欧洲视野

Christian Democracy and European Integration

Kees van Kersbergen
Chongfu Zhang

基督教民主主义与欧洲一体化

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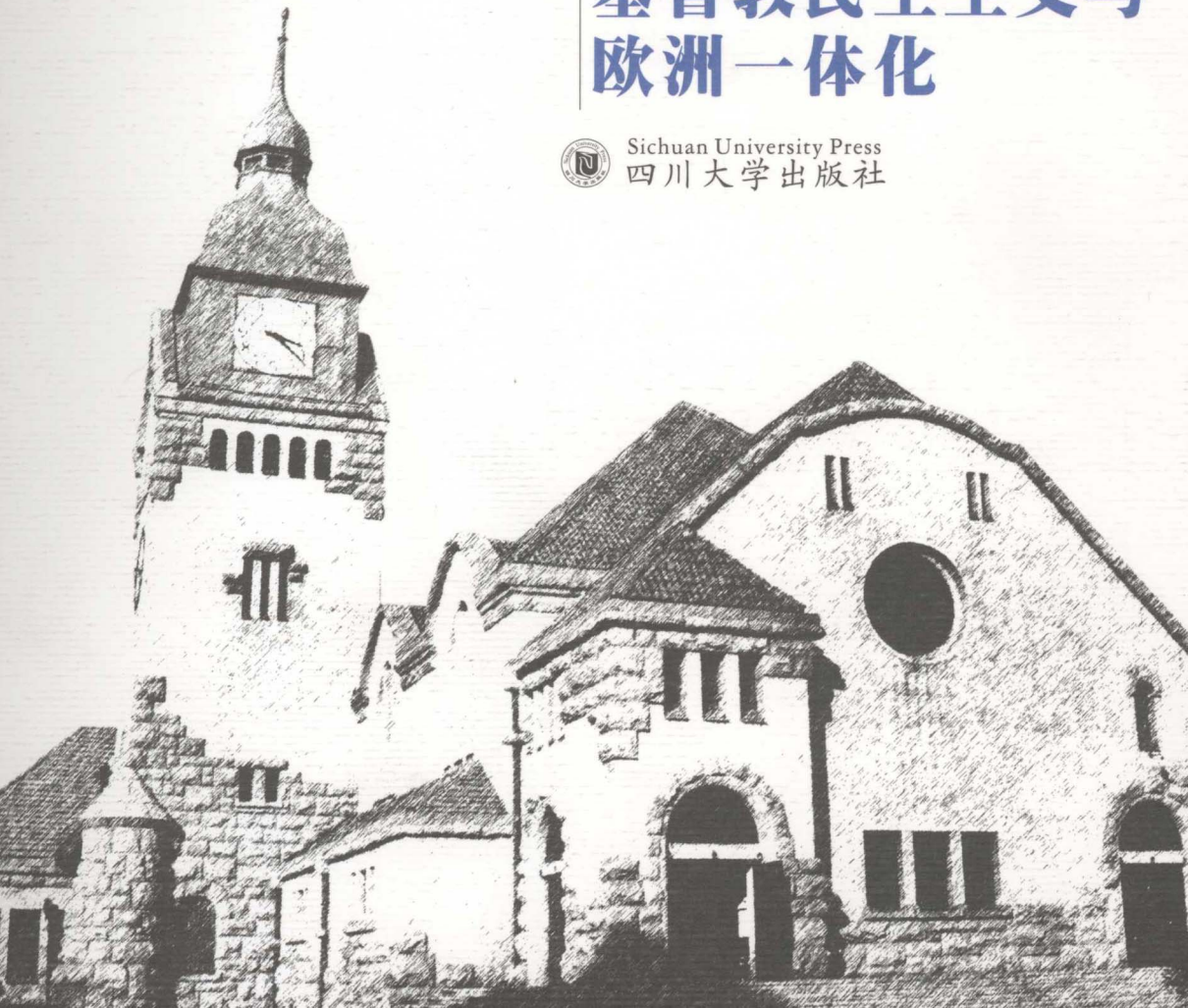

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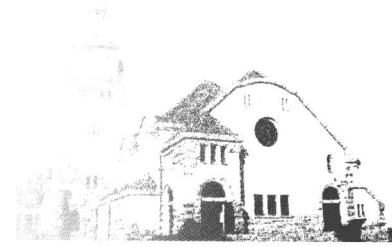

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特邀编辑:陈　梅
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Foreword

In the context of the European Union-China European Studies Centres Programme 'Searching for the Core of European Integration: The Historical, Cultural, and Religious Impact on Its Process', it is a great honour to present here to a Chinese audience a collaborative research project between Sichuan University (Chengdu) of China and the Vrije Universiteit (Amsterdam) of the Netherlands. The particular project we have the pleasure of presenting focuses on *Christian Democracy and European Integration*. It is delightful to see that there is a growing interest in China in the topic of European integration. It is impressive to see how rapidly this interest has been translated into scholarly work of a very high standing at the European Studies Centre of Sichuan University. It has been a great pleasure to collaborate with one of the Centre's distinguished scholars, Chongfu Zhang, on what is undoubtedly a crucial theme for understanding European integration. Chongfu Zhang and I wish to thank the European Studies Centre of Sichuan University, and especially Professor Jian Shi, Professor Feng Duan and Professor Zhuyu Li for their immense effort, unwavering commitment and warm support for this undertaking.

Christian democracy is the term we use for one of the most important political movements in Europe. It is a political party that is inspired by the Christian religion and broadly appeals to all people that can accept its basic message. Domestically, this message is that all classes, groups and layers in society must work together to find solutions for their differences of opinions and conflicts of interests. Society is viewed as an organic whole and although conflicts are unavoidable, they should always be resolved on the basis of mutual respect and in cooperation to reach a consensus that

restores social integration. Christian democracy expresses politically this principled and religiously inspired conviction that social harmony must always be the fundamental goal of politics, giving all persons as members of social units (like the family) what is due to them. At the international level, this very same political conviction has expressed itself in the broad ambition to forge bonds between nation-states, to restore harmony after the most distorting event imaginable, namely war, and to closely cooperate to determine the fates of nations in cooperation. In fact, this conviction has been so determining for the various Christian democratic parties on the European continent, that it was these parties that became the original and main political driving forces of European integration. Even after the European Constitutional Treaty was rejected in the referenda in France and the Netherlands (2005), many Christian democrats not only remain firm supporters of further social, cultural and economic integration, but even adherents to the political ideal of European federalism, that is the idea that nation-states can further surrender their sovereignty for the sake of a wider political union. Christian democrats are in favour of a 'United States of Europe', where most other political forces would not go further than a 'United Europe of States'. This book studies the role of Christian democracy in European integration.

Kees van Kersbergen

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序

我非常荣幸在这里向中国读者奉献一项在中国－欧盟欧洲研究中心项目（ESCP）“寻找欧洲一体化之魂：文化、历史和宗教对欧洲一体化进程的影响”之框架下，由中国四川大学（成都）和荷兰自由大学（阿姆斯特丹）合作研究的项目。我们有幸呈献的这个具体项目聚焦于“基督教民主主义与欧洲一体化”。我非常高兴地看到中国在欧洲一体化方面的研究兴趣日益增长。令人印象深刻的是，这种兴趣在四川大学欧洲研究中心被迅速地转化为高标准的学术著作。能够跟四川大学欧洲研究中心的卓越学者之一的张崇富先生，就一个无疑是理解欧洲一体化的重要论题进行合作，我感到非常高兴。张崇富先生和我想借此机会感谢四川大学欧洲研究中心，特别是石坚教授、段峰教授和李竹渝教授为完成这一项目所付出的巨大努力、所给予的坚定承诺和温暖支持。

基督教民主主义是用来指称欧洲最重要的一场政治运动的术语。基督教民主党是一个受基督教启发的政党，它广泛地吸引了所有那些能够接受其基本思想的人。从各国来说，这个思想是：所有社会里的阶级、团体和阶层必须一起合作去找到解决他们不同意见和利益冲突的办法。虽然冲突不可避免，社会仍会被视为一个有机的整体，而冲突通常应该在相互尊重与合作、达成恢复社会融合的共识的基础上得到解决。基督教民主主义把这一由原则性和虔诚性启发出来的坚定信念政治化地表达为：社会和谐必须是政治的根本目标，并给所有作为社会单位（如家庭）成员的人们以他们理所应得的权利。正是这个相同的坚定政治信念，基督教民主主义在国际层面上将自己的远大抱负表现为：建立民族国家间的友好关系，恢复能想象到的扭曲事件（也就是战争）发生之后的和谐，以及通过紧密合作来决定合作国的命运。事实上，这一坚定信念对欧洲大陆的各基督教民主党成为欧洲一体化的原初和主要的政治驱动力，具有决定

性的意义。尽管在法国和荷兰（2005年），全民公决拒绝了欧盟宪法条约，许多基督教民主党人仍然不仅是欧洲社会、文化和经济一体化进一步的坚定支持者，他们甚至还要继续坚持欧洲联邦主义的政治理想——民族国家能为一个更大的政治联盟进一步让渡其主权的思想。基督教民主主义者赞同一个“欧洲合众国”，而大多数其他的政治力量则不会比一个“联合的欧洲国家”走得更远。这就是本书研究基督教民主主义在欧洲一体化中扮演的角色的原因所在。

荷兰阿姆斯特丹自由大学
基斯·冯·克斯伯根教授
（张崇富译）

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Our deepest gratitude goes first and foremost to Professor Jian Shi, Professor Feng Duan and Professor Zhuyu Li, for their constant encouragement and earnest help all through the application process, research, analysis, writing and publishing stages of this project. This book is one of the sub-projects of the EU - China European Studies Centres' Programme 'Searching for the Core of European Integration: The Historical, Cultural, and Religious Impact on Its Process', which without the support and leadership of Professor Shi, Professor Duan and Professor Li, the completion of this book would have been impossible.

Secondly, Kees van Kersbergen wishes to thank the University of Konstanz's Centre of Excellence 'Cultural Foundations of Integration', and especially its Institute for Advanced Study, for their generous hospitality and support. Chongfu Zhang wants to give thanks for Professor Rudolf Hrbek of Tübingen University, and Professor Beate Kohler-Koch of University of Mannheim.

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Our thanks also go out to Ms. Jing Zhang, Ms. Mei Chen, Ms. Lingling Jing and Mr. Xinlu Huang for their hard work in editing and publishing this book.

Finally, we are deeply indebted to our respective families for their loving

consideration and immense support. We also owe our sincere gratitude to our dear friends who through their kindness have made the completion of this book possible.

Sincerely,

Kees van Kersbergen and Chongfu Zhang

Abbreviations

ARP	Anti-Revolutionaire Partij / Anti-Revolutionary Party (Netherlands)
BLP	British Labour Party
CD [Group]	Christian Democratic Group (in the European Parliament)
CDU	Christlich-Demokratische Union/Christian Democratic Union (Germany)
CEECs	Central and Eastern European Countries
CHU	Christelijk-Historische Unie / Christian-Historical Union (Netherlands)
CP	Communist Party
CHN	Christliche Nothilfe (Switzerland)
CHU	Christian-Historical Union (Netherlands)
CSU	Christlich-Soziale Union / Christian Social Union (Bavaria / Germany)
DC	Democrazia Cristiana/Christian Democracy (Italy)
EC	European Community
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EDC	European Defence Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EPP	European People's Party
EPP-ED	Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats) and European Democrats
ERP	European Recovery Programme
EU	European Union
EUCD	European Union of Christian Democrats
GDR	German Democratic Republic

KVP	Katholieke Volkspartij / Catholic People's Party (Netherlands)
ICDU	International Christian Democratic Union
IGC	Inter-Governmental Conference
LP	Liberal Parties
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
ÖVP	Österreichische Volkspartei / Austrian People's Party
MRP	Mouvement Républicain Populaire / Popular Republican Party (France)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NEI	Nouvelles Equipes Internationales / New International Teams
NU	Nederlandse Unie
NVB	Nederlandse Volksbeweging
PCI	Partito Comunista Italiano/Italian Communist Party
PPI	Partito Popolare Italiano/Italian People's Party
PRI	Partito Repubblicano Italiano/Italian Republican Party
PSC/CVP	Christelijke Volkspartij/Parti Social Chrétien (Belgium)
PSI	Partito Socialista Italiano/Italian Socialist Party
PvdA	Partij van de Arbeid / Dutch Labour Party
SEA	Single Europe Act
SER	Sociaal-Economische Raad/Social Economic Council (Netherlands)
SIPDIC	Secrétariat International des Partis Démocratiques d'Inspiration Chrétienne
SKVP	Schweizer Konservative Volkspartei / Swiss Conservative People's Party
SP	Socialist Party
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands/Social Democratic Party(Germany)
TEU	The Treaty on European Union
VVD	Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie
WEU	Western European Union

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1 *Christian Democracy and the Idea of European Integration*

Christian democrats see the idea of European integration first as a solution to war, and secondly as an indispensable answer to international coordination problems that hampered economic and social prosperity, clearly as a product of their own imagination. They pride themselves in that they are responsible for the success of 'the risky undertaking of European integration: the process by which national sovereignty is renounced in order to stimulate and improve the quality of the rule of law in the common territory (...)' (Oostlander 2003: 131).

There are legitimate reasons for their pride. One example is the *Secrétariat International des Partis Démocratiques d'Inspiration Chrétienne* (SIPDIC), founded in 1925, whose core theme was already pro-Europeanism, particularly focusing on the European continent and Franco-German reconciliation (Van Kemseke 2006: 28). Speaking of Christian democratic politicians in the Interbellum, Pulzer (2004: 21) recommended that we should 'recognize the extent to which the idea of political action beyond the boundaries of the nation-state was alive in those decades and how many of those who realized the European idea after 1945 served their political apprenticeship then'. In the six pioneering states of European integration (Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands), Christian democratic parties were well established parties. Famously, in Britain's eyes the Christian democratic ambition in Europe was suspected to be a 'Catholic conspiracy, orchestrated from the Vatican' (Young 1998). Or as Pulzer (2004: 22) put it: 'the odour of incense clung to the

movement. At the heart of the new enterprise was the Europe of Charlemagne; it was not at all clear to everyone whether they were witnessing the birth of a United States of Europe or the resurrection of the Holy Roman Empire'.

Although the association between Christian democracy and the European idea must be qualified (Christian democracy had no monopoly on this idea and was internally divided on this issue of European integration), it seems that the pro-European and pro-integration stance came more naturally for Christian democrats than for any of its rivals. 'For European liberals and conservatives the sovereign nation-state had always been the ideal (...)', while '(...) many on the Left were suspicious of the EEC, when it was founded, as a rich man's club' (Pulzer 2004: 22), while the welfare state was conceived as a national state and gave it a new legitimacy. Christian democrats had a competitive advantage in advancing the European project. Moreover, the core ideological concepts of Christian democratic politics seemed ready-made for European integration. First, the principles of integration and accommodation are key constituents of the Christian democratic political philosophy, 'in the dual sense of a commitment to class reconciliation (...) and to transnational reconciliation (...)' (Irving 1979: xviii, xix). Second, the doctrine of personalism stresses that *individuals* only become full *persons* when they are members of their respective communities. The sovereign nation-state is but one such community. 'The national community is just one among others—locality, workplace, religion—and not fundamentally different from a supranational community' (Hanley 2002: 464). Third, with subsidiarity as a principle of governance, Christian democrats possessed a quasi-federalist principle to structure and constrain their supranational ambitions.

We agree with Gerard and Van Hecke (2004: 12) that—in spite of improvements since the mid-1990s—the lack of comparative analyses of Christian democracy is astonishing. The role of Christian democracy in the process of European integration, in particular, is a seriously understudied phenomenon. This is all the more surprising, when one recalls that at various critical junctures in the history of European integration the impact of Christian democracy on the formation of the EC-EU is undeniable. Robert H. Lieshout (1999) has convincingly shown that political rather than economic dynamics have been propelling European integration. Seen from an international

relations and foreign policy perspective, 'Europe provided the institutional context in which the continuous struggle for power between France and Germany could at last be fought using peaceful means' (Lieshout 1999: 1 - 2). Lieshout also shows how quickly and thoroughly the supranational solution (the Schuman plan) the French initially had in mind to solve the 'German question' was overhauled by traditional intergovernmental thinking. The governments of the member states have determined all major steps in further European integration. Such governments are made up of political parties, either governing alone or in coalition with other parties. Our point of departure is that to understand the political dynamics of European integration requires an appreciation of the role political parties play. Moreover, given the crucial importance of Christian democratic parties in the process, the drive of European integration cannot be fully understood but by grasping the role of Christian democracy. This holds true for the various phases of integration, the early foundation period 1947 - 1957, the period of sclerosis (the 1960s and 1970s, the rebirth of Europe in the mid-1980s), and the phase of rapid deepening and widening (the 1990s and 2000s).

For example, since the mid-1970s subsidiarity surfaced, implicitly or explicitly, in most documents in which the European Parliament sought a way out of the dominating mood of Euro-Pessimism. A striking feature of almost all committees that prepared the documents is the prominent presence of Christian democratic politicians from Belgium, Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands. This prominence of Christian democrats is perhaps not that surprising, if one remembers that Christian democrats have been quite successful in developing a coherent vision of European integration since the Second World War and have always been warm advocates and promoters of European integration since the late 1940s. Moreover, national Christian democratic parties were relatively keen on organizing at the level of the European Community, which led to the formation in 1976 of a federation of Christian democratic parties, the European People's Party (EPP) (Irving 1979; Pridham and Pridham 1981; Hanley 2002; Van Hecke 2004). Leo Tindemans, the EPP's first president, clearly reinforced the European reputation of the Christian democratic movement by affirming that 'the goal of our new party will be to breathe new life into the idea of European union; to fight to ensure that European unity is eventually achieved' (as cited in Irving 1979:

249). Moreover, the political and electoral manifesto's of the EPP since 1978 have been explicitly federalist. 'The EPP is committed to a federal Europe, based on the principle of subsidiarity—a democratic, transparent and efficient Europe. Our vision is one of mutual respect, of inclusion of all free citizens, encompassing all European countries and regions, no matter how diverse—a Europe for all.' That is Wilfried Martens' personal greeting on the EPP's home page (http://www.epp.eu/hoofdpagina.php?hoofdmenuID=1; accessed 5 May 2007).

The success of the subsidiarity principle at Maastricht is partly explained by the fact that coincidentally in 1991 a majority of European leaders held a positive opinion of subsidiarity, although often strongly diverging regarding its specific meaning (Van Kersbergen and Verbeek 1994: 221 - 226). At Maastricht the policy-makers happened to represent three different varieties of the philosophy of subsidiarity. The first variety was the Christian democratic tradition, which considered subsidiarity as a flexible criterion in order to determine to what extent the state can legitimately interfere in society. The second variety was a specific German philosophy, a much more legalistic notion of subsidiarity, which held that responsibilities should be given to public (rather than private) authorities at a level as decentralized as possible. A third variety of subsidiarity had its roots in a specific ideological faction within the British Conservative Party, originating in Harold Macmillan's sketch of socio-economic policies from 1938, *The Middle Way*, which he implemented as Chancellor of the Exchequer and Prime Minister in the 1950s and 1960s. In this version, subsidiarity referred to the legitimization of state intervention in order to protect the state's citizens from the unwanted effects of capitalism.

At Maastricht, then, most political leaders had a positive connotation of the concept of subsidiarity, either because they were Christian democrats (Belgium, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Luxembourg), or versed in German federalism (German Chancellor Helmut Kohl), or proponents of the Tory party's *Middle Way* tradition (Prime Minister John Major). Moreover, the President of the Commission, Jacques Delors, had been familiar with the concept because of his previous career in a small French Catholic trade union.

What cemented these views on the meaning and relevance of subsidiarity together

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