INFLUENCE OF THE CHRISTIANITY ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EUROPEAN UNION[1]

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ABSTRACT

Christianity, as a predominant religion has played a crucial role in the evolution of the Europe, thus observed with interest in the area of European integration studies. There are some surprising arguments that speak in favour that one of the emerging leading economical powers in the world, the European Union (EU), is founded and driven upon religious ideals, namely upon principles of Christianity and its values. Christian Democracy (CD) is a political movement which was born at the end of the 19th century. Christian Democracy seeks to apply Christian principles to public policy. It emerged under the influence of Catholic Social Teaching, and continues to be influential in the Europe and Latin America. The Europeans must make a distinction between being a European and being a Christian, if they really want to make integration possible for all Europeans, whatever their religious beliefs might be, since the EU is not a local project but a supranational and multi-cultural one. There are huge discussions about the arguments that speak in favour of Christian influence in the EU include the affiliation with the religion of the founding fathers, adoption of a number of principles within the EU that are deemed religion principles, etc.

Key words: Christianity, Christian Democrat Theory, European Integration, political party, subsidiarity, influence, religion, principles and values.

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INTRODUCTION

Christian Democracy (CD) is a political movement which was born at the end of the 19th century, largely as a result of the papal encyclical **Rerum**

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[1]   This article is not peer reviewed.

[2]   Judge. General Directorate of Prisons and Detention Centres/TURKEY

Novarum[3] of Pope Leo XIII. It has evolved considerably since then, and it is no longer a particularly Catholic ideology. Following World War II, CD was seen as a neutral and unifying voice of compassionate conservatism. It therefore made a clear distinction between itself and parties of the far right. Christian Democracy seeks to apply Christian principles to public policy. It emerged under the influence of Catholic Social Teaching[4], and continues to be influential in Europe and Latin America. CD can trace its philosophical roots back to Thomas Aquinas and his thoughts about Aristotelian ontology and the Christian tradition.

Christian Democrats have been untiring advocates of European integration. Recent developments in Europe have highlighted the increasing influence of CD in political debate. Within EU institutions, it is clear that Christian Democratic groups are a major force behind integrationist drives such as the push for monetary and political union. Therefore the origin of key EU concepts and principles can easily be traced back to Catholic Social Teaching. Christian Democrat parties are still key players in the European political system of today, and are playing major roles in their country's government.

306 This essay aims to discuss the influence of Christian Democratic Theory on the development of the European Community. To achieve this goal, firstly, theoretical aspects of the concept will be considered. Secondly, the political parties as a powerful tool in the development process will be evaluated specifically with regard to which parties were in government during the European integration process. Later, the teachings and values promoted by the Christian Democrats will be examined. Finally, the importance of the Christian Democratic movement within the framework of the EU will be evaluated and some conclusions will be drawn in the final section.

Christian Democracy

Christian Democracy is a variety of the conservative movement which deserves special attention. It had its origins in the 19th century when a

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[3]   ***Rerum Novarum*** (translation: **Of New Things**) is an encyclical issued on May 16, 1891. It was an open letter, passed to all Catholic bishops that addressed the condition of the working classes. The encyclical is entitled: *"Rights and Duties of Capital and Labor".*

[4]   See generally Coote, N. (1989) "*Catholic Social Teaching*" Social Policy and Administration, Vol.23, No:2.

number of Catholics began to consider how Christianity could be re-conciled with the modern world of industrialism, class division and lib-eral democrat demands.

Christian Democratic doctrine is broad and complex, varying from one context to another, but it does contain consistent core elements. The most important is that of **democracy itself**. Christian Democrats reject dic-tatorship and totalitarianism and accept the idea of universal suffrage and elections at all levels of governments. Democracy is seen not merely as a convenient procedure but as a value in its own right.[5] They also believe that political action should be informed by Christian principles and doc-trine. Christian democrats recognize both a concern, derived from Chris-tian doctrine with the conditions of working class[6] and a political need to appeal to them in an era of mass democracy.

Therefore, the Theory is a total believer in democracy. Followers of this Theory reject dictatorship and totalitarianism. They support the election system and the right of vote.[7] According to the Theory, representatives of the 'natural social groups' must exist in a liberal democracy as well as traditional parliamentarians. In practice this will ensure bicameralism and the devolution of powers to regional governments.[8] In the countryside, Christian democrats traditionally support land reform, the break up of large estates and the creation of a class of peasant proprietors.

CD rejects both the unbridled individualism of liberalism and the statist collectivism of socialism. Instead, it favours a strong civil society com-posed of voluntary associations in which the individual can find true ex-pression. They have put this into action themselves through organizing vigorously in civil society, through religious lay associations, trade un-ions, social clubs, youth organizations and sports bodies.[9] They invoke the principle of subsidiarity, according to which matters should only be regulated in a larger body if they cannot be resolved in a smaller one. So

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[5]   Keating M., *The Politics of Modern Europe*, Second edition, Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd, Cheltenham:1999, p.62.

[6]   See the *"Class and Other Identities",* edited by Lex Heerma van Voss and Marcel van der Linden, Berghahn Books, 2002, pp.166-178.

[7]   *Supra* fn.2, p.62-63.

[8]   Irwing, R.E.M., *The Christian Democratic Parties of Western Europe*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London:1979, p.51.

[9]   *Supra* fn.2, p.63.

the state should not intrude on private or family life except where strictly necessary and central governments without good reason.[10] Christian Democrats have always accepted the market economy but have seen it more as a means to an end rather than a rigid point of doctrine. Where appropriate, they have supported state planning and the nationalization of industry in the interest of efficiency and social justice.

Development and aid policies are other important characteristic forms of the Christian Democratic philosophy. Aids, both at a regional and an international level, are one of the significant policies of the EU. The European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) and the European Development Fund (EDF) were both established for this reason. The ERDF provides financial assistance for the purposes of assisting with the correction of regional imbalances and the development and conversion of regions. The other fund, the EDF, provides financial assistance for development projects in African-Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries according to the Lome Conventions, which framed the EU-ACP relations from 1975. The EU and its member states provide around 55 percent of all international development aid and 55 percent of all international humanitarian aid.[11]

Religious issues rarely intrude directly into modern European politics but where they do, Christian Democrats generally take a pro-Church stance. They favour religious education in schools and public support for churches. They oppose divorce and abortion.[12]

The Christian Democratic Parties

Christian Democratic parties have dominated the politics of Western Europe for more than a century, yet we have little understanding of what makes them distinctive.[13] These parties have a fuzzy identity and do not fit into clear-cut cate-gories. On the one hand, they are secular rather than religious. Although they are products of past state-church conflicts and

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[10]   *Ibid,* p.64.

[11]   Nugent, N., *The Government and Politics of The European Union*, Palgrave Macmillian, New York:2003, p.156.

[12]   *Supra* fn.2, p.64.

[13]   Deschouwer, Kris. 1995. *Book Rewiew of Christian Democracy in Europe: A comparative Perspective*, David Hanley, ed. *Political Studies* 43:176-77, **quoted by** Kalyvas, Stathis N., *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe*, Cornell University Press, New York:1996, p.1.

retain traces of a religious identity, they do not carry the baggage of alib-eralism, intolerance, and the dependence on the church supposedly car-ried by political religion. On the other hand, these parties do not fit into the conservative slot. Furthermore, most still carry the Christian label and maintain a connection, however loose, with the church. Christian Democ-ratic parties therefore are very different from Conservative ones.[14]

Despite their hard-to-define identity, the political significance of Chris-tian Democratic parties poses no problems: their importance cannot be overstated. These parties were frequently in power in five major Euro-pean countries[15], and together with the Socialists, dominated the Euro-pean parliament.[16] In short, Christian Democracy is rightly considered the most successful western European political movement since 1945.

The European Christian Democrats' Programme

Transnational contacts between European Christian Democrats increased after 1945. These contacts made the diffusion of programmatic ideas across national boundaries quite easy.

Although the Christian Democratic programme revolved around the idea of subsidiarity, priority of the family and a limited state, Christian De-mocrats in fact increased step by step the room for manoeuvre for eco-nomic and social interventionism and began to generously extend the European welfare state. The Christian Democratic Group in the European Parliament and the Christian Democrats in national governments worked towards a highly protectionist harmonization of agricultural policy in the EEC. The Common Agricultural Policy was designed to assist rural areas and to limit worker migration into industrial cities, as the Christian De-mocrats regarded small communities and rural family life as 'healthy' and more compatible with their preference for a decentralized society based on the principle of subsidiarity.[17]

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14   *Economist*, 17 March 1990., **quoted by** Kalyvas, Stathis N, *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe*, Cornell University Press, New York:1996, p.2.

15   Germany, Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands, and, until recently, Italy.

16   There were 199 Socialist deputies and 162 Christian Democrats in the 1994, 567-seat European Parliament. Christian Democrats were the driving force behind the creation of the EC.

17   Kaiser W., "*Transnational Christian Democracy: From the Nouvelles Equipes Inter-nationales to the European People's Party*", in Gehler, M and Kaiser, W. (eds), *Chris-tian Democracy in Europe Since 1945*, Routledge, London:2004, p.227.

To sum up; Christian Democratic transnationalism helped to bring about and to consolidate the **'core Europe'** concept, with its economic content combined with the long-term goal of meaningful political integration. It has also helped to protect the 'core Europe' approach within the enlarged EU of 15 member state, allowing for the swifter deepening of the integration process. Besides Christian Democratic transnationalism has made an important contribution to the politics of European integration, in a wider sense than the exclusive concentration on inter-governmental relations based on state sources would suggest.[18]

Nationalism and Internationalism in European Christian Democracy

In order to understand the attitude of parties to the idea of the nation-state, so as to illustrate their actual vision of Europe we need to put what we know about the post-1945 world into perspective. Therefore, it will be necessary to look at the inter-war period, when some Christian Democrats played interesting roles in both nationalist and internationalist political movements.[19]

There are a lot of factors which mean that in their attitudes to the nation-state, nationalism and internationalism a considerable variety exist within the Christian Democratic family. These factors are best illustrated by looking at the so-called **'founding fathers'** of Christian Democracy in 1945 -figures such as Alcide de Gasperi, or Konrad Adenaur, or Robert Schuman. They personify not just the pre-1933, but the pre-1914 roots of the Christian democratic movement that played its part in shaping the Europe in which we now live.[20]

For the post-war years the association of Christian Democracy with the European idea needs qualifying for two reasons. The first is that CD had no monopoly in its advocacy. The second is that, initially at least, Christian Democracy itself was not unanimous on the European ques-tion.[21]

In spite of these qualifications we can recognise why it was easier for Christian Democrats to become the **pioneers of European integration**

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18   *Ibid,* p.234.

19   Pulzer, P., "*Nationalism and Internationalism in European Christian Democracy*", , in Gehler, M. and Kaiser, W. (eds), *Christian Democracy in Europe Since 1945*, Routledge, London:2004, p.11.

20   *Ibid,* p.12.

21   *Ibid,* p.21.

than for their political rivals. The different priorities of liberals and traditional conservatives on the one hand and social democrats on the other gave Christian Democrats a competitive advantage in advancing the project of European integration, once they were agreed that that was what they ought to be doing. In addition, there was a defensive as well as innovative element in the Christian Democratic agenda. European unity was a response not only to the nationalist excesses of the 1930s, but to the communist threat.

Transnational Christian Democracy

After the experience of National Socialist rule and the Second World War, it seemed natural to Christian politicians that Europe should be treated as one political space. After 1945, Christian politicians agreed to call for transnational concentration for their politics.[22] As a first step, it seemed necessary to reactivate societal and political party contacts from the inter-war period.[23] The first moves towards organizing the socialist and liberal parties internationally in Europe after 1945 provided a further incentive for the Christian Democrats to improve their links. Both party groups seemed to be better prepared for an Europeanization of their national policies especially in the European Coal and Steel Community after 1951.

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In order to define this small **'core Europe'** in terms of its intellectual and problematic basis, intensive transnational co-operation was needed. In the early phase of EEC[24] all the most important decisions were made between states in the Council of Ministers. Yet in the medium term, the European Christian Democrats expected the Europeanization not only of more policy sectors, but also of public opinions and the decision-making process. This, they felt, would enhance the role of transnationally organized party groups.[25]

Christian Democratic Theory

In working out a doctrine, we must proceed in two ways: on the one hand, taking principles as our standing point and, on the other, starting

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[22] The first multilateral meeting of Christian politicians was orginized in Lucerne at February 1947.

[23] *Supra* fn.14, p.221.

[24] Particularly strengthened by the French President Charles de Gaulle's influence.

[25] *Ibid*, p.222.

with reality. A doctrine proposes certain points of orientation which are based on a certain view of human existence and which lead to a preference for certain values.[26]

For Christian Democrats, their conception of human beings and a society is the decisive motivation: a conception of persons concerned with the question of their destiny and the meaning of their existence, and a conception of society as a more humane and **humanitarian community.**[27]

The Christian Democratic doctrine contains above all two principles which will be explained as follows:

- The human person is the basis, the subject and the purpose of the social order.

- Society has the task of promoting the good of all.[28]

    It is the picture of the human being that is the central core of the political doctrine that is called Christian Democracy. This political doctrine further lends support to the following principles.

1) the ultimate ground of every society is the principle of personalism; only this gives society its **raison d'etre**;[29]

2) human beings have rights and duties: they commit themselves to life in society, subordinate their private interests to the common good and accept necessary constrains;

3) the end and purpose of society is the person, and the development of all, as persons, in community with others.

The philosophy of person also enriches the doctrine of human rights which is all too frequently understood as simply respect for bodily and moral integrity. The Christian Democratic doctrine brings in a new di-

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[26] Paul Dabin, "*The Search for the Intellectual Basis of Christian-Democracy*," in European People's Party, *Efforts to Define a Christian Democratic 'Doctrine'*, (Brussels: Parliamentary Group of the European People's Party, Occasional Papers No. 2, 1989), p. 19.

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] *Ibid.*, p.22.

[29] **Raison d'être** is a phrase borrowed from French where it means simply "*reason for being*"; in English use it also comes to suggest a degree of rationalization, as "The claimed reason for the existence of something or someone".

mension when it commits itself to a development of human capacities through the establishment of economic and social rights.[30]

Confessional parties[31] were not the historically predetermined and automatic reflection of pre-existing identities and conflicts, nor were they the emanation of structural, economic, or political modernization. They emerged despite the preferences and intentions of both actors as a by-product of the church's response to Liberal anticlerical attacks. Confessional parties shaped their political and societal environment in a way that disrupted the links between individuals and the church.[32]

Resulting from a formation process that succeeded against the intensions of the church and Conservative political elites, these parties emerged as antagonistic to both. As a product of religious mobilization they were socially heterogeneous. They relied on their confessional identity to keep their disparate social basis together, yet this identity clashed with their need to detach themselves from religion and church.[33]

The Christian Democrats were initially formed to subvert liberal democracies; evolved into mass parties and decided to participate in the electoral process after painful and divisive debates. By transforming themselves, they transformed their political and societal environment in ways that were hardly anticipated: *democracy in Europe was often expanded and consolidated by its enemies. This lesson should not be lost, especially among those studying the challenges facing democratic transition and consolidation in the contemporary world*.[34]

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The Influence of the Christian Democratic Theory on the European Integration

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[30] *Supra* fn.22, p.23.

[31] Some authors use term *'Catholic party'*, '*confessional party*', and *'Christian Democratic party'* in an interchangeable and generic way. With an exception, all other notable nineteenth-century confessional parties were Catholic, and 'Catholikness' was central to their identity.

[32] *Supra* fn.1, p.258.

[33] *Ibid*, p.263.

[34] *Supra* fn.28, p.264.

The Christian Democrats -and most notably Schuman[35], Adenaur[36] and De Gasperi[37]- were amongst the most important architects of European unity in the 1940s and 1950s. Their successors have achieved less in more difficult political and economic circumstances, but have not denied their birthright as enthusiastic supporters of European integration.

The Christian Democratic contribution to European integration was personified by them. All three men were Catholic moderates from Europe's frontier regions- they were catholic as well as Catholic, men who were imbued with a broad sense both of Europe's Christian and of its cultural heritage. All three have suffered from the excesses of Euro-pean nationalism: all three were tough, pragmatic, rather conservative, politicians, but at the same time they had a vision of a **united and democratic Europe**, a Europe from which chauvinism, fascism and communism would be excluded.[38]

We must remember the most significant step on the way to creating a federal Europe Schuman's famous initiative of 9 May 1950. This was the proposal which led to the setting up of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the unique feature of which was the High Authority, a 'supranational' body of 'independent person' chosen by member-governments but responsible to the Community. The importance of the ECSC was that it marked a new phase in the movement towards European integration. After the signing of the Rome Treaties the Christian Democrats now had three main objectives:

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✓ to achieve the maximum degree of economic integration within the Community, hoping thereby to make progress towards a federal Europe by 'functional' means,

✓ to strengthen the Community's institutions, especially the Commission and European parliament,

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[35] **Robert Schuman**, French politician who has served both as head of government and foreign minister, leader of Popular Republican Movement; one of the founders of the EU.

[36] **Konrad Adenaur**, first chancellor of West Germany after WW II and architect of the social market economy.

[37] **Alcide De Gasperi**, Italian prime minister and pro-European leader.

[38] *Supra* fn.5, p.234.

✓   to enlarge the Community.[39]

We will not analyse the French and German Christian Democrats' contribution to European integration here, but we must state that, as the cradle of European Christendom and civilization, Italy (Democrazia Cristiana) have made a number of positive contributions to the development of the Community, and they have done so while facing daunting problems at home. It can be seen that there were a number of reasons why Christian Democrats had been committed supporters of European integration:

- amongst the most important had been economic, social, cultural and religious factors.

- but the over-riding motive had been political, namely anticommunism.

The importance of this motive explains both the early enthusiasm and the subsequent lassitude of the Christian Democratic commitment to integration. The Christian Democrats were determined to build a liberal-democratic Europe in the void left by fascism and exposed to communism. In the Cold War atmosphere of the late 1940s and early 1950s the Christian Democrats had no hesitation in opting for the Atlantic Alliance and what at that time seemed to be its essential corollary, a united Western Europe.[40]

Although Christian Democrats would probably deny it, it is clear that they -like other 'European' enthusiasts- had been motivated over the years more by fear of the Soviet Union and of Germany (in its special case) than by ideals about the brotherhood of man or the values of liberal democracy.[41]

Subsidiarity

The term, subsidiarity, comes from the Latin word, **subsidium**, meaning help or aid. Thus, even in its origins subsidiarity signals the idea of aid or help being extended from one entity to another. And the state is posited as the entity that is to help the smaller or lesser entities -such as families,

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[39]   *Supra* fn.5, p.236.

[40]   *Ibid*, p.242.

[41]   *Supra* fn.5, p.243

local governments, and voluntary associations- to be all that God intends them to be.[42]

The Catholic concept of subsidiarity received its classic formulation by Pope Pius XI in his 1931 encyclical, **Quadragesimo Anno**.[43]

In their 1986 pastoral letter on the economy and poverty, the US Catholic Bishops articulated the principle of subsidiarity in especially clear terms: This principle [of subsidiarity] states that, in order to protect basic justice, government should undertake only those initiatives which exceed the capacities of individuals or private groups acting independently. Government should not replace or destroy smaller communities and individual initiative. Rather it should help them contribute more effectively to social well-being and supplement their activity when the demands of justice exceed their capacities.[44]

Subsidiarity sees human beings as inherently social beings. As Paul Dabin put it: **"***A fundamental element of Christian-Democratic political philosophy is 'communitarian personalism'…According to communitarian personalism, human beings, conceived as persons, and society, conceived as a community of persons, are bound up together and cannot be separated, not even conceptually.***"***[45]

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Subsidiarity is central to the debate on the future of the EU. It is widely seen as providing the theory for a new federalism -one which will allow the Community to 'widen' and 'deepen' without creating a 'superstate' progressively undermining national or local autonomy.[46]

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[42]   Stephen V. Monsma, *The Relevance of Solidarity and Subsidiarity to Reformed Social and Political*

   Thought, A paper prepared for The International Society for the Study of Reformed Communities,

   Princeton: 2006, p.3.

[43]   Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopaedia, available at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Quadragesimo_Anno (accessed on 23 April 2009)

[44]   Catholic Social Teaching, *Economic Justice for All* (1986), paragraph 124., Online at

   www.osjspm.org/economic_justice_for_all.aspx. (Accesed on 28 March 2009)

[45]   *Supra* fn.22, p. 20.

[46]   Adonis, Andrew, "*Subsidiarity: Theory of a New Federalism?*" in Preston King and Andrea Bosco (eds.), *A Constitution for Europe*, Lothian Foundation Pres, London: 1991, pp. 63-73.

It was through post-war Christian Democrats that the concept entered the world of practical politics. Some Christian Democrats -Schuman, Adenauer and De Gasperi foremost among them- were also the '**founding fathers'** of the Community. But they justified the ECSC, and later the EEC on avowedly federal principles. Personality, solidarity and subsidiarity were perennial themes in Christian Democratic writing on social and economic issues in the 1940s and 1950s.[47]

Common Security and Defence Policy

One of the policies that are of biggest interest and, not perceived as directly influenced by Christian Democratic theories is **the Common Security and Defence Policy.**

This area of politics was constantly under the attention of the Christian Democrats at the then EC level. The ideological roots of the defence and security policy are found in "the first texts, resolutions and programs of the European People's Party, referring explicitly to Christian social doctrine… confirming adherence to the fundamental principles of Christianity, their faith, moral and spiritual values."[48] The same author further discovers that for the Christian Democrats, peace did not mean simple 'absence of war'. For a long lasting and solid peace, four conditions are necessary:

✓ In the first place, peace is inextricably linked to freedom and to respect for human rights. They believe that human rights precede all other rights, including that of a state sovereignty.

✓ Secondly, peace cannot exist without economic and social justice both within and as well as between states. For the Christian Democrats, socio-economic inequalities are a source of disorder and of domestic and foreign conflicts. This explains their active policy of aid to the development of Third World countries.

✓ Thirdly, the whole process of European Unification is based on the abandonment of part of state sovereignty in favour of supra-national institutions.

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[47]   *Ibid,* p.65.

[48]   Hanley, D., *Christian Democracy in Europe: A Comperative Perspective,* Pinter Publishers,
        London:1994, p.203.

✓ Finally, lasting peace is impossible if there is an accumulation of arms. They suggest simultaneous, progressive disarmament, but they are opposed to unilateral disarmament.[49]

CONCLUSION

Christian Democracy is both a theory and a movement that is a product of Christianity and also of a process of history reaching far back through the centuries.[50] Historically similar movements have often tried to express themselves through political tools in a way comparable to that of the Christian Democrats. Christian Democrats remain conscious of their religious origins first and foremost; they are in politics to express a Christian vision of humankind and its destiny. It is quite obvious that, CD has been playing a leading, if not always successful, role in political life on the European continent since WW II. They have been among the strongest supporters of European integration, pressing for the extension of EU competences and the strengthening of EU institutions. Christian Democratic Theory is therefore underpins the principles of European integration.

As expansion of the EU continues, there is need for these principles to be expressed in less ideological ways. They should reflect a wider cultural and religious base to encompass those of other backgrounds and faiths already living within the EU as well as to enable expansion beyond existing boundaries. This should not pose a problem as the core values of CD go beyond not only Roman Catholicism[51] but Christianity itself. These values are universal and all embracing and the EU should ensure that it retains them. Although the main Christian values align with Islamic teaching, the ruling authorities of the EU should not insist on the term **Christian values** for example, which would come across as exclusive.

Christian Democrats have helped not only to reconstruct the economic and political systems of their own countries, but also to ensure that human rights and the values of liberal democracy were safeguarded at the European level against totalitarian threats. Christian democrats support the principle of subsidiarity. In later years, this principle was to be invoked in discussions about the scope of the EU. In view of this, CD has

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49   *Ibid.,*204.

50   Fogarty, M., *Christian Democracy in Western Europe* (1820-1953), University of Notre Dame Press, Indiana: 1957, p.3.

51   Originally, CD equated broadly with Roman Catholicism: the founding nations being predominantly Roman Catholic in nature.

deepened its doctrine of social justice between nations and of the need for worldwide solidarity, and has approved international conventions and regional agreements; these are steps in the direction of a new world-order that will guarantee international relations based on justice and solidarity and thereby preserve world peace.[52]

They have built their own notions about certain cultural, economic and social issues such as family and its social role, public welfare policy, private morality, same sex marriage, pornography, sexual permissiveness or euthanasia and abortion, as well as issues related to the reproduction or maintenance of life (in vitro fertilisation or the transplanting of human organs). With regards to EU policies, they had a vast influence within the areas of aid, subsidiarity, foreign policy, common defence and finally, constitutional matters.

The CD movement advances towards the twenty-first century surrounded by challenges and questions. It has long been used to such pressure, although there is some doubt about its ability to cope with it. There will be much work for political scientists to do in charting the movement's adaptation to what will certainly be a difficult period. CD will remain a major actor on the European stage for the foreseeable future. The writer of this essay believes that the Europeans must make a distinction between being a European and being a Christian, if they really want to make integration possible for all Europeans, whatever their religious beliefs might be, since the EU is not a local project but a supranational and multi-cultural one. Otherwise this will be a strict handicap for future of the EU.

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[52]   *Supra* fn. 22, p. 25.

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