

IDU

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UNION**

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THE FOUNDING MEETING OF THE UNION

Hotel Intercontinental
London

24th June 1983

Order of Proceedings

Declaration of Principles
signed by the
Party Leaders

INTERNATIONAL DEMOCRAT UNION

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DR ALOIS MOCK:

[Chairman of the IDU; Leader, Osterreichische Volkspartei]

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have pleasure in opening this public session of the Founding Meeting of the International Democrat Union. The formal decision to establish this new organisation was taken this morning. We have approved a Declaration of Principles, which I shall shortly be inviting the founding Member-Parties to sign, and which I shall say a few words about in a moment. We have also approved our Statutes, copies of which have been circulated.

Under the terms of those Statutes, I have had the honour of being elected the first Chairman of the IDU. I shall have the pleasure of working with the following Vice-Chairmen, who were also elected this morning: Ulf Adelson of the Swedish Moderate Party; Richard Allen of the Republican Party; Jacques Chirac from the Rassemblement pour la Republique; Cecil Parkinson from the British Conservative Party; Sir John Atwill of the Australian Liberal Party; and Franz-Josef Strauss from the CSU of the Federal Republic of Germany. I am also very pleased to have Allan Lawrence of the Canadian Progressive Conservative Party as our Treasurer; and Scott Hamilton from the British Conservative Party who will be heading our permanent Secretariat, based here in London.

In bringing together both the European Democrat Union and the Pacific Democrat Union, the International Democrat Union will be the most broadly representative international political organisation of its kind. Jointly, our parties have the support of some 150 million people in the industrialised democracies of the world. That broad base is reflected in our Declaration of Principles. Permit me to highlight just a few of those principles. We are united in our championship of the free, open and democratic society. A society, in which our parties wish to create the conditions that enables everyone to reach their full potential and to carry out their responsibilities to their fellow men and women. A society, where the principal task of government is to serve the individual - and not vice-versa - and to safeguard and promote his freedom. We believe that the socially-orientated market economy provides the best means of creating the wealth and material prosperity to meet the legitimate aspiration of each individual, and of tackling social evils such as inflation and unemployment. Equally we stress the moral commitments of such a society, in our support for the role of the family, and in our recognition of our social responsibilities towards the weak, by encouraging self-help and individual enterprise.

In the fields of welfare, taxation, enterprise, education and indeed for society in general, the IDU Member-Parties seek to shape systems whereby the efforts of ordinary individuals, their preferences, aspirations, skills, creativity and thirst for freedom, provide the motive forces for a better

society. Liberty and prosperity through economic stability, growth and full employment cannot be established through more regulations and restrictions. They will be generated by the release of individual vigour and vitality in an open society.

I wish to emphasise that ours is a balanced approach, at a time when the threat of totalitarianism from both extremes of the political spectrum is as great in our world today as it has ever been. But it is our objective to promote a centre-ground of politics between the extremes. We can do this amongst ourselves by assisting one another in exchanging ideas on policies and our different approaches to the common problems we face. But we also have wider responsibilities in our new Union, and we will want to look at ways in which we can help our friends in other parts of the world. Of course, our family of parties respects the right of each individual nation to preserve its identity and safeguard its independence. But political ideas have no national frontiers and we will not be slow to export ours. For too long many of us in the centre of politics have left the international promotion of ideas to the Left. With our different party labels and natural national preoccupations, inter-party cooperation came late to us. But now we have been quick to rectify this. As Chairman of the European Democrat Union I have seen the rapid growth of our cooperation in Europe. The Pacific Democrat Union is barely a year old today. Now, as Chairman of the International Democrat Union, I am determined to see the same successful pattern at a world-wide level. I know that I will have the full support of all my colleagues here today.

I now have the pleasure in inviting the leaders or the representatives of the founding Member-Parties to sign the Declaration of Principles. The Executive Secretary will come to each of you with the Declaration.

[The following then signed the Declaration]

Dr Alois Mock
(Osterreichische Volkspartei, Austria)

Prime-Minister Margaret Thatcher
(Conservative Party, Great Britain)

Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl
(CDU, Federal Republic of Germany)

Prime-Minister Franz-Josef Strauss
(CSU, Federal Republic of Germany)

M Jacques Chirac
(Rassemblement Pour la Republique, France)

Mr Andrew Peacock
(Liberal Party, Australia)

M Evangelos Averoff-Tossizza
(Nea Demokratia, Greece)

Sr Fraga Iribarne
(Alianza Popular, Spain)

Sr Oscar Alzaga
(Partido Democrata Popular, Spain)

Mrs Susanne Wood
(National Party, New Zealand)

President Glafcos Clerides
(Democratic Rally, Cyprus)

Mr Ilkka Suominen
(Kansallinen Kokoomus, Finland)

Sr Lucas Pires
(CDS, Portugal)

Mr Tatsuo Tanaka
(Liberal Democratic Party, Japan)

Mr Ulf Adelsohn
(Moderata Samlingspartiet, Sweden)

Mr Erik Nielsen
(Progressive Conservative Party, Canada)

Prime-Minister Poul Schluter
(Det Konservative Folkeparti, Denmark)

Mr Jo Benkow
(Høyre, Norway)

Mr Frank Fahrenkopf
(Republican National Committee, U.S.A.)

THE CHAIRMAN:

Thank you very much. I will now invite the leaders of those Member-Parties represented here to say a few words. May I invite Mrs Thatcher to take the floor.

MRS MARGARET THATCHER:

[Prime-Minister of Great Britain; Leader, British Conservative Party]

Mr Chairman, Mr Vice-President, Prime Ministers, leaders of parties and other friends. Today's meeting is an historic occasion. For the first time, leaders of the centre-right parties around the globe have come together to advance those values and ideas which we all share - freedom, justice and representative democracy. In 1978 we took the first step in founding the European Democrat Union in Salzburg, and I am proud to have played my part in that. The EDU has gone from strength to strength and its success reflects the commitment of all the parties involved; and it is a tribute to the dedication of the Chairman of the EDU, Dr Mock. Last year, the Pacific Democrat Union was formed. Now the European Democrat Union and the Pacific Democrat Union are joining together to form the International Democrat Union; and at the birth of this Union we can already claim, as Dr Mock indicated earlier, the support of 150 million people - double the support of the Socialist International. Our International Democrat Union girdles the earth. It is not an empire, but it will be, we hope, a great dominion of mind and of spirit. The presence of such distinguished leaders at this meeting shows the strength of our support for this new endeavour. May I extend very special greetings to our friends of

the Pacific Democrat Union including Japan; and may I mention in particular the presence of the Vice-President of the United States, a staunch advocate of the beliefs that have brought us together today. And we welcome to London our European friends. May I say that the presence of the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, the Prime Ministers of Norway and Denmark and the Mayor of Paris gives us special pleasure. And our Commonwealth friends who are never far from our thoughts. And it is specially satisfying also to welcome to London the leaders of parties from neutral nations, such as Finland and Sweden. Although they have not associated themselves in alliances with us, they share our preoccupations and our ideals. To all government and party leaders alike - a very warm welcome to London.

Both the enterprises which have led to the International Democrat Union and the union itself spring from a recognition that an association of parties, as distinct from governments, may offer a real and a new opportunity in the future for creative statecraft. All the parties represented here, like the nations from which we come, have different histories. We all take pride in our own distinctive character but though diverse, we share universal principles; indeed freedom and justice know no frontiers. Mr Chairman, the free nations are peaceful nations. Democracies have had to defend themselves several times in this century, but we have never fought one another. We must not let the enemies of freedom cause us to forget that simple but most invigorating fact of recent history.

Some seventy years ago, it seemed that ours would be the constitutional model for the coming age. Indeed the great French historian, Helle Halevy wrote in the preface to his famous history of England, representative government bids fair to become part of the common inheritance of mankind. That was seventy years ago; then everywhere old despotisms were in decay. Even the Russian and Turkish Empires conceded general elections of a limited kind. Then came the World Wars and the totalitarian empires of Communism and Naziism to which they led. Ten years ago, people were writing about the crisis of democracy. Today attention has turned to the crisis of state socialism and here is cause to celebrate indeed. For the first time, Western Europe has governments which are all democratic - cause to celebrate indeed. It is a historic moment - and I take particular pleasure in welcoming here Sr Fraga and Dr Pires of Spain and Portugal, who played a special part in the consolidation of democracy in their countries; and the presence of Mr Averoff shows us that once again the tradition of democracy burns in Greece.

No matter how hard they try, totalitarian countries can never extinguish the flame of freedom. Again and again we see evidence that if only the nations of Eastern Europe were allowed to choose, they would choose democracy and freedom. The spirit of freedom is too strong and too resilient to be crushed by the tanks of tyrants; and the same is true in other parts of the world which suffer from despotism. The values which we cherish - and which others yearn for - are democracy, freedom, justice and personal responsibility. The challenge which faces us here today is how we defend and extend those values in a fragmented world.

Mr Chairman, we know what we believe in - but just believing in it is not enough. We must also know what we are going to do about it. We have signed a Declaration of Principles and they will be our guide; but today we must launch a vigorous and dedicated campaign to bring freedom and justice to those who do not have them. Such a campaign has many elements. We must

always be ready to defend our freedom and the rule of law, but defence alone is not enough. We must proclaim our principles so that we may influence others; and we must seek by every peaceful means - and in every possible forum - to spread those great truths across the world. But we cannot do everything at once. Politicians know better than most that if you try to achieve everything, you will risk achieving nothing. So let us set our eyes on a realistic programme which is within our grasp. We can for instance combine our efforts in the United Nations and in regional organisations to promote our common aim - often said, yet not often enough done. We must use our joint resources to help bring the benefits of economic prosperity to the developing countries. For make no mistake, if the Third World or parts of it looked in the past to Moscow for economic aid and support, they have largely ceased to do so. They have seen a new imperialism in operation in Eastern Europe, Afghanistan and Cambodia, and they know that it is to the democracies of the world that they must look for support for their right to freely choose their own way of life. They know that it is the West and our countries that have shown the right road to economic prosperity, the rule of law and the right to choose their own destiny as nations. It is the democracies who have shown real generosity for the countries of the Third World, just as it was the United States - that great guardian of freedom and justice - which showed unparalleled generosity to the people of Europe at our time of greatest trial, and which shows the same generosity now in its staunch commitment to the defence of the West and democratic values.

We have at our disposal all the immense resources of modern, scientific and technological development. This gives us the power to reach through communications and, therefore, to influence people on the other side of the globe, as easily as we could once reach people in the next village. Let us use that scientific advance to proclaim our beliefs. We must use that to proclaim that freedom lights a beacon to those who long for the values which we take for granted.

Mr Chairman, we face a power which does not share our beliefs and which seeks to undermine our way of life. It will not succeed and it must understand that the spirit of freedom will outlive the worst tyranny; and part of our action programme must be a realistic and unblinkered assessment of that power's policies and intentions. We must never be taken in by plausible half-truths. Sure in our defence, sure in our beliefs, we must see how relations with the Soviet Union can best be carried forward. We must look shrewdly and carefully for opportunities to conclude agreements on arms control and to expand trade and other contacts which do not put our interests in any way at risk and, in particular, do not result in the transfer of critical technology. Whenever we negotiate with those who do not hold our views, we must be the most professional and skilled negotiators. Always firm, always reasonable, never duped. Mr Andropov recently said that 'Communists are convinced that the future belongs to socialism - such is the march of history'. We know different. The future belongs to the free democracies and that is the march of history. Across the world - and today in this room - freedom and justice are on the offensive. We are strong in belief, resolute for action, fortified by the alliances and partnerships which are dedicated to our purpose; and today we proclaim a new union for democracy. By the time the IDU meets again I hope we shall have even more friends and even more nations. Let us hold firmly together, our hands stretching over continents and oceans in the knowledge that united, we can preserve our civilisation and be ready to hand on the sacred flame of liberty to future generations.

THE CHAIRMAN:

Thank you very much, Prime Minister, for your inspiring words; and may I avail myself of this occasion to thank you once more for the generous hospitality you have provided to the European Democrat Union and now to the International Democrat Union. I give the floor now to Dr Kohl.

DR HELMUT KOHL:

[Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany; Chairman, Christlich Demokratische Union]

Mr Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, colleagues and dear friends. To begin with I would like to express, on behalf of the CDU, how pleased we are that our combined work has succeeded in bringing together today - only a few years after the foundation of the European Democrat Union in 1978 in Klessheim - a circle of like-minded political parties from many parts of the world. I believe that this is primarily due to our friend Alois Mock - and I would like to congratulate him warmly on his election today - and to thank him for the tireless work which he has carried out over the years. We all know how difficult it is for such historically different countries, with such different traditions and historical customs, to determine the terms of reference of a 'politics of the centre'; we all know how much hard work Alois Mock has expended.

We have thus come together today in London, the members of the European Democrat Union, as it has grown since 1978; and the members of the PDU - our friends from Japan, Australia, New Zealand - and from the American continent our Canadian and U.S. friends. When I refer to parties which are on friendly terms, then that is an important factor in a modern democracy. Some have learnt it later - some earlier - but I believe that one can say that due to the pressure of events, not one of us can be successful in the field of national politics, nor be successful as the governing party, if we do not have contacts with like-minded friends in other countries - aside from the usual contacts between governments living in a pluralist world. I think it is a basic realisation of democratic development in our generation that we not only get together on a country to country basis, but that we also have the same convictions, that we come together on these convictions, and that we advocate our personal and political freedoms - particularly human rights, which are the pre-condition for true peace and naturally for freedom. We have all parts of the world in mind, and we are not blind either in the right or the left eye; where human rights have been trampled upon we will ensure determined resistance.

We advocate a free, socially responsible market economy, because we believe that collective systems do not promote human achievement, and because according to our convictions the experience in our countries is that wherever there are collective systems it has brought mankind no good fortune, no inner peace and absolutely no prosperity. In a word, we find ourselves together - and I repeat - in a society which values peace and freedom, justice and solidarity with the weak, and the free and socially responsible market economy. I hope - and I express this on behalf of the German CDU - that from this day on, we may reap many fruitful and good relations here in Europe and across the Atlantic to our friends in Canada and the United States - and from there to

the Pacific, which in terms of distance may be far away, but not so in the strength of ideas which belong to our political tradition. On this note, I would like in the words of my country to give a hearty 'Gluckauf' for our work.

THE CHAIRMAN:

Thank you very much. May I now invite the Vice-President of the United States to take the floor.

MR GEORGE BUSH:

[Vice-President of the United States of America]

One year ago this month President Reagan spoke before the British Parliament and announced a new commitment by the United States to act on behalf of democracy throughout the world. "Let us now begin a major effort", the President said, "to secure the best - a crusade for freedom that will engage the faith and fortitude of the next generation. For the sake of peace and justice, let us move toward a world in which all people are at last free to determine their own destiny".

Our Administration has now submitted to our Congress an initiative for democracy - a programme under which our political parties, business and labour groups, and other public-minded organisations can work with the American government to provide support to those who, in nations less fortunate than our own, are struggling to establish and perfect democracy.

Today we mark the founding of the IDU, the International Democrat Union, a body that likewise will carry on the great work of promoting democracy. I would be remiss if I did not congratulate Dr Mock for his perseverance, dedication and his vision. And if I might say so without being chauvinistic, I am delighted that the chairmen of the two major parties in the United States, Frank Fahrenkopf and Chuck Manatt, have their parties represented here. I also want to pay my respects to another visionary who has worked with Dr Mock, Richard Allen who is also here today.

Democracy begins with an acute awareness to what it is democracy's purpose to protect: the sacredness of the individual. It is because democracy holds that each man, however humble, must be listened to, that democracies grant all their people a voice in government. It is because democracy believes that each man, however offensive or mistaken, possesses the right to speak and worship and earn his living as he chooses, that democracies accord all their people equal protection under the law. "Democracy", the educator Robert Hutchins wrote, "is the only form of government that is founded on the dignity of man, not the dignity of some men, or of rich men, or of educated men, but of men." Our age teems with state ideologies which reject any such notions of individual dignity. Communism refuses to reserve any sphere of freedom to individuals, but instead lays claim to its subjects' very personalities. Lenin himself believed, as the British political philosopher Isaiah Berlin has written, that the people needed to be turned into "an obedient force held together by military discipline and a set of perpetually ingeminated formulae to shut out independent thought".

In democracies the free play of ideas reinforces the free play in the market place of research, discovery, innovation and enterprise. Experiments in democracies can flourish, knowledge can be gathered and shared, changes can be adjusted to and turned to advantage even as they occur. Under democracy there has not only been fundamental material advance for ourselves, but also for others who the democracies have helped. The fundamental resource in this material advance has been not water power, or fossil fuels or nuclear energy, but the mind of man. It is the mind that conceives uses for the materials of the earth; it is the mind that finds methods for combining those materials with labour. In democracies, the human mind has found both stimulation and scope for its activities. It is still true that for many life remains, in Thomas Hobbes' words, "poor, nasty, brutish and short". Yet our progress since Hobbes composed that phrase has been vast. Men, the stargazers have left their footprints on the moon. The engine of that progress has been freedom, its driving power has been what has joined us all here today, democracy.

In foreign relations, democracies seek peace. Free peoples understand that in peace they can flourish, but that in war they must accept a restriction of personal liberty and risk the loss of what they so cherish - and that is human life. Today diplomatic initiatives undertaken by the Western democracies present a hope for peace in the Middle East, and for the independence of Namibia in Southern Africa. In Central America, the United States, aided by other democracies, is giving the free nations of that region the aid they need to build and perfect democracies of their own. For will it be asking too much that every democracy reaches the degree of perfection of the U.S. or European democracy. The United States is providing the free Central American nations with both military assistance, to help them resist attempts of subversion by forces beholden to totalitarian powers and, in a proportion three times greater, economic assistance to help them overcome the poverty and the social ills that breed unrest. What is at stake is freedom when we talk about democracy. Freedom of the press; freedom to vote; freedom to come and go; the freedom to dissent; and the freedom to worship. A democracy, a real democracy, would never have humiliated the Holy Father when he came to the Western Hemisphere. Never, never could it have happened in a democracy.

The Soviet Union, democracy's main opponent, has by contrast overrun and occupied Afghanistan and rained chemicals on innocent people of Afghanistan and South-East Asia. In Poland, the Soviets have backed the brutal suppression of human rights. The Pope's visit, I might add, proved that although the Soviets can suppress rights, they can never suppress courage. They just cannot diminish that desire for freedom. Can anyone who saw the coverage, anyone around the world, of the Holy Father's visit failed to have been moved by the devotion and that sense of patriotism you could feel as you looked at the shots across all of Poland. As President Reagan said yesterday, "no-one can crush the spirit of the Polish people". In recent years, as you know, the Soviets have aimed scores of missiles at the great capitals of Western Europe in an attempt to intimidate the European democracies and rupture the NATO alliance. Let me now state what all leaders of the NATO alliance have stated: the NATO alliance so cherishes freedom and peace, and so detests armed conflict, that it stands determined to undertake every necessary measure and to bear every necessary sacrifice, to achieve an effective deterrent to war. Our aim is not only the control but the reduction of arms. Our method, now and in the months to come, is not belligerence but determined negotiations backed by our united strength.

And so today let us be mindful of all that our great democracies have given to mankind, and all that, with firmness of purpose, they might yet give. So let us inaugurate the International Democrat Union in the determination, to use Lincoln's words in a manner he would have endorsed, that the world under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, shall not perish from this earth.

THE CHAIRMAN:

Thank you very much Mr Vice-President, and I am particularly grateful to you coming to London and conferring additional reputation to our meeting by your presence. May I now ask Mr Fahrenkopf to take the floor.

MR FRANK FAHRENKOPF:

[Chairman, Republican National Committee, U.S.A.]

Mr Chairman, my colleagues, it is with a great deal of pride and pleasure that I as Chairman of the Republican Party of the United States join Vice-President Bush in commemorating the historic creation of IDU here in London today. A year and a half ago I attended an EDU meeting in Munich, at which the seed of the Pacific Democrat Union and the International Democrat Union was sown. Last July, in Tokyo, the PDU was formed; and last week, in Honolulu, I had the great pleasure to host the PDU's first annual council meeting. Today, we reap the remaining harvest of that Munich meeting with the birth of the IDU. On behalf of the Republican Party, let me assure my colleagues of our full cooperation and participation in the IDU - and in seeking our mutual goals of promoting democracy, freedom, self-determination and, most important, peace in the world.

THE CHAIRMAN:

Thank you Mr Fahrenkopf. May I now ask the Norwegian Prime-Minister to take the floor.

MR KARE WILLOCH:

[Prime-Minister of Norway; for Høyre]

Thank you Mr Chairman, friends. I see that I have the privilege of being the first speaker on behalf of a small country at this important event. This gives me an opportunity to stress the particular dependence of devotion to international cooperation, which is natural to small nations, and which makes it a very special pleasure to participate at the launching of an important new international organisation - the International Democrat Union. We are establishing our new organisation at a time - and in a situation - which confronts with a pressing need for improved and intensified cooperation between the democratic nations of the old world. We all have to deal with political and economic problems which are more complex than ever before and which can only be dealt with in a satisfactory way, if our national actions are coordinated and supplemented by adequate international action. In our times, the economic interdependence between the nations of the world, great and small, is such that no country can succeed in

achieving sustained economic growth and full employment without a favourable development of the world economy as a whole. But the world economy is nothing more than an aggregate of national economy, and this can only be improved by a concerted action. Economic matters will undoubtedly take up much of our future work. We will not win the fight against mass unemployment, without improved international cooperation and we will not, at least in the long-run, win the fight for democratic and liberal ideas without improved economic performance. And we should never forget the responsibility, through our cooperation, to make it less difficult for the developing countries to achieve their aims, to overcome poverty and abuse.

Of basic importance is the never-ending fight to preserve and develop the democratic ideas upon which all societies are founded. All democratic nations great and small, are dependent upon the strength and vitality of democratic institutions and ideals, not only within their own borders but in the world as a whole. To protect democracy calls for improved cooperation both in international affairs, and in our endeavours to keep our principles in conformity with the realities of our times.

International cooperation must work on different levels, if it can succeed in improving our national positions. One important aspect of this is that cooperation between governments and parliamentarians will be greatly strengthened when the wide network of friendly contacts develops across the borders between parties and personalities. Through the creation of our International Democrat Union, our parties will be contributing in an important way to the strength of the fundamental relationship which already exists between our nations.

THE CHAIRMAN:

Thank you very much Mr Prime-Minister. May I ask the Danish Prime-Minister to make his statement.

MR POUL SCHLUTER:

[Prime-Minister of Denmark; Chairman, det Konservative Folkeparti]

The Danish Conservative Party is proud and happy today. Years ago we started, like others, to look for international partners in ideas and principles. It was difficult to begin with. We thought that we were a most peculiar party, and that there could not possibly be other parties in this world exactly like ours. I can confirm today that there is not. My party and your parties are very individualistic, having their particular history, national background and traditions. This we do not want to change. We are not believers in conformity, but we all realise the need for close international cooperation. We want to stand together with those who fear our basic ideas and beliefs. We have found today our natural international political family. The International Democrat Union is based on important common convictions: political liberty; personal freedom; equality of opportunity; and economic development under the rule of law. We have common beliefs in an open society, where power is dispersed widely amongst free institutions, dedicated to creating conditions that will enable each individual to reach his full potential and to carry out his responsibilities to his fellow men and women; and where the central task

of government is to serve the individual and to safeguard and promote individual freedom. So today is an historic event. We are starting up the largest political organisation of the free democratic world. The world has needed it for many years.

THE CHAIRMAN:

Thank you Mr Prime-Minister. Thank you once more as one of those who have supported from the very beginning, with tenacity and understanding, the construction of the European Democrat Union. May I now ask the Chairman of the Christian Social Union to take the floor.

DR FRANZ-JOSEF STRAUSS:

[Prime-Minister of Bavaria; Chairman, Christlich Soziale Union, Federal Republic of Germany]

Mr Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, on behalf of the Christian Social Union I welcome this development - the establishment of the International Democrat Union, which was preceded by the formation of the European Democrat Union. The party which I represent belongs to the European Peoples Party, as well as to the European Democrat Union, and is now quite prepared to volunteer its experience to the International Democrat Union.

We are bound together by common principles, by and large, and also common goals. We all believe that our state must be based upon three precepts: the democratic constitutional state; parliamentary democracy; and the social market economy. And I would also say for the Federal Republic of Germany, the federal system, which is also a feature of the European Community. We all have in common the struggle for freedom and peace - neither of which should be taken for granted. Both are threatened; for both a price has to be paid; and indeed always a higher price if both are to be preserved and peace extended further still. We share the struggle for human rights. However, I would also like to say quite emphatically that human rights do not only include conventional rights and freedoms, but also the right for each individual to develop economically according to his potential, and for each individual to be able to create economic initiatives. It is necessary for the IDU to recognise that free economic development is also a human right.

We must be careful not to become a travel agency for political tourists, to avoid the preparation of costly conferences, to avoid overemployment of staff and to avoid a mass of paperwork. What is necessary, however, is the exchange of experiences and information - the development of a common approach to tasks and problems. I would also like to pursue the possibility for bilateral contacts, which would be of particular value to this organisation which has been inaugurated today. The IDU gives us all the possibility to get to know each other better, not only on a multilateral basis in such a conference as today, but also on a bilateral basis, to exchange experiences, information and knowledge.

The EDU, out of which the IDU has evolved (Helmut Kohl has just pointed out its growth) - professes conservative ideas. The conservative idea is far-reaching; yet due to the socialists' success in verbal warfare, the importance of which should not be underestimated, they have succeeded in falsifying the understanding of the term 'conservative' and in giving it a slanderous meaning. That does not hold true for Great Britain, but it does hold true for other parts of the

European continent. Let me say, however, that conservatism is not reactionary; conservatism is - in the view of my friends and myself - the road to progress without doctrinaire and utopian ideas. This road is based on experience, on the history of our people, on great traditions. Conservatism does not mean to cling to the past, simply because it belongs to the past; but it means to create policies from the intellect and the spirit, which have always proved effective from a moral position. It is not enough for us to defeat socialist ideology and doctrine, and to represent the alternative to the Socialist International. Over and over again, we must be conscious of and make clear the values which we represent - the rights and freedoms of our citizens, especially of the younger generation.

Furthermore, we are an association - a loose association of continents - which gives grounds to say that the scientific and technical progress of the last seventy years is about as great, quantitatively speaking, as the scientific and technical evolution of mankind since the Stone Age. That is to say we live in a time of quantitative development, which has changed into a qualitative one. We are the first generation which has witnessed an acceleration process of their history. There are no longer any limits on information - and information is not only a weapon but also an instrument for good. There are no longer any limits on communications - at any rate not on earth, and probably in the near future, no longer on other planets. And, unfortunately, there are no longer any limits on the means of destruction.

Such a union is all the more essential, a union which implies a spiritual conflict with the borders of marxism. In my opinion, marxism has no workable philosophy, no useful political economy, and no applicable theory of history. Marxism could only function if there were a bureaucracy which already understood everything and understood it all correctly; if there were self-sacrificing people who were ready for optimum achievement without external incentives; if there were no other comparable system available, with which the competitiveness of marxism could be measured; only then could marxism appear to the people as credible. According to my convictions, marxism as an ideology has long since died; it has become a centralised bureaucracy, a centralised bureaucratic system of coercion, which calls itself true socialism. In Western countries - at least in Europe - there are more marxists than in the whole of the Soviet Bloc combined; and therein lies a big common task for us to help to underline the concept of the individual and freedom, particularly through the young generation.

I would like to end with a cordial thank you to the British Prime Minister for undertaking the organisation of this conference, for participating as our hostess; and I would also like to wish her heartfelt best wishes on her political success during these weeks.

THE CHAIRMAN:

Thank you very much Mr Prime Minister. May I now ask Mr Andrew Peacock to take the floor.

MR ANDREW PEACOCK:

[Leader, Liberal Party of Australia]

Mr Chairman, it is a privilege for me to participate in this historic inauguration of the International Democrat Union. As an internationalist, I welcome with enthusiasm this meeting of political parties from all over the

world, united by similiar philosophies. And the greatrst strength of the International Democrat Union will be its unity of purpose and its ability to bring together political parties which share common ideals. We do share a universal commitment to representative democracy, to the right of individuals to determine their own futures and, should they wish, to oppose governments and work for reform. We share a universal commitment to a healthy and dynamic private enterprise economy, that form of economic organisation that not only guarantees individual freedom, but has proved to be the most efficient and fruitful form of economic organisation known to man. And we share a universal commitment to helping those in society who are in real need, providing them with oppourtunities to cast aside dependence on government assistance. It is a commitment firmly based on the dignity of the individual and our understanding of a civilised society. And we share a universal commitment to a society free from the prejudice of class, and the prejudice of colour, and the prejudice of religion. Quite the reverse. That commitment is as central to the creation of a tolerant and harmonious society as it is to the creation of a tolerant and harmonious international community. Those common commitments, based on our shared understanding of mankind, offer an assured prosperous secure future for all men an women; and that more than anything is why we should work together - and by working together we can win more easily the battle of ideas.

Now the International Democrat Union has, of course, grown out as it may be said from the EDU and PDU. From ourpoint of view, it was Mrs Margaret Thatcher who - during a visit to Australia in 1975 - first drew the attention of the Liberal Party of Australia to the need for an association of political parties, diffusing common ideals; and we were delighted to see the subsequent formation of the European Democrat Union. But we and our colleagues in New Zealand and Japan thought it a trifle anomalous to be part of a European body. Hence the creation of the Pacific Democrat Union. As is so often the case, Europe has provided a lead. Europe has provided a lead in another important respect: its endeavour to settle its historic internal differences and build a more united future around the European Community.

Now the Pacific region, like Europe, has over recent years become increasingly interdependent. There has been rapid growth in inter-regional trade for all regional countries with the exceptions of Japan and the United States. Over half their trade is with other countries in this region. And over 40% of Japanese and American trade is with our region. There has also been rapid growth in inter-regional investment and there has been rapid growth in the inter-regional organisations and associations. And there has been a growing awareness of the common political interests of the region. So for a number of reasons, I believe the Pacific region will develop a stronger regional identity and a much closer degree of political and economic cooperation.

Firstly, because the Pacific region has an unequalled degree of economic dynamism. Over the past decade and a half, economic growth, trade and structural change have occurred in much of the region far more rapidly than in other parts of the world. Growth rates in many of these countries have consistently reached 8, 9 and 10% a year - a record quite enviable by any standards. Secondly, the economies of the Pacific region, although at various stages of development, have a large degree of complementarity. The Pacific brings together the developed economies of Australia, Japan, New Zealand, Canada, the United States, many of the newly-industrialised economies of Asia and developing

countries and, of course, particularly yet oft forgotten the South Pacific Islands themselves. And properly managed each of these economies can make a significant contribution to the prosperity of the region. Thirdly, the Pacific has the advantage of an abundance of natural resources, and a food production capacity not equalled anywhere else in the world. Fourthly, the vast distances which have diminished its original identity, are being conquered by modern technology. And fifthly, the Pacific region on the whole enjoys a measure of political stability which is becoming increasingly rare. That political stability is bringing with it a recognition of common purpose and opportunity for greater economic cooperation.

My optimism for our region's potential was indeed shared by an American Secretary of State, John Hay, who at the beginning of this century described the Mediterranean as the ocean of the present and the Pacific as the ocean of the future. Now Hay's remark was a little ahead of its time, and I am sure the Mediterranean will not become a region of little more than historical interest. But the sentiment that the Pacific has a great future has to be taken seriously, and much has been said about the possibility of a formal association of the civic countries. That is the establishment of a Pacific community. This is a novel and imaginative concept and it raises many complexities and difficulties. But despite these, I firmly believe that a strong Pacific identity will emerge from the growing interdependence of the region, and I also anticipate much closer contacts between the governments of the region and the possible establishment of new regional institutions. In the years ahead, if not now, there will be a strong case for an institutional framework for regional cooperation and that prospect demonstrates why we in the Liberal Party of Australia attach a great deal of importance to the Pacific Democrat Union. As the Pacific region develops, it will become all the more important that it does so embracing the ideal of liberal democracy, the ideal of the freedom of the individual, the ideal of societies free from irrational and emotional prejudices. That has been one of the achievements of the European Community, and I do not doubt that the European Democrat Union will ensure the Community retains those ideals. With our partners in the Pacific Democrat Union, the Australian Liberal Party will work to propogate those ideals throughout the Pacific.

So in concluding I should like to begin Mr. Chairman, where I started. All this must resist the temptation of being submerged in parochialism. We must understand the interdependence between our individual nations and our immediate regions. But we must do more - we must understand the interdependence between our individual nations and the world as a whole. The future of Australia, for example, is inextricably bound up with its region, with the United States and also with Europe. In that respect, Australia is no way unique, and this global interdependence demands world-wide horizons and world-wide understanding. The International Democrat Union will do a great deal indeed to both broaden our horizon and strengthen our understanding; and it will play a role in building a better future for all of us by promoting the ideals which will promise peace and prosperity to mankind.

THE CHAIRMAN:

Thank you very much Mr. Peacock for your words - and for the growing support of member-parties of the PDU to the common organisation of the International Democrat Union. I will rely very much on that. May I now ask the Mayor of Paris to begin his speech.

M. JACQUES CHIRAC:

[Mayor of Paris; Leader, Rassemblement Pour la Republique]

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, time alone can assess the importance of events. Posterity alone will judge whether our meeting in London deserves the recognition of history. It seems to me that the creation of the International Democrat Union under the Chairmanship of our dynamic friend, Dr. Alois Mock, is an important event and bears for our nation - for all our nations - a significance that goes beyond this occasion. This union is born under good auspices, since it sees the light of day in a country - the United Kingdom - which was at the most difficult time of the Second World War, as no one can forget, alone in carrying the burden of the struggle for our freedom. I do not forget that it was on this soil that General de Gaulle founded Free France. I therefore thank the Prime Minister of this glorious nation, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, for her welcome; her courage and determination are an example to us all. She is leading her country on the path to recovery, progress and freedom.

But why does this Union, founded in 1978 on a European scale, and in 1982 on a Pacific scale, now encompass the industrialised democratic countries of the whole world? Why as heads of democratic parties from nations so varying in spirit and tradition, have we felt such an urgent and imperative need to join forces, to associate in thought and to confirm our solidarity? Because freedom, which is the highest value of our civilisation, and the source for men as for nations of all moral and material progress, is today threatened. And because it cannot be protected if we only defended separately from our diverse positions. Freedom is like the air we breathe - it seems natural so long as we can enjoy it; we do not even notice that it allows us to live; but as soon as we lack it, we suffocate. The trials of this century have taught us - and, alas, still teach us - that one has to sacrifice far more than to recover freedom when one has lost it, than to preserve it while there is still time.

Freedom first of all implies a choice of society. The free society is an open and pluralist society, the main objective of which is the development of the individual - unlike totalitarian societies which are only interested in the development of the collective body. The necessary constraints of institutions and laws have no other justification than to ensure the full blossoming of a human being. The individual should be able to exercise his fundamental rights: freedom of thought, of religion, of speech, of assembly, of association, of information, of education, of research and of creation of businesses. These freedoms are the condition for economic and social development and for the raising of the standard of living. They alone encourage in every human being the search for happiness, which the Declaration of Independence of the United States so rightly recognised for the first time in history, as a natural imprescriptible right. This is what freedom offers, so long as man is prepared to make it his responsibility.

This concept of society, that is democracy, is not shared by all but only by a minority in the world. It is attacked from within and without because in a hard world, subject to tensions and conflicts, shaken by injustices and inequalities, ravaged by misery, hunger, illiteracy, underdevelopment, there is a constant temptation to resort to simplistic ideologies, to methods of constraint, to mass propaganda and to induce belief in an illusory paradise. The nations that succumb to the yoke of violence or subversion become imprisoned nations, from whom an implacable power attempts to wrest away even the very consciousness of their subjection. The worlds of totalitarian communism

are evident; we need only look around us and hear the agonised cries that reach us from Afghanistan, Poland, Latin-America, Asia and the Soviet Gulags, to realise that vigilance is essential. We must also be strong in order to deter any attempt at armed aggression. We must be lucid in order to denounce the false Gods of the pacifist and neutralist movements which, behind the masks of humanity or generosity, lead to capitulation.

But there is a more insidious threat to our society of freedom, a threat concealed within the very progress we have achieved, and which leads us to evermore exacting demands. This is the disproportionate intervention of the state which turns responsible citizens into dependent subjects. The control of the economy by irresponsible administrative bodies, the increasingly tight grip of corporatist structures, the excessive growth of fiscal and social expenditures are ruining businesses, killing private initiative and breaking the springs of the market economy. Thus, certain democratic countries are unwillingly drawn gradually towards autarchy and the protectionism caused by economic recession.

Engaged in this common struggle, we must be proud of our principles. The values which we hold are the basis of the free society that we wish to maintain and develop. They also represent, for those people and nations deprived of them, an immense hope. Our adversary is well aware of this and attempts to borrow our vocabulary: democracy, peace, freedom and progress. Singular homage paid by vice to virtue. It is up to us to ensure that these words retain their true meaning and to prevent ideas being twisted by counterfeiterers.

We know all too well that there can be no improvement in the standard of living without creation of wealth and economic growth. We know well that freedom of initiative, freedom of enterprise are the source of all quantitative and qualitative progress in our society. We know well that no other nations, other than industrialised democracies, have ever and will ever help the Third World to overcome underdevelopment; and that the future of the most disinherited countries depends largely upon our capacity to overcome the present economic crisis. We know well that peace, which for us is a prerequisite to freedom, must be defended - and that we can only ensure this defence together by joining our own national efforts.

This is the reason for our meeting here today. Our nations have a common destiny; it is our duty to carry it out together in both thought and action. By origin, we have very varying sensibilities. The names of our parties and movements do not have the same meanings in our respective countries. But we are united over the essential condition - freedom. We invite all those who believe that there is no greater life-giving source of justice and progress than freedom, to join us. We extend a hand to all those nations and men who have been deprived of their dignity, forbidden to exercise their most sacred rites. We must shape our solidarity of thought and struggle with them. Freedom is a force: unity is the best way of preserving it, provided we have the will to do so.

THE CHAIRMAN:

Thank you Mr. President. Thank you too for your constant support of the work of the EDU especially in sending your colleague Jean de Lipkowski to the EDU Steering Committee; his cooperation has always been of such great value to us. And now I give the floor to Mr. Tanaka.

MR. TATSUO TANAKA:

[Former President, Liberal Democratic Party of Japan]

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, permit me to present myself to you. I am a member of the House of Representatives; and I am particularly happy to be able to speak to you today as the representative of my Party on the occasion of the founding of the International Democrat Union. I feel very honoured that the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan is participating in this meeting as a founding Member-Party. In the name of my country, and of my Party, I thank you for choosing to entrust to us the prestigious office of Vice-Chairman of the Union. The international situation is extremely uncertain today. The situation in Europe and that in Asia are inseparable. I am therefore convinced that it is vital that the countries of the West should confer more closely than ever before in order to ensure the stability of international politics. Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, my Party is committed to increasing its efforts to establishing closer collaboration and the successful development of our democratic values, by strengthening the extent of mutual cooperation through exchanges between Member-Parties of the Union. Finally, I would like to convey my best wishes for the health and success of all those present today starting with you, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN:

Thank you, Mr. Tanaka. We have a great respect for the cooperation and support of the Liberal Democratic Party. Thank you for coming to London. I will now ask Mr. Erik Nielsen.

MR. ERIK NIELSEN:

[Parliamentary Leader, Progressive Conservative Party of Canada]

Mr. Chairman, it is the pride and determination that, on behalf of the Conservative Party of Canada and Her Majesty's loyal opposition in the House of Commons, I have participated in this historic ceremony to launch the International Democrat Union. We come to you, to this organisation, as a Pacific nation, as an Atlantic nation, and as a Northern nation. It is a giant step forward for all of us who believe that individual freedom is still an integral right of humanity. The presence of so many outstanding world leaders, including that of Vice-President Bush of the United States, augurs well for the future success of the organisation. I am happy that Canada has been able to play a constructive role in the formative period and I extend my congratulations to the Canadian representative, the Hon. Allan Lawrence, for his past and continuing work in this connection. The newly elected leader of our Party, the Progressive Conservative Party of Canada, Mr. Brian Mulroney, is an enthusiastic proponent of these endeavours, and regrets his inability to be present.

It is clear that this coming together of world conservative forces, something that you have recently experienced in England in a rather massive way and which we hope to emulate in Canada very shortly, can be productive and of great value in underlining the common principles of individual rights, the rule of law and the free market economy, which form the roots of conservative philosophy the world over. Of those, the most important is a firmly held

conviction of the right of the individual to direct his or her own activities, and to assume responsibility for their own actions, while maintaining a decent regard for the rights of others. At a time when there is ominous and increasing pressure from movements and groups who believe that individuals exist to be manipulated for the objectives of the state, this international coming together of shared conservative beliefs will be instrumental in creating a strong contravening force on behalf of freedom. It is significant that it is from the Conservative movement that the defence of individual rights and freedom has been forthcoming at a time when we have seen a diminution of the human race in too many parts of the world. I would like to add the voice of Canadian Conservatives to those who believe that the road of the future is less not more bureaucratic regimentation, less not more state intervention, less centralisation and more reliance on the capacity of individuals to think and reason and act for themselves, within the parameters of democratic rights and processes.

Mr. Mulroney, the leader of the Progressive Conservative Party of Canada, has asked me take this occasion to personally extend to the International Democrat Union an invitation to convene a meeting of the International Democrat Union in Canada at an early opportunity. On behalf of the Progressive Conservative Party of Canada we would be delighted if you could accept that invitation extended by Mr. Mulroney, and bring to fruition a realisation of the common values and aims of the International Democrat Union in coming together on North American soil at an early date. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN:

Thank you very much Mr. Nielsen for your words, and give our cordial thanks to Mr. Mulroney for the invitation to come to Canada. We will give close scrutiny to this nice gesture. Thank you very much. Now to conclude the series of speeches, I invite the Chairman of the Moderate Party of Sweden, Mr. Ulf Adelson to take the floor.

MR. ULF ADELSON:

[Leader, Moderata Samlingspartiet of Sweden]

Friends, the foundation of the IDU is an important step forward for freedom, peace and non-collectivism. The IDU is founded by parties which stand firmly behind the rule of law, democracy and the market economy. The fight for democracy is a duty for our organisation, because peace and democracy go together. Wars are not fought between democracies. I would like to draw your attention to events important for my neutral country, and I believe important for everybody in the world who is truly, and I mean truly, struggling for peace. In October 1981, a Soviet whisky type submarine ran aground in an area deep in the archipelago of Southern Sweden. A year later, we had the intrusion of foreign submarines into our main naval base area in the Stockholm archipelago. This caused us to set up a parliamentary commission. The conclusion of that commission came as a shock to many Swedes, and I was no exception. The Commission stated that at least six submarines, among them three midget submarines of a hitherto unknown character, had been involved in the October 1982 incident. One of the midget submarines had most probably penetrated as far as the inner part of Stockholm harbour. It was clearly stated by the Commission that the intruding submarines were of Soviet origin, and the

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The undersigned chairmen or leaders of political parties :

* HAVING REGARD to their common convictions that democratic societies provide individuals throughout the world with the best conditions for political liberty, personal freedom, equality of opportunity and economic development under the rule of law; and therefore

BEING COMMITTED to advancing the social and political values on which democratic societies are founded, including the basic personal freedoms and human rights, as defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; in particular, the right of free speech, organisation, assembly and non-violent dissent; the right to free elections and the freedom to organise effective parliamentary opposition to government; the right to a free and independent media; the right to religious belief; equality before the law; and individual opportunity and prosperity

* HAVING REGARD to their common beliefs in an open society, where power is dispersed widely amongst free institutions, dedicated to creating conditions that will enable each individual to reach his full potential and to carry out his responsibilities to his fellow men and women; and where the central task of government is to serve the individual and to safeguard and promote individual freedom; and equally,

STRESSING the moral commitments of a free and open society, supporting the institutions of the family as its fundamental social and cohesive force, as well as social responsibility towards the weak and less fortunate, particularly by encouraging self-help and individual enterprise and choice in the provision of services;

BEING DEDICATED to a society of individuals working together in partnership for the common good

* HAVING REGARD to their common views that political democracy and private property are inseparable components of individual liberty and that the socially-orientated market economy provides the best means of creating the wealth and material prosperity to meet the legitimate aspirations of individuals, and of tackling social evils such as unemployment and inflation;

BELIEVING that this is the most effective and beneficial way of providing individual initiative and enterprise, responsible economic development, employment opportunities, low taxation and consumer choice

HAVING REGARD to the threats imposed by the extreme Left and the extreme Right

REJECTING any form of totalitarianism, which brings so much suffering and restricts so many freedoms today

* HAVING REGARD to the important global tasks which render necessary and desirable a closer and efficient collaboration of their Parties, inspired by their common convictions,

PLEDGING THEMSELVES to work towards ever-closer cooperation among all the peoples of democratic nations, while recognising the right of each individual nation to preserve its identity and to safeguard its vital interests, to use their influence and above all their political values for the greater good of the world, especially by promoting the mutual responsibilities of all nations for global economic development

* DECLARE their dedication to a just and lasting peace and freedom throughout the world, and

FURTHER DECLARE that the cause of peace will be advanced by adherence to the principles expressed in this Declaration, and in

ACTIVELY INVITING other Parties to subscribe to them

AGREE to create a working association in pursuance of
their common beliefs, hereinafter referred to as the
INTERNATIONAL DEMOCRAT UNION

Thomas Caprot

for Liberal Party,
Australia

L. Mal

for Osterreichische Volkspartei,
Austria

Erik Nielsen

for Progressive Conservative
Party, Canada

Georgios Christou

for Democratic Rally,
Cyprus

Poul Schiøtz

for Det Konservative Folkeparti,
Denmark

Lucien

for Rassemblement Pour la
République, France

Matti Lommi

for Kansallinen Kokoomus,
Finland

W. W. Tom

for Christlich-Demokratische Union, F.R. of Germany

Frank Josef Kump

for Christlich Soziale Union, Federal Republic of Germany

Christofungas

for Nea Demokratia, Greece

Yotaro Tanaka

for Liberal Democratic Party, Japan

Suzanne Wood

for National Party, New Zealand

Jon Becken

for Høyres Hovedorganisasjon, Norway

Ilheus Alves

for Partido do Centro Democratico Social, Portugal

Manuel Lopez

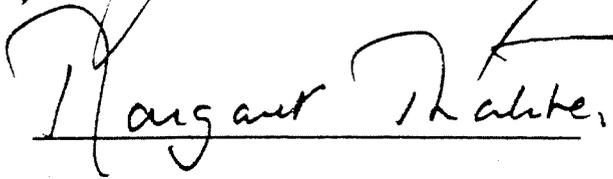
for Alianza Popular, Spain

Manuel Lopez

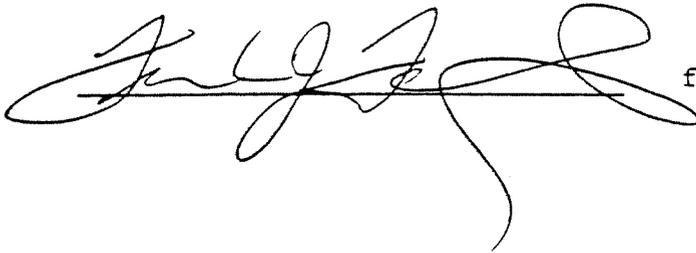
for Partido Democrata Popular, Spain



for Moderata Samlingspartiet,
Sweden



for Conservative Party,
United Kingdom



for Republican Party,
United States of America

Signed in London, 24th June 1983