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CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY: PRINCIPLES AND POLICY-MAKING



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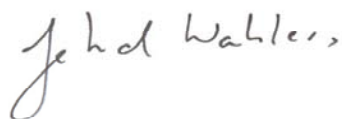
PREFACE

For decades Christian Democratic parties shaped the politics of numerous European countries while also playing a major role in initiating and shaping the European integration process. Named after the first chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1964, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS) is intimately tied to the values of Christian Democracy. Our founding belief is the Christian understanding of man as a creation of God – a creation of equal individuals who, while imperfect, should be treated with dignity. On the basis of this principle, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung has been advocating the advancement of freedom, democracy, the rule of law and the principles of the social market economic model across Germany, Europe and the entire world.

Yet, it cannot be the goal of international cooperation to simply export ready-made concepts such as democracy and the social market economic model to our partner countries. Instead, the chief international commitment of the KAS is to contribute towards the advancement and entrenchment of democracy and its basic values in close cooperation with our local partners. Meaningful policy-making is anchored to and informed by the values of Christian Democracy. In particular, the social market economic model has a sterling history with a proven track record of contributing towards surmounting financial and economic crises while supporting sustainable development in our partner countries.

This brochure provides an historical overview of Christian Democracy, its values and also outlines Christian Democratic positions on selected policy areas. A list of biographical data of important European Christian Democrats is also provided at the end of this handbook. It is the result of the work of several departments of the KAS. It will be of value to the foundation's field offices abroad by providing ideas, values and policy approaches for international project work.

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Dr. Gerhard Wahlers
Deputy Secretary-General of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

1. WHAT IS CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY?

Christian Democracy is a political movement that originated in Europe – specifically in the countries of Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Austria, and Switzerland – during the mid-19th century. Organisationally, the movement was rooted mainly in the cultural and charitable Catholic associations and worker's unions out of which political parties would form later on (see Chapter 2). In particular during the period following the Second World War, emerging Christian Democratic parties succeeded in attracting and integrating members of all strata of society owing to their cross-cultural appeal. With regards to Germany, the formation of a political union comprising Christians of both denominations coupled with the union of bourgeois-liberal and conservative supporters by the first German federal chancellor and long-standing Christian Democratic Union chairman Konrad Adenauer was of major significance for the lasting success of Christian Democracy in Germany.

For decades Christian Democratic parties have helped shape the politics of numerous European countries while also playing a major role in initiating and shaping the European integration process. The spiritual

and political foundations of Christian Democracy are rooted in the triad of the social ethics of Christian churches, the liberal tradition of the enlightenment, and the nurturing of civic values where the smallest social unit is understood to be the family. **Christian Democracy's founding belief is the Christian view of humanity.** Thus, in such a belief, every individual is considered unique and must be treated with dignity. According to the Christian view of humanity, man is certainly not a mere indistinct member of a particular social class as expounded by Marxism as he is unique. Moreover, in contrast to totalitarian ideologies, the Christian idea of humanity does not strive to form a 'new man' but accepts each person as he is including all his strengths, weaknesses and limitations. The belief in the inviolable dignity of the individual should not lead one to think that man is atomistic and unsociable. On the contrary, the Christian view of humanity emphasises man's dual nature: Man is both, an individual with inalienable rights *and* a social being that can only realise his potential through coexisting with other people. The individual's right to participate actively, equally and responsibly in politics and society is derived from Christian Democracy's understanding of man's dual nature.

FURTHER INFORMATION: CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ETHICS

Catholic and Evangelic teachings form the historical and ideological core of Christian social ethics. They emerged during the 19th Century in response to the social upheavals caused by the onset of industrialisation (given the political situation between 1917 and 1989 the formulation of an orthodox social doctrine took place only much later). Previously, the study of ethics was mainly concerned with either the establishment of ethically correct ideas and actions that would make man 'good' (ethics of the individual) or a classification system to identify 'good' states (political ethics). However, the changing economic and social conditions of the 19th Century necessitated the formulation of ethical norms that applied to social cooperation in an industrial society (personal ethics and social ethics or teaching).

Catholic ethics emerged from the critical analysis of this important social question as well as through debate with the opposing economic theories of liberalism and socialism which advocated different solutions. It was fundamentally influenced by the papal encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII (*Rerum Novarum*, 1891) and Pope Pius XI (*Quadragesimo Anno*, 1931).

While Liberalism expected market liberalisation to result in “the wealth of the nations”, socialism and later communism propagated the need for a class struggle which was to culminate to a class-less society administered by “the dictatorship of the proletariat”. In *Rerum Novarum* (1891), Pope Leo XIII sharply criticised early capitalist class-based society of the time. Pope Leo XIII dismissed the Socialist manifesto for being unable to provide a solution to the social question and hurting the working class. In addition, while he did not dismiss liberal thought as such he argued that market principles had to be restrained by greater fairness in wages. Furthermore, in his criticisms of liberalism he proclaimed the freedom of association of workers (freedom of unions) a natural law while also calling for state social policies that would protect workers. Clearly, Pope Leo XIII recognised the potential to combine the fundamental freedom enjoyed by all together with liberal market institutions supportive of social justice. Such a powerful combination would be strong enough to support a fair yet vibrant economic system.

Evangelic social ethics are based on the works of theologians Alexander von Oettingen (*Die Moralstatistik und die christliche Sittenlehre*, 1867), Adolf von Harnack (e.g. *Das Wesen des Christentums*, 1900) and Ernst Troeltsch (*Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen*, 1921). Besides addressing the social question (for example, through the establishment of charitable organisations to provide for the poor and the introduction of social reforms to improve the social conditions for workers), evangelic social ethics was mainly concerned with questions pertaining to moral norms and values, interpersonal relations and the notion of responsibility. The latter is understood to carry multiple connotations; responsibility of the individual towards himself, responsibility of the individual towards society, and the idea of collective responsibility. For example, not only does an individual entrepreneur have his own personal responsibilities but so do all business collectively. Similarly, an individual scientist has responsibilities just as science as a whole does while a politician has responsibilities just as politics does. Evangelic social ethics sought to derive a set of normative values from the critique of contemporary social conditions at the turn of the century (19th/20th). The conflicting relationship between autonomies, for example that between economic or social development and man’s limited responsibility arising from this played a crucial role in this process.

The idea of subsidiarity is a key component of Christian social ethics. The term is derived from the Latin word *subsidium* (meaning ‘reserve’, ‘substitute’). The etymological roots of the term elude towards its meaning: society’s smaller units, including families, communities and municipals constitute the principal and independent actors of social life. The role of the state or government and any superordinate social units, however, is to remain at the ready to shape social life only when the smaller unit is no longer capable of independently mastering its own affairs. As such, the principle of subsidiarity defines the role of the state as subservient to society’s smaller units. The principle of subsidiarity is thus composed of the following two components; “private above state” and “small above big”. The classical formulation of the principle of subsidiarity can be found in the encyclical letters *Quadragesimo Anno* by Pius XI of 1931. “[...] *Wie dasjenige, was der Einzelmensch aus eigener Initiative und mit seinen eigenen Kräften leisten kann, ihm nicht entzogen [...] werden darf, so verstößt es gegen die Gerechtigkeit, das, was die kleineren und untergeordneten Gemeinwesen leisten [...] können, für die weitere und übergeordnete Gemeinschaft in Anspruch zu nehmen.*”

Sources: Roos (2005), Honecker (2006), Koecke and Sieben (2010: 16-17).

Stemming from the belief in the dignity and freedom of each individual coupled with the understanding of man as an active, conscientious, responsible being equipped with the power of judgement, Christian Democracy postulates the following fundamental political beliefs and objectives:

1. The recognition of free and constitutional democracy as the only political system within which the fundamental values of Christian Democracy can be realised. In the discourse with Socialists, and at the turn of the century (19th / 20th) particularly with Communists, this also included the conviction that social and political change has to be achieved through gradual improvements (e.g. constitutional development) instead of revolutionary upheavals.
2. The legal right to freely strive for political and economic self-realisation and personal happiness while acting responsibly towards oneself and others. Therein lie the fundamental ideas of liberalism, the rule of law and Christian social ethics.
3. The acceptance of responsibility and the willingness to share responsibility, the principle of political decentralisation and personal responsibility as superior to centralised and authoritarian paternalism. Therein lies the principle of subsidiarity (see Chapter 2).
4. Solidarity with those who are weaker as an expression of the commandment of charity and political reason. Therein lies the charitable goal of Christian social ethics including the commandment of responsibility and charity towards the poor and needy.

These fundamental political orientations and objectives continue to remain intact. Contemporary Christian Democratic parties continue to associate liberal ideas with conservative values and Christian social ethics. **These fundamental values are freedom, justice and solidarity** and they are applied both to the political and economic process as well as to social life.

In the sphere of politics, **freedom** is realised through constitutionally protected and inalienable fundamental rights (positive fundamental rights and liberties) including, for example, the freedom of religion, the freedom of opinion, the freedom of the press, the freedom of assembly, the freedom of association as well as the active and passive right to vote. In the economic area, freedom finds expression through the right to property, the right to free development and expression of one's personality, the freedom to engage

in work, and the free movement of people. However, as individual freedoms must never harm the freedom of others they are curtailed by legal restrictions (negative fundamental rights and liberties). Legal restrictions are in place to prevent the restriction of each individual's freedoms and of his or her other fundamental rights by others, including, for example, human dignity or the right to free development and expression of one's personality. This definition of freedom is derived from liberal thinking and conforms to the fundamentals of the liberal constitutional state. Furthermore, this definition of freedom explains why Christian Democratic parties are proponents of a market oriented economic system that is, nonetheless, dedicated to social justice.

Christian Democracy ascertains that the fundamental principle of **equality** is rooted in the equality of all men before God through their God-given dignity and in their equality before the law. In the context of the liberal constitutional state, equality guarantees "equal justice for all" and assures that nobody is to be judged favourably or unfavourably because of his religious belief, station, origin or any other socio-economic characteristic. In the economic and social sphere, Christian Democratic definitions of equality stand in clear contrast to other political ideologies such as Socialism and Communism and also alternative political movements associated with social democracy. The main objective of Christian Democratic definitions of equality is not the radical redistribution of property and income with the aim of largely eradicating unequal distributions. Instead, Christian Democracy advocates distributive justice, producing equal opportunities and achieving social readjustment instead of social uniformity. Each person should thus be given the opportunity to develop in a manner that best suits his personal desires and abilities. Christian Democracy advocates both, a political-legal framework – the liberal constitutional state – and a socio-economic concept – the social market economy – as the most viable to achieve this goal. Furthermore, Christian Democracy provides for alternative options for schooling, vocational education and family politics to be taken up by the individual according to his personal ambitions and abilities.

Social market economy is the economic and socio-political model of Christian Democracy¹.

This concept unites the fundamental values of freedom and equality. Social market economy was developed after the Second World War by economists like Walter Eucken and Alfred Müller-Armack (who later became chairman of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung) together with law specialist Franz Böhm. It was imple-

mented by then Federal Minister for Economic Affairs Ludwig Erhard who went on to become Federal Chancellor of Germany and head of the CDU.

The central role of the concept of freedom in Christian Democratic thinking leads to its clear commitment to a market economy based on private property, free entrepreneurial activities, and competition. Admittedly, it is, however, not always possible to achieve the primary objective of a market economy, namely the optimal supply of society with goods and services, through the institutions of a free, unregulated market. In addition, a free and unregulated market may at times even cause undesirable effects such as economic crises and unemployment. To combat these negative possibilities arising from a free and unregulated market, the concept of social market economy foresees the establishment of a legal framework by the state in order to guide market activities. Besides regulation to safeguard free competition, for example by protecting the freedom of trade and contract, by exercising control over monopolies, or by introducing anti-trust law as well as temporary state interventions in case of severe disruptions to the global economic system, the second objective of social market economy is the creation of humane working conditions. This objective finds expression in the ban on child and forced labour, the regulation of weekly working hours, or varying regulations (depending on federal state) concerning the protection from dismissal. In addition, the recognition of the freedom of association and the right of trade unions to participate in free collective bargaining are securely anchored in the concept of social market economy.

The founders of the concept saw the social market economic model as a concept that combines economic principles with those of social ethics. Christian Democracy emphasises, in particular, the **social responsibility that comes with private ownership**. Concepts such as private ownership, private initiative, or the choice of means of production together with the associated acknowledgment of entrepreneurial responsibility and risk arise from the fundamental principle of freedom and the right to free personal development. Nonetheless, Christian Democracy stresses the fact that property entails responsibility. More precisely, property must constitute a public good rather than merely serving the needs of the individual owner. Both, the protection of private property and the principle of responsibility of private ownership are protected under the German constitution (Basic Law, art. 14, [2]). Both principles also form core elements of the Christian Democracy platform (CDU Deutschland 2007: 49).

The principle of **solidarity** is first and foremost an aspect of human behaviour that arises from the idea of a common humanity and altruism. The idea of solidarity obliges the strong to stand up for the weak. Solidarity comes to play in a social market economy in situations where individuals are temporarily unable to participate in the workforce. This may apply, in particular, to those who are sick, pregnant woman, the old and the unemployed. In order to do justice to its socio-political responsibilities – while also meeting other responsibilities of the state including the guaranteeing of internal and external security, the provision of education, and the development of infrastructure – the state imposes taxes on its citizens along with other social contributions dependent upon the individual's wage or other sources of income. Through these contributions, taxpayers and employees earn the entitlement of state support in times of need. This may be a temporary measure, for example, in the case of illness or unemployment or, as in the case of pensions, take the form of permanent support. Rather than referring to the objectives of the social element of the social market economic model (e.g. solidarity with the weak, the prevention of poverty, or the prevention of exclusion from the workforce), Christian Democrats are interested in its justification and the instruments applied in order to attain these objectives (see 3.2). In contrast to other economic and socio-political approaches, Christian Democratic social politics emphasises the demand that each individual's dignity must be safeguarded regardless of his or her income or employment situation (e.g. employed or unemployed, inability to work due to illness or retirement). At the same time, however, Christian Democratic social policy emphasises the need for each individual to take appropriate measures to cope with life's unexpected developments in addition to the protection provided by the state. Furthermore, Christian Democratic social policy emphasizes that recipients of public social subsidies are obliged to exercise personal responsibility and initiative.

Christian Democratic economic and social policy

supports the enabling role of the state yet firmly rejects its omnipotence. It is guided by the following principle: as much state involvement as is necessary (for example, in form of the creation of a political framework to ensure the proper functioning of the market economy, or the provision of protective measures to safeguard its citizens from life's risks) yet as little state intervention as possible. In contrast to Socialist or Social Democratic political and social models, Christian Democratic societies delegate various public tasks to smaller institutions that are independent of the state. This approach conforms to the

principle of subsidiarity whereby the state delegates certain tasks to individuals or smaller units as long as they are capable of successfully performing those. While Christian Democracy shares *a special bond with Christian churches*, it would be incorrect to describe it as the latter's political extension. Christian Democracy strongly advocates the separation of church and state even though Christian Democracy and Christian churches share many values. These shared values include the commitment to the protection of an individual's dignity, the respect of freedom and responsibility, the protection of the unborn child, the preservation of creation and the special status of the family as the smallest social unit. Christian Democracy values the role of Christian churches in providing moral guidance and promoting civic duty and the common good. The fact that Christian Democratic parties propose to maintain religious studies as fixed elements of the curriculum at public schools underlines the special relationship between Christian Democracy and the Christian church. Furthermore, in many countries with Christian Democratic leanings such as Denmark, Germany, Italy, Austria, Switzerland, Sweden, Spain, church tax is collected through the state. Finally, despite its respect for other religions, Christian Democracy advocates the preservation of Christian symbols and Christian national holidays.

Since 1945, Christian Democratic parties have significantly shaped both the politics of many European countries as well as the European integration process. In some countries, including Belgium, Germany, Luxembourg or Slovakia, Christian Democrats currently form the government or a part thereof. The lasting success of Christian Democracy is based in its ability to successfully unite diverse political factions and ideas while also establishing itself as the representatives of the political centre. While Christian Democracy economic thinking is committed to the model of social market economy, it does not promote unrestrained market liberalism. While its policies are firmly anchored in the Christian view of humanity, Christian Democracy emphasises that it is impossible to derive a specific political manual from the Christian belief system. As such, it rejects the idea of a Christian Democracy constituting the political extension of the churches. Christian Democracy is a clear proponent of liberal thought. Nonetheless, it is more adamant than many other parties in its belief that individual freedom must be restricted to a certain extent in order to maintain a stable political order and to safeguard internal and external security. Christian Democracy is inherently respectful of other religions. In the international context it promotes good neighbourly relations and supports the continuation of the

European integration process. At the same time though, it emphasises the importance of each citizen's attachment to his or her homeland, it advocates the protection of national and regional identities, and the importance of national symbols and values (in Germany, this refers mainly to the constitution, Christian values and German culture in general). It does not condone the emergence of an unregulated multicultural society that exists in parallel to German society.

For a long time, Christian Democratic parties met the demands and values of the majority of people in many West European countries. They have developed into socially heterogeneous and politically powerful *parties at the political centre*. For many years now it has been impossible to form a government without the participation of the Christian Democrats. Nonetheless, Christian Democratic parties in Europe face new challenges. Not only are the ties between the party and its traditional voting base unravelling but it is also becoming increasingly difficult to mobilise voters. Modern society too is marked by the rise of individualism and the decline of solidarity. Rural areas, with its voting population composed of a significant percentage of practising Christians, farmers, and medium sized enterprises, remain a stronghold for Christian Democratic parties. However, they are finding it increasingly difficult to rally the support of the majority of voters that live in urban centres. At the same time, demographic changes combined with the social consequences of globalisation have pushed the welfare state model, which has been shaped by Christian Democratic parties, to its limits. Christian Democratic parties have to respond to these challenges by undergoing a comprehensive reform of their manifesto, strategy and organisation without, however, sacrificing either their fundamental values or their integrity. In response to those challenges, Christian Democratic parties are seeking to attract new members amongst high income professionals in urban centres while also searching for new coalition partners who share common values. While remaining firmly committed to their Christian values, Christian Democrats are also engaging in dialogue with like-minded members of other confessions and religions. An additional measure sees the reform of the internal structure of Christian Democratic parties. For example, new forms of participation are being developed for members either in terms of increasing party activities at the local level through the introduction of a number of direct democratic procedures relating to the design of party's political programme or the selection of candidates. Facilitating non-member access to the party and providing the option of temporary membership are other forms of party political reform.

The key economic goal of Christian Democratic parties today is to regulate both domestic and global markets in a manner that avoids a revisiting of the global financial and economic crisis of 2008/9, ensures basic market economic values remain intact, and also keeps limitations to private entrepreneurship to a minimum.

Besides the challenge of recruiting new segments of society without alienating their traditional support base, shaping the political framework of the social market economic model in the context of increasing globalisation marks the key challenge facing Christian Democratic parties today.

1/ *This economic and social model is particularly characteristic of Christian Democratic thought in Germany. Christian Democrats in other countries pursue similar goals albeit under different names, for example, 'social capitalism' (Netherlands) or the 'corporatist welfare state' (Austria).*

2. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE¹

Christian Democracy is primarily a continental European phenomenon². It emerged in response to the French Revolution of 1789 and the process of liberalisation and secularisation of political and social life in Europe. The term *démocratie chrétienne* was first used by Bishop Lamourette of Lyon speaking at a legislative assembly in 1791. Initially, it did not carry any religious connotations. Instead, it contained an ideal of a democratic church and was applied to ecclesiastical forms of organisation. The term conveyed the idea of a democratic structure of the church and the dismantling of its hierarchical structures. Between 1830 and 1848 the term 'Christian Democracy' took on social and political contours. Initially, Catholics were the main protagonists seeking to bridge the position of the church with political reality. Despite some hesitant steps in the interwar period, Protestant Christians only began to discuss the ideas of Christian Democracy after 1945. The Protestant Christian approach to Christian Democracy differed from the Catholic approach given the socio-ethnic attitudes of Protestantism and the close bond between throne and altar in monarchist states at the time. Protestant Christians rejected the idea of natural law in favour of theological anthropology. Furthermore, compared to Catholicism, the ties between Protestant Christians and specific political parties were much looser. As such, Protestantism remained dominated by conservative, religious-charitable and Christian social positions. Protestant countries in Europe (for example, Scandinavia and Great Britain), however, did not experience the same conflict between the state and church that shaped the position of political parties. As early as the 17th Century, Denmark and Great Britain attempted to introduce compulsory education under secular control. As Lutheran and Anglican churches were regarded as equal partners of the state, conflicts remained limited. In the political debate with liberalism, Protestant Christians in Great Britain and Denmark preferred to enter alliances with conservative forces and remained strong defenders of the monarchy.

The Christian Democratic idea was further developed by the Breton priest Robert Lamennais and his colleagues Charles de Montalembert and Henri Dominique Lacordaire. Influenced by the Belgian constitutional movement of 1830, which was supported by the Liberals and the Catholics, they demanded the separation of church and state. They also called for freedom of religion and conscience, freedom of education, freedom of the press and freedom of association. Nonetheless, democracy and Christianity remained linked by theological-traditionalist ideas. A comprehensive political programme had as yet not been developed.

Lamennais' main achievement was the early recognition of the increasingly important role of the people as political actors and the realisation that the social question would be the main issue with regards to the socio-political order of the 19th century. In continental Europe, the modern state arose from a political process best described as a 'revolt against God and religion' and the rejection of centuries of absolutist rule 'by the grace of God'. Lamennais, in contrast, did not regard religion and democracy as fundamentally opposed to each other but considered both to be closely intertwined. He defined freedom, justice and equality as theological elements with a religious-moral connotation distinct from individual liberalism. Lamennais had hoped for the formation of an alliance between Christian-liberal forces and individual-secularism which, however, was still in the very distant future.

In his writing "Freiheit, Autorität und Kirche" of 1862, the Bishop of Mainz Baron Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler laid down the theoretical foundation for Catholics vis-à-vis state power. The writing also contained theses on the political activity of Catholics and the representation of their rights in the constitution. Ketteler was a defender of Constitutionalism and advised Catholics to make use of all political and parliamentary channels and means of communication

– for example, the press – in order to further Catholic interests. Ketteler adopted a liberal legal approach rejecting both absolutism and the police state in favour of ‘a state based on the rule of law’ and ‘self-government’. Amongst his demands was the call for legal guarantees by the state, the appropriate differentiation between constitutional and private law, the creation of rules of the administrative court, the creation of a Supreme Court of the German Reich, as well as an independent judiciary. Accordingly, he described the constitutional state as based upon its normative foundation which he summarised as ‘fair standards by which to measure and fair laws by which to judge’. Nonetheless, his demands for church freedom to be anchored in the constitution of the German Reich of 1871 failed. Despite this setback, Ketteler’s ideas provide an adequate illustration of liberal Catholicism in the context of a constitutional system. At the same time, he also paved the way for Christian social reforms. Until the end of the 19th Century his writing provided the ideological foundation for political Catholicism which was also put forward by Catholic members of all fractions of the Frankfurt National Assembly of 1848/49. Christian parties began to form in Europe in the beginning of the 1870s. This development can be explained in part by the rising influence of the middle classes and the growing importance of liberalism as a political philosophy. Furthermore, the onset of the Industrial Revolution and its accompanying social challenges also played a part.

Liberalism gave a voice to revolutionary political demands including the call for a civic, democratic nation state, the right to vote (though applying to male citizens only), a strengthening of the role of Parliament, and the creation of political parties. The middle classes supported by conservative forces also began to compete with the (Catholic) church with regards to education and child development.

Following the unification of the German Reich in 1871, Catholics became a minority. To assert themselves against the dominance of the mainly Protestant Prussian aristocracy that surrounded Reich’s Chancellor Otto von Bismarck – who sought to diminish the power of the church – Catholic members of the Assembly formed the Centre Party in 1869/70. While

Chancellor von Bismarck’s policy was aimed at establishing a centralised political system in Germany, the Centre Party – established in 1870 – favoured a federal structure and called for greater independence of the federal states. The main source of conflict between the Reich’s government, the Prussian-Conservatives and the liberal political actors, however, was the Chancellor’s ambition to replace the influence of the church for matters pertaining to education and schooling by adopting a secular state monopoly on education. Besides the official Catholic Church, Catholic lay organisations, too, began demanding that the independence of the (Catholic) church institutions be guaranteed. According to the Centre Party, church-based schooling and the supervision of schools by the church should also remain unchanged. Protestant Prussia forced Catholics in Germany, led by the Centre Party, to engage in a so-called *Kulturkampf* – or cultural struggle. The struggle led to the expulsion of the Jesuit order, restrictions on pastoral care through the ban on sermons and processions, and the suspension of church legislation on marriage. Nonetheless, the cultural struggle also helped to strengthen the political role of Catholicism and the position of the Centre Party in the German Reich.

The cultural and political confrontation with liberal (and partially conservative) parties was not the only trigger for the foundation of Christian Democratic parties. Equally important were the analysis of the social consequences of the Industrial Revolution and the church’s attempts to deal with the plight of the working class. The Industrial Revolution was accompanied by massive urbanisation as well as increasing social demands by large impoverished segments of the population. Besides organisations with Socialist leanings, Catholic social movements too began to be alarmed by the deteriorating social conditions of workers. Based on the charitable teachings of Christianity, namely to help one’s fellow man and to strive for social integration, the Catholic social movement sought to find solutions to the social question by combating political and economic liberalism. The strive for social integration was anchored in Catholic associations and the Christian trade union movement. It had a profound impact on future social legislation in continental European states.

FURTHER INFORMATION: CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY AND THE SOCIAL DOCTRINE OF POPE LEO XIII.

The political and social doctrine of Leo XIII (1878–1903) was crucial for the development of Christian Democracy not only in terms of its theoretical foundations and its pragmatic approach but also with regards to the formation of political parties and the formulation of social politics. Led by Leo XIII the Catholic Church loosened the restrictive stance towards Liberalism and other modern social and political concepts that had been adopted by his predecessors, including Pius IX in *Syllabus Errorum* (1864). Slowly the Catholic Church along with Catholic social elites began to open to the new challenges. In his state encyclicals from 1881 onwards, he called on all Catholics in France and in those countries that had adopted a Republican order to respect the very same. However, he remained neutral as regards the form of government that should be adopted and he disapproved of political activities by Catholics that would (inevitably) promote democracy and thereby threaten the existing monarchies. With the acknowledgement of the Republican order by the Pope, the attitude of the church towards possible forms of state and government became tied to actual constitutional and legal possibilities for the development of different states.

In 1891, Leo XIII published the first papal social circular entitled "*Rerum Novarum*" (*On Capital and Labor*). In the encyclicals, Leo XIII called for greater fairness in wages, closer state involvement in the economic process and the right of association for workers. The document maintained that existing measures to protect workers were insufficient and that modern workers' organisations were required. Rather than promoting the principle of laissez faire non-intervention, the encyclicals emphasise the obligation of the state to actively promote the common good. *Rerum Novarum* thus led to the development of a social manifesto for the Christian social movement with ideas for solving the social question also known as the industrial or workers question).

The encyclicals refrained from making a direct call for the foundation of political parties or movements for the realisation of its social demands. Nonetheless, its call for solidarity had the same effect. Besides the state and the church, the circular identifies the cooperation between employers and employees as the key factor to finding a solution for the social question. The documents thus had a profound effect on the emerging social and democratic developments. In response to the papal circular, Belgium, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, France and Italy along with many other Central and East European countries saw the formation of study circles that sought to develop socio-political concepts based on the Pope's propositions and to seek their implementation. As a matter of fact, these study circles, of which many were parliamentary groups, came to develop political characteristics reminiscent of political parties.

However, Leo was not prepared to let the process develop unsupervised. For reasons of church politics he sought to control Christian Democratic activities and limit their engagement only to social and charitable work. The encyclical letters "*Graves de Communi: On Christian Democracy*" (1901) were the first papal writings that took a clear stand on Christian Democracy. In the document, the Pope rejected Christian Democracy as a political movement. Instead he urged a refrain from everything that "could give the name of Christian Democracy a political meaning". He argued that "the laws of nature and of the Gospel, which by right are superior to all human contingencies, are necessarily independent of all particular forms of civil government, while at the same time they are in harmony with everything that is not repugnant to morality and justice." Furthermore, he argued that Catholics had to respect the neutrality of the church regarding different forms of civil government and to refrain from favouring and introducing one government in favour of another. In the encyclical letters Pope Leo XIII limited the notion of Christian Democracy to purely social ambitions while vehemently rejecting any form of political demands. In fact, he explained the "danger coming from the name" as it brought with it the threat of socialism. Christian Democracy was declared incompatible with Catholic teachings and its neutral position to different forms of civil government.

In the late 19th Century the newly developing Christian parties in Europe had to compete with liberal and Protestant conservative forces. At the same time, the Vatican, too, was resistant to their formation and dismissed the secular, political “game” of its members, the competition for followers, voters, parliamentary seats and political power. A decree (*non expedit*) issued by Pope Pius IX. (1846–1878) in 1874 barred the Catholics of Italy from any form of political activity. This resulted in a fierce conflict between the Holy See and the institutions that preceded the *Democrazia Cristiana* (1942–1994), the *Partito Popolare Italiano* (PPI) and the *Azione Cattolica*. These were socio-political layman organisations that had been founded with the goal of turning Catholicism into a popular movement striving for the remodelling of politics and society in a socially just manner. Through this achievement, the goal of Socialism, as propagated by trade unions and labour movements, would become redundant.

Faced with the pressure from liberalism and the Industrial Revolution on the one hand, and the dynamics that resulted from the foundation of socially oriented Catholic laymen organisations in several West European countries³ on other hand, the Vatican eventually abandoned its resistance to the formation of Christian parties. A significant role was played by the political theories and social teachings of Pope Leo XIII. At the same time, by the end of the 19th Century the Christian-Catholic social movement had successfully established a dense network of associations, cooperatives, trade unions and even political parties. These organisations were successful at appealing politically to (Catholic) Christians, integrating them in the social and political network, and offering them a political and social “home”. What was most pleasing to the Vatican was the success of these organisations at presenting an alternative to Marxist-based parties, trade unions and ideologies.

The Christian parties in Western Europe⁴ had developed into well-organised mainstream parties who enjoyed the support of a majority of Catholic voters of all social and economic strata of society. The Christian Democratic parties appeal to entrepreneurs, employees, craftsmen, business owners, farmers as well as workers would later become significant for future success. For example, beginning with the Reichstag elections in 1874, the Centre Party frequently won almost 30 per cent of the popular vote and sent between 90 and 100 representatives to the German Reichstag. Just as its sister parties in other Continen-

tal European countries, the Centre Party of Germany had become an essential part of political life in the German Reich.

2.1 CHRISTIAN-DEMOCRATIC THEORY AND POLITICS OF THE INTERWAR PERIOD

After the end of the First World War, Pope Benedikt XV (1914–1922) revoked the decree of Pius IX (*non expedit*) and declared his support for the foundation of a Christian political party in Italy. Based on the popular movement of political and social Catholicism, in 1919, Luigi Sturzo founded the *Partito Popolare Italiano* (PPI). Committed to Catholic Social Doctrine, the party stood for democratic reforms – including women’s suffrage – and succeeded in recruiting members and voters of all social classes.

The post-war period brought fundamental changes to the political systems of Austria and Germany. The monarchy was replaced with democratic republics. According to its guidelines of 1922, the Centre Party saw itself as a “Christian popular party that [...] is determined to implement the basic values of Christianity in government and society, as well as in economy and culture”. Its legal and domestic tasks were driven by its “Christian idea of the state and government and its commitment to its role under the constitution”. The “violent overthrow of constitutional structures” was rejected along with the idea of an omnipotent state as well as “the dissolution of the concept of the state”. The party professed its commitment to the idea of a “German *Volksstaat* that is determined in shape and function by the vote of the people in a constitutional manner. As bearers of sovereignty, the people have to take responsibility for the future of the state. Citizens of all social classes thus have to be included in the regulation of public affairs through self-government [...]”⁵

After the end of the German Empire, the Centre party sought to justify the Democratic-Republican order with the Christian idea of natural law. The party called for the sovereignty of the people, civil rights and a democratic process of political opinion-forming. During the interwar period, Christian or Christian Democratic parties in Europe also focused on regaining a strong, yet by no means authoritarian, state that could provide a level of stability similar to the pre-war era.

The effort to obtain a systematic differentiation between individual, social and government competences in the community has its roots in Pope Pius XI’s social

encyclical of 1931 "*Quadragesimo anno: on reconstruction of the social order*". It was equally well received as the earlier encyclical letters "*Rerum Novarum*", which had formulated the principle of subsidiarity that came to be of great significance for the socio-ethical and political foundations of the Christian Democratic movement. After 1945, the principle of subsidiarity dominated the programmes of the majority of Christian parties with a view to their ideas on government as well as social and economic order. It was later also adopted by Liberal and Social Democratic parties and was included in the Maastricht Treaties of the European Union (1992).

The principle of subsidiarity as a concept is fundamentally anti-etatist and forms the core of Christian social ethics. As has been explained in the above, the term is derived from the Latin word *subsidium* (meaning 'reserve' or 'substitute'). According to the principle of subsidiarity, personal freedom requires agency; society's smaller units including families, communities and municipalities should constitute the principal and independent actors of public life. The role of the state or government, however, is to remain on the sidelines only activated when the smaller units are incapable of independently mastering their own affairs. The principle of subsidiarity thus also corresponds with the idea of a federal state.

Nonetheless, *Quadragesimo Anno* also demonstrates the ambivalence of social and political Catholicism. Although the document distanced itself from (Italian) Fascism and also rejected totalitarianism, significant regulatory issues remained. Both, the encyclicals and Catholic Social Doctrine failed to provide answers to the question surrounding the manner in which basic democratic, political and economic rights can be protected.

Firmly committed to the Weimar Constitution, the Centre Party of Germany declared its full support for parliamentary democracy and pushed for the advancement of the social welfare state. Nonetheless, the

conflict between proponents and opponents of parliamentary democracy had severe repercussions for the stability of the young republics of Germany and Austria. A conflict was raging between, on the one hand, the opponents of democracy such as fascists, national socialists and communists, and on the other hand, its proponents. In this struggle, Christian parties took the side of the Democrats and even formed alliances with their former rivals, namely liberal and conservative parties. Despite these efforts, they were unable to prevent the takeover of the government by the Fascists and National Socialists. The Italian PPI was dissolved by Mussolini in 1926 and its Secretary-General Alcide De Gasperi was arrested (see 4.3). Germany's propaganda Minister, Joseph Goebbels, called on the leadership of the Centre Party "to swiftly close shop" as he was no longer willing to bear witness to its "experiments" at social reform. A few months after the seizure of power by the National Socialists in Germany in 1933 the Centre Party along with other democratic parties and trade unions were dissolved. Shortly after, Christian Democratic politicians were expelled from office, persecuted and arrested. Christian Democratic parties were eventually prohibited in the countries in Europe occupied by National Socialists. Along with many other democratic politicians and opponents to the Nazi regime, members of the Centre Party and of Christian trade unions paid for their opposition to the National Socialists with their life.

2.2. CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY SINCE 1945

After the Second World War, Christian Democratic and Christian Social parties were established or re-established in Italy, Luxembourg, France, Austria, Germany, Belgium and Norway and later in Finland, Switzerland, the Netherlands and Spain. However, the newly re-established Christian parties in Eastern Europe could only manage briefly to withhold the pressure of the Communist leadership.

**FURTHER INFORMATION: CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY DURING COMMUNISM:
THE CDU IN THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC (GDR)**

On 10 June 1945, Order No. 2 of the Soviet occupying power allowed for the formation of political parties in the Soviet zone. In Berlin on 26 June 1945, the CDU already declared its intent to become concurrently a decidedly Christian and interdenominational collective movement. Many of its founding fathers, including its first chairman, Andreas Hermes, and his successor, Jakob Kaiser, had been members of the resistance against National Socialism.

However, similar to the newly-founded Liberal Democratic Party of Germany (LDPD), the CDU too, had to submit completely to the control and instructions of the occupying power. Right from the start, this control clearly constrained the extent to which the parties could develop freely. The occupying power aimed to create a Communist system in the Soviet occupation zone / GDR based on the Soviet model. Measures included the ousting of political parties, the control of key offices in public administration, and the radical nationalization of trade, industry and the banking sector. Initially, politicians sought hard to resist these attempts. This resistance is illustrated well by the famous speech of Jakob Kaiser at the second party convention of the CDU in the Soviet occupation zone in September 1947. Kaiser declared "We must and we will form the bulwark against dogmatic Marxism and its totalitarian tendencies".

However, following the foundation of the GDR in October 1949, the Soviets and the official Communist party SED further tightened their repression of democratic politicians. Faced with physical and psychological terror as well as arbitrary arrest, many of these politicians were thus forced to choose between adaptation, resignation or flight to West Germany. Until October 1950, the CDU in the GDR had lost about 25 per cent of its members. At its sixth party convention in Berlin in October 1952, it had to "unconditionally" acknowledge the leadership role of the SED.

In the following years, the external image of the CDU in the GDR was dominated by loyal SED functionaries. The statute of the CDU professed the party's "loyalty to Socialism" and its commitment to building "trustful cooperation with the party of the working class". This apparent, albeit forced, willingness of the CDU to adapt and to submit to the SED and its role in the democratic bloc (of parties) earned its party members the sweeping reputation of being collaborators. However, it is important to draw a clear distinction between the party leadership and its membership base. For many Christians living in the GDR, membership in the CDU was indeed the only possibility to evade pressure from the SED.

The opposition of substantial parts of the East CDU membership base towards both, the SED and the submission of its own party leadership continued throughout the 1950s and 1960s. This critique became most vocal at critical points in the history of the GDR including the people's rebellion of 1953, the building of the Berlin wall in 1961, the invasion of Czechoslovakia by Soviet troops in 1968, or the imposition of martial law in Poland in 1981.

The membership base of the CDU in the GDR had always possessed a potential for opposition. It began to gain further momentum in the mid-1980s with the onset of 'Glasnost' and 'Perestroika' in the Soviet Union, the reform movements in Poland and Hungary, and eventually, the activities of the 'independent peace movement' in the GDR itself. On 10 September 1989, four members of the CDU who were also members of the Protestant church addressed the party leadership in the so-called 'Letter from Weimar'. This incident became the focal point for the emergence of a widespread call for reform amongst the party base. Under pressure from the party membership base, on 2 November 1989 party leader Gerald Götting resigned from the post which he had held since 1966. In the same month, the CDU withdrew its pledge for commitment to the leadership role of the SED from its party manifesto and quit the SED-led 'central democratic bloc' of parties. At a special party conference in Berlin on 15 & 16 December 1989 the CDU presented its new leadership, programme and organisation. Furthermore, the party admitted its responsibility for the undesirable developments in the GDR. Renouncing Socialism, the new CDU expressed its commitment to democratic reforms within the party itself and the country as a whole, and it declared its commitment to the principles of a social market economy and the objective of achieving national unity.

With 40.6 per cent of the vote, the CDU as part of the electoral alliance 'Alliance for Germany' scored a stunning victory in the elections to East Germany's *Volkskammer* (parliament) on 18 March 1990. Its party leader, Lothar de Mazière became minister president. He successfully led the GDR towards German reunification on 3 October 1990. This process saw the successful implementation of the monetary, economic and social union, and the conclusion of the unification treaty and the Two-plus-Four-Treaty. At its party conference in Hamburg only two days prior to the reunification of Germany, the CDU of East Germany and the CDU of West Germany had united to form an all-German party.

The experience of totalitarian regimes like National Socialism and Communism played a crucial role for the success of Christian Democracy in Western Europe. These periods in Western Europe's history gave rise to a firm commitment to democracy – even on the part of the Vatican. The Second Vatican Council's Pastoral Constitution, *Gaudium et Spes* (1966) contains the clear commitment to a democratic system based on the principles of freedom, the rule of law and the separation of powers within government that provides the best means to safeguard personal and political rights and to maintain the common good. The document also called for the right to assembly and association, the freedom of speech and the right to private and public confession of religion. *Gaudium et Spes* declared, "The government (shall) be chosen freely by the citizens" (Vatikan 1965, Chapter IV, esp. points 73-75, citation relating to point 74).

The Vatican's strong commitment to democracy and greater political participation by the citizens was caused by several factors. These included the historical experience of the fall of the Weimar Republic in the 1930s, the subsequent Nazi Dictatorship and the threat of a new totalitarian regime in the form of Communism. The idea of a Christian Democratic Union that would counteract previous challenges was realised through the synthesis of a liberal market on the one hand and a social order on the other hand. In the Federal Republic of Germany, this synthesis is known as the social market economy.⁶ The idea of a Christian Democratic Union finding form is exemplified

by the creation of the Protestant Work Group of the CDU and CSU (EAK) in 1952 by Hermann Ehlers, the then President of the German Bundestag. From the start, the EAK had several goals. It sought to recruit Protestants for participation in the CDU or CSU (without, however, necessarily having to become party members). Furthermore, a platform was to be established to enable Protestant members of both Union Parties to pursue their specific interests within the Catholic-dominated parties. Finally, the relationship with Catholic churches was to be expanded and the trusting cooperation between the different confessions in the CDU and the CSU was to be further promoted.

The normative foundations of the CDU's political objectives form the basic principles of Christian and Occidental ethics and culture. Compared to the interwar period, the political programmes of Christian Democracy after 1945 put significantly more emphasis on personalised Christian essentials – such as the responsibility of inalienable individual rights which limit government power and the right to individual political, economic and religious freedom. The strong emphasis on the ideal of freedom after 1945 together with the total commitment to immutable human rights emerged from the historical experience of National Socialist, Communist, Fascist and Authoritarian collectivism. Liberal Christian thought thus constitutes a counterbalance to any form of suppression and degrading of the individual justified through the needs of the people, the nation, the social class or other any totalitarian ideology.

FURTHER INFORMATION: CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY IN LATIN AMERICA

The roots of Christian Democracy in Latin America lie in the Catholic university youth organisations of the 1930s, which were inspired by Catholic social ethics and the papal social encyclicals. Both, the Christian social movement and the foundation of Christian social parties that followed are closely tied to the Presidents of Chile and Venezuela, Eduardo Frei Montavala (1911–1982) and Rafael Caldera Rodríguez (1916–2009) respectively. Several key events forged the path towards the foundation of the first parties, notably the Congress of the Catholic students' movement in Rome at the turn of the year from 1933 to 1934 and the global economic crisis of the early 1930s.

Faced with the global economic crisis on the one hand and the liberal economic policies of Chile's Conservative Party, which largely favoured the interests of big landowners, on the other hand, the youth organisation of the Conservative Party separated from the party. Known as *Falange Nacional* it initially acted as a social movement and only became a party in 1938. *Falange Nacional* stood mainly for charitable and social-Christian ideas and called for the improvement of the social conditions for the poor. Almost 20 years later in 1957, *Falange Nacional* became the Christian Democratic party of Chile (PDC) under the leadership of Eduardo Frei who went on to become the first Christian Democratic president in Latin America in 1964.

Venezuela saw the formation of the *Comité de Organización Política Electoral Independiente* (COPEI) under leadership of Rafael Caldera. This organisation, too, had its roots in the Catholic university youth organisations which fought for social reform. Three years later, the organisation renamed itself *Comité Organización Política Electoral* (COPEI). Between the mid-1950s and the early 1960s, Christian Democratic parties were also founded in Peru, Bolivia, El Salvador, Paraguay, Panama, the Dominican Republic, Uruguay, Costa Rica and Columbia. The development reached its climax on 1 December 1968 when Rafael Caldera was elected president of Venezuela and thus became the second Christian Democratic president in Latin America.

In its political programmes, the Christian Democratic parties promoted the eradication of social class divides, the reform of the education system, the adoption of land reforms, and a mixed economic system that would provide equal protection to state property, cooperatives and medium-sized enterprises (see Klaus Weigelt: *Una comparación de los programas del PDC chileno y de la CDU alemana*. Santiago de Chile, 2008). The presidencies of Eduardo Frei and Rafael Caldera saw the nationalisation of key industries in both countries, including the production of copper and oil. Democracy, freedom, equality and solidarity have in the past and continue to be the key elements of the programmes of Christian Democratic parties in Latin America.

However, given the focus on democratic and social equality that is evident in their political approach, Christian Democratic parties in Latin America have long been forced to fight a war on two fronts. On one front, right-wing elements (the military, land owners, industrialists, employer organisations, and to some extent Conservatives) often accused Christian Democratic parties of being opponents of the political regime, social romantics (*socialcristianismo*) or simply 'Communists' thus firmly pushing them to the left of the political spectre. On the other front, the left criticised the absence of a 'revolutionary' element thus accusing Christian Democratic parties of lending support to the non-democratic elites. Furthermore, most Christian Democratic parties failed to rally a substantial support base. Despite various efforts by these democratic and socially oriented parties, and, in fact, despite considerable economic growth, a stable and political active middle class had failed to develop. In some cases, for example COPEI in Venezuela, the party quickly ran out of steam once it took political power. Others, for example the Christian Democratic parties in Nicaragua, failed due to a combination of internal problems and the challenging political conditions in the country.

Besides the *Partido Demócrata Cristiano* (PDC) in Chile and the *Partido Acción Nacional* (PAN) in Mexico⁷, most Christian Democratic parties by the 1990s had come under severe pressure. They suffered from government crises, a severe shortage of qualified personnel for leadership roles, as well as organisational and strategic deficits. Similar to developments in Europe, they were also faced with the transformation of Christianity-based political values in the course of the processes of modernisation, secularisation and individualisation which were equally influential in Latin America. Christianity-based political values thus no longer resonated with large groups of society. As a result, many of the once mighty Christian Democratic parties today lack political power.

Nonetheless, the declining significance of Christian Democratic parties has to be seen in the wider context of a general decline of political parties which can be witnessed in other parts of the world too. The steady decline of the previously exclusive role of political parties in the political opinion-forming process has been replaced by the mass media. In addition, Latin America, too, is witnessing a rising trend towards increased personality driven politics, the declining importance of manifestos, and a lack of confidence of the people in the ability of politics to find solutions. Since the 1990s this process has been further accelerated by negative developments caused by the parties themselves, including, for example, the identity issues surrounding Christian Democratic parties in coalition governments or the loss to credibility of party leadership. Equally detrimental to political parties has been their failure to renew their respective party platform; the apparent preference given to special interests over a general need to modernise the party; and their failure to establish sustainable country-wide party structures that include voters other than just purely the middle class. Finally, beyond the above, in Latin America Christian Democrats are also often seen as responsible for everything that falls under the heading "Neo-Liberalism".

The liberalisation of the ideas of Christian Democracy marked a clear distinction between a Christian's and citizen's responsibility towards the family, politics and society on the one hand, and his theological obligations and interests on the other. This differentiation allowed Christian Democracy to appeal to a wider group of voters including those who are not Christian and who do not belong to a particular church. Inter-religious relationships, the idea of a people's party and Christian personalism became the key factors for the success of Christian Democratic parties in various Western countries

In effect, the Christian Democratic understanding of politics along with the Christian idea of man and Christian social ethics has significantly influenced post-war constitutions. It is down to each individual's conscience to define the exact meaning of a true Christian existence and Christian duty in certain situations. Theology, Christian ethics and churches can but offer guidance. However, the fundamentals of the Christian idea of duty are irreconcilable with some of the instructions from clergyman and the church.

In the past decades, Anglo-Saxon communitarian ideas have influenced the Christian Democratic parties. In reflection of trends in modern society such as the erosion of community spirit and the steady decline in civic engagement, Communitarian ideas seek to

counter the trend towards excessive individualism calling instead for a revival of a communal spirit and communitarian action. In its focus on community-centred ideas and the demand for a strengthening of voluntary and community-minded engagement, Communitarianism closely resembles Christian Democratic and Christian social thought. In historical and philosophical terms, it is nearly impossible to separate Christian thought from social and political developments of developments in the church because Christianity is ultimately also a cultural concept. The humane principles at the heart of European culture are rooted in Judaism, Greek philosophy, Roman law, Christianity, the Renaissance as well as Enlightenment philosophy. These principles did not develop in opposition to Christianity but rather in dialogue with it.

Against the background of increasing secularisation, the key challenge facing Christian Democratic parties today is the need to find solutions to urgent everyday problems founded upon Christian values that are supported by the majority of voters. The Christian idea of man and the associated fundamental values of freedom, solidarity, subsidiarity, justice and the pursuit of the common good offer a broad platform for all people including those without a particular faith to actively participate in shaping politics, society and culture.

FURTHER INFORMATION: INTERNATIONAL PARTY COALITIONS

There are currently two umbrella organisations worldwide that combine Christian Democratic, Conservative, Christian Social parties and parties of the centre (right). These are, firstly, the Christian Democratic International (*Centrist Democrat International – Internationale Démocrate Chrétienne*, CDI-IDC) which was founded in Santiago de Chile in 1961 and is based in Brussels. Secondly, the International Democrat Union was founded in London in 1983 and sits in Oslo. CDI-IDC is headed by the former President of Mexico, Vicente Fox Quesada, and the former President of the Italian chamber of deputies, Pier Ferdinando Casini. Its Secretary-General is the Spaniard Antonio López-Istúriz. IDU is headed by Australia's former Prime Minister John Howard.

Both umbrella organisations consist of four (CDI-IDC), or in the case of the IDU, three regional associations. CDI-IDC is composed of the following; *CDI-International-Africa* with currently ten members, *CDI Asia-Pacific* with currently 14 members, *Organización Demócrata Cristiana de América* (ODCA) with 35 members, and the European People's Party (EPP) that is currently composed of 48 full members and six associated members. 18 parties hold observer status in the EPP.

The IDU's regional associations are as follows: the *Democrat Union of Africa* (DUA) with 14 member parties; the *Unión de Partidos Latinoamericanos* (UPLA) with currently 19 members; and the *Asia Pacific Democrat Union* (APDU) which has 14 members. Until 2002, the *European Democratic Union* (EDU) formed the European section of the IDU. However, it has since been merged with the EPP.

The key goals of both umbrella organisations are to facilitate cooperation between democratic parties at the political centre that share similar objectives and to foster closer regional cooperation. Due to the advanced stage of the process of European integration, the EPP has been the most successful at pursuing these goals. The EPP was founded in Luxembourg in 1976. Besides uniting different Christian Democratic, social and conservative parties from various European countries, it is also a distinct European party with its own manifesto and corresponding democratically legitimate structures and procedures. Since 1990, Belgium's former prime minister, Wilfried Martens (see 4.6), has been president of the EPP. The congress is the EPP's highest decision-making body. It meets every two years by resolution of the party executive in order to elect the president, vice-president, treasurer and secretary-general (which, together with the EPP floor leader in the European Parliament, form the party leadership) and to vote on the party's political guidelines, its manifesto as well as on any changes to its statutes.

The EPP distinguishes between four types of membership; full members, associate members, observers as well as individual members. Christian Democratic parties and other like-minded parties from European Union member states can become full members, as long as they are organised in the respective member state, embrace the programme of the EPP and adopt its statutes (Statute of EPP, art. 4a).

Associate membership is open to parties from countries that have applied for EU membership and who fulfil any other conditions listed in the EPP statutes. With a few exceptions, associate members enjoy the same rights as full members. They are excluded from decisions that concern the policies and structure of the EU and its institutional organisation (Statute of the EPP, art. 13c). Observer status is open to parties from the following countries: EU member states, countries that have applied for EU membership and countries that belong to the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe founded in 1999. Parties with observer status have the right to participate in EPP meetings. Their party leaders are invited to the sessions of the various party committees but they do not have the right to vote. Similarly, delegates from parties with observer status cannot vote at EPP congresses. Anyone who lends special supports to the EPP can become an individual member. Individual members must be members of member party. As long as they are a member of the European Parliament they are entitled to participate in the different committees of the EPP with voting rights. At present, there are only 130 individual members.

With its seven associations, the EPP is the most diverse amongst the European parties. They are: the European Local and Regional Government Association (EKRPV), the European Union of Christian Democratic Workers (EUDCA), the European Middleclass and Trade Association (EMWV), the Union of European Seniors (ESU), the women's association of the EPP, the European Democrat Students (EDS) and the youth organisation (YEPP). These associations closely resemble the associations of the CDU in Germany. Through its associations, the EPP strives to become a true people's party that can successfully integrate different parts of society and is capable of striking a balance between different interests.

In the most recent elections for the European Parliament in 2009, the EPP won 265 out of 736 seats and thus presents once more the biggest group in the European Parliament. Floor leader is Joseph Daul of the *French Union pour un mouvement populaire* (UMP).

Source: authors' summary; based on von Gehlen (2005).

- 1] The chapter is based on work by Rudolf Uertz (2004). It has been comprehensively revised for this brochure by Karsten Grabow. The authors would like to express their gratitude to Ms Janine Dornbusch for her assistance. Ms Dornbusch reads European Studies at Maastricht University and completed an internship with the Latin America division of the KAS in July 2009.
- 2] On the historical development of Christian Democratic in Latin America see, for example, Caldera (1977/2002), Jung (1983) and Henning and Weigelt (1997).
- 3] Belgium, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Austria, Switzerland.
- 4] In Austria the Christian Social Party, in Italy the Democrazia Cristiana, in the Netherlands the Catholic People's Party and in Germany the Centre Party.
- 5] *Richtlinien der deutschen Zentrumspartei (1922)*, in: Mommsen (1960: 486-489).
- 6] The Protestant Church only caught up with the tradition of the papal social encyclicals in the early 1960s. The essay "Eigentumsbildung in sozialer Verantwortung" (Transl. The socially responsible acquisition of property) of 1962 was the first of many memoranda and signaled the revival and deepening of the dialogue between the Protestant Church and politics, particular with Christian Democrats. The development reached its peak with the publication of the social encyclicals "Centesimus Annus" and the EKD memorandum "Gemeinwohl und Eigennutz – Wirtschaftliches Handeln in Verantwortung für die Zukunft" (Transl. Common welfare and self-interest – conducting business in responsibility for the future), which were both published in 1991 on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of "Rerum Novarum". Both works display close intellectual affinity with the concept of social market economy. The first joint memorandum of both churches entitled "Gemeinsames Wort zur wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Lage" (Transl. Joint Statement on the economic and social situation) published in 1998 greatly influenced the political discussion (See: Weigelt 1991 and 1994).
- 7] Despite uniting Christian social with conservative, liberal elements in its party manifesto, promoting social market economy and belonging to both, the Latin American Association of Christian Democratic parties (ODCA) and the Christian Democratic International, current legislation on political parties prohibits the Partido Acción Nacional (PAN) from calling itself 'Christian Democratic'.

3. CONTEMPORARY CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC POLITICS: SELECTED POLICY AREAS

3.1 ECONOMIC POLICY

Social market economy is the guiding economic model of Christian Democracy even though the notion varies slightly between different countries (see: note 9). The social market economy is the tried and tested combination of market economic principles coupled with social services to bring about fair social balance. The social market economic model is thus not only an economic model but also a vision of society which is based on a wide consensus in several West European democracies – especially Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Austria¹. The principles of freedom and responsibility, competition and solidarity come together as a unit in the concept of social market economy.

Christian Democracy is committed to the protection of individual freedom and holds the view that each person has the right to free development and expression of his or her personality (Christian teaching of natural law). For Christian Democrats this commitment translates to the recognition and advancement of free entrepreneurial initiatives on the basis of fair competition. A paper entitled *Guidelines for prosperity, social justice and sustainable economies* published by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung explains that, “competition is the engine of sustainable economic growth. Competition facilitates efficiency and progress, strengthens responsible actions, and prevents the emergence of unilateral market power” (KAS 2009: 4).

According to the Christian image of humanity, man is equipped with both conscience and social responsibility. This image also emphasises that society is socially responsible for its weaker members. Christian Democracy is thus not only committed to solidarity, it also strives for solidarity as a goal through the social market economy.

The guiding economic figure of social market economy is what is termed the ‘owner-entrepreneur’ who owns the means of production (capital, machinery/facilities, land) – or, at least, has these at his disposal – and uses these for the production of goods or services which he then sells at a profit in the respective market. The profit gained is used for the maintenance of the owner-entrepreneur and his family. At the same time, it is reintroduced into the economic cycle, for example through the creation of jobs or the purchase of new machinery and facilities. Owner-entrepreneurs are liable for their entrepreneurial decisions. Therefore, decisions made tend to be for the long-term and sustainable thus lending stability to both economic and social development.

Within this system, the state guarantees the framework conditions within which the owner-entrepreneur may carry out his activities. That means the state sets competition rules, it protects the freedom of trade and the freedom of contract, and it ensures that an adequate infrastructure is available to facilitate the exchange of goods and services in the respective markets, for example, through public investments in transport routes and communication networks.

The support of businesses that are led by the owner himself is thus of particular importance in a social market economy (promotion of medium-sized businesses)² as those medium-sized businesses form the core of a social market economy. Indeed, Germany's first federal chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, regarded the middle class as the ‘fundamental support of the state’. It is medium-sized businesses that provide employment for the majority of employees (in Germany, roughly one fourth of all employees work in a medium-sized business). They also train the highest number of apprentices and contribute about half of GNP. To promote medium-sized business in a social market economy, the state is mainly concerned with

the creation of an uncomplicated and fair taxation system³ that leaves enough room for medium-sized businesses to make investments and to create jobs. The taxation system should be free of bureaucratic hurdles, or at least help minimise these hurdles, ensure that medium-sized enterprises are considered in public tenders, and enable them to obtain low interest loans for business start-ups.

Christian Democratic parties also conduct active business development. This includes the development of industrial policies and far reaching regional structural policies. These policies aim to offer incentives for the establishing of production locations, to compensate for disadvantages in less developed areas, and to contribute to the competitiveness of local producers. This kind of business development takes place through public investments in transport routes, the granting of temporary state guarantees for private investors, the reduction of legal regulations, the financial support of pro-growth, and increasingly also environmentally friendly technologies. However, Christian Democratic parties regard any direct intervention by the state with great scepticism as it puts a strain on public finances, often causes obstacles to private commercial developments, and is often intended to simply preserve existing structures.

However, the boundaries between active business development and the mere preservation of existing structures are fluid. At times, Christian Democratic economic policies are caught between the challenge to meet both general considerations and certain political pressures as illustrated by the subsidisation of certain economic sectors. While Christian Democratic parties have helped to reduce the subsidisation of unprofitable economic sectors – for example mining – they continue to condone the subsidisation of others – for example – the farming industry. While the key reason for farming subsidies is to maintain the competitiveness of local farmers, strategic electoral reasons do also play a role.

Nonetheless, financial policies of Christian Democratic parties display much greater budgetary discipline and restrictive financial policy than the Social Democrat or Socialist parties.⁴ While Social Democrats and Socialists support increased government activities and accept structural budgetary deficits in the process, Christian Democratic financial policies are fundamentally focused on maintaining a balanced budget. On the one hand, this orientation is the result of the Christian Democratic understanding of government control and economic governance – “As much state

as necessary, as little state as possible”. On the other hand, it results from the recognition that capital income and earned income should not be overburdened so as to leave ample room for private consumption and for reinvestments of funds into the economic cycle (commercial investments).⁵

3.2 SOCIAL POLICIES

Social policy is an instrument for the creation of social adjustment. It encompasses all government measures that serve the safeguarding of a basic income and decent living in the case of illness, premature incapacity to work (accident or invalidity), death of the main breadwinner, old age, or during periods of unemployment. The government’s social policy also includes support for families (see 3.3), public housing, as well as youth and social welfare. Government social policy is necessary given the inequalities between people of different social backgrounds, with different housing situations, or educational backgrounds. It is also necessitated by the risks that are inherent in the (labour) market and thus require the improvement of the living conditions of the needy and the protection against such risks.

However, even countries of similar economic standard and social make-up do not share a single definition of social equality. Different definitions exist amongst the member states of the EU (“old” 15) or the OECD. Depending on the country’s particular worldview or the exact nature of the objectives that each social policy is aiming to achieve, crucial differences exist in terms of the justification of social policy, the choice of measures adopted in the pursuit of social equality, and the volume of government social support measures.

Socialist and Social Democrat parties justify social policy with reference to a materialist understanding of social justice. Those who are wealthy or have high incomes are to share their prosperity while those without wealth or with only small incomes are to receive social benefits. Socialist and Social Democratic parties aim to minimise social inequalities by redistributing wealth and income with the help of top-down government regulation. Clearly, the state is the key in this approach. The state administers financial resources that it collects through taxation before allocating these transfer payments to groups of pre-identified needy people. This Social Democratic version of the welfare state is characterised by high property and income tax – for example, a maximum income tax rate of up to 70 per cent – exceptionally high taxation revenues, and an oversized public

service. An oversized public service is required as there is a need for a large public bureaucracy to manage and reallocate such a social policy.

In the mid 1990s, it became clear that this paternalistic understanding of the role of the state and its specific function as a social-political 'redistribution machine' had reached the limits of financial viability. The above understanding of the role of the state encouraged the demand for more social benefits and fostered rising passivism. Due to high taxation rates, it also restricted the commitment of private enterprise and contributed to increased capital flight. While Social Democratic parties in some countries remain committed to this model, the 1990s saw most of Western Europe's Social Democratic parties turn their back on this bureaucratic version of the welfare state. In some cases, this led to severe disputes among different wings of the party (Traditionalists versus Modernists) often at the risk of dividing or severely weakening the party⁶.

In contrast, Christian Democratic parties justify social services with reference to the need to protect individual human dignity without being distracted by the individual's temporary labour market position. In contrast to traditional Social Democracy, the levelling of social differences has never been at the centre of Christian Democratic social policy. Instead, Christian Democratic social policy aims to provide temporary relief to those in need if they or their families are no longer capable of providing for themselves. This approach conforms to the principle of solidarity that stands at the core of Christian social ethics and the Christian Democratic understanding of the principle of subsidiarity. The key objective is to empower the individual to take his own decisions and for him to remain independent of permanent government support while eschewing a culture of dependency.

With regards to social insurance, which encompasses health, nursing and unemployment insurance in most West European countries and to which contributors gain a legal entitlement, Christian Democratic parties differ from their Social Democratic counterparts (especially Scandinavia) in that they do not rely on government redistribution systems that are financed with tax contributions. Instead, the Christian Democratic approach builds on a form of social insurance that is financed with contributions from both employers and employees and which manages itself independently from the state. This model, too, clearly reflects fundamental Christian Democratic ideas of personal responsibility, decentralisation, and subsidi-

arity. Against the background of demographic change, increasing globalisation and rising costs within the local economy, the system of parity in insurance contributions came under scrutiny in the late 1980s. In line with their belief in the importance of personal responsibility, it was Christian Democratic parties that took the lead in this situation and introduced elements of private and additional insurances while remaining fully committed to a model of social market economy that is firmly based on the principle of solidarity.

At face value, Christian Democratic parties in Western Europe appear to share broadly similar ideas on the concept of social policy. Yet a closer look at the details of each respective model reveals differences. This in turn leads to the question how efficient government social policy can be. With regards to employment and labour market policies, German and Austrian Christian Democrats have long financed a so-called 'passive' labour market policy, that is, unemployment and early retirement, through contributions. The main objective here is to 'adjust' the labour market. The Netherlands in contrast, gave 'active' or 'activating' measures priority – including the training or retraining of older unemployed people. This approach was equally supported by both Christian Democrats and Social Democrats in the Netherlands. The main purpose was to reintegrate older employees into the labour market while taking advantage of their professional experience and social competences. As a matter of fact, whatever their age may be all employees are taxpayers and contribute to the social insurance system. Macro-economically speaking, it is clearly advantageous to create opportunities for older employees in the labour market rather than simply support them. This active approach has since been adopted by most Christian Democratic parties in Western Europe. However, the reasons for its adoption lay less in considerations of macroeconomic efficiency but rather the acknowledgment that this approach allows for the realisation of Christian Democratic values. These include the freedom to design one's life in a self-responsible and dignified manner without being dependent on social handouts as well as the ability to provide for oneself and to exercise solidarity.

An old proverb states that 'while work is not everything, everything is nothing without work and without income'. The objectives of Christian Democratic economic and social policies are to offer men the opportunity for free development in the market place, for example as an 'owner-entrepreneur', and to protect market mechanisms through supervision and framework legislation. By providing employment

opportunities, by safeguarding humane working conditions and maintaining stable social security systems, Christian Democratic economic and social policies aim to enable man to build a life based on freedom, social protection, as well as personal and social responsibility. By combining a liberal economic system with a social system that builds on the principle of solidarity, social market economy represents a vision of society that aims to achieve these goals. The historical review of the development of Christian Democracy in Europe clearly shows that – despite cyclical fluctuations and temporary setbacks which are almost unavoidable in the political regulation of markets – its success has been remarkable.

3.3 FAMILY POLICY

Family policy refers to the design of favourable economic, social and cultural framework conditions that allow families to thrive. Family policy seeks to guarantee the free development of the family and social justice while also offering sustainability and reliability. The German constitution states that “marriage and the family shall enjoy the special protection of the state” (Basic Law Art. 6 [1]). After the Second World War, family policy has established itself as a horizontal policy.

Families play a fundamental and indispensable role in nurturing individuals and society as a whole. Families guarantee the succession of generations, they take on a crucial role in parenting and education, they provide the basic needs for their respective members, and they help foster a sense of solidarity among the generations. It is crucial for the success of the family as a form of social policy that parental relationships and parent-child relationships reflect the wider principles of social order. It is not without reason that the German Child and Youth Services Act offers parents the opportunity for couple's counselling to help them build a stable family environment. Previously playing only a minor role in politics, families and family policy are at the centre of today's politics. The family policy of the CDU is also seeking to address societal changes. Family policy is faced with major challenges which include significant demographic changes, changing family structures as well as different cultural and ethnic interpretations of what constitutes the family and family life.

The Christian Democratic Union of Germany defines the family as a social unit where parents take responsibility for their children and *vice versa*. It thus encompasses all generations. While marriage is Christian

Democracy's paradigm of the union between man and woman, the CDU also respects the decisions of those people who have opted for alternative forms of partnership to live the life that suits them.

The CDU's understanding of the family is different from that of other parties. The CDU clearly assigns the task of raising and educating children to their parents. Its definition of the family is firmly based on the principle of subsidiarity. For most people, the family stands for a security, protection and optimism. It is mainly in the context of the family where children experience a sense of community and togetherness and the associated values of charity and solidarity. Family life teaches values that are essential for the cohesion of society as a whole.

In Christian Democratic thought, the state is not the sole provider of family policy services. Instead, family policy services are provided by a plurality of stakeholders including government, church and independent private actors. Together they offer a variety of services that reflect the plurality of family arrangements and their respective requirements. Family policy is also reflected in the support structures and supply structures that surround it. It encompasses public sector measures as well as activities of private service providers, of associations and of initiatives.

The family is where fundamental values of our society are being shaped and actively lived. Family policy is thus always a policy for the future. Since the social preconditions for families to live have altered dramatically in the past decades, the CDU has developed a sustainable family policy that reflects the changing context and which provides for improved framework conditions to allow families to thrive. For this purpose, the last few years have seen the alteration and expansion of services and the introduction of new regulation to improve their effectiveness.

In the past, family policy was regarded as integral part of government social policy. For five decades, it applied the 'rule of three' according to which 1) the state has to provide 2) to all families 3) more money – and if possible, all should receive the same amount. This reading of family policy was part of a joint definition of the social welfare state which boasted considerable financial resources but lacked appreciation by the main actors. A future-oriented family policy must take on a new direction given the severe demographic changes, changes to the working world, different cultural concepts of the family and family life, and higher demands on education.

Committed to traditional values and advocate of a value-based transformation of society, the CDU is the strongest supporter of a sustainable family policy and the sustainable support of families. The CDU's approach to a sustainable family policy is composed of the **triad of financial transfer, working time policy and the expansion of infrastructure**. All three areas have been expanded in the last few years. Besides increasing the amount of child benefit at the beginning of 2007, parental allowance was introduced as an important pillar of a modern sustainable family policy.⁷ Parental allowance provides the necessary financial security needed to allow for a good start for and with the new family member. Parental allowance has replaced child-care benefits as a measure of family policy. Child-care benefit as a policy instrument was mainly directed at low-income families with an annual gross income of up to 30,000 Euro. With the introduction of parental allowance family policy reaches out to all families.

Time is an additional important pillar of sustainable family policy as time is what families need to care for each other. The feeling of a lack of time is one of the main reasons why couples decide not to have children and is also a major cause for the break-up of families. Time structures have changed and the challenges facing families today are both numerous and varied. Traditional regulated working hours are no longer the norm and are becoming increasingly flexible. In addition, family-oriented services have failed to adjust to the flexible service society. Day nurseries, for example, are only beginning to accommodate working mothers. The increasing need for nursing care for older people also requires individual time budgets that permit working people to take time off in order to provide in-house care. According to a 2007 regulation, family members are entitled to six months unpaid leave, known as care time, and may return to their job thereafter.

The promotion of family-friendly time planning is a complex task weaving together economic, social and administrative schedules. Besides family-related part-time work and the support of home-working, parental leave as part of parenting allowance is a crucial element of a family-friendly working time policy.⁸

The third pillar of a sustainable family policy is an appropriate infrastructure. The expansion of child day care institutions plays a crucial role in allowing for family and career demands to be compatible and for the improvement of early childhood education. The objective of the law on children's development, which

came into force in December 2008, is to provide day nursery opportunities nationwide for every third child under the age of three until 2013. Around one third of the new places will be created in child day care. The same regulation also states that by 2013, every child upon completion of the first year of life is legally entitled to child development support in a day-care child facility. As early childhood education creates equal opportunities and social competencies, child day-care facilities are thus also educational institutions.

As part of the third pillar concerning adequate infrastructure, Christian Democratic family policy has also introduced 'multi-generation houses'. Across Germany, 500 multi-generation houses, where the different generations live together, have been set up so far. The proactive 'multi-generation house' programme pursues new directions both in terms of its content and the methodology applied. It creates a network through family-friendly and cross-generational services. The programme breaks new ground through the integration of the local economy as it supports a mixture of permanent employees and volunteers. Therefore, Christian Democratic family policy manages to react to demographic change.

3.4 ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY

The **preservation of creation** is the mission statement of Christian Democratic environmental policy. As part of creation, man is responsible for nature and the environment. This responsibility demands the development of a policy that ensures life-sustaining natural resources remain intact. Today's generation has to protect and pass on a world that is worth living in for future generations. Our descendents have a right to an unspoilt environment and a liveable home and our way of life today must not limit their prospects in the future. This principle of sustainability is a Christian and Conservative tradition and integral part of Christian Democratic politics. The preservation of the natural environment is an element of responsible freedom. Anyone destroying the natural environment today also threatens the continued solidarity between generations.

Over the decades, industrialised countries have been built at the expense of the environment. In view of the environmental damage clearly visible by the early 1970s, the CDU introduced the objective of preserving the natural environment in its manifesto as early as 1978. After Helmut Kohl took office as German Chancellor in 1982, the federal government became in-

creasingly active in the field of environmental protection. Helmut Kohl's chancellorship saw the creation of a federal ministry for the environment, the introduction of recycling, and the establishing of a global climate policy.

The resource-intensive economy and consumption practiced by industrialized countries cannot be the benchmark for sustainable development. Industrialized nations have to change their lifestyles and become examples for those countries that are currently experiencing major development in their efforts to bring prosperity to a huge number of people.

3.4.1 Environmental protection through the application of technology

To do without as a lifestyle will not receive enthusiastic support. A future-oriented environmental policy should strive to utilize technological progress and innovation in its quest to reduce pollution. The use and development of environmentally-friendly and resource-saving technologies is thus an indispensable element of Christian Democratic environmental policy. Man has the opportunity and duty to attend to issues with the aid of technology in a morally responsible manner. To achieve this is part of his destiny as a creation of God. Man has the power to achieve technological progress and through this to meet social and ecological demands.

This also applies to the area of transportation. Mobility is a basic need in modern societies and a prerequisite for general economic development and prosperity. There are various measures that can help reduce environmental pollution, for example, the development of low-emission vehicles, the introduction of traffic routing measures to avoid unnecessary traffic, and the enhancing of public transportation. Similarly, the efficient use of energy and the increasing use of renewable energies can greatly contribute to climate protection.

3.4.2 Environmental policy in the context of the social market economy

The preservation of creation poses a particular challenge for the regulatory policy of the social market economic model. The two constituting principles of a social market economy – freedom and responsibility – also apply to the area of environmental protection. An environmental policy that is based on the Christian view of humanity combines the individual's capability and willingness to achieve with the sustainable protection of the environment.

It is the government's task to organize the protection of the environment in manner that ensures that the natural environment remains intact. Among the list of possible and appropriate instruments of environmental policy are elements of market economic order including promotional programmes, tax incentives, taxes, licenses, liability regulations or voluntary agreements.

The rigorous implementation of the precautionary principle and the "polluter pays" principle is fundamentals to Christian Democratic environmental policy. As far as possible environmental damage should not occur in the first place, instead, it should be prevented or kept to a minimum. If damage to the environment has occurred it is the polluter who must pay for its removal.

Economic development and environmental protection are not opposed to each other. As poverty can be combated successfully with economic development it is desirable for the later to proceed with consideration given to sustainability and the protection of the environment.

3.4.3 Social and societal dimensions of environmental policy

Politics has the task of creating awareness amongst citizens of each person's responsibility towards the environment through education and information. Following the principle of subsidiarity that is integral to Christian Democratic environmental policy, civil society must be actively involved. The commitment of people's initiatives, environmental associations and societies greatly enrich the process of designing and implementing environmental policy.

Environmental policy has the potential to increase the participation of citizens in the policy-making process and thus promote democratization. Many of the people's movements in Central and Eastern Europe that ultimately led to the political transformation of 1989/90 had their origins in environmental protection initiatives. Their initial demands became increasingly politicized.

3.4.4 Implications of environmental policy for foreign and development policy

Environmental pollution and damage to the environment are international phenomena that do not stop at national borders. It has become increasingly obvious that the protection of the natural environment requires a joint global effort. An example for this global approach is the international climate change policy of the United Nations.

Poor and rich countries have to take joint measures for the protection of the environment worldwide with global environmental care and the overcoming of development problems inextricably linked. Environmental policy is a contribution towards global justice

and a significant element of foreign and development policy. Ecologically sound economic development can only be realized through international partnership and cooperation.

FURTHER INFORMATION: CURRENT POSITIONS OF THE CDU ON ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY

In the summer of 2008, the federal board of the CDU passed a policy paper on climate change, environmental protection and consumer protection. The paper contains the following demands:

- By 2050, Germany is to cover more than half of its energy needs with renewable energies.
- CO₂ emission levels in Germany are to be lowered to 40 per cent of the levels of 1990.
- European air traffic is to be included in the emissions trading scheme.
- Old coal-fired power plants are to be replaced by modern plants.
- Environmental pollution caused by traffic is to be reduced by means of pegging motor vehicle tax to CO₂ emission levels, introducing intelligent traffic lights to avoid traffic jams, and supporting advances in engine technology.
- Energy efficiency is to be increased through the reconstruction of houses, the modernization of heating systems, and the adoption of methods of construction compatible with environmental concerns.
- Recycling is to be intensified in order to eliminate waste.

3.5 FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY

In line with the Christian Democratic ethos, the main goal of foreign policy is to secure peace and freedom in the world. Of chief concern for Christian Democratic foreign policy is the widening and deepening of European integration, the expansion of transatlantic ties, and the solving of various pressing global issues. External actions are firmly rooted in common values, including freedom, democracy and the rule of law.

In the period immediately following the end of the Second World War, Christian Democrats took on an important role in driving the European integration process forward. Then German Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, and the German Federal government became a driving force in bringing about supranational European unity. The government's pursuit of a rigorous strategy of alignment with the West and Adenauer's efforts for further integration beyond the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) eventually led to the creation of the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM). Both communities came into effect with the Treaties of Rome on 1 January 1958 (see also 4.1).

After taking over the Chancellorship in the 1970s, Helmut Kohl together with the French President François Mitterrand, pushed for the further deepening of the European integration process. Amongst other things, Kohl argued in favour of creating a European Constitution. For Helmut Kohl, it was of particular importance to continue along the path towards German re-unification firmly embedded in the context of European integration. Helmut Kohl was awarded "Honorary Citizenship of Europe" for his services to European integration.

In a time of increasing global challenges, the European Union is an integral part of Christian Democratic foreign policy. The EU does not only stand for peace, prosperity and growth but also guarantees freedom and security to its citizens. It is of utmost importance that the principle of subsidiarity continues to clearly demarcate the different competencies between the European Union and its Member States, and between the regions and communities.

Christian Democratic foreign policy also declares its support for a European Defense Policy that provides the EU with its own military resources. As laid out in the Treaties of Rome, the process of European integration is a continuous and dynamic process of deepening and widening. Nonetheless, the decision to enlarge the European Union must always be based

on critical evaluation. It is for that reason that a “privileged partnership” with Turkey is favoured over full EU membership as it currently constitutes the most effective instrument to guarantee democratic, constitutional and economic development in Turkey.

The U.S. is an indispensable and strategically important partner for Germany. Given the shared values of freedom and democracy, transatlantic ties are of particular significance. An additional aspect of transatlantic relations is the shared interest in ensuring global security. The deepening of European integration does by no means translate into a weakening of the transatlantic partnership. Instead, both are crucial pillars of Christian Democratic foreign policy. A European identity does not need to alienate the U.S. and instead requires a trusting partnership. In view of the above, NATO is an indispensable instrument for the assertion of joint security interests and NATO is the key link in the transatlantic partnership.

Beyond the “double alignment with the West” namely, the parallel commitment to the European integration process and to the transatlantic partnership, the Christian view of humanity forms an additional pillar of Christian Democratic foreign policy. It is the Christian view of humanity that informs a number of foreign policy positions such as human rights policy, environmental policy and development policy (see also 3.4 and 3.6). From a Christian Democratic perspective, the global implementation of human rights is a prerequisite for the safeguarding of freedom, justice and peace in the world. It thus forms the ethical foundation of external relations. For this reason, it is important to create the necessary governmental, political and societal framework for the global advancement of human rights, for example through bilateral dialogues on the rule of law, as well as measures for the strengthening of civil society and democratization.

The protection of the environment and the preservation of God’s creation are key objectives of Christian Democratic politics. In the course of globalisation these objectives have gained an increasingly important foreign policy dimension. Climate change and air pollution do not stop at national borders and they cannot be tackled successfully by one country alone. Instead, the combat of climate change and environmental damage requires a joint effort by the international community. International cooperation is particularly important given the multitude of potential security concerns for Germany that could arise from environmental damage in far flung regions.

It is because of the same security concerns that international development cooperation must play a crucial role in Christian Democratic external relations. The international community has to dedicate itself to the strengthening of the economies of developing countries, to the creation of fair trade opportunities, and to the promotion of social security and the rule of law. International development cooperation also serves German interests. Today, international development cooperation forms an indispensable strategy in the aim to stabilize crisis regions. It is also integral part of an expanded understanding of security as captured best in the notion “networked security”. Indeed, it requires an integrated approach in order to tackle global and networked threats effectively. Strategic, political and economic partnerships, which benefit from development aid, are indispensable to the success of this integrated approach.

This is particularly true for one of today’s most crucial security concerns, namely the fight against international, mostly Islamist, terrorism. Tolerance for other cultures and religions and mutual respect are inextricably linked to the Christian faith. The goal is thus to achieve a state of peaceful and non-violent coexistence with the Islamic world. However, this goal is under threat from terrorism and fundamentalism. This requires a determined fight against any form of terrorism and violent extremism. The example of Afghanistan demonstrates that what is required in order to meet this challenge successfully is not only the coordinated deployment of military and civil means but also patience, adaptability and staying power. Christian Democratic politics that pursues peace and freedom in the world cannot evade such complex tasks. Instead, it has to build on both intensive cooperation with allied countries and courageous political leadership at home.

3.6 INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY AND DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION

With the establishment of a ministry in 1961, development policy became a distinct area of policy in Germany. The key challenge was to separate development policy from traditional Christian missionary work. At the same time, this new policy area also had to find its niche alongside foreign policy and other policy areas. The guiding principles and directions for a distinct Christian Democratic approach to development policy lie in the binding commitment towards the Christian view of humanity and the tradition of Christian social ethics. Furthermore, the approach reflects the political mission of shaping the necessary

global framework conditions that allow for decent living conditions, fair trade conditions, and global networked security besides participating in the design of a comprehensive resource and climate policy.

Christian social ethics implies an interrelationship between Christian particularism and global universalism. This in turn results in the constitutive linkage of the individual, the principle of subsidiarity and the idea of solidarity. It states that:

1. The human being as a person is responsible for his own development.
2. Human activity must always conform to the principle of subsidiarity (Self-responsibility of the respectively smaller social unit).
3. In light of the above, solidarity can be understood as helping others to help themselves thus forming the basis of development policy.

The foundation of Christian Democratic development policy is the respect for the dignity of each individual. From a Christian perspective, human dignity is inviolable and inalienable. It establishes the right to life and gives rise to the drive for justice, freedom and peace in the world. Basic values, such as the equality of all people and the universality of human rights, create a moral responsibility and the political duty to take action.

Solidarity requires not only immediate action in situations of acute hardship but the systematic commitment to achieve sustainable economic, social and ecological progress for all people. Rather than simply combating the symptoms, a successful strategy needs to systematically fight the causes of poverty, diseases, hunger and lacking education. Sustainable political progress for all people is, however, only possible within the framework of democracy, the market economy and the rule of law. In this context, Christian Democrats emphasise that effective leadership is based on individual responsibility. Christian Democrats seek to promote the spirit of enterprise and enable those who have nothing to also accumulate property. To achieve this requires political self-determination within the context of good governance. A life in freedom, prosperity and peace can only be secured under these conditions.

From a Christian Democratic perspective, development policy is largely motivated by altruistic reasons but this does not always apply. Besides a moral obligation, development policy is also motivated by national interests. This was particularly true in the period

of the ideological and power political conflict between the East and the West. Today's challenge is to steer globalisation in a fair and just direction, particularly with a special focus on developing countries and emerging industrialising nations. Indeed, the easing of migratory pressures, the improvement of the international security situation, climate protection and environmental protection, the strengthening of mutual trade and export opportunities and the creation of agreeable forms of international cooperation do not only benefit the national interests of the donor country. Receiving countries, too, benefit from peace, a fair economic and social system, the protection of God's creation and the sustainability of all countries of the world.

From a Christian Democratic perspective the normative and the interest-based motivation for development policy are both legitimate and, indeed, inextricably linked. The values by which development policy is guided help to counter selfishness, greed and abuse. At the same time, objections based on national interests help to keep policies focused on the realistically feasible and politically acceptable. Christian Democratic development policy is careful to avoid any situation where universal values are being pitched against national interests or to declare both to be mutually incompatible. In the context of development policy, normative values offer guidelines for the thoughts and actions of individual actors and for those of governments. This applies to the domestic process of shaping Germany's development policy just as it applies to Germany's cooperation with more or less developed partner countries.

Development is a complex process primarily concerned with the improvement of general living conditions and the strengthening of individual freedoms. Any development efforts have to be carried first and foremost by the people they are directed at. Any external attempts to support development processes must not simply reflect the objectives of those who aim to offer assistance. More importantly, the acknowledgement of social, economic, cultural, religious as well as ecological and regulatory traditions and identities of those the support is targeted at cannot be ignored. Dialogue is an indispensable tool in order to bring about mutual understanding or even to offer decision support in situations of severe differences of opinion. However, this is only possible if dialogue is also used as a tool to identify commonly shared values.

Development policy may be designed not only on the basis of technical, monetary or quantitative criteria. From the point of view of the Union Parties in Germany, development policy must always be based on the above mentioned normative values. In a strict sense, development policy is tasked with offering people in the poorest countries in the world as well as in transformation countries and emerging industrialising nations the opportunity for living a decent life in peace and self-determination. From a Christian Democratic perspective this objective can only be achieved if development policy is an integral part of a global political order that enables poor countries to actively participate in the shaping of the global environment.

- 1/ *Unlike post-communist and neo-fascist parties, democratic parties and affiliated organisations do not question the concept. The party manifesto of the CDU states that, "The social market economy forms the economic and social system in a free democracy" (CDU 2007: 48).*
- 2/ *According to a definition by the Commission of the European Union, medium-sized enterprises are businesses under the leadership of the owner that employ up to 250 people and have an annual turnover of no more than 50 million Euros.*
- 3/ *Besides the differences between the taxation systems of various West European countries they do share one common denominator. Countries with Christian Democratic governments impose comparatively lower taxes on their respective businesses than countries that have been governed by Social Democrats for long periods of time. The corporate tax rate in Germany is set at 15 per cent, in Switzerland at 20 per cent and in the Netherlands and Austria at 22.9 per cent. These rates are well below the average 28 per cent corporate tax rates imposed in "Social Democratic" Scandinavian countries. The tax rates for commercial and earned income, too, are higher in these countries. In the Scandinavian welfare state, social security benefits are financed through tax revenue whereas countries with a Christian Democratic government rely on contribution-based social security systems. This approach reflects the principle of subsidiarity whereby public services are not borne by the state alone but are provided for by independent subordinate levels (in Germany this is referred to as 'self-government').*
- 4/ *The difference between Social Democratic and Christian Democratic approaches to economic policy becomes apparent if one takes into account the ratio of government expenditure to gross national product or the employment rates in the public sector (public administration, social security, healthcare, police, teaching profession). Whereas the ratio of government expenditure to gross national product is below 50 per cent in West European countries with Christian Democratic governments (Germany: 45 per cent), it rises to above 50 per cent in those countries with Social Democratic government (Sweden: 55 per cent). In countries with Social Democratic leanings, the employment rates in the public sector are on average 20 per cent whereas they are as low as 10 per cent in Christian Democratic countries. In order to achieve a strong gross domestic product and to create jobs, Christian Democracy relies on a social market economy with strong private sector institutions.*
- 5/ *The global economic and financial crisis of 2008/09 forced policy-makers to intervene in the market in order to maintain some level of stability. The methods and instruments chosen by Christian Democratic parties on the one hand and left leaning parties on the other hand revealed stark differences. Whereas the latter called for ever larger economic packages and state guarantees to help business get back on their feet, Christian Democrats were more cautious and focused primarily on the identification of private investors. This is best illustrated by the example of the car manufacturer Opel and the rescue efforts for the ailing maritime industry.*
- 6/ *There are several examples that illustrate the temporary success had by Social Democrats in the attempt to achieve economic growth and to stabilise the labour market. These achievements have been possible because Social Democrats chose to stray from the traditional path largely leaving behind traditional Social Democratic ideas and approaches. Examples include the so-called 'Third Way' of the British Labour Party under Tony Blair; the 'Agenda 2010' of the SPD in Germany under leadership of Gerhard Schröder; the fiscal, employment and social reforms of the PvdA in the Netherlands under Wim Kok; and, at least in parts, reform attempts by the Swedish SAP under Göran Persson. These economic and social reforms built on tax cuts in order to stimulate private investment and domestic consumption, reductions in benefits, and a tightening of eligibility criteria for the receipt of benefits ('supporting and asking'). However, each of the above parties has paid a heavy price for this change in political course as its traditional membership base was unwilling to lend its support.*
- 7/ *Child benefit is calculated according to the number of children irrespective of income. For the first and second child, parents receive 184 Euros each, for the third child they receive 190 Euros and for the fourth and each additional child they receive a monthly allowance of 215 Euros. Child benefit is paid for every child up to the age of 18. Child benefit is extended up to the age of 25 if the child is in education or training. It is extended up to the age of 21 if the child is unemployed. Parental allowance amounts to 67 per cent of the monthly net income with a cap of 1800 Euro and a minimum sum of 300 Euro. Unemployed parents receive the minimal amount on top of the previous family income. Parental allowance is paid to father and mother for a maximum of 14 months. Both parents can freely divide the period of parental allowance between them.*
- 8/ *Parental leave can be taken for a maximum of 14 months after the birth of the child. During this time, the family is entitled to parental allowance in order to secure the family economically. Parental leave can be divided between both partners. One partner is entitled to a maximum of 12 months, the additional two months are awarded only if the second partner participates in the child care (father months). Single parents are entitled to the full 14 months of parental leave.*

4. OUTSTANDING EUROPEAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS

4.1 KONRAD ADENAUER (1876–1967)

Konrad Adenauer was the first chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany and chairman of the CDU Germany from 1950 to 1966.

Konrad Adenauer was born in Cologne on 5 January 1876. He was the son of a Catholic civil servant. Trained as a lawyer, he began his political career in 1906 when he was elected to Cologne's city council. In 1917 he was elected mayor of Cologne. A member of the Catholic Centre Party, he served as mayor until 1933 when he was ousted by the National Socialists. Following short stays at the abbey of Maria Laach and in Potsdam, Adenauer spent the time of the Nazi dictatorship in Rhöndorf by Bonn until he was arrested by the Gestapo in August 1944 and imprisoned for several months. After the liberation and occupation of Cologne by American troops, the American occupation force installed him again as mayor of Cologne in early May 1945. In June 1945, the British Military Government took control over the Rhineland. Adenauer was dismissed from his post in October 1945 and temporarily barred from any political activity.

After his dismissal as mayor of Cologne, Adenauer devoted himself to building a new Christian Democratic Union. Early on he held a number of key positions within the party which allowed him to help shape the party's organisational structure and its political agenda. He advocated that the CDU should become a party open to both Catholics and Protestants. In 1946, Adenauer became leader of the CDU in the Rhineland and in the British zone. He was also confirmed as chairman of the CDU parliamentary group in Northrhine Westphalia's state parliament. He was elected chairman of the Parliamentary Council on 1 September 1948. In this role, he was heavily involved in the creation of the constitution (Basic Law) of the Federal Republic of Germany which came into force on 23 May 1949.

After the first German federal election was held on 14 August 1949, Adenauer formed a coalition government with the support of the CDU, its Bavarian sister party CSU, the liberal Free Democratic Party, and the Conservative German Party (DP). On 15 September 1949, Adenauer was elected the first chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany. He held this post for more than 14 years. Until he relinquished the chancellorship on 15 October 1963 he had headed five federal cabinets. Between March 1951, when the Foreign Office was founded, and June 1955 Konrad Adenauer concurrently held the posts of chancellor and foreign minister.

Under his leadership, the CDU/CSU won the absolute majority in the federal parliamentary elections with 50.2 per cent of all votes. From 22 October 1950 to 22 March 1966 Adenauer was chairman of the CDU Germany; later on he became its honorary chairman. He remained a member of the West German parliament until his death on 19 April 1967.

Many landmark decisions relating to domestic and foreign policy taken during the Adenauer era between 1949 and 1963 continue to shape the political orientation of the Federal Republic of Germany until this day. The following domestic policy decisions were of particular importance. They include the creation of the Christian Democratic Union as a cross-community, democratic people's party; the implementation of social market economy as the economic and social model for the Federal Republic of Germany; and the so-called 'burden sharing' of financial compensation of those German citizens who had been affected by wartime destruction and expulsion. Even the dynamic pension system introduced under Adenauer in 1957 to safeguard living standards in old age is still in effect. In foreign policy terms, Adenauer aimed at regaining national sovereignty, integrating the Federal Republic of Germany firmly in the community of Western democracies, and strengthening political and economic ties within Europe.

Adenauer's firm commitment to the goal of alignment with the West was based not only on his fear of Soviet expansionism and his strong anti-Communist sentiments but also his belief that "our cultural origins and our ethos make us part of Western Europe" as he declared in his first government declaration. His strong commitment to integration with the West won him the trust of the Western occupying forces. With the entry into force of the Treaties of Paris on 5 May 1955 the Federal Republic regained partial sovereignty and became a member of NATO. Vivid expression of West Germany's regained sovereignty was the foundation of the *Bundeswehr*, within the framework of NATO, and the introduction of general conscription in 1956.

Just like the French foreign minister Robert Schuman, Konrad Adenauer was a dedicated campaigner for the process of European integration. The creation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the European Economic Community (EEC), and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) all happened during his term of office. Reconciliation with France was both a necessary prerequisite to and an integral element of Adenauer's policy of alignment with the West. In early 1963, this strategy culminated in the signing of the German-French Friendship Treaty by Konrad Adenauer and Charles de Gaulle.

Besides reconciliation with France, the reconciliation with the Jewish people was not simply a political objective but a matter of the heart for Konrad Adenauer. Only a few weeks into his first term in office, Adenauer sought to establish contact with Jewish representatives. While moral and financial reparations could never amount to more than just a symbolic gesture in light of the atrocities committed by Nazi Germany, they constituted a clear obligation for Germany and were an integral part of the country's constitutional and moral reconstruction. Relations between the federal government and representatives of the State of Israel were tense and extremely difficult to establish. A first beginning was marked by an interview with the editor of the "*Allgemeinen Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland*" in November 1949. In September 1952, Adenauer and the Israeli foreign minister Moshe Sharett signed the first reparations agreement between the Federal Republic of Germany and the State of Israel. After Germany had fulfilled its obligations under the agreement on 29 March 1966, a few months after his ninetieth birthday in May 1966 Adenauer travelled to Israel to visit the founder of Israel David Ben Gurion at his home. Adenauer's actions raised public awareness of

Germany's special responsibility towards Israel which constitutes a non-negotiable element of foreign policy to this day.

In the light of escalating tensions between the East and the West, ensuring democracy and freedom in the Federal Republic and seeking integration with the West were of absolute priority for Adenauer. As the political and security situation at the time did not offer a viable alternative to Germany's alignment with the West, Adenauer was forced to accept a temporary deepening of the division of Germany. Adenauer repeatedly emphasized that German reunification in peace and freedom was only possible through European integration and the defusing of the Cold war conflict. However, these goals could only be achieved if the West stood strong and united. The historical events of the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989 and the reunification of Germany in 1990 offered justification for Adenauer's policy on Germany.

As the first chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany Konrad Adenauer set the course for the young federal republic's democratic development in peace and prosperity. His determination to closely align Germany with the Western powers along with his efforts for reconciliation with Germany's neighbours and for European integration are of lasting significance in the history of Germany.

4.2 LUDWIG ERHARD (1897–1977)

Ludwig Erhard served as minister of economics from 1949 to 1963, as chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany and as chairman of the CDU Germany in 1966/67.

Ludwig Erhard was born in Fürth in the state of Bavaria on 4 February 1897. After finishing school and completing his commercial apprenticeship he worked as retail salesman in his father's draper's shop. Because he had suffered a serious injury during World War I, he could no longer work as a draper. He began to study economics and sociology, first in Nuremberg, later at the University in Frankfurt am Main where he received his doctorate from Franz Oppenheimer in 1929.

After his graduation he worked as a research associate at the *Institut für Wirtschaftsbeobachtung der deutschen Fertigware*, a marketing research institute in Nuremberg. Later, he became deputy director of the institute. His responsibilities included the publication of a monthly association journal that discussed current issues pertaining to economic policy. During the

Second World War, he worked on concepts for a post-war economic system. As activities of this kind were forbidden by the National Socialist regime he was removed from his post as deputy director of his institute. Erhard continued his studies in private and in 1944 he completed "*Kriegsfinanzierung und Schuldenkonsolidierung*" (War Finances and Debt Consolidation). The work was well received amongst the German resistance who saw in it the work the foundation for Germany's post-war reconstruction.

After the war, the politically unsullied Erhard was made minister of economics of Bavaria by the American military administration. Two years later in 1947, Erhard became chairman of the *Sonderstelle Geld und Kredit* (Special Department for Money and Credit) – an expert commission preparing currency reform. In 1948 he was elected director of economics by the Bizonal Economic Council. In this role, Erhard headed the legislative preparations for the lifting of production controls and the abolishment of price-fixing. When currency reform was introduced in the three western occupation zones on 20 June 1948, Erhard used the opportunity to also implement substantial economic reforms without, however, seeking prior approval of either the state council or the military government. He publicly announced the beginning of a new economic system free from production controls and price-fixing. While he viewed his actions as economically necessary they did lack legal and political approval. He succeeded with this courageous step because of the subsequent approval by the American military governor in Germany, General Lucius D. Clay, and because of the immediate legitimization by the state council which took place on the evening of 21 June.

Due to the early successes of his economic policy Erhard became the most prominent German politician in the period prior to the first federal parliamentary elections. German chancellor Adenauer succeeded in convincing Erhard of becoming a member of the CDU. His economic concept of the social market economic model dominated the party's election campaign and became part of the party platform in what was termed the 'Düsseldorf Guidelines for Economic Policy'. As top CDU candidate for Württemberg-Baden, Erhard won a direct mandate for the German parliament in the constituency of Ulm/Heidenheim. On 20 September 1949, Erhard was appointed minister of economics in the first cabinet of Konrad Adenauer.

From the beginning of his term in office as minister of economics, Erhard focused his attention on developing a market economic policy that was not only

tailored to the respective social conditions but offered also enough leeway for the free play of forces in an efficiency-enhancing manner. His policy approach thus focused on the creation and completion of a free market order. Besides his commitment to liberalization of foreign trade Erhard's policy highlighted in particular the principle of effective competition. Erhard considered the anti-cartel legislation of 1957 the 'basic law' of the economic order and the core of social market economy. The law lent support to consumer sovereignty by preventing market agreements that could lead to constraints on competition.

Erhard's policy reaped rewards by as early as the mid-1950s – earning him the nickname 'father of the German economic miracle'. The German economy boasted high growth rates, remarkable wage increases, stable prices, full employment and social security while maintaining balanced public accounts. Erhard himself did not view these developments as miraculous but saw them as the result of a well-calculated concept and a consistent policy approach which he described in layman terms in his book *Wohlstand für alle* (1957).

Erhard viewed the social market economic model as more than simply an economic theory. Instead, he considered the concept an expression of social ethics with economic policy and social policy forming a permanent connection. To illustrate this point, he argued that the success of economic policy would rise proportionally with the decrease in social-political interventions and support measures. Erhard repeatedly warned of the dangers of a nanny state. A nanny state, he argued, could only be avoided if maximum freedom remained protected and each individual took responsibility. Social policy, he argued, should not aim at protecting man against all possible risk life faced from the moment of birth. A social market economy that focuses on the initiative of the individual, he said, can only thrive if a guarantee of maximum freedom, private initiative and self-sufficiency allow for the development of strength, performance, initiative and the best of human values.

Nonetheless, Erhard's policy was by no means dogmatic. He emphasized that even an excellent economic policy in modern industrialized countries needs to be supplemented with social policies. Among the most important social policies introduced by Erhard were the introduction of the pay-based or pay-as-you-go pension system (1957) and the associated significant increase in pension benefits, and the introduction of a progressive income tax system (1958). In view

of the widespread destruction of housing during the war, Erhard accepted massive state intervention in the area of housing policy as necessary until a functioning market could be created.

However, Erhard's policies were not always met with approval as illustrated by the General Strike of 1948. Caused by temporarily rising unemployment rates, the strike was directed against the measures introduced by Erhard. An additional source of conflict was the massive resistance of industry against the anti-cartel legislation of 1957. Even Erhard's relationship with Adenauer was marred by conflict. A particular source of disagreement concerned their opposing views on Germany's policy towards Europe. The two most important political protagonists in post-war West Germany disagreed on the details of the European Coal and Steel Community (1951) and the Treaties of Rome (1957). Erhard feared that increasing institutionalization of European integration would undermine a functioning market economy and threaten economic freedom.

During his entire time in office as minister of economics, Erhard was a guarantor of the popularity of the federal government and as such for the election successes of the CDU. Upon pressure by coalition partner the FDP following the federal parliamentary elections in 1963, Adenauer announced his resignation by the middle of the legislative period. The CDU appointed Erhard to succeed Adenauer and on 16 October 1963 he was elected the second chancellor by the German Bundestag.

Compared to his time as minister of economics, Erhard was less successful in his role as chancellor. He was criticized by members of the CDU for having allowed Germany's relationship with France to cool by giving priority to transatlantic relations. Domestically, Erhard tried to initiate reforms that would help create an environment of intellectual openness and introduce a new political style. However, his ideal of a 'formed society' that would mobilise the integrative forces of the social market economy for the pursuit of common interests failed to gather much support.

Despite his almost triumphant re-election as West German Chancellor in 1965 (the CDU/CSU won 47.6 per cent of all votes) the electoral success failed to strengthen his position and his leadership strength steadily dwindled. With the onset of economic and budgetary difficulties in 1966 which resulted in the second recession during the post-war period and a sharp increase in unemployment rates, his reputation

as an economic expert suffered. When the CDU experienced heavy defeats in several state parliamentary elections, particularly in North Rhine Westphalia on 10 July 1966, and coalition partner the FDP withdrew from the government and Ludwig Erhard resigned from his post as chancellor on 1 December 1966.

The name Ludwig Erhard stands for the implementation of social market economy as the economic model of the Federal Republic of Germany. His policies laid the foundation for the economic and social progress of the Federal Republic of Germany that has gained global admiration and which entered history books as an economic miracle.

Ludwig Erhard passed away in Bonn on 5 May 1977 at the age of 80.

4.3 ALCIDE DE GASPERI (1881–1954)

Alcide De Gasperi was prime minister of Italy from 1945 to 1953 and secretary-general of *Democrazia Cristiana* from 1944 to 1946 and again from 1953 to 1954.

Alcide De Gasperi was born in Pieve Tesino, an area that at that time was part of Austria-Hungary, on 3 April 1881. His father was a Catholic local police officer. In 1900 he joined the University of Vienna to study Philosophy, Literature and History. In 1905, he received his doctorate. Even as a student he was actively involved in the civil society of the Habsburg monarchy. At only 21 years of age he became chairman of the Trentino Catholic Association of Academics. After graduating he started work at the newspaper *Il Trentino*, first as a journalist and in 1906 as its editor. The newspaper was affiliated with the *Partito Popolare Trentino* (Trentino People's Party) which stood for greater cultural and political autonomy of the Italian provinces.

He began his political career in 1911 when he became a member of parliament in the Austrian *Reichsrat*. In 1914 he was elected into the Tyrol Regional Assembly as representative of his home province Trentino. As a member of parliament he stood for greater autonomy and democracy and against the centralist politics of the government in Vienna.

After the defeat of Austria-Hungary in the First World War and the incorporation of South Tyrol to Italy through the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye in 1919, Alcide De Gasperi became one of the founders of the Catholic *Partito Popolare Italiano* (Italian People's Party, PPI). After the elections of 1921, he served as leader of the floor for the PPI in the Italian parliament.

Benito Mussolini's seizure of power in 1922 marked the beginning of Alcide De Gasperi's political and journalistic struggle against the Fascist regime. In 1923 he took on the additional role of secretary-general of the PPI. Despite the political climate of violence and intimidation by the Fascists, De Gasperi continued to oppose Mussolini's rule and to criticize Fascism. In 1926, both, his newspaper, which he had renamed *Il Nuovo Italiano* following the annexation of Trentino by Italy and the PPI were banned. De Gasperi was arrested in 1927. After 16 months in jail the Vatican negotiated his release and after 1929 he found shelter and employment in the Vatican's library.

Prior to Mussolini's fall in July 1943 Alcide De Gasperi had been active underground. He played a key role in the foundation of the PPI's successor organisation *Democrazia Cristiana* (Christian Democracy). After the liberation of Rome by the Allied forces in June 1944 he represented the *Democrazia Cristiana* (DC) as a minister without portfolio in a post-Fascist all-party coalition. In December 1944 Alcide De Gasperi became foreign minister in the political cabinet of the all-party coalition. He had earlier been appointed the first secretary-general of his party. Finally, in December 1945, he became prime minister. A vote of no confidence forced him to resign in 1953. Until then, he had been prime minister of eight different political cabinets in total. In 1951 he had also once again taken on the leadership of the foreign ministry.

As prime minister, Alcide De Gasperi faced many challenges. These included the signing of the Paris Peace Treaty between Italy and the Allies in 1947; the spiritual and moral restoration of Italy following more than two decades of Fascist dictatorship; the coming to terms with a lost war; the task of physical and economic reconstruction; the transition from a monarchy to a Republic following a referendum in 1946; and the establishment of the rule of law and a parliamentary democracy.

Like Adenauer did in Germany, Alcide De Gasperi decided to pursue Italy's uncompromising alignment with the West instead of the pro-Soviet stance that was favoured by leftist parties. With the onset of the Cold War immediately after the end of the Second World War, he sought solidarity with the United States and the Western democratic powers. He purposefully guided his country to enter the Western defence and value community and in 1949, Italy became one of the founding members of NATO.

As a visionary of a politically and economically united and peaceful Europe, Alcide De Gasperi was a strong proponent of the European integration process. He played a leading role in the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1952. He is rightly considered one of the founding fathers of the European Union alongside Robert Schuman, Konrad Adenauer and Joseph Bech. Nonetheless, the economic integration of the member states was not sufficient for him. Instead, he envisioned the foundation of a common European political community. To achieve this goal, he successfully argued for the creation of a parliamentary assembly during the negotiations on the ECSC. This council was to add a political and democratic dimension to the European Coal and Steel Community. Indeed, from the Council later evolved into the European Parliament. Undoubtedly, he plans for a European Political Community (EPC) owe their existence to De Gasperi's initiative. Although the project eventually failed when the French National Assembly refused to ratify the treaty in 1954, De Gasperi also helped develop the idea of the common European Defence Community.

On 11 May 1954, Alcide De Gasperi was elected council president of the ECSC. Earlier, in 1952, he had been awarded the international Charlemagne Prize by the city of Aachen in recognition of his contribution to the unification of Europe. Alcide De Gasperi passed away in Borgo Valsugana on 19 August 1954. He is remembered to this day as a great politician and statesman. After years of dictatorship and terror, his decisive actions led Italy on the path towards democracy, the rule of law and pluralism. Alcide De Gasperi is remembered as one of the founding fathers of the European Union.

4.4 ROBERT SCHUMAN (1886–1963)

Robert Schuman was prime minister of France from 1947 to 1948 and again from 1948 to 1952, and foreign minister of the Fourth French Republic.

Schuman was born in Clausen, a suburb of Luxembourg as the son of affluent Catholic parents. His father had left Lorraine after it had been annexed by the German Empire in 1871. In 1904 he joined the University of Bonn to study law. He continued his studies at the universities of Munich, Berlin and Strasbourg where he received his doctorate in 1910. Two years later he opened a solicitor's firm in Metz, Lorraine. As Robert Schuman had been exempted from military service in 1908, he was drafted by the German side to provide civil assistance in Metz and Boulay when the First World War began on August 1914.

After the First World War, Alsace-Lorraine was returned to France and Schuman became a French citizen in 1919. The same year marked the beginning of his political career. In November 1919 he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies as member of the *Union Républicaine Lorraine* and he entered the French parliament as representative of Lorraine. He successfully defended his mandate until 1940 representing different parties; he initially stood for *Entente Républicaine Démocratique*, and in 1932 he became a representative of *Parti Démocratique Populaire*. As member of the Chamber of Deputies he was actively involved in the Committee on Alsace-Lorraine which represented the region's interests within France. From 1919 to 1927, Robert Schuman held the post of parliamentary state secretary. He was vice-president of the Committee since 1927 and president from 1929 to 1936.

Even before the German army invaded France in May 1940, Robert Schuman had been appointed deputy undersecretary at the Refugee Office. After France's surrender in June 1940 and the occupation of Northern France by German troops, Schuman turned down the offer of a ministerial position in the Vichy government and left for Metz. He was arrested by the *Gestapo* on 14 September 1940 and sent to prison in Neustadt, Rhineland-Palatinate. He managed to escape to France in August 1942 where he lived underground and established contact with the *Résistance*. After the liberation of France by Allied forces, Robert Schuman became a founding member and influential figure of the *Mouvement Républicaine Populaire*.

Between 1945 and 1946, Robert Schuman was member of both constitutional national assemblies. As a representative of *Mouvement Républicaine Populaire* he was re-elected to the *Assemblée Nationale* in 1946. He held his seat in the national assembly until 1962. Earlier in June of the same year, Schuman had been appointed minister of finance in the provisional government. On 24 November 1947 he was elected prime minister of the Fourth French Republic. Only seven days after he relinquished his post as prime minister on 19 July 1948 he was appointed foreign minister. He remained in this role until January 1953 as member of five rather short-lived political cabinets. During his time in office, he guaranteed the continuity of French foreign policy. From 1955 until early 1956 Schuman held the post of minister of justice.

As foreign minister, Robert Schuman played a key role in the initiation and negotiation of all significant international agreements of the early post-war period. His term in office overlapped with the foundation of the Council of Europe and NATO (1949) as well as the signing of the European Convention on Human Rights (1950). At the heart of Schuman's approach to foreign policy stood reconciliation with Germany and the creation of European institutions that would involve the Federal Republic of Germany. His foreign policy goals were to secure peace and freedom in Europe and to create wealth and prosperity. Given Germany's aggressiveness towards France in the first half of the 20th century, the integration of the Federal Republic of Germany into supranational organizations was seen as instrumental to guaranteeing France's security needs. On 9 May 1950 Robert Schuman proposed the creation of a High Commission that was to oversee and regulate all coal and steel production of France and Germany. The French plan invited all other European countries to join this supranational organization which laid the foundation for the economic and political integration of Western Europe and guaranteed peaceful relations on the European continent. The so-called "Schuman Plan", prepared by Jean Monet, head of the French planning authority, was welcomed by Konrad Adenauer as well as the Benelux countries and Italy. The foreign ministers of France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands signed the agreement for the European Coal and Steel Community in Paris in April 1951. The treaty came into force on 23 July 1952. The European Coal and Steel Community then went on to form the nucleus of European integration.

Robert Schuman also proposed the creation of a European Defence Community (EDC) and a European Political Community (EPC). However, both projects failed when the French national assembly refused to ratify the corresponding treaties in 1954.

Robert Schuman held the post of president of the European Parliament between 1958 and 1960. After his resignation he became its honorary president. On 15 May 1958 he was awarded the international Charlemagne Prize by the city of Aachen "in recognition of his efforts to create the foundations for the political and economic integration of Europe and his efforts to secure a peaceful future for Germany and France". Robert Schuman died in Scy-Chazelles near Metz on 4 September 1963 at the age of 77. He is remembered in history as one of the founding fathers of the European Union.

4.5 HELMUT KOHL (* 1930)

Helmut Kohl was born in Ludwigshafen am Rhein on 3 April 1930 as son to a civil servant and grew up in a conservative Catholic family. Even before finishing high school in 1950 Helmut Kohl became politically active by first joining the CDU's youth branch *Junge Union* and later, in 1947, the CDU. While still at university, Helmut Kohl already climbed the ranks of the party by first becoming member of the board of the CDU district branch Palatinate in 1953 and in 1955 becoming member of the Land executive of the CDU, Rhineland-Palatinate.

In 1951 he studied history, political sciences and law at the universities of Frankfurt and Heidelberg. He worked as a research associate at the University of Heidelberg where he received his doctorate in 1958. In 1959, at the age of 29, Helmut Kohl became the CDU's youngest member in the state parliament of Rhineland-Palatinate. He held on to his mandate in the state parliament until 1976. Between 1963 and 1969 Helmut Kohl was chairman of the CDU parliamentary group in the state parliament. He was elected CDU state chair of Rhineland-Palatinate in 1966. In 1969, halfway through the parliamentary term, he was appointed prime minister of Rhineland-Palatinate. With Helmut Kohl at the helm the CDU managed to win an absolute majority of votes in the state elections of 1971 and 1975. His greatest achievements as prime minister of Rhineland-Palatinate were comprehensive regional and administrative reforms as well as major reforms of the education, social security and health systems of Rhineland-Palatinate.

In 1973 Helmut Kohl was elected as federal chairman of the CDU in Germany – an office he held for over 25 years. Under his leadership the CDU transformed into a much more modern and professional party. More specifically, the party strengthened its programmes, increased the number of full-time staff and strengthened local structures. The CDU succeeded in attracting members of all strata of society and party membership rose to 700,000. Helmut Kohl thus turned the CDU into a modern and efficient people's party.

Helmut Kohl stood as the Union's candidate for chancellor in the federal parliamentary elections of 1976. He narrowly failed to win the absolute majority of second votes which enabled his Social Democrat opponent, Helmut Schmidt, to once again form a coalition government between SPD and FDP. Kohl was elected as chairman of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group and became leader of the opposition in the German *Bundestag*. In the federal parliamentary

elections of 1980 he had to yield the candidacy for federal chancellor to the chairman of the Bavarian sister party CSU, Franz Josef Strauß. Following the re-election of SPD and FDP he remained leader of the opposition in the German *Bundestag*. After the collapse of the social-liberal coalition and the first successful no confidence vote in the history of the Federal Republic, Helmut Kohl was appointed federal chancellor on 1 October 1982. With repeated electoral successes in 1983, 1987, 1990 and 1994 the Christian-liberal majority in the German parliament subsequently re-confirmed Kohl in his role as federal chancellor. It was only in 1998, that the CDU/CSU and FDP failed to win the majority of votes in the federal parliamentary elections. After having served as chancellor for 16 years, Helmut Kohl had to relinquish his post. He declined continuing as party chairman and at the federal party conference in Bonn in November 1998, he was made honorary president of the CDU. He relinquished this post on 18 January 2000 in connection with a financing scandal concerning the party.

In 1983, at the beginning of his chancellorship and against the heavy protests of the peace movement, Helmut Kohl implemented NATO's twin-track decision of 1979 which provided for the stationing of nuclear U.S. medium-range missiles on German territory. As he announced in his government declaration in 1982, his economic and regulatory policy approach was based on a strengthening of the principles of the social market economy. Through the consistent implementation of a consolidation and stabilisation policy, the Christian-liberal coalition succeeded in stabilising social security contribution rates and lowered both government spending and inflation rates. Furthermore, gross domestic product steadily rose while the number of people in employment fell to 2.24 million in the period between 1982 and 1989 and the rate of new annual government borrowing declined.

Helmut Kohl used the historical opportunity that presented itself after the fall of the Berlin Wall on 9 November 1989 to lead the work of his predecessor Konrad Adenauer to successful conclusion for Germany's peaceful reunification. On 28 November 1989 Helmut Kohl presented to the German parliament a ten-point programme as part of a phased plan to achieve German reunification. In the first and only free election of East Germany's *Volkskammer* (parliament) on 18 March 1990, the majority of the East German electorate voted by an overwhelming majority for the parties of the "Alliance for Germany" which demanded swift accession to West Germany. The currency, economic and social union between the

Federal Republic and the GDR was created on 1 July 1990 followed by the signing of the Unification Treaty, which spelled out the details of German reunification, on 31 August 1990.

Mikhail Gorbachev's approval of unified Germany's membership to NATO, which he signalled during a meeting between both leaders in the Caucasus, marked a foreign policy breakthrough for Helmut Kohl. On 12 September 1990 full state sovereignty of unified Germany was produced in the Two-Plus-Four-Treaty with the victorious powers of the Second World War. On 3 October 1990, the newly-formed German states Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Brandenburg, Saxony-Anhalt, Thuringia, Saxony as well as the districts of East Berlin joined the jurisdiction of the German Constitution (Basic Law). German reunification marked the pinnacle of Helmut Kohl's political career.

As a fervent supporter of Europe, Helmut Kohl also strongly promoted a further deepening of the European integration process. His European policy success stories include the Schengen Agreement of 1985 which aimed at the abolishing of all internal border controls; the Maastricht Treaty of 7 February 1992 which created the European Union and led to the creation of the economic and monetary union (EMU); and the Amsterdam Treaty of 2 October 1997 which allowed for institutional and structural reforms of the EU.

During the second part of his term of office Helmut Kohl was faced with the key challenge of integrating the five new and economically weak East German states into the wider German community. The actual state of the East German economy was much worse than experts had initially anticipated causing the cost of reunification to soar well above the allocated budget. To cope with the costs of reunification, tax increases and an increase in government borrowing became unavoidable. Similarly, the transformation of the East German economy was not possible without a rise in unemployment figures. To make matters worse, the SPD majority in the German parliament blocked important tax reform proposals by the Christian-liberal government coalition, including the proposal for a comprehensive tax reform of 1997.

Helmut Kohl was presented with numerous awards in recognition of his achievements for the reunification of Germany and the integration of Europe. In October 1989 he received the Grand Cross 1st class of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany

with laurel wreath. In 1999 U.S.-President Bill Clinton presented him with the Presidential Medal of Freedom. In December 1998 he was named Honorary Citizen of Europe by the heads of state and government of the EU. This honour had previously only been bestowed on Frenchman Jean Monnet, one of the founding fathers of the European Communities.

4.6 WILFRIED MARTENS (*1936)

Wilfried Martens was prime minister of Belgium from 1979 to 1992. He has been president of the European People's Party since 1990.

He was born in Sleidinge in East Flanders on 14 April 1936 as son to a Catholic farmer. After completing his studies in Law and Philosophy and graduating with a doctorate in Law from the Catholic University Leuven, Wilfried Martens worked as a lawyer at the Court of Appeal in Gent.

During his studies he was actively involved in the Flemish student movement, for example, as president of the Association of Flemish Students. He was member of the executive board of the Flemish People's Movement between 1960 and 1964. His political career began in 1965 when he joined the Belgian Christian People's Party, *Christelijke Volkspartij (CVP)* and was subsequently appointed member of the team of advisors in the political cabinet of Prime Minister Pierre Harmel. After Harmel had relinquished his post as prime minister, Wilfried Martens continued to act as advisor to various coalition governments.

Martens quickly climbed the ranks within the CVP. In 1967 and again in 1969 he was elected president of the CVP youth organisation. Later, in 1972 he became president of the CVP. He remained in this post until 1979. In his role as chairman of the CVP, Wilfried Martens was the driving force behind the election campaign which led his party to victory in 1974. He became a member of the Belgian chamber of deputies in the same year and held on to his mandate until 1991. From 1991 to 1994 Wilfried Martens was senator in the Belgian senate.

In 1979 he was appointed Prime Minister of Belgium heading numerous coalition governments until 1991. Among the list of outstanding political achievements during his term in office was the transformation of Belgium from a centralized to a federal state based on the constitutional amendment of 1988. Martens undertook great efforts to tackle Belgium's worsening economic difficulties with a number of reforms. As Belgian prime minister he was also very supportive

of the European integration process and in 1988 he vehemently defended European cooperation against attacks by the then British prime minister Margaret Thatcher.

Wilfried Martens had been a strong proponent of the European integration project even before his appointment as prime minister. He played a key role in strengthening cooperation between European Christian Democrats and synergizing their respective organisations. In 1976 he became a founding member of the European People's Party (EPP) which he has been heading as president since 1990. At the end of his term as prime minister in 1992 and following his election into the European Parliament (EP) in 1994, he took on the role of chairman of the EPP parliamentary group in the EP. Simultaneously, from 1993 to 1996 Wilfried Martens acted as chairman of the European Union of Christian Democrats (EUCD), which made way for the EPP in 1996. He was also president of the World Federation of Christian Democratic Parties (CDI-IDC) between October 2000 and November 2001.

Wilfried Martens has been presented with numerous national and international awards. He was awarded the Spanish Carl V Award in 1998 in recognition of his engagement on behalf of the European Union (EU).

4.7 JEAN-CLAUDE JUNCKER (* 1954)

Jean-Claude Juncker has held the post of Prime Minister of Luxembourg since 1995. From 1989 to 2009 he concurrently held the post of finance minister. He has been the chairman of the Christian-Social People's Party (CVS) from 1990 to 1995.

Jean-Claude Juncker was born in Redange-sur-Attert in the West of Luxembourg on 9 December 1954 as the son of a steelworker. After completing high school he joined the Christian-Social People's Party in 1974. Juncker went on to study Law at the University of Strasbourg and attained a Master of Law degree in 1979.

Jean-Claude Juncker already displayed significant political initiative and talent while still at university. In 1979 he was promoted to parliamentary secretary followed swiftly by his appointment as state secretary at the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs in December 1982. In 1984 at the age of 29, he earned election to the Chamber of Deputies of Luxembourg and immediately took the offices of minister for labour and minister for budgetary affairs. Juncker's European credentials first emerged when he took on the chair-

person's role at the meetings of the Social and Budget Council of the European Communities during the period of Luxembourg's Council Presidency.

After the parliamentary elections of 1989, Jean-Claude Juncker took on the Finance portfolio along with his minister of labour post. In this role he succeeded in enforcing amendments to Luxembourg's labour and unemployment law. In 1992 he submitted a proposal for a fundamental tax reform to parliament which came into force in January 1993. He played a crucial role in further reducing Luxembourg's national debt which was comparatively low to begin with.

In 1994 Luxembourg was the only country to comply with the convergence criteria as laid out in the Maastricht Treaty required for accession to Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). Earlier, in January 1990, Jean-Claude Juncker had taken on the chairmanship of the Christian-Social People's Party. He remained in this post until early 1995. From 1989 to 1995 Juncker was appointed governor of the World Bank.

In his role as chairman of the Economic and Financial Affairs Council (ECOFIN) of the European Communities he was greatly involved in the drafting of the Maastricht Treaty which established the European Union and also laid the foundation for the creation of EMU. It was Juncker's proposal to include an opt-out clause in the treaty in order to accommodate British interests which prevented the negotiations on EMU from collapsing.

After his re-election to parliament in 1994 he was confirmed in his role as minister in charge of the portfolios of finance and labour. In January 1995 he was appointed prime minister after his predecessor Jacques Santer had been named President of the European Commission. Besides his role as finance and labour minister Jean-Claude Juncker also took control over the treasury. Since 1995 he concurrently held the post of governor of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and governor of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD).

As prime minister of Luxembourg, Juncker pursued a very active and dedicated European policy. He vehemently opposed any attempts to water down the Maastricht Treaty and the convergence criteria stipulated therein. At the European Council in Dublin, Jean-Claude Juncker successfully mediated a dispute over economic and monetary union-policy between French president Jacques Chirac and German chancellor Helmut Kohl which earned him widespread admi-

ration. 1997 brought the rotating presidency of the European Council to Luxembourg. Jean-Claude Juncker was able to make significant contributions to the design of the intra-community agenda. In December 1997, the European Council in Luxembourg agreed on opening accession negotiations with ten Central and East European countries. 1997 also saw the creation of the *Euro 11*, an informal group of European finance ministers for matters regarding the Economic and Monetary Union. Since 2005 Jean-Claude Juncker presides of this body which has since been renamed "Eurogroup".

The Christian-Social People's Party emerged victorious from the elections to Luxembourg's Chamber of Deputies in June 1999 and entered a coalition government with the Democratic Party (DP). The prime minister remained in office. From 1999 to 2004 he concurrently took on the portfolios of finance and communication. Following the election success of the Christian-Social People's Party in 2004 and the formation of a government with the Luxembourg Socialist Workers Party (LSWP), which had been its coalition partner in 1984 and 1999 respectively, Jean-Claude Juncker was reconfirmed in the offices of Prime Minister, Minister of State and Minister of Finance.

In 2005, Luxembourg held the European Presidency for a second time during Jean-Claude Juncker's term in office. It was thanks to the mediation by Luxembourg's prime minister that the European Council agreed on the reform of the Stability and Growth Pact. Juncker also managed to achieve agreement on the revival of the Lisbon strategy of 2000 in order to place more emphasis on the social and ecological aspects of the European integration process. Jean-Claude Juncker lobbied hard for the adoption of the EU Constitution and during a referendum held on 10 July 2005 the people of Luxembourg voted in its favour. This success was even more significant as previous referendums held in France and the Netherlands had been unsuccessful.

Without the dedication of Jean-Claude Juncker, the European integration process would not have reached the depth that it boasts today. It was down to his determination and initiative but most of all his mediating skills that allowed for the successful conclusion of many past European Council negotiations. A believer in the peaceful unification of Europe, Jean-Claude Juncker played a key role in the fruitful conclusion of almost all integrative measures of the recent past. His continued allegiance to Europe and ideals earned him the 2006 international Charlemagne Prize by the city

of Aachen. He had already received several awards previously, including the Quadriga Prize and the title European of the Year presented to him by the German association *Werkstatt Deutschland* in 2003.

4.8 ANGELA MERKEL (* 1954)

Angela Merkel has been chairperson of the CDU Germany since April 2000 and federal chancellor of Germany since November 2005. She previously was minister for women and youth (1991–1994), minister for the environment and nuclear safety (1994–1998) and from 1998 to 2000 secretary-general of the CDU Germany.

Angela Merkel was born in Hamburg in 1954. Originally from East Berlin, her father had graduated in Theology at the University of Hamburg. Only a few weeks after Angela Merkel's birth the family moved to the GDR as her father had received a pastorate at the church in Quitzow near Perleberg in the state of Berlin-Brandenburg. In 1957 he took on a pastorate in the North Brandenburg county town Templin where he also headed a seminary on Christian education.

Angela Merkel excelled as a pupil in school particular in Mathematics and Russian. She did not participate in the secular Socialist ceremony of *Jugendweihe* in which teenagers are given adult social status as was the norm in East Germany but chose to be confirmed instead. She passed her final school-leaving exams (*Abitur*) in 1973 and subsequently began to study Physics at the University of Leipzig. After graduating in 1978 she worked and studied at the Central Institute for Physical Chemistry of the Academy of Sciences in Berlin where she also received her doctorate in Natural Sciences (Dr. rer. nat.) in 1986.

She joined Democratic Awakening (DA), a pro-democracy group, at the end of 1989 and soon became its press officer. In the first free elections to East Germany's *Volkskammer* (parliament) on 18 March 1990 the Democratic Awakening group only won 0.9 per cent of all votes. The East German CDU with top candidate Lothar de Maizière had formed an electoral alliance called the Alliance for Germany together with Democratic Awakening and the German Social Union (*Deutsche Soziale Union*, DSU). With 41 per cent of all votes the Alliance for Germany was the clear winner of the election. It followed a broad coalition composed of CDU, German Social Union, Democratic Awakening, the Social Democrats and the Liberals. Angela Merkel became the deputy spokesperson of the new government that had emerged from the first and only democratic elections in East Germany. The East German

CDU and the Democratic Awakening party merged with the West German CDU on 1 October 1990 making Angela Merkel a member of the CDU. The reunification of Germany on 3 October 1990 terminated her role as deputy spokesperson of the GDR government.

At the first post-reunification general elections on 2 December 1990, she was elected to the *Bundestag* for the constituency of Stralsund / Rügen / Grimmen with 48.5 per cent of all first votes cast. She became minister for women and youth in Helmut Kohl's cabinet. Besides her ministerial role she concurrently held the post of chairwoman of the *Evangelischer Arbeitskreis* of the CDU/CSU from 1992 to 1993. She became state chief for the CDU in the federal state of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern in 1993.

After the general elections of 1994 Angela Merkel was appointed minister for the environment and reactor safety. Four years later in 1998 the CDU/CSU and its coalition partner FDP failed to gather a majority of votes in the general elections. At the first federal CDU congress following the electoral defeat, Wolfgang Schäuble was elected as new CDU federal chair. Angela Merkel became the new secretary-general of the CDU Germany while she relinquished her post as state chief for the CDU in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. In the following months the CDU achieved robust state parliament election results and in June 1999 the party won an outstanding 48.7 per cent of votes in the European elections.

In 1999/2000 a party financing scandal compromised many leading figures of the CDU. In the wake of the scandal Helmut Kohl had to relinquish his honorary chairmanship of the CDU while then party chairman Wolfgang Schäuble was also forced to step down. On 10 April 2000 Angela Merkel was elected as the chair of the CDU.

Although Angela Merkel had intended to run for election as the CDU/CSU top candidate in 2002 it became evident that she lacked sufficient backing from both parties. Many of the CDU state premiers and state leaders favoured the Bavarian state premier and CSU chairman Edmund Stoiber. The latter was eventually confirmed by the CDU/CSU, including Angela Merkel herself, as the chancellor candidate. He was opposed by the incumbent chancellor Gerhard Schröder who defeated him by a small margin. Following the general elections in 2002, Angela Merkel became head of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group and succeeded Friedrich Merz as leader of the opposition in the German federal parliament.

Angela Merkel entered the early federal elections in 2005 as the Union parties' candidate for chancellor. On 18 September of the same year the CDU and CSU won a combined 35.2 per cent of votes thus narrowly beating the SPD with 34.2 per cent of votes and becoming the strongest fraction in the German *Bundestag*. The CDU, CSU and SPD formed a Grand Coalition which appointed Angela Merkel as the first female chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany. At the age of 51 Angela Merkel was not only the youngest person in the history of the Federal Republic to ever hold this office but she was also the first person who was born and raised in the German Democratic Republic and the first person with a Natural Science background to do so.

As chancellor heading the Grand Coalition she developed a pragmatic and unpretentious leadership style. She paid great attention to fostering Germany's relations with its neighbours Poland and France, with the United States and, of course, with the European Union. She insisted on formalising the Treaty of Lisbon and sent important signals with regards to urgent human rights issues. In 2007, for example, she received the Dalai Lama in the Federal Chancellery even though this gesture caused considerable unhappiness amongst the leadership of the People's Republic of China, which is steadily gaining in economic strength and political power.

As the head of the German government she held the presidency of the European Council and of the Group of 8 (G8) in the first half of 2007. Angela Merkel earned great respect for her contributions towards European integration which, together with Germany's transatlantic ties and its relationship with Israel, forms the foundation of German politics. At the same time, she was aware of the importance of fostering a strategic partnership with Russia, and of enhancing relations with China, India and with the African continent.

Since her time as minister of the environment Angela Merkel has shown great commitment towards global climate protection. She hosted the first UN conference on climate in Berlin in 1995. The conference marked the start of global efforts at reducing the emission of greenhouse gasses. As German chancellor she agreed to Germany's obligation to reduce CO2 emission in a swift and sustainable manner. The end of Angela Merkel's first term as German federal chancellor was overshadowed by the global economic and financial crisis.

In the general elections of 27 September 2009 the Union parties together with the FDP won a clear majority of seats in the German *Bundestag* (332 out of 622 seats) and were able to form a Christian-liberal coalition government. Angela Merkel was re-elected to the *Bundestag* from her constituency Stralsund / North Pommerania / Rügen with 49.3 per cent of all first votes cast. On 28 October 2009 she was sworn in to office as federal chancellor for the second time.

The first months of the new coalition government under the leadership of Angela Merkel were marked by the consequences of the global economic and financial crisis. Besides the important task of dealing with the crisis, during her second term in office Angela Merkel's domestic policy focus lies firmly on the promotion of research and education, the consolidation of the budget, the reform of the German health care system and Germany's energy policy.

A first early review of Angela Merkel's second term in office looks very positive. In cooperation with Germany's EU partners the Euro was stabilized, private savings have been secured, and Germany's economic upturn following the global economic and financial crisis has been set in motion. In the international comparison, all signs indicate that Germany will emerge from the crisis fiscally stronger and with a healthier labour market.

Angela Merkel has been married to Joachim Sauer, a professor in Chemistry at the Humboldt University in Berlin, since 30 December 1998. She was awarded the international Charlemagne Prize of the city of Aachen in 1988. She also holds several honorary doctorates. *Forbes Magazine* consecutively named her the world's most powerful woman between 2006 and 2009 while the *Time* magazine ranked her among the world's 100 most influential people.

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- <http://www.konrad-adenauer.de>
- <http://www.helmut-kohl.de>
- <http://www.angela-merkel.de>

All website contain numerous descriptions, articles, documents, images, video and audio clips with data on the person and politician Konrad Adenauer, Helmut Kohl and Angela Merkel.

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