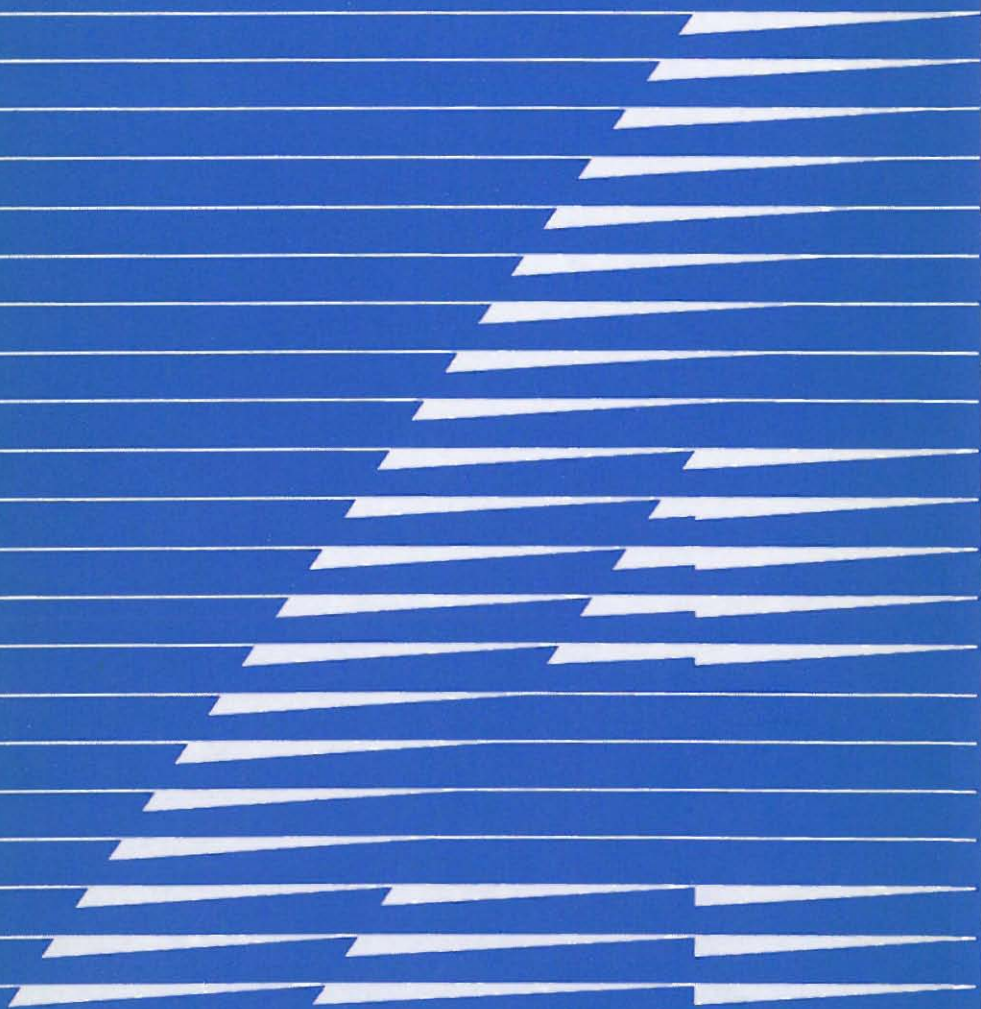
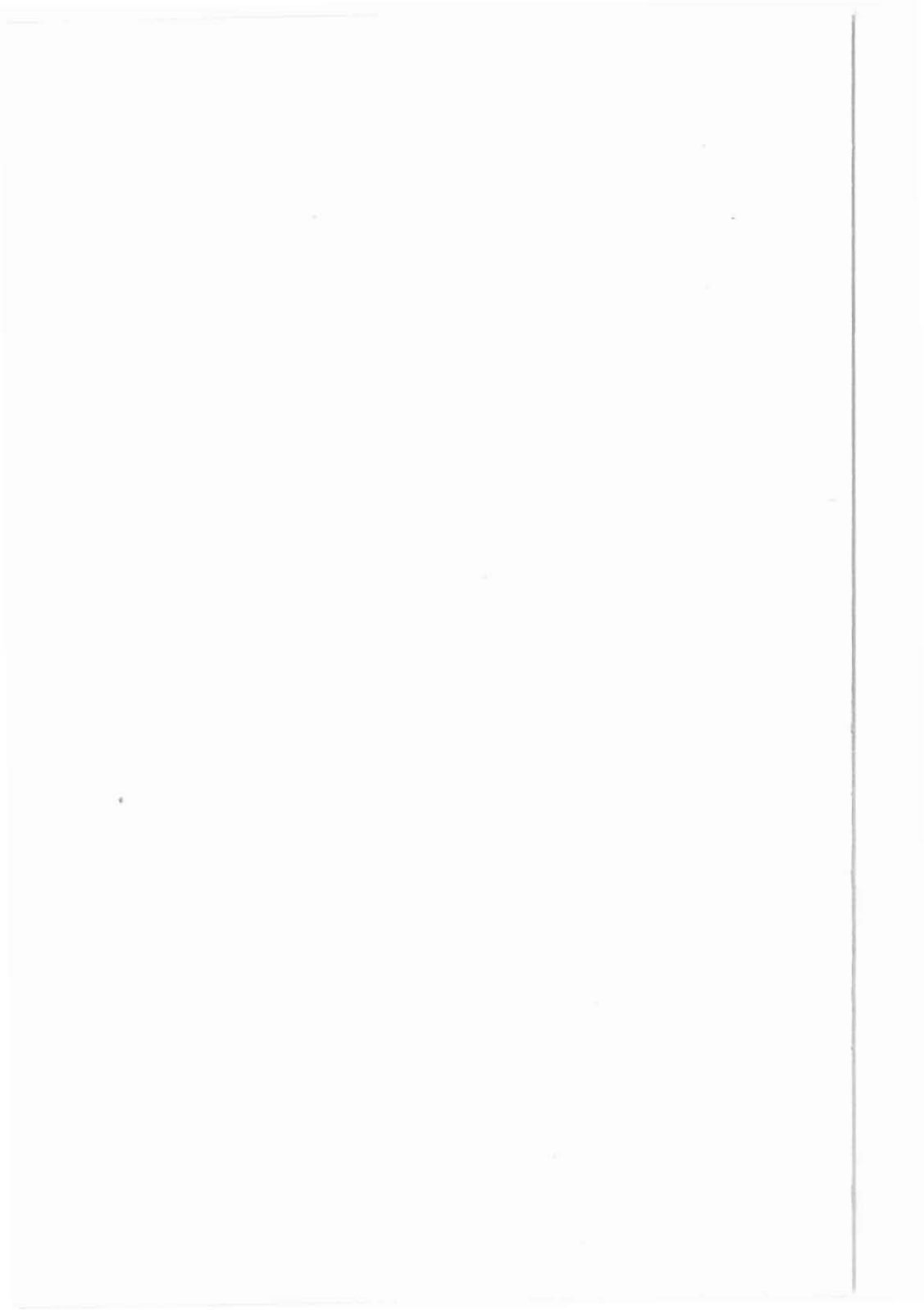


MATERIAL  
ON POLITICAL EDUCATION 1

**PRINCIPLES AND  
PROGRAMME OF THE  
CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION  
OF GERMANY**

Konrad  
-Adenauer-  
Stiftung





---

MATERIAL  
ON POLITICAL EDUCATION 1

**PRINCIPLES AND  
PROGRAMME OF THE  
CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION  
OF GERMANY**

Translation: Horst E. Schneider

---



Institut für  
Internationale Solidarität

Konrad  
-Adenauer-  
Stiftung

© Verlag Ernst Knoth, Melle, in Kooperation mit Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Institut für Internationale  
Solidarität, St. Augustin bei Bonn 1979  
Verantwortlich: Dr. Lothar Kraft  
Koordination: Referat für Publikationswesen der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung  
Gesamtherstellung: Ernst Knoth, Melle  
ISBN 3-88368-008-7

---



<b>Contents</b>	<b>Page</b>
<b>Preamble</b>	9
<b>I. Understanding of man</b>	10
<b>II. Basic values</b>	11
Freedom	11
Solidarity	13
Justice	14
Basic values as a yardstick and orientation	16
<b>III. Development of the person</b>	16
Family	16
Education and culture	20
Work and leisure	24
Living and residential environment	26
<b>IV. Social Market Economy</b>	28
Basic principles of a free economic and social system	28
Economic system	31
Public duties	38
Social system	40
<b>V. The State</b>	47
<b>VI. Germany in the world</b>	54
Intra-German policy	54
European policy	55
Security policy	57
Policy towards the East	59
World-wide responsibility	60
<b>Subject index</b>	63
<b>Appendix</b>	67
1. Extracts from the Resolutions adopted by the Hamburg Federal Party Conference of 18th to 20th November 1973	67
Reform of company law	67
Ownership policy programme	68

2. Extract on the subject of "Partner Pension" from the "Woman and Society" Resolution passed by the Mannheim Party Conference of 1975	73
3. Documents on our intra-German policy:	
Letters on German unity	75
Joint decision of the German Bundestag, 1972	75
Guidelines on the decisions of the Federal Constitutional Court, 1973 and 1975	76

**Passed by the 26th Federal Party Conference  
Ludwigshafen, 23rd to 25th October 1978**

---

## FOREWORD

---

The Christian Democratic Union laid down its Principles and Programme for the first time at the 26th Party Conference in Ludwigshafen from the 23rd to 25th October 1978. This was the outcome of seven years of discussions, one of the most concentrated and wide-ranging programme discussions held to date in the Federal Republic of Germany.

A *Principles and Programme Commission*, headed by Richard von Weizsäcker, was set up by the Federal Executive Committee of the CDU as early as October 1971. This Commission was intended to comment first of all in appropriate form on the values and objectives of the CDU in view of the challenges of our times. The Principles and Programme Commission met this commitment by submitting reports at the Party Conferences in Wiesbaden in 1972 and at Hamburg in 1973. The term "*Interim Reports*" was adopted for these comments, for Party members' expectations were by now more and more directed towards a specified Party programme. The Young Christian Democrats in particular were pressing for a programme discussion throughout the Party, intended to lead to a formal resolution on principles and programme, because even the pleasantly wide response to the reports by the Principles and Programme Commission was unable to satisfy Party members' demands for participation in the discussions and in elaboration of the principles and programme.

This was recognized by the members of the Principles and Programme Commission. At its suggestion, which the Federal Executive Committee of the CDU adopted as a formal motion, the Party Conference in Hamburg in November 1973 passed a resolution on "the elaboration of the principles and programme of the CDU".

In order to meet this extended commitment, the Executive Committee set up a *new Principles and Programme Commission*. An outstanding characteristic of this Commission's work was consultation with independent experts; some 50 academics from various disciplines submitted reports or verbal advice to the Commission. This dialogue with the academic world was continued even after publication of the *Draft Principles and Programme in April 1976*. At the *CDU Principles und Programme Forum* in Berlin in September 1977 the Party put the draft programme up for discussion among over 500 academics, representatives of social groups and Party members.

Apart from this dialogue with the academic world, the Commission's draft programme for the CDU set off a wide-ranging discussion within the Party. The Principles and Programme Commission received several hundred comments with suggestions for alterations and supplements. These were evaluated and considered by an editorial commission of the CDU Executive Committee.

After much consultation, the *CDU Executive Committee approved the revised Draft Principles and Programme on 8th May 1978 and published it as its own motion to the Party Conference in Ludwigshafen*. Party groups then also put up a further total of over 3,300 motions to this Executive Committee motion, thus impressively underlining the readiness of the CDU to face the problems of our times in reasonable debate.

The Principles and Programme adopted unanimously by the Ludwigshafen Party Conference have three fundamental functions, which were formulated at the Berlin Principles and Programme Forum in 1977:

- The Principles and Programme describe the common fundamental convictions of the CDU, they have a clarifying effect externally in that they make the Party profile more easily recognizable. This profile, an identity based on declared principles, makes the Party reliable and trustworthy, it lends continuity to the policies of the CDU. Such an unmistakable identity serves at the same time in distinguishing and differentiating the CDU from the other parties.
- The Principles and Programme reinforce Party bonds, they have an integrating effect internally. The Principles and Programme make it easier to prove that the CDU is not simply a parent organization for interest groups and lobbies or a citizens' electoral association, but rather a people's party with the unifying force to resolve conflicting interests among its members and to overcome that simplifying political system of classifying everything as left or right which is increasingly confusing the whole political debate these days.
- The Principles and Programme have a functionally oriented effect for the political activity of the CDU, i. e. they must be applicable – now and in the foreseeable future. At the same time the Principles and Programme may not be simply a tool in the hands of politicians, they must move the people to shape the future of our community. That is why the Principles and Programme are based on the fundamental needs of the people; they offer a

solution to the great problems of our times. In this spirit the Principles and Programme are intended to awaken a passionate desire, not simply to tolerate our times, but to shape them. They must uphold confidence in the fact that it is well worth taking up cudgels for liberty, solidarity and justice.

The Principles and Programme document the intellectual revival of the CDU in opposition; the open and comprehensive discussion on them is proof of the inner force and dynamism of the Christian Democratic Union.

*Dr. Heiner Geißler*



---

## PREAMBLE

---

1. The Christian Democratic Union of Germany is a people's party. It appeals to everyone in all groups and in all social strata of our people. The policy of the CDU is based on the Christian understanding of man and his responsibility before God. PEOPLE'S PARTY
2. In 1945, the CDU made a new start in German party history. As a people's party, it is the answer to the disruption of the democrats in the Weimar Republic. Freedom and humanity must not be lost again in a disastrous confrontation between social, liberal and conservative political currents. Denominational contrasts must be overcome. The CDU shows how. The people in Germany have come to appreciate that the era of class battles and wars of views has passed. They have answered the call to set about joint spiritual and material reconstruction. SOCIAL, LIBERAL, CONSERVATIVE
3. Social, economic and cultural developments in our own country, like our international relations, are constantly presenting us with new challenges. Our political duty lies in safeguarding what has been proven successful and developing new perspectives in our political dealings in order to cope with transformation in freedom. SAFEGUARD AND RENEW
4. The CDU intends combining various standpoints by setting common values and aims. Political action for the benefit of the people as a whole calls for guidance and readiness to compromise. Everyone is expected to have a desire for solidarity but everyone also has a right to expect tolerance for his personal convictions. Openness and partnership are features of the people's party and are an example for the co-existence of everyone in the land. TOLERANCE AND GUIDANCE
5. No specific political programme can be derived from Christian belief. But with its understanding of the human being it does provide us with an ethical basis for responsible policy. On this premise, joint action by Christians and non-Christians alike is possible. CHRISTIAN BELIEF AND POLICY

---

## UNDERSTANDING OF MAN

---

### DIGNITY OF MAN

6. We believe in the dignity of man. Dignity and life of man – even of the unborn – are inviolable. Man's dignity remains independent of his success or failure and unaffected by the judgment of others. We regard every person as a unique and non-dispensable individual.

### RESPONSI- BILITY BEFORE GOD

7. Man was intended to develop freely in coexistence with others. His freedom is based on a reality which transcends the human world. Man owes it neither to himself nor to society. He is not the ultimate measure of all things. His need to give a meaning to himself and to the world cannot be met from his own resources. Man is capable of moral judgment. He is answerable to his conscience and thus, according to Christian beliefs, to God. It is man's talent and duty to shape his life and the world in responsible freedom.

### LOVE OF ONE'S NEIGH- BOUR

8. Man was intended to live together with others – predominantly in a fixed social way of life. His life atrophies if he isolates himself or submerges in the collective. His whole being is fulfilled in his application to his fellow man, in accordance with the Christian understanding of love of one's neighbour.

### EQUALITY

9. Man and woman are equal and rely on partnership.

### SETTLEMENT OF CONFLICTS

10. Differences of opinion and interests can lead to conflicts. They should be argued out openly and in an atmosphere of mutual respect so that they bear fruit.

In the controversy about the best path, each is himself responsible for his point of view. No-one has the gift of absolute truth. Therefore, those who seek to impose their limited convictions on others should be resisted.

### ERROR AND GUILT

11. Everyone is exposed to error and guilt. Recognising this protects us from the danger of ideologising policy. It allows us to see man unemotionally and imparts a human dimension to our passion in politics.



---

## BASIC VALUES

---

12. We stand for the basic values of freedom, solidarity and justice. In doing so, our understanding of man is both foundation and yardstick.

FREEDOM,  
SOLIDARITY,  
JUSTICE

### FREEDOM

13. Man is free. As a moral being, he should be able to decide and act responsibly and reasonably. Anyone wanting freedom for himself must acknowledge the freedom of his fellow men. The freedom of others determines and limits his own. Freedom embraces right and duty. It is up to government policy to ensure that man has the necessary room to breathe.

RESPONSIBLE  
FREEDOM

14. In order to be able to develop freely, man must learn to live in society with others.

DEVELOPMENT  
IN THE  
COMMUNITY

Anyone wishing to be released from his obligations to his fellow men and freed of any disclaimer ends up not free but poor and lonely. There are dependencies which diminish man. But there are also commitments on which freedom depends in order to develop.

15. Law which protects the personal dignity of man safeguards freedom. It regulates the ordered and peaceful co-existence of people in freedom.

LAW SECURES  
FREEDOM

16. Realisation of freedom calls for social justice. The conditions under which man lives must not stand in the way of freedom. Therefore, the duty of politics is to obviate need, eliminate unforeseeable dependencies and safeguard the material conditions for freedom. The free development of a person is nurtured on the soil of the fairest possible distribution of opportunities and goods. Personal property widens the area of freedom of the individual for a personal and responsible organisation of one's life.

FREEDOM AND  
SOCIAL  
JUSTICE

**SUBSIDIARITY** 17. Realisation of freedom calls for a responsible organisation of one's life following the principle of subsidiarity.

Therefore, the State must forgo taking over tasks which the individual or smaller community can fulfil. What a citizen can achieve alone, in the family unit and in voluntary interaction with others should be left to him.

The basic principle of subsidiarity also applies between smaller and larger communities as well as between non-governmental organisations and governmental agencies.

**SELF-RESPONSIBILITY AND CO-RESPONSIBILITY** 18. Freedom becomes effective through self-responsibility and co-responsibility in practical living.

The citizen should experience and bring about freedom in the family, neighbourhood, working sector and in leisure as well as in municipality and State. He should be free to choose and decide, just as he should be free to become involved and jointly responsible. He should be neither forced into the role of the patronised or be diminished until he is just a recipient of State services. He must be able to protect himself from technocratic and bureaucratic intervention and against being seduced by ideologies. Independent judgment and responsible participation protect him against becoming the victim of a totalitarian or collectivistic system. Anyone who is free is under obligation to speak up for the freedom of those to whom freedom is denied.

Only one who is free can bear responsibility and only he who acts responsibly retains any opportunity for freedom.

**PERFORMANCE** 19. One's own performance is part and parcel of the free development of personality. Man's dignity and rights are unaffected by performance. But, regardless of its economic value, knowledge of one's own performance is an important source of one's vital energy. For everyone within the framework of his potential, even for the handicapped, performance is an indispensable driving force. Therefore, what is important is to promote personal desire for performance and to recognise initiative.

20. Freedom includes readiness to protect it outwardly and inwardly and fight for it, because the free citizen and his

community do not defencelessly bow to bondage. We stand by the principle of militant democracy.

MILITANT  
DEMOCRACY

## SOLIDARITY

21. Solidarity means existing for one another because the individual and the community are dependent on this. Solidarity binds people to one another and is the basis of any community. It is the expression of the social nature of mankind.

SOCIAL  
NATURE OF  
MANKIND

22. Solidarity characterises the inter-relationship of community and the individual. The community stands up for the individual. He can expect personal attention and help. That is his right to solidarity. However, in turn the individual must stand up for the community at large. That is his conjoint obligation. Solidarity calls for personal performance and gives it social meaning.

THE INDIVIDUAL  
AND THE  
COMMUNITY

The CDU is in favour of this reciprocal responsibility, which is as far removed from unaffiliated individualism as it is from collectivism.

NEITHER  
INDIVIDUALISM  
NOR COLLEC-  
TIVISM

23. Social security is based on the fundamental idea of solidarity. At community level, protection is assured against the risks which the individual cannot by himself surmount. Social security does not provide revocable charity or free provisions from some anonymous fund but establishes a right to security and shelter for the individual. By his work and performance, everyone contributes towards helping the community to stand up for the individual. Social security has a pacifying and liberating effect. Solidarity prevents abuse of the system of social security.

SOLIDARITY  
AND SOCIAL  
SECURITY

24. Solidarity and subsidiarity belong together. The State should facilitate for the citizen his own initiative and responsible self-help within the framework of what is possible, and expect it of him, because solidarity includes personal application from person to person. In a time which bears the stamp of technology and material criteria of performance, more and more citizens are suffering from a lack of human community and aid. Only personally rendered social service can help this need. The value of such social service is no less for the giver than for the receiver.

SOLIDARITY  
AND SUB-  
SIDIARITY

**GROUP  
SOLIDARITY**

**25.** Social groups are based on the solidarity of their members in order to be able effectively to represent common interests. Group solidarity can provide and keep open opportunities for freedom. It is justified particularly where the individual alone is powerless to safeguard his protectable interests.

**SOLIDARITY  
EVEN BET-  
WEEN  
UNEQUALS**

Solidarity requires more than a communal readiness to fight on the part of those who represent a common interest vis-à-vis others. Solidarity links not only groups in the safeguarding of their justified concerns, but goes beyond conflicting interests, compelling the strong to act on behalf of the weak and compelling all to join together for the well-being of society. The precept of solidarity is satisfied only if it applies also between those who are unequal in power and of opposing interests. It is particularly called for where it comes specially hard. This requirement is evident in the personal relationship between fellow creatures, in the partnership between opposing social forces and in the relationships between people, above all in world-wide development problems. History shows that solidarity is possible even among people who are not equals. Bringing it about is the task and hope of man.

**JUSTICE**

**EQUALITY**

**26.** The basis of justice is the equality of all people in their dignity and freedom without regard to power, performance or failure of the individual.

**EQUAL RIGHTS  
FOR ALL**

**27.** Justice means the same rights for all, even for those who have to be helped to take advantage of their rights. Rights are the safeguard against tyranny and abuse of power. Rights make freedom possible even for the weak.

**EQUAL  
OPPORTU-  
NITIES**

**28.** Justice gives everyone an equal opportunity of free development and of taking over responsibility for himself and for others.

Equality of opportunities is the necessary supplement to equality before the law. It should give everyone an opportunity of developing in equal freedom as differently as is required by the personal nature of the individual. This includes firstly equitable access to all educational facilities, and equalisation of disadvantageous conditions. Equal opportu-

nities, however, also relate to the provision of co-determination and joint responsibility, to the utilisation of vital goods and to the acquisition of personal property.

Equality of opportunities rules out any attempt to make human existences themselves equal. Anyone who wants this should not promise opportunities because these can always be exploited only according to the differing personal inclinations of the individual. He should promise equality of results and thus start on the premise of man's being totally dispensable. Anyone wanting to make people equal is refusing to acknowledge their responsible nature, created for free self-determination.

**29.** Justice requires that like be treated as like and unlike as  
TREAT LIKE AS  
LIKE AND  
UNLIKE AS  
UNLIKE  
Justice includes the recognition of personal endeavour and achievement. It is intended that everyone, by his own application, have an opportunity of improving and shaping his own living conditions. His performance must go hand in hand with the prospect of a worthwhile future.

The very affirmation of personal performance however calls for a fair distribution of the goods produced since the social conditions under which personal performance is rendered differ, and equality of opportunities cannot always be provided despite all endeavours.

**30.** Justice involves taking compensatory measures in favour of those who would otherwise be left behind. Help is intended above all for the people who are only inadequately capable of self-help and who cannot effectively or publicly represent, and gain acceptance for, their interests.  
RETRIBUTIVE  
JUSTICE

They include above all the people who are not in the production process and who cannot have their interests represented by groups or organisations. It is important also not to allow the unsuccessful to fall by the wayside and to secure for everyone living conditions which are worthy of human beings, even if – by his own fault – he has contributed to his need.

**31.** Absolute justice cannot be attained. Also political dealings in the State come up against man's shortcomings and limitations.

## DESIRE FOR JUSTICE

But even if man cannot himself make the world perfect, nevertheless progress is possible. We stand for the utmost endeavour to guarantee everyone his opportunities in life and, what is more, comprehensive measures of retributive justice. We are convinced that it is worthwhile constantly working towards improving conditions.

## BASIC VALUES AS A YARDSTICK AND ORIENTATION

### BASIC VALUES IN A DELICATE BALANCE

32. The basic values of freedom, solidarity and justice give our policy its orientation and are the yardsticks of our political behaviour. In keeping with ever-changing challenges, time and again we are faced with the task of so shaping the relationship of basic values to one another that they together develop their effect. For the basic values are mutually demanding and limiting. None can fulfil its meaning without the others. Correctly adjusting their importance in relation to one another is the nub of political argument.

### VALUE ORIENTATED POLICY

The basic values do not serve the policy of a party but man and the community as a whole. They are not confined to national boundaries and are a compelling basis for our foreign policy. The commitment to basic values opens up party political action for common tasks within the State. The practical realisation of basic values is a matter for free citizens and democratic decision.

Committed to moral aims and open reasonable examination, value-orientated policy develops capacity for the necessary balancing of interests and the strength for constant renewal. Thus it ensures for man the condition essential for free and responsible development of his identity.

---

## DEVELOPMENT OF THE PERSON

---

### FAMILY

33. Marriage and family have shown themselves to be the most constant forms of human coexistence. They are the foundation of our society and our State. They are under the

particular protection of our Constitution. Neither the State nor other social forms of life can replace them. As a community of life and education the family is the first and most important institution to provide individual security and give a meaning to life.

Our family policy is based on marriage as a community attuned to lifetime and partnership. Partnership in marriage means that man and wife each recognise the other's inherent value, are responsible for each other and have equal voice in the settlement of their problems in family, occupation, society and leisure. As parents they bear joint and equal responsibility for their children.

**34.** The family is the first and most important community of education for a child, since it is in the early years that the development of one's whole life is initiated. Each child has a right to his family, to personal attention, to companionship and love of his parents, because the development of his capacity to speak and think, his personal independence and ability to face up to his social obligations, his awareness of values and responsibility all depend substantially on family upbringing. In most cases this attention can only be given to children by the mother not taking a job during her child's early years. If the mother devotes herself fully to this task in the family, she should not be at a disadvantage economically, socially, legally or in any other way. This applies equally to the father if he takes over this task. Education allowances and counting of the years covering education for pension rights are therefore indispensable.

PARTNERSHIP  
IN MARRIAGE  
AND FAMILY

FAMILY AS A  
COMMUNITY  
OF EDUCATION

EDUCATION  
ALLOWANCES

**35.** Parents should be dependable partners for children in an enduring reciprocal bond. Anyone who decides on children takes on for them responsibilities and obligations from which he cannot withdraw. Education forbids authoritarian patronage, yet needs authority. It comes from a lead in maturity and experience. The more authority grows out of example in living together the more convincing it is.

PARENTS AND  
CHILDREN

RESPONSIBILITY  
AND  
AUTHORITY

Education does not mean adapting the child to the interests and world of adults. Instead, its task is to prepare the child comprehensively for the organisation of his own life; every stage in his development must therefore be taken seriously. The relationship between parents and children is based on reciprocal rights and duties, on bilateral recognition and

readiness to stand up for one another. The community of parents and children provides irreplaceable opportunity for the fulfilment of life and happiness.

36. The family shapes its life together on its own responsibility. However, its meaning transcends the private aspect. It makes its mark also on the social behaviour of its members. It should not become encapsulated but remain open for its responsibility in the State, because our free constitutional order depends upon the acceptance of responsibility.

PARENTAL  
RIGHT

Parental right protects the family from State tutelage. Parental right embraces the fulfilment of parental responsibilities. Limitation or withdrawal of the right to educate one's children are a last resort in safeguarding children from danger and harm. Joint responsibility of the State for the education of children requires above all that the educational forces of the family be promoted and strengthened. In addition to financial aid to families, this includes help in preparation for marriage and family, in setting up a family and advice on education. It also includes the fact that all other institutions of education and training educate in harmony with the family. Children must not be won over against the parents; the necessary basis of trust and the link with the parental home must not be destroyed. This applies to the media as well.

OBLIGATIONS  
OF THE STATE

Family allowances should secure the economic foundation of the family and benefit the development of the child.

SPECIAL HELP

37. Families with many children, along with families with handicapped children and one-parent families have a right to particular aid and encouragement. The same goes for families which are prepared to receive into their own home relatives who are aged or in need of care and attention, and to take care of them, because they prove their readiness to accept responsibility for one another and vis-à-vis the community.

38. Working income cannot adequately take into account the different sizes and living conditions of families, since, regardless of family status, equal work has to be equally remunerated. On the other hand, families which bring up their children at home or who have taken in relatives in need of care and attention, are performing a service for the com-



munity. Family service must be recognised as making a contribution to the generation compact.

It is the duty of the State to make allowance for different living conditions by corresponding social services, particularly in the case of large families. Only these services, together with the working income, can provide a socially fair income for the family. Therefore, equalisation of family burdens is also part and parcel of family policy. Equalisation of family burdens, now fragmented by a number of partial payments, should be clearly and effectively regulated.

EQUALISATION  
OF FAMILY  
BURDENS

Anyone denying families social justice is curtailing their freedom of decision to have children without suffering unreasonable disadvantages as a result. The dramatic recession in population is endangering the basis of existence of coming generations.

39. Counteracting the recession in population not only demands the equalisation of family burdens but above all a change in attitude to children. We are therefore in favour of a positive attitude towards family and children in our society. This embraces a wealth of measures ranging from town planning through more appropriate family dwellings, provision of kindergartens and children's hospitals to social services and working hours.

DECLINE IN  
BIRTHS

40. Our free democratic State deserves the trust and commitment of youth. It must be able to commit itself socially and politically without tutelage or regimentation. The State should encourage this engagement instead of, by expanding its competence and over-estimating its capacity, stifle the individual's readiness to act responsibly and with solidarity.

YOUTH POLICY

An important area of social and political commitment must also in the future remain youth work, both within and outside associations. It should open up for young people a broad area of activity in which they can act on their own responsibility and which must not bear the mark of ideology. Particularly worthy of encouragement are service to the community and the involvement of young people in social services, in development aid and in the joint action of individuals and groups in the field of help to the handicapped, migrants, old people, drug addicts and those at risk, and young people

in penal institutions. State and society must provide more opportunity for this commitment.

## EDUCATION AND CULTURE

**41.** The future of the individual and the living conditions of our society are vitally influenced by the quality of the education system. Education is the prerequisite for the personal development of the individual and a fair realisation of his opportunities in life.

Education should enable people to shape their lives in responsible freedom and find their place in occupation and society.

### EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

Educational policy must be based on the fundamental equality of all people in the eyes of the law and at the same time take into account differences in their inclinations and capabilities. It is an integral part of forward thinking policy. Equality of opportunities calls for an educational system which is broken down into branches of equal status. Division of and flexibility in educational and further education facilities match different talents and counteract barriers of social origin.

### AIMS OF EDUCATION

**42.** A free democracy needs citizens who are able to judge and decide independently. The task of education and training can be neither philosophical partisanship nor neutral indifference. Man must learn to recognise his dignity and freedom, fulfil his obligations and use his rights, exercise tolerance and humanity and affirm the democratic and social constitutional State. Conflict-orientated education leads to isolation and hostility. Education should however impart the knowledge that we need a minimum of harmony in our dealings with one another and in our value judgments if we intend to live together freely and at peace.

In addition to school, the political education of adults must offer a greater amount of help, promoting orientation in social and political environment and the taking-over of responsibility in the community. The citizen must also be enabled to argue in defence of his commitment to the free democratic Constitution of our State.

43. School should help the young person to find a religious and ethical standpoint. It must not evade his questions about the meaning of life. It cannot force belief in God.

ETHICS AND  
RELIGION

44. Education should provide an awareness of history. All attempts at undermining knowledge of history, giving up orientation towards history, result in intellectual tutelage. Systematically imparted historical knowledge helps to provide a basis for sound judgment for acquiring a national identity and strengthening resistance to ideological subordination. We have no intention of sidestepping our own history. It corrects our judgment, encourages tolerance and helps us better to appreciate today's problems. Anyone who denies his own history jeopardises his future.

KNOWLEDGE  
OF HISTORY

45. Education designed to lead to personal responsibility must provide more than adaptability, professional skills and an understanding of functional relationships. It must help man to shape his life and his environment himself.

To this end, it is of particular importance to develop man's creative powers, his wealth of ideas, his artistic genius and his feeling for beauty. Therefore, an equivalent availability of arts subjects is part and parcel of a really comprehensive educational programme.

ENCOUNTER  
WITH ART AND  
CULTURE

In his encounter with art, man acquires an intensified understanding of life. We are in favour of providing art with space for development, of encouraging artists and providing as many people as possible with opportunity for education in art. Access to libraries, museums and theatres should be available to all sectors of the population. The cultural life of our society is an important criterion for its freedom, its tolerance to criticism and its spiritual wealth.

46. Performance is an indispensable motivation to people. It helps them to develop their social, intellectual, practical and artistic talents. Performance is also a fair measure of professional and social qualification, unless origin and parents' social position, address and environmental educational pressures are to dominate the career of the individual.

HUMANITY,  
PERFOR-  
MANCE,  
SOLIDARITY

School is humanitarian if it gives pleasure and prepares for life. For this, it should neither yield to the call for denial of

performance nor subscribe to the doctrine of technocratic severity or show lack of understanding of students interests and limits of performance. Unreasonable emphasis on academic aspects and an exaggerated wealth of subjects should be avoided. It has been found to be an illusion that in principle any student can pass any final examination. This idea attaches little importance to the innate capabilities of a person and too much to the way he is encouraged by the school.

In the school, too, performance is more than just evidence of knowledge and ability to establish oneself. The demand for performance must also promote and recognise readiness to intercede for the weak, to have consideration and respect for one's fellow man. A performance-orientated system of education must provide the weaker with greater encouragement and require more from the strong. It must convey realisation of the fact that it is the application of the stronger which makes it possible to assist the weaker. Thus, performance becomes at the same time an expression of solidarity.

#### SCHOOL AND PARENTS

**47.** The basic right of parents to determine the way their children are brought up is achieved in particular by free decision within a reasonable range of different education options. Parents and children have a right to expect education content to be in line with the value judgments and norms of the Constitution.

Schools can only fulfil their teaching function if parents, teachers and students work together in them in a context of confidence. For his work the teacher needs trust and authority. This requires above all teacher training which promotes educational responsibility and imparts the ability to educate the individual.

#### TRAINING AND OCCUPATION

**48.** Training should help every young person to find an occupation in which he can develop his potential and prove his worth. Final examinations and certificates in themselves justify no claim to any specific job. Training for a practical trade is equivalent to more theoretically inclined teaching. Vocational training, above all in the dual system, should be promoted in the same way as development of general education. In addition to technical skills, it provides the capacity to keep step with future developments on the labour market.

We are in favour of enlarging vocational guidance programmes and of better orientation of training options to suit later job opportunities. Vocational guidance and orientation of training options must however be considered in the long view in order to compensate for fluctuations in the demands of the labour market and in order not to affect adversely young people leaving school in years with high numbers of school leavers. They too have a right to qualified training and to an availability of training places which does not compel them to engage in a ruthless competitive struggle.

Perfect harmonisation of training and employment system and administrative guidance of young people during their training is not, however, compatible with the basic principles of a free system.

TRAINING AND  
EMPLOYMENT  
SYSTEM

Curricula should be more emphatically directed towards real jobs. This also applies to secondary education. As an alternative to theoretical university training we need a broad spectrum of practical training opportunities to prepare young people of different school backgrounds for jobs in which they can find employment. We are in favour of developing and further extending the dual system of in-job and school-based vocational training. Financing of the necessary training places should be secured by a proper programme of relief for companies providing such training.

VOCATIONAL  
TRAINING

Vocational continuing and further education will in the future gain in importance for the individual and for the labour market. The demands which face the individual in personal and public life necessitate comprehensive opportunities for continuing and further education. Every effort should be made to promote the necessary training options offered by non-governmental organisations, industry and the public training sector.

CONTINUING  
AND FURTHER  
EDUCATION

Vocational careers should be devised to be more flexible.

**49.** As a highly developed country, the Federal Republic of Germany depends on efficient universities. Universities need the rivalry of scientific ideas; they must not fall into the hands of ideologists.

**RESEARCH  
AND TEACHING**

Our culture is synonymous with freedom of research, teaching and learning. It is essential to the efficiency of universities. Research today is the teaching of tomorrow. In teaching, a reform of study content is vital. Theoretical education must take a shorter time and prepare students more thoroughly than previously for what will later be their profession.

In view of the fact that raw materials and energy stocks are becoming scarcer and in the light of the growing demands of the protection of the environment, science and research will gain in importance in the years to come. For this, too, free university research along with project research will be indispensable.

**WORK AND LEISURE**

**FREE RIGHT  
TO WORK**

**50.** Work is not only breadwinning but is also a form of self-realisation and cannot be compensated for by any unemployment benefit, however high it may be. Therefore, justice and humanity in one's working life call for full employment. The free right to work puts an obligation on those responsible, the two sides of industry and the State, to utilise every opportunity offered by the Social Market Economy to achieve and secure full employment. Work is at the same time a conjoint obligation vis-à-vis the community.

**HUMANISATION  
OF LABOUR**

**51.** We will assist every endeavour to reduce unreasonable burdens and avoidable obstacles to work. For us, man is not the servant of the machine nor a make-weight in technical equipment. Division of labour and rationalisation must not be pushed farther than is humanly tolerable or socially responsible. Group and team work permit of human contacts, open up fresh opportunities for co-operation and need not be uneconomical. In working life, too, the individual must have an opportunity to participate in the organisation of his work and in decision making.

**FREEDOM TO  
ORGANISE  
ONE'S  
WORKING TIME**

**52.** We would like to see greater freedom for the individual to help determine his working time in the day, week and life, so that the transitions between the different spheres and phases of life become more fluid. Flexible working hours and the reduction of night shifts are to the advantage of families,

facilitate participation in social life and improve opportunities for further education. Flexible working hours provide better conditions for balanced utilisation of leisure facilities.

It is part of subsidiarity when the two sides of industry, over and above agreeing on wages, assume greater responsibility for shaping working conditions. The State ought not to take unto itself those matters in which the two sides of industry, competent and mindful of the common good, are able to regulate on their own responsibility.

53. Employed and employers fulfil different functions in labour. They should realise that they are partners. Their work is indispensable economically and socially. The particular function of the employer is to recognise new needs and satisfy them under cost-effective production conditions.

Independence of occupation provides a high degree of freedom; therefore, citizens must be encouraged to acquire independence, and the chances of becoming and remaining independent must be expanded. INDEPENDENCE

54. We are in favour of free movement in pursuit of a person's work; at the same time, we see the individual's commitment to his homeland as a value worth upholding. Therefore, people ought to be able to find work where they are at home, and be at home where they want to work. FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

55. Labour is not merely breadwinning. COMPREHENSIVE UNDERSTANDING OF LABOUR  
Family burdens such as bringing up children, housework and taking care of the sick are important and indispensable activities.

Preparing for old age also includes the possibility of sensible employment outside of gainful employment. When they have advanced in years people ought not to feel that they are useless.

56. Leisure time offers an opportunity of developing creative ability outside of one's working life. It provides an opportunity for self-realisation for those to whom work offers very limited scope. Man needs leisure and opportunity for play, without which there can be no free culture. LEISURE

**SPORT AND  
PLAY**

**57.** At play, man reveals capabilities which are asked for too little in what is often a one-sidedly purpose-orientated working life. Therefore, a greater range of music and art subjects and sports activities should be part of a really comprehensive education and leisure programme. The tremendous attraction of sport shows how much people need to combine pleasure at play with a desire for personal performance, contacts and involvement in the community.

**AGAINST  
REGIMENTA-  
TION OF  
LEISURE**

**58.** It is up to the individual what he does with his leisure time. It is his choice what initiative he takes and to which groups he becomes affiliated. In the main, the State should promote the free initiatives of individuals and groups. It is particularly important to prevent any bureaucratic administration of leisure time and to keep open communities for varied and new initiatives. Because spontaneity is part and parcel of creative leisure.

**ASSOCIATIONS  
AND CLUBS**

**59.** The widespread association and club life which exists in the Federal Republic of Germany offers valuable opportunities for meeting other people. The public spirit and personal involvement which are to be found here should be constantly encouraged. Schools and municipal centres should be used as meeting places.

**SERVICE TO  
THE  
COMMUNITY**

**60.** Leisure time also becomes meaningful through joint responsibility in the community. Many problems of our society can only be resolved in the long term if citizens are prepared to become involved. Taking over of social services, political commitment, collaboration in local work and parents' participation in school problems are just examples of responsible action in a free society.

**LIVING AND RESIDENTIAL ENVIRONMENT**

**TOWNS  
DESIGNED FOR  
LIVING**

**61.** We want a residential and urban planning programme which opens up the social environment for everyone.

In the past, residential and urban planning has been mainly subject to the obligation to provide as many new homes as possible. Maintenance and renewal of existing buildings and settlement structures were neglected. Outward-spreading settlement activity has not only led to an ever-increasing encroachment on the land on the edge of and in the vicinity



of existing towns, but by reason of the resultant neglect of the town centres, a considerable boost has been given to incipient decay of town centres. The advantages of living in town are quite often pushed into the background by inconvenience due to pollution and deterioration of residential environment.

**62.** Large conurbations must also become more worthy of human beings and remain functioning. They are vital centres of industrial, cultural and social life. We are in favour of the growth of industry and technical progress being brought into harmony with the potential of our vital resources, with soil, water, air and landscape. It is vital that the urban facilities of the large towns be improved. Modernisation, sanitation and preservation of monuments as well as the improvement of environmental conditions have priority over the development of fresh building areas. Town planning must be seen to set greater store by the preservation of good buildings and a humane organisation of the built-up environment, i.e. modernisation of homes must go hand-in-hand with improvement in the residential environment.

LARGE  
CONUR-  
BATIONS

**63.** Our home building policy for the rural areas has its emphasis on village reconstruction and renewal. However, in order to ensure a development of rural areas and to give the local population an opportunity of remaining in a familiar environment, the development of new residential areas must be possible.

RURAL AREAS

**64.** With the wish for private property, owning one's own house or flat is way out in front. A home building policy supported by the CDU will meet this need. For us, an opportunity of acquiring property is an important part of human freedom. We see in the transfer of publicly owned housing to private ownership and in the conversion of subsidised rented dwellings to owner-occupied homes just as important an opportunity for acquiring property as in the promotion of new buildings. The change to private ownership not only mobilises public funds for social housing and town renewal but also stimulates the initiative of the new owners to modernise and maintain their homes. It strengthens the awareness and responsibility for one's own residential environment.

HOME  
OWNERSHIP

---

## SOCIAL MARKET ECONOMY

---

### BASIC PRINCIPLES OF A FREE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEM

#### SPIRITUAL FOUNDATION

**65.** The Social Market Economy has its spiritual foundation in the idea of responsible freedom which is part of the Christian image of man. The structure of the Social Market Economy was devised and created in order to provide this freedom also in an age of industrialisation and division of labour for everyone and to arouse and render effective the awareness of self-responsibility and readiness to be jointly responsible for one's fellow man and for the public weal.

#### ECONOMIC AND SOCIO-POLITICAL PROGRAMME FOR ALL

**66.** The Social Market Economy is an economic and socio-political programme for all. Its underlying principles are:

- performance and social justice
- competition and solidarity
- self-responsibility and social security.

It is our intention so to develop the Social Market Economy further that personal initiative is intensified and results in ever-increasing participation in social and economic progress. All economic, financial and social policy decisions should be directed at this sociopolitical aim.

The Social Market Economy is in contrast to socialistic restriction of free rights, just as it is in opposition to the nationalisation of production facilities and uncontrolled forms of economy of the liberalistic type. It is hostile to privilege and is directed against any State dirigisme. The Social Market Economy is like no other social structure suitable for realising and securing for everybody

- personal freedom,
- equal opportunities,
- private property,
- increasing prosperity and
- social progress.

**67.** Our basic values of freedom, justice and solidarity demand a structure of the economy in which people can develop freely and socially. A centrally controlled planned eco-

onomy prevents self-development. It leads to an all-embracing planning of the citizen's life.

On the other hand, an untrammelled market economy prevents social justice. The principle of separation of powers as a key element of the social structure, is just as much a part of the Social Market Economy as it is of the democratic State and the pluralistic society.

Acceptance of democracy as the underlying principle of the State corresponds to acceptance of the market as the underlying principle of the economy.

Fundamental elements of a market-economy system are:

- competition and personal, socially committed property;
- de-centralised control through markets and free collective bargaining;
- control of power by separation of power and State supervision;
- freedom of consumers, companies and freedom to choose an occupation;
- independence and readiness to take risks;
- freedom secured by the availability of alternatives and the individual's share in economic, social and community progress.

BASIC  
ELEMENTS OF  
AN ECONOMIC  
SYSTEM  
POLICY

**68.** Social system policy realises the basic values in social policy. It combines humanity and economy, performance and justice in the distribution process. It is aimed at personal help, active solidarity and makes it possible for man to enjoy and justify freedom. Social system policy follows the dictates of subsidiarity. What the small community can do under its own steam must not be taken from it by a larger community.

The basic elements of a social system policy are:

- social equalisation and meeting of just requirements;
- help towards self-help and private initiative;
- fair reward for performance and statutory insurance;
- de-centralisation and self-administration;
- pluralism and protection of minorities;
- free collective bargaining and social partnership;
- preventive and productive social policy;
- free choice and equality of basic living conditions;
- generation compact and equal rights for man and woman.

BASIC  
ELEMENTS OF  
A SOCIAL  
SYSTEM  
POLICY

**69.** We would be in favour of the Social Market Economy

FREEDOM AND  
PROSPERITY

even if it were to provide less material wealth than other systems. It would be intolerable to acquire goods at the expense of freedom. However, there is no need for choice. The Social Market Economy has not only provided more immaterial but also more material prosperity than other systems.

It is the object of any economy to create prosperity. It is an important prerequisite of social security. Prosperity and social security are lost far more quickly than they are acquired.

## NEW CHALLENGES

70. New economic and social conditions impose new demands on the adaptability and performance of the Social Market Economy. The CDU will not be content with reference to successes gained but will do everything to meet these challenges.

These challenges confront us in the undermining of competition, the concentration of income and capital, the pollution of the environment as well as the accomplishment of structural change and employment risks. But even political misjudgments which make excessive demands on the efficiency of our economy and which seek to bypass market-economy forces weaken the control capability of the market economy.

These challenges are made on us world-wide in the increasing international complexity of our economy, the intensification of the North-South conflict, the population explosion, the shortage of raw materials and the supply of energy. Also the needs of man continue to develop. Without a doubt, the Social Market Economy has widened the scope of freedom of the individual. Therefore, it has also triggered off expectations which go beyond material prosperity. Nowadays, people need more and different things in order to find satisfaction. They assess economic progress also according to whether it leaves room for the feeling of being needed and for having a meaningful task, whether it is linked with human working conditions and the recognition of personal performance and responsibility.

## MARKET AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

71. Social justice cannot be provided by the market on its own. Social justice is not identical with the market's reward for performance. There are strong and weak, healthy and fragile, happy and unhappy individuals. Life's opportunities are not shared out equally and, even if the opportunities are fair,

the success will vary. The Social Market Economy combines a market order and a social service structure into one political whole.

72. Political misjudgment leads to unemployment, inflation and stagnation. Every step away from the path of the Social Market Economy has to be paid for by the general economy. For it is not our economic and social system which fails, but politics whenever they seek to bypass the principles of the Social Market Economy.

Economic and social policy are inseparably connected. They limit and supplement one another. An economic policy without social justice fails to provide social peace and must lead to overall economic loss.

UNITY OF  
ECONOMIC,  
FINANCIAL AND  
SOCIAL POLICY

A social policy without regard to economic capacity and economic growth robs itself of its sources of income. Economic, financial and social policy will be successful to the extent that they render personal initiative and public spirit fruitful.

## ECONOMIC SYSTEM

73. It is the object of State system policy to harmonise personal interest and the common good, so that performance for oneself is at the same time performance for others. To this end, the State establishes the scope of competition, guarantees contractual freedom, property and the limits of these rights; it determines the broad principles of the law governing labour relations. The aim of this is the common good. Anyone refusing to work, although capable of work, is acting unsocially. Anyone working must invariably be placed in a better position than one who refuses to work.

STATE SYSTEM  
POLICY

74. Orderly competition is one of our major cultural accomplishments. Competition in ideas and opinions makes for progress and promotes social change. Competition secures freedom and prosperity. By the opportunities for success and betterment it contributes to economic progress and makes the settlement of conflicts socially fruitful.

ORDERLY  
COMPETITION

75. In order to promote competition, legislation governing competition must be further developed. At the same time, concentration tendencies in the economy should be coun-

SAFEGUARDING  
COMPETITION

teracted, unfair competition prohibited and access to the market kept open for new products and companies.

Competition of new ideas, forms of organisation and production is just as important as competition in prices. Competition always means risk. But while the risks of the companies have increased, the opportunities for taking risks have been restricted. Risk capital must show a profit in keeping with the risk. Only in this way can a balance be guaranteed between investment-seeking capital and capital-demanding investment. State aid for individual companies must observe the basic principle that the market positions of medium-sized companies must not thereby be adversely affected.

#### MEDIUM-SIZE AND INDEPENDENCE

**76.** Pillar of the Social Market Economy is a balanced structure of small, medium-sized and large companies. Smaller and medium-sized companies are at a particular disadvantage in competition, because the State is constantly pushing more and more administration on firms, because they have burdens and impositions, the costs of which can be absorbed by the large company but not the small, because access to their own and outside capital is more difficult for smaller companies, because the law governing competition does not adequately encourage competition in performance, because the tax laws are disadvantageous to the small and medium-sized companies, because legislation is too one-sided in favour of the large concerns. Bureaucracy, costs, capital obstacles hamper the competitive ability of small and medium-sized companies and block market access to newly-founded companies and independent livelihoods. The object of our policy with regard to competition is to eliminate these market obstacles.

Like no other market form, the Social Market Economy offers conscientious young people who are prepared to take risks an opportunity for independence. A sensible policy on medium-sized companies is essential to the further development of our market-economy system.

#### CONSUMER POLICY

**77.** Adequate competition is also needed in the interests of the consumer. A broadly based range of products and services best corresponds to the multiplicity of human needs. Any concentration which diminishes competition restricts this multiplicity and the freedom of the consumer to make his own choice. In order to improve this freedom of choice, the

position of the consumer must be strengthened. Thus, competition is also promoted from the demand side. To this end, the market must remain transparent to the consumer. It is the right and the purpose of advertising to provide information about goods offered. In the face of irresponsible advertising, consumer awareness must be sharpened by appropriate advice and education.

**78.** Competition policy and policy on property are supplementary. Private property is a mainstay and an essential feature in differentiating the Social Market Economy from other systems of economy and society. Personal property gives the citizen opportunities for making decisions and so increases his personal freedom. Private property can only be guaranteed in the long term if it is broadly based. All citizens should have an opportunity of access to the various forms of property.

POLICY ON  
PROPERTY

The formation of productive capital in the hands of employees is a social need in order to reduce economic dependency, in order to transfer joint responsibility to employees and in order to secure for the future a fair distribution of income.

The lack of own capital in the German economy must be remedied. Employees' participation in the profits of companies and the utilisation of their savings in the form of co-ownership is an important opportunity to improve the formation of own capital. This opportunity should be utilised by the companies and by the two sides of industry in their negotiations.

**79.** Co-determination and capital participation of employees are an expression of the Christian social idea and are a basis of the Social Market Economy.

CO-DETER-  
MINATION

We want to have a new company law based on the decisions of the Hamburg Party Conference of 1973.

**80.** We are in favour of free unions and free entrepreneurial activity. Employees and employers, unions and employers' federations have a decisive share in the development of the economy and the consolidation of democracy.

FREE  
COLLECTIVE  
BARGAINING

We are in favour of free collective bargaining because it is a substantial element of the Social Market Economy. The two

sides of industry bear joint responsibility for the good of the community, above all particular responsibility for securing the needs of the future of our economy and society and thus of our State. We are in favour of freedom of coalition because it is a condition of social partnership. The idea of partnership calls for effective unions and employers' associations.

FIVE  
ECONOMIC  
AIMS

81. Full employment, monetary stability and steady growth with balance of payments equilibrium are the aims of our economic policy. But the achievement of these aims is not in itself sufficient to guarantee solidarity with future generations. Therefore, it must be widened by securing the ecological future of our community. Reliable long-term back-up conditions are just as important for a balanced economic development as they are for a reliable system policy.

FULL  
EMPLOYMENT

82. The harm done by unemployment goes far beyond loss of production; human damage is far greater than material loss. But unemployment is not an irrevocable fate. Full employment is an important economic and sociopolitical aim for which the State, with reliable back-up conditions and its cyclical policy, growth policy and structural instruments, and the two sides of industry are largely responsible.

GROWTH AND  
SHORTER  
WORKING  
HOURS

Every suitable means must be exploited to achieve full employment. Measures to shorten working hours must be in harmony with economic growth and full employment. Indispensable conditions of any successful employment policy are an appropriate promotion of vocational training and further education and an agreed wages policy, including the formation of assets.

MONETARY  
STABILITY

83. Stability of monetary value is a vital condition for lasting economic performance. Only with monetary stability is it possible to provide a realistic wage for work done. Assets can only be disseminated if the value of the money stands. Social security for the weak and non-represented is vitally dependent upon a stable monetary value. Next to the government it is particularly the German Federal Bank that is in duty bound to maintain monetary stability. Its independence vis-à-vis the government must be defended.

NEED FOR AND  
LIMITS OF  
GROWTH

84. Economic growth is not an end in itself but is instead the essential prerequisite in offering jobs and training opportunities to an adequate extent to maintain our well-proven



system of social security, finance public expenditure, defuse the distribution battle, secure scope for personal initiative and last but not least to fulfil our obligation vis-à-vis the developing countries.

Where growth leads to an unjustifiably adverse effect on the natural environment, then if necessary such growth and increased income connected therewith must be forfeit.

**85.** Structural policy is aimed at strengthening the capacity of the economy to adapt itself to new developments and to make them socially tolerable. Excessively high production costs in comparison with other countries, scarcer and more expensive energy sources and raw materials, the needs of protecting the environment and the growing importance of services require incisive changes in economy and society. State economic policy must promote structural change and must not artificially protect any out-of-date structures. **STRUCTURAL POLICY**

A vital task of regional structural policy is to work towards equivalent living conditions in all areas of our State and thus make an important contribution to equality of opportunities. This also includes setting up a reasonable infrastructure. State structural policy as a direct interference in company investment decisions is not our intention. State investment guidance centralises and maximises incorrect prognoses and mistakes. Thus it endangers the performance and adaptation capacity of industry.

**86.** There are areas in which the system policy of the Social Market Economy is subject to particular challenge. These include protection of the environment, agriculture, energy supply, regional planning and transport. It is the State's task so to order these areas by establishing back-up data and, if necessary, dictates and prohibitions that the aims called for in the general interest are actually achieved. What is relatively the smallest intervention always merits priority. We consider dictates or prohibitions extreme means which should be employed only where alternatives have been shown to fail. **STATE BACK-UP DATA, DICTATES AND PROHIBITIONS**

**87.** Preservation of the natural resources of life is a feature of responsible freedom. Anyone who today irresponsibly exhausts the natural resources of life and disturbs the ecological balance encroaches upon the solidarity between generations. Technical progress and quality-orientated growth, **PROTECTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT**

however, cannot be dispensed with and are not in any unbridgeable conflict with the protection of our natural resources and environment.

Preserving the natural resources of life includes in particular:

- keeping the air clean
- maintaining the natural water balance and limiting pollution of the seas
- cessation of measures which could alter the climate
- protection against contamination by toxic or other harmful substances
- protection of landscape and preservation of the flora and fauna
- provident use of raw materials which cannot be replaced
- restriction of noise to a tolerable level
- safe and clean operation of nuclear reactors and safe disposal of spent fuel.

For keeping air and water clean, for fighting noise and for disposing of waste as well as for the protection of other elements, the 'polluter pays' principle should apply.

Deciding factors are the will behind and the capacity of political leaders to arouse in the citizen an awareness of joint personal responsibility for his environment. Protection of the environment cannot be achieved purely at national level. International agreements are also called for.

## AGRICULTURE

**88.** Our free economic and social order needs efficient and competitive agricultural, forestry, food and fisheries industries. Their task is to produce healthy and high-quality foodstuffs and, in view of intensified world-wide controversy, to secure a reasonable supply of foodstuffs from our own production. We are in favour of products and production methods which help to avoid damaging the balance of nature. The agricultural and forestry industries maintain an attractive and healthy environment and guarantee broad dissemination of property. An important prerequisite to the efficiency of agricultural areas is an economically sound agriculture with full, auxiliary and extra income farms in private hands.

Therefore, the agricultural, forestry and fisheries industries, with funds provided by general economic, financial and agricultural policy, must be put in a position to compensate for

their natural and economic disadvantages in comparison with other industries.

This is no act of charity but a reasonable economic compensation for economic performance and the safeguarding of our necessary food production.

**89.** In order to safeguard economic growth, prosperity and social security, undisturbed and low-priced supplies of raw materials and energy are necessary. Only a functioning market economy can bring about the step by step substitution of raw materials which are in increasingly short supply by those which are less scarce. For the supply of energy in the future and to meet future energy requirements all conventional sources of energy have to be exploited. In this, particular importance attaches to our own reserves of hard and brown coal. In order to manage and ensure a sufficient supply of energy, development of nuclear energy is required. A condition of the use of nuclear energy must be reliable protection of life and health of citizens and safe disposal.

RAW  
MATERIALS  
AND ENERGY  
SUPPLY

Also, new technologies have to be promoted to make it possible to achieve more economical use of raw materials and energy and to recover raw materials and energy from waste substance and waste heat, and increasingly to develop regenerative sources of power.

**90.** Support of science, research and technological development is of fundamental importance to the cultural, intellectual and economic development of our country. Research and technology policy must therefore provide back-up conditions which are reliable in the long term and which also ensure a balanced relationship between direct and indirect promotional measures.

SCIENCE,  
RESEARCH,  
TECHNOLOGY

**91.** In the world economy, in addition to the East-West conflict, there is an ever-increasing conflict between North and South. The earlier relationship between the industrialised and the developing countries is giving way to a new multiplicity of relationships for which history has no precedent. Our aim is self-determination and self-development of peoples, utilisation of the resources of this world to the good of all, a fairer distribution of opportunities to eliminate want and poverty. We stand for an international Social Market Economy.

NORTH-SOUTH  
CONFLICT

In this respect, more than ever before, the industrial nations must remember that a functioning market and competitive industries must first be established in many countries. More so than hitherto, the markets of the industrialised nations must be opened up to the products from the developing countries. The industrialised nations rightly fight to retain their economic and social achievements, further to develop research and technology in order thus also to increase the prosperity in the world. Any easing up in their efficiency or performance would have catastrophic consequences and only increase want and poverty on this earth.

#### PUBLIC DUTIES

#### CORRECTION AND SUPPLE- MENTATION OF THE MARKET

**92.** The Social Market Economy takes into account that not all goods and services necessary for the satisfaction of human needs can be produced and distributed via the market. Therefore, what is needed is a correction and supplementation of the market by the State and social groups in areas in which the market can be only inadequately effective, if at all. The State requires taxes and levies in order to take care of the duties of the public sector.

#### RE-STRUCTUR- ING OF THE STATE ECONOMY

**93.** For years, the State's share has been rising more rapidly than ever before in time of peace, while public investments have been diminishing. The costs rise quickly without the increased costs being matched by a corresponding increase in benefits. Public budgets are characterised by increasing deficits although the tax burden and the tax rate are at record levels. This development has deep structural causes in the forms of financing, the mechanics of decision making and the principles of organisation. Re-structuring of the State economy has become a very pressing problem.

#### GROWING STATE ACTIVITY

**94.** By reason of the State taking over a substantial part of the services, excessive demands are being made on its financing capacity as well as its efficiency and control potential. Bureaucracy grows and with it the juxtaposition of administrations and their inscrutability for the citizen and parliament. A factor which weighs far more heavily is that the economic and social power of the State grows thereby, resulting in an increasing dependency of the individual upon State and public institutions and consequently in a diminution of individual freedom. Thus, the citizen's chance of supervising the

policy of the State is restricted. The position of the citizen vis-à-vis the State must therefore be strengthened.

Straining the financial capacity of the State increases the imbalance between claims of the present and needs of the future. It must be part of the financial budgetary policy of the State to safeguard the future needs of our society and help to re-establish a fair balance between today's interests and those of the future.

PRESENT,  
FUTURE

95. All State duties, expenditure, measures and laws should therefore be constantly checked to establish their necessity, justification and rational execution.

NEED TO  
JUSTIFY STATE  
ACTIVITY

State action must be foreseeable and controllable. The commitment of the State to its own programme and its orientation data is therefore just as necessary as monitoring of and responsibility for its decisions and their consequences.

96. The basic principles of the Social Market Economy are not, however, confined to trade and industry. They can also be applied and used to a greater degree in areas such as the health and education services or protection of the environment.

PRINCIPLES OF  
THE SOCIAL  
MARKET  
ECONOMY NOT  
ONLY IN  
TRADE AND  
INDUSTRY

It is true that the options in these areas cannot be organised and controlled through markets as in the case of industrial goods and services. But even goods and services in these areas can be de-centralised, based on performance and provided in a context of competition. Our policy strives for free and social solutions also in those areas of economy and society which cannot be exclusively controlled through markets. Realisation of this aim calls for initiative on the part of the individual and on the part of the associations, non-governmental organisations and co-operatives. Our policy ensures the validity of the basic principles of subsidiarity, self-administration and self-help also in the industrial society and provides the necessary freedom for initiative.

97. Tax law must observe the principles of the Social Market Economy. The tax burden must be determined in keeping with the principles of just taxation and must not stifle private enterprise and performance. A self-explanatory tax system should spread the burden equally. Income tax should take into account individual performance and in particular have suitable regard for legally established maintenance burdens.

JUST TAXATION

Making excessive demands on citizens and economy must be avoided in order not to diminish the performance of the economy. Hidden increases in tax on wages and income on grounds of inflationary trends must be done away with.

**GROWTH-ORIENTED TAX POLICY**

The necessary consolidation of public expenditure requires a growth-oriented tax policy. It must support investment capacity and readiness to invest, take into account international competitiveness of the German economy and avoid distortion of competition. High priority should be given to the indirect promotion of research and development – particularly where medium-size companies are involved.

**SOCIAL SYSTEM**

**SOCIAL POLICY OBJECTIVES**

**98.** Among the most important objectives of a social policy which is orientated by the human being are:

- protection against poverty and want,
- social equalisation, above all for the family,
- individual security by safeguarding against and providing for the vicissitudes of life,
- improvement in general living conditions.

**OLD SOCIAL PROBLEM**

**99.** Since the nineteenth century social policy has been dominated by the conflict between capital and labour. Its object has been to improve the position of the employed. The social question was a worker question. The traditional social policy was successful. It has made a substantial contribution towards defusing the conflict between labour and capital. The conflict is still there; however, fresh social problems and areas of conflict have arisen.

**NEW SOCIAL PROBLEM**

**100.** The CDU was the first political force to realise: in addition to the conflict between capital and labour, conflicts have now arisen between organised and non-organised interests, gainfully employed persons and those who are not, the majorities and the minorities. The non-organised, the old people, mothers with children, the handicapped, those no longer capable of working, are as a rule inferior to the organised bodies in the struggle for the share-out of the gross national product. Employers, workers and other groups are nowadays organised into powerful federations. They enter the lists not

only against one another but just as effectively assert their particular interests vis-à-vis other groups in society. The democratic State runs the risk of taking into account only the organised majorities. The State as the representative of the common good, however, has a duty to protect the defenceless and minorities in society in the competition for material and intangible goods. This is where the New Social Problem comes in.

**101.** Nowadays, among the serious dangers are anonymity and loss of personality:

- people live closer together than ever before, yet loneliness among many citizens is on the increase;
- the number of isolated and people needing help, of sick and old people is increasing but the number of helpers remains small;
- social expenditure is on the increase, yet there are new marginal groups and new social needs;
- the wish of many people, particularly the young, for a job which goes beyond their material needs is as strong as ever, but opportunities for a meaningful life, which reside in one's application to one's neighbour, are all too often unexploited.

Social services require and deserve therefore our full effort. The State must also do its part. Mere abstention on the part of the State does not create in the private sector any motivation to effective help. The State ought to arouse non-governmental and private forces, assist their activity and safeguard them from unreasonable disadvantages. It should not replace them by bureaucratic administration.

SOCIAL  
SERVICES

**102.** Physical and mental stress in the industrial society, traffic and occupational accidents represent for everyone an increasing risk of disablement. Handicapped people live as a minority in a society which does not adequately respect their needs.

HANDICAPPED  
PEOPLE

A social constitutional State must allow all handicapped people an opportunity in keeping with their capacity for development in occupation and society. The disabled and the handicapped are not just objects of welfare – they are our partners.

The handicapped should receive all the help they need. This

includes: further extension of preventive medicine, intensified early assistance to handicapped children, a differentiated educational programme for handicapped children and young people as well as the setting up of workshops, homes and flats for handicapped adults. A natural integration of handicapped and the physically able should be encouraged in all areas.

In the organisation of our environment we must go farther to meet the needs of the handicapped. We intend to remove structural and technical obstacles to the provision of leisure and sports facilities suitable for the handicapped.

#### OLD PEOPLE

**103.** Like any phase of life, age has its own value, its own needs, its own tasks and its own responsibility. Society is human only if it allows all its older citizens a secured and meaningful life in an atmosphere of human dignity.

Our society cannot do without the services of and contribution by older people, their capacity for judgment, their experience of life and their ready understanding in the family, in the context of neighbourhood help and in the social sector. More areas of activity for the society must be made available to older people. Coexistence of the young and old should give rise to understanding and not conflict between the generations.

#### EXPELLEES, REFUGEES, EVACUEES

**104.** The integration of expellees, refugees and evacuees in all areas of our economic, social and national life remains the duty of the State, of the social groups and of all our fellow citizens.

#### FOREIGN WORKERS

**105.** The commitment of our policy to basic values commits us to the social integration of foreign workers and their families into our society as well as to the maintenance of their cultural independence and the promotion of their contacts with their home countries.

Care must be taken to ensure that foreign workers and their families

- during their stay in Germany live under human conditions;
- can themselves choose their personal and vocational future;
- can safeguard their cultural independence and therefore



- keep open the possibility of return to and reintegration into their home country.

In particular, measures must be taken to prevent the children of foreign nationals growing up in social isolation.

**106.** Health is one of the most valuable goods in life. The opportunities of acquiring or remaining in good health must be the same for everyone, without regard to financial situation, place in society or of domicile. The patient must be able freely to choose the doctor and the hospital, the doctor must be able freely to follow his profession. The public health system must have sufficient room for self-administration. HEALTH POLICY

Progress in medical technology has provided new treatment opportunities which must be made available to everyone. The mentally ill have not in the past been provided for to the same extent as the physically ill. We must do away with this lesser evaluation and treatment of certain diseases. We must to a greater extent provide human conditions for the chronically ill and for those in need of constant care and attention.

The use of medical technology and appliances must not lack the support of personal attention because illness is not only a physical phenomenon. Health policy ought first and foremost to be directed at preventing illness. Encouragement of health and preventive medicine and health education are therefore major features of our policy. They also include a constant improvement of environmental conditions and one's own responsibility for health, which must be aroused and encouraged.

In health policy, too, we cannot do without economy. The structures of the health system must be further developed with a view to greater cost effectiveness. In this respect, we must not go all out for state planning but for a responsible and co-ordinated action by everyone concerned.

Statutory health insurance is one of the indispensable institutions of social security. The form it takes must take into account the increased capacity of the insured for self-responsibility and the assumption of responsibility for his own health.

**107.** The New Social Problem calls for a new social policy. It

PRINCIPLES OF ACTION IN THE LIGHT OF THE NEW SOCIAL PROBLEM

is a social system policy. The principles of action for which it calls are:

- social benefits must be concentrated on cases of real need;
- legal claims earned by personal service to or sacrifice for the community are deserving of particular protection;
- social benefits must be provided in a more human yet economic fashion and be so regulated that their social efficacy is enhanced;
- it is better to prevent social ills than to put them right afterwards. That is why the economic and social points of view must be taken into account already at the planning stage.

REVIEW OF ASSETS

**108.** Society is based on long-established standards. According to these it tends to judge what is social. Social claims which were justified when they arose must however stand up to continuous review. This applies to the assets held by all social groups and also to tax concessions and subsidies. In the future, a social system policy will to a greater degree require us to fix our priorities. It is incumbent upon groups and associations to show grounds whereby their aims still have the social justification they had earlier. Otherwise, the needs of others will remain unresolved.

ECONOMY AND HUMANITY: NO CONTRADICTION

**109.** It is in times of shortage that social policy must prove its worth. The quantitative variation of sociopolitical means cannot replace a social system policy. Future-orientated social policy has a preventive trend and sets out to combine economic efficiency and humanity. It is more humane and more economical

- to make it possible for the family to educate their children than to finance expensive arrangements to put right damage caused by inadequate welfare provision,
- to prevent accidents than to alleviate the results,
- to preserve health than to fight against disease, and
- prevent poverty than to assist the poor.

WOMAN IN SOCIETY

**110.** State and society are based on men and women working together. Therefore, the woman must take a full share in shaping political, economic and social life. She must have a secure place in our society which corresponds both to the basic principle of equal rights and also her own particular opportunities for a life style. To this end, it is necessary for partnership between man and woman to go beyond the area of marriage and family and extend into the working world as

well as in the social and political sector. Women must be free to decide whether they want to realise their personal potential in the family or in some extra-domestic professional activity or in a combination of the two.

The activity of the housewife and mother is equivalent to that of the extra-domestically employed woman. Being a housewife and bringing up children are both professional activities and must be recognised and socially safeguarded as such. A woman's service to her family must be recognised just as much as a contribution to the generation compact as payment by way of contribution from earned income. Independent social security for all wives and mothers must be guaranteed by an appropriate and just 'partner pension'.

FAMILY  
SERVICE IN  
THE  
GENERATION  
COMPACT  
  
PARTNER  
PENSION

Family policy must be supplemented by labour market policy if it is to do justice to the woman's particular responsibility for children's education. A good schooling and vocational training improves substantially a woman's opportunities in her working life. We suggest that the two sides of industry ensure that women obtain the same wage for the same performance and for equivalent work. Women must have the same advancement opportunities as men. It is our intention to provide better training, further education and re-training facilities and aid, with no age limit, to facilitate housewives' return to gainful employment.

EQUAL PAY  
FOR EQUAL  
WORK

111. The CDU has devised a social security system which is acknowledged as a model to the whole world. This system of social security has a considerable share in the social peace in our country. It is worth far more than it costs.

SOCIAL  
SECURITY

Life without any risk stagnates. We have no intention of prescribing security against all risks of life from the cradle to the grave. But the protection against the major risks of life, carried in personal communities in earlier times, must nowadays be resolved in a form which is in keeping with the conditions of the industrial society. This includes income security for old age, invalidity and periods of unemployment, and security against serious burdens, for example accident and illness. They must be covered in communities of risk which extend beyond the day and which share risks evenly. The social security institutions are therefore indispensable today. They are part of the Social Market Economy. Along with them, space must remain for other supplementary forms of

security, particularly of a private and company nature. Readiness personally to provide for old age and illness outside of the statutory communities of risk must be acknowledged and not hindered.

NO STANDARD  
INSURANCE

We decline the trend towards standard insurance. In a free social order, the individual must have as much opportunity for choice and decision as possible also in the field of social security. Therefore, we will adhere to a social security system with options.

**112.** We reject the idea of a general maintenance of all our citizens. This is contrary to the idea of providing for oneself by contributions and makes the individual unreasonably dependent upon State decisions. Insurance is a function of the contribution and therefore a function of performance. It provides the individual with a safeguarded legal position and thus a piece of freedom.

SELF-  
ADMINISTRA-  
TION

Self-administration is for us indispensable in social insurance. As an element of the direct influence of the insured it can act only if it does not itself acquire elements of bureaucracy or functionary administration.

Moreover, as in the past, we shall also in the future secure the welfare of those who have spent their lives for the community and who have suffered in health. This also applies to widows and orphans.

Social aid is attracted where the other institutions in our social security system leave gaps.

GROSS-WAGE-  
RELATED  
DYNAMIC  
PENSION

**113.** In 1957, the CDU devised gross-wage-related dynamic pensions which are also internationally regarded as an example of outstanding social policy. This, the most significant social reform in the post-war era, must not be left to the mercy of the State and be ruined. By a successful economic policy and by shaping our statutory pension insurance in such a way as to do justice to performance and objectivity, we will in future, too, guarantee reliable foundations of our old age pension scheme and our pensioner's share in economic progress.

GENERATION  
COMPACT

Pension insurance is based on the generation compact. Whichever generation is working will by its contributions

provide for the income of the generation which is no longer working and, through children, it will provide for the continuance of the community. The generation compact can only have continuity if both services are recognised as being equivalent contributions to the generation compact. Ensuring this is the duty of the legal structure underlying the generation compact.

---

## THE STATE

---

**114.** The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany is the basis for our communal life in freedom, solidarity and justice. **CONSTITUTION AND BASIC VALUES**

These basic values can be realised only in a democratic and social constitutional State, in keeping with the objects of our Constitution.

The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany is based on an inviolable basic fund of common values. It is the duty of the State to keep the awareness of them alive, to defend them against attack and to refrain from any steps which might harm or destroy these values.

**115.** Our State is an institution of citizens freely responsible for one another. It derives its authority from its commitment to human dignity and to the inalienable basic rights of the citizens who created and support it.

It is the duty of the State to promote the good of the individual citizen and of the community. In order to meet this obligation, it must above all **DUTIES OF THE STATE**

- protect the rights of the citizen and prevent abuse of power;
- maintain and further develop the order so essential to communal life;
- safeguard the multiplicity of social forces;
- promote self-responsible development of the personality and intensify readiness for joint responsibility for the common good;
- protect the weak, guarantee personal and conjoint income security and take a part in shaping society;

- protect citizens from external threats and safeguard their justified interests vis-à-vis other States;
- make its contribution to the establishment of human conditions throughout the world.

The State is not set up to satisfy just any requirements. It must carefully weigh against one another the justified wishes of all its citizens and take into account the capabilities of the whole.

#### DEMOCRACY

**116.** In democracy, all State power derives from the people's mandate. The State is under obligation to act for the good of the people.

The CDU understands democracy to be a dynamic political order which should be constantly developed, which guarantees joint action on the part of the citizens and secures their freedom by the separation and control of powers. This structure must be self-explanatory to the individual; it can be put into effect only if the citizens feel themselves responsible for shaping it and take an active and unselfish part in it.

#### POLITICAL GUIDANCE

The people loan the right to government for a time. A democratic State can only do its job if it makes political guidance possible. A government aware of its responsibilities must be prepared to take any necessary decisions even against some opposition from public opinion. Only a government which is capable of doing this can ensure minorities of protection, carry through the necessary changes and discharge its responsibility to future generations. Only if the democratic State is strong will it keep a free society viable.

#### PUBLIC SERVICE

The State requires an efficient public service which is loyal to its Constitution. The public service must employ only those who are ready at any time to stand up for the free democratic basic order.

#### REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY

**117.** We believe in representative democracy which combines political guidance with democratic responsibility. Its elections offer a regular opportunity for a change of government. Even between elections it makes the government subject to constant control by parliament and the courts. In this way it circumscribes State government without emasculating it. Free public opinion makes it possible to supervise the exercise of power.

Representative democracy goes hand in hand with the free mandate, designed to make every member of parliament independent of instructions of party members and its leadership. It is incumbent upon the elected representatives to act on their personal responsibility for the good of all. They must keep the electorate and their party informed about how these duties are being fulfilled. On the other hand, assigning powers of decision to anonymous bodies results in loss of transparency and therefore of the monitoring option of the citizen.

Representative democracy does not rule out the possibility of direct decision by the people.

**118.** We live in a plural society in which different opinions, ideologies and interests struggle with each other to influence State power and to shape society. This calls for democratic decision making in which the conflicting opinions and interests are grouped together in majorities but in which also the aspirations and convictions of minorities are heeded.

Political parties fulfil their mandate in a plural society if, in the struggle for government responsibility, they offer clear material and personal alternatives on which to decide. They have to serve the mandate of the electorate whether they are in government or in opposition. Nowadays, control of the government, which in the parliamentary system is incumbent upon parliament, is largely carried out by the opposition. The political parties can only fulfil their democratic mandate if, despite fierce argument, they preserve a minimum of democratic solidarity and agreement. They must remain open to the concrete anxieties of citizens. Decision making processes and the work of the parties must be self-explanatory and as close to the people as possible.

**119.** Our democratic State also needs free initiative and groups which activate the expertise, sense of responsibility and the efficacious assistance of as many citizens as possible. Such citizens' committees contribute to the vivification of democracy and can give it fresh impetus. Since such committees mostly represent special interests, it is the job of the politically responsible to incorporate their demands into overriding policy considerations. Citizens' committees should not pretend to powers which belong to the elected public bodies.

CHURCHES  
AND  
RELIGIOUS  
COMMUNITIES

**120.** We acknowledge the independence and autonomy of the churches and religious communities. We encourage their contribution, their co-responsibility and their part in shaping the common good. Decisive is the assured freedom of religious profession which relates to the existence of man as a whole.

The right of the churches and religious communities autonomously to control their own affairs must remain just as inviolable as their freedom to realise them in society. We acknowledge the exemplary work of the churches in practical charitable service and will ensure its continuance.

NON-  
GOVERN-  
MENTAL  
ORGANI-  
SATIONS

**121.** Non-governmental organisations perform a vital service. They prevent a State monopoly. They provide competition and offer the people an opportunity of choice. Therefore, we shall continue to support and strengthen the non-governmental organisations.

The State bears the burden of proof of the need to take over new tasks as State tasks. Wherever possible, public tasks should be carried out by private persons and non-governmental organisations without these public tasks thereby becoming their own private affair.

ASSOCIATIONS

**122.** In a free society the associations define their functions independently within the framework of the valid legal structure. We will reject any idea of a law governing associations. The principles of democracy, however, also apply to the statutes within each association. The larger organisations become, the more important it is to safeguard also the diversity of opinion and the minorities. In a pluralistic society, no organisation ought to claim all-embracing competence.

We are in favour of freedom of societies and associations in our society even if, as the two sides of industry, they are deeply involved in the interests of the people as a whole. However, in a democratic society, there is no right without obligation and no freedom without responsibility, either for the individual citizen or for groups. All autonomy of social organisations and groups guaranteed by the Constitution is subject to the requirements of compatibility with the common good. With the realisation of the social State principle the principle of social obligation is extended to all forms of social power. Guaranteeing that all social forces honour their

SOCIAL  
OBLIGATIONS



social obligations is the duty of the democratic State. It is incumbent upon the State to safeguard non-organised interests.

**123.** A free society is matched by the plurality of media. Independence and multiplicity of the free press must be safeguarded. Radio and television organisations under public law have a special duty to impart information and offer a diversity of opinions. The transmission of other radio and television programmes by other stations – even by companies under private law – ought to be possible. New technologies should not be used to favour existing media structures by restriction of access. By increasing the availability of information, comment, education and entertainment, they must first and foremost serve the citizen. Free media and access to all kinds of information are vital to the maintenance of the democratic State. They make it possible to form public opinion and effectively to control State power.

FREE MEDIA  
POLICY

**124.** The constitutional State safeguards the basic values by subjecting the authority of the State and communal life to legal norms which are just and reliable. In the constitutional State even the weak can assert themselves because conflicts are settled not according to the will of the stronger but according to the law.

CONSTITUTIONAL  
STATE

Freedom and authority of the State are not contradictions but are complementary to each other. The free State which does not defend itself against its enemies is gambling away the freedom of its citizens. Attacks on the State and on the safety of its citizens must be fought with all the resources of the constitutional State. In performing their difficult task, the security forces depend on the assistance and solidarity of the citizens.

INTERNAL  
SECURITY

With our constitutional State we endorse the basic rights, the separation of powers, the independence of the courts and the legality of administration and jurisdiction. They safeguard the citizen against arbitrariness, against the omnipotence of the State and against majority dictatorship.

It is our wish to expand the freedom of the citizen and prevent the State infringing more and more upon this freedom by assuming more and more functions and finally becoming a totalitarian State.

We reject any form of totalitarian rule because it makes it impossible to live in dignity and self-determination.

**125.** We support comprehensive legal protection by independent courts. Breaches of the law must be punished swiftly and consistently. Law suits lasting for years jeopardise the constitutional State.

STEMMING THE  
FLOOD OF  
LAWS

We intend stemming the flood of laws and regulations which threaten to stifle the everyday life of the citizen. The language used for laws and regulations must be comprehensible. Data technology must not become a pretext for some secret administrative language. In particular, the citizen must be protected from abuse of personal data. Laws are not intended to regiment the citizen. They are designed to secure freedom.

DATA  
PROTECTION

FEDERALISM  
AND LOCAL  
SELF-  
ADMINISTRA-  
TION

**126.** Federalism and local self-administration are essential principles of our State, conceived to ensure the freedom of citizens. It is our intention to retain and further develop them.

The federal system and local self-administration are indispensable elements of our democratic State. By subdividing State powers, they permit of a greater multiplicity, corresponding to the particular nature and interests of individual districts, regions and local authorities. Similarly, every citizen is given additional opportunity for political co-operation.

In the fulfilment of public duties by the Federal Government, the Länder and the local authorities, competence should as far as possible be fixed at citizen level, in the area of local self-administration.

To preserve and strengthen this system of separation of powers, it is essential clearly to establish and define competences. The necessary and desirable co-operation of the Länder with one another and with the Federal Government must not be abused in order to undermine federalism and emasculate the competence of those required to take the decisions.

The financial system must also be in keeping with this. It must leave the Länder and local authorities freedom so that they remain capable of action and so that equivalent living conditions are established. We are in favour of equality of living conditions. We reject centralistic egalitarianism.

127. Constitutional State and social State are complementary to each other. The social State provides the necessary income security and the conjoint protection of the individual against the basic risks of life. The largest part of the population cannot adequately provide for illness, unemployment and old age from their own resources. Therefore, compulsory insurance for these basic risks corresponds to reasonable self-provision and joint responsibility in a free society. Social justice proves its worth above all vis-à-vis the weak and the handicapped. It commits the State to social equalisation.

SOCIAL STATE

128. The social State must assist in the development of a person's own potential. Its meaning does not lie in taking over the citizen's responsibility for his life, but in safeguarding the essential conditions under which he can run his own life on his own responsibility. Income security in the social State must not degenerate into total welfare. We want to retain and develop our social State. However, it ought not to take over any responsibilities which are beyond its capacity. The attempt to provide comprehensive and equal benefits for all would fall short of social justice. It would discourage personal performance, make excessive demands on our people and so remove the economic conditions vital to social justice.

TASKS AND  
LIMITS OF THE  
SOCIAL STATE

129. We intend counteracting the increasing anonymity between people. We want to make the social State not only economically more reasonable but also more human. Our understanding of solidarity prevents our making man the object of administrative tutelage. It entails the obligations to help because someone is in need. For this very reason, the tasks of the social State must not be subordinate to some alleged simplification of administration and technology. These duties must be fulfilled at citizen level.

SOCIAL STATE  
AT CITIZEN  
LEVEL

130. A democratic and constitutional State stands or falls by the free co-operation and joint responsibility of its citizens. These must be ready to provide loyalty and co-operation, service and sacrifice. Supported by her citizens' desire for freedom, the Federal Republic of Germany is the free State of the German nation, committed to justice and law.

CITIZENS'  
DESIRE FOR  
FREEDOM

---

## GERMANY IN THE WORLD

---

### AIMS

**131.** The desire for peace in freedom and for international understanding is the basis of our domestic and foreign policy. Our main aims are: surmounting the division of Germany, unity in Europe, responsible co-operation in the Atlantic Alliance and the creation of a stable and human international order which will give everyone an opportunity for freedom. In our foreign and intra-German policy, we stand for the realisation of human rights throughout the entire world. An internationally recognised right of ethnic groups should guarantee the right to homeland, to one's own language and culture. Human rights and basic freedoms must have priority over the principle of sovereignty everywhere in the world.

### HUMAN RIGHTS

Our avowal of human rights compels us to intercede throughout the world for those who, for political reasons and on grounds of belief, are imprisoned or persecuted.

### INTRA-GERMAN POLICY

### FREEDOM AND UNITY FOR THE GERMAN PEOPLE

**132.** Winning freedom and unity for the entire German people is the object of German policy. In peace, we want to surmount the division of Europe and with it the division of our fatherland.

We reject threats and the use of force as a political instrument. We do not misjudge the real power relations. But the realities of power do not only embrace the policy of governments and the strength of armaments but also the German nation's will to have unity, a will certain to retain its historic force.

### RIGHT TO SELF-ADMINI- STRATION

**133.** Free self-determination belongs to a peace which is more than a mere abrogation of force. This is true of Germany as it is anywhere in the world. We believe in the force of right.

So long as the right to self-determination cannot be exercised by all Germans, the Federal Republic of Germany will be trustees of a free system for all Germans. It will discharge

the duty of protecting the basic and human rights of all Germans. We stand fast by one undivided German nationality.

The German question is open. We shall protect the awareness of Germany in all its parts and keep it alive. We are in favour of negotiations and agreements which facilitate life in a divided country and encourage contacts, which give validity to human rights and which are designed to establish the foundations of future unity.

All treaties entered into by the Federal Republic of Germany with foreign States and with the German Democratic Republic are binding. In interpreting and implementing the Treaties with the East and the Basic Treaty with the German Democratic Republic, the Letters on German Unity, the Joint Resolution of the German Bundestag of 1972 and the judgments of the Federal Constitutional Court of 1973 and 1975 are relevant.

**134.** Berlin remains the capital of the whole of Germany, a national commitment and for us the criterion of the Eastern Bloc's readiness for a détente. Berlin as a whole, for which the rights and the responsibility of the four powers continue just as for Germany as a whole, remains an expression of the will of the German people to be a nation. Free Berlin is a Land of the Federal Republic of Germany and part of free Europe; reservations under international law allowed for within the Berlin Agreement remain unaffected by this. In collaboration with the three allied protective powers, it is our duty to safeguard and strengthen the viability of free Berlin. The links between free Berlin and the Federal Republic of Germany will be maintained by us and intensively developed.

#### EUROPEAN POLICY

**135.** Europe is more than a geographical concept. The basic values of freedom, justice and solidarity have grown out of the spiritual and political soil of Europe. Common traditions and tasks for the future are greater than what is currently separating European peoples from one another.

What is important is convincingly to realise European culture and the multiplicity of its people, to assert it in the world and make it fruitful.

The European Community is a signal to all European peoples. Close collaboration should be striven for with the nations of free Europe which do not yet belong to the European Community. The European Community stands open to democratic nations which acknowledge the fundamentals and aims of economic and political integration. Such a Europe must be a model of a free, democratic and social system which crosses frontiers. European unity is a policy for peace and a strategy of freedom.

EUROPEAN  
UNIFICATION

**136.** Only in a free Europe will its people be able themselves to determine their future. For us, unification of the free peoples of Europe has priority. We are firmly resolved to complete the historic work of European unification in the spirit of Robert Schumann, Alcide de Gasperi and Konrad Adenauer. This unification is the only way the countries of our continent can in the long term assert themselves in freedom, independence and security.

OUR AIM:  
POLITICAL  
UNION

**137.** In order to be able to cope with the future, Europe must aim at an economic and social system reliably based on the principles of the Social Market Economy. But the economic integration already started in the European Community will not of itself lead to political union. For this, a desire for unity is needed:

- Only united can we Europeans assert our interests in a world-wide context and face up to our joint responsibility for the Third World.
- Only united can free Europe effectively discharge its obligations in the defence alliance and secure for itself the indispensable partnership of North America.
- Only united can free Europe meet the increasing weight of the Eastern Bloc and help to overcome the division of Europe and thus the division of Germany.

FREE  
DEMOCRATIC  
ORDER IN  
EUROPE AND  
ITS  
INSTITUTIONS

**138.** An essential basis for the political unity of Europe is still a free and democratic order. On this point there can be no compromise with the opponents of freedom. A united Europe requires democratic institutions which can responsibly act for Europe. For this it is necessary for the directly elected European Parliament further to develop and step by step to implement a constitution for Europe. The European Parliament should expand its budgetary, controlling and legislative powers for the Community and have the right to initiate legislation. The powers of the Commission should be

extended; the Parliament should have a decisive part in appointing the Commission. The Council of Ministers should – as envisaged in the Treaty – take its decisions by majority vote. The European Court supervises the interpretation and application of European law. Our aim is the emergence of a democratic European federation.

**139.** We stand for federalism as the guiding principle for Europe. It is based on mutual respect of peoples. It makes it easy to achieve unity and protect it in all its variety. It safeguards the division and control of powers on the basic principle of subsidiarity, which means: what can be better decided, carried out and controlled by the local authorities, the regions and the States should be left to the level concerned.

**140.** The unification of Europe can succeed only if the citizens in the member countries make it their own concern. Particularly the young generation must accept this as an objective for the future.

The decisive role in the formation of the political will falls to the European parties. We are assuming this responsibility as a member of the European People's Party. We intend to develop co-operation with other like-minded parties in Europe.

## SECURITY POLICY

**141.** With our security policy, we intend safeguarding peace and protecting the rights and freedom of our people. This calls for a convincing defensive determination on the part of each citizen, intensified defensive endeavours and an active alliance policy. By virtue of her geographical position, it is the Federal Republic of Germany which is primarily threatened.

Security is indivisible. External and internal, military and political, economic and social security belong together and are supplementary to each other.

**142.** The defence of our country is the affair of the entire people. It calls for the readiness of every citizen to step forward to protect the security of our free society. Even in the young generation we want to arouse understanding of this

FREEDOM OF  
CONSCIENCE

basic democratic obligation. We abide by the idea of general conscription as provided for in the Constitution. We respect the basic right to refuse to do war service if the decision is based on genuine grounds of conscience. This right must not be abused to the detriment of the community. The burdens of defence must be borne jointly and fairly divided.

ARMED  
FORCES

The armed forces serve as a deterrent and instrument of defence and will receive every necessary assistance from us. The soldiers of the Bundeswehr are fulfilling the mandate of the Constitution, requiring them to protect the Federal Republic of Germany. They are securing peace.

CIVIL  
DEFENCE

The Federal Republic of Germany can only be defended if, alongside the military measures, there is an effective system of civil defence. Endeavours must be intensified for civil defence.

We acknowledge the important service done to our people by the armed forces as well as the civil defence forces.

NORTH  
ATLANTIC  
ALLIANCE

**143.** The North Atlantic Alliance remains indispensable to the prevention of war and to the safeguarding of freedom. We stand by a comprehensive and close co-operation between the partner nations of our alliance. Joint security policy necessitates co-operation above and beyond the military sphere. If the deterrent offered by the Alliance is to remain effective, it requires a convincing defence contribution from the Europeans, undiminished military presence of North Americans in Europe and their nuclear protection. Our defence performances in the Alliance are designed to ensure a balance of power and so prevent the threat or use of force. Defence measures must keep step with the threat from the Warsaw Pact. Our aim is a united Europe with joint armed forces within the framework of the Alliance. The Alliance is based on the partnership of the free peoples of North America and of Europe who are concordant in their fundamental values and aims such as the dignity of man and free democracy. It is on this basis that the Alliance was established and on this basis the Alliance will endure.

PARTNERSHIP  
WITH THE  
U.S.A.

This co-operation is open to all democratic States. For us, the consolidation of partnership and friendship with the United States remains a priority of German and European policy.



Europe and North America must jointly practise their responsibilities in the world.

144. We speak for a policy aimed at reducing tensions and eliminating their causes. We renounce the use of force and will actively seek disarmament agreements ensuring a fair and controlled military balance at all levels. We reject any unilateral weakening of the Atlantic Defence Alliance on the pretence of détente. Imbalance of power gives rise to tensions and encourages a policy of force. PEACE POLICY

#### POLICY TOWARDS THE EAST

145. We want to live in peace with our Eastern neighbours. Therefore, we are ready for fair co-operation with all governments in the Eastern Bloc. We want an effective and lasting reduction in existing tensions and unhindered friendly relations with the peoples of Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. POLICY OF DÉTENTE

We attach particular importance to contact between people, particularly young people. Reciprocal unprejudiced understanding of each others history and of the problems and achievements of the present will help to break down mistrust and generate an awareness of common European interests, aims and values.

146. Peaceful neighbourly contacts and normalising of relations call for a balance of power between East and West. This is being endangered by a level of rearmament pursued by the Warsaw Pact far beyond its defensive purposes. BALANCE OF POWER

147. In the East-West encounter we serve peace and the interests of our country if we openly represent our own convictions and do not draw a veil over differences. In the future, too, we will have to live with the contradiction that, in the interests of human contacts and desirable economic co-operation, arrangements must be made with communist governments while, at the same time, the fundamental ideological argument continues. QUID PRO QUO

Co-operation can succeed only if the principles of equal rights, mutual advantage and equality of benefits are respected and if agreements and obligations are honoured. We

RIGHT OF  
ETHNIC  
GROUPS

support the implementation of human rights for all people, particularly also for German nationals, including the right to exist as an ethnic group. As citizens of a free country we are not indifferent to the fate of people who live without freedom.

LASTING AND  
JUST PEACE  
FOR THE  
WHOLE OF  
EUROPE

**148.** Our policy towards the East is essentially determined by the inner strength of our free society and the resoluteness evident to anyone to protect our country from any attack or attempt at interference. The successes of our European and alliance policy and the appeal of a free West will be of vital importance to East-West relations. Our aim remains a lasting and just peace which will surmount the division of Europe. Only in this way is it possible also to find a just solution to the German question, for which the Soviet Union, together with the Western powers, bears a particular responsibility.

WORLD-WIDE RESPONSIBILITY

OVERCOMING  
DIFFERENCES  
AND  
CONFLICTS

**149.** We are part of a world whose peoples are becoming increasingly dependent upon each other. World-wide regression would not stop at our door. Deep ideological differences and political conflicts in today's world make world-wide equalisation difficult.

The call for social justice, which emerged within countries at first, is now heard world-wide. The Earth is growing together in the awareness of people and in State politics. As a party, we are called upon to help to fight poverty and want.

The problem of achieving a fairer access to goods and opportunities in the world economy must be resolved. Owing to the population explosion, world-wide economic crises, economic and political misjudgments and the increased energy costs, want and hunger have been growing in many parts of the world. A graduated programme of aid, trade and industrial co-operation is needed in order to allow world-wide structural improvement in the long term.

Each nation has its own dignity, culture and interests. We encourage contacts and exchanges also with the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America and expect reciprocal enrichment therefrom. A fair exchange of interests between them and us, the safeguarding of common interests and – where necessary – the assertion of such interests vis-à-vis

third parties, is the object of German policy, including development policy.

The development policy of the Federal Republic of Germany and of the European Community must be incorporated into this context. It is urgently necessary to harmonise the development policy of the members of the Community and to pursue an intensified Community development policy.

EUROPEAN  
DEVELOPMENT  
POLICY

The proportion of development aid in the gross national product must be increased. What free trade and industry cannot do must be achieved additionally by international and private aid.

MORE  
DEVELOPMENT  
AID

150. As one of the leading partners in international trade, the Federal Republic of Germany must work for a free, socially committed and efficient world economy. Dirigist world-wide economic planning will, in the final analysis, only bring with it disadvantages for everyone. It would impede the dynamism of technological progress and international division of labour. Goods and services must be manufactured and provided at the best possible locations. Our markets, too, must be open to the products from the developing countries. Those countries which are particularly in need and not up to competition in a liberal economy, require special help. It is important to encourage their capacity for self-help. Together with better opportunities for all countries to have access to the necessary resources, this can reduce the dangerous gap between industrialised and developing countries. The economic capacity of the industrialised countries will still remain a vital factor in the development of the world economy. Also the battle against world-wide inflation and the control of international circulation of money retain their central importance.

FREE WORLD  
ECONOMY

Everywhere it is decisive that the knowledge of world-wide interdependency must take precedence over tendencies to erect regional or national barriers.

Our credibility in the world and the chance of winning over other peoples to a free system of values and order will depend upon how we ourselves and the European Community realise that system.

151. Development policy is not neutral in value. In our

DEVELOPMENT POLICY AND HUMAN RIGHTS foreign relations it is not only our duty to safeguard our own political system which is based on the fundamental values and human rights, but also to act on behalf of our values in the world at large. The measure of our development policy therefore is whether our efforts are directly to the benefit of the population, whether they strengthen forces for self-help and whether they serve to promote a socially just and free system.

MUTUAL RESPECT AND TOLERANCE We are of the opinion that there are general principles valid for all people. But we know that, according to the traditions and ways of living, they find widely diverse expression. Therefore, mutual respect and tolerance are also called for in our foreign policy. We will observe this together with the free peoples of the world at whose side our basic foreign policy decision has placed us once and for all time.

DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY **152.** Domestic and foreign policy will make increasing demands on our resources. This is the outcome of expectations which we encounter in the world and which we ourselves have of the future. In addition to material demands spiritual tasks are occurring to an ever-increasing extent. The greater our interdependence becomes, the more the values and standards within our society also become part of our international relations. The performance of our society and the credibility with which we implement our basic values of freedom, solidarity and justice at home are of vital importance to our ability to face up to our interests and our co-responsibility in the world.

FREEDOM, SOLIDARITY AND JUSTICE IN THE WORLD

## Subject index

The figures relate to the relevant paragraphs in the Programme

- Administration 116, 129  
Adult education 42  
Advertising 77  
Agriculture 88  
Alliance policy 141 et seq.  
Allied powers 134  
Anonymity 101, 121  
Armed forces 142  
Associations and federations 59, 122  
Atlantic Alliance 131, 143 et seq.  
Authority 35, 115, 125
- Balance of power 143 et seq.  
Basic values 12 et seq.  
Berlin 134
- Care of monuments 62  
Child 34 et seq., 47, 55  
Christian understanding of man 1 et seq.  
Church 120  
Citizens' committees 119  
Civil defence 142  
Closeness of citizens 118, 126, 129  
Clubs 59  
Coalition freedom 80  
Co-determination 79  
Collective bargaining 52, 67, 68, 80, 122  
Collectivism 8, 22  
Common good 80, 86, 115, 116, 117, 120, 122  
Competition 66, 67, 73 et seq., 121  
Concept of man 6 et seq.  
Conflicts 10, 91, 99, 101, 124, 149  
Conscience 7, 142  
Conscientious objection 142  
Conscription 142
- Constitution 133  
Constitutional right 47, 114, 142  
Constitutional State 124 et seq.  
Control of power 67, 116, 117, 123, 124  
Culture and art 45, 135
- Data protection 125  
Decentralisation 67, 68  
Defence 141 et seq.  
Democracy 116 et seq.  
Détente 134, 144  
Development of the person 33 et seq.  
Development policy 84, 91, 149, 150, 151  
Dignity of man 6, 42, 103, 115  
Disarmament agreements 144  
Division of labour 51, 91, 148  
Division of powers 124, 126
- Eastern Bloc 134, 137, 145  
Ecology 81  
Economic growth 70, 72, 84, 87  
Education 34, 35, 41, 42, 44  
Elected representatives 117  
Emigrants 104  
Employers 53, 67  
Energy 70, 85, 86, 89, 149  
Environment 49, 62, 70, 84 et seq., 102, 106  
Equal opportunities 28, 41, 66, 71  
Equal rights 9, 68, 110  
Equalisation of family burdens 36, 38, 39  
Equality 26 et seq.  
Ethnic groups 131, 147  
Europe 131, 135 et seq.

- European Community 135, 137, 149, 150
  - Commission 138
  - Council of Ministers 138
  - Court 138
  - Parliament 138
- European Federation 138
- European parties 140
- European People's Party 140
- Expellees 104
  
- Family 17, 33 et seq., 55, 98, 100, 109, 110
- Federal Bank 83
- Federal Constitutional Court 133
- Federalism 126, 139
- Finance policy 93 et seq.
- Financial system 126
- Flood of laws 125
- Foreign workers 105
- Free collective bargaining 52, 67, 68, 80, 122
- Free mandate 117
- Free right to work 50
- Freedom 7, 12 et seq., 55 et seq., 130 et seq.
- Full employment 50, 82
- Further education 48
  
- Generation compact 38, 68, 110, 113
- German question 133, 148
- German unity 132
- Germany, division of 131, 132, 135
  - Letters on German unity 133
- Government 116 et seq.
- Growth, economic 70, 72, 84, 87
- Guidance 4, 116
  
- Handicapped persons 19, 102
- Health policy 106, 109
- History 44
- Home 54
- Home building 61 et seq.
- Home ownership 64
- Housework 55
  
- Human rights 131, 133, 147, 151
  
- Ideology 18
- Income security 127, 128
- Independence 53, 67, 76
- Individualism 22
- Industrial countries 91, 150
- Infrastructure 85
- Integration, European 135, 137
- Internal security 124
  
- Justice 12, 26 et seq., 124, 135, 152
  
- Kindergarten 39
  
- Labour 50 et seq.
- Labour market policy 50, 82
- Law 15, 27, 124 et seq., 133, 141
- Leisure 56 et seq.
- Local self-administration 126
- Love of one's neighbour 8
- Loyalty to the Constitution in public service 116
  
- Market, market economy, see Social Market Economy
- Marriage 33
- Media 123
- Militant democracy 20
- Military deterrents 142, 143
- Monetary stability 83
  
- NATO 131, 143 et seq.
- Nation 130, 132, 134
- Natural talent 41, 46
- New Social Problem 98 et seq.
- Non-governmental organisations 17, 48, 101, 121
- North-South problem 70, 91, 137, 149 et seq.
- Nuclear energy 91
  
- Old age 55, 103
- Old people 103
- Opposition 118

- Parental duty 36
- Parents 35, 47, 60
- Parents' rights 36, 47
- Parties 118
- Partner pension 110
- Partnership 4, 9
  - In marriage and family 33
  - With the U.S.A. 146
  - Social 68
- Peace 131 et seq., 141 et seq.
- Pensions 110, 113
- People's party 1 et seq.
- Performance 19, 46, 66 et seq., 71 et seq.
- Play 57
- Pluralism 68, 118, 123
- Policy towards the East 133, 146 et seq.
- Political guidance 116 et seq.
- Population development 39, 70
- Poverty 91, 98, 109, 149
- Property 18, 66, 67
- Property policy 78, 82 et seq.
- Protection of minorities 68, 100, 116, 118, 122, 124
- Public duties 92 et seq., 121, 126
- Public service 116
  
- Radio and television organisations 123
- Rationalisation 51
- Raw materials 85, 89, 91
- Refugees 104
- Religious communities 120
- Renunciation of force 133, 144
- Research 49, 90, 91, 97
- Responsibility 1, 7, 13, 18, 35
  
- School 42, 43, 46, 47, 60
- Security
  - External 141 et seq.
  - Internal 124
- Self-administration 68, 112, 126
- Self-determination 28, 91, 133
  
- Self-responsibility 18, 24, 30, 66, 68, 106, 127, 128
- Separation of powers 124, 126
- Small and medium-sized firms 75, 76
- Social aid 112
- Social justice 16, 66, 67, 68, 71, 72, 127, 128, 130
- Social Market Economy 65 et seq., 127
- Social obligations 122
- Social order 68, 98 et seq.
- Social security 23, 66, 106, 110, 111
- Social services 24, 40, 61, 101
- Social state 122, 127, 128, 129
- Soldiers 142
- Solidarity 4, 12, 21 et seq., 46, 66 et seq., 118, 124 et seq., 135, 152
- Soviet Union 148
- Sport 57
- Stability policy 81
- Standard insurance 111
- State 50, 52, 114 et seq.
- State's duties 36, 86, 92 et seq., 115
- State's share 94
- Statutory insurance 68, 127
- Structural policy 85, 149
- Subsidiarity 17, 24, 52, 96, 139
- System policy 66, 67, 68, 73, 86, 98
  
- Tax policy 93 et seq.
- Teachers 47
- Teaching 149
- Technology 90
- Third World 70, 91, 137, 149 et seq.
- Tolerance 4, 42, 44, 45, 151
- Training 41 et seq., 48
- Two sides of industry 52, 67, 68, 80, 122
  
- United States of America 143
- Universities 49
- Urban planning 61 et seq.
  
- Value-orientated policy 32

Vocational guidance 48  
Vocational training 148

Warsaw Pact 143, 146  
Workers 53, 78, 79, 99, 100

Working hours 52, 82  
World economy 91, 149, 150

Young generation 140, 142



---

## APPENDIX

---

### **1. Extracts from the Resolutions adopted by the Hamburg Federal Party Conference of 18th to 20th November 1973**

#### **Reform of company law**

I. Worker co-determination is an expression of Christian social thinking and a basis of our Social Market Economy. We seek equal co-operation of all people employed in the company, because the dignity of the worker demands his participation in the decisions which determine the conditions for his work.

One of the most important aims of co-determination is the humanisation of working conditions.

II. Today's legal basis for the position of the worker in the company does not come up to the aims envisaged by the CDU in terms of partnership relations in company structure. Therefore it must be further developed by a new company law.

The intention of the new company law is to

- treat people working in the company as members of a social entity represented by the company and not as in the past just as outsiders who are under contract;
- guarantee a relationship of partners between worker, owner and management on an equal basis;
- secure the system-policy relationship between freedom of coalition, private ownership and autonomy of the company within the framework of the Social Market Economy;
- allow the transition from institutional to equal right co-determination by workers under company law;
- Reference is made to the Federal Party Conference's Resolution on formation of assets.
- combine company law and works councils' law and to adapt the company law to suit the organisational trend of big companies.

(Not printed here: Resolution on the appointment of a company law committee and Resolution on worker co-determination in big companies pending revision of company law.)

## **Ownership policy programme**

For the CDU, property is a logical realisation of its basic values. The policy of the CDU is for the Social Market Economy and against a socialist planned economy, for social partnership and against class warfare, for personally disposable joint ownership in productive capital and against collective ownership.

Our programme for personal participation of workers in the profit and capital in industry is a declaration of war on the opponents of our social system; it is a convincing reply and logical alternative to the collectivistic ideas and plans of the Marxists.

### **A. Concept of society**

I. The Christian Democratic Union believes in a society in which personal freedom and social justice enjoy equal standing and have the same right to realisation.

Realising freedom and social justice means: working for a society which is both open yet enjoys solidarity; in which on the one hand restrictions on access are lifted and equality of opportunities is guaranteed while on the other social institutions promote the responsibility of people for one another.

The political system concept for the attainment of these aims is the Social Market Economy. With its basic premise of performance and social justice, competition and solidarity, it is a social programme for everyone. It allows the individual participation in social and economic progress and so widens his personal area of freedom. It allows society the means to cope with growing community problems.

The dynamism of the Social Market Economy includes both a free-market-economy system policy and the safeguarding of social progress.

As a system opposed to privilege and State dictatorship, the Social Market Economy has proven that better than any other concept, it can realise and safeguard personal freedom, equality of opportunities, social progress, personal property and growing prosperity of every individual citizen.

As a system which relates to the human being, it is a dynamic programme for a more humane organisation of our social and economic life.

**II.** Features of equal standing of this free economic and social system, in which all social forces are seen as partners, are

- performance of workers and entrepreneurial initiative as driving forces of economic development and therefore of prosperity,
- competition to secure and implement freedom of the individual against economic market power and authoritarian predetermination of his needs,
- co-determination as participation in economic decisions, in keeping with the dignity, rights and responsibility of the working man,
- private personally disposable ownership also of productive assets and a share in the growth and profit of the economy for all citizens to safeguard and widen their freedom.

**III.** The aims of the Social Market Economy include the fact that

- owners of capital and workers are not in a class antagonism to each other,
- in addition to his working income, any citizen may also have income from capital,
- employers and workers co-operate as partners despite conflicts of interests,
- both capital owners and workers have a share in making the vital decisions in factory and company,
- workers, entrepreneurs and capital owners receive a fair share of the profit and capital of the economy, the outcome of their working partnership,
- self-determination of people in industry and society is achieved step by step.

Our programme for personal participation of workers in the profit and capital of the economy is a declaration of war on the opponents of our social system; it is a logical alternative to collectivistic ideas and plans in which private concentration is replaced by public concentration and in which the citizens are denied essential rights of disposal by the establishment of central funds.

## **B. Principles of Christian-Democratic policy on property**

Private property is a pillar and essential feature in differentiating the Social Market Economy from other economic and social systems. Nationalisation and collectivisation have no place in it. Private property must serve all citizens.

In the long term, private property can only be guaranteed if it is widespread and if all citizens have opportunity of access to the various forms of property.

The formation of personal and private property must be promoted. Disposable property

- widens the freedom of the individual for a personal and self-responsible organisation of life;
- facilitates adaption to economic and social changes without State tutelage and
- strengthens the independence of the individual in relation to the State and to pressure groups.

Ownership policy must not therefore be confined to encouragement of savings and the acquisition of property but must make a conscious effort to alter the distribution of the newly created value and thus towards a lessening in capital concentration. In this way the danger of a combination of economic and political power is counteracted.

A redistribution of legally acquired property cannot be considered since it is incompatible with our idea of a constitutional State.

The CDU is in favour of property in the hand of citizens, in fact all the citizens in this country. It is against an agglomeration of productive capital in the hands of a few, whether they be a few private persons, a few civil servants, or a few functionaries.

After improvement of the distribution of monetary assets and residential property a priority aim is the participation of broad layers of the population in productive capital and thus in the growth and yield of the economy. This is a question which is vital to the status of our free economic and social system.

Equality of distribution can be carried into effect only if incomes policy, State distribution policy and ownership policy interrelate within the framework of a market-economy system characterised by stability and full employment.

Ownership policy presupposes monetary stability. Inflation destroys assets. Affected above all by inflation are the savers and thus broad layers of the population. Inflationary devaluation of money constantly creates fresh conflicts and intensifies social tension.

### **C. Guidelines for partnership in productive assets**

1. All employed persons should, just as self-employed persons, become joint owners of productive assets and have full enjoyment of their property rights.

The Federal Party Conference instructs the Board of the Party and the Parliamentary Party to work out a concept whereby housewives and pensioners also have a share in the productive capital of the economy.

2. For the acquisition of this property each worker receives additional income either as a participation wage or as an investive share of the company profits.

3. The means to be provided by the economy in order to build up assets must be invested in shares so that they remain fully available to the economy for investments, growth and full employment while at the same time they improve the financial structure.

4. The CDU stands by the view that profit fulfils important functions in the Social Market Economy. For the economy there is no more effective instrument for incentive, direction or measurement of performance than profit. Company profits must be invested to an extent needed for growth and full employment and at the same time must strengthen the equity capital of the company. Under these conditions, an allocation of profits and title to ownership other than the present arrangement is possible.

5. Anyone accepting a risk has a claim to a share in the profit. Like the owners of capital the workers, too, in addition to their income from wages should receive profit-related remuneration. In accordance with the risk taken they acquire a part of the risk premium and additional rights of decision under company law.

Agreement on wholly or partially profit-related payment for labour or such increases in payment for labour instead of corresponding increases of the fixed nominal wage should be promoted on an individual, a company and a collectively bargained contractual basis. As a result, all workers have the opportunity of sharing in the industrial growth without a time lag. At the same time such an arrangement represents a contribution to a development of worker income in keeping with the economic situation. Furthermore, the way is open for workers to assume liability in the company with all the consequential rights arising therefrom.

6. Company profit is, in the context of a market economy system, the result of partnership between workers, entrepreneurs and capital owners. In the economic system striven for by the CDU, the entrepreneur on a basis of partnership has the function of so combining labour and capital that the optimum result is achieved. By profit-sharing the workers and the owners of capital all have a share in the success of the company. After deduction of the income of workers and employers and also the capital costs and risk premium, the profit remaining is allocated to workers and shareholders in an agreed and reasonable proportion.

7. The distribution of capital and labour in our society must increasingly develop in a direction where only a very few people live exclusively on capital profit or exclusively on a fixed working wage. Between these two extremes free citizens in a system based on partnership should be able to receive income combined from various sources.

Every citizen who is gainfully employed should be able to acquire the following types of income by itself or in combination:

- fixed remuneration for work, remuneration for work as a function of the risk taken and a share in the profit related to his work,

– interest on capital employed, risk premium on capital employed and a share of the profit on capital employed.

8. The methods and institutions for the accumulation of assets should be self-explanatory, practical and in line with market-economy principles.

The rights of representation of the individual shareholders and investment savers must be strengthened.

Market-economy competition must not be undermined under the cloak of “accumulation of assets in the hand of the workers” to the advantage of more centralised control of the economy.

Care must also be taken to avoid that the policy of dissemination of equity capital contributes to an agglomeration of power among credit institutions or concentration processes in the economy. Therefore, the credit institutions should reduce their shares and, for instance by means of investment funds, sell them to broad layers of the population. In this connection reforms of the universal banking system, the stock exchange and the rights of representation of shareholders and investment savers should be envisaged.

(Not printed here: a programme of action on ownership policy.)

## **2. Extract on the subject of “Partner Pension” from the “Woman and Society” Resolution passed by the Mannheim Party Conference of 1975**

25. The introduction of the “Partner pension” is intended to provide for all women an independent protection for their old age or invalidity. The partner pension must be formulated on the following principles:

- As in the past, pension entitlements acquired prior to marriage remain separate for each partner in marriage.
- Pension entitlements acquired during marriage are shared equally between the two partners year for year. A woman who is not gainfully employed and who devotes herself solely to her children, acquires her own claim to compensation during marriage.
- If one of the partners dies, the other will in addition to his own pension then due to him or her receive a “partner’s supplement” derived from the pension of the deceased partner, if it cannot be expected that the surviving partner follow gainful employment, for example because of children, invalidity, old age, occupational risk or other cases of hardship. The survivor’s own pension and the partner’s supplement will therefore, upon the death of the spouse, become due when and as long as children have to be maintained. A satisfactory solution must be found for women who have not had gainful employment for many years and who have been active as housewife and mother, a solution which goes beyond the aforesaid criterion of whether a person can reasonably be expected to work. The unconditional widow’s pension will lapse, to be replaced by the partner’s supplement, as and when applicable; this would be equal for husband and wife.
- If one spouse becomes an invalid earlier than the other, or if he or she reaches retirement age sooner, a pension should be granted, the amount of which must not fall below the pension to be granted under valid law, if and as long as the other spouse does not receive a greater earned income and cannot be reasonably expected to follow gainful employment.

The new scheme should be introduced under the following conditions:

- Pensions claims already realised will not be subject to the new system.
- Where existing marriages are concerned, the partners are granted a qualified right of option to be exercised jointly.
- Partner pension is not restricted in the event of future marriages.
- The scheme applies analogously also to other claims for income security, other than those arising from the statutory pensions insurance (e. g. civil service pensions).
- The scheme should be realised on a neutral cost basis.

26. The CDU wants a purposeful increase in widows’ pensions within the scope of what is financially possible, until the “Partner pension” is introduced.

- 27.** Times during which children are being raised must be taken into account by introducing "education years" in the calculation of pensions.
- 28.** The co-insured wife must be able herself to exercise her claim to health insurance.
- 29.** The wife who works in the home should be covered by statutory accident insurance against the risk of accidents in the home.
- 30.** In assessing lump sum periods of lapse in pensions insurance men and women should be treated equally.



### **3. Documents on our intra-German policy:**

#### **Letters on German unity**

The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, at the time of signing the "Moscow Treaty" in 1970, handed the following letter to the Soviet Foreign Ministry (a letter of the same content was sent to the Under-Secretary of State in the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic on the occasion of the signing of the Basic Treaty):

"In connection with today's signing of the Treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (the Treaty on the Bases of Relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic), the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany has the honour to state that this Treaty does not run counter to the political goal of the Federal Republic of Germany to work towards a state of peace in Europe in which the German people again acquires its unity in free self-determination."

#### **Joint decision of the German Bundestag of 17th May 1972:**

In connection with the vote taken on the Treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of 12th August 1970 and the Treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the People's Republic of Poland on the bases of normalisation of their mutual relations of 7th December 1970, the German Bundestag declares:

1. One of the vital aims of our foreign policy is the maintenance of peace in Europe and of the security of the Federal Republic of Germany. The Treaties with Moscow and Warsaw, in which the parties solemnly and comprehensively renounce the use and threat of force, are intended to serve these aims. They are important elements of the *modus vivendi* which the Federal Republic of Germany wishes to establish with her Eastern neighbours.
2. The commitments into which the Federal Republic of Germany has entered in the Treaties it has assumed in its own name. The Treaties thus proceed from the actually existing present frontiers whose unilateral alteration they rule out. The Treaties do not anticipate a settlement for Germany by way of a peace treaty nor do they provide any legal basis for the frontiers which exist at present.
3. The inalienable right to self-determination is not affected by the Treaties. The policy of the Federal Republic of Germany, striving for a free restoration of national unity in a European context, is not contradictory to the Treaties which do not prejudice the solution of the German question. With its claim to realisation of the right to self-determination the Federal Republic of Germany is not making any claim to territorial change or change of frontier.

4. The German Bundestag notes that the on-going and unqualified validity of the German Treaty and of the associated agreements and declarations of 1954, as well as the continuance of the Agreement concluded between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on 13th September 1955 is unaffected by the Treaties.

5. The rights and responsibilities of the Four Powers in respect of Germany as a whole and of Berlin are not affected by the Treaties. In the light of the fact that the final settlement of the German question as a whole is still pending, the German Bundestag considers the continuance of these rights and responsibilities to be essential.

6. With regard to the significance of the Treaties the German Bundestag furthermore draws attention to the Memoranda which the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany has submitted to the legislative bodies together with the laws in respect of the Moscow and Warsaw Treaties.

7. The Federal Republic of Germany stands fast in the Atlantic Alliance on which its safety and freedom are as ever based.

8. The Federal Republic of Germany will answeringly continue the policy of European unification with its partners in the Community with the aim of further developing the Community, step by step, to the point of political union.

In this, the Federal Republic of Germany is working on the premise that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries will take up co-operation with the EEC.

9. The Federal Republic of Germany emphasises its firm intention to maintain and further develop the links between Berlin (West) and the Federal Republic of Germany in accordance with the Four Power Agreement. In the future, too, it will concern itself with the viability of the City and the welfare of its people.

10. The Federal Republic of Germany is in favour of normalisation of relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic. It proceeds from the assumption that the principles of détente and good neighbourly contacts will be applied fully to the relationship between the people and institutions of the two parts of Germany.

#### **Guidelines on the judgment of the Second Senate of the Federal Constitutional Court of 31st July 1973**

1. Art. 59, para. 2 of the Constitution requires for all treaties which regulate the political relationships of the Federation or which relate to objects of Federal legislation, parliamentary supervision in the form of ratification, regardless of

whether the State involved as the other party to the treaty is a foreign state according to the Constitution or not.

2. The basic principle of judicial self-restraint is designed to keep open the area of free political operation which the Constitution guarantees to the other constitutional bodies.

3. For the Executive to outmanoeuvre a case which is before the Federal Constitutional Court is incompatible with the Constitution which is in favour of comprehensive Constitutional Court competence. If, as in this case, there exists exceptionally a situation in which the coming into force of a Treaty before the conclusion of the Constitutional Court proceedings appears to the Executive to be irrefutably necessary then the constitutional bodies responsible for it must accept the consequences which might possibly arise therefrom.

4. It follows from the demand for re-unification that no constitutional body in the Federal Republic of Germany may give up the restoration of State unity as a political aim; all constitutional bodies are under obligation in their policy to work towards the attainment of this aim – that includes the requirement that we remain ever conscious of the claim to re-unification ourselves and champion that claim unwaveringly abroad – and to refrain from any action apt to jeopardise re-unification.

5. The Constitution forbids the Federal Republic of Germany to renounce any title to rights arising out of the Constitution, by means of which she could work towards achieving re-unification and self-determination, or to establish a title in law which is incompatible with the Constitution, or to participate in the establishment of such a title under the law, if that might be held against it in this striving towards the said aim.

6. The Treaty has a dual character; in its character it is a treaty under international law, while in its specific contents it is a treaty mainly regulating inter-se relations.

7. Art. 23 of the Constitution prohibits the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany entering contractually into a dependent situation whereby, under the law, it can no longer incorporate other parts of Germany by itself but only by agreement with the other party to the treaty.

8. Art. 16 of the Constitution adopts the premise that „German citizenship“, which is also referred to in Art. 116, para. 1, of the Constitution, is at the same time citizenship of the Federal Republic of Germany. A German citizen within the meaning of the Constitution is therefore not only a citizen of the Federal Republic of Germany.

9. Whenever he finds himself within the scope of protection of the Federal Republic of Germany, a German is entitled to the full protection of the Courts of the Federal Republic of Germany and of all guarantees of basic rights provided by the Constitution.

### **Guidelines on the judgment of the First Senate of the Federal Constitutional Court of 7th July 1975**

“1. The Treaties of Moscow and Warsaw (Treaties with the East) are of a highly political nature; they regulate the general political relationship between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union and Poland.

Appeals under the Constitution against the ratification laws of these Treaties, on the ground of infringement of Arts. 14, 16, 6 of the Constitution, are inadmissible.

2. The ratification laws of the Treaties with the East and these Treaties themselves, do not establish grounds for any direct obligations concerning the behaviour of individuals. Nor are they apt in any other way to impair directly any individual legal positions which are protected by the Constitution. They do not diminish any property rights; they entail no loss of German nationality; they do not adversely effect the endeavours to re-unite separated families.

3. Appeals under the Constitution against ratification laws of treaties under international law – treaties having a general political content such as the Treaties with the East – are inadmissible if they are intended to elicit a statement by the Constitutional Court that a certain specific arrangement would have had to be achieved in the treaty negotiations, to the advantage of the complainant, and that conclusion of the treaty without that arrangement entails the invalidity of the whole treaty.”





