

Olaf Wientzek

The European People's Party and the East

Party Cooperation in Ukraine,
Moldova and Georgia



Nomos

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To my wife Anne-Sophie Tshilembe

and

to Dr. Peter R. Weilemann †

Foreword

This thesis was submitted in January 2018 to the Universität Hildesheim. New literature could be included until approximately autumn 2017. The disputation of the thesis took place on 4 December 2018 in Hildesheim.

This work is dedicated to two persons: First, to my wife Anne-Sophie Tshilembe whom I had just met when pondering the idea of starting a doctorate - next to a full-time-job. Without her, I would never have found the strength to finalise this project. Merci, mon amour, d'avoir été là pour moi. Second, to Dr. Peter Weilemann, from 2002-2010 the director of the European Office of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung: Two evening conversations in the autumn of 2010 - shortly before his death - raised my interest in the EPP's activities in the European Neighbourhood.

Moreover, I would like to deeply thank my supervisor Prof. Dr. Marianne Kneuer from the Universität Hildesheim for her support, her advice, her critical mind, her encouragement and most of all her patience. Equally, my gratitude goes to my co-supervisor Prof. Steven van Hecke (KU Leuven) for stimulating exchanges during the preparation and the defence. Großen Dank an meine Eltern Alexandra und Stefan Wientzek für Ihre Gebete, Ihre Unterstützung, den Langmut und die Vermittlung wichtiger Sekundärtugenden. Dank an meine Grosseltern, mes beaux-parents Chantal Tshombe et Jacques Tshilembe, meinen Onkel Pater Norbert Wientzek sowie meine polnische Familie für ihre Gebete und Ermutigung. Bóg zapłać. My gratitude goes to Eneda Sulce, Inga Wachsmann, Rinke Brussel, Livia Ionascu, Marie Wichmann, Corina Stratulat, Christian E. Rieck and Agnieszka Walczak who have decisively supported me in this endeavour. They shall never be forgotten. Dank an den Herrn, der mein häufiges Hadern hoffentlich mit Nachsicht behandelt.

I will end with an observation made on the comptability of listening to my favorite bands while writing this dissertation. Listening to Tangerine Dream and Klaus Schulze has proven to be beneficial to the writing effort. The same cannot be said for ProgRock or JazzRock. While listening to King Crimson or the Mahavishnu Orchestra is highly recommended in your free time, it should not be combined with writing a thesis.

Brussels / Berlin / Geneva, May 2019

Olaf Wientzek

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List of Abbreviations

ACRE	Alliance of Conservatives and Reformists in Europe
ALDE	Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe
Batkivchchyna	Fatherland (engl.)
BPP	Bloc Petro Poroshenko
BYUT	Bloc Yulia Timoshenko
CDA	Christen-Democratisch Appèl (Christian Democratic Appeal)
CD&V	Christen-Democratisch en Vlaams (Christian Democratic en Flemish)
CDI	Centrist Democrat International
CDM	Christian Democratic Movement
CDU	Christlich-Demokratische Union Deutschlands (Christian Democratic Union in Germany)
CDUY	Christian Democratic Union of Youth
CEE	Central and Eastern Europe
CoE	Council of Europe
CoE PA	Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly
CSU	Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern (Christian Social Union in Bavaria)
DA	Democratic Alliance
ECPM	European Christian Political Movement
ECR	European Conservatives and Reformists
EDS	European Democrat Students
EEN	Eastern European Neighbourhood
EFS	Eduardo-Frei-Stichting (Eduardo-Frei-Foundation)
EIN	European Ideas Network
ENP	European Neighbourhood Policy
EP	European Parliament
EPP	European People's Party
EPP-ED	European People's Party – European Democrats
EPP/CD	European People's Party- Christian Democrats
EU	European Union
EUCD	European Union of Christian Democrats
EUCDW	European Union of Christian Democratic Workers

List of abbreviations

ESU	European Senior's Union (also ESCU, European Senior's Citizen Union)
Euronest PA	Euronest Parliamentary Assembly
Fidesz (Fidesz – Magyar Polgári Szövetség)	Fidesz Hungarian Citizen's Union
Front Zimin	Front of Change
GD	Georgian Dream
HSS	Hanns-Seidel Stiftung (Hanns-Seidel-Foundation)
IDU	International Democrati Union
IRI	International Republican Institute
JHF	Jarl-Hjalmarson Foundation
JU	Junge Union (Young Union)
KAS	Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (Konrad-Adenauer-Foundation)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NATO PA	North Atlantic Treaty Organization Parliamentary Assembly
NCP / NRP	New Conservative Party, New Rights Party
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NF	Narodny Front
NGPPCD	Noua generatie din Partidul Popular Creștin Democrat (engl. New generation of the Christian Democratic People's Party)
NSNU	People's Union Our Ukraine (engl.)
NU	Nasha Ukraina (engl. Our Ukraine)
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
OSCE PA	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe Parliamentary Assembly
ÖVP	Österreichische Volkspartei (engl. Austrian Popular Party)
PAS	Partidul Acțiune și Solidaritate (engl. Party of Action and Solidarity)
PCRM	Partidul Comuniștilor din Republica Moldova (engl. Communist Party of the Republic of Moldova)
PDM	Partidul Democrat din Moldova (engl. Democratic Party of Moldova)
PES	Party of European Socialists
PL	Partidul liberal (engl. Liberal Party)
PLDM	Partidul Liberal Democrat din Moldova (engl. Liberal Democratic Party of Moldova)
PO	Platforma Obywatelska (eng. Citizen's Platform)
PPCD	Partidul Popular Creștin Democrat (engl. Christian Democratic People's Party)

List of abbreviations

PPDA	Partidul Platformei Demnitate și Adevăr (engl. Dignity and Truth Platform Party)
PPEM	Partidul Popular European din Moldova (engl. European People's Party in Moldova)
PSRM	Partidul Socialiștilor din Republica Moldova (engl. Socialist Party of the Republic of Moldova)
RSF	Robert-Schuman-Foundation
RSI	Robert-Schuman-Institute
Rukh	Movement (engl.)
SEE	South Eastern Europe
TS-LKD	Tėvynės Sąjunga – Lietuvos krikščionys demokratai (engl. Homeland Union – Lithuanian Christian Democrats)
UDAR	Ukrainiski Demokracicniy Allians za Reformy (engl. Ukrainian Democratic Alliance for Reform)
UNM	United National Movement (georg. Ertiani Natsionaluri Modzraoba)
UMP	Union pour la majorité présidentielle (Union for the presidential majority)
WMCES	Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies
YEPP	Youth of the European People's Party

Executive summary

The objective of this thesis is to assess the influence of the European People's Party (EPP) on the transformation of political parties in Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia and determine the variables for successful norm promotion.

The thesis demonstrates at the example of the EPP and its partner parties in these three countries that transnational parties are under certain conditions able to successfully influence political party transformation in countries of the Eastern European Neighborhood which (for the time being) do not have an EU membership perspective. In order to cover the highest possible variety of interactions between the EPP and its partner parties, this thesis has examined different mechanisms of norm promotion: conditionality, persuasion and social influence.

The EPP (and its member parties) have attempted to influence its partner parties both on internal as well as external aspects of party development: It has - mostly to a limited extent - influenced the programmatic debate and the structure of its partner parties and empowered their youth and women organizations. The EPP has at times played a decisive role as a mediator between its partner parties. In one case it has influenced the behavior of its partner party during the electoral process. Certain features of its partner parties have however limited influence and its partner parties were often resilient against change. Equally, compliance by its partner parties has frequently been rhetorical or formal and has not lead to sustainable norm transfer or internalization.

The obstacles for successful and sustainable influence of party development have proven to be high: In order to exert influence on its partner parties, certain variables for the norm promoter (the EPP) as well as the norm recipients (the partner parties) needed to be fulfilled.

Persuasion led more often to successful norm promotion than conditionality or social influence. The results suggest that the chances for successful norm promotion however increased when the EPP combined several mechanisms of norm promotion simultaneously. The thesis also establishes which type of partner parties were more likely to demonstrate compliance than others.

