

Principles and Program

of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany

Adopted by the 5th Party Conference Hamburg,
21th to 23rd February 1994

This is a courtesy translation. Only the German version is valid.

CHAPTER I

WE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS

1. WHO WE ARE
 - Our view of Man
 - The basic values of our policies - freedom, solidarity, and justice
2. USING THE SCOPE OFFERED BY CHANGE - CREATING GERMAN UNITY IN FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY

CHAPTER II

THE FREE DEVELOPMENT OF AN INDIVIDUAL'S PERSONALITY IN OUR SOCIETY

1. EQUALITY AND PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN
2. THE FAMILY - THE FOUNDATION OF SOCIETY
 - Supporting marriage and family
 - Improving the compatibility of family and professional life
 - Disabled persons - an equal right to personal development
 - Young people - the future of our society
 - Recognizing the experience of senior citizens
3. OUR CULTURE - AN EXPRESSION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY AND OPENNESS
 - Renewing education
 - Churches and religious communities
 - Media - exercising freedom with responsibility
 - Leisure and sport
 - Artistic freedom

CHAPTER III

TOWARDS AN ECOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL MARKET ECONOMY

1. PRINCIPLES OF THE ECOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL MARKET
2. IMPROVING GERMANY'S COMPETITIVENESS AS A LOCATION FOR INDUSTRY
3. ENSURING SOCIAL JUSTICE - RESTRUCTURING THE SOCIAL STATE

CHAPTER IV

FOR A FREE STATE

1. CONSOLIDATING DEMOCRACY
 - Enabling the state to take action
 - Civic consciousness in a democratic community
 - Our parliamentary democracy needs people's parties
 - Politics serving the common good
2. PROTECTING THE FEDERAL SOCIAL STATE AND THE RULE OF LAW
 - Giving priority to internal security
 - The free constitutional state and the social state
 - Federalism and autonomy of local authorities - characteristics of our state
3. LIVING TOGETHER WITH PEOPLE OF DIFFERENT NATIONALITIES

CHAPTER V

FREEDOM AND PEACE IN THE WORLD

1. GERMANY'S ROLE IN THE WORLD
2. EUROPE - CREATING UNITY; MAINTAINING DIVERSITY
 - Realizing the vision of Europe
 - Completion of European Union
3. OUR RESPONSIBILITY FOR ONE WORLD
 - Contributing towards peace and security
 - Development partnerships - helping countries to help themselves
 - Supporting cultural exchanges and German minorities abroad

CHAPTER VI CREATION AND ITS PRESERVATION

1. ACCEPTING RESPONSIBILITY FOR GOD'S CREATION
2. PROMOTING ENVIRONMENTAL RESPONSIBILITY IN SCIENCE, RESEARCH, AND TECHNOLOGY
3. GUARANTEEING THE PRESERVATION OF CREATION
 - Continuing environmental policy in Germany
 - Creating a global environmental partnership

POLICY OF CREDIBILITY

Principles and Program of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany

Adopted by the 5th Party Conference Hamburg,
21th to 23rd February 1994

This is a courtesy translation. Only the German version is valid.

CHAPTER I WE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS

1. WHO WE ARE

A people's party

1. The Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands (Christian Democratic Union of Germany) is a people's party which seeks to appeal to everyone in the country, whatever social stratum or grouping they belong to. Our policies are based on the Christian view of Man and his responsibility before God.

For us, Man is God's creation and not the ultimate measure of all things. We are aware of Man's fallibility and the limitations to which political actions are subject. At the same time we are convinced that Man's vocation is to shape the world in a spirit of ethical responsibility and that he is capable of doing so.

Policies based on Christian responsibility

2. We know that no particular political program can be derived from Christian beliefs. But the Christian view of Man provides us with an ethical basis for responsible policies. This link with Christian beliefs does not, however, mean that we claim that it is only within the Christian Democratic Union that policies can be formulated in a spirit of Christian responsibility. The CDU is open to all who affirm the dignity and freedom of all mankind and support the basic beliefs which we derive from these for our policies. This is the basis for common action by Christians and non-Christians within the party.

Social, liberal, conservative

3. Following the failure of the Weimar Republic, the crimes of National Socialism and faced with the Communist claim to power after 1945, the Christian Democratic Union of Germany was founded by people who wished to shape the future of Germany with a Christian, non-denominational people's party. The party was shaped and a Christian-Democratic tradition founded in Germany by such people as Konrad Adenauer and Ludwig Erhard, Jakob Kaiser and Helene Weber, Andreas Hermes and Gebhard Müller, Hermann Ehlers, Eugen Gerstenmaier and Karl Arnold, Elisabeth Schwarzhaupt and Heinrich von Brentano, along with many others. Thus a new people's party was born which brought together Catholics and Protestants, conservatives, liberals, proponents of Christian-social ideas, and men and women from various regions and all social classes and democratic traditions. The CDU thus represented a fresh start in the history of political parties in Germany. Its intellectual and political roots lay in the Christian resistance to the national-socialist regime of terror, in the social ethics of the Christian churches, and in the liberal tradition of the European Enlightenment.

Basic political decisions

4. On a basis of shared values, the members of the CDU were able to face up to their responsibilities and successfully achieve certain basic political decisions in the free part of Germany in favor of: a free democracy based on the rule of law, a social market economy, the incorporation of the Federal Republic of Germany into the Western system of values and the Western alliance, the unity of the nation and the unification of Europe.

Taking responsibility for the entire history of Germany

5. It is one of the tragedies of post-war German history that Germany was divided and the inhabitants of the eastern part of the country once again subjected to the dictatorship of a totalitarian regime. Initially founded by men and women of honour, the CDU in the Soviet Occupation Zone - later the GDR - was gradually crushed by the wheels of the totalitarian regime. Democratic principles were replaced by the mechanisms of socialist centralism, and many people who sympathised with Christian-Democrat values found that they could no longer remain involved with the party. Others stayed in the party, despite their private doubts. And many members were able to retain their integrity and independence despite the discrimination and personal risks which this involved. But what they could not do was to prevent the party from being characterized by complacency, opportunism and collaboration to the point of individual unscrupulousness. The CDU accepts the entire history of Germany - and thus also that of its own party - and takes on the challenge of coming to terms with the past and achieving renewal. In so doing we wish also to take up and continue the traditions of the civil rights movements in the former GDR.

Preserving and renewing

6. The Christian view of Man provides the intellectual foundation and historical starting-point for our party. It is a party which embraces conservative, Christian-social and also liberal beliefs. We are determined to continue this tradition, preserving those elements which have proved their value, and developing new ideas as appropriate. The CDU aims to unite different points of view through common values and objectives. Differences of opinion and interests should be aired openly and in a spirit of mutual respect and tolerance.

Our view of Man

Human dignity

7. We believe in human dignity. The dignity of Man and of human life - including that of unborn children - is inviolable. We respect every individual as a unique and autonomous being during all stages of life. The dignity of everyone is of equal value - regardless of gender, race, nationality, age, handicap, religious and political beliefs, health and capabilities, success or lack of success and the judgement of others.

Responsibility before God

8. From the dignity of Man is derived the right of every person to the free development of his or her personality. Freedom gives Man the possibility to make moral decisions. Everyone is responsible for doing so and has to answer to his or her own conscience and, as Christians see it, to God as well.

The individual and the community

9. Everyone is destined to and dependent on being able to live together with others in a community. The freedom of the individual is realized and upheld in his or her relations with other people and in the form given to social life. This means that every individual must assume responsibility for him or herself and for his or her fellow beings.

Error and guilt

10. Everyone is subject to error and guilt. The imperfection and finite nature of human life and our limited ability to plan and shape our existence mean that politics also has its limitations. Realization that this is the case prevents us from propagating ideological panaceas and assuming a totalitarian approach to politics, and it creates a willingness to achieve reconciliation. However great our commitment, we cannot create a perfect world.

Preservation of God's Creation

11. We Christian Democrats view Man as part of God's creation. Nature is not only the basis and instrument for our lives but also a creation of God's which possesses a significance of its own. We do not have the right to do what we like with this creation - it is our duty to shape and preserve it.

The basic values of our policies - freedom, solidarity and justice

The CDU's commitment

12. Our society is based on certain intellectual foundations the preservation of which is not necessarily assured for all time as a matter of course. The CDU has a particular commitment to preserve and strengthen the Christian-based values of our free democracy. This is what differentiates us Christian Democrats radically from the socialist, nationalist and liberal approaches.

The tension between these basic values

The basic guiding principle for our political actions is the Christian view of Man and the basic values of freedom, solidarity and justice derived from this. These basic values define and delimit each other, and none of them can serve its purpose without the others. Establishing a proper balance between them is the central task for political debate.

These basic values are indivisible human rights and as such are not restricted to national frontiers. They therefore form a basic commitment for our foreign policy as well.

Freedom

Free development within society

13. We Christian Democrats believe in the right of the individual to the free development of his or her personality. As a moral being, Man is capable of acting and making decisions in a sensible and responsible manner. It is the task of politicians to ensure that he is provided with the necessary scope for exercising this freedom. Freedom includes rights and obligations. Anyone who lays claim to freedom for himself must also recognise the freedom of his fellow humans. The freedom of the individual is demarcated by the freedom of others and by a sense of responsibility for

future generations and the preservation of God's Creation.

Freedom in responsibility

14. Man develops his personality within society. Freedom is realized through responsibility for oneself and for others. Every citizen in a united Germany should be able to experience and realize freedom within the family, the neighborhood, in the worlds of work and leisure, and in the community and the state. But realizing individual freedom is not ethically possible without also taking on responsibility for oneself and the community. We are opposed to a falsely interpreted individualism at the expense of others. We want to strengthen people's sense of responsibility and the common good and their acceptance of the obligations and virtues of good citizenship.

Justice underpins freedom

15. A system of justice which protects the personal dignity of the individual serves to underpin freedom by regulating the ordered and peaceful coexistence of individuals within it. For freedom to be a reality, social justice is required. The conditions in which people live should not constitute an obstacle to freedom. The task of politicians is therefore to protect individuals against need, remove unreasonable dependence and secure the material preconditions for the exercise of freedom. The ownership of personal property extends the scope of the individual to shape his or her life freely.

Subsidiarity

16. The exercise of freedom requires an individual to be empowered to shape his or her life independently. From this fact is derived the principle of subsidiarity in the organisation of society, according to which the state and local authorities should not become involved in tasks which can be carried out by the individual citizen or by smaller communities.

The citizen should be allowed to take on those tasks which he or she is capable of fulfilling alone, in the family or in voluntary association with others. The principle of subsidiarity also applies to the relationship between small and larger communities and between independent organisations and state institutions. It is a duty of the state and the community to facilitate and promote the fulfillment of tasks on a basis of subsidiarity.

However the principle of subsidiarity also requires larger communities, and in the final event the state, to act when social necessity overtaxes the capabilities of the individual or smaller communities.

Equal rights

17. From the freedom of the individual is derived the principle of an equal right for women and men to freely develop their personality in all spheres. The best way to realize equality is in a spirit of partnership.

A pluralistic society

18. The principle of free development of the personality matches the pluralistic nature of society, reflecting the wide variety of opinions, needs and interests amongst our citizens and as such forming the basis of our free democracy. The only adequate response to the principle of the dignity of Man is a free and just society characterised by solidarity between citizens and a state which operates according to the same principles.

Achievement

19. Personal achievement is one aspect of the free development of the personality. Our society depends on the willingness of its members to perform and achieve - this is one of the essential prerequisites for prosperity and social harmony. We wish to recognize and encourage individual initiative and the desire to achieve. Nevertheless, the dignity and rights of the individual remain independent of his or her

achievements.

A democracy capable of defending itself

20. One aspect of freedom is the readiness to defend that freedom against external and internal threats and to fight to protect it. We believe in the concept of a democracy capable of defending itself and based on the rule of law. The free are obliged to intervene on behalf of those who are denied freedom. We want freedom for all, not just for a few. Freedom must not be confined to a few nations or groups within society. We wish to contribute towards removing unreasonable dependence and need, and to defend the rule of law, social justice and democracy throughout the world.

Solidarity

The social nature of Man

21. Solidarity means being there for each other, because individuals and the community depend on this. Solidarity is an expression of the social nature of Man and is derived from the commandment to love one's neighbor. Its ethical dimension is derived from the dignity of Man. Our desire to enable everyone to lead a humane existence obliges us to act in a spirit of solidarity. For this reason solidarity must above all be applied to those who are not able to stand up for their rights themselves.

Mutual responsibility of the individual and the community

22. The individual and the community are dependent on solidarity being demonstrated by everyone. Every citizen has a right to experience and an obligation to practice solidarity, and contributes through his or her work and achievements towards enabling the entire community to act in the interests of the individual. We believe in this mutual responsibility of the individual and the community. The most basic form of solidarity consists of the help and support provided within personal relationships - in the family, amongst neighbors and in private communities. But where the capacity of an individual or of independent associations or groups is overtaxed, the community as a whole and the state have to provide assistance. Within the bounds of what is possible, the state must facilitate and promote the ability to help oneself. The CDU confirms its belief in these mutual responsibilities - which are a far cry both from unfettered individualism and from collectivism.

Solidarity and subsidiarity

23. Social security is based on the twin principles of solidarity and subsidiarity. It enables society to protect individuals from risks which they cannot cope with themselves. Social security operates both to create social harmony and to liberate the individual. Solidarity prevents the system from being abused. Social security is not about distribution of charity which could be withdrawn at any time, but rather establishes an individual's right to security.

Solidarity and shared responsibility

Solidarity is inconceivable without certain sacrifices being involved. Anyone who expects support and solidarity from others must also be prepared to help others. Anyone who refuses to accept this and only operates for his or her own benefit is undermining the basis of social peace in the community. Solidarity not only brings together groups to realize their legitimate interests but also transcends conflicting interests. It obliges the strong to act on behalf of the weak and both to act for the good of the whole.

Solidarity in a united Germany

24. Solidarity in action is the trademark of the citizens of a nation in their dealings with one another. In Germany, such solidarity has faced particular challenges since the unification. We will only achieve inner unity if all citizens in Germany perceive

themselves to be members of a community based on the principle of solidarity.

Solidarity with future generations

25. Solidarity also involves certain obligations vis à vis future generations, and all political decisions must take this fact into account. We cannot continue to live at the cost of our children and their children. The intrinsic value of God's creation and our responsibility towards future generations oblige us to preserve the former and secure the basis of our existence on this earth. We advocate worldwide solidarity within the community of nations, for without this the gap between rich and poor in our world will not be bridged and God's creation will not be preserved.

Justice

Equality

26. The basis for justice is the principle of equality of all mankind in the dignity and freedom granted by God. Justice means the same law applying to everyone. The law protects individuals from arbitrary actions and the abuse of power, and ensures the freedom and protection of everyone, including the weaker members of society.

Equal opportunities for all

27. Justice requires the recognition of personal effort and achievement just as much as it involves the achievement of social balance. It requires that the equal should be treated equally and the unequal treated unequally. The concept of equal opportunity for all is a necessary corollary to the principle of equality before the law. It aims to give everyone equal freedom to develop in a manner appropriate to his or her personality.

Compensatory justice

We advocate every individual being able to make free and responsible use of the opportunities life offers him or her, and for this reason are in favor of a policy of compensatory justice. The principle of equal opportunities for all requires as just a distribution as possible of the chances offered by life, and this includes open access to educational opportunities with compensation of prior disadvantages and also a chance to influence decisions and share responsibilities, to use essential resources and acquire personal property.

Striving for justice

28. Absolute justice is something which cannot be achieved. Political action itself soon comes up against its limits as a result of the imperfection of mankind. But we vigorously support the idea of striving for greater justice in our society and in the world in general.

Social justice

29. The concept of justice includes the assumption of obligations and responsibilities for the good of society as a whole, according to the capabilities of each individual. Above all it requires help to be given to those who are not capable of helping themselves and cannot effectively represent their own interests. We feel a special responsibility towards the weak and socially disadvantaged. We believe that they should under no circumstances be marginalised and that humane living conditions should be guaranteed for everyone in our society.

Equal rights for all

30. Every citizen in Germany should be able to experience justice, grasp opportunities as they arise and make full use of them, acquire property and education and make his or her own contribution towards achieving social balance through justice. In a unified Germany we have a special duty to ensure justice for those citizens who were denied it for so many decades. Even where justice can no longer be achieved, efforts must focus on giving help to the victims and supporting

those who have been disadvantaged. Property rights acquired under unjust circumstances must be examined carefully. The inner unity of our country must be shaped by a determination to ensure justice.

Working for justice worldwide

31. Violence and strife predominate whenever the right to a life worthy of human dignity is disregarded and the freedom of individuals, certain groups or entire peoples suppressed. We support the recognition of human and civil rights and the eradication of social and economic need. This is our contribution to securing peace between nations and creating a more just world.

2. USING THE SCOPE OFFERED BY CHANGE - CREATING GERMAN UNITY IN FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY

Germany on the threshold of the 21st century

32. With the failure of socialism, the ending of the old East-West conflict and the unification of Germany we have entered a new epoch of history. On the threshold of the 21st century politics are now facing a radically changed situation, and we Christian Democrats are responding to the challenges it involves. We are developing our political programme for a unified Germany and redefining our policies for Germany, Europe and the world on the basis of tried-and-tested principles.

The party of German unity

33. The CDU is the party of German unity. We had always adhered to the idea of achieving Germany unity in freedom and, in a historically unique situation in which we enjoyed the cooperation of our neighbors and partners, were finally able to realize this aim. The desire of the people in eastern Germany to achieve peace and unity bore fruit in the form of a peaceful revolution. A vision became reality: freedom for all the citizens of Germany.

European Union

34. The peaceful achievement of Germany unity is merely one aspect of the new freedom and gradual integration taking place throughout our entire continent. The task of further developing European Union, ensuring lasting freedom in Europe and strengthening the new democracies offers an opportunity for creating a common European future. For Germany, located as it is at very heart of Europe, this is a particularly important challenge.

Worldwide tasks

The increasingly global nature of political, economic, social and ecological developments links the peoples of the earth across frontiers and continents in a new dimension. Germany must respond to its increased responsibility on the international stage and contribute towards the peaceful solution of international conflicts and the preservation of God's creation. Given the changed situation and the increasing degree of worldwide interdependence, our economic performance and competitiveness and the future of work and social security in our country also face new challenges.

Achieving inner unity

35. The most important task we face in our newly unified country is that of achieving inner unity. This requires great commitment from all Germans in personal, economic, financial and material terms. The economic, social and ecological reconstruction of eastern Germany is a priority task. Responding to the challenges involved means critically reviewing established modes of operation and ways of thinking, applying a new creativity and mobilising new forces to shape the future of our country. Reconstruction in the eastern part of the country therefore also offers an opportunity for modernisation throughout the whole of Germany. The new situation and the additional demands it makes on all concerned are helping to highlight some of the

wrong turnings taken in the past and adding to the urgency with which renewal is required. German unification is going to leave the entire country more modern - we are going to break down obsolete structures and vested interests, and bring a renewed sense of solidarity and community spirit to the fore.

Democratic national consciousness

36. Our nation is characterised by a common history, language, culture and an explicit belief in our constitutional order. As a nation we carry a common responsibility both for our past and for shaping our future. The common elements in our cultural and historical heritage and our shared wish for freedom and unity are an expression of national identity and form a basis for everyone in our unified nation and state to grow closer together. Unity constitutes a challenge for all Germans and a historic opportunity for our country. As citizens with equal rights and duties we are called upon to strengthen our free, social state, defend and develop our democracy and give expression to a patriotism which is open to the rest of the world. Such a democratic national consciousness promotes a willingness to take on duties and responsibilities for the community as a whole.

Utilising different experience and styles of life

37. The end of the socialist dictatorship and the completion of German unification have brought drastic changes to the lives of many people in eastern Germany. They are now having to adjust to a free and open society and undergo radical changes in their relationships to others, in the workplace, the community and the state as a whole. For this they need scope to make their own decisions and shape their own lives.

In western Germany the process of creating inner unity requires us above all to return to virtues and values which have tended to be overshadowed by the desire to increase prosperity and by a one-sided interpretation of the concept of freedom. This trend towards a wrong-headed individualism at the expense of others and a shunning of responsibility for the common good must be reversed.

We will only achieve inner unity if the people in eastern and western Germany with all their differing experience and styles of life close ranks and move closer together. Everyone must be prepared to respect the experience and achievements of others and to build a common future on these. The German capital of Berlin has experience of this and can therefore serve as a model.

Coming to terms with communism and socialism

Even now that the socialist tyranny has ended, the intellectual analysis of its underlying ideology must continue. We Christian Democrats regard it as important that the false thinking underpinning communism and socialism should be revealed as such to the world. At the same time we have to stress explicitly the virtues of a free, democratic state based on the rule of law and an ecological and social market economy.

Our model of a free, responsible society

38. The tasks we face as we prepare to enter the 21st century cannot be achieved overnight or via simple solutions. If the opportunities offered by these times of radical upheaval are to be properly utilised, everyone concerned must be prepared to alter their way of thinking and acting. We Christian Democrats are convinced that we will only be able to weather the changes in a spirit of freedom and responsibility. These are principles which apply both to domestic and to foreign policy. The model we base our ideas on is that of a free, responsible society which enables our basic values of freedom, solidarity and justice to be realised. We advocate:

Community spirit

a society based on community spirit and solidarity, and are opposed to everything that undermines this - egoism and selfishness. We do not want an uncaring society which

pushes its weaker members aside. We are determined to fight the growth of violence in society. We demand a sense of responsibility and commitment to the community from our citizens. We wish to strengthen the family as the basis for society and specifically to create a community which is well-disposed towards children. We need to reorient education towards ethical values - and require a general reorientation in this respect as part of the process of creating a free and responsible society.

Freedom

a society based on freedom. Every individual - man or woman, young or old - should be able to enjoy as much scope as possible to develop his or her personality fully. We wish to strengthen freedoms and also the individual's sense of responsibility towards him or herself and towards the community as a whole. We want to work together to ensure that the freedom which has returned to Germany and to Europe is permanent. We wish the state to concentrate on its central task of guaranteeing the freedom and security of its citizens and are opposed to excessive bureaucratisation and regulation. We wish both to strengthen people's desire to achieve and to promote initiative and a willingness to take risks, ensuring the basis for a proper balance within society.

Responsibility

a responsible society. We are opposed to a society which merely passes on its responsibilities to future generations. We are against the destruction of nature and the wasting of natural resources. We want, in a spirit of ethical responsibility, to make use of the scope offered by science and technology to contribute towards preserving God's creation at national and international level.

Openness

an open society. We are opposed to discrimination and racial hatred, in favor of the peaceful coexistence of different nationalities and opposed to any return to nationalism and fundamentalism of whatever kind. We wish to press ahead with completion of European Union. We are against hunger and poverty in the world and in favor of human and civil rights and a lasting peace in Europe and the world.

Returning to individual responsibility

Germany will have to play a central role in coping with the radical upheavals which have occurred in Europe. All political action will have to serve this objective. In order to meet our new responsibilities for the peoples of Central, Eastern and South-eastern Europe, we have to return to a new sense of individual responsibility within society. If we fail to strengthen the individual's sense of responsibility, our model of society will lose its credibility and we will be unable to release the material resources required to give effective help to our neighbors in the East. Only if we succeed in strengthening our citizens' sense of responsibility will they cease to regard the state as a sort of comprehensive insurance scheme. Otherwise that very image of mankind will be destroyed without which a free society is doomed.

Individual responsibility for citizens and the ability of the state to act

Action by the state must be put on a new footing. No longer can the state be primarily responsible for providing protection against all conceivable risks which life may bring. Instead the state must be able to rely on individual citizens assuming a greater degree of personal responsibility - not in the least because it needs to recreate for itself the financial scope for concentrating on its new political priority of solving problems which a divided Germany did not have to concern itself with during the post-war period because it was largely sheltered from world politics. It is necessary to create this new scope for the state so that Germany can adhere to the principle of freedom in responsibility in its foreign policy as well, and devote its full capacity to achieving unity within Europe.

Freedom with responsibility in Europe

On the road towards unity within Germany and in Europe the concept of freedom in responsibility provides a model both for Germany's relations with her neighbors and

also for the internal organisation of society. To achieve a free and open state, rather than one which supervises and restricts its citizens, structures have to be set up which allow freedom and responsibility to flourish in all realms of society. This is a task which all the peoples of Europe face to a similar extent and which applies equally to the restructuring of relations amongst the states of Europe.

CHAPTER II

THE FREE DEVELOPMENT OF AN INDIVIDUAL'S PERSONALITY IN OUR SOCIETY

39. We believe in the right of every individual to shape his or her own destiny. In the pursuit of meaning and happiness in life everyone must have the opportunity to develop according to his or her talents, wishes and inclinations. Hand in hand with individual freedom comes the responsibility which everyone has for him or herself, his or her family and for the community in general.

1. EQUALITY AND PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN

Equal rights in a society based on partnership

40. For us, equal rights mean that everyone has the right to free development of his or her personality irrespective of gender. Our policies aim to achieve equal rights for men and women in a society based on partnership. We are determined to remove existing disadvantages suffered by women in the family, at the workplace, in politics and in all other areas of society. We want men and women to be able to develop in freedom and responsibility according to their talents, wishes and inclinations. Partnership means men and women mutually recognizing each other's intrinsic value, assuming responsibility for each other and, on a basis of equality, agreeing about their tasks both within the family and outside it.

41. During the course of this century a new understanding of the roles of men and women has developed. Rationality and social virtues are now expected to be displayed in all walks of life, as are specific skills, creativity and a willingness to care for others - irrespective of gender. We advocate the state and society promoting the realization of equal rights as called for in our Basic Law. In addition to what has already been achieved, there is a need for equality of opportunity and access to promotion in professional life, recognition of the true value of work carried out in the family and a greater degree of compatibility between family and professional life.

Women in politics

We need women to take a more active part in parties and other organizations, so that they can contribute their specific experience and perceptions to the work which these do. That is why we Christian Democrats are in favor of women being permanently involved at all levels within our party. Partnership in politics means men and women each recognising what the other has to offer in terms of knowledge, experience and judgement and accepting the importance of these for processes of political decision-making.

The objectives of our policy on equality

42. We advocate:

- increased recognition of work carried out in the family and the linking of this into the social security system
- equal opportunities and wages and the removal of discrimination in the world of work
- greater compatibility between the family and working life
- a greater involvement of women in leading positions, elected political posts and offices and in all areas of society.

We seek to foster the cooperation between of men and women in our society on the basis of equality. Our policy on equal rights is therefore directed towards both men and women. Men must also be given more scope in their professional lives to play a part in housework, to regard raising children as a shared task and to offer their children a model of partnership.

2. THE FAMILY - THE FOUNDATION OF SOCIETY

Supporting marriage and the family

The family as a community of several generations

43. The family is the most stable form of living together in society. Families offer individuals a secure and caring environment in which they can experience solidarity between the generations. Families offer the best opportunity for an individual to develop those characteristics and skills which form the basis of a free and responsible community: love and trust, tolerance and consideration for others, self-sacrifice and responsibility, autonomy and mature independence. For us the family is the foundation of society, and this is why we are in favour of providing it with financial support and recognizing the work it involves. The cohesion of the family is a necessary element for achieving solidarity within society.

Supporting marriage and the family

44. Marriage offers a model for men and women to live together. It forms the best framework within which mothers and fathers can assume their responsibilities for raising children. Most women and men still want the opportunity to experience the reliability, love and partnership offered by marriage. Marriages and families require our special support all the more because in our open society relationships are under increasing threat. We adhere to the belief that marriage as an institutionalised form of lifelong relationship should continue to be protected by our constitution. We respect extra-marital partnerships and the conscious decision by individuals to live without the legal framework provided by marriage, but we are against such partnerships having the same legal status as marriages.

Parents and children

45. Every child needs the personal care and attention, love, authority and role models which parents provide for it. The extent to which a child develops personal autonomy and a sense of values and responsibility depends crucially on the upbringing he or she receives within the family. Parents have a right to bring up their children; anyone deciding to have children is taking on rights and duties which he or she cannot avoid.

There has been an increase in the number of single parents and separated or remarried couples with children. Where children are receiving proper care and upbringing we must recognise and support this work. Children born outside wedlock also have a right to a personal relationship with their natural mother and their natural father. We want to give such children equal rights with those born within wedlock.

A society well-disposed towards children

46. In the upbringing of children, parents are making an essential contribution to the good of society and the survival of the community. The dramatic changes taking place in the demographic structure of our society are endangering the ability of the younger generation to care for older ones. This problem is not just a task for politicians but also something which society has to tackle by altering its attitude towards children and work in the family. We want to contribute towards making our society one which is well-disposed towards children, regards them as an enrichment of our lives and enables them to grow up in a carefree atmosphere. Given the various burdens they have to cope with, families need various forms of help, support and encouragement:

Family allowances

- We are determined to continue to improve and restructure the present family allowance scheme by introducing an index-linked child's allowance related to need and based entirely on income. We also aim to introduce a differentiated and socially balanced system of taxation of family income which takes into account the number of people in a family. Those who have children should pay correspondingly lower taxes. Such a differentiated system will give increased relief to families with children and introduce a greater degree of fairness into the taxation system in general. Such a shift in favor of families with children is also required in the legislation on social security insurance.

Creating a legal right to kindergarten places

- We advocate encouraging and facilitating the bringing up of children and their personal development. We want to create a legal right to a place in kindergarten, so that children can benefit from the stimulation which comes from contact with other children. We advocate giving particular support to private initiatives and

kindergartens run on a non-profitmaking basis. Children require both freedom and protection. There is an urgent need for more housing and residential areas which cater for the needs of children. It is important for children to feel accepted, irrespective of their abilities and success. Their different perspective on the world is also important for us adults, as it makes it possible to experience the need for tolerance and understanding.

Protecting the unborn child

- We emphatically advocate the protection of the life of unborn children. We wish to improve the scope for every unborn child to be accepted, even in difficult circumstances. Pregnant women who find themselves in a situation of need and conflict require not just financial support and appropriate care facilities even for very young children, but also the full support of the father of the child concerned, her family, neighbors, employer and landlord. The protection of the unborn child must remain enshrined in the legal statutes of our state. In the interests of safeguarding human life the legal system must help to ensure that a proper differentiation is made between what is right and wrong and an awareness of the law and appropriate behavioural patterns fostered and shaped.

Protecting mothers and children

47. One of the community's most important tasks is to strengthen the family's ability to give children a proper upbringing. This can be seen from the frightening large number of cases of violence in the family, and the incidence of maltreatment and abuse of children. Parents, relations, neighbors, teachers, the police and the legal system all bear a heavy responsibility in this respect. We regard preventive measures and follow-up support as being just as important as the provision of actual help in emergency situations. For this reason we intend to expand the network of help and advice centres for parents, children and young people. We are in favor of appropriate provision of women's refuges and a comprehensive system of telephone helplines.

Improving the compatibility of family and professional life

Housework and raising a family

48. We believe that it should be easier for men and women to combine family and professional life. Women have an equal claim as men to be able to do this. Many women - and increasing numbers of men - are temporarily or permanently devoting their time to working in the home and raising children. This provides the children with a sense of security and protection. The diverse demands made on those concerned bring many personal rewards but also constitute a considerable burden and still involve financial sacrifices. Every year more hours are spent doing housework and bringing up children than in the world of work. We Christian Democrats are therefore in favor of this fact receiving a greater degree of recognition. The skills acquired in doing housework and raising a family must be recognised as qualifications. And mothers and father who are bringing up children on their own must receive more support from society. Financial support for raising children, leave of absence and recognition of time spent raising children by the pension insurance schemes are all steps towards our goal of achieving social recognition of such work, and as such must be further developed. Management and trade unions in industry and public administrations must help improve the framework for making professional and family life more compatible with one another. Companies and local authorities must make available a greater number of child-minding facilities for children of various ages, and these must operate more flexibly. A greater compatibility of professional and family life is also in the interests of the development of the children concerned.

Improving the world of work for parents

49. We are in favor of extending the system of granting parents leave of absence on both a paid and unpaid basis in order to look after children and care for relatives. More part-time skilled jobs need to be created and more flexible working hours introduced for both men and women. We want to help make the world of work more compatible with the task of raising a family. Having children should not mean permanently relinquishing one's career. We want to increase people's choice by making it easier to return to work. We advocate a broad spectrum of further training facilities being made available so that individuals do not lose contact with their work even while they are raising a family.

Disabled persons - an equal right to personal development

Integration not isolation

50. We see it as our particular duty to stand up for the interests of disabled persons. As part of our society the disabled and their families require our solidarity and support. An exchange of experience between the disabled and the able-bodied represents an enrichment of our society. Integration, not isolation, is the correct approach. We are emphatically in favour of protecting the right to life and early support for disabled children. We wish to improve educational provision for the disabled both in special schools and in the general education system, expand services designed to give parents of disabled children support, secure access for the disabled to the world of work and ensure that the planning and design of private and public places and buildings allows for proper access for the disabled.

Young people - the future of our society

51. Policy on young people is a policy for our future. Decisions are made in youth which provide values, ideas and models to help guide people through later life. Every generation has to be separately convinced of the virtues of democracy and the values contained in our constitution. Our policies are aimed at contributing to this process and enabling young people to find their way towards responsible adult life.

Youth work

Our democracy thrives on the questions and ideas, stubbornness and impatience, enthusiasm and personal commitment and criticisms of young people. The various organizations and clubs which offer young people an opportunity to gather a variety of experience are of particular importance. Through youth work young people can gather experience independently and in their own way and learn to bear responsibilities. We wish to encourage the involvement of young people in voluntary activities through the churches, associations, political parties, clubs and other democratic organisations. Policy on young people is a particular task for the local authorities, and it is they who must contribute towards enabling young people to develop and take on tasks and responsibilities in the company of their peers. Encouraging the commitment of young people has priority even over what the local authority or state has to offer. In addition to youth work in clubs, open and peripatetic youth work are also important. International youth exchanges also can make a significant contribution towards promoting understanding amongst the peoples of the world.

Helping young people

We are also aware that there are some young people who cannot cope with the demands being put on them and the rapid changes they have to come to terms with. Our policy aims at supporting them and providing them with opportunities to gain qualifications. The willingness of a small minority of radical groups to commit acts of violence is a challenge to all of us. This is a development which we must combat by identifying and tackling the root causes, emphasising the basic values of our society and strengthening the capacity to solve conflict peacefully.

Military and social service

We are all dependent on the essential service given by young men in the German Armed Forces in the cause of peace. We respect the right to be a conscientious objector and welcome the work done by those working in the social services sector as an alternative to doing military service. In particular we welcome the commitment shown by the young men and women who spend a year doing voluntary social and ecological work.

Recognising the experience of senior citizens

52. Both in the eyes of the individual and of society the third phase of our lives tends to loom increasingly large. We are in favor of improving the framework within which older people can lead independent lives. We see modern policy on senior citizens as requiring an approach which at an early stage incorporates other areas - the social, economic, family, cultural and educational spheres of policymaking.

Partnership between the generations

We are in favor of a policy of partnership not just within but also between the generations. The young and the elderly can learn much from each other and develop values such as tolerance, willingness to compromise, responsibility and solidarity through contact with each

other. Age-related discrimination and restrictions should be prevented and removed wherever they exist.

Growing old actively

We wish to improve the scope for the elderly to live independent lives and take an active part in society and in this way we hope to contribute towards improving their quality of life. We wish to make it possible for all elderly people to lead secure and meaningful lives. We wish to use their skills for the benefit of the community and to give better recognition to the service they have already given society. We support the involvement of elderly people in voluntary work. Those who wish to continue to work beyond the legal age of retirement should be given an opportunity to do so.

Solidarity in the family

Many elderly people have an important role to play within the family and thus make a significant contribution towards solidarity between the generations. They often support their children in a variety of ways, help care for their grandchildren and look after their partner and other members of the family. Inversely many elderly people are also dependent on help from their family, neighbors or friends. They must receive from us the solidarity which they have shown and continue to show to the community.

Living in old age

Most elderly people prefer to live independently though maintaining close contact with their children and other relatives. The objective of our policy is to ensure that elderly people can continue to live in the circumstances of their choice for as long as possible. We advocate the development of living arrangements which enable the elderly to have a maximum of social contact.

Healthcare

Our policies have created a situation whereby the elderly are largely secure in material terms and have a modern health system available to them if they fall ill. The network of social centres which we have set up plays an important role, as do inpatient and semi-inpatient facilities. Further improvements are necessary, particularly in the field of rehabilitation. There must be greater recognition in society of the caring professions. We are in favor of a policy which offers support and security to relations who provide care for elderly members of their family. The dying must also be given every support so that they can experience a peaceful and dignified death. Euthanasia is out of the question for ethical reasons.

3. OUR CULTURE - AN EXPRESSION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY AND OPENNESS

Our understanding of our culture

53. Our culture shapes the identity of our country and the people who live in it. Culture is made up of past traditions and at the same time is an expression of people in the present. It develops via a variety of forms and institutions and helps determine the way we live together with one another.

German and European culture

We Germans have developed our national identity and culture over the course of history on the basis of European civilisation, and it is expressed in our language and art, our customs and traditions, our understanding of law and democracy and of freedom and civic duty. The culture of eastern Germany and the Germans who were expelled from their homes is part and parcel of the heritage of the entire German nation and we are concerned to maintain and preserve it. Germany shares the values of the Western Christian tradition. We are part of European culture. Over the years the peoples of Europe have developed their various cultural characteristics in open contact with one another and through a process of mutual interchange. Our culture displays influences from many other cultures. We wish to preserve and promote the peaceful coexistence of the various cultures of Europe and the rest of the world.

We respect, protect and promote the cultural identity of the various ethnic groups and minorities of German nationality which have been living in closed communities in Germany for many years.

Renewing education

Shaping the personality and instilling values

54. Education plays an essential role in the free development of the individual and the active implementation of rights and civil duties. It has to contribute towards shaping the personality, communicate social skills and factual knowledge and meet the demands made by our social and economic development. A free democracy depends on citizens who are capable of judging and reaching decisions for themselves and are prepared to take on responsibilities. Education aims to instill a positive attitude towards our democratic and social state based on the rule of law and the values enshrined in the constitution. Both an ideologically partisan attitude and a neutral, uncommitted stance are incompatible with education in a democratic state.

Performance and equality of opportunity

55. Our system of education and training must be characterised by diversity, efficiency, competition and supportiveness. Our educational policy is based on the principle of equality of opportunity and a humane version of the competitive principle. Equality of opportunity requires that the diversity of human beings, their differing talents, achievements and social provenance must be taken into account. Equality of opportunity cannot be achieved at the cost of reducing everyone to the same level or restricting the chances of some, but rather only by promoting the abilities of each individual. The competitive principle requires the particular ability of the individual to be encouraged and challenged and the achievements of everyone to be appropriately recognised. Achievement is the most socially just criterion for governing success in a democratic society. The common schooling of boys and girls creates the basis for a partnership between the genders, but it must not ignore the specific needs of either.

Shorter, more differentiated training

56. We are in favor of reducing curricula and shortening courses, reducing the length of training and increasing the variety of what is offered. This is the only way we can respond to the new and growing demands being made on education and training in an international context. Policymakers and industry must ensure that the link between the education system and employment is maintained. The federal states within Germany have a special responsibility for ensuring that educational qualifications are comparable throughout the country in order to guarantee quality and mobility. Privately run educational institutions are an essential element in our education system and must enjoy the support of the federal states and local authorities on an equal footing with state-run educational institutions.

57. As Europe grows together, a knowledge of other cultures, languages and living conditions is becoming of immense importance. The acquisition of such knowledge in schools, and during practical training or academic studies contributes towards enhancing an individual's powers of judgement and tolerance and furthers understanding between nations. We wish to promote contacts at all levels within Europe.

Promoting high and low achievers

58. In all fields and at all levels our society requires elites who can use their knowledge and skills responsibly in the service of others. We are in favor of special support for the highly gifted, but at the same time we also must support those who feel that the demands society makes on them are too much and help them to lead independent lives. We are in favor of a reform of the schemes for financial support for training so as to open up comparable opportunities for practical and academic courses, including further training courses.

Differentiated school system

59. We are in favor of a differentiated school system which takes into account children's differing interests and talents and allows for transfer between the types of school. That is why we wish to retain the "Hauptschule", which offers basic secondary schooling, as a separate entity parallel to the "Realschule" and "Gymnasium", with all three offering their own distinct school-leaving qualifications. In order to offer children an education appropriate to their talents and achievements and to retain the diversity and quality of these different forms of school, it is important that, in addition to the wishes of the parents, the recommendation of the school should play a more important role when a child transfers from primary to secondary education.

The role of the school

The role of the school is to provide general education and basic forms of knowledge, cultural

skills, and instruction in the German language and basic values. We are in favor of statutory protection for Protestant and Catholic religious instruction in schools. In addition to this, religious education for members of other religious communities must also be possible. One of the roles of the school is to prepare children for life after school. Over and above the instruction which they provide, schools must provide scope for the development of a social and cultural sense of community. Schoolchildren and parents must have the possibility of influencing decision-making processes within schools. We are in favour of all-day schooling being provided in all types of school on a voluntary basis. Schooling helps children and young people to integrate into our society and culture. Children of different nationalities and languages are especially dependent on this. Teachers, in conjunction with the families, have a special role as educators.

Vocational training

60. Our dual system of vocational training, involving a combination of in-company training and instruction in state-run schools, has proved its value over the years and is a crucial element in our international competitiveness. Companies, public administrations, management and trade unions must strengthen the attractions of practical vocational training and establish a greater degree of parity between vocational training and academic education by achieving appropriate performance-related pay, easy transfer between trades and professions and appropriate provision for further-training.

The vocational training offered both in companies and in schools needs to be more finely differentiated, with additional provisions being made for the especially gifted and for low-achievers. We want to improve the scope and status of vocational schools. For particularly talented individuals who complete their vocational training there must be easier access to tertiary education than has been the case in the past.

Men and women in trades and social professions make an essential contribution to the economic and social performance of Germany and enhance its reputation in the eyes of the world. We strongly advocate not only achieving a greater degree of social recognition, particularly of the social professions, but also significantly improving their earning potential. We believe that service to others should not be rewarded any less than work with machines.

University education

61. Freedom of research and teaching, and the close link between these, are necessary to guarantee a high level of academic education and performance. The expansion of universities has lagged behind the steady expansion in student numbers, and the resulting overloading of capacity is endangering efficiency. The federal states and federal government must respond to this development by further expansion, in particular of specialist colleges. At the same time there is a need to develop new forms of education which offer a convincing alternative to studies at university or college. For this reason academics specialising in administrative, business and vocational skills must be further developed.

Autonomy of universities and colleges

The autonomy of universities and colleges must be maintained, even against a background of any necessary shortening of courses and reforms of degrees and qualifications. Autonomy must also be retained wherever the selection of candidates for courses is in competition, especially in subject areas where there are more applications than available places. We wish to retain the "Abitur" - the graduating examination at the "Gymnasium" - as the general qualification for admission to a university. It must, however, give an indication of an individual's ability to study at an university. We want universities to be given greater budgetary autonomy so that they can make economical use of resources distributed according to achievement. To encourage competition within and between universities and to promote the necessary mobility between academic life, industry and public administrations, greater use must be made of the scope to appoint individuals to lecturing posts which do not carry automatic tenure, particularly in the case of first appointments.

Further training for the future

62. The radical and permanent changes occurring in the world of work are creating new and changing qualifications in all professions. The demands made on individuals in their private lives and also in the public and professional sphere make it necessary for there to be comprehensive provision for further training. Further training must achieve the status of a fourth educational sector alongside school, vocational and academic training. It represents an area which educational policy and the two sides of industry have so far, failed to develop

fully. It offers a scope for linking the labor market and the education system more closely and facilitating the return to work after raising a family. In future the universities should take on the additional role of providing in-service courses of study to enable individuals to further extend their qualifications. We wish to support them in this, and also to promote the work of private providers in industry and public training institutions. Political education both in and outside school is an area we regard as particularly important. We are also in favor of improving educational provisions for the elderly.

Churches and religious communities

The importance of Christian churches

63. The vast majority of people in Germany are members of one of the Christian churches. In their role of proclaiming the word of God, the churches offer a pointer to something beyond our finite existence on this earth and contribute towards giving many people a sense of purpose in life. The churches and religious communities have a particular role to play in establishing and maintaining values in society. In addition to this, they carry out excellent charitable social work and educational activities.

Sharing responsibility and influence

The right of churches and religious communities to organize their own affairs independently must be preserved, as must their freedom to pursue their mission in society. To enable them to maintain this ability to operate independently we are in favor of retaining the system of payment of a church tax. We strongly support the contribution made by the churches towards the public good. We regard the maintenance of Christian values in our free democracy - in particular those of the inviolable dignity of the individual - as being a common concern of the German CDU and the Christian churches.

Religious freedom

We are grateful that Jewish communities have reestablished themselves in Germany, following the crimes committed by the National Socialists. Jews and Christians are closely and inextricably linked through common values and traditions. The Jewish communities are part of our culture and an essential element in our society. With their social commitment they also contribute towards Germany's international reputation. There are many people living amongst us who belong to different religious communities. We respect their beliefs. Our free democratic constitution guarantees them an inalienable right to practice their religion. We expect states and governments throughout the world to grant religious freedom in their countries.

Media - exercising freedom with responsibility

Freedom of the media

64. We are in favor of freedom and diversity in the media, as it facilitates the formation of public opinion and, if used responsibly, can contribute towards an effective monitoring and controlling of the power of the state. At the present, the media have a greater influence on public opinion than ever before, and have themselves become a political force. As such they bear a large degree of social responsibility and it is important that they should be aware of this in the way they handle and transmit information.

Independence of the media

Freedom and independence are principles which apply equally to the printed and electronic media. The basic rights of freedom of opinion and freedom of the press are essential elements in our democracy. But such freedom also involves certain obligations, and high on the list of these are maintenance of the constitutional order, protection of the personality and respect for ethical, religious and ideological beliefs. Our country has a duty to respond to the worldwide interest in Germany, its language and its culture. We are therefore in favor of increasing the amount of information of this kind which is made available.

Freedom and independence determine the private commercial structure of the print media such as newspapers, magazines and books. We reject any steps to undermine the right of publishers to determine the political orientation of their publications themselves, and also any restrictions of the existing freedom of reporting.

Media studies

- We are in favor of the introduction of media studies into schools. For young people to be effectively protected against negative influences they need to receive skilled teaching about the media from primary school age onwards, so that they can benefit

from using them autonomously.

Self regulation of the media

- We are against the increasingly unrestricted portrayal and trivialisation of violence in the mass media, video films and computer games. We are similarly opposed to pornography and undignified scenes in advertising. The portrayal of violence should, in particular, not occur in children's broadcasts. We call on those responsible for the media to submit to an effective system of voluntary self-regulation which would complement the existing monitoring bodies. In addition to this all the existing scope for monitoring and control both of public-service and also private broadcasters should be utilized. The training of journalists and other media-related professions should be of a quality corresponding to the high degree of responsibility given to such professions. Greater emphasis should be put on initial and further training on developing an ethical approach to the media based on service to others.

Public-service broadcasting

- We are in favor of retaining the dual system of public-service and private broadcasters. An important function of the former is to fulfil special responsibilities with regard to culture, federalism and social policy and thus contribute to the high quality of our media culture. To achieve this, what is required is not so much the retention of the present variety of different public-service stations and channels as is the increased economy of operation and a willingness to introduce more efficient and cost-effective forms of organization.

Private broadcasters

- Private broadcasters also bear a responsibility towards democracy. We are in favor of plurality in broadcasting and therefore reject all excessive concentration of power in the printed and electronic media both nationally and internationally, as this endangers the plurality of views and the preservation of competition.

European media market

- In the future, new developments in the electronic media will increase the numbers of programs on offer. Satellite broadcasting transcends national frontiers, bringing the world closer together and increasing competition both at a European and an international level. This development brings new opportunities but also certain dangers. The single European Market for radio and television broadcasting and new information systems must develop on the basis of a free flow of information and mutual recognition of broadcasting and cable licences. In all this, the dignity of the individual, the protection of young people and fair competition between broadcasters must be guaranteed.

Media ethics

- We advocate and support a social consensus on the question of media ethics. This must focus on respect for life, the inviolability of the dignity of the individual, tolerance, and a willingness to become involved in dialogue. Such an approach to media ethics requires impartiality, openness, self-criticism, fairness and truthfulness. This forms the core of a journalist's responsibility for supplying information services to the public.

Maintaining protection of the individual

In order to maintain protection of the individual we are in favor of:

- every citizen having a legal right vis à vis the press, radio and television to be informed of any information which they hold concerning his or her person. If any of this proves to be inaccurate, the person involved must have the right to have it corrected, and in extreme cases, must have the right to have the information destroyed.
- the right of an individual to reply being extended. Comments or glosses by the editors on the contents of such replies should be forbidden by law.
- every citizen having a legal right to demand compensation from the press, radio or television in cases where fictitious assertions have been made in public about him or her - unless, of course, the assertions in question can be proved to be correct.

Leisure and sport

Supporting clubs and associations

65. To enjoy free development of their personality, individuals require free time in which to relax. There are many different ways of developing creative gifts outside the world of work or to become politically and socially involved or indulge in artistic or sporting activities. We are in favor of not leaving leisure and sport purely up to the leisure industry. We expressly support voluntary activities in clubs and associations, in the neighborhood and in other sectors of society, as these lead to greater contact between people. Our education system must prepare people to make meaningful use of their leisure time.

Sport for all versus top-level sport

Sport - especially at club level - offers people of every age an opportunity to maintain their health and derive enjoyment from achievement, and as such plays an important role in education and leisure time. It combines the enjoyment of playing a game and producing personal achievement with coming into contact with others within a group. Sports offer a important contribution towards the formation of character and helps integrate individuals into the community. Promotion of sports at all levels, from ordinary club members to top sporting achievers, is an important task for the public authorities. Top level sports must fulfill their task of providing role-models.

Artistic freedom

Public promotion of the arts

66. We believe in artistic freedom and the principle of public promotion of the arts. They offer a unique method of coming to terms with reality, and are of importance for the development of an individual's creative powers - and therefore also for the creativity of society as a whole. Through the arts, individuals gain a deeper insight into life. Cultural life in our democracy ranges from maintaining our cultural heritage, via traditional folk art to new forms of artistic creativity, and is a barometer of the intellectual richness of the community. We want to enable everyone to take part both actively and passively in further developing our multi-faceted cultural life. Support for particular artistic talent goes hand in hand with the promotion of the arts in general.

Strengthening subsidies

Promotion of the arts is not the task of the state alone. The role of the public purse is to ensure that the basic elements of institutional culture and contemporary art are supported. Subsidies to promote individual artists must be increased in the future. We also want to improve the framework within which private bodies, artists groups, patrons and sponsors can operate.

A nation of culture

According to the principles of federalism and subsidiarity, the local authorities and individual federal states bear the main responsibility for public promotion of the arts and are able to establish their own cultural profile according to the emphasis they put. In view of the German unification, the role of the federal government must be to respond to Germany's needs as a nation of culture. Our external policy on the arts contributes to Germany's image abroad.

TOWARD AN ECOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL MARKET ECONOMY

1. PRINCIPLES OF THE ECOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL MARKET ECONOMY

Basis of the ecological and market economy

67. The ecological and social market economy constitutes an economic and political program for everyone. Its intellectual foundations lie in the concept of freedom with responsibility, which itself is part of the Christian understanding of Man. As such it contrasts both with the socialist idea of a planned economy and the liberal concept of an economic system without any constraints. We support the idea of an ecological and social market economy because we see it as offering a better chance than any other system to convert our basic values of freedom, solidarity and justice into reality. Such a system is based on a combination of reward for achievement and provision of social justice, of competition and solidarity, and of personal responsibility and social security. It combines individual ambition to perform and achieve with the principle of conciliation and cooperation in society, and the ecological principles it contains ensure the preservation of God's creation.

Freedom and responsibility in the ecological and social market economy

We put our faith in people's ability to develop in freedom and responsibility. We know that

mankind is capable of misusing its capabilities and operating without consideration for social and ecological concerns, and this is why we believe the state has to establish a framework which helps strengthen the forces of self-regulation within the economic system and obliges all those concerned to take social and ecological requirements into consideration. Here the principles of competition and a social and ecological economic system are related and indeed mutually determined by each other. We want to develop the ecological and social market economy in such a way that personal initiative is strengthened, more and more people are involved in social and economic progress, and the environment is afforded effective protection.

Competition and the market

As much market as possible, as much state as necessary

68. The twin concepts of markets and competition are central to our approach to the economy, and make it possible to achieve freedom through the decentralization of power. The market is the economic equivalent of a free democracy. Competition encourages individuals to perform and achieve, and thus also serves the system as a whole. Markets and competition make it possible to supply people with goods and services efficiently and at a low cost, in order to ensure that production is geared to the wishes of the consumers, encourage innovation and to force companies to maintain a continuous process of rationalization. If the state plays a more prominent role, and the market operates less freely, this will often reduce people's ability to perform and achieve results in a prosperous manner, offering less freedom for all those involved. However the market alone cannot create social justice. The performance-related justice of the market is not the same thing as social justice. That is why in an ecological and social market economy, a system of markets and a system of social provision are combined according to the principle that there should be as much of a market as possible - in order to promote individual initiative, desire to perform and achieve willingness to take responsibility for one's self - and as much state control as necessary - in order to guarantee proper competition and preserve the social and ecological elements in the system.

Private property with social responsibility

Part and parcel of any free, social market system is the concept of socially responsible private property. Private ownership by means of production is a necessity if scarce goods are to be used both economically and carefully and the economy is to perform most efficiently. Freedom of contract, freedom of trade, freedom of establishment and freedom to choose a profession are just as important requirements for free economic activity as are the opportunity to make profits and the risk of making losses.

The social order

Social justice

69. The economic system and the social order are inseparably linked to one another, each delimiting and complementing the other. Any economic policy which lacks social justice endangers social peace and at the same time leads to economic losses and social instability. The social system we advocate is one which combines the principles of humanity and economic viability and creates justice where performance and distribution are concerned. It aims to strengthen individual responsibility and encourage personal assistance and active solidarity.

Solidarity and subsidiarity

Our policy on the social system is based on the principles of solidarity and subsidiarity. We want the community to protect the individual from those risks which he cannot bear alone. The concepts of compulsory social insurance and equity regarding provision of services are central to the social order which we believe in, as are decentralization and self-regulation of social insurance schemes.

Solidarity between generations

Our social order is largely based on solidarity between generations. Given the far-reaching demographic changes which are now occurring, we must be careful not to impose too much strain on this contract between the generations. Our understanding of the principles of solidarity and subsidiarity allows for an acceptable level of risk to be transferred on the shoulders of the individual, now that society has reached a certain level of prosperity.

Social partnership

The idea of a social partnership in industry is particularly important for our social order and for the success of our economy. A comparison with many other industrial states shows just how important industrial peace is for productivity. Social partnership in an ecological and social market economy means above all worker co-determination, self-regulation in social insurance, employee shareholdings in companies, and free collective bargaining.

Free collective bargaining

The right to free collective bargaining is an important factor in the industrial peace enjoyed by this country. The idea of partnership requires well-functioning trade unions and employers associations. Trade unions and management bear a special responsibility for ensuring full employment, monetary stability and growth, and thus also the general prosperity of society. Basic elements in our social order are the provision of proper protection to employees, a system of worker co-determination, employee shareholdings in companies, social partnership and equal rights for men and women .

The ecological order

70. We Christian Democrats have added an ecological dimension to the social market economy. More so than in the past, we wish to use market forces and control mechanisms to ensure that nature and the environment are treated with respect. The objective of an ecological and social market economy is to achieve a synthesis of economy, social justice and ecology.

Interdependence of Man, nature and the environment

Our responsibility for God's creation must be the guiding principle for our economic actions, and we must base these on the interdependence of Man, nature and the environment. Our approach to ecological matters is based on the "prevention" and "polluter pays" principles. In the future, we want everyone who fails to care for the environment or who damages it to cover the costs resulting from his actions as a producer or a consumer. This is only possible if these costs are calculated in ecologically realistic terms. In this way we hope to show our determination to preserve the environment and encourage others to do so as well.

Market economy incentives for environmental protection

A combination of market economy incentives combined with appropriate legislation is the way to achieve these aims. Both can be used to register the scarcity of natural resources. In line with our belief in the notion of individual responsibility, we are in favor of fully exploring the scope for voluntary cooperation before resorting to state regulations. But we will continue to need ecological legislation with bans, recommendations, limits, requirements and systems of approval if the direct dangers of mankind in the environment are to be avoided. In order to harness the potential and innovative capabilities of industry in the service of the environment, we aim to make greater use of ecological elements in tax legislation, environmental levies, compensation schemes, certification and liability regulations. By rewarding environmentally sensitive actions by using market incentives in this way and linking costs to environmental damage, we will be treading the path to ecologically realistic prices and strengthening individual interest in protecting and preserving the environment.

New understanding of prosperity and growth

We Christian Democrats advocate a new concept of prosperity and growth. An important element in prosperity is a healthy environment in which to live. Growth means much more than just an increase in goods and services. Our new understanding of the concept of growth incorporates the careful use of natural resources by the introduction of modern methods of production and the establishment of ecologically realistic prices for processes which cause damage to the environment.

2. IMPROVING GERMANY'S COMPETITIVENESS AS A LOCATION FOR INDUSTRY

Prosperity for all

71. We Christian Democrats drew up the basic political concept of the social market economy, established it against strong resistance and further developed it during several decades in government. It is now regarded as a model for economic and social systems worldwide. Germany has succeeded in achieving a unique level of economic development and expansion of the system of social security based on the principles of freedom and democracy. Our aim remains to bring living conditions throughout Germany into line, create prosperity for all, and achieve a balance between the weaker and stronger members of

society.

New challenges for Germany as an industrial location

72. The changes which have occurred in Germany, Europe and the rest of the world have brought new economic, technological and social challenges to Germany as a location for industry. The creation of the European Economic Area, closer economic contacts with the states of Central and Eastern Europe, an increasing internationalisation of markets and the growing competition from countries throughout the world in attracting industrial investment have all combined with the radically changed social and economic conditions prevailing since the German unification to create a need for us to improve our economic performance and our competitiveness in order to ensure social security and prosperity for future generations.

Changed overall economic capacity

73. The socialist planned economy inflicted enormous ecological and economic damage on the eastern part of Germany and left its mark on the people there as well. That is why industry, society and politicians in the united Germany have a responsibility for pushing ahead with economic, social and ecological reconstruction in that part of the country. By building up a modern infrastructure, investing in jobs and innovative products, improving education and training and strengthening research and development, we are creating a basis for a thriving economy. Unification has also brought new opportunities for us all. However, in our strategies for the future we have to take in account the changes which have occurred in our overall economic capacity. In western Germany, we have to stop merely trying to maintain the levels of growth in prosperity which we enjoyed in the past.

Renewing the economic and social order throughout Germany

Unification offers us an opportunity to renew the economic and social order throughout Germany - and this includes correcting inappropriate developments in western Germany. We wish to promote individual performance and willingness to take risks, remove bureaucratic obstacles to progress, deregulate wherever possible, privatize, remove subsidies and encourage as broad a spectrum of the population as possible to take a share of productive capital. More so than in the past, we want to use the market to cope with ecological problems. We want to change our social security system in order to take into account the effects of demographic change and to guarantee social justice in the future.

High performance through innovation

74. As a country with few natural resources and high labor costs, Germany has to depend heavily on the efficiency and innovatory capabilities of its people. We must concentrate our skills on high quality products and production techniques. The pace of technological progress is becoming ever faster, with ever shorter product cycles, therefore creating a need to introduce innovations at an ever-increasing tempo. Our competitiveness as an industrial location therefore depends, to a large extent, on our performance in research and development and the application of new technologies such as biotechnology, genetic engineering, information technology and environmental engineering. The future belongs to environmentally friendly products and technologies. Developing our economic system into an ecological and social market economy will enable us not only to expand our leading role in environmental technologies but also give us an important edge over our competitors in attracting future industrial investment.

Strengthening Germany as a industrial location

In order to strengthen Germany as a industrial location we advocate:

- reducing the role of the public sector and lowering taxes and other levies
- improving initial and further training, science and research and the infrastructure related to these
- promoting leading-edge technologies and environmental protection
- privatization and the reduction of subsidies
- deregulation and the reduction of bureaucratic regulations and requirements, combined with the speeding up of approval procedures
- more flexible working hours and machine-running times and removal of the link between these
- improving the information and traffic infrastructure
- and most importantly, ensuring social peace and social partnership

Free world trade

As an exporting economy Germany depends on free trade. Protectionism interferes with the

operation of the economy and stifles innovation. The European Economic Area has created a huge, integrated market within Europe which must now be opened up to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. In order to preserve and improve Germany's and Europe's attractions as locations for industrial investment, we are in favor of a European Economic and Monetary Union with open markets both internally and externally .

Financial and taxation policy

Reducing the public sector share

75. The need for reconstruction in eastern Germany has had a lasting impact on the parameters for taxation policy. In order to accelerate the process of bringing together the two parts of Germany we currently have a higher level of public borrowing, an increased public sector share of GNP, a heavier burden of taxation and higher public spending. When this transitional period is over it will be important to reduce state borrowing drastically, consolidate all public budgets, reduce the public sector share of GNP, and in the medium term, lower the tax burden. Reducing the public sector share and consolidating public-spending budgets must be the criterion for all decisions made by financial policymakers. We can pave the way for reduced public borrowing by redefining the role of the state. We must decide anew what our public-spending priorities are, what the state and the social insurance system can do, what public services can be offered via the market, and what elements we will have to do without.

Deregulation, privatization, and reducing bureaucracy

There is a need to alter structures, reduce expenditure and increase efficiency. By deregulating, privatizing and reducing bureaucracy, we wish to achieve a situation whereby public resources are spent more effectively and achieve better value for their money. More than in the past we want to finance certain public functions through specific charges in the form of fees and by requiring individuals to pay a share of the costs involved. This will create a greater transparency regarding the cost of public services, encourage competition and lead to a better value and more economical provision of such services.

Reducing subsidies

In order to consolidate public-spending it is necessary to reduce subsidies significantly. In the long term, subsidies undermine market forces, distort competition, hinder structural change and interfere with the smooth running of the economy. We wish to further reduce financial aid, tax-concessions and other subsidy-type expenditures. All subsidies should, on principle, be of restricted duration and designed to be degressive. Subsidy fraud and tax evasion must be combatted with the full force of the law.

A just distribution and provision

76. The basic principle of social justice must be adhered to not just for those in receipt of state provisions - in particular social security - but also where taxation and other levies are concerned. Justice must apply not just to distribution but also to the contributions which are required to be made. Taxes and other levies must not cripple private initiative and the performance of workers and industry alike.

In order to achieve more transparency and greater justice and at the same time reduce the administrative burden, we are concerned to integrate as far as possible the tax system and those social security benefits not directly related to contributions.

Restructuring the taxation system

In the medium term, we want both to reduce the overall burden of taxation and also restructure the taxation system. The levels of taxation imposed on the production factors capital and work are too high. We want low rates of direct taxation but also a broader basis of assessment with fewer tax concessions and exceptions. This will both simplify the system and also make it more equitable. At the same time we will have to impose higher levels of taxation on consumption, particularly in the case of energy-consumption and activities which have an impact on the environment. By reorienting the taxation system both economically and ecologically we will be making a crucial contribution to the further development of the ecological and social market economy. This is also in line with the

requirements imposed by international competition regarding corporate taxation - for in many countries direct taxation is much less than in Germany. In the future, non-monetary capital must not be fiscally disadvantaged vis à vis financial capital. We want to reduce taxes independent of income and push ahead with the harmonisation of taxes within the EU.

Monetary policy

Monetary stability

77. Monetary stability is of crucial importance for maintaining consistent economic growth and as a basis for social justice. Stability serves the interests of both consumers and savers. For a monetary policy to be successful all those involved in economic activity, including both trade unions and management, and central, regional and local authorities must contribute towards maintaining stability.

European economic and monetary union

Our common concern in Europe is to ensure monetary stability. As markets grow together, individual currencies and national central banks can no longer ensure stability on their own. A heavily export-dependent country like Germany needs the stable purchasing power of the European market. We are striving to achieve economic and monetary union, and the prerequisite for this is that the convergency criteria laid down in the Maastricht Treaty should be adhered to. The criteria for admission to monetary union make very high demands of the economies of the countries concerned especially with regard to low inflation rates and budgetary discipline. These criteria must not be altered.

Within economic and monetary union the responsibility for monetary matters is transferred to the European Central Bank which, like the German Bundesbank is independent and has price stability as its main priority. With European monetary union we want to create the basis for maintaining monetary stability with a common currency which will have to enjoy the same degree of stability as the Deutschmark.

Competition policy

Competition creates diversity of choice

78. Individual freedom and an open society form the necessary basis for competition, which itself is a requirement for achieving diversity of choice. We want to guarantee individuals a fair and equal choice, retain the openness of markets and prevent unfair competition. Wherever a concentration of economic power infringes the principle of competition this has a detrimental effect on the variety of choice available to the individual and interferes with the functioning of the market. The state therefore has to take steps to prevent such concentration of economic power.

We are in favour of adapting the special regulations on competition for the transport, insurance, banking, energy and supply industries, for job-finding and the professions to conform to the general rules on competition.

Competition within the European Union

Competition policy increasingly has to operate at European level. It is important that, as this happens, the principles on competition laid down in German cartel law should not be called into question. We want EG merger controls to be institutionalised by the creation of an independent European Cartel Office. In addition to merger controls, we see another element of our policy on competition as being the limiting and removal of state subsidies, the privatisation of companies in which the state has a shareholding and the implementation of a proactive consumer policy backed up by legislation on consumer protection.

Structural policy

Active structural policy in eastern Germany

79. For the development of a strong economy in eastern Germany there is no alternative to the market and further privatisation. However the special situation in that part of Germany means that in the interests of the people there it is necessary to operate an active structural policy for a transitional period of some length. Constructing a new and modern infrastructure is a matter of priority. We are trying to achieve as wide a degree of

privatisation as possible right across the board. Only if we can create companies which are capable of surviving competitive pressure will it be possible to achieve comparable living conditions throughout Germany. To make this change possible and to guarantee the future of industry in eastern Germany, comprehensive but degressive financial support from the state is necessary. In order to revitalise ailing industrial regions and use flourishing ones as centres of growth and development, we aim to prepare for competition and privatisation companies which are as yet unprivatised but are capable of being reconstructed. The aim of such structural policy is to develop a broad industrial base in eastern Germany which can survive and flourish in the future.

By closely linking structural and employment policies we aim both to bridge and to shorten the period between the collapse of old, uneconomic sources of employment and the creation of new jobs capable of surviving competitive conditions, and at the same time to keep the ensuing social hardship to a minimum. This policy is also aimed at preventing the local, skilled workforce from moving away from the region, encouraging them to improve their qualifications and giving them a solid prospect of employment in the future.

Privatisation in western Germany too

In western Germany there must also be a rigorous programme of privatisation of publicly-owned companies and ones in which the government is a shareholder. The construction and operation of the infrastructure in the fields of transport, public planning, water supply and waste water disposal should be privatised as far as possible. Private business operations, controlled through market competition, are the best way of guaranteeing economic freedom, efficiency and responsiveness to changing market conditions. Supporting measures can use the balancing and promotional instruments available to social and employment policymakers but should not consist of direct state involvement in business.

Promoting structural change

Continuous structural change is essential in order to survive international competition. Such change must, however, be left up to market forces and properly functioning competition and cannot be achieved by state regulation of economic activities. The task of structural policy must be to do everything possible to strengthen the ability of companies and their workforces to cope with structural adaptation and to provide social protection where needed. Where sectoral or regional aid becomes necessary to achieve this, then such aid should be of limited duration, should run degressively and should be linked to conformity requirements.

Small and medium-sized enterprises

SMEs - essential for economic efficiency

80. The efficiency of the ecological and social market economy depends on a balanced mix of small, medium-sized and large enterprises. We need the economic strength of a broad-based SME sector and the ideas, will to succeed and innovatory enthusiasm which characterises those who run them. Small and medium-sized enterprises have an important role to play in preserving and creating new jobs and trainee places. SMEs are crucial for maintaining competition. They offer a constant opportunity to switch from employment to self-employed status and are an essential requirement for decentralisation of economic power. SMEs have a key role to play in the reconstruction of the economy in eastern Germany.

Relief for SMEs

Small and medium-sized enterprises have particular advantages because they are in many ways more flexible, can make decisions more quickly, and are less bureaucratic. But, compared with larger firms, they often are at a disadvantage in terms of competitiveness. That is why relief for SMEs is required, particularly in the fields of taxation and equity capital formation. In order to preserve the unique pattern of small and medium-sized enterprises in the German economy - which is exemplary in international terms - we are in favour of facilitating the passing on of family firms from one generation to the next by introducing appropriate tax regulations.

Promoting self-employment

We need more and more entrepreneurs and are therefore determined to facilitate the transition from employment to self-employment. Our economy must give individuals who are keen to achieve and willing to take risks a chance to become self-employed. This is why we adhere to our policy of giving particular support to SMEs in eastern Germany. A rigorous policy on small and medium-sized enterprises is the best way to stabilise and further develop our market economy.

Policy on ownership and wealth

Private ownership with social commitment

81. Private ownership with social commitment, including the law on succession rights, is a central pillar of the ecological and social market economy. It gives individuals more scope for decision-making and thus increases their personal freedom. For economic reconstruction in eastern Germany it is vitally important to have as broad a degree of private ownership of companies and property as possible. Privatisations and reprivatisations must be pursued with vigour, including in the house market. Private ownership is an important trigger for investment and creates the basis for profitable jobs and self-earned income and profits. The state has an obligation to protect private property. Under the socialist regime there was only limited scope for capital formation; what happened instead was capital consumption on a massive scale. For this reason it is important to actively promote new opportunities for people in eastern Germany to accumulate private capital on a broad base.

Productive capital in the hands of employees

The formation of productive capital in the hands of employees is a social necessity and a way of transferring a share of responsibility into their hands and ensuring an equitable distribution of income. We will only achieve a broad-based formation of productive capital if the state creates the necessary framework and trade unions and management reach appropriate wage agreements.

Equity capital formation can be improved by employees receiving a share of corporate earnings and their savings being used in the form of co-ownership. Not only in western Germany but also especially in eastern Germany, trade unions and management should make full use of the existing scope for promoting this. We aim to improve the legal and financial conditions for doing so.

Science, research and technology

Basis for competitiveness

82. Science, research and technology are of vital importance for maintaining this country's competitiveness in attracting industrial investment. The export successes of German industry are to a large extent based on technology-intensive goods.

Technology-intensive sectors are also the main sources of employment in industry. We therefore wish to undertake everything necessary to ensure that the whole of Germany remains an international leader in research and technology.

Expanding basic research

The public must be made more aware of the importance of research and technology and a climate created which is well-disposed towards these. High quality basic research is required if Germany is to be developed as a centre for research and technology. It is already a world leader in a number of fields of basic research, and this position must be consolidated. Such research forms the first step in the development of new technologies and is an essential element in the system of state support for research. Basic research at universities and research institutes is regarded as a priority when it comes to state subsidies, particularly as furthering the knowledge and skills of young scientists represents an investment in the future. Basic research in applied fields is gaining in importance because it provides new ideas, new materials and new processes for innovative products in the future and enables us to understand better complex systems such as transport, climate and eco-systems.

Transfer of research

There is a need to improve cooperation between scientists and researchers on the one hand

and industry on the other, by promoting the development of industrial applications - especially in the form of marketable products and services - from basic research results. Industry needs to invest more into basic research as well as putting money into product-oriented research. Only thus will it be possible to convert Germany's excellent performance in basic research more efficiently into a technological lead which pays off in terms of market competitiveness. Information technology in particular has a strategic importance for industry and science. Rapid, high-capacity data networks are an important infrastructure investment and enhance Germany's attractiveness as a location for industry. What is needed is an ongoing, long term dialogue between the state, industry and scientists regarding areas on which to focus research effort, and an assessment of what are fruitful areas for long-term technological development. This way, efforts can be better combined and coordinated, long-term planning undertaken and an appropriate division of labour introduced at the implementation stage.

Promoting entrepreneurial innovation

83. The state cannot - and should not - prescribe what technological innovations are required. It is companies which are best placed to assess the need for research into new technologies and products on the basis of market trends. That is why applied research and innovation are by definition tasks for industry. Long term technological commitment on the part of industry is what forms the basis of continued competitiveness and economic success. Improving the general framework within which innovations are produced is often more effective than the provision of direct subsidies from the public purse. It is therefore particularly important to reduce bureaucracy and introduce deregulation so that science, research and technology can develop freely.

European cooperation

Science and industry are becoming increasingly international. State frontiers are disappearing and transnational research cooperation and multinational companies increasing in number. We must join forces at national, European and international level in order to be able to respond to such global challenges. In research and technology policymaking there is also a need for European cooperation.

Ethical limits

84. Policy on research and technology goes far beyond the question of Germany's attractions as a location for industrial investment. Nowadays, science and technology affect every aspect of our lives and offer enormous potential for shaping our future. The objectives we set ourselves and the limits we impose are derived from our responsibility for respecting the dignity of Man and preserving God's Creation.

Energy and raw materials

Optimising the use of raw materials and energy

85. The basis for the development of our economy and an important factor in the attractiveness of Germany as a location for industrial investment is a safe, environmentally-friendly supply of raw materials and energy. With their high levels of consumption of the latter, the industrial countries bear a special responsibility - at international level too. Germany is an industrial country with few natural resources and limited supplies of energy, and is therefore particularly dependent on a properly functioning global division of labour operating within open markets. We are in favour of optimising the consumption of raw materials and primary energy in our country and achieving a sensible mix of energies by using the most modern techniques of production, control and communication available. Protecting the climate and reducing carbon-dioxide emissions play a crucial role here.

Energy saving

We want to achieve a high level of efficiency so that consumption of primary energy can be reduced. This can be achieved by making use of the scope available for saving energy in industry, transport and private households. This is the best way of preserving energy resources and avoiding environmental damage. We are also in favour of reducing environmental pollution from the use of fossil fuels. We need more energy, but less use of

fossil-based primary sources. Price must play a crucial role here in regulating the market.

Energy sources which protect the climate

86. We promote research, development, piloting, utilisation and marketing of new, regenerative energy sources and systems which are environment friendly. These should account for as large a share of future energy production as possible. We are also in favour of the responsible use of nuclear energy. Research into and use of nuclear energy is not something we can opt out of, for it is unlikely that in the foreseeable future there is going to be any alternative source of energy which operates more effectively and with less impact on the climate. Together with international partners we want to use our technological expertise for the refurbishment of nuclear power stations to increase their safety and to ensure safe, non-polluting disposal of the waste they produce.

European policy on raw materials and energy

It is important for our national policy on raw materials and energy to be integrated into the Single European Market and for energy supply in eastern Germany to be brought up to European standards. International agreements must be signed to ensure that the countries of Central, Eastern, and South-Eastern Europe together with the developing countries and those on the threshold of industrialisation, are helped to modernise their power generation plant and cope with the problems of waste disposal. Technology transfer to these countries is particularly important in the interests of environmental protection and international security, the preservation of resources and the achievement of sustainable development.

Transport policy

An efficient transport network

87. Transport policy has a crucial influence on quality of life, mobility, on pollution of nature, the environment, and the competitiveness and efficiency of industry. Increasing levels of traffic in eastern Germany, the overloading of roads in western Germany, the creation of the European Economic Area and the opening up of Central and Eastern Europe all present major challenges to the transport system in Germany. An efficient, interlinked system of rail, roads, waterways and air transport is vital for economic growth and mobility, and therefore also crucial for maintaining Germany's competitiveness as a location for industrial investment.

Expanding environmentally-friendly transport systems

We want to expand environmentally-friendly modes of transport such as rail, waterways and local public transport, and to increase the share of total traffic taken by them. At the same time we wish to encourage more environmentally-friendly forms of individual transportation. We are also concerned to establish ecologically realistic prices in the transport sector: every mode of transport must as far as possible cover the costs not only of the infrastructure it uses but also of the environmental damage it causes. We want to increase incentives and regulations encouraging the reduction of energy consumption and emission levels step by step. And we wish to make better use of the existing transport infrastructure by linking together the different modes of transport and using intelligent traffic guidance systems. Such measures would also help reduce traffic. We want to further expand and promote local public transport. Regionalisation of the planning and financing of local public transport increases the likelihood of creating an attractive service which meets the needs of users.

Using private sources of finance

The high levels of investment required - especially for railways, roads and waterways - cannot just be provided from the public purse. This is why the scope has to be used for accessing private sources of finance for the transport infrastructure, with the investment being recouped via charges levied on users. We are in favour of European regulation of transport infrastructure costs.

Agricultural policy

Independent, entrepreneurial farmers

88. Agriculture, forestry, food-production, viticulture and market-gardening are of

importance for our economy and also form part of the cultural tradition of rural areas. We want to encourage an efficient, multi-structured, ecological, agricultural sector based on our farming traditions. German agriculture must have scope to compete within the Single European Market. The impact of the structural changes at present taking place must be cushioned in the social sphere, and the opportunity must be used to improve competitiveness. The model we wish to see realised is that of the independent, entrepreneurial farmer. Agriculture and forestry can operate on the basis of family firms, but other legal and economic forms are also possible. We wish to ensure that there is a broad spectrum of ownership of land.

European agricultural policy

Reform of the European Union's agricultural policy aims to achieve a lasting reduction in the pressure on markets and a stabilisation of the income of farmers. In future, agricultural policy should operate more according to the principles of an ecological and social market economy. We believe in the competitive principle and reject bureaucratisation and excessive regulation of entrepreneurial freedom.

GATT

To ensure the future of a multifunctional agricultural sector in Europe it is vital that the essential elements of agricultural reform should be embodied in GATT. In its function as a central instrument for global regulation and control, Europe will in future continue to require effective external protection for its agricultural market.

Social security

We attach high importance to providing social security for farmers and their families. This has to be related to individual performance, allow for a greater degree of individual responsibility and include the work of the farmer's wife.

New opportunities and markets

The primary function of agriculture in the future will continue to be the environmentally responsible production of healthy, high quality foods. New opportunities and markets can be opened up for agriculture and forestry in the spheres of renewable raw materials, recreational activities, direct marketing and other niche markets. And agriculture and forestry also play a vital public role as protectors of our landscape. Particular contributions to conservation of nature and the landscape must be rewarded, and this should occur mainly via specific contractual agreements.

Harmonisation of competition

We are in favour of European harmonisation of the legislative framework for protection of animals, nature and the environment and other competitive factors.

Housing and urban development

Subsidising people not buildings

89. Adequate housing for everyone is a basic precondition for social peace. As expectations increase, private households will have to spend an increasing share of their disposable income on housing. Help from public funds becomes necessary when the market does not supply sufficient housing for socially disadvantaged households or when it can only do so at excessively high prices. We want to use means-tested housing benefit to help those whose income is such that they cannot afford to rent appropriate housing at market prices. Local authorities must use the housing stock available, and otherwise fulfil their social obligations by buying or renting utilisation rights for other housing. The principle of social justice demands that inappropriate occupation of council-owned housing should be reduced. Investment in private house-building must be made attractive once more. We are in favour of reducing subsidies for buildings and moving increasingly towards subsidies for people - and this requires a thorough review and restructuring of the instruments available to the state for this purpose.

In particular we wish to continue, on a socially equitable basis, to promote house-ownership for families with children.

Promoting house-ownership

We are aware of the problems which have arisen as a result of the introduction of market principles into the housing sector in eastern Germany. The necessary upward adjustment of rents to reflect actual housing costs must be carried out step by step, where necessary with appropriate support for cases of hardship. Neither should the building of new housing be neglected. There is a great need for the eastern part of Germany to catch up with the rest of the country with regard to house-ownership. As well as creating new owner-occupied housing, the privatisation of existing housing must be pursued with vigour.

Deregulation in the building sector

We need more land on which to construct housing, a reduction of building standards and regulations, and a shortening and general simplification of approval procedures. We are vigorously opposed to land speculation. Particularly in conurbations and inner city areas, the principle of ownership with responsibility requires measures to make existing building land available. What is required is a market-economy approach to the construction of new housing which is based on adequate returns on investment and constitutionally guaranteed availability of property.

Urban development and rural areas

90. Germany contains a wide variety of different urban and rural landscapes. The extent to which we will attract industrial investment depends partly on whether our cities and regions are sufficiently attractive to companies, workforces and their families. We want to encourage the independent development of rural areas. Large cities and urban conglomerations face considerable problems. Our policy on urban development aims at improving the quality of life for the inhabitants of cities, combat anonymity by creating housing of human dimensions, and make it easier for different generations to live together. This involves, amongst other things, the creation of appropriate housing for families and old people and a surrounding environment which is suitable for children.

Social and ecological balance

In order to cater for social and ecological factors to an appropriate degree it is necessary to achieve a proper balance between open areas, housing estates, shopping areas, through traffic-routes, traffic-calmed zones, and to cater for both work and leisure time. And of course the maintenance and preservation of architectural monuments is also part and parcel of our policy on culture and urban development. Repair and modernisation of the infrastructure and the rehabilitation of the cities of eastern Germany must be given priority, so that the quality of urban life can be improved and at the same time economic reconstruction supported.

3. ENSURING SOCIAL JUSTICE - RESTRUCTURING THE SOCIAL STATE

The tasks and principles of a successful social policy

The changing face of social policy

91. Social policy has made impressive achievements since the nineteenth century. Initially it was dominated by the conflict between capital and labour. However social policy measures successfully defused this, and the situation of workers was considerably improved. We Christian Democrats played a crucial role in creating the social order in this country, and we remain committed to finding solutions to social problems.

We were the first political movement to tackle the challenges resulting in our society from the conflict between organised and non-organised interests, between the employed and those who are not in employment. Non-organised people - the elderly, parents, children, single parents, the handicapped, those requiring care, the unemployed, those no longer employable and others - are very often at a disadvantage vis à vis the organised elements in our society when it comes to allocation of resources. Employers and employees have powerful organisations which protect their interests and have made an important contribution towards creating an economic and social order which is cohesive and efficient. However they not only represent their members interests against other organisations but

also tend to assert their specific interests vis à vis other, weaker sections of society and against the community. The state, in its role of acting for the public good, has to protect and ensure the rights of the powerless and the minorities in our society in the battle for access to material and immaterial resources.

The tasks of social policy

92. The most important tasks for our social policy include:

- protecting individuals from poverty and need, and ensuring that everyone lives in conditions worthy of human dignity;
- creating the necessary mutually supportive provisions to shield individuals from threats to their existence against which they cannot protect themselves;
- strengthening a sense of individual responsibility and willingness to help oneself;
- preserving social cohesion and promoting justice and social balance.

The objective of our social policy is to use the principles of solidarity and subsidiarity to empower individuals to take control of their own lives and freely determine their own existence in a spirit of individual responsibility.

Restructuring the social state

A progressive social policy has to be based on prevention and a combination of economic and humane principles. In recent decades the community has been burdened with the responsibility for providing many services which individuals are now in a position to provide for themselves. State benefits must be concentrated on those who need them. This is why we are in favour of financing provision not through individual contributions but via taxation. Furthermore, benefits should in future only be provided on a means-tested basis (income and savings) and there should be greater emphasis put throughout social policymaking on individuals looking after their own needs, taking responsibility for their own lives and contributing to the costs involved. Legal claims to benefits acquired by individuals' own efforts or through sacrifices made for the community must be specially protected. As in all areas of policy, the question of setting priorities must be constantly posed anew. Before any new provisions are offered, existing ones must be closely looked at. To fulfil new tasks and cope with the effects of demographic change, new scope for action is needed, and we want to create this not by raising levels of contributions or taxation but rather by restructuring. Thus it is not so much the expansion as the modification of the social state which we wish to achieve.

European Social Union

The completion of European Union will bring not just Economic and Monetary Union but also Social Union. This will necessitate the setting of certain minimum standards throughout Europe in important areas of social policy. It will offer all member states an opportunity to compete with each other to develop improvements and differentiated solutions which go beyond these minimum requirements. Our aim here is to maintain our high degree of social security even within the European Union.

Self-help and voluntary work

93. Many things in our society are provided on a voluntary basis. Such voluntary work and self-help initiatives may not be reflected in figures for gross domestic product but are nevertheless of vital importance for living together in this country. Even the best state social system cannot do without the help and support provided by one person to another - good-neighbourliness in practice. Associations, clubs and campaigns based on the German tradition of welfare provision can carry out many social tasks more efficiently and more responsively than the state.

A culture of mutual self-help

That is why we Christian Democrats aim to promote a new culture of helping. A willingness to help oneself and help others voluntarily is not something which the state can "produce", but it can and must encourage and support such an attitude, making it clear at the same time that mutual self-help contributes towards improving state provision rather than replacing it. Voluntary work should be supported at all political levels.

Social policy close to the community

This opens up huge scope for a social policy which is close to the community and its needs. By supporting self-help groups providing meeting-points for voluntary workers, creating social centres and other facilities, social policymakers can ensure that those in need of help and those prepared to provide help can be brought together. We want to encourage people's willingness and ability to support and help their fellow citizens, and this involves a greater degree of recognition of the value of voluntary work.

Labour market policy

Full employment

94. The intimate link between the economy and the social order can be seen particularly clearly in the efforts made to ensure that as many people as possible have a job. Work is the basis for our existence as individuals and as social beings and as such forms an important aspect of our lives and our scope for personal development. For this reason we are in favour of having full employment as an economic and social objective which the state, - via the creation of appropriate overall conditions - management and unions have a particular responsibility to achieve.

Differentiated wage policy and part-time work

For many of those affected, unemployment means not only a loss of income but also, frequently, social isolation and a lack of any perspective for the future. Long-term unemployment, in particular, brings for many people a loss of self-esteem and a reduction of their quality of life. The best labour policy is to use investment to create permanent and competitive jobs. In order to reduce unemployment, the development of wages and salaries must be related to the development of productivity. We require a wages policy which is differentiated according to sectors and regions, and we also need scope for allowing wage agreements to be more responsive to the particular conditions and requirements of individual companies. We are in favour of promoting home jobs which are subject to social security payments. We need more part-time jobs, but these must take into account the requirements of both companies and families.

The use of labour market instruments

95. The radical change which has been necessary in the economy of eastern Germany after decades of socialist mismanagement, sluggish structural change, rigid employment systems and a lack of industrial innovation, has led to the permanent loss of many jobs, particularly for women. It is therefore necessary to make increased use of labour market measures to aid the process of restructuring. Preference should be given to measures which actually contain an element of economic value-added, rather than purely consumption transfers. Particular attention must be paid to the creation of jobs for women.

Structural change and labour market policy go hand in hand. If the latter is to be successful it needs to be decentralised and flexible. And it requires continuous coordination of the instruments used.

Responsibility of management and unions

The objective of all labour market measures must be to offer as large a number of unemployed people as possible the prospect of work, and to strengthen the incentives for entering regular employment. Company management has a crucial role to play in helping to overcome the problems of structural change. Management and unions have to take into account the special nature of job creation measures and agree on lower wages for these. The same applies to attempts to improve the situation of the long-term unemployed - here start-off wages are required which allow for individuals to be paid below the normal rate. We are also in favour of opening up possibilities for the unemployed to work on a voluntary basis with earnings-related unemployment benefit or supplementary benefit continuing to be paid - with an appropriate addition for extra expenses incurred.

Worker co-determination

Sharing responsibility at the workplace

96. Co-determination and the sharing of responsibilities by employees at the workplace are a vital element of our economic and social system and an expression of our Christian beliefs. The dignity of working people requires that they should be involved in any decision-making processes which affect the conditions under which they work. This idea of sharing responsibility with the workforce has been an important factor contributing to the success of the German economy, stability and social cohesion. The system of co-determination which has been so successful in Germany should be continued in the European Union. Increasing global economic interdependence requires that companies operating abroad throughout Europe should form international systems of worker representation involving rights of information and consultation.

Humanity and flexibility at work **The recipe for a company's success**

97. At the centre of the work process are human beings themselves. For this reason it is important for humane working conditions and safety and environmental measures to be subjected to a continuous process of improvement. Technological progress offers new scope for improving working conditions. In our eyes people are not just the servants of machines. Group and team work make human contact possible and offer new scope to individuals to influence work processes. There should be greater recognition of the fact that this, combined with humane working conditions and work safety, is an important element in the success of a company.

Flexible working hours

We expect unions and management to display a new flexibility with regard to working hours. The needs of companies have to be taken into account just as much as the need to make work and family life more compatible with one another. We want greater flexibility when establishing daily and weekly working hours and the amount of time worked in a year or a lifetime. Furthermore we want to provide for a smoother transition between different phases of an individual's life. The public sector must operate as a model with regard to flexibilisation of working hours. Sundays and holidays should, however, remain days on which people do not work.

Social security systems **Contributory nature of the social security system**

98. Our system of social security takes much of the credit for the way social cohesion and unity have been achieved in our country. We are in favour of all permanent employment being subject to mandatory social security contributions. We are against universal social security benefits, as these infringe the basic principle of individuals catering for their own welfare via their social security contributions and make them dependent to an unacceptable degree on decisions made by the state. Income remains the basis for assessing contributions.

Supplementary benefit

We will continue to ensure that those who have risked their lives for the good of society and have suffered damage to their health as a result are provided for. The same applies to their families and survivors. Supplementary benefit, too, is an essential element in the social security system. Payments are triggered in cases of hardship not covered by other social security benefits. The aim of supplementary benefit is to help the recipient to lead a life worthy of the dignity of Man.

Empowering the individual

We believe in retaining the system of differentiated social security benefits, which constitutes an appropriate combination of solidarity and subsidiarity. In addition to compulsory social insurance, more scope should be created for empowering individuals to look after their social security needs, particularly via private or company schemes. For this reason, people's ability in this respect must not be impaired by their having to bear an inordinate burden of taxes and social insurance contributions. We want to do all we can to limit such contributions by exploiting all the scope which exists for increased economy of

operation.

Individual responsibility for social security

99. If our system of social security benefits is to survive in the long term and social security of individuals is to be guaranteed, then certain basic corrections will have to be made. Not every risk can be insured against jointly, and our aim must therefore be not so much to expand the system of social security as to restructure it. Individuals should be encouraged and challenged to accept more responsibility for themselves and take on more of the costs involved, and the principle of insurance should be strengthened. Our social security system must be liberated step by step from functions which are the task of the state as a whole and which should be financed from taxation revenue.

Pensions - solidarity between generations

100. Our system of pension insurance schemes is based on the principle of solidarity between generations. In order to preserve this we are in favour of a society which is positively inclined towards families and which has tax and social insurance legislation which reflects this fact. We want to compensate families for the multiple burden of bringing up children and, via the pension system, give greater recognition than in the past to the time spent raising children.

Income-related pensions

Pension schemes must be contributory by nature and therefore performance-related. Such schemes establish legal rights for everyone and thus represent an element of freedom. The pensions paid depend on the performance of the working generation at any one time. We are in favour of retaining the link between pensions and the development of the disposable income of employees, thus relating them to the development of prosperity in this country. In order to guarantee reliable care in old age what is necessary is a successful economic policy, a high level of employment and appropriately designed compulsory pension insurance systems.

Adjustment of pension law

Further adjustments of pension law will be necessary as a result of demographic developments. Pension rights which have already been acquired are guaranteed. Economic developments and the number of people in work determine the contribution made by the existing pension system towards providing security in old age for the next generation. Private pension schemes, including company schemes, are becoming increasingly important. We wish to encourage these. A gradual lengthening of working life is also a way to cater for demographic developments and the increasingly high life-expectancy of the population.

Healthcare

Free choice of doctors and independent doctors

101. Health is a precious gift, and everyone should have a chance of remaining healthy or regaining health, irrespective of his or her financial and social situation. The need for state regulation is confined largely to setting up a framework within which care for the sick can, in principle, be undertaken on a private basis. A free choice of doctor and the independence of doctors are essential elements in a free health system.

Preventive health care and health education

Health policy should help prevent illness. We are therefore in favour of further developing preventive health care and health education, for it is largely the responsibility of the individual to ensure that he or she remains healthy. With a policy of providing information and creating incentives through the insurance system we want to encourage people to lead healthy lives, make early use of preventive measures and take an active part in therapy and convalescence. Rehabilitation is especially important, as this restores the health and independence of the patient and should have priority over care. The prevention of addiction is a combined task for health, social, family and educational policymakers, and we attach great importance to this and to the expansion of therapy facilities.

The challenge of new medical processes

New possibilities of medical diagnosis and therapy are opening up the possibility of providing better help and enhanced quality of life for many people. We put our faith in the capacity of medical science to make further progress in combatting illnesses which are at present still incurable. We must support the development of effective processes, instruments and remedies and ensure general access to medical and technical facilities. We are in favour of recognising and promoting natural healing methods and remedies as a complement to traditional medical knowledge.

Humane treatment of illness, suffering and death

102. We must not forget to cope in a humane manner with illness, suffering and death in our society. They are all part of human existence in all its finiteness and imperfection, and we cannot suppress this fact. To encourage false ideas of what can be achieved would be to take a distorted view of Mankind. For us human life is equally inviolable in its early and its final stages. We welcome and support the hospice movement and the social services which support people and help them to die with dignity.

Medical and caring professions

Our health system depends on people who are prepared to care for their fellow human-beings and serve society in the medical and caring professions. These are jobs which require a high level of qualification, a sense of responsibility and a willingness to help others. We are in favour of providing training which includes the ethical dimension to a greater extent than it has in the past.

Scope for individual responsibility for insurance cover

103. Statutory health insurance is an essential element in the system of social security. Growing levels of life-expectancy and demographic change - and also wrong decisions in the past - mean that further measures to reduce the costs of the system are required. The increased ability of insured persons to take on responsibility for themselves should be utilised here. A review of the benefits on offer will have to make a clearer differentiation between benefits which, for health or social reasons, should continue to be covered by the statutory insurance system and those which can be a matter for each individual or for which there should be a deductible element. At the same time we wish to create more scope for individuals to take over responsibility for their insurance cover and we aim to structure the health system in such a way that all those concerned have a personal interest in a humane, efficient and value-for-money system of health provision. Competition both amongst sickness insurance schemes and amongst benefit providers must be increased.

Nursing care insurance

104. As part of our reform of the social state we Christian Democrats are creating a further milestone in social policy in the form of the introduction of nursing care insurance. We all run the risk of requiring nursing care but not everyone is in a position to make the necessary provisions. That is why a system of insuring against this risk on the basis of sharing the load within society is required. The benefits provided under such an insurance should focus in particular on home care. Supplementary private provisions on a voluntary basis are also needed and should be promoted by the state. Where help and care are required, the preservation of the dignity of the individual should be the highest precept.

CHAPTER IV: FOR A FREE STATE

1. CONSOLIDATING DEMOCRACY

Enabling the state to take action

The tasks of the state

105. The state exists to serve the freedom and dignity of the individual. It derives its authority from its commitment to the inalienable rights of its citizens. Our free, democratic and social state based on the rule of law provides the basis for securing the rights of all Germans. For it to be able to fulfil its obligations properly, it is important that our state should not be overburdened with demands and also should not retain or assume tasks

which, under the principle of subsidiarity, could be equally well carried out by others. The main tasks of the state are:

- to protect the basic rights of its citizens and prevent the abuse of power;
- to protect its citizens from internal and external dangers and to fulfil its international responsibility for ensuring freedom and peace;
- to protect the weak and ensure that risks which individuals cannot cope with themselves are insured against on a basis of social solidarity;
- to maintain and develop the public order necessary for individuals to live together in a community;
- to maintain the freedom and diversity of the various forces within society and to protect minorities;
- to maintain the natural basis for life for present and future generations, and to contribute towards preserving God's Creation.

Privatisation of public tasks

Wherever possible, public tasks should be carried out by private, independent agencies. We want to return to putting greater emphasis on the principle of subsidiarity, as we see this as being the only way of strengthening the ability of the state to take action and at the same time creating more scope for self-determination and the sharing of responsibilities by individuals and groups.

Reducing over-regulation and inflexibility

We reject the idea of a state which regulates every single aspect of people's lives. We are opposed to the over-bureaucratisation of administrations and over-regulation through laws and ordinances. A loyal civil service is an essential element in a properly functioning state which is responsive to the needs of its citizens. In the past the combination of public employees on normal contracts and civil servants enjoying tenure has proved its value. Professional civil servants are still essential for managing the affairs of state. But the regulations governing public service must be made more flexible and more closely related to performance.

Civic consciousness in a democratic community

The citizens' duties

106. Our free democratic state needs the commitment and involvement of its citizens if it is to survive. The rights which only the state can guarantee also impose certain duties vis à vis the community on the citizen. Loyalty, respect for the law and adherence to the principle of peaceful coexistence are the characteristics of a good citizen, as are mature independence, good judgement and voluntary involvement in society.

Voluntary work

Every individual shares a responsibility for the good of the community as a whole. A sense of civic duty and responsibility can be demonstrated at one's place of work, in the family and the neighbourhood, in service to one's fellow human beings, through involvement in political, charitable and social work and via non-profitmaking organisations. But such involvement must not lead to unacceptable financial burdens. We want to encourage as many citizens as possible to become involved in working responsibly for our democratic community.

Basic Law

The basis on which people in our state live together is enshrined in the Basic Law, and this has proved its value over the years. It was on the basis of this constitution that a divided nation came together in a free, democratic and social state based on the rule of law. The foundation of the Basic Law consists of certain commonly agreed values derived from Christianity. We regard the preservation of these values and their maintenance in people's consciousness as one of the state's and society's priorities. The state is obliged to devote all the resources necessary to fending off any attacks on the free democratic order.

Our parliamentary democracy needs people's parties

Representational democracy

107. We regard our democracy as being a dynamic political order which needs to be constantly developed. It is derived from the involvement of the citizens and its freedom is assured by the distribution of powers and controls within the state. Parliamentary democracy is a system of reconciling different interests, balancing political forces and solving conflict peacefully. It combines the idea of political leadership with an obligation to answer for one's actions to the people - and they can express their approval or disapproval through the electoral system. Representative democracy has proved its value over the years and has made a crucial contribution towards the stability of the state. It does not exclude elements of direct democracy, and these can usefully supplement the representative system, especially at regional level. On the other hand we reject the idea of referendums at federal level.

The task of the parties

The political parties have a special responsibility for society and the state, and are an irreplaceable element in any parliamentary democracy. They respond to people's concerns and political queries, contribute to the formulation of political demands and objectives, and present these in parliament. They also put up candidates for parliament and government. Political parties are properly fulfilling their task in a pluralistic society if they compete for government and offer the voters clear alternatives in terms of both policies and personalities. Political parties and politicians themselves made a crucial contribution towards building up the Federal Republic of Germany. Anyone who involves him or herself in a democratic party in the service of the community deserves proper recognition, for without this involvement and commitment our democracy cannot become reality.

The CDU - a people's party

The CDU brings together from various parts of the country men and women of different ages, professions, concerns and perceptions who all have certain basic political convictions and objectives in common. As a people's party we are in a position to draw together the various interests of all the different strata within the nation and direct these to the benefit of all. The process of developing policy and making decisions within a people's party operates on the principle of internal democracy, facilitates the democratic process generally, and defuses the threat of conflict within our open society. This is not something which can be achieved by parties which merely represent the interests of certain strata or groups in society.

Danger of rigidity and alienation

108. Just like all social organisations, there is a tendency for parties to become rigid in their structures and to ritualise their decision-making processes. We recognise the danger of parties and the electorate drifting apart when political questions are only seen from the point of view of how to retain or win power. For us, a decision which can be defended in terms of its content and ethical basis is more important than winning a majority on a committee or consolidating a position of power. The formulation of political demands and objectives must be characterised by fairness, tolerance, an ability to compromise, transparency and also a loyalty to one's convictions. In the last analysis political credibility comprises of reliability and openness.

Party reform as an ongoing task

In the CDU we regard it as an ongoing task to shape the party in such a way that our members and anyone interested in doing so have an opportunity to share in determining the direction we take. We want to develop new methods of internal democracy for the party, and are concerned in particular to allow all our members to become directly involved in the formulation of party policy. We also wish to involve individuals who are not party members but are recognised for their integrity, competence and commitment. In addition to this we want to involve individuals in working on projects of limited scope and duration within the CDU. We expect our officers and members of parliament to be independent of interest groups, to demonstrate intellectual autonomy and good judgement, to resist all forms of opportunism, and to display honesty and integrity. In order to involve as many people as

possible in political affairs, any unjustified multiplication of the offices and positions held by one person must be avoided.

We are in favour of policies formulated close to the grass-roots and are concerned to strengthen self-government at the local level. We recognise and support the work of the many men and women who give up their spare time to engage in voluntary political activities in municipalities and local and district authorities. Decisions on policy at local authority level should, as far as possible, involve a vote by the citizens concerned. We are keen to have ongoing dialogue and cooperation with important forces within society such as clubs, associations and the churches. We want to work more closely together with independent groups and initiatives who make a responsible and relevant contribution to public life and we would like to encourage them to take up posts and responsibilities in the CDU.

We believe that political parties should withdraw from institutions and bodies for which they have no political mandate and political legitimisation. Our understanding of the role of politics includes a recognition of its limitations. We wish to concentrate our energies on those tasks which form the main challenges to us as a political party.

Politics serving the common good

Pluralism

109. Our pluralistic society is characterised by a wide variety of opinions and interests. We welcome such pluralism and wish to encourage it, as it makes for freedom and variety and is a basic prerequisite for a thriving democracy. We see the task of politicians as being to weigh up the justifiable concerns of individuals and groups, keeping in mind the overall efficiency of the system, and determine the political interests and objectives of society as a whole.

Commitment to the common good

Political actions must not be determined by a desire to satisfy the short-term interests of individuals and groups if this does not mean that the common good is served as a result. Policies must be derived from an ongoing sense of responsibility for our entire nation, as this is the only way to ensure that they will also serve the interest of groups who are not politically organised and of future generations. Responsible politicians must be prepared to make necessary decisions even if these meet with resistance from public opinion.

We Christian Democrats are committed to working for the common good. This should not be regarded as a given constant but rather as something which requires constant redefining in terms of a fair balance of all interests. This ongoing interplay between individual opinions and interests and the concept of the common good enables politicians to monitor people's various needs and translate these into political action or shelve them for later consideration as appropriate.

Associations

110. Associations are an essential part of a free society. Under our constitution they are free to determine their objectives themselves. The principles of democracy must apply to the internal structures of such associations. We support the freedom of associations and organisations even when their activities deeply affect the entire nation. However the power of associations must be limited by the principle of the common good. We see the role of a democratic state as being to ensure that all positions of power in society involve a commitment to the good of society as a whole.

2. PROTECTING THE FEDERAL SOCIAL STATE AND THE RULE OF LAW

Giving priority to internal security

Rule of law

111. A democratic and constitutional state based on the rule of law protects each of its citizens against the arbitrary use of power. In such a state even the weak can stand up for their interests because conflicts are not decided by trials of strength but rather according to the law and the constitution. Freedom and authority are not opposing but rather complementary elements in our state. Life, limb, property and the natural basis for life are

essential assets which must be protected by law.

Protection of the citizen

Preserving internal security is a central concern of any free democratic state and one of its most important tasks. The CDU advocates a rigorous policy for protecting its citizens. Our aim is to create a society within which people can move freely and feel safe. The full force of the law must be used to combat crime and violence.

A democracy capable of defending itself

We are in favour of a democracy being capable of defending itself. Preservation of internal peace is essential if people are to coexist in any community and is a precondition for citizens to be able to develop in freedom. One of the basic principles of a constitutional state based on the rule of law is that the state enjoys a monopoly of power. This does not mean that the state is all-powerful, but it is a necessary element in ensuring the legal protection of citizens.

Modern crime-fighting

The state is obliged to implement the law effectively. No-one can be above the law. The democratically legitimised and statutory powers of the state and its executive organs cannot tolerate any rival powers nor any areas where the law does not apply. Measures to combat crime must be adapted to cope with the problems faced in modern times. The increase in criminal activity and the new forms which this takes make it necessary for new laws and new scope for investigating crime to be created. Nevertheless we continue to believe that the individual citizen must be protected from misuse of his or her personal data. Data protection must not serve the interests of the criminal.

Police and protection of the constitution

We fully support the police and the judiciary in their fight against crime. Our police forces must be well-trained and equipped, appropriately remunerated and should enjoy proper public recognition. The Office for Protection of the Constitution (Verfassungsschutz) plays a necessary role in ensuring internal security by combatting political extremism of all types and forms. It must be capable of coping adequately with any new challenges it faces.

Citizen's duty to assist police

The police and the judiciary rely on the cooperation of citizens to carry out their difficult tasks. Citizens can and should fulfil their duty to share responsibility for internal security by preventing crime, exercising vigilance and displaying a sense of civic duty.

International crime

International criminal activity in the form of trading in human-beings, drugs and arms can only be combatted through close international cooperation. In conjunction with the European Union we wish to improve internal security within Europe and establish a European police force.

The judiciary

The independence of the judiciary is an essential element of any constitutional state based on the rule of law. We advocate all infringements of the law being rapidly and rigorously dealt with, and are in favour of the needs of the victims of crime being given greater emphasis. Court cases which last for years undermine the credibility of the legal system, and for this reason we are also concerned to simplify court procedures and shorten legal processes.

Crime prevention and promoting respect for the law

112. Prevention is a task for everyone in society. It should be a matter not just for the police and the judiciary but also, in particular, for families, schools, churches, trade unions, industry, associations, the media and the public at large. Promoting respect for the law, rejection of all forms of violence and a belief in freedom and the dignity of Man are tasks for schooling and our political culture in general. It is

everyone's duty to speak out for the basic values of our democratic state.

Drugs

113. Over the last decade the drug problem has grown worldwide. For addiction to drugs to be tackled effectively it is necessary for everyone in society to join forces. Prevention, therapy and repressive measures must be combined. We Christian Democrats are in favour of increasing preventive measures and enabling drug addicts to return to a drug-free existence. This requires comprehensive and varied provision of withdrawal programmes, therapy and continuing support.

No decriminalisation

We are vigorously opposed to the decriminalisation of both soft and hard drugs. Legalisation creates the impression that drug-taking is a harmless activity and considerably reduces the threshold of entry into the drug scene particularly for young people. The result of any legalisation would be an increase in the number of addicts. Instead of taking refuge in such an easy option, the CDU is in favour of waging war on the drug trade, the drug bosses and cartels even more vigorously and effectively than ever. Harsher treatment must also be meted out to drug dealers.

The limits of criminal law

114. One challenge which our state faces is that of rehabilitating the victims of the communist regime and pursuing the crimes of those who supported it. In this context we are all too aware of the limitations of the system of criminal law. We must deal more comprehensively with the legacy of the East German communist regime and ensure above all its political ostracism.

The free constitutional state and the social state

The role of the social state

115. Our social system guarantees the basic requirements for individuals to lead a life of dignity. The provisions of the social state should not end up by undermining individuals' autonomy, hampering their ability to look after themselves or reducing social solidarity. The role of the social state is to operate on the basis of subsidiarity and to empower individuals to take responsibility for their own lives. Social justice must be guaranteed, especially for the weaker members of society, and this commits the state to achieving social balance. The commitment to the social state brings with it an ongoing duty on the part of legislators to implement these principles.

Federalism and autonomy of local authorities - characteristics of our state

Subsidiarity

116. German unification has provided the federal principle with a new impetus. Federalism and the autonomy of local authorities result in a wide distribution of the power of the state and create extra scope for citizens to become involved in democratic processes. Diversity facilitates competition and allows regional differences to be taken into account. The principle of subsidiarity must also be applied to the relationship between the European Union and the regions and local authorities. We are in favour of transferring responsibility to the European Union for those tasks which can only be effectively dealt with on a joint basis.

Central government, federal states and local authorities

Responsibility for carrying out public measures for the EU, the federal government or the federal states should as far as possible be put in the hands of the local authorities, close to those affected. Local authorities and federal states must be enabled to fulfil their duties in this respect. At the same time, cooperation between the federal government, the federal states and the local authorities must be improved and an appropriate balance of powers achieved. Financial arrangements must provide the federal states and local authorities with sufficient scope for action so that they can ensure that comparable living conditions can be achieved in all regions. As in the case of the federal government and the federal states, the local authorities must handle their budgets more economically. Selfishness on the part of individual federal states and lack of solidarity between them and in their relations with the

federal government contradict our understanding of the federal order in Germany.

3. LIVING TOGETHER WITH PEOPLE OF DIFFERENT NATIONALITIES

Regulating and restricting immigration, promoting integration

117. The process of European integration and the closer links between Germany and the rest of the world will mean that increasing numbers of Germans will live abroad and larger numbers of people from other countries will live in Germany. We are in favour of the peaceful coexistence of Germans and foreign citizens. We wish to restrict and regulate immigration of people from countries outside the European Union and promote the integration of foreigners who are living in our country on a long-term basis. For us, integration means that people from other cultures fulfil the necessary requirements for living and working in our society and that their wish to maintain their own identity through their culture, language and lifestyle should be respected as a basic human necessity. Everyone concerned must be prepared to display tolerance and a desire for integration.

European regulation

We support the right to asylum for political refugees as laid down in our constitution. However the abuse of this right must be prevented. We wish to see a common European policy developed to combat the causes of refugees leaving their countries and to effectively regulate questions of asylum and immigration. European immigration restrictions must take into account the interests, particular situation and ability of member states to integrate immigrants. Freedom of movement for EU citizens and the constitutional rights of ethnic German resettlers must have priority.

Naturalisation

We want to facilitate the naturalisation of foreigners living in Germany, provided they acknowledge our constitutional and social order, have the will and opportunity to support themselves in Germany in the long term, and can demonstrate a good knowledge of the language. The holding of multiple nationality must remain an exception.

Help in country of origin

Many people from poor countries leave their homelands in order to be able to provide for themselves and their children and in the hope of finding new opportunities in the industrial countries of the West. However, Germany and the European Union cannot alone provide a home for all those who are seeking one. We wish to use all the means available to effectively cooperate in helping such people help themselves and lead lives of dignity in their own countries.

Tolerance between Germans and foreigners

118. Our foreign fellow-citizens constitute an enrichment of our lives. But living together with people from other cultures also creates problems and fears, which can lead to xenophobia and aggression towards foreigners. We must combat the causes of violent clashes between foreigners and Germans. We are vigorously opposed to all forms of discrimination and violence towards foreigners, and are determined to protect all those who live in our country. However the importation of violent conflict from other countries into Germany cannot be tolerated either. Germans and foreigners can learn from one another if they interact with each other in a spirit of mutual respect. For this to happen, personal contacts and exchanges are necessary. We wish to contribute towards creating a climate of partnership and tolerance in which Germans and foreigners have a greater chance of living together in harmony.

CHAPTER V FREEDOM AND PEACE IN THE WORLD 1. GERMANY'S ROLE IN THE WORLD

Germany's increased responsibility

119. Unification and full sovereignty have brought Germany an increased responsibility in Europe and the world as a whole. We want to integrate the Federal Republic of Germany

into the European Union as it continues to develop.

We are prepared to make full use of our rights and to meet fully all our obligations. Given that many of the tasks and challenges we face are global ones and are closely interlinked, it will only be through international cooperation that freedom, peace, development and prosperity will be assured and God's Creation preserved.

Foreign policy objectives

120. We are doing all we can to build up a stable world order which allows everyone to lead a life of dignity in freedom and peace. Our goal is to achieve worldwide respect for human and civil rights, basic moral standards, freedom and democracy, greater scope for economic and social development, lasting peace and the rule of law, and the preservation of God's Creation.

German interests

In so doing we should build on our basic values, clearly state what the foreign policy and security interests of Germany are, and pursue these in coordination with our partners and neighbours:

Political unity in Europe

- We have a particular interest in achieving political unity in Europe. We regard it as one of the lessons and obligations given to us by history that Germany should be integrated into a community of European states which believe expressly in the values of free democracy and are concerned to replace opposition with cooperation. We need to develop a common policy within the European Union aimed at ensuring lasting freedom, peace, prosperity and social justice. Aware that German-French friendship is one of the pillars of European Union, we wish to consolidate and develop further our partnership with the states of Europe.

Partnership with the USA

- We have a particular interest in the close partnership between the USA, Canada and Europe. We are linked by common democratic values and interests. And we share a significant role in ensuring international development and the securing of freedom and peace throughout the world. The changes which have occurred in Europe have extended the political and strategic tasks facing by NATO. It is in the interests of Germany to consolidate and extend the friendly relations which have been developed with our partners and friends, in particular the USA.

Stability in Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe

- We have a particular interest in the states of Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe enjoying a democratic and peaceful development. The central geographical position of Germany means that it is in our political, economic and security interests for our neighbours in the east to establish a similar degree of stability as is enjoyed by Western Europe. We wish to contribute towards their democratic, economic, social and ecological development. Otherwise it is possible that there will be serious consequences for Germany and the whole of Europe. Cooperation with these states is therefore a central focus of our foreign policy.

Development of poorer countries

- We have a particular interest in there being sustained development in poorer countries of the world. Aware of the fact that we all inhabit the same world, we wish to help create a partnership between all the states and peoples on this earth and do our best, within the scope available to us, to remove existing imbalances between rich and poor, reduce mass poverty and secure the natural basis for life on earth. This is not just a corollary of our belief in justice and solidarity but is also in our direct interest, as it enables potential conflicts, refugee flows and global environmental problems to be reduced.

2. EUROPE - CREATING UNITY, MAINTAINING DIVERSITY

Realising the vision of Europe

Europe's shared values

121. The end of the East-West conflict created an opportunity for freedom and democracy in the states of the former Eastern bloc. If Europe is to enjoy freedom and peace in the future then it will be essential to develop European peace, achieve a balance of national interests, develop constitutional and market economy structures and social security systems and take effective measures to preserve God's Creation.

It is important to have a proper understanding of the way the cultural characteristics of the nations and states in Europe have developed through history, and also to be aware of what elements they have in common. Europe is characterised by unity in diversity. Despite all their national, regional, political and economic differences, the peoples of Europe are linked by certain common traditions and intellectual roots. We regard Europe as a region with a common culture and system of values, with a shared historical heritage, a common present and a future which should be shaped in cooperation with each other.

European Union as a model

122. The European Community and the European Union have proved their value as a stable foundation for freedom and peace. For Germany there is no alternative to European integration. It provides the basis for the nations and peoples of Europe to shape their future together and to avoid reverting to aggressive nationalism. For many people in the eastern part of our continent, the European Union has become a model for such a peaceful coexistence of nations. The EU must meet its special obligations towards the sovereign states of Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. It must open its doors to additional European members who meet the political and economic requirements for membership. And they should be admitted to the EU at the earliest possible juncture. We want the route to European Union for these countries also to provide access for them to Western security structures, the Western European Union and NATO. Treaties of Association and membership of the European Economic Area constitute useful steps on the way to full integration.

Completion of European Union

Our objective: completion of European Union

123. Our ultimate objective is completion of European Union. We Germans are dependent on the process of European unity being continued. We wish to achieve Political Union in order to:

- secure freedom and peace throughout Europe
- promote economic, social and ecological development
- assert European interests on the international stage
- combat international crime
- contribute towards achieving human rights for all and the peaceful solution of conflict throughout the world

Europe as the future of the nations

124. We want a strong Europe which ensures the future of the nations. Europe must be able to take action where the individual nation states are no longer able to solve the basic problems of their peoples. For this reason we want the necessary powers and political sovereignty to be transferred to the European Union. The EU must be constructed on a basis of freedom, democracy, federalism, subsidiarity and regional rights. In the course of this development the national state will change but will not disappear.

National and European identity

By guaranteeing the future of the nation states, Europe also ensures that they will retain their identity. Through acting together, there will develop a European identity based on the common cultural roots and common destiny of the peoples of Europe. Regional, national and European identity complement each other.

125. We Christian Democrats are working for a unified Europe which is democratic, based on federal principles and responsive to the needs of its citizens:

Democratic Europe

- We wish to strengthen democracy in the European Union. The rights of the European Parliament must be extended and, in the long term, must be the same as those enjoyed by parliaments in the democracies of Europe - including full budgetary rights. The European Parliament and the European Council must have equal rights regarding the legislative process - along the lines of a twin-chamber system of representation. The parliament controls the European Commission, as the executive body in Europe, and elects the President of the European Commission on the recommendation of the Council. Both the Council and the Parliament confirm selection of the Commissioners.

Federal Europe

- We wish to strengthen federalism within the European Union. The distribution of powers provided by a federal system ensures that the exercising of power is subjected to certain controls and prevents the development of a centralist Europe. Moreover, federalism ensures the survival of the cultural diversity that should continue to be the hallmark of Europe. Under the principle of subsidiarity, political responsibility should be shouldered first by local, and then by regional and national, and finally by EU organs. The European Union requires a constitution which contains a catalogue of basic human rights, lays down the procedures for decision-making between the institutions of the EU, and regulates responsibilities between the Union and the member states according to the principle of subsidiarity. The EU must also be a legal community with its own legislation and jurisdiction.

A Europe close to the people

- We want individual citizens to benefit from the growing together of Europe within the EU. As frontiers are dismantled, cooperation at the national frontiers of the Union in all areas of local and regional responsibility must be further extended.

Deepening European Union

126. We are in favour of the European Union taking on the necessary responsibility for formulating policy on asylum and immigration, development aid, the environment, energy and research, the construction of international transport links, and the combatting of international crime. Furthermore it needs to be provided with the administrative and financial resources to enable it to carry out these tasks efficiently and successfully.

A common foreign and security policy

We want to develop a joint foreign and security policy. The Western European Union (WEU) must be expanded and fully integrated into EU defence policy.

The European Union must have at its disposal the means to take independent military action. We are therefore in favour of the integration of national units into European security structures.

Economic and Monetary Union

The objective of economic and monetary policy is to achieve full economic and monetary union. An independent European Central Bank committed to maintaining monetary stability would contribute towards securing the stability of any future European currency. States wishing to join monetary union must fulfil the criteria regarding economic and financial policies which maintain stability. A common currency will strengthen the economic power of the member states, and enable us to weather global economic turbulence and strengthen Europe as an industrial location.

European Social Union

The completion of European Union will not only mean economic and monetary union but also social union. Uniform minimum standards which prevent social dumping, but do not overtax the capabilities of individual countries, must be established throughout Europe in all important areas of social policy. Such standards will enable each member state to retain its level of social security provision and develop this according to its economic situation.

Europe as a community of citizens

127. Parties, churches, associations, trade unions and other groups within society all bear a special responsibility for promoting the political and social process of creating a unified Europe. The European parties and their national and regional member parties have a crucial role to play in determining political demands and objectives in Europe and in working for the good of the community as a whole. We Christian Democrats are meeting our responsibilities as members of the European People's Party (EPP) and wish to expand cooperation with other like-minded parties in Europe. We support campaigns both within and outside the party which are working for European Union and thus contributing towards cooperation amongst the peoples of Europe.

3. OUR RESPONSIBILITY FOR ONE WORLD

Contributing towards peace and security Freedom and peace

128. The ultimate goal of our policy on peace and security is to secure and promote freedom and peace as the basis for a life of dignity. Central elements of our policy are international dialogue, the prevention of conflict, crisis management, the extension of international arms control and the worldwide reduction of armaments.

New concept of security

For us, security is more than just military security. Our understanding of security policy covers all political, economic, ecological, military and cultural efforts aimed at the peaceful coexistence of peoples. This includes the international protection of human and civil rights, the resolving of religious and ethnic conflict, the prevention of ecological damage and the combatting of international crime.

Conditions for peace

Economic development and the removal of social tensions are important prerequisites for achieving a solution of conflicts between nationalities. One important condition for peace is that all sides involved should be prepared to relinquish violence, to respect human and civil rights unconditionally and to protect ethnic and religious minorities. We advocate the right of self-determination for all peoples, and in this context are in favour of legal rights for ethnic groups and minorities which guarantee them a homeland and freedom to cultivate their own language and culture. Displacement of peoples of any kind must be outlawed by the international community and the rights of the victims recognised.

Germany's international role

129. We Germans are willing and able to meet our increased international responsibilities. Germany must participate, like its other partners, in the defence of Europe and in the joint tasks it faces within the NATO alliance, and it must be able to take on fully the rights and obligations it assumed when it joined the United Nations. We want Germany, under the Charter of the United Nations, to take part in the activities of the UN, NATO, the WEU and the CSCE in maintaining and restoring peace.

German armed forces

130. We are aware of the important contribution which our armed forces have made to the maintenance of peace and freedom. They play an important role in ensuring Germany's ability to take political action and form alliances. The role allotted to the armed forces in our constitution reflects the basic values underlying German security policy. Our armed forces protect Germany and its citizens from political blackmail and external threats; they promote military stability and the integration of Europe. They defend Germany and its allies, serve the cause of peace and international security according to the Charter of the United Nations, provide aid in the case of catastrophes and support humanitarian missions. The armed forces must be provided with sufficient funding to fulfill its duties.

Military service for all

We are in favour of retaining military service. This presupposes the just organisation of the draft. It is the duty of every citizen to actively support freedom and security. As "citizens in uniform" the soldiers in our armed forces deserve our full support.

European security

131. We want the European Union in future to assume greater responsibility for ensuring peace in Europe. Even in the future we will continue to depend on our North American allies and their military presence in Europe for maintaining peace and security on our continent. Together with our friends and partners, we want to create a network of European security in which NATO, the WEU and the CSCE work together and complement each other.

Role of NATO

132. The primary political and military purpose of NATO will remain the defence of its member states. This includes the retention of the nuclear umbrella. As a non-nuclear state Germany continues to depend on the protection of the western nuclear states, in particular the USA. It is of vital importance that Germany and Europe should be protected against nuclear blackmail, particularly in view of the worldwide proliferation of technologies which enable other states to gain control of weapons of mass destruction.

New tasks for NATO

NATO has become a partner of the states of the former Soviet Union and those in Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. We are in favour of the latter becoming involved with NATO in an active partnership for peace which offers a long term prospect of membership for individual states. We are also in favour of cooperation with Russia being expanded into a strategic partnership. By collective crisis management - including its partners - NATO must help to prevent and resolve crises and conflicts which can develop into a threat to European security and stability.

WEU

We want to strengthen the European pillar of the North Atlantic alliance by extending the WEU. In close cooperation with the institutions of NATO this will serve to strengthen and develop further the Atlantic Alliance. We also need European armed forces with the necessary capability to contribute to securing peace and regulating conflict according to the Charter of the United Nations.

Partnership with the USA

Our partnership with the USA is in the interests of Germany, especially in view of the increased importance of international economic, financial and trade policy. The further development of institutions like the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and GATT requires close cooperation with the USA in a spirit of mutual trust.

UN

133. A unified Germany must take on more responsibility within the United Nations. We want the UN in future to be able to make a more effective contribution towards avoiding and preventing conflict, and we wish to improve its scope for intervening to secure or restore peace. To this end the UN must be strengthened and its ability to act must be enhanced. In particular the conditions under international law permitting the UN to intervene in the case of serious infringements of individual and collective human rights and serious environmental crimes must be extended. This also includes the creation of an international court equipped with appropriate powers to impose sanctions for crimes against peace, war crimes, serious infringements of human rights and the enforced alteration of internationally recognised frontiers.

UN and CSCE

At the same time this institutional strengthening must make the UN and its subsidiary organisations more effective in dealing with catastrophes, multilateral development work, and the solution of refugee problems. The CSCE, as a regional organisation of the UN, has an important complementary role to play within Europe.

Disarmament, arms control and the non-proliferation of weapons

134. A crucial element in any policy on peace and security is global disarmament, arms control and a coordinated European approach to the effective limitation of arms exports. Arms must only be supplied for the purpose of preserving or restoring peace. The most important task for international arms control policy is to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The outlawing of biological and chemical weapons must be achieved. We advocate the indefinite prolongation and worldwide implementation of the treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. This must also contain an undertaking to record details of stockpiles of weapons-grade nuclear material throughout the world.

Development partnerships - helping countries to help themselves

Principles of our development policy

135. Development cooperation for us is all about development partnerships. We respect different religious and cultural values and political and social traditions. But successful development cooperation requires the countries concerned to make an effort themselves to preserve human rights, to establish legal certainty, to ensure the rule of law, to involve of the population in political decision-making, to create a market economy system and to ensure that the state pursues a policy aimed at furthering development. We also expect countries to disarm, introduce social reforms and take measures to protect the environment. Where such steps are not taken, external aid cannot achieve any lasting change and can at best merely mitigate an acute emergency. We favour the concept of helping countries to help themselves, as this enables them to mobilise their own population, set up lasting, self-supporting structures and create sufficient scope for private action and self-help organisations.

International environmental policy

136. We see the best way of promoting development in poorer countries as being a free social market economy which protects the natural basis for life. We regard development partnerships as being part and parcel of a global environmental partnership and, as such, an element of our international environmental policy. The rich industrial states must be prepared to change their behavioural patterns in cases where they are contributing to injustice in the world. We will play our part in helping to solve the international debt crisis and will link the writing off of debts with environmental protection.

Free world trade

A world trade system which allows the free movement of goods, services and capital brings advantages for all. We are therefore in favour of removing protectionist barriers and opening up markets. However the developing countries will only stand a chance of surviving international competition if we promote their ability to achieve economic and scientific/technical innovations. Without open markets and the opportunity for developing countries to sell their products at realistic prices, development partnerships will be doomed to failure. For many developing countries, strengthening their domestic markets is a matter of priority, so that the population can earn their living in the long term through productive work.

Development cooperation

137. We wish to see a system of continuous development aid which concentrates its financial, technical and human resources mainly on the poorest countries and sections of society. To be effective, development cooperation must specifically contribute toward enabling women to participate on an equal and independent footing in the economic, cultural, social and political development of their countries and to derive benefit from the process. Population growth will only be reduced by better education, training, higher standards of living and responsible family-planning.

A major concern of any development cooperation must be to cater for the interests of children. We are in favour of children no longer having to work, and are against young people under the age of 18 being required to serve in the armed forces.

Non-governmental development cooperation

138. Given that we all live in one world, development cooperation is a task which concerns society as a whole. Non-governmental organisations such as those run by the churches or political foundations have, in past years, offered excellent proof of their ability to give direct help to the people in developing countries. Their commitment constitutes an essential addition to state measures and is particularly worthy of support. The state has the additional task of promoting private initiatives. And even the commitment of private individuals deserves support and encouragement. The large number of voluntary donations which people make are a testimony to their willingness to share with others.

Supporting cultural exchanges and German minorities abroad

Cultural exchanges

139. We wish to promote international cultural exchanges, as these are necessary in order to provide us with information about the lives, aspirations, interests, mentality and customs of other people and nations. External cultural policy makes an important contribution towards the peaceful co-existence of peoples in a spirit of solidarity, and as such is an integral part of our foreign policy, development policy and policy on Europe. One of its tasks must be to spread knowledge of the German language and culture and also to disseminate a picture of Germany abroad. Similarly we can learn to understand other cultures through learning foreign languages, spending time abroad, and taking part in sponsorship schemes.

German minorities

140. Germans expelled from their homelands and German minorities abroad fulfil an important function as bridges between nations. In particular those Germans who remained in their homelands in the East can help us in our cooperation with our partners in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, just as the Germans expelled from their homelands made a crucial contribution after the war towards reconstruction in Germany and reconciliation between nations. Those Germans who once lived in these regions have an important role to play in maintaining friendly relations with these peoples. In view of German history we have a particular responsibility towards German minorities abroad. Through agreements with the countries concerned and also via direct aid we are helping improve living conditions for German minorities abroad and enhancing their legal status as ethnic groups and their cultural independence. Our policies can help them to remain where they are, inasmuch as they wish to do so. We encourage the fostering of their language, way of life and cultural traditions and support the preservation of the centuries-old German culture in these regions.

CHAPTER VI

CREATION AND ITS PRESERVATION

1. ACCEPTING RESPONSIBILITY FOR GOD'S CREATION

Ethical precepts

141. The preservation of God's Creation has become the most important challenge facing Mankind. An acceptable level of human development is only possible if we maintain the natural basis for life. Our responsibility towards God's Creation extends to the world of Nature around us in all its glorious profusion. We Christian Democrats reject the theory that Man is incapable of exerting moral control over the technical progress he himself has initiated. There is no irreconcilable gulf between his moral and technical reasoning. Man has both the ability and the duty to find a morally responsible way of dealing with his technical capabilities. This capacity is part of his destiny as God's creature. Recognition of this fact gives us the strength and motivation with which to achieve a level of technical progress that is increasingly compatible with social and environmental demands.

Dealing responsibly with technology.

142. Man's natural creative gift is the source of his technical ability. In order for him to fulfil his responsibilities, the highest technical safety standards are necessary as well as the moral integrity of those who use and control technology. The use of technology also requires the safeguard of effective environmental legislation, and we intend to develop this

further. We Christian Democrats are not ignoring the risks facing human life. We are prepared to let our decisions be assessed at any time against the yardsticks of moral responsibility and scientific advances. We call upon all those in positions of responsibility in the fields of science and technology, as well as in politics and industry to subject themselves to this test.

Challenges to Mankind

143. The entire human race faces a unique challenge. We must acknowledge that our economic activities, our way of life and worldwide population growth have changed, and will continue to change, living conditions within the eco-system Earth to such an extent that human life and survival are endangered. The growing lists of threatened or already extinct animals and plants, climatic changes on our planet, as well as the destruction of extensive areas of forest are unmistakable evidence of our misdeeds. Together with the ever-growing waste problem, the contamination of our soil, the increasing exploitation of land and countryside as well as the pollution of air and water, they show very clearly that in recent years we have been living at the expense of Nature and the environment and have paid a high price for our prosperity in terms of future ecological problems.

Reconciliation of Man and Nature worldwide

We need a worldwide process of reconciliation between Man and Nature. Effective protection of the environment begins at home, but will only be successful if as many countries as possible can also be persuaded to work towards preserving God's Creation.

The principle of interlinked systems

144. We Christian Democrats want to contribute to the preservation of Creation. Central to this is a perception of Creation which sees Man, Nature and the environment as elements of one single unit. Man is an integral part of Nature, and this must be acknowledged in his actions. We must therefore add a new concept to our principles: that of interlinked systems - the close relationship between all our actions and deeds and the overall structures of Nature. We see conservation as an active process, enabling the connections and reciprocities in the interlinked system of Man, Nature and the environment to be maintained.

2. PROMOTING ENVIRONMENTAL RESPONSIBILITY IN SCIENCE, RESEARCH AND TECHNOLOGY

Opportunities and Risks

145. Our responsibility for Man, Nature and the environment is increased by the ever-greater insights into Nature which science and research offer us. The consequences of the technical application of such knowledge are today more far-reaching and irreversible than in the past. Progress, particularly in the fields of biotechnology and genetic engineering and in medicine, offers us a new understanding of the ways in which Nature works. It allows us to recognise and heal diseases which in the past had to be endured. It gives us the opportunity to increase food production considerably so that we can overcome poverty and hunger in the world. We must learn to weigh up the costs against the benefits and be prepared to forego certain applications if the risks and dangers are ethically unacceptable.

Freedom and opportunity for science and research

146. The freedom and opportunity to pursue science, research and technology is a fundamental element in our policy. By reducing bureaucracy and providing sufficient funding we want to give science and research the opportunity and encouragement to achieve results, and to be creative and competitive. The success of research is not solely a question of the provision of funding: it depends largely on the ingenuity, enterprise and perseverance of the individual scientist, and also on the social acceptance of research. Research, and its technical application requires people who are both highly-qualified and responsible.

Protection of human dignity

147. Science thrives on freedom. The freedom of science and research comes up against its

limits when human dignity is threatened or God's Creation as a whole is endangered. Human life, born or unborn, is inviolable and must be protected. We advocate the protection of human genes against manipulation. The inviolability of an individual's genes and the protection of data relating to him are an inalienable right of every person. But the concept of interlinked systems also means that a line has to be drawn where research procedures or the application of research results leads to consequences beyond Man's control which could thus endanger the natural basis of his life.

Anticipating technological consequences

148. For us responsibility also means preparing for the future. We are therefore committed to promoting science, research and technology in the search for new solutions to the enormous challenges facing Mankind. No unjustifiable restrictions will be allowed to block this process. This is the only way in which a comprehensive and yet precise assessment of the basic conditions for dealing with Nature in an ethically responsible way can be made. We want to encourage extensive discussions with the natural and social sciences and the humanities, with technical personnel, engineers and also with the churches, in order constantly to remind ourselves where the limits of human action lie. The ethical, ecological and social consequences of technology need to be considered far more by commissions and committees, as well as by public authorities.

A new understanding of growth

149. A new form of growth is becoming apparent: one that does not increasingly consume raw materials, energy and the environment, but which spares finite resources in favour of renewable ones. The foundation for this is human intelligence, science, research and technology: new micro-technologies, information technology, bio- and genetic engineering as well as new material sciences. In view of the challenges facing us with regard to the preservation of the natural basis of our lives, ecological research, environmental technology and research into energy, health and transportation are of particular significance.

3. GUARANTEEING THE PRESERVATION OF CREATION

Continuing environmental policy in Germany

Ecological pact between generations

150. Environmental policy is all about survival and is something which needs to be pursued constantly, regardless of cyclical economic fluctuations and fashionable opinion. We Christian Democrats accept responsibility for our planet and commit ourselves to an ecological pact between generations. To be effective, environmental policy needs convincing strategies offering effective long-term incentives to develop and implement environmentally acceptable technologies and thus form the basis for a change of attitude in individuals and society. The principle of interlinking mentioned earlier means that environmental policy needs to be applied right across the entire spectrum of politics.

Rehabilitation: a priority in eastern Germany

151. Socialist mismanagement, which was based on the ruthless exploitation of Man and Nature, caused severe ecological devastation and health problems. Unification gives us the chance to remedy this ecological damage by employing the most modern environmental technology and, at the same time, build up effective free-market structures. In many cases those who caused the damage can no longer be made answerable for it, so repairing it is a task facing society as a whole and which has to be financed by everyone in accordance with the principle of shared responsibility. The creation of a better quality of life and a modern economy in eastern Germany will only be a feasible proposition if we give the highest priority to remedying the severe ecological damage which has occurred there.

The "polluter pays" principle

152. We want to use the ecological and social market economy to ensure that environmental protection becomes a natural guiding principle for all. We want the costs of neglected pollution prevention and of environmental damage to be borne in all cases by the originator. Adherence to the principle of "polluter pays" can only be guaranteed if these

costs are reflected in ecologically realistic prices. The consistent application of the "polluter pays" principle encourages pollution prevention. The cost of protecting the environment increases the longer action is delayed.

Using the market economy to protect the environment

153. Environmental legislation continues to play a vital role in the overall structure of an ecological and social market economy. We, however, will add further free-enterprise elements to existing legislation in order to increase the motivation of the individual towards innovation and changes in behaviour.

- We want to introduce more tax incentives, such as a vehicle tax related to emission levels, tax allowances for environmentally conscious investments and levies to encourage the avoidance of waste, greenhouse emissions and pollutants.
- We want to increase the potential for compensatory payments. Companies and businesses will be set environmental aims and standards, without specification as to how or where these demands are to be met.
- We want to make environmental liability legislation more effective, with the added aim of making pollution prevention a more attractive proposition.
- We want to improve awareness of and information about environmentally acceptable behaviour, environmentally friendly products and processes, and to develop further the nationally and internationally recognised environmental symbols. Environmental education and consultancy are essential parts of a successful environmental policy.

Improving environmental awareness

154. Environmental awareness amongst the population at large has increased, as has a willingness to make a personal decision in favour of an environmentally conscious and healthy life. Active participation in community campaigns, environmental associations and clubs is an important influence in the shaping of environmental policy. The positive contributions of ordinary people cannot, however, replace political decisions taken by parliamentary bodies. We support the creation of new openings for education and active participation, so that the preservation of God's Creation becomes an integral part of people's social awareness. We must learn to think in full cycles and to take resulting costs into consideration when reaching decisions. This reflects an awareness and understanding of how we are interlinked with Nature as a whole.

Natural and agricultural landscapes.

155. It is vital to protect and preserve our natural and cultivated landscapes, which have been shaped by the diverse habitats of man, fauna and flora. Our responsibility towards our fellow creatures, the animals, is an ethical precept which we must ensure becomes generally recognised. Special achievements in agriculture and forestry towards preserving our cultivated landscapes must receive proper recognition and this concept embedded in conservation legislation. There are new career possibilities, especially for farmers, in the field of countryside conservation, and we wish to promote these. We are in favour of the soil, the land and our natural surroundings being respected when residential and landscape planning decisions are made.

It is our aim to encourage a transport infrastructure which ensures an ecologically optimal integration of all transport modes. Intelligent control systems must be considered as a way of avoiding unnecessary traffic and reducing enforced mobility. The railways and inland waterways must be expanded, as they are less environmentally damaging. The price paid for mobility must reflect the cost of pollution and exploitation of natural resources.

Priorities in waste management

156. We are working towards an integrated waste management concept in which waste reduction takes priority over reuse, recycling or incineration, and in which high safety standards are set for waste disposal. Production, distribution, utilisation and disposal must occur in closed cycles as far as possible. We need low-waste production processes and products. We support the idea that the cost of recycling and disposal should be reflected in the prices of products and their packaging.

Energy policy and climate protection

157. The dangers presented by change in the global climate oblige us to find a strategy for combatting greenhouse gases which will show the way forward. In addition to banning chlorofluorocarbons we aim above all to reduce carbon dioxide and methane emissions. We must use modern techniques to use fossil energy sources much more effectively in all spheres and must further all efforts towards the introduction of energy-saving technologies. In addition, we want to encourage the development and use of renewable sources of energy as keenly as we did the development of nuclear energy in the past. The crucial incentives for making effective use of and saving energy will come through a pricing strategy which will gradually also have to include the ecological costs.

European Cooperation

158. Pollution and environmental damage have no respect for regional or national boundaries and we therefore need to work closely with our neighbours in both East and West. At the same time we are in favour of an increase in the level of cooperation on environmental matters throughout the EU. Official standards, directives and programmes of subsidy should apply equally throughout the EU.

Creating a global environmental partnership Sustainable development

159. Global pollution has increased dramatically in recent decades. Pollution of air and water, the thinning of the ozone layer, the destruction of forests, soil erosion and increasing desertification, as well as rising energy consumption, represent a danger for our planet Earth. The extravagant use of resources by industry and consumers in the industrial countries cannot be the benchmark for sustainable development. We can only guarantee Man's existence in the future if we in the industrialised countries change our lifestyles and so become the model for other nations. It has become increasingly clear that where the preservation of the natural basis for life is concerned the risks are shared by the entire world.

Growth, prosperity and progress

160. We Christian Democrats see the necessity of changing our way of thinking and support a further development of our industrial society in a way which takes ecological considerations into account.

We favour a new understanding of growth, whereby the ecological and social market economy includes the costs of environmental damage and neglected pollution prevention in our calculation of ecologically realistic prices.

We advocate a new interpretation of prosperity, which in future will also have to take Nature's demands into account. This is the only way to guarantee a humane existence for today's and future generations. For us the idea of prosperity is inconceivable without a healthy environment that is worth living in.

We advocate a new understanding of progress. Progress is a term which can only be applied to something in harmony with Nature's demands. Economic activity which uses up resources unnecessarily and endangers our eco-system cannot be described as progress.

International environmental policy

161. Our concept of a global environmental partnership is intended to combat increasing international pollution and the irresponsible attitude towards the world around us. A global environmental partnership is not, as far as we are concerned, a question of releasing the developing countries from their responsibilities, but rather a way in which poor and rich countries of this earth should work together to preserve God's Creation. Our international environmental policy is intended as a worldwide programme for action in which the wealthy countries bear a particular responsibility. They must realise this responsibility by further developing the ecological and social market economy. We must sever the link between poverty, population growth and continuing environmental destruction. The global prevention of environmental damage and the resolution of overseas development problems are inextricably linked.

Debt relief and environmental protection

We must therefore help the developing countries in constructing free market, socially and ecologically viable economic structures. The opening up of our markets for their products and a revised export policy gives them an opportunity to develop their national economies. We must provide them with the necessary scientific and technical know-how at affordable prices. In order to repay our own ecological debts in the developing countries, we must consistently strive to cancel the foreign debts of such countries. This debt cancellation for developing countries must not, however, lead to the condoning of irresponsible policies. The various different causes, structures and sizes of the debts involved require flexible, tailored solutions for each country.

Encouragement of independent action

162. Ecologically acceptable economic development can only be realised within an international partnership. Our cooperation with the developing countries aims equally at defeating poverty, promoting education and encouraging an economic development which is compatible with the environment. We must make possible and encourage independent action in the developing countries.

Changing our way of life in the interests of survival - this is the aim of our policy of preserving God's Creation.

Policy of credibility

The Basic Programme of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany sets out the principles and objectives of Christian Democrat policy as we prepare to enter the 21st century. We Christian Democrats undertake to use them as a basic standard and orientation for our policies.

In the years to come our programme will have to be implemented by members and officers of the CDU at all levels. This does not exclude the possibility of new developments requiring adjustments to the programme and creating new tasks to focus on.

We are happy to open our policies to general scrutiny and examination. The Christian Democratic Union undertakes responsibility for the realisation of its programme and will report on its success in doing so to the party and the public at regular intervals.

Political credibility comes from reliability and openness. We Christian Democrats call on all interested parties, whether members or non-members, to join us in planning the future of our country. We are grateful for any suggestions, criticisms support and cooperation. We know that the task of working together to create a free and responsible society in Germany is one which is well worth the effort.