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POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

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Preface

At the start of the European integration process in the early 1950s, several scholars predicted a central role for party politics in the construction of a European Community. For example, Ernst Haas devoted two chapters of his seminal work on *The Uniting of Europe* to predictions of how party competition at the domestic and European levels could promote integration (Haas, 1958). However, it was not until the decision in the early 1970s to hold direct elections to the European Parliament that a wider community of scholars began to focus on the role of political parties in European Community politics. Many of these new scholars argued that the first elections to the EP would facilitate the emergence of pan-European parties. For example, David Marquand optimistically expected a '*Europe des partis*' (Europe of parties) (Marquand, 1978). Nevertheless, a seminal work from this period – Geoffrey and Pippa Pridham's *Transnational Parties in the European Community* – constituted the first attempt at a comprehensive framework for analysing the organisational and behavioural links between the three key elements of the EC party system: the EP party groups, the European party federations, and the domestic parties in the EC member states (Pridham and Pridham, 1981).

However, the first European elections failed to produce a transnational mobilisation of political forces in Europe or coherent European-level party organisations. A deep disillusionment consequently set in among the Euro-party advocates. Few could now envisage political parties ever being able to challenge the national governments as the main articulators of citizens' interests and the main actors in European-level decision-making. As a result, political parties all but disappeared from the research agenda of scholars of European integration.

By the early 1990s, nonetheless, political parties have again emerged as (in Haas's words) 'crucial carriers of integration'. First, with the increased powers granted to the EP under the Single

European Act and the Maastricht Treaty, the behaviour of the EP party groups has a more direct impact on EU policy-making. Second, beginning with the drafting of the Maastricht Treaty in the 1990–91 Intergovernmental Conferences, the Socialist, Christian Democrat and Liberal party federations have held ‘party leaders’ summits’ before each meeting of the European Council. As a direct result of these party leaders’ summits, a ‘Party Article’ (138A) was inserted in the Maastricht Treaty: the first reference to the role of political parties in any EC Treaty or legislation. Finally, European integration has itself emerged as a major new ‘cleavage’ and source of intra- and interparty competition in the domestic arena. This was evident in the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty; in the 1994 EP elections; and in the arguments about the application of ‘convergence criteria’ for economic and monetary union. Many mainstream parties now have deep internal divisions on the question of Europe, and old and new parties and movements present anti-European platforms at the fringes of most domestic party systems.

Consequently, in the mid-1990s it is impossible to ignore the fundamental significance of political party organisation, behaviour and competition at the national and European levels in the continued development towards political, economic and monetary union in Europe. However, this book is the first attempt since Pridham and Pridham (1981) to present an integrated framework for understanding how party organisation and behaviour are linked throughout the complex and fragmented system of the EU – in the European Parliament, at national level, and within and between the other EU institutions. As part of a wider series of books on EU politics, this book fills a gap in the existing empirical research on EU politics and policy. The book includes a large quantity of new material based on several years of primary research (through interviews, direct observation and content analysis) in the European Parliament, at several party leaders’ summits, and in a number of national capitals. However, this book is more than simply an empirical addition or summary. By placing party loyalties, actions, organisations and policies at the centre of our analysis, we present a fundamentally different theoretical and methodological perspective of how European integration and politics is best understood.

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CHRISTOPHER LORD
SIMON HIX

List of Abbreviations

AGALEV	Ecology Party (Belgium: Flanders)
AN	National Alliance (Italy)
CC	Canaries Coalition Party (Spain)
CD	Christian Democrats (Italy)
CDA	Christian Democrat Party (Netherlands)
CDC	Catalan Democratic Convergence Party (Spain)
CDS	Christian Democrat Party (France)
CDS-PP	Centre Democrat Party (Portugal)
CDU	Christian Democratic Union (Germany)
CG	Greens (Ireland)
Con	Conservative Party (UK)
CSP	Confederation of Socialist Parties
CSP-EVP	European People's Party (Belgium: German minority)
CSU	Christian Social Union (Bavarian sister party of CDU)
CVP	Christian Democrat Party (Belgium: Flanders)
D'66	Radical Liberal Party (Netherlands)
DP	Democratic Party (Luxembourg)
DUP	Democratic Unionist Party (UK: N. Ireland)
EC	European Community
ECGP	European Co-ordination of Green Parties
Ecofin	Council of Economic and Finance Ministers
Ecolo	Ecology Party (Belgium:Wallonia)
ECOSY	EC Organisation of Socialist Youth
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EDF	European Democratic Federation
EDG	European Democratic Group (EP group 1973–92)
EDU	European Democratic Union
EFA	European Free Alliance (Regionalists)
EFGP	European Federation of Green Parties
ELDR	European Liberal and Democratic Reform (federation and group in EP)

EMU	economic and monetary union
EN	Europe of the Nations (group in EP)
EP	European Parliament
EPP	European People's Party (federation and group in EP)
ERA	European Radical Alliance (group in EP)
ERM	exchange rate mechanism
EU	European Union
EUCD	European Union of Christian Democrats
FB	Anti-European Party (Denmark)
FDP	Free Democrats (Germany)
FE	Forza Europa (EP group 1994–5)
FF	Fianna Fáil (Ireland)
FG	Fine Gael (Ireland)
FI	Forza Italia (Italy)
FN	Front National (France)
FN (B)	Front National (Belgium: Wallonia)
FPÖ	Freedom Party (Austria)
FV	Greens (Italy)
G	Greens (group in EP)
GA/G	Greens (Luxembourg)
GAL	Greens (Austria)
GL	Greens (Netherlands)
Gr	Greens (Germany)
IAC	Institutional Affairs Committee (of European Parliament)
IGC	Intergovernmental Conference
IR	International Relations
IU	United Left (Spain)
IU-IVP	United Left (Spain: Catalunya)
JB	June Movement (Denmark)
KDS	Christian Democrat Party (Sweden)
KESK	Centre Party (Finland)
KF	Conservative Party (Denmark)
KKE	Communist Party (Greece)
KOK	National Coalition Party (Finland)
Lab	Labour Party (UK)
LF	Liberal Forum (Austria)
LI	Liberal International
Lib	Liberal Party (UK)
LN	Lega Norda (Italy)
LP	Labour Party (Ireland)

MAE	Majorité pour l'Autre Europe
MEP	Member of the European Parliament
MPG	Greens (Sweden)
MRG	Left Radicals (France)
MRP	Former French Christian Democratic Party
MS	Moderate Coalition (Sweden)
ND	New Democracy (Greece)
NEC	National Executive Council of Labour Party (UK)
NI	Non-inscrits MEPs without a party group
OUP	Official Unionist Party (UK: N. Ireland)
ÖVP	People's Party (Austria)
PASOK	Socialist Party (Greece)
PCF	Parti Communiste (France)
PCP	Communist Party (Portugal)
PCS	Christian Democrat Party (Luxembourg)
PDS	Party of the Democratic Left (Italy)
PES	Party of European Socialists (federation and group in EP)
PNV	Basque Nationalist Party
POLAN	Political Spring (Greece)
POSL	Labour Party (Luxembourg)
PP	People's Party (Spain)
PPI	People's Party (Italy)
PR	Republican Party (France)
PRI	Republican Party (Italy)
PRL	Liberal Party (Belgium: Wallonia)
PS	Parti Socialiste (France)
PS (B)	Parti Socialiste (Belgium: Wallonia)
PSC	Christian Democrat Party (Belgium: Wallonia)
PSD	Social Democrat Party (France)
PSD (P)	Social Democrat Party (Portugal)
PSDI	Social Democratic Party (Italy)
PSI	Socialist Party (Italy)
PSP	Socialist Party (Portugal)
PSOE	Socialist Party (Spain)
PvdA	Labour Party (Netherlands)
RC	Reformed Communist Party (Italy)
RDE	Rassemblement Démocratique Européen (former EP group)
REFA	Regionalist European Free Alliance
RPR	Gaullist Party (France)

RV	Radical Liberal Party (Denmark)
SAP	Social Democratic Labour Party (Sweden)
SD	Social Democrat Party (Denmark)
SDLP	Social Democratic and Labour Party (UK: N. Ireland)
SDP	Social Democrat Party (Finland)
SEA	Single European Act
SF	Socialist People's Party (Denmark)
SFP	Swedish People's Party (Finland)
SGP/GPV	
/RPF	Protestant Confessional Party (Netherlands)
SI	Socialist International
SNP	Scottish Nationalist Party (UK: Scotland)
SP	Socialist Party (Belgium: Flanders)
SPD	Social Democratic Party (Germany)
SPÖ	Socialist Party (Austria)
SVP	South Tyrol Party (Italy)
SYN	Synaspismo tis Aristeras (Greece)
UDC	Catalan Democratic Union (Spain)
UDF	Union Démocratique Française
UEL	Union of the European Left (group in EP)
UPE	Union for Europe (group in EP)
V	Liberal Party (Denmark)
V (S)	Left Party (Sweden)
VAS	Vasemmistoliitto (Finland)
VB	Vlaams Blok (Belgium: Flanders)
VIHR	Greens (Finland)
VLD	Flemish Liberal Party (Belgium: Flanders)
VU	Volksunie (Belgium: Wallonia)
VVD	Liberal Party (Netherlands)