, if not an actual standstill.

There is no political dialogue on well-defined options, instead escape is sought in details. We appeal earnestly to the Member States that they state clearly their intentions on the future of the Association'.

These were the words of Senator Dewulf, Chairman of the EEC-AASM Association Conference at the end of the Conference meeting on 27-30 May at Dinard (France).

Deploing the fact that the Council had not given the EEC Commission a full mandate for the negotiations, Senator Dewulf said that 'what was needed now was not a simple renewal of the Association Agreement but a definition of its position in an enlarged geographic and qualitatively changed context. The Community could play a pioneering role, particularly in searching for a realistic and satisfactory solution in the matter of exports. This was a structural problem which must be seen as one of the fundamental factors in a new international order. Industrial cooperation could lead to structural reform and enable the Associated States to become responsible for their own development'.

The Joint Committee expressed warm appreciation to Senator Dewulf for his unflinching championship of the developing countries in the EP. The Ambassador of Mali in Brussels, HE Mr Sissoko, and Mr Spedale, on behalf of the European countries, spoke at the meeting.

MR PÊTRE ON THE CONGRESS OF THE EUROPEAN CONFEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

At the Congress in Copenhagen on 25 May last, the major labour organizations belonging to the European Confederation of Trade Unions, unanimously voted a motion committing them to joint action on a European scale.

CD Europa asked Mr René PÊTRE, Vice-president of the CD Group in the European Parliament and former Secretary-General of the Miners' Christian Union (CSC) to comment on this event. Mr Pêtre said he was pleased that the major national labour organizations had been able to become closely associated and form a European trade union front, without denying their own ideology and individuality.

'Anyone who has followed over the years the chequered progress towards European union - said Mr Pêtre - must be well aware that the identification of European trade union forces at Community level can only be of benefit to the process of unification of the Europe of the Nine.

The CD Group of the European Parliament particularly welcomes this development. We hope that, united in the effort to build together a workers' Europe, the major trade union organizations will be able to establish a direct and permanent dialogue with the Community Institutions and the other representative European organizations.

I should be glad to see the European Trade Union Confederation becoming not only a body for liaison and coordination at Community level, but also an instrument capable of influencing the Community's social policy in a practical way'.

THE CD PARTIES IN BELGIUM AND EUROPEAN POLITICAL UNION

At a meeting organized by the Christian Democratic Parties in Belgium, Mr Alfred BERTRAND commented on the report on European political union currently being discussed by the European Parliament's Political Affairs Committee.

Before a large audience of representatives of the Italian Christian Democratic Party, the 'CDU und CSU - Verband Brussel', the Dutch Christian Democrats and the PSC-CVP, Mr Bertrand described the origins of the document and explained its contents.

Afterwards he answered a large number of questions.

E L E C T I O N S

LUXEMBOURG

Although, in an unprecedented electoral reverse, the Christian Social Party lost three seats, it still remains the strongest political force in the Luxembourg Parliament. Nevertheless, after 55 years in power, it will have to hand over the reins to Gaston Thorn's Democratic Party. It is likely that the 30,000 young people voting for the first time chose to seek new political gods, being attracted perhaps by an American-style electoral campaign conducted by the Foreign Minister, Mr Thorn, which gained him - in a constituency contested also by Prime Minister Werner - an advantage of 8,000 votes over his illustrious opponent. On television Pierre Werner said that he had 'always thought that there was nothing humiliating in moving into the opposition and that in fact it might even have some advantages'. Gaston Thorn, without even stopping to consult his former Premier, quickly made the point that it was the Grand Duke's task to appoint the government: this means that we can expect a coalition between the Democratic Party and the Socialists which could command 31 seats against the 28 seats of a single opposition party.

Of the four constituencies into which Luxembourg is divided the greatest losses by the Christian Social Party (11%) were recorded in the East, where there is a rural population; in the Centre, where Thorn faced Werner, the CSP lost 9%; in the South (the constituency from which two Christian Democrat Members of the European Parliament, Mr Glesener and Mr Lucius come) - 6.2%; in the North the loss was very nearly 6%. Two members of the CD Group in the European Parliament were re-elected: Mr Glesener and Mr Lucius, with over 19,000 votes each.

Comparative figures for recent elections are as follows :

COMPOSITION OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES				
(Distribution of seats by parties)				
PARTIES	1964	1968	1974	gain or loss compared with 1968
<u>1 - PC</u> (Communists)	5	6	5	-1
<u>2 - CSP</u> (Christian Social Party)	22	21	18	-3
<u>3 - SDP</u> (Social Democrats) -		splinter party formed in 1971	5	-

PARTIES	1964	1968	1974	gain or loss compared with 1968
<u>4 - POSL</u> (Socialists)	21	18 (of whom 6 went over to the SDP in 1971)	17	+5
<u>5 - PD</u> (Liberals)	6	11	14	+3
<u>6 - LR</u>	-	-	-	0
<u>7 - PL</u>	-	-	-	0

THE NETHERLANDS

Referring to the recent local elections held in Holland, the President of the Anti-Revolutionary Party, Mr Jan de KONING, Member of the CD Group in the European Parliament, gave the following statement to CD EUROPA.

'The overall impression from the local elections in Holland is that, although national problems were not much discussed during the election campaign, the considerable changes brought about by the elections in most local administrations are likely to have repercussions at national level. Compared with the parliamentary elections of 1971 and 1972 Christian Democrats have suffered losses, and compared with the local elections of 1970 the CD was heavily defeated. Nevertheless, if we look at more recent times and compare the elections of March 1974, the Christian Democrats have made an overall gain of approximately 4%, while the PvdA (Socialists) and the VVD (Liberals) had considerable losses. This shows that the voters do not like the "polarization", that is the exacerbation of opposition always favoured by Socialists and Liberals, while, on the contrary, the Christian Democrats' method of acting on a programme has a substantial following. The debacle of the small political parties, such as the D'66 and the DS'70, which have almost disappeared from the political scene, shows that new political forces are bound to be short-lived in Holland and that at the European level, policy continues to be made by the Christian Democrats, Socialists and Liberals'.

POLITICAL PARTIES IN PORTUGAL

by Alain DE BROUWER¹

After the military coup d'état which brought General Spínola to office as President of the Republic, two political bodies quickly organized themselves :

1 - The Portuguese Communist Party of the Moscow persuasion (it approved the intervention of Warsaw Pact forces in Czechoslovakia in 1968). It was already well organized when operating secretly, with a network of cells in urban and industrial centres and in the south of the country. The party receives considerable aid from the Communist International. It has thus been able, to assume wide control in the trade union confederation, which succeeded the sole and compulsory labour union of the previous régime. The Confederation is the real labour movement force not even being equalled by the 'socialist trade union section'.

At the same time the Communist party has succeeded in penetrating the Portuguese Democratic Movement which comprises the Democratic Electoral Committees (created at the time of Caetano's attempt at democratization in 1968-69) and embraces all the democratic and progressive forces, some of which, as for example, the Popular Democratic Party, the Socialist Party, the Socialist Left and a group of independent Catholics of the Left, have not yet found a place on the political stage.

At the present moment the Portuguese Communist Party represents the best organized and most coherent political force, both at the grass roots and in some sections of the armed forces (especially the Navy): as soon as it came out into the open it was able to take control of the trade union movement, the press, radio and television. The Communists seem to be aware of the dangers of anarchic actions and of social and economic disruption and anxious to avoid a repetition of the situation which in the first parliamentary republic (1910-1926) led to a military dictatorship.

2 - The Portuguese Socialist Party was founded some years ago in exile in Germany by Mario Soares. The Party, which was rather weakly organized on Portuguese territory until the coup d'état, has since rapidly established an impressive position in Portuguese public opinion. It has been aided in this by the favourable international press comment which its secretary, Soares, obtained both when he visited nearly all the Western European capitals and by his activities as the new Foreign Minister (for example, starting negotiations with the movement for the liberation of Portuguese colonies).

The Socialist Party considers international policy to be an essential factor in domestic policy, particularly when it comes to reducing the country's military effort (3-4 years compulsory service including 2-3 in the colonies). The Socialist Party is very likely to be highly successful in next year's elections, especially among the workers and the middle classes.

The party does not seem to be seriously threatened by the Socialist Movement of the Left to which many militant Catholic intellectuals belong, and even less by the two recently formed 'labour' parties whose leaders are hardly known.

Nevertheless, the Socialist Party has a long way to go before it can be identified with a consistent and clear policy programme and its internal tensions may well come into the open, revealing the party's chief weakness which is the lack of a grass-roots organization.

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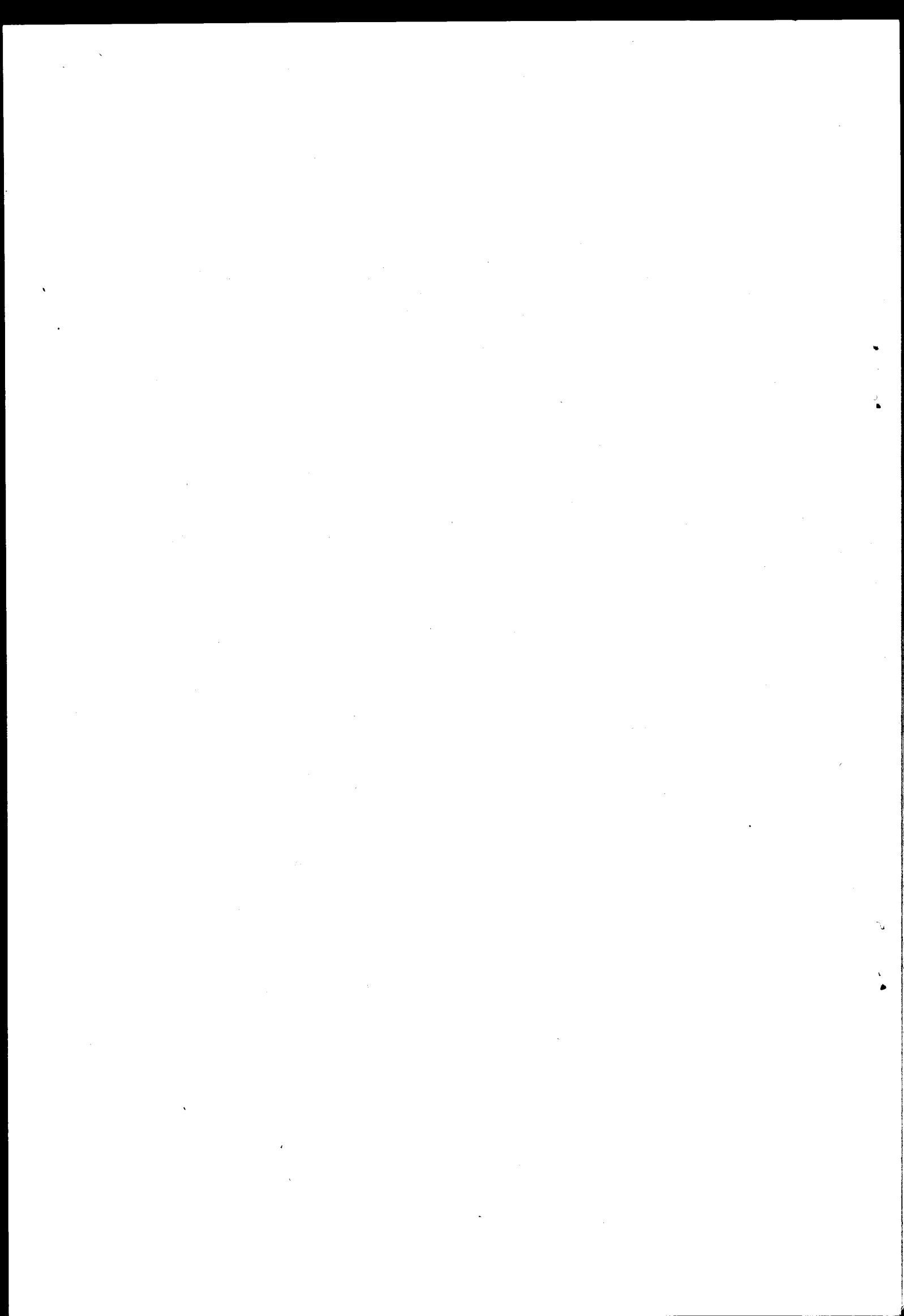
Compared with the Communists and the Socialists the committed Catholic movement appears highly fractionated, though no less active for that.

It should be remembered that Catholic Action went through a particularly grave crisis nearly eight years ago when its militants and leaders came out against the Catholic hierarchy which they criticized as too retrograde and too involved with the régime. SEDES (the Association for Economic and Social Progress), formed in 1969 by a group of Catholics of the Centre and of the Centre-Left together with some Liberals with the aim of liberalizing the régime through education has not succeeded in forming the nucleus of a new non-Marxist political movement. In view of this, three 'liberal' members of a Liberal group in the former National Assembly left SEDES, founding, on 7 May 1974, the Popular Democratic Party of the Centre-Left, with 'social-democratic' leanings. The new party sees a social function in private property and proposes to retain it insofar as this does not conflict with public advantage. As declared in its programme the party is in favour of moving towards European integration and, consequently, its leaders are most interested in establishing relations with the European Union of Christian Democrats. The young people of the Popular Democratic Party have shown an interest in participating initially as observers, in the informational and educational activities of the European Union of Young Christian Democrats. However, the party, which is said to be supported unofficially by General Spínola, has so far had an essentially bourgeois membership: lawyers, doctors, industrialists, businessmen, managers and higher civil servants.

To the right of the Popular Democratic Party two parties have so far appeared: a Liberal Party and a Christian-Democratic Party, neither of which is headed by any of the opposition personalities of the previous era. The Christian-Democratic Party came from a split in the Christian Social Democratic Party. Led by an industrialist, it must, on the basis of its programme, be situated on the Right, with its nationalistic demands for the establishment of a Lusitanian entity comprising, on a confederative pattern, Portugal, Brazil and the African territories.

It seems likely that this 'Christian-Democratic' Party has become the refuge for a number of supporters of Salazar and of the monarchy.

¹ President of the UEJDC. Dr De Brouwer wrote this article on his return from a trip to Portugal on behalf of the European Union of Young Christian Democrats.



EUROPE IN CRISIS

By Mr H. AIGNER

2. NATIONAL CRISES AND EUROPEAN STAGNATION

The unrest which began in 1973, the so-called 'year of Europe', has reached such a pitch in nearly all European countries that remedies can no longer be found purely at national level.

For the first time since 1945, the threat of a popular front government has become imminent. Nor did the slender majority obtained by Giscard d'Estaing on the second ballot change much in that respect. France's presidential constitution functions only when the office is filled by a charismatic personality, such as de Gaulle or Pompidou. To the disarrayed ranks of Gaullist politicians this constitution, superimposed upon a rapidly polarizing society, is becoming a thorn in the flesh and a challenge.

In France, a popular front with ideological and practical loyalty to Moscow is round the corner.

In Great Britain, Mr Wilson, a kind of bourgeois Wehner¹, is busily sacrificing emerging European hopes on the altar of his egoistic party pragmatism. There are, in addition, the fears of Labourites who foresee, rather than deduce, that a socialist Europe would inevitably be one of coalition with the Communists.

These fears were voiced by Mr Foot, the opposition spokesman on European affairs at the time, who expressed the opinion that integration would destroy the parliamentary system in Britain. As a Socialist, Mr Foot was convinced that European integration would, in the long run, embroil his country and particularly his party, in a policy of continental alliance.

The sick man of Europe is rebelling against Europe. The object of his wrath is the very same institution into which, in 1967, Mr Wilson himself was proposing to bring Britain - drag her in if necessary. I mean the European Communities which at that time were considered by Wilson, and after him by Heath, as the only clinic capable of curing the chronic English disease.

The readiness - surprising enough in itself - of British Conservatives to aim for political union in Europe is being destroyed by the Socialists who do not offer any alternative. The Federal German Republic's refusal to respond positively on the European Regional Fund contributed considerably to Mr Heath's defeat in the last British election. Additional proof that in this case Socialist solidarity was put above European interests was furnished by the statement by Herr Apel, the former Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs,

¹ Chairman of the SPD in the German Federal Parliament

on the electoral position in France, when he unequivocally declared himself against Giscard d'Estaing and Chaban-Delmas and in favour of Mitterand.

There can be no doubt that Mr Wilson, by an all out mobilization of the anti-European element, wants to ensure victory in the new elections expected in the next few months. Any impartial observer must see that de Gaulle's hesitations about British Socialists were justified.

Italy, bogged down in a permanent political crisis (35 government crises since 1945), is moving slowly but inevitably towards the 'historical compromise' between Christian Democrats and Communists, envisaged by Enrico Berlinguer, Secretary of the Italian Communist Party. Berlinguer holds that while the proletariat 'remains the mainspring of any transformation in society, it will always constitute a minority of the population of the country and of the working classes'. He believes that a permanent alliance should be formed between the working classes and the middle class in the cities and in the countryside.

It is impossible to assess the rapprochement between the Roman Curia, with Monsignor Casaroli, and the Soviet régime, without understanding internal developments in Italy. Despite their condemnation of the Prague events, we should not underestimate the solidarity between Italian Communists and their Soviet comrades. That solidarity remains a basic condition for successful bids for power, whether in Moscow or in Rome.

It is more difficult to judge the situation in the Federal Republic for the following two reasons:

1. differentiations between the political forces are more subtle, particularly within the SPD;
2. any anti-European policy would immediately mobilize public opinion. It can therefore only be carried out under an unchanging cloak of pro-Europeanism.

People like Rosenberg (the former President of the German Confederation of Trade Unions) and Scheel are no doubt committed to the European idea. They have, however, to contend with forces negating Europe or those willing to accept it only in a socialist formulation. Such a socialist Europe would undoubtedly be subject to Moscow's domination. On the road to Communism there has never been a stop marked 'socialism'. And that is a fact on which Moscow is pinning all its hopes.

It seems to me that among ourselves there are not a few zealously pursuing the same end. For example, Bahn chose not to answer the question:

What he would opt for: that Germany remain within the Western Alliance or that it should pursue a policy of rapprochement with the East.

We have a 'fifth column' of our own and the amazing thing is that it has not been unmasked.

Belgium, the Netherlands the Luxembourg, the three countries manifesting the greatest will to integration, are not able to counterbalance the unfavourable developments in the larger European countries. Besides, Belgium, like Italy, is in a state of permanent crisis due to the linguistic conflict between the Walloons and the Flamands.

What, then, is the state of progress of the three European communities (EEC, 1957; Euratom, 1957; Coal and Steel Community, 1951)?

The difficult efforts made towards integration have certainly not been entirely unsuccessful. The first aim, the establishment of a customs union, was achieved 18 months before the set date. The Common Market exists in all but the agricultural sector. We have the beginnings of the Economic and Monetary Union and a debate on external policy has been initiated, if only at the level of international diplomacy.

And yet we have reached a state of deep despondency. The thousands of resolutions and decisions by the European Communities have bogged us in a position from which there can be no escape without a real European political authority, that is to say, without the Member States giving up their sovereignty.

The Council, which should be a Community body, takes all decisions unanimously. The Ministers, who often arrive in Brussels with superficial knowledge of their subject and one confined to details, rely on the Committee of Permanent Representatives. This method of working to a large extent resembles the old diplomatic game between national states.

If a single opposing vote within the Council can block the Commission's or the Parliament's proposals, it is easy to see that this procedure is not likely to favour the parliamentary institution.

We are witnessing in Brussels today the resurgence of nationalisms, which escape almost entirely any Community control. It would be absurd to believe that nine separate decision-making processes, depending on nine different political, economic and administrative systems, could, through prearranged agreement, lead to consistently convergent results. It follows that now, as before, the decisions in the national states are determined by their self-seeking and narrow interests.

This weakness stems from the fact that on matters recognized as being of Community interest the power of decision has been left to the States; in other words, what should be the subject of Community, intra-European, law is treated as if it was amenable to ordinary international law. And yet recent years, in particular, have furnished ample evidence that even national sovereignty is in fact only an apparent sovereignty.

No national economic policy, be it short-term or long, is free from external influences; nor is an independent monetary policy possible without international solidarity.

Is there a country left that can conduct a purely national defence or foreign policy? Without NATO even France would be lost. Social agitation is progressing throughout the continent. Student demonstrations in Paris lead to similar actions in Italy, Greece and Berlin. Trade union demands are not confined to the national scale. The demands of competition require continuous accommodations.

Again, in the transport and communications sector, is it still possible to draw up isolated national plans?

Countries are becoming increasingly difficult to govern because real-life problems have long since burst the national frameworks of individual states: the power of the national state has shrunk and this is why the state is no longer capable of governing.

Is it not a shocking thing that - despite the EEC's aim of achieving balanced economic progress in Europe, with the ultimate object of constantly increasing the social product - ten million workers have become uprooted and whole regions have become unbalanced even in purely economic terms?

In the absence of a common economic, structural, trade and foreign policy, we are becoming increasingly dependent on the multinationals whom we prefer to blame instead of ourselves. There has been no national sovereignty for a long time in the research energy, industrial policy or natural-resource prospecting sectors. The great task to be achieved - a growing economy that can be made competitive while taking full account of the raw materials and energy resources available to us, a new ecology and environmental policy, an effective external policy, a policy of defence against the aggressive power of the Soviet Union - can no longer be accomplished at the national level.

We all know that there is no longer any such thing as national sovereignty, even though efforts are made to persuade the peoples otherwise. The consequences are frightening. In Brussels 'rien ne va plus'. If new forces do not come to the fore, history will be made without us as if we had never embarked on the great venture of European unification.

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