

FREEDOM AND SECURITY  
PRINCIPLES FOR GERMANY

PARTY MANIFESTO OF THE  
CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION OF  
GERMANY (CDU), AGREED DURING THE  
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## **PREAMBLE**

### **Christian Democratic Policies for Germany in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century**

We, Christian Democrats, conscious of our responsibility, profess by this policy statement before God and man our values and goals and provide herewith our responses to the challenges of our time.

The CDU is a people's centre catch-all party. It still possesses vividly the political strands of thought which resulted in its foundation. We take our bearings from the Christian concept of mankind and his inviolable dignity from which are dependent the basic values of freedom, solidarity and justice. We strive for the right correlation between the basic values.

In a changing world it is our responsibility to effect a linkage between values and reality and *act* accordingly. Our consciousness of the fallibility of human nature shields us from the danger of creating ideologies out of politics. It also shows us the limits of politics.

The Union has undergone all the major initiations in the history of Federal Republic of Germany. Today, we face the gigantic challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century with the same determination.

Through its fundamental policies of orientation, such as social market economy, links with the west and European integration the CDU lay in 1949 the foundations for a free, just and dynamic development of our country.

The CDU stood firmly against opposition to the reunification of Germany. When the opportunity offered itself it was possible for the unification of our father land, after decades of division, to be effected in peace and freedom under the leadership of the CDU. Germany can pride herself on this achievement. The CDU has played a crucial role in this success story.

For the first time in her history, Germany is surrounded by only friends and partners. Our friends in America and Europe have made a substantial contribution hereto. The founding fathers of Europe have never been at such an easy reach: a Europe that is united in peace and freedom, economically strong, socially-oriented and prepared to assume more responsibility in the world. Trust and confidence are our guiding principles in furtherance of the unification and development of our continent.

This economic and social order in freedom is our model for an international policy order. Globalisation demands a new dimension of social market economy and provides the opportunity to set global social and ecological standards.

In view of the challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, it is necessary to find a new definition for security. It embraces the internal and external security in the world with its increasing new threats. Furthermore, it includes social security under the conditions of a globalised economy and the demographic changes as well as those pertaining to cohesion in our society and the assurance also to live in an environment worth living in and which every generation preserves for the next generation.

We would like to promote Germany by strengthening the societal values and virtues that have made our country successful.

Our vision for Germany is a society of opportunities in which our citizens live in freedom and security, a society which respects achievement and success. Furthermore, we want to mainstream social integration for social integration also to include those who have hitherto been living in the periphery. The key to greater chances in the labour market is especially equal opportunities for education and life-long learning.

Our ethical convictions and our rich experience give us the strength and political wisdom to mould the Federal Republic of Germany into a country of freedom, justice, security and opportunity for all persons. This is the basis upon which we collaborate with the citizens of our country for a good future.

## **I. WE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS**

### **1. Who we are – Our Concept of Mankind and the Basic Values of the CDU**

#### ***The People's Centre Party***

1. The German Christian Democratic Union is the political centre party. It relates to all persons of all types of levels and groups in our country. Our policies are characterised by the Christian concept of mankind and the responsibilities to God.

2. The Christian concept of mankind forms our ethical basis for responsible politics. We, nevertheless, take cognizance of the fact that no political programme can be derived from any Christian faith. The CDU is open to any person who recognises the dignity, freedom and equality of all persons and accepts the guiding principles of our political behaviour which emanate from the former values. Our collective behaviour in the CDU rests on this foundation.

3. The CDU was founded by men and women who wanted to shape the future of Germany in accordance with a Christian-based people's party after the fall of the Weimar Republic, the atrocities committed during the period of National Socialism and the communist rule after 1945. Its membership included catholic, protestant-evangelical Christians and men and women belonging to all regions and social classes. The CDU has conservative, liberal and Christian-social roots. On the basis of common ideals, members of the CDU have contributed considerably in the writing of the German Constitution. It also determined for many decades the crucial political decisions in the free part of Germany, for instance, in regard to the social market economy, all major social laws, allying Germany with the West's ethical and defence community and the reunification of Germany and of Europe. The CDU in the Soviet-occupied zone of Germany was denied all this.

4. The spiritual and political principles of the CDU are rooted in the social ethics of the Christian churches, the liberal traditions of the Enlightenment, the conservative value maintenance of relationships and the recognition of the fact that the state should not be considered as almighty. They are also a result of the Christian and patriotically motivated resistance to National Socialism. Other aspects of the identity of the CDU are the peaceful revolution of 1989 which overthrew the communist dictatorship of the GDR and the reunification of our fatherland. The achievements and experiences of the citizens from the new federal states are an enrichment to our community and the

CDU. The German Christian Democratic Union is the party that promotes German unity.

### ***The Christian Concept of Mankind***

5. In our view, God created man in His own image and likeness. As a consequence of this Christian concept of mankind we believe in the inviolable dignity of the human being. The dignity of all persons is the same, irrespective of their sex, colour, nationality, age, religious and political convictions, disability, health and performance, success or failure and of the judgment of others. We consider every person as unique and indispensable in all stages of development. The dignity of man – including that of the unborn and dying persons – is inviolable.

6. The right to free development of one's own personality and one's willingness to take on responsibility towards one's neighbours stems from this human dignity. The human being has the free will to take his own moral decisions. In accordance with our Christian beliefs, he has responsibility towards God and to his own conscience and should act in solidarity with his fellow human beings in the community.

7. Every human being is fallible. This is why limits are set for political planning, innovativeness and creativity. This insight protects us from any ideological doctrines of salvation and political totalitarianism. It affords us the opportunity to embrace reconciliation.

8. We consider the human being as part of creation. He has no right to use nature arbitrarily. Nature has been entrusted to us to maintain and to preserve. We are responsible for the condition in which we leave it to future generations.

9. It is upon this concept of mankind that the fundamental principles of democratic governance in constitutional states are based. This is also valid for all non-Christian persons who do not derive their dignity, equality and human freedom from Christian beliefs.

10. Our community lives on intellectual principles which should neither be taken for granted nor are permanent. The CDU assumes the responsibility of maintaining and strengthening the Christian-based values of our free democratic system. They are the standards and points of orientation of our political behaviour. Our basic values of freedom, solidarity and justice originate from there. They make demands, set limits and are mutually interdependent. At the same time, they are of equal importance. It is our duty and the core of our political stand to rate them in a prudent manner. As inalienable human rights the basic values are universal and go beyond the scope of our national borders.

### ***Freedom***

11. The human being is created free. As an ethical being he should make decisions and behave in a reasonable and responsible way. Not even a totalitarian system can deprive him of his inner freedom. One's own freedom is determined and limited by the other person's freedom. He who demands his freedom must respect the freedom of his fellow human being. Freedom comprises both rights and responsibilities. Freedom goes with responsibility. Politics must secure for the individual the freedom that he requires. It is also the responsibility of politics to safeguard this freedom for the whole community.

12. The human being can only develop his personality within the community. He who shirks communal responsibilities does not set himself free, but rather makes himself poor and lonely. Just as there are dependencies which degrade a person, there are also relationships in which one's freedom can be enhanced.

13. The law guarantees freedom by protecting the personal dignity of the individual. It regulates the orderly and peaceful coexistence of people. Limitations of freedom are only allowed in cases where they are required for the protection of freedom. For freedom to be effective there is the need for social justice. The conditions under which a person lives should not obstruct freedom. Every person must be given the opportunity to develop according to his wishes, abilities and talents. Achievement and property must be respected and protected. The material tenets of freedom must be secured.

14. Freedom makes it possible and provides the need for responsibility for personal development. This is why there should be provision for social life according to the principle of subsidiarity: what the individual citizen can achieve single-handedly, within the family and in free association with other persons better or equally well should remain his duty. The state and communes should only perform those duties that the individual citizens or respectively smaller communities are not capable of fulfilling. The principle of subsidiarity applies also to relationships between smaller and larger communities as well as to activities between private associations and public organisations. The principle of subsidiarity demands that larger communities, including the state-owned ones, intervene when the socio-political demands are too overwhelming for the smaller communities.

15. Freedom is realised in practical life through personal responsibility and collective responsibility. The citizen should experience and live out freedom in the family, neighbourhood, workplace and leisure as well as in the community and state. He should participate in communal activities, be a team-player, vote, and take part in decision-making. He should not be marginalised and made to play the role of a subservient nonentity and of the mere recipient of achievements of the state. Independent judgment and responsible collaboration protect him from being misled by different forms of ideology. We want to strengthen the sense of responsibility and general welfare, duty-consciousness and civic responsibility.

16. Personal achievement is part of the development of one's personality. A person's dignity and his rights are independent of any achievement of his own, but experience his own ability to achieve are an important source of his life. Achievement is an inevitable drive. It is, therefore, imperative to promote one's own readiness to work and to achieve and one's own initiative, whether there is any desire to earn in the final analysis or not. Without personal achievement no welfare society can survive acquire and preserve wealth.

17. The preparedness to involve oneself in achieving freedom and to defend it externally and internally is an integral part of freedom. We are committed to consolidating democracy and the rule of law. He who is free has the duty to intercede for the freedom of those who are deprived of their freedom. Freedom should not be limited to only a few nations or societal groups. We want to extend to all human beings and we are making our own contribution towards that.



## ***Solidarity***

18. Solidarity derives from the commandment of love for one's neighbour and is in consonance with the social nature of human beings. The aim of achieving humane life for all compels us to act in solidarity with all. Solidarity pertains especially to those who have not yet, no more, or cannot permanently attain and sustain the basic principles of life in freedom.

19. Solidarity is the right and duty of every human being. Everyone contributes through their work and achievements so as to enable the community to stand up for the individual. We commit ourselves to this mutual responsibility. Elementary forms of solidarity constitute help and support for the immediate personal relationship – in the family, amongst friends and fellow citizens and in private communities. Nevertheless, where the individual is overburdened, the community and the state have to come in to assist.

20. The commitment to social security is based on the principle of solidarity. Together, we are able to ward off risks that the individual alone cannot withstand. Neither alms nor free care is required. A life in social security is rather made possible for the individual. Anyone who practises solidarity is prepared to sacrifice. He who counts on solidarity from the state also has duties towards the state. Social security has a pacifying and liberating effect. Solidarity abhors abuse of the social security system.

21. Solidarity demands subsidiarity. Subsidiarity demands solely responsible behaviour. The state should make these values accessible and light for the individual citizen.

22. Solidarity constitutes an obligation to future generations. Without solidarity between generations we cannot achieve justice across the generations. All political decisions must conform to this responsibility. We should not live at the expense of our children and our children's children. We should also not live to the detriment of our fellow human beings in other parts of the world. We commit ourselves to worldwide solidarity in the international community. Without solidarity the gap between the poor and the rich cannot be bridged and preservation of creation will not be possible.

## ***Justice***

23. The fundamental principle of justice is equality for all persons in the God-given dignity and freedom. Justice upholds this value and freedom. Justice demands that equal things and unequal things are treated unequally. In a state under the rule of law justice means equal rights for all. The law prevents arbitrariness and abuse of power. It secures freedom also for the vulnerable.

24. Creating equal opportunities is a necessary component of equality before the law. Everyone should have equal possibilities for developing themselves in freedom according to their personal abilities and skills. We insist that every human being be allowed to make use of his opportunities in a free and responsible manner. The opportunity society provides the preconditions and possibilities thereof. It establishes in society equal chance to survive. This requires the same initial opportunities for education and work. It, nevertheless, does not preclude the existence of differences in the personal abilities of individuals. We, indeed, wish to provide equal opportunities and possibilities without expecting equal results.

25. Justice demands that burdens are equitably distributed. It is, therefore, just for the stronger persons in society to contribute more than the weaker ones. Even with the greatest efforts that we may make we are still aware that absolute justice is impossible to obtain. We owe a special responsibility to the weak and socially disadvantaged. No one should be left out or forgotten.

26. Where the right of a person to a life of dignity is trampled upon, where the freedom of an individual, a group or a people is suppressed, violence and discord prevail. We are committed to the respect for human and civil rights and the eradication of social and economic misery. In this wise, we make our contribution towards the maintenance of peace among nations and a more just world.

## **2. Our Concept of Society**

27. The spiritual foundations of our Christian Democratic Union enable us to face current and future challenges. In times of change, in particular, politics can set the right framework which releases strengths for resolving urgent issues in the community and the state. Our policies aim for a society which ensures freedom for all and unites all people in a shared sense of togetherness.

### ***Free Personal Development***

28. In their search for the meaning of life and happiness everyone should have the opportunity to develop themselves according to their talents and abilities. In the Christian faith, free development of one's personality is only possible within the community. The relationship between the individual and the community is that of mutual enrichment. The individual can only achieve full development of his identity in relationship to other persons. The community depends on free, confident individual personalities for its own development and potential. This is the characteristic of the society with equal opportunities for all. In it, every person is capable of giving full expression to his creativity and innovation. This free personal development in the opportunity society ensures cohesion in the society, too.

29. The CDU trusts in the capability and readiness of all citizens to handle their own affairs. Policies are meant to promote personal responsibility and, if need be, to offer assistance to self-help initiatives. In order to take on responsibility a person must first develop freely his own abilities and talents.

In the family the first thing a human being experiences is the interplay between of freedom and responsibility. In families, too, one notices the multiplicity of personalities and their aptitudes upon which our community depends. The CDU wants to strengthen marriage and family as the foundation of society and places great emphasis on a society that is child-friendly and family-friendly and on healthy relationships between generations.

Upbringing and education constitute the key prerequisites for the free development of a human being and the ability to appreciate freedom rights and civic responsibilities. The CDU wants to improve on the differentiated school system in such a way as to afford everyone the best opportunity for developing their own talents.

The human being also develops himself at his workplace. This is why the CDU has made it its goal to provide employment for everyone. The social market economy enables the citizen to take part in competition and to assess his own performance

capacity. For the CDU competition does not only play an important role in the economy. We are convinced that fair competition encourages people to make the best use of their capabilities. A democratic constitutional state guarantees its citizens a chance for free personal development and protects them from discrimination. The CDU professes this balance between freedom and order.

30. Gender equality is a basic human right. Our policies seek to create equal opportunities for women, men, girls and boys and to remove disadvantages in all areas. We stand up for a policy which gives men and women equal rights. In our view, such a system includes equal job opportunities, opportunities for career progression and equitable wages on the labour market, enhancing family labour and better compatibility between family and career. The various opinions and experiences that women contribute are of immense importance to our society. We promote the participation of women at all levels.

### ***Cohesion in our Society***

31. Where human beings are able to develop themselves freely a sense of belonging is cultivated. The principle of subsidiarity creates communality and involvement of all citizens. The CDU strives for a society in which free and mature citizens live together and assist one another: the young assist the old, the old assist the young, the strong protect the weak and the weak assist the strong. Society must bear collectively the responsibility that everyone can find their rightful place.

32. Cohesion in a society has its foundations in solidarity as a nation. Our common language, our history as well as our life and actions in a reunified nation state form the basis of a patriotic sense of belonging together. We regard our black-red-gold flag and our national anthem as symbols of our democracy. Our nation is a community in which the citizens are willing to take on responsibility for the past, present and the shaping of the future. Every person who comes to us and wishes to live permanently with us is enjoined to become conversant with our country and its history, thus integrating himself into our society.

33. Like any other nation, our nation cannot survive without common high esteem for our liberal society, without patriotism, without the preparedness of our citizens to fulfil their duties or assume responsibilities in the country or nation and without showing solidarity. Our history is pregnant with experiences and great achievements in science and art, economy and politics. We have a remarkable tradition of rule of law, constitutional government and a good administrative system. We have established a social welfare state and developed a market economy. For many decades now we have lived in peace and stable democracy as part and parcel of the European family of nations, and we have accomplished our reunification peacefully. As part of our identity we have to constantly remind ourselves of the shameful years of abuse of human rights under the National Socialist regime and not cast it into oblivion and set nothing off against anything. In our opinion, patriotism means being fully conscious of the history of our country and shaping its future in a responsible manner.

34. It is only when we clearly acknowledge ourselves as a community of free citizens characterised by a distinctive history and culture that we can convincingly demand integration and participation. For to be part of this society means to be part of its history, its traditions and experiences, its forms and norms of coexistence and other aspects of its culture. This is true for every German and also for immigrants or potential immigrants and their children.

Binding factors of our coexistence constitute primordially mastering the German language, respect for one's fellow citizens, and readiness to work and to take on responsibility. Apart from that, every citizen must acknowledge all the binding cultural values which have their origins in our societal and political dispensation. They are values which originate from our history and are entrenched in our constitution: the inviolable dignity of every citizen, the recognition of every person's right to live a dignified life and to cultivate his own sense of direction and, thus, freedom of religion.

35. The CDU considers social integration as holistic. Every person must be able to develop himself freely and participate in the social, political, economic and cultural life of the community. In this regard, the CDU considers the integration of immigrants into our society as its key political mission. Integration leads at once to equal participation, mutual understanding and identification with our country.

36. Our political culture is founded on the common European values and the peculiarities of the German history, especially with regard to the federal and religious traditions, the special relationship between state and church and the responsibility that the Germans have hitherto borne out of the experiences of two totalitarian regimes.

37. These cultural values and historical experiences form the basis of the cohesion in our society and constitute the major cultural orientation in Germany. We want to fill it with life.

Our culture is characterised and oriented in its history, present and future by European standards. This European dimension will continue to be of great importance in Europe's unification process.

## **II. CHALLENGES OF OUR TIME – CDU'S PROSPECTS FOR SHAPING THE FUTURE**

### **1. Challenges of our Time**

38. We are living in times of epochal changes. The threats to our environment, the consequences of globalisation, the demands of a knowledge-based society, new threats to our freedom and demographic change are the most salient examples of such challenges. We must accept them, face them squarely and consider them as eventual opportunities to promote responsible policies which offer prospects for the future. It is, therefore, imperative for us to be prepared to accept change. Thus, our country is compelled to correct erroneous trends and structural weaknesses of the welfare state. As the great people's party in the centre of our society the CDU seeks to preserve what will move our country forward and change what will hamper our country's progress.

#### ***Creation under Threat***

39. According to our Christian beliefs nature was entrusted to us to cultivate and preserve. Today, what we observe is that: Nature is under threat.

40. New technological inventions are pushing the human being to his ethical limits. As we are aware, research in bio-medical sciences and genetic engineering have

contributed immensely in curing diseases and relieving pain. They, however, inhibit many risks at the same time. When, for instance, the craving for knowledge combines with unscrupulous marketing of products creation and human dignity are threatened. Even the freedom to research must respect the inviolable dignity of mankind.

41. The global climate change threatens the very foundations of our existence and the chances of development of the next generations. The demand for energy and the consumption of fossil energy are increasing worldwide. The increased emission of greenhouse gases and the climate warming it entails have far-reaching repercussions for mankind and nature, i.e. the melting of glaciers, the rising of the sea level, the pollution of the seas, floods, lack of water, destruction of species, desertification and catastrophes caused by drought – catastrophes which impoverish human beings and drive them out of the homes into migration.

### ***The globalised World***

42. Globalisation means opening up political, economic and communication borders worldwide. It is characterised by the mobility of human beings and the exchange of ideas and information, of goods, services and capital as well as of the networking of markets. It is an expression of freedom and fosters competition.

43. Globalisation is an irreversible politically and economically-fruitful development process which can offer worldwide social, political and economic opportunities to increasingly more people. We want to shape globalisation in such a way as to strengthen democracy and human rights and to promote ecological goals in the world. The consciousness of living in a common world is on the increase. Nevertheless, globalisation also leads to another type of distribution, namely, that of poverty and riches in the world – among countries and within countries. Migration is also the consequence of globalisation.

44. International networking of markets for goods and services strengthens international competition of economic centres which is increasingly becoming a competition in world standards among regions. Global international markets make it possible to take on capital and to invest it. Regions with potential and prospects for effective interests receive capital which is lacking or gets lost in less attractive regions. The same thing applies to the talent and knowledge markets. This constitutes a new dimension for worldwide competition of economic centres and economic systems. This new development reduces at the same time national tax possibilities and renders an international framework far more crucial than ever.

45. Many people consider globalisation and the resultant demands as a threat to their jobs, their personal career progression and their social security that they have so far taken for granted. These fears must be taken seriously. However, Germany has for time immemorial benefited from the opening of its borders to foreigners and the increasing integration of international markets – companies through greater market opportunities as well as employees through high-quality jobs, consumers through more and better products and investors through multi-faceted investment prospects. If Germany is able to assert itself in the global competition we will be able to secure for ourselves the future economic foundations of social security and stability. This will open for us day after day new opportunities for further development. As many people as possible should participate in these growth opportunities, this knowledge-base and capital. He who provides for them acts socially.

## ***The Demands of the Knowledge-intensive Society***

46. Modern Information and Communications Technology (ICT) is increasingly transforming society into a knowledge-based society. The role played by knowledge in creating and adding value *to life* is getting more and more crucial. Completely new areas of knowledge and the potential for job creation are being discovered everyday.

47. Future knowledge is networked and interdisciplinary. Thus, there is a change in the access to knowledge. Today, obtaining, organising and use of knowledge have already become a core issue for attaining prosperity and creating opportunities in the life of every individual and society as a whole. Knowledge is becoming the most important resource. This constitutes, indeed, a great opportunity for Germany as a country that has always lacked raw materials and relied on its great tradition of education, training and research. However, it also poses a great challenge due to the new dynamic competitors in the world market.

48. The rate at which knowledge about humankind is increasing and at which scientific and technological advancement has discovered the hitherto unknown raises the importance of good upbringing and education. This is because it is hardly possible any longer for the individual to process the increasing volume of information that is available. Knowledge is unequally distributed and outdated. As such, it is more difficult for as many people as possible to obtain it. Nonetheless, participation in this knowledge is an indispensable prerequisite to make the opportunity society a reality in Germany.

## ***Endangered Security***

49. For the first time our country is surrounded by friends and partners. At the same time, however, Germany and Europe are threatened today from all corners of the world. Catastrophes, the collapse of states, civil wars, poverty, hunger, pests, the destruction of the environment and crime which defy borders have their toll on us, too. Terrorists who operate across borders and the spread of weapons of mass destruction pose a great threat to our security. Disputes regarding claims to natural resources and sources of energy upon which the prosperity and freedom of Germany depend inhibit risks of peace in the world.

50. It was not until we experienced the terrorist attacks on September 11 in 2001 that we knew how vulnerable free and open societies were and what challenges our country and the international community of states faced. In the globalised world we are directly confronted with the outcomes of asymmetrical threats. These new developments pose a challenge not only to us as a state but also to our society and our culture.

New threats to our security also crop up internally: our free democratic constitutional state, its values and norms that are threatened, for instance, by left-wing and right-wing extremists, fundamentalists prone to violence, terrorism and organised crime.

## ***Demographic Change***

51. Whereas the rest of the world population is increasing, ours is shrinking. Our birth rate is among the lowest in the world. For a long time now it has not been possible to maintain the desired population status. At the same time, however, life expectancy in Germany has increased. The population pyramid is being turned upside down.

52. A shrinking total population with an increasingly high number of old people will change our society. In future many old people will not have children and grandchildren; family ties are becoming weaker. In a world that is undergoing rapid transformation, a society that has a low number of children and a high number of aged people comes under a severe test.

53. Less and less employed people have to cater for a greater number of unemployed people. Expenses incurred for old-age pension provision will continue to rise. Our long-standing social security systems cannot stand up to these new developments. They must conform to the changing conditions. There must be equity across the different generations. At the same time, the demographic evolution in the regions in Germany will experience different outcomes. We strive for equity in living conditions in all parts of Germany.

In the final analysis, it is the *overall* responsibility of the state to stand up to the challenges of the demographic change, as it has consequences in almost all areas of life.

54. The challenges that we now face are disturbing and disconcerting to many people. With this programme the CDU provides answers which are guided by the conviction that sound principles must be sustained and that we should, however, seize the opportunities provided by the essential changes that occur to shape our future.

## **2. Germany, Society of Opportunities – living in Freedom and Security**

55. The Christian concept of mankind is our guiding principle for the future. Every human being has the right to develop himself in freedom. Nonetheless, every person is responsible for his fellow man. Our model for the opportunity society takes into account this balance of development and responsibility and of freedom and security. This model stems from the basic understanding of the Christian concept of mankind.

The opportunity society is the very core value of a human society. It empowers the human being and opens to him all manner of opportunities. We stand up for respect for performance and success, for the right to a second chance after failure and for solidarity with the weak.

We wish for social integration into the mainstream of society, even for those who have hitherto been relegated to the background. The social background of a person should not constitute a deciding factor for his future life. The vision of the CDU is equality of opportunity, and consequently the ability to shape one's own life in a responsible manner, and not equal results. Every human being is a unique individual that must be protected and taken care of. As far as we are concerned, this free and responsible human being is the centre of all our political considerations and not the state.

The social market economy of the 20<sup>th</sup> century made it possible for us to achieve "Prosperity for all". We still hold firmly unto that. However, in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, too, the positive results of the social market economy will also be able to manifest themselves. In this vein, we are providing strategies which will strengthen the willingness to perform and hard work, self-confidence, social responsibility and a sense of solidarity.

## ***Living in Freedom***

56. In situations where many things are happening at the same time we have to gather courage to live in freedom. Without freedom opportunities cannot be utilised. We must place our trust in the power of freedom and, thus, trust in ourselves, in order to master the future.

Being able to face challenges and to resolve them in this rapidly changing world does not only require readiness to work, perseverance and discipline but also inquisitiveness and creativity. It is only through implementing novel and courageous ideas, i.e. scientific, cultural, social, economic and political ones, that we can preserve the country in which we love to live.

The state must guarantee the safety of its citizens. In this case, it must show more and more reservation but sometimes intervene where necessary to create opportunities for the youth.

## ***Living in Security***

57. In situations where many events occur human beings need to cultivate confidence to live in security. It is the responsibility of the state to create the right atmosphere for its citizens to be able to live in security.

Security has many dimensions. The strengthening of the family and cohesion between generations, improvement of upbringing and education as well as the revitalisation of the social market economy create the right conditions for social security. Living in social security means being able to rely on solidarity, a situation in which opportunities are always open to everyone and even the new opportunity to benefit from the global knowledge-based society.

Cultural identity provides security to people in our country, thus also the strength to shape their future. When we are assured of our guiding principle we obtain internal security which makes it possible for us to live out freedom in a responsible manner. The integration of foreigners in our society on the basis of possessing a leading culture in Germany is an essential contribution to cultural security.

Our policies of internal security aim for augmenting the possibilities of the state to curb threats and fight crime. With respect to the global threats to our way of life it is hardly possible any longer to separate internal security from external security. Internal security and external security must be considered as interdependent. The prudent utilisation of our natural resources which includes the protection of our environment and our climate opens up a perspective for the future generations to live in freedom.

58. The CDU is committed to a society in which freedom, solidarity and justice form part of everyday life. When fundamental principles are put in their right perspective human demand for security is also fulfilled. Free and secure life is accomplished in the society of opportunities.



### **III. STRONG FAMILIES – HUMANE SOCIETY**

#### **1. New Lifestyles – New Relationships among Generations**

59. It is not only the external conditions that have changed. Lifestyles and the roles of different generations have also changed. Policies that are deemed sensitive and future-oriented must seek answers to the new lifestyles of people and still take cognizance of the fact that people are growing older and should remain healthier.

60. These days young people have slimmer chances than before of enjoying social life together in their families. Different ways of life, which in former times were realised as a matter of course through several lifestyles and occupations in an extended family seldom serve now as family models for children and the youth to emulate. In order to lead successful lives the younger generations need to have not only knowledge but also social competencies. In one's youth it is also essential to make as much effort as possible. A policy which motivates people to accomplish personal responsibility and solidarity acts in a social-minded manner.

61. Through the long duration of pre-tertiary and tertiary education and training the times to begin life and to start of a family are becoming closely linked. At the same time, the generation of adults is gradually assuming special responsibilities for effecting the coexistence of all generations: it educates the children, takes care of elderly family members, contributes its quota to the generation contract and is compelled more than ever to secure their own life. The complementarity between family and career is a basic component of our Christian democratic dispensation. We wish that those in our families who take on jobs or responsibilities receive support from the whole society and are not disadvantaged in the social security systems or tax payment.

62. In the near future about one-third of society will live one-third of its life after working life. It is erroneous to talk about retirement. On the contrary, the elderly people offer a great opportunity and, by dint of their experience in life, a huge capital for society. They are prepared to contribute to the development of the country. We want to have more offers that will enable us to invite our elderly citizens together with their children and the youth, with their parents and those gainfully employed to form a lively coexistence. Everyone has a responsibility. Everybody is needed.

63. We want to inject into our health care delivery system a new understanding of a society of longevity. Health care delivery policies in an ageing society do not only imply prolonging human life with high-technology medical aid, but also to improve a person's living conditions. This is why we want to strengthen personal responsibility and to extend the prevention of a single pillar in the health care delivery system. Quality life in old age also implies that people are able to live a life of their own choice as independently as possible and in the location that they are most conversant with. Relevant offers must be made accordingly.

How we will be able to deal with issues concerning those who need intensive care or are physically challenged will be determined by the social quality of our coexistence. Also, who is deemed in need of care is determined by the degree of ageing in the environment that one is accustomed to and not excluded. Even when families are not in a position to provide the necessary care, they should know and make sure that their parents and grandparents are taken good care of. People who are in need of care and their nurses need better assistance through voluntary services. We want to

establish better cooperation between families, institutions, full-time nursing staff and honorary attendants in the neighbourhood.

64. Our policies redefine age and the end of gainful employment as the end of one's active service. Many people can and want to work longer. Not only the community and people who are engaged on a voluntary basis but also the economy and business enterprises are in great need of the involvement and active participation of elderly people. Many of them consider it as discrimination against old people to be sidelined from working life or voluntary activity against their will. We want more flexibility in this regard.

65. An increasing number of people are suffering from lack of attention and loneliness. There is spiritual emptiness in rich societies. People need people in order to feel good.

66. The social issues of today are of a different quality from those of the past. They, therefore, demand different political solutions. Traditional methods, such as providing more money and more personnel and issuing more regulations, are inadequate tools for handling the new social challenges: be it a matter of not allowing the neighbourhood and whole quarters of towns to become desolate, ostracising people with disability and fully integrating foreigners. However, all that requires more than just state measures. In order to confront the issues of our times successfully we need to accomplish a new type of solidarity and personal initiative within the very core of the community.

67. The CDU is not the party which by reflex action would expect that the state should provide solutions to all social problems. The party, therefore, finds itself in a better position than other parties to find answers to social challenges. The principle of solidarity is more relevant today than ever. The CDU would like to strengthen those small units from which stem: development and cohesion, personal responsibility and solidarity. The first and most important unit is the family.

## **2. Strengthening the Foundation of our Society – Creating Freedom of Choice for Families**

68. Families are becoming more and more important and constitute the basis of society. In our view, family is where parents assume permanent responsibility for their children and children are also responsible for their parents. It is the place where partnership and solidarity are practised and the sense of responsibility is inculcated into the human being. In it, the human being matures into a personality and develops into a free and responsible being. It is here that values which are based on the Christian concept of mankind are lived out – man's inviolable dignity and his cordial relationship with other human beings.

69. The family does not only consist of the young family with children or young people. It comprises all generations. Today, relationships between different generations, such as children, parents, grandparents and great grandparents have become more important than ever before. We appreciate the services rendered in solidarity by families over long periods of time and support families, too, in more advanced years.

70. Marriage epitomises the association between man and woman. It is the best and most reliable basis for success in the family. The expression of responsibility of fathers and mothers to their children is demonstrated in marriage. Even in marriages without

children men and women assume permanent responsibility for each other. This is why marriage is accorded special protection in our Basic Law.

71. Marriage and family constitute the most reliable social network, when people need people. Family ties remain for life. Never before have had parents and children such a long lifetime together as now. Nevertheless, the number of families has been dwindling. Currently, every generation that follows is one-third smaller than the previous one. That is the contradiction of our time: a rich society is poor in children. The many decisions taken by individuals boil down to a development that has far-reaching consequences not only for the quality of life for human beings but also for the prosperity and welfare of our society.

72. For a great majority of women and men a fulfilled and happy family life includes a family and children. Children bind us to life and give us joy. He who decides to have children believes in the future and demonstrates confidence and optimism. Children enrich our lives. Thus, one cannot talk of loss of importance of the family; on the contrary, the family is becoming more and more important.

73. The decision to marry, have children and raise a family is a personal decision that we support: the state and society should, however, not dictate to people how they should live.

74. We aim to create the preconditions that will enable people to achieve their wish to start a family and to have children. Certain postponed or unimplemented decisions to have children or start a family have had social repercussions that we can and have to change especially that we are committed to safeguarding family values. We want to strengthen families and establish family-friendly structures. Part of this exercise is to also support families whose desire to have children can only be realised through medical intervention.

The aim of our family policy is to achieve more justice for families, i.e. to facilitate life with children and the realisation of one's wish to have children and to start a family. We want strong families in which children grow into strong personalities, capable of taking on their own responsibility and of acting in solidarity with other human beings.

75. Our family policy is based on traditional values and new realities. Families do not exist for themselves alone; they are an integral part of the fabric of our cultural and social life, surrounded by structures, which are of assistance to them or else make it difficult for them to experience family life and that we must shape.

### ***In Favour of a family-friendly Society***

76. Within the family people acquire social virtues, mutual duties, trust and responsibility. They experience here the living together of all generations. Here, people are accepted irrespective of their performance or failure. Families need a certain climate in which they develop. Family values, as we know, are basic elements not only for the development of the individual but also for social coexistence. It is precisely in this regard and for these reasons that we deem it our duty to preserve family values.

77. The climate also comprises the recognition of the equal rights of genders to self development and the wish of young men and women to develop themselves in the family and their career. Family values bind both men and women equally.

78. Our family policy aim to create the preconditions for as many people as possible to decide for a life with children. Therefore, it is imperative to create genuine freedom of choice so as to make it possible for parents to decide how they can combine family and career. In the capitalistic family of the 21<sup>st</sup> century both parents will often be concerned not only about the economic basis but also about the emotional quality of the family. Precisely because love and devotion will have in the future a mutual responsibility and duty in the family we have to redefine and shape family. Other aspects of family values are dedication, reliability, confidence and respect for individuality and realisation of the wishes of the partner and the children.

79. All who give life to children and lead a family life in their own peculiar way deserve to be respected and given recognition for the responsibility that they assume. More often than not, single parents offer these services under extremely strenuous conditions for which they need assistance.

80. We respect the decision of other persons who find fulfilment in other forms of partnership. We acknowledge the fact that these relationships are also based on values that are fundamental to our society. This applies not only to couples of men and women who cohabit without being properly married, and also to same-sex partners. We canvas for tolerance and are against any form of discrimination. At any rate, we do not accept any comparison of these situations to marriage between a man and a woman as the foundation of the family in society, just as we reject the adoption right of same-sex couples.

### ***Devote Time to Families***

81. Families need time: parents for their children and children for their parents – time for devotion and family welfare, time for activities together and for individual interests. We do not want a society in which only economic interests are the only things which matter. This is why we have introduced financial support for parents. This enables more parents to take more intensive care, and together at that, of their child in its first year without financial constraints and also without losing sight of their professional career. As the next stage it is appropriate to put measures in place to address the issues of compatibility of family and career and caring for parents and grandparents. Services provided through nursing and upbringing should be considered on equal grounds as family work.

82. Modern and family-friendly working conditions in the economy and business world and in administration and the public service are more important than certain measures taken by the state for the daily life of the family. For a long time now many companies have proved that taking due consideration of children and families is possible and that it is profitable for both sides. A family-friendly labour world makes industries, companies and public institutions more attractive for the best brains and enhances commitment and loyalty. We acknowledge the performance of industrial partners in this area and enjoin them to incorporate principles and strategies for a better balance between work and life in their union agreements. We need jobs which are suitable for families and not families which are suitable for jobs.

83. Reconciling family and career is the business of mothers and fathers. Sharing responsibility in the upbringing of children in a partner-friendly manner satisfies the child's demand for its mother and father and can be key to making family and career compatibility. Fathers who take up the upbringing of their children should be given the same social recognition as mothers.

## ***More Justice for the Family***

84. Families no doubt need financial assistance. As far we are concerned, the promotion of families is not tantamount to an act of charity. It is rather a just compensation for the enormous achievements that families make and an investment in the future of society. It opens up the possibilities for making a choice in situations where material constraints exist. However, it turns out to be positive for children and contributes to the strengthening of family responsibilities. This is on condition that financial assistance to families is becoming more efficient and more transparent for the families. We want to concentrate our measures on the family coffers.

85. The special role of marriage as a community of responsibility in partnership and centre of the family must continue to manifest itself strongly in tax payment. For that reason, we demand the continuation of the income splitting of married couples and for the spread of family income splitting so that the special constraints experienced by families with children can better be compensated. Families with children must be giving more tax relief than families without children. Apart from that, all families with children should be given an advantage in their splitting. Furthermore, measures for motivation have to be put in place so that parents may decide for more children. We do not just need children in society, we also need children in families. Parents in particular who decide to have three or more children, need special support.

86. Parents sacrifice for their children. This is eventually beneficial to the whole community. This is the reason why parents on statutory an old-age pension scheme must be treated in principle better than childless insured people. In this respect, we will proffer amelioration for the periods of time spent on child upbringing.

## ***Our Future: Children***

87. Children need other children in order to develop and to learn social virtues. We, therefore, also have to provide the much needed expansion of infrastructures, such as facilities for children of all ages in which they can be taken care of in a flexible and reliable manner in accordance with the wish expressed by their parents. At the same time a contribution is made to the upbringing and education of the children. We also welcome more offers of child care facilities provided by the private individuals and kindergartens. We would like to make the attendance of the kindergarten free of charge on medium-term basis and compulsory in the last year. This is on condition that solid and sustainable funding is provided. The child should also have the right to a vacancy in a day nursery on medium-term basis. Families need a relief and a supportive social infrastructure. In order to enable families and children to develop well parents, day-care institutions schools, aid institutions for children and the youth must collaborate more than they are doing currently. On medium-term basis we would like to provide money for parents to take care of children between the ages of 1 and 3 at home and do not have to go to day-care homes.

88. The right and the duty of bringing up a child are first and foremost the prerogative of the parents. The state cannot and should not replace parents in and assistance for child upbringing. If need be, it should rather assist the youth and their parents to find jobs. It must also fulfil its obligation of protecting children. Neglect of children and violence against them must be opposed vehemently. The welfare of children is a real concern to us.

89. Children are our future. Germany must once again become a country in which living with children is easy and a matter of course. This is an assignment for us all.

#### **IV. GERMANY AS A NATION OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE – ANSWERS FOR THE KNOWLEDGE-BASED SOCIETY**

##### **1. More Education for Everyone – from the Start throughout the Entire Life**

90. Education is the key to opportunities in the life of every person and is of enormous importance for the values that we are maintaining – and also for the values that we wish to cultivate. It is only more education for more people can ensure the sustainability of prosperity. It will make it possible for us to overcome the challenges of the future and to seize the opportunities afforded by change.

91. The freedom and dignity of mankind, riches and the whole gamut of human possibilities can only be realised if the talents and skills of young people are promoted, tasked and developed from the onset. Willingness to perform and ability to perform can only be nurtured in a climate of inquisitiveness and a spirit of discovery even outside school premises.

92. The social background of a person should not be a decisive factor for his future. "Career advancement through education" is our socio-political goal. Everyone must be involved. No one should be left behind. Poverty begins too often as lack of education. Sharing in education and training is a *sine qua non* of equal opportunities.

93. Social security and social cohesion require that we train children to become strong personalities, who trust in their own capabilities, learn to show consideration for others and are able to accept their own responsibility and to demonstrate solidarity.

94. By dint of a just and effective education system we will be able to transmit and maintain those values which are the foundation of prosperity and security. Education is of strategic importance for us to impart our moral and economic values.

95. An education-based society thrives on discovering every talent and promoting it as early as possible: We can never contend that we have enough well trained personnel. If human beings live and work longer economic and social prudence and our commitment to one another demand that we acquire at all stages of our lives new competencies. Life-long learning is the best assurance to confront the vicissitudes of life. When knowledge is renewed more rapidly than ever and future careers become more and more sophisticated, then the question of obtaining optimal education and training becomes the social question of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.

96. In order to answer this question we have to seek orientation in several guidelines. We want more orientation, more flexibility and more transparency in our education system. We want to improve quality and performance in all spheres. We want to reevaluate learning in and with practice and to expand the definition of education to cover ideals that are worth maintaining and to make it conform to new requirements. We want education from early life and all through one's life at that. And we do so for humane, social and economic reasons. It is better, more just and more economical with regard to both children and adults to invest in education and training than to try to correct erroneous trends through the transfer payments or social measures. This is why we are guided by the maxim: "Prevention is better than cure".

## ***Education from the Start***

97. Children and young people are creative and open-minded, if they are put in the right environment. Thus, we want to strengthen families as well as create new institutions of learning for children. It is necessary to interlink more strongly early childhood learning with formal school education. We think that the separation of education from nursing is artificial and outmoded. Children need very early an exciting environment where they can explore and discover the world in a playful manner. Care centres and crèches are also educational institutions. That is why we want to create the preconditions for promoting the three to ten year children individually and according to their abilities and skills. We stand up for the continuation of the training of specialists. Also, careers must be transparent.

98. The differentiated school system has stood the test of time and proven to be a model of success. We reject the comprehensive school system. Our lodestar is: "After every completion, continuation". The right framework must be created, so as to continually improve the schools and render them appropriate for the school children. Every school child has a capability and deserves to go to school which will make it possible for it to enhance its strengths. We do not expect that a school under similar conditions will produce worse results than comparable schools.

99. We want to take different measures in regard to the competition of schools for the best education. We want compulsory national standards and an effective, open and transparent evaluation, but we also want more freedom and personal responsibility for schools, so that they can pursue for themselves higher quality lessons. We must re-focus on well-grounded educational research and continuous reporting on educational issues. Educational standards agreed must be vigorously implemented. Collaboration among states must allow for comparison, especially with regard to final examinations and consequently mobility. We are committed to the state's responsibility for school and educational systems. Educational institutions established through free private initiative are an indispensable part of this educational system.

100. More personal responsibility is needed to carry out this task and to enable the schools to implement their agreement. Teachers make a very huge contribution to society. Their training is a key element in effective and efficient education in the schools. Apart from the differentiated and well-grounded specialist training that they may have, pedagogical practice must assume centre-stage. Training and further training must regularly extend and upgrade competencies. An adequate number of qualified teachers is the prerequisite for school quality. For them, too, achievement must be worth its while.

101. The purpose of school goes far beyond imparting of knowledge. Young people also need values and social virtues in order to successfully come to terms with their lives. Respect for democracy and the rule of law must be transmitted again and again. Political education is inevitable. It is relevant to promote exchange programmes in Europe for school children and the youth at large. Music and religious education are essential for the holistic development of a personality. The CDU is of the opinion that religious education should form part of the school curriculum in all federal states. Apart from protestant and catholic religious lessons, lessons in other religions should also be taught, if the need arises, in the German language and by teachers trained in Germany at that. The schools should be inspected by the state.

102. Education does not begin only at school nor does it end after school. The actual number of phases of education and training that young people go through ought to be

reduced. They should also begin earlier and end earlier. They should, however, be supplemented by further training courses later in life. The ability to learn during one's entire life must be cultivated as early as possible in life and be fostered at school and at training sessions and supplemented with high-quality and useful further training at all stages of life. Companies can play an important role here by creating opportunities for traineeship for young people and making it possible for adult workers to obtain further training.

### ***Multiplicity, Differentiation and Flexibility***

103. One of the strengths of our educational systems is the multifarious nature of our learning concepts and learning methods. We are committed to a talents-oriented and differentiated school system which offers not only practice-oriented but also theoretically-oriented opportunities for training. These different aspects must, however, remain as transparent and flexible as possible. Top performances are of great importance for the future of our country. As such, highly gifted persons must be promoted.

104. The CDU endorses an appropriate expansion of the system of whole-day schooling with due regard to the involvement of clubs and honorary groups. Our expectation here is that whole-day schools will offer a pedagogically-structured daily rhythm that will include health education, sport, music and art activities and the imparting of knowledge of social competencies.

105. People with learning disability and physically-challenged people need special attention, encouragement and assistance which should be related to their individual needs. The association of disabled with non-disabled persons, their strengths and weaknesses, which are a matter of course, should be made clear to children as early as possible, so as to prevent absolutely any barriers that may be harboured mentally or manifested through behaviour.

### ***Quality and Achievement***

106. We want quality and achievement to be essential criteria for the whole educational system. We see in the principle "Demand and promote" a general maxim for pedagogical activities. The purpose and objective of every effort is to bring out the strengths of every young person, to promote their faith and their capabilities, allow them to go through useful experiences in order to be able to achieve something in life.

These principles and maxims apply in our opinion to every one, however manifold our talents, backgrounds or skills may be. He who demands from others or entrust to them what they are capable of doing is socially-minded.

107. We, therefore, want more and better education for all. Furthermore, we would like to pave the way for as many school children as possible to achieve maximum outputs. The prescription of examinable subjects or other learning contents and key competencies in our core curricula is in this respect a vitally important contribution.

108. Education for all, social transparency and top performances can only be attained through language competency. Language is the key to education and training and integration in the professional world and society. An increasing number of children, especially those with immigrant backgrounds, do not have an adequate knowledge of the German language. In order for children to be able to join in conversations and take part equally in education from their first day in school it is necessary to institute



targeted language promotion in the kindergartens, compulsory language tests prior to enrolment and intensive parallel language-learning programmes for children with deficits. In this regard, the child's family home must also be very much involved. At the same time, the multilingual and intercultural competence of these children should also be taken into account and purposefully promoted. All children are required to acquire from their first year at school at least one foreign language apart from the German language.

109. The quality of University education and consequently the qualification of University graduates and researchers are of vital importance in the education-based society. We want to secure the topmost qualifications and to maintain Germany's position as an internationally recognised centre for talents. In order to achieve this goal it is imperative to have a system of universities, teacher training colleges, music and art academies, 'Fachhochschulen' (Universities of Applied Sciences), Universities of Corporative Education, higher educational institutions with professional orientation and on-the-job training and private institutions of higher education. Every type of tertiary institution should be assisted. In order to enable public tertiary institutions to function creditably, the national budget must cater appropriately for the basic infrastructure of these institutions. By using socially manageable course charges higher education institutions should be able to improve, with specific targets, the teaching of courses that they offer and develop special course outlines. Excellence, also in teaching, should be a matter of course in German universities and other tertiary institutions.

Students must be encouraged to further develop their strengths, be it in practice-oriented courses or in training in science and research. A change from one university to the other should be possible with the same qualification. Increasing international exchange programmes demand that students acquire certain key qualifications, which in future will be of benefit to Germany as a hub of economic activities. Here, too, coordination between courses, scientific professions and families will play an important role. A condition for success in this regard is the spread of the scholarship scheme.

110. The unity of research and teaching continues to be an essential precondition for the success story of German universities. To enable them to continue in this manner, cutting-edge academic research must be encouraged and competitiveness among universities must be strengthened. We want to afford universities freedom and personal responsibility and less state intervention. We will free research of all bureaucratic bottlenecks.

### ***Practical Knowledge and Capability***

111. We want to effect a reasonable balance between theory and practice. More than ever, many practical professions now need for their future enhancement more theoretical knowledge. In many academic professions it is an advantage to acquire practical knowledge as early and as intensively as possible. We want to reevaluate learning with practical experience. Universities of Applied Sciences and Universities of Corporative Education are, therefore, a success story because this mutual injection of theory and practice, career and studies has been successful, indeed.

112. This dual system is a model for the combination of theory and practice for professional training in Germany. It is highly advantageous in international competitiveness and the best prevention of youth unemployment. Here, industries and schools share the responsibility for the training. It opens up prospects for new entries into jobs and career advancement and for life-long professional training. It is

also a way of arousing the interest of young men and women in the multiplicity of means and training facilities that are available to them during their career orientation.

Some young men are not in a position to successfully undergo any regular professional training at their first attempt. These days, more often than not, they are issued with certificates for what they are incapable of doing instead of being given certificates for what they can do. We are of the opinion that every one is capable of doing something. That is why young people who are less efficient need extra opportunities for entry into new jobs. Such opportunities will lead to qualifications that can be used to obtain jobs for which certificates can be issued. This can in turn lead to further contacts and openings. Any type of training is better than no training at all.

To be successful in this exercise we need flexible procedures in the dual training system. To this end better service here are quality training in stages and, especially, training building blocks as limited and standardised learning modules for which certificates are issued autonomously and considered as performance for training. Besides that, collaboration amongst stakeholders, especially between the schools providing general education and those providing professional and vocational training, must be fostered. To make the dual training more attractive the transitional and exemption prospects for graduates from professional and vocational institutions who wish to gain admission to universities should be improved.

113. Young people develop their creative powers tremendously when at the beginning of the professional life they feel that they are needed and are encouraged. The basic conditions must, therefore, be shaped in such a way that the private and public employers show more readiness than before to offer training facilities. In this case, we rely on voluntariness, sense of responsibility and targeted motivation instead of the utilisation of force by the state.

114. Mobility forms part of the demands of the labour world. This is why we need a European educational environment in which educational courses and completion and certification of courses are comparable and mutually recognised.

### ***Holistic Education***

115. We have a vital duty to leave behind a viable educational system. Education is the stimulation of all strengths and capabilities of the human being to enable them to develop into individuals and personalities who are able to take decisions on their own. We shall maintain the educational system by rejuvenating it. Indeed, in uncertain and obscure times as we are living in now which, nevertheless, open up to us numerous opportunities, the all-round education system is becoming more and more important. As such, we would like to maintain the liveliness of education so as to give ideas and ideals their own values. At the same time, we are going to strengthen economic, mathematic and natural-science education. An education and research policy which narrows its horizon to only practical utilisation is doomed to failure. Participation, security and prosperity for all through education for all is only possible, if education has in itself meaning and purpose and if its value is acknowledged and appreciated.

## **2. Inquisitive Germany: Scientific Research ensures Prosperity and Development**

116. Science and research decide on the material and non-material affluence of a society and contribute to the resolution of serious challenges posed by the increasing

world population. They are essential for progress in medicine, world food security, general security, communication, environmentally-friendly mobility and energy supply. Humanities in turn provide the indispensable knowledge of orientation in a rapidly-changing world.

The wealth of ideas and creativity of the human being are vital advantages that Germany has in this competitive world. It is only through a spirit of discovery and a wealth of inventions that we can offer convincing responses to the question: On what and how do we want to live tomorrow? New ideas of attaining future affluence require, on the one hand, the more crucial role that we have accorded scientific research in the public consciousness and, on the other hand, its implementation through marketable finished products in Germany. As the largest economy in Europe Germany has to play a decisive role in research and the development of major technologies in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, in order to maintain and further bolster her international competitiveness.

117. The CDU is committed to the freedom of science and research. The opportunities and risks involved in scientific research have to be weighed conscientiously. Freedom of scientific research ends where human dignity is negatively affected or God's creation is endangered.

118. Germany occupies an international leading position in many fields of research that ought to be expanded. Basic research in particular, which first and foremost, is only meant to provide knowledge and serves only indirectly an economic purpose, requires state subsidy. Research in universities has the particular entitlement to special state subsidy. For the majority of successive generations of scientists are also trained there.

119. New ideas, therefore, lead to future prosperity and development if it is possible to translate the basic knowledge that has been acquired into concrete application, especially for producing marketable products and providing services. Trailblazing research requires networking and strategic alliances of basic research, applied research, higher learning institutions, research institutes, and industry. Innovative achievements are often no more the inventions of individuals. National borders are permeated through the cooperation between international research institutions and companies. This is why we must combine all efforts from all angles and levels.

120. As part of modern research it is necessary to think beyond individual disciplines. The problems and challenges of generations demand more and more interdisciplinary research. Trend-setting solutions often result from cross-cutting interdisciplinary research projects. Die CDU expects the preparedness of all disciplines, humanities, social sciences, natural sciences, and engineering sciences to collaborate.

121. Science, industry and state are jointly responsible for innovations and for the future of Germany's competitiveness as a centre for technology and scientific research. By the year 2015 the expenditure for research and development should have risen to 4 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP). Hence, companies and the federal and state governments need to make their contributions accordingly. Government financial policy must, therefore, act as an engine of innovation and create an appropriate framework through tax incentives in order to attract more investments. They constitute an important prerequisite for more innovativeness in Germany.

122. The transfer of research findings into industry is carried out especially through innovative networks. The mutual exchange between scientists, companies and

sponsors must be expanded and strengthened as a vital element of our research system. Investigations emanating from institutions of higher learning and consequently the establishment of new technology-based companies as well as the immigration of innovative companies from foreign countries must be encouraged and supported. The way from research results to a market product is extremely tortuous, especially with regard to high-technology firms.

123. The middle-sized enterprises which have a great impact on Germany's economy and create the highest number of jobs in our country do not often have their own research departments. It is especially important for us to strengthen their research and innovative capacity. Regional actors in industry, science and politics must be supported by the federal and state governments in identifying and expanding any innovative potential. In the same vein, the introduction of the medium-sized business enterprises to the European research promotion must still be strengthened.

124. In order for innovations to succeed researchers should not be constrained by unnecessary red tape. Research needs flexible forms of organisations and more fondness of experimenting in the design of scientific institutions. Freedom and personal responsibility, excellence and competition as well as a high level of training are the guidelines of the CDU.

### **3. Culture: Expression of National Identity**

125. Germany is a European cultural nation, characterised especially by Christian-Jewish Tradition and the Enlightenment. Art and culture mould not only the identity of the individual but also that of our nation. We want to preserve the rich cultural heritage of our country that is defined by the diversity of its federal states and local authorities.

126. Cultural diversity forms part of our vibrant society, contributes to the quality of life in Germany and promotes our preparedness to venture into new territory. Our cultural vision is a cosmopolitan Germany which, as a result of its traditions, is open to other cultures. Germany's cultural vitality and attractiveness are based today also on its exchange of lifestyles with other peoples and cultures.

127. We are committed to the freedom of art. The state and politics are not responsible for art and its forms of expression. It is, nevertheless, responsible for the conditions under which it can thrive. Art is a special form of coming to terms with reality. It survives on inquisitiveness and adventure. Strengthening of creative talents is also a decisive factor for the competitiveness of Germany. Cultural economy is an important factor for defining one's position. The CDU is committed to the promotion of art and culture as a major public assignment for the federal government, the federal states and the local authorities. This applies to the preservation of our cultural heritage as well as for the promotion of contemporary art. This encompasses top achievements in art as well as the broad-based culture. It also includes deep-rooted traditions as well as popular ways of expression and contributions from refugees, late settlers and immigrants. Promoting culture is not the same as providing an economic subsidy. It is, indeed, an indispensable investment in the future of our society.

128. Apart from the state responsibility, the involvement of civil society is also absolutely necessary. We want to improve the framework conditions for the private promotion of culture through foundations, patronage and sponsorship.

129. Part of our culture is vivid remembrance and embraces the whole German history with all its ups and downs.

The experiences of the periods of National Socialism and, especially, of the singular Holocaust, are deeply imprinted on the memories of the citizens of Federal Republic of Germany.

Another type of experience constitutes grappling with the SED dictatorship. Of crucial importance are also the Autumn Revolution of 1989 and the reunification of Germany. The history of communism in the GDR is not just an East-German event. Just like the history of National Socialism it also forms part of the German national history as well as the history of Europe. This applies to the fate of those people who were expelled from their homes. The mere mention of the victims of the expulsion and their cultural heritage form part of the vivid reminiscences of the experiences of a whole people. We shall also not cast into oblivion the excellent reconstruction achievements and the integration of the people who were displaced and of the refugees after World War II.

An appropriate and dignified commemoration of the freedom and resistance, the peace and reconciliation contributions and the economic and political construction achievements is not only inevitable for the sake of an honest way of handling our own history. It also constitutes a salient part of the conception of our own nation and the construction of its democratic tradition. Also, it demonstrates the rejection of every form of a totalitarian and dictatorial system.

Education, science, literature and art in particular are called upon to contribute to raising the consciousness of our people and to making it possible for them to come to grips with the entire German history.

130. Without culture there is no education and without education there is no culture. Cultural education is indispensable for helping the individual to develop his or her personality and to participate in the democratic process and societal life. The cultural dimension is an essential precondition for imparting orientation and knowledge. Young people in particular must be introduced to art and culture as early as possible. It is the only way the supply and demand for artistic careers and cultural facilities can increase. Cultural education must begin at home and should not end after school. In the opinion of the CDU, cultural education is an integral part of the public and assisted educational systems.

131. The German language is more than just a means of communication. It is a vital aspect of the culture of our country and a binding force in our society. This is why we are responsible for treating the German language with utmost care and jealousy.

132. The cultural and educational policies abroad serve to spread the German language and other aspects of our culture and should promote dialogue between other cultures in the world as well as democracy and human rights. The work of schools and science institutions as well as cultural centres and organisations which endeavour to give an authentic picture of our country abroad must be strengthened. Foreign cultural policy promotes Germany's reputation in the world and Germany's collaboration with her international partners including the economic world.

133. Free media constitute an essential ingredient of our democratic order. They are part of our culture which deserves particular protection and an important economic factor with a huge responsibility. Safeguarding the diversity and quality of media content has high priority in an ever-changing media environment. It is also relevant to

take cognizance of the international competitiveness of the German media providers. In the interest of the independence of the media we oppose any financial involvement, be it direct or indirect, of political parties in the media and media houses.

As part of the diversity of the mass media we also have the traditionally tested dual system of state-owned and the private broadcasting stations. Media policy must ensure that there is fair competition which provides both systems an equal opportunity to develop. The state-owned broadcasting system pays particular attention to education, culture and information. Thus, it promotes and produces culture at the same time. It has the special responsibility of integrating and representing people with an immigration background and the realities of their lives.

134. Media workers and journalists have, as a result of their particular influence, a high degree of responsibility for the social and cultural life as well as the political education of the citizens. It is part of the duty of education and upbringing in the family, the kindergarten and the school to impart basic media competence as an aid to orientation. Media workers have a responsibility especially towards young people. The protection of the youth must be continually enhanced at every age level; its standards must be defined and set more precisely and any infringements must be severely punished.

## **V. RENEWAL OF THE SOCIAL MARKET ECONOMY IN A GLOBALISED WORLD**

135. Globalisation is a man-made phenomenon that we can influence and shape. Globalisation should not be considered as the final stage of the welfare state and the social market economy if we ensure that our policies are economically sound and socially just. It could rather mark the beginning of their acceptance worldwide. A new economic policy must firmly establish the standards of the social market economy internationally.

136. The CDU bases its shaping of globalisation on an international understanding of conditions of a humane and just world order. The goal of this understanding must be that all human beings must achieve more freedom and prosperity through globalisation. It must ensure that the freedom won serves mankind.

137. As far as the CDU is concerned, the social market economy is a model of success which also makes it possible for us in future to live in freedom, prosperity and security. The CDU is committed to this economic and social model which is also an answer to the challenges of the globalised world.

138. The CDU is the party of social market economy. Together with Ludwig Erhard it enforced social market economy against all manner of opposition during the period after World War II and brought success to the Federal Republic of Germany. The CDU rejects socialism and other forms of collectivism. This also applies to unbridled capitalism which believes totally in market mechanism and is not in a position to find solutions to the social issues of our time. The social market economy remains for us a model even in a reunified Germany and in the age of globalisation.

## **1. Principles of Order for Prosperity, Participation and Security**

139. The social market economy emanates from the individual human being as God's creation, whose dignity is inviolable. It is an order in which freedom, solidarity and justice have a symbiotic relationship – reacting on each other and complementing each other.

140. The social market economy is more than an economic system. It is a model of society. It provides a framework within which the creative spirit of the individuals can develop. Thus, the social market economy is a socio-economic order of liberal democracy. For it has the same impetus as the constitutional state: its concern is the protection of human dignity and freedom against state interference and the arbitrariness of fellow human beings. It contributes essentially to the internal stability of the community.

141. The social market economy obtains its strength from freedom and responsibility, and competition and solidarity which form one entity and promote each other mutually. It is the inextricable link between liberal economic order and social order through solidarity. The social market economy is a socially-minded phenomenon. This is because it makes it possible for people to live according to their own definition of independence and to cater for themselves and their dependents. It is socially-minded because it makes the individuals combine their strengths to collaborate communally. It is socially-oriented because it makes the solidarity, upon which our public organised systems of social security are based, economically viable. The social market economy provides prosperity and security for all. Social market economy means participation even for those who are not in a position to fend for themselves. This is how it puts into effect social justice.

142. The social market economy unites willingness to perform and solidarity. Solidarity-based facilities should not cripple the individual willingness to perform. Performance is an essential tenet of prosperity. It is upon this tenet that social liberty can be safeguarded.

143. The social market economy is a system of competition. The policy of social market economy is a policy of order. The social market policy opens up to industry liberal ways of promoting achievement and creates a comprehensive supply of goods and services to the citizens. It enables every person to behave responsibly in the market. It takes for granted a capable government that assures its citizens competitive conditions. This includes free access to trade, freedom of contract, protection against market barriers, protection against abuse of power of companies which monopolise markets and making it possible to achieve market transparency. In the social market economy a condition for the protection of property is that it can be useful to everyone and consequently appealing to their sense of social responsibility.

144. With their creativity and willingness to achieve something, industrialists and company managers serve as a strong pillar of the social market economy. In order to achieve success for our country it is imperative for women and men to be ready to set up business enterprises and to take risks. The whole society benefits from firms which work productively and earn profits. The drive to earn profits serves as a security and further development for the company and consequently also as the fulfilment of a duty towards society. The CDU is committed to liberal and socially-responsible entrepreneurship. Industrialists and company managers create jobs for the future and make an impact on the image of Germany in the world through their reputation and their cultural identity. In order to succeed in their activities industrialists need a free

hand to operate as well as the appropriate framework conditions and incentives. In this case, the company's development should have an impact on the financial situation of the industrialist or company manager.

145. He who operates in a businesslike manner takes on responsibility. This applies to the business and social relationships, with respect to the environment and the future generations and just directly between our co-workers and their families. It also means that companies must promote equality of man and woman at all levels up to the leadership positions, as well as acknowledgement of the principle of equal wage for equal or equally-good work. Visionary industrialists know that this is in their own interest. The guiding principle of the social market economy is the liable proprietor-industrialist. Personal liability must, therefore, also be strengthened in Germany for the employed manager.

146. Social partnership, collective bargaining autonomy and participation in decision-making in the form of representation of interests of employees and co-determination are fundamental principles of our economic and social order as well as an expression of the social ethics of Christian churches. Our understanding of the dignity of the worker demands his participation in decision-making which stipulates the conditions of service for his workplace.

147. Just like the employers the employees contribute immensely through their work, their efficiency and their willingness to perform for the success of their business enterprises, the economy as a whole and thus to the wealth and development of our country. At the same time, they make a vital contribution to their own security of their security and to that of their relatives.

Industry needs well trained, creative and motivated workers in order to be successful. Employees need the opportunity to participate in decision-making, responsibility and a liberal atmosphere to develop their capabilities extensively and successfully. Education and further training guarantee their ability to work and their performance capacity. Furthermore, employees need fundamental support from the labour and social laws for planning their own life. They deserve appropriate participation in the welfare of the society.

148. The further development of a firm and the security of employment in Germany may necessitate the shifting of jobs into foreign countries. We expect, however, that companies will take such decisions judiciously, taking cognizance of the social effects they may have on society and act in favour of Germany.

## **2. Social Market Economy in a Globalised World**

149. It is only through more freedom and competition and not through bulkheading off and stiff regulatory measures that we can maintain the social market economy. Just as more expensive as we are by international comparison, so must we also be better. We need in a dynamic world an inquisitive, innovative and creative Germany. Economic success depends more these days than ever on technology, talents and tolerance. Only an open and diverse society provides the creative environment in which ideas can be put forth and prosperity is guaranteed through innovation.

150. In evolving its globalisation strategies the CDU as a people's party takes into account and with equal emphasis the interests of industrialists and employees, service providers and service beneficiaries, and urban as well as rural areas. In conformity



with our Christian principles we would like to provide better perspectives for those people living in less developed areas of the world, even if this will mean more economic competition for us in Germany. Our aim is to achieve equal opportunities, be it at the national or international level. We want to make use of our influence in the world. We consider the increasing international trade interconnection as a driving force in the fight against poverty, hunger, epidemic diseases, illiteracy, corruption, abuse of human rights, discrimination, and armed conflicts.

151. The economic and value community of the European Union is a successful model which demonstrates that it is possible to attain a system of open markets and competition whilst still maintaining our specific national identities and legal, social and ecological standards to the benefit of all. At the same time, Europe is a strong actor in the implementation of an equitable framework of order for a globalised economy. We want to strengthen the EU in the fulfilment of this important future responsibility.

152. We are committed to the improvement of the effectiveness, strength, transparency and efficiency of the existing international organisations. They are the appropriate means of advancing the formation of a free and humane world order. Economically strong states must take on their responsibility to help economically weaker states to assert themselves. The CDU wants to use the existing institutions in the international community to promote adherence to human rights and the indispensable ecological and minimum social standards. Child labour and the exploitation of workers should not be tolerated.

153. The CDU has always stood for a policy that trusts in the establishment of free markets and fair competition. Multilateral free trade is a vital prerequisite for global economic growth and justice. The opening of markets for trade and capital as well as international competition must take place under fair conditions. Today, these comparable and fair conditions for competition cannot be found as yet. This is why we will commit ourselves to seeing to it that the international standards are implemented.

154. The market mechanism alone is not always in a position to prevent the formation of monopolies and cartels. In order to prevent any unrestricted exertion of power by international, private and public-sector actors, it is necessary to protect the freedom of international markets. That requires internationally coordinated competition regulations.

155. There is growing rivalry between our economic policy convictions and the activities of states which try to enforce their national strategic economic goals by actively intervening. We also want to convince these states of the rightness of the free and fair competition and strengthen the international order framework. However, as long as distorted terms of competition still exist and our national interests in areas which are of great strategic importance are endangered, it can be legitimate to enforce these interests through government intervention. Notwithstanding that, market freedom still holds sway.

156. Clearly defined intellectual property rights are the basis for our long-term involvement in research and development and, hence, an important precondition for our economic success. At any rate, the right of ownership of patents and ideas is not respected in several instances worldwide. That Germany is particularly a location for innovation places it in central position in the world trade organisation to take set, enforce and consolidate binding and accepted rules for the protection of intellectual property.

157. Firms operating globally can evade national legislation. The establishment of markets in accordance with a certain political order can never be perfect and excessive regulation can lead to economic restrictions. Thus, we rather rely on companies that are conscious of their responsibilities. Voluntary duties like the "Global Compact" of the United Nations or guidelines of the OECD for international firms, therefore, must be supported.

158. The global financial market contributes to the increase in prosperity in the world and makes it possible through investment for countries at the threshold of development to obtain economic growth. Open markets and free competitors ensure the attractiveness and liquidity of the German capital market. Funds that are floating in search of investment possibilities, such as the private equity fund, can also contribute in Germany to make business enterprises more competitive. Despite that, the funds of individual private investment groups have currently risen many times over and above the market capacity of companies and major banks. We, therefore, want to use the existing international organisations to find a reliable order framework and transparency in the trade areas and financial markets.

159. Thanks to the favourable prices and the multiplicity of products resulting from international competition the consumers are, on the one hand, beneficiaries and, on the other hand, co-shapers of the globalisation process. Through their decisions to buy and to invest, they also influence the success that the individual products and their producers achieve on the market. Many foreign goods sold on the German market are not produced under the same social, legal and ecological conditions as the goods produced in Germany. We want to improve the decision-making principles of the customers who are conscious of their responsibility and, as a consequence, promote transparency through the introduction of internationally valid and reliable seals on the consumer goods.

### **3. Business and Employment**

160. In the last few decades many people have lost interest in the social market economy. The impression created is that it is incapable of solving the central economic and social problems, especially the high unemployment. Nevertheless, it is not the social market economy that is hindering the solution of these problems, but rather the constant abuse of their fundamental principles. The globalisation shows indeed their shortcomings very clearly.

161. We have to recapitulate very intensely the basic principles of the order of the social market economy and put them in their right perspective, in order to achieve the goals of full employment, gradual and appropriate economic growth, solid budgets and stable social security systems. That includes also the preservation of creation and the prudent utilisation of the natural resources. It is then that we, too, will be in future the land of freedom and justice, progress and security, and togetherness and each other's keeper. The guideline must be the principle of solidarity. Of major importance must be: As little state intervention as possible and as much state support as necessary. Germany needs fundamental reforms in order to be able to secure and to increase our prosperity and to achieve justice. Here, social justice ranks at the top of the citizens' chances to survive.

162. Through such reforms the social market economy will enable the citizens to better determine in a responsible manner their living conditions instead of being constantly at the receiving end. Social participation and political participation are

interdependent. It is only through joint action that the social market economy and democracy win the trust of the citizens.

### ***More Competition, more Freedom and more Participation***

163. The competitiveness of an economic location thrives on the dynamics of its business enterprises. This is why Germany's economy is based on a centuries-old tradition of craft, medium-sized business enterprises, trade, liberal professions, industry, a well-developed system of skilled workers as well as the supply of commodities close to home, on the one hand, and globally competitive and internationally successful companies on the other. Small and medium-sized business enterprises, service delivery firms and artisan companies as well as free-lance business concerns are the backbone of Germany's economy. They provide the highest proportion of training opportunities and jobs. The duty of the state is, therefore, to support particularly those who provide for the livelihood of the citizens and for the small and medium-sized business sector by offering them optimal framework conditions. More market means more chances for people to fend for themselves. We want to lower state contribution, reduce bureaucracy and make the labour law transparent and flexible. We also want to make the tax law competitive and to improve the conditions for financing business enterprises.

164. Our aim is to create trust as a prerequisite for more investment in Germany. We aim to strengthen Germany as an attractive location for business centres and also as a hub for investment for international risk capitalists and to attain a high proportion of value creation in our own country. Germany's becoming a financial hub will bring with it more growth and employment.

165. We must make it possible to achieve more freedom and competition. This means in particular opening and maintaining more markets, curbing undesirable competition and counteracting the concentration of economic power that can jeopardise competition. We want to limit and eventually remove state subsidies and further privatise state-owned business enterprises. At the level of local governments, too, the state should only intervene if a performance by a private firm is not as good as, or even better than, that of a state-owned firm.

166. Many duties of the competition policy are concentrated in the internal market in Europe. Against the backdrop of the stronger challenges of the internal market and the globalisation we want to see to it that the EU competition control is modernised and further developed, taking due consideration of the national competition authorities and competition orders.

167. Competition is an essential precondition for a strong protection of consumers. For every monopoly that hinders competition reduces the multiplicity and the freedom of choice of the consumer. Consumer rights are civil rights. Consumer protection is a cross-cutting political duty. It is part of a comprehensive consumer policy which seeks a balance between consumer and business interests in a bid to maintain a high degree of quality life. It is important to attain an optimum consumer protection through a balance between self-determination and state protection. Reliable, comprehensive and objective information on products and their quality enable consumers to act in a responsible manner. Our guideline is that of the mature, independent and well-informed consumer. Consumer protection is not the duty of the state alone, but also that of the producers, the processors, the suppliers and the consumers. We do not want any state consumer manipulation.

168. An attractive economic location demands a well-functioning infrastructure. With regard particularly to Germany as a transit country in the heart of Europe the economic integration of Europe means a high increase in traffic density. Better utilisation, better targeted expansion and an intelligent shaping of the transport infrastructure in all domains are also extremely important for more growth. This applies also to the development opportunities of congested areas and rural areas. There is the need for further development of the infrastructure in the new as well as old countries. The state alone will not be able to satisfy the high demand for investment that will come as a result of this exercise. This is why viable initiatives by private financing institutions of the transport infrastructure must be more intensively exploited than ever. Furthermore, a secure, environmentally-friendly and economical energy supply is the basic need of a quality location.

169. Germany depends on the efficiency and the innovative drive of her citizens and of her economy. We want to open more future markets. Innovations, new products and services emanating from Germany will, indeed, only have a chance on the world market if they can also be utilised in Germany. The land of inventions and patents must once again be the land of implementation of ideas. Germany must produce clear-headed top brains and hard-working visionaries, headhunt them worldwide, and offer them attractive framework conditions. There is an urgent demand for professionals in the workforce, services and business.

### ***Work for all***

170. Employment for all is the fundamental principle of social justice. Employment allows for self-realisation, induces enthusiasm in life and is the decisive momentum for participation in social activities. Everyone is needed; no one should be left out. Work brings income and creates wealth. The social market economy wants full employment. This is the duty of the state and the tariff partners. Mass unemployment is unbearable, unacceptable and harmful to the economy. A developing lack of perspective can affect whole families and hamper the chances of survival of many future generations.

171. Unemployment in Germany is mainly a structural issue. We, therefore, need not only more sustainable growth, but also targeted investment in education and a comprehensive reform of the labour market. We want better employment opportunities for elderly, unskilled and perpetually unemployed people. It is particularly these people who feel excluded from freedom and participation.

172. As regards the labour market we stand up for a fair balance between the legitimate protection needs of the employees, the employment opportunities and for the unemployed people and the interests of the business enterprises. Labour protection regulations on the labour market or the labour law should be formulated in such a way as not to favour unemployment. Making flexible the protection of employees against unlawful dismissal, which improves the employment prospects of the unemployed, is, in this case, a law of justice. In this way, the duty of achieving fair balance of interests must be taken up jointly with the tariff partners.

173. Collective bargaining autonomy is a guarantee for the stability of Germany as an economic location. It is an integral part of the framework order of the social market economy. The union agreement parties (trade unions and employers) have already begun to find flexible answers to the changing labour landscape of the 21st century. Stiff branch union agreements, which treat all businesses in the same manner, are not an adequate response. The trade unions and the employer associations are enjoined

to further relinquish part of their responsibility in the businesses. In this way, framework union agreements that have been centrally made can be fulfilled in a decentralised way in accordance with specific needs. We want to supplement this process by providing a more legally guaranteed framework for alliances of business enterprises. We will continue to enhance co-determination and representation of interests of workers in a manner that will be forward-looking, with close relationships with the businesses and worker-friendly. This policy orientation must also take into consideration the international interdependence of the enterprises.

174. The CDU wants to further augment the possibilities of the individual employee to participate more than ever before in the success and capital of their companies within the framework of social partnership. This creates for the worker additional sources of income, additional means of providing for the old age and more justice and raises the identification of the worker with his company. Corresponding instruments including the protection against insolvency must be related to the business enterprise as much as possible and acknowledge the special conditions under which every company operates. Apart from that, participation in the company's capital raises the capital base of the companies.

175. Social prosperity comes through work. More growth and more work are interdependent. By using models of flexible working hours, e.g. annual accounting of working hours, work can be organised in a more flexible and productive way. The CDU encourages the tripartite body in this regard to explore the possibility of fending off insolvency from working hours accounts.

176. The compulsory restraint of people who have attained their statutory age of retirement or stipulated business age limit from active service is often rightly considered by those concerned as undignified. Age limits make sense when they are used for calculating pension claims. He who, however, wishes to go beyond that should in principle not be prevented from doing so. The reciprocity between the labour world and the working community should develop in such a way that it masters as much as possible the demographic changes that are taking place.

177. All citizens should be able to obtain enough income that can guarantee their livelihood. Our labour policy stipulates as follows: 'Achievement must be rewarded'. This is in conformity with the principle of justice for performance, i.e. someone who works should have more than someone who does not work. We want framework conditions which will make legal employment and salaries more attractive – also for less qualified people with simple work and corresponding employment-friendly wages. This should also motivate job-seekers to seize job opportunities and also encourage employers to create new jobs. We want to promote employment, not unemployment.

178. We do not want any competition for the lowest wages. Immoral loans, which clearly exceed usual local branch wages must, therefore, be forbidden.

179. High additional wage costs contribute to unemployment and illegal work. We want to gradually reduce the additional wage costs and detach the social security expenditure from the labour cost and, thus, prevent the relocation of jobs to foreign countries or turning them into illicit jobs.

#### **4. Shaping the Demographic Change – Social Security for all Generations**

180. Solidarity and social security do not come in the first place from the state. The human being is by nature a social being, who likes to belong to a community and is capable of and committed to solidarity. There are many places and institutions ranging from the family to the neighbourhood, honorary activities, clubs, and citizens' initiatives, where solidarity is lived out daily. If we wish to adhere to the principles of social security, then solidarity must continue to emanate from the centre of society, or else it will disappear completely one day. Marriage, family, children, school, and vocational training are more important for the human being's chances in life and for the person's future social well-being than many other things.

Welfare officers provide essential services to society on the constitutionally legitimate basis of solidarity.

181. The CDU is committed to a social policy which improves people's opportunities in life and their coexistence in society. We reject any concept of security and solidarity which is based solely on financial support. It is only a combination of personal responsibility, state assistance and civil involvement that can create the security that human beings need.

182. The welfare state has achieved a great deal so far. It remains indispensable. The CDU has played a vital role in shaping social security systems. Through the solidarity-based protection against risks these systems give people security. They have brought about wide-range prosperity, social freedom and participation. However, they can only fulfil their duty in future if they are further developed and changed. Our aim is to have an effective welfare state which strongly motivates the individual and makes it possible for him to take his own initiative and assume personal responsibility within the framework of his own capabilities.

183. In shaping the social security systems we follow three basic principles: 1. They must strengthen the principle of personal responsibility. 2. They must conform with the principle of justice across the generations. 3. They should not violate the principle of equity of performance. Their dependence on gainful employment must be reduced. This is why social security and gainful employment ought to be separated and financial support broadened. Our social security systems must cater for different types of needs, different stages of life and different living conditions. In this vein, basic risks must be warded off for all. The readiness and capability of the individual to fend for himself must be enhanced. In all security systems competition, transparency, efficiency, consciousness about costs and responsibility and the principle of subsidiarity must be advanced. We want to fight with all our might the abuse of social expenditure and illegal work. For they undermine solidarity.

#### ***Health Insurance***

184. The CDU wants everyone in Germany, irrespective of their income, age, health risk, to receive now and in the future good medical care as close to their doorstep as possible and to partake of the benefits of medical advancement. Free choice of a medical doctor and free health careers form part of the liberal healthcare-delivery system.

185. In view of the demographic change and the progress made in medicine and medical technology the structure, organization and financing of statutory and the private health insurance will be further enhanced in future. Personal responsibility,

precautionary measures and prevention must be further strengthened. Efficiency and economic potential must also be exploited and the individual's ability to choose and to make his own decisions must be opened up.

186. It is the responsibility and in the interest of every individual to prevent sickness through his or her own way of life and to maintain his good health. Prevention must, therefore, be made an individual pillar besides acute treatment, rehabilitation and care. A salient step towards strengthening personal responsibility, prevention and the promotion of good health is the development of the bonus models, voluntary and excess contributions.

187. In order to maintain the quality, care security and funding ability of our liberal self-administered health delivery system we wish to make our quality competitiveness more transparent.

188. We shall complement in stages the financing of the compulsory health insurance that is related to earned income with solidary premium elements. These elements will be replaced as soon as possible by a joint capital-based insurance premium model. People with little income will receive compensation. Since children constitute one of the most important preconditions for the continuation of the system of solidarity, the whole community will be responsible for the insurance. Social compensation and insurance of children will be financed with budgetary funds. Through this gradual detachment of the health care costs from the labour costs the financing of the insurance system will be sustainable.

### ***Old-age Insurance***

189. Old-age insurance in Germany rests on three pillars: the statutory annuity contract schemes, the company insurance schemes and the private insurance schemes.

190. The statutory social insurance pension fund paid through cost-covering contribution (pay-as-you-earn-financed pension insurance) is at the moment the most important form of old-age insurance. It is based on a system of generation agreement. As a result of the changes in the age pyramid of the population and the long-term decrease in the workers who pay social insurance less and less workers are confronted with an increasingly higher number of retired people. The generation agreement must, therefore, be placed on a new, stable basis which offers the younger people a more secure plan of life and the elderly people a great amount of dependability.

191. The working generations earn through their contributions a great proportion of the income of the generation that is no longer in employment and consequently safeguard the continued existence of the community of solidarity through their children. That is also why we advocate a family-friendly society which acknowledges the multiple strains on parents (and teachers) and rewards them.

192. In future, the statutory social insurance pension fund must also have a distinct link with the contribution and should not exceed a certain insurance level without overburdening the contributor. The statutory social insurance pension fund would run an identification risk if it provided only services that could be obtained freely from other insurance schemes. The consequence would be a minimum insurance, such as the basic insurance, for everyone.

193. The statutory pension is more than an instrument for the prevention of poverty in old age. It provides for everyone an amount of freedom and rewards achievement which is attained through the payment of dues, the upbringing of children or caring for relatives. It also makes necessary provision for survivors and people who can no longer work due to illness.

194. In future the statutory pension will no longer be able to uphold the usual living standards in old age. This is why it is necessary for the other forms of pension, such as private and company pension schemes, to contribute to secure decent living standards in old age. Such schemes must be efficiently and purposefully supported.

195. The company old-age pension scheme is becoming increasingly important. More mobility and flexibility are expected of the employee these days. Apart from that, account must be taken of the framework conditions for the old-age pension. We also advocate personal old-age utility accounts outside the companies and into which employers and employees can pay and administer on a short-term basis as expectancies (periods of non-forfeiture). The claim to this company pension must be granted already after a short period of time.

### ***Nursing Care Insurance***

196. The nursing care insurance that has been introduced by the Union has proved to be effective. In future it must also pay reliable contributions towards warding off any nursing care risks and provide high-quality care and attention. A comprehensive commitment to the prevention of risks in future is indispensable. At any rate, it does not free the individual from carrying out his personal responsibility and initiative of preventing nursing care risks and designing the care process.

197. To be able to make the financing of the social nursing care insurance sustainable the compulsory financing of the compulsory health insurance that is related to earned income with solidary premium elements must be complemented gradually and replaced as soon as possible in line with the principle of justice for all generations by a joint capital-based insurance premium model.

198. Prevention and rehabilitation should have precedence over care measures. "Outpatient treatment is better than inpatient treatment" is our lodestar. New forms of housing and care must be developed and strengthened. By means of care budgets that can be implemented responsibly by the citizens who need the care themselves in an outpatient, semi-outpatient or inpatient manner and through the time spent on the care we want to strengthen the home care system and appreciate the commitment of the nursing personnel in a better way.

199. Changes in the structure and financing of the nursing care insurance provide opportunities to render more dynamic the benefits of the nursing care and the need for redefining nursing care, especially for the sake of people with disability like dementia. Our aim is to secure a really constant level of nursing care benefits and to prevent the growing need for extra payment at the expense of those who need the nursing care, their relatives and the recipients of social aid.

### ***Unemployment Insurance***

200. In future, too, the unemployment insurance will provide, in case of unemployment, temporarily limited insurance of a large proportion of the income received during the previous employment. Through job offering, obtaining and



resumption of one's work the unemployment insurance fulfils other important social, health and economic functions.

201. The unemployment insurance remains a joint insurance which gives everyone the assurance of equal percentage of their income level over an appropriate period of time and reduces jointly the individual risk. The period for drawing the unemployment money must be tied to the period of paying the contribution. As far as the CDU is concerned the unemployment insurance is of great significance from the point of view of the need for a more flexible labour market.

202. The unemployment insurance makes it possible for unemployed people to not to take up the first job that has been offered them, but rather to find a job that will suit their capabilities. However, jobless people must acknowledge their duty to be flexible and accept unpleasant jobs.

203. The unemployment insurance must be ready to promote employment and in principle limit itself to its insurance function. Our first aim is to provide more employment in the labour market. In the furtherance of this aim, we want to put in place instruments of active market policy. Societal duties like the provision of training opportunities will be financed through funds from the budget.

### ***Industrial Injuries Insurance***

204. The statutory industrial injuries insurance plays an important role with regard to the worker's safety at work, prevention of accidents and health protection. It is an important pillar of prevention, medical care and rehabilitation. It must be possible in future to evaluate the self-administered statutory industrial injuries insurance in its larger responsibility areas by its economic criteria and limit it to accidents incurred during legal employment.

### ***Social Security for People with Disability***

205. We want to secure the future participation and self-determination of people with disability. This means that people with disability can take part equally in everything – in all intellectual, social, cultural, professional and political activities in society. We want to create the framework conditions for that.

Disabilities are often associated with more or less serious limitations that cannot always be compensated. A solidarity-based society supports disabled people where the support is obvious and individual disadvantages must be compensated for. It, however, does not treat them in a patronising manner with exaggerated care and attention.

206. It is necessary for disabled and non-disabled persons to learn as early as possible to associate automatically with each other and to see their various strengths and weaknesses. The best way to succeed is through common upbringing and education in families, early-childhood institutions and schools. Just as in the case of nursing and homecare facilities the fundamental principle: "Outpatient treatment is better than inpatient treatment" should also be pursued here in coordinating with the disabled people and their relatives. As far as the children are concerned, this means that a common home-based experience for disabled and non-disabled children must take centre stage. The participation of disabled people in working life must be supported in a bid to offer more job opportunities in the first job market.

207. We want to create a life environment in which all human beings, be they disabled or decrepit, can move around freely. The vital prerequisite for this is a society without barriers. Many people with disability are seriously limited in their mobility. The consciousness of the need for a society without barriers in town and housing planning must be strengthened.

## **5. Solid Budget for a solid Germany**

### ***Debt Reduction and Prohibition of further Indebtedness***

208. Right now, the debt burden in Germany is already overwhelming. Apart from that, a rather too little part of the financial potential of the country is invested in the future. The demographic change in Germany is gradually becoming a heavy burden on the social security systems and the national budget. This is why we must reduce drastically the national debt. A policy that will pursue consistently the reduction of indebtedness will raise the confidence and the preparedness of the citizens and industrialists to invest in their own economic location. Today's debts are tomorrow's taxes.

209. The prosperity of our country is imperilled if the state continues to spend more than it receives. If we do not put a stop to borrowing the state will not be able to fulfil essential duties in the future. We want a country that will rather secure the future of her children and than at its expense. We want a country in which the government is capable of helping the weaker citizens. With regard to those people who are dependent upon help from the state and with due respect to justice among generations, we would say: "National indebtedness is asocial".

210. In order to curb further public borrowing it is, first of all, necessary to define in a narrower sense the term 'Public Investment'. Only such investments may be financed with credits which create assets or property. Furthermore, debts resulting from investments financed with credits must be cancelled in principle after a deadline set when they were incurred. This ensures that the constitutional regulations have effectively limited borrowing and that the government has, indeed, put a brake on new borrowing. At the latest by the middle of next decade, we would like to place a ban on new borrowing that will limit the possibilities of borrowing anew to acceptable sums. This restriction should be entrenched in the Basic Law, in the constitutions of the federal states and in the legislative instruments of the local authorities.

211. We strive for a common agreement on borrowing between the Federation, the states and the local governments. In times of economic growth, precautions must be taken against future market fluctuations whilst at the same time reducing the country's indebtedness. Aside from that, all duties and expenditures at all levels must over and over again be examined to ascertain that they are essential and effective. In order to ensure transparency in government expenditure we want to enjoin Government, regions and local governments to observe the principles of commercial bookkeeping.

212. Jobs for all and a solid state budget are interdependent. We will, therefore, renew the system of national revenue in such a way as to relieve the factor: labour. We want to detach the costs additional to wages from the labour cost in order to make it possible to create more jobs in Germany. That is why we want to reduce the direct taxes and social contributions and finance this reduction of burden through indirect taxes. The important thing is this: The reduction of burden from the direct

taxes and the social contributions must at least be as much as the additional encumbrance with the indirect tax.

### ***Financial Law Reform***

213. Germany's Federalism needs a transparent financial law. The responsibilities of the various public organs must be practicable. It is only then that it can take proper political decisions and make them the basis of its choice of decision. We must, therefore, ensure the observance of the principle of connectivity.

The financial law must take due consideration of the different scenarios involved, create comparable framework conditions in the different states and provide incentives, in order to strengthen their economic and financial clout. We advocate federal competition under fair conditions. The retention amounts of states that will be raised when their own economic situations become more powerful will be augmented. After an interim regulation till 2019 it must be possible to arrive at a simple financial compensation without special regulations for all the states. Also, the solidarity pact for this period of time will have elapsed.

214. We want to make it possible for the states to assume their own financial responsibility and, thus, provide the relevant framework conditions in the tax law. Countries which do keep the limits to the levels of their indebtedness and do not contribute to achieving the provisions of the Maastricht Treaty must be subjected in future to a sanitation exercise.

215. We want to introduce an early warning system with an emergency budget law. It ensures that in future it is not only when budgetary emergencies are noticed that action is taken. As a condition for help from the Federation a sanitation agreement must be signed between the Federation and the state in question.

216. The local governments, too, must be empowered to assume more and more their own responsibility. Their financial capacity has an immediate impact on the daily life of the citizens. That is why we will continue to develop the local community tax system, so as to enhance the efficiency of the local governments to fend for their inhabitants.

### ***Taxes – simple and just***

217. By paying their taxes the citizens make available to the state the necessary financial means to fulfil its duties. In order for the citizens to accept the tax law it has to follow these principles: Simple, low and fair. This corresponds to the basic values of solidarity, namely that people with the financial capacity should be given greater responsibilities than those who are weak. At the same time, the tax law should not limit the financial freedom of the citizens through exaggerated taxes. A tax law which provides low tax rates promotes performance and initiative and enables the citizens to take precautions to prevent any risks in life. A simple tax system creates more equity than a complicated one which tries to cover every detail. The more complicated it is the more advantages it affords someone who is capable of employing expensive consultancy without which they would not have been in a position to make use of the possibilities to save on taxes.

218. A forward-looking company tax system must start from the basic knowledge that companies are in the first place economic entities and taxpayers. It must shape the tax burden in such a way that it is worthwhile establishing and to keep on developing

business enterprises in our country, providing job opportunities and investing in research and development. The tax policy is also an innovative policy. It should be able to, as much as possible, guarantee and make simple and transparent neutrality in competition that is independent of the company law reform. In this case, we should be prepared to live up to the worldwide networking of economies.

## **6. Building on Historical Achievements – Advancing the new Federal States**

219. Through the revolution of 17<sup>th</sup> June, 1953, and especially the peaceful revolution of 1989, the people of the former German Democratic Republic (GDR), in their trust in freedom, democracy and the social market economy, set the premises for the reunification of Germany. All Germans, from East and from West, ought to be proud of this historical achievement. The new federal states with their great historical and cultural traditions afford the Germans a new impetus.

220. The new federal states have made a very decisive transformation from a totalitarian dictatorship to a democracy and from a centrally-planned economy to a social market economy. By dint of commitment and solidarity in the whole of Germany, historically-unique financial transfer transactions, assiduity and the determination to develop, many areas are now blossoming and offer themselves as the modern side of Germany in the heart of Europe.

221. Through reforms in the education sector, the acceleration of planning processes facilitated by reducing bureaucratic hassles and in close collaboration with industry, science and technology the new federal states and their inhabitants have assumed the roles of trail blazers.

222. The repercussions of the communist dictatorship, the partition of Germany and mismanaged economy as well as the historically-unique loss of the middle-class citizenry are still fresh in our memories. An economy that can sustain itself is still in the making. Despite many successes chalked up in modernisation efforts, there are still infrastructural deficits in the public sector and the economic structure.

223. As a result of the extension of the European Union to the East new opportunities are emerging just as is the case with additional pressure of competition on the weakly structured East-German economy. Many small-scale and medium-sized companies have not made enough preparations for them and the entire demands of the globalisation.

224. The ongoing demographic transformation is hitting the Eastern states harder than the Western states. A drastic reduction in birth rate, ageing as well as emigration of many achievement-oriented and in highly qualified young people is taking its toll on the rather scarce resources of the country. The history of the Federal Republic of Germany has demonstrated in many spheres that it is possible to experience a change from areas of emigration to target areas. The aim of the CDU policy is that the regions in the East of Germany should offer attractive prospects to the people.

225. We also need to strengthen the civil society in the new federal states, i.e. as a foundation for democracy, the rule of law and the social market economy. Only a functioning civil society can bring about the economic upswing and the stability of our liberal democratic society. We do not only need in the federal states greater free hand for market economic processes and competitive-minded policies for extensive opening-up and experimental clauses with respect to the Federal Law. The people

must also be given more chances to take on responsibility for their own future. Thus, we create the conditions for the stakeholders to remain in their country with their knowledge and skills and for investors to bring their capital into the new states. The CDU pays special attention to the integration of efficient young people into the regional labour market. Through the cooperation of all actors this will contribute to the demographic stabilisation of the regions.

226. Innovative, economically dynamic growth areas develop especially in big cities, congested areas and tourist centres. We want to support entrepreneurial initiatives if they lead to a competitive company structure within the medium-sized and large cross-regionally operating companies. In this regard, we must concentrate our funds for support on the areas of growth with their network of a technologically-oriented industry, science and culture. It is relevant to establish a link between outstanding research and high technology, on the one hand, and companies and creditors, on the other, in order to develop world-class marketable finished products.

227. Growth areas must unite with structurally-weak regions through their efficient infrastructures, especially through an attractive passenger service, so that these structurally-weak regions can also take part in the economic boom. In the regions with low population density and no overcrowded areas we must concentrate on supporting only specific sectors and branches. The promotion of especially disadvantaged regions in the new federal states through the European Union must be continued, in order to cope with the competition at international level.

228. The new federal states need to be given all the funds promised them in the solidarity pact until 2019. The funds are to be used for the purpose of closing gaps that still exist in the infrastructure, targeted promotion of investment and compensation for the less than proportional financial power of local authorities. This is in a bid to achieve the self-supporting economic development and further modernisation.

229. Developing further the international transport infrastructure is an essential prerequisite for the economic upswing. The European traffic routes, especially those within Middle and Eastern Europe and the Baltic Sea region must quickly be constructed.

230. Sustainable investments in industry and infrastructure can only be successful if the demographic evolution is taken into consideration. Infrastructures that are not used to capacity must be adjusted to suit the demographic evolution. Also, the different standards of livelihoods and administration must be accepted. However, the state must take responsibility for the minimum standards of living. Our aim is still to attain equal standards in living conditions. Personal initiative has to develop in the right location. Quality of life will be defined in different ways in future not only in the new states.

## **VI. PRESERVING GOD'S CREATION AND LIFE – ENVIRONMENT WORTH LIVING IN**

### **1. Protecting Human Dignity – From the Beginning to the End of Life**

231. The inviolable dignity of mankind as God's creation cannot be placed at the disposal of irresponsible human beings. It must be protected. The human being is

always a subject and should never be an object. The dignity of mankind is also for the evaluation of bio-technical challenges the source and orientation point. It requires respect and protection of human life at all stages. Beginning from the sperms and the egg cells the unborn life demands our particular attention and our critical handling of the possibilities open to the rapidly developing prenatal diagnostics. We demand the banning of pre-implantation diagnostics (PID). We do not accept the high numbers of abortions which also include late abortions. We must help men and women to decide for life.

232. Healing, pain relief and helpful companionship of people whose lives are at risk are all expressions of humaneness, solidarity and Christian-based love for one's neighbour. The disabled, the sick, the dying and people in other difficult life situations have the right to a dignified life. We support palliative medicine, the work of the hospice movement and other forms of companionship at death which allow terminally-ill patients and their relatives to have a dignified parting. We reject active euthanasia. We want to encourage people's preparedness to donate organs.

233. Research in bio-medical science offers solutions to problems in the future and contributes immensely to the cure of diseases and the relief of suffering. At the same time it is imperative to weigh the risks against the benefits it brings. Respect for the dignity of mankind has priority over freedom of research and ensuring our competitiveness. We are in favour of consistent embryo protection and reject research into embryo re-utilisation. We would also advocate this both at the European and international levels. We reject the cloning of human beings.

## **2. Protection of Natural Resources**

234. According to Christian beliefs man, nature and the environment are God's creation. It is our duty to protect creation. The principle of sustainability is an integral part of the Christian Democratic policy: We want to safeguard and hand down to our offspring a world that is still worth living in tomorrow. The future generations have the right to economic development, social welfare and an intact environment.

235. Future-oriented environmental and climate protection create opportunities for jobs. Ecological education, research and development, environmental technology, environmental protection, climate protection and subsequent innovations must, therefore, be given sustained support. In the interest of climate and environmental protection we wish to maintain Germany's leading role in the world with regard to environmental technologies. In this way, we will be able to make a substantial contribution to value creation in our country, to the creation of new jobs and to the strengthening of the middle class.

236. Poverty eradication and the protection of natural resources are mutually dependent. Poverty, too, leads to the over-utilisation of nature. As a result, the biological diversity and consequently the sources of life of the people living there will eventually be destroyed. Thus, for us environmental protection policy constitutes a significant part of our foreign and development policies and a contribution to global justice.

237. In our view the protection of the environment and economic advancement do not contradict each other. Particularly at a time when the borderlines between ecological capacity of the earth are becoming clearer and clearer it is relevant to say: "Sustainable economic growth is only possible when the protection of the environment

and the climate is taken into account during the process". Apart from that, an economical and efficient use of resources is increasingly becoming a cost and location advantage. For this reason, we advocate a social market economy, with emphasis on ecological issues, which will pursue prescribed environmental goals with enhanced research and development, targeted incentive systems and promotion programmes as well as an environmentally-oriented framework. We think also that in this case levies should be raised on long-term consumption of resources or environmental encumbrance rather than taxes. The profits thus accrued will go a long way to resolve issues concerning environmental and climate protection.

238. The CDU stands up for a careful and economical use of the exhaustible resources, a positive attitude towards research and development as well as the protection of the environment and the natural resources which promotes creativity and personal responsibility. It is important to have high quality education on the environment. Together with schools, local authorities, federal states, environmental and nature protection associations as well as farmers and foresters we want to inculcate environmentally-conscious behaviour into the citizens.

### ***Protection of the Climate***

239. The global climate change has become a serious danger to creation and the future life opportunities for future generations. We see it as an ethical duty and a paramount political assignment for the future to counteract this new development: the CDU stands up for the fact that Germany should continue to be in the vanguard of climate protection and a pacesetter internationally. Together with as many industrialised, threshold and developing countries, we want to promote climate protection. An international agreement on climate change that is to be enforced after 2012 and which is based on the Kyoto Agreement, obtains economic incentives and the active participation from industrialised, threshold and developing countries which have hitherto stood aloof, constitutes a giant step.

240. Germany is committed to the reduction of its emission of greenhouse gasses by 21 per cent by the year 2012. By 2020 we want to reduce the emission of greenhouse gasses by at least 30 per cent as against 1990. In this vein, we consider it as important for the other industrialised countries to also commit themselves to a serious reduction of the emission of greenhouse gasses.

241. We pursue a double strategy to combat climate change which lays down binding threshold values for the emission of greenhouse gases and promotes the use and development of climate-friendly technologies. Carbon dioxide must be given an appropriate price worldwide so that investments in climate-friendly technologies may be viable. The appropriate measures here are the negotiation of emission laws and technology transfer to developing and threshold countries with climate-appropriate equipment. Our aim is to limit global warming to 2<sup>0</sup> Celsius as compared to non-industrialised situations.

242. The saving of energy, the increase in energy efficiency and the use of renewal energy are the main pillars of our policy for climate protection. At the same time it is necessary to develop right now strategies to limit the negative effects of climate change. One of the measures, for instance, is to step up the protection of high tide and our coasts. Over and above all, appropriate strategies must be developed for land use under changed climatic conditions.

## ***Secure Energy Supply***

243. The demand for energy is growing high worldwide. In view of Germany's dependence on the importation of scarce and expensive energy raw materials, the supply of energy that is secure, environmentally-friendly and economical, is a political problem that is of great import. We want to reduce the risk of dependence on import. Sources of import and supply routes of energy materials must be spread and energy partnerships and supply and transit states expanded and intensified. By means of a common energy policy in the European Union we want to solidify the foundation upon which the supply of our energy stands.

244. We advocate the economical use of our energy resources, the acceleration of the exploitation of our renewal sources of energy at home and the development of more efficient production technologies. We see an enormous potential in the reconstruction of the energy sector. Until 2020 we strive to double the production of energy as compared to 1990. In this case, it would be imperative to decentralise the facilities for energy production.

245. The basic principle of secure, environmentally-friendly and economically-acceptable energy supply is a widely spread out energy mix. We want to shape the use of fossil energy sources which are as suitable to the climate as possible and, thus, create the preconditions for the establishment in Germany of one of the environmentally-bearable power plant parks in the world.

246. As domestic energy sources the renewal energies can contribute a great deal to the increase in energy security and to the protection of the climate. They offer opportunities for an environmentally-friendly growth, innovative business fields and new jobs. In the same way, we want to continue strictly the use of raw materials that can grow back as well as other regenerative energy sources. These comprise the development prospects of off-shore wind energy, solar energy and bio-thermal and geothermal energy. We also want to forge on with technologies for energy storage.

247. Through suitable incentives for technological innovations we would like to push forward the consumption renewable energy sources. By the year 2020, we also want the proportion of renewable energy of the entire energy consumption to have increased by at least 20%. Apart from the increase in the consumption of renewable energies in the power and fuel sectors, its proportion in the production of warm and cold energy sources must also be raised. Our aim is that, by 2050 renewable energies will be providing the main part of energy supply.

248. In the foreseeable future, we cannot do without the use of nuclear energy to produce electricity in Germany. It plays a crucial role as an interim measure until sustainable and economical energy alternatives are available in sufficient quantities. Within the framework of our strategies for climate protection we strive for an extension of the cycle time for secure nuclear energy plants. What we consider as most essential is that the highest security measure is taken in every plant. In this regard, the safe disposal of radio-active wastes is of immense importance. The CDU is committed to maintaining the existing scientific, technological and security competencies in Germany. This is the only way Germany can contribute to the continuous improvement of safety at nuclear plants and at the same time secure employment opportunities.

249. Energy research and new innovative energy technologies are dispensable for sustainable energy supply. We want to promote widespread energy and open research



into energy and technology, which will contribute to the development of all climate-friendly energy sources and the further development of energy-producing technologies as well as to the rational use of resources. Modern clean coal-mining plants and gasworks are included such as is the research into nuclear fusion. There are great opportunities for growth for our companies and for the creation of jobs.

250. In order to curb energy prices increases we want to work towards a sound competitiveness in the power and gas markets. We are committed to the removal of restraints of competition and the accelerated expansion of a free accessible infrastructure for a seamless cross-border power and gas trade in the European market area.

### ***Shaping Mobility in an environmentally-acceptable Manner***

251. Mobility is a basic need of modern societies and the precondition for economic development and prosperity. This need must be taken into account without Germany getting entirely stuck in the traffic jam or the health or citizens being jeopardised. We support the reduction of the overburdening of our environment in the transport sector and encourage related developments. We want to reduce traffic noise and air pollution. Intelligent use of measures for directing traffic, constant reduction of noxious pollutants, the taxed-induced promotion of low-pollutant emitting vehicles, the consideration of the air traffic in the handling of emissions as well as the promotion of the public short-distance passenger transport systems are, in our view, all possible choices. With regard to an environmentally-acceptable designing of transportation the ship and railway traffic is getting more and more important. Over and above all, we will provide incentives for the further development of economical propulsion technologies and encourage the use of alternative sources of energy.

252. Through ecologically efficient framework conditions and market economic instruments we want to increase the climate sustainability of the air, ship and railway traffic. We think it is necessary to drastically reduce the CO<sub>2</sub> emission of new vehicles with improved engine technology, the use of bio-fuel and other measures. We want to drastically reduce the use of fuel for all vehicles. This will protect the environment and the pockets of the consumers at the same time.

### ***Protecting the Diversity of Nature***

253. Owing to the dramatic, worldwide decrease in the multiplicity of species we stand up for the strengthening of international cooperation in the protection of the environment and nature. We want to support the developing countries in their preservation of biodiversity and its development-oriented use and to effectively develop the instruments for the protection of the biodiversity. In order to achieve this it absolutely necessary to establish a European and worldwide system of areas of protection and areas with different types of use on land and in the as a worldwide life network. Also, in this regard we stand up for the establishment of an independent world organization of the United Nations. We also stand up for a binding international law regulation on the protection of the forests, especially the protection of the virgin forests.

### ***In Support of the Animal Protection***

254. The respect for the entire creation compels us to behave responsibly towards our fellows creatures. The protection of birds is of great concern to us. We insist that birds should be kept according to their species and as part of creation that must be

respected. Animal experiments should be reduced to their barest minimum and replaced with other methods.

### ***Our natural Heritage: A Home***

255. The diverse natural and cultural landscapes in Germany are an especially valuable part of our homeland. We want to maintain this tremendously rich national natural heritage also for future generations.

256. Ground and uncultivated land which are finite must be protected, especially in comparatively densely populated areas in Germany. The use of land reserves with special reference to the covering of building gaps in city centres must take precedence over the use of spaces on green lawns. The land use must be reduced as much as possible. Our policies will provide framework conditions in this respect.

### **3. A Future for Agriculture and Rural Areas**

257. The CDU wants to see extensive and flourishing agriculture and forestry in Germany. We see the production of high-quality foodstuffs as our core task in our agriculture. The farmers and foresters also produce important regenerative raw materials and renewable natural resources. For generations now they have been taking care of our cultural landscape and have had an impact on our rural areas. They do this being conscious of their responsibility toward mankind, animals, nature and environment. They are important clients for people engaged in handicraft and business. At the same time, agriculture and forestry secure the fundamentals of recreation, leisure and tourism.

258. By maintaining and taking good care of resources the private land owners and landlords play an important role. The personal responsibility and identification of people with their own property is more effective than charges raised by the state. The services provided in the protection of the environment and nature in the interest of the general public must be honoured. It is of prime importance to cover them with contractual agreements.

259. The guideline for the CDU is a multifunctional and an entrepreneurial agriculture which acknowledges its peasant roots and promotes at the same time creativity and innovation. We consider it important for the state to withdraw its control of agricultural commodities markets and unwieldy bureaucracy and excessive regulatory measures. Market orientation, creativity, good education and good management skills are becoming the key qualifications that are required. We will strengthen the agriculturalists and forestry experts in this respect. In this vein, we do not make any difference between business forms and production facilities, conventional and organic farming. Diversity and market orientation of German agriculture and food production and distribution for means to be present both in the international market and the regional market.

260. We request that the production and working conditions of farmers be made better in the European agricultural policy. We aim for fair competition in the European and international agricultural commodities markets. We commit ourselves to the harmonisation of the legal framework conditions in the European Union and the serious consideration and coordination of aspects of the protection of the environment, nature, consumers, and animals.

261. We want areas that are lively and worth living in. They are locations for business, culture, nature and recreation. They need development perspectives which make it possible for the people living there to enjoy good living and working conditions and educational facilities. Our special attention is drawn to the economically and structurally underdeveloped rural areas. They continue to be in need of our strong support to develop their social and technical infrastructure and to enhance their economic power.

262. The plantation of regenerative raw materials or the utilisation of renewal energies offers many chances for new economic and technological dynamics far beyond the scope of agriculture and forestry. We want to continue to enhance Germany's leading role in this domain in respect of climate-oriented cultivation.

263. Green genetic engineering can contribute immensely in future not only to food security but also to energy security. Security issues and absolute safety must take precedence over economic considerations. The use of genetic engineering to achieve a more efficient use of raw materials, to secure raw material supply and for the production of energy crops must be carefully researched. Successful research must be followed in Germany by the practical implementation of the findings for new products.

264. We want to promote more seriously multifunctional agriculture whereby while cultivation and processing are taking place, marketing of the products in a regional economic process is also going on.

## **VII. ACTIVE CITIZENS, A STRONG STATE, AN OPEN-MINDED COUNTRY**

### **1. Strengthening Civil Society – Encouraging Proactive Initiatives**

265. Our liberal democratic order and its political institutions form the basis for our vibrant democracy. Our aim is to continuously consolidate the ownership of and the respect for this order. In a rapidly changing world such as this, the sustainability of country depends on the fact that citizens can take care of one another and understand it as an expression of their personal and societal freedom. We want a relationship between citizens and state that is based on partnership and trust. We want a state that supports its citizens, gives them confidence, helps them, empowers them and enables the respective smaller units to be free and personally responsible.

266. Democratic participation of citizens finds expression in their elections and voting as well as in diverse forms of civic involvement. Our lively democracy needs voluntary and gratuitous commitment for the general welfare and builds on active citizens.

267. Public spirit engenders cohesion in the community. The dedication of our citizens is irreplaceable. Everyone has capabilities that can enrich the whole community. Every individual bears joint responsibility for the general welfare. Public spirit and a sense of responsibility are demonstrated in marriage, family, church, workplace, clubs, associations, and citizens' initiatives as well as in communities, local authorities and the state.

268. Without voluntary work our society would become impoverished. People who engage in honorary activities, who do social work and carry out civic projects in order

to enliven people and to help them financially, must be encouraged and should not be constrained by rules and regulations.

269. We want citizens who are open to civic involvement and acceptance of responsibility. Honorary offices and voluntary agencies can organise and support voluntary activities. We uphold the acknowledgement of voluntary activities and voluntary service of professionals.

270. Many people, including especially business men and women contribute a great deal to our welfare. With further improvement of the law on donations, non-profit-making activities and tax we want to further support their commitment.

271. Associations and civil society organisations and groups belong to an active and free civil society. They determine independently their duties within the limits of the general welfare. They carry on the social and political discussions.

## **Sports**

272. Sports unite, build up, activate, excite and integrate people. Sports also contribute to the training in humane values, such as tolerance, fairness, performance, competition, and responsibility and make one accept one's limits. Thus, sports can contribute immensely to a more peaceful and a better world.

The clubs are the basis of German sports. The reliable sponsorship of the clubs and of those who undertake voluntary activities there are vital goals of our sports policy. Sports, physical exercise and healthy food contribute largely to the maintenance of one's good health. The personal responsibility of the individual in the health care delivery system should be encouraged with incentives. Prevention of illness through sports and movement reduces the burden on our social systems.

Intact sports institutions and a diverse sports infrastructure are indispensable prerequisites for all aspects of active sports.

273. We stand up for the principle of achievement in sports, for humane top-level sports. Top-level sports play a role-model function for all levels of sports. We cannot do without sports promotion in the German Federal Armed Forces, the Police Service and Customs Service, and to the previous extent at that. Sports, school and professional education and training must collaborate and coordinate their targeted and systematic promotion of talented future sportsmen and sportswomen. We stand up for the development of elite schools for sports. Performances of disabled people in the general or top-level sports are fascinating and are an expression of independent willpower and commitment. Sports and movement strengthen one's personal performance capacity, give self-confidence, facilitate one's spatial and social mobility and is an effective booster in one's life.

The opportunities and incentives for people with disability to be able to do sports must be extended further. We must ensure a barrier-free access to sports facilities.

274. Doping destroys the basic values of sports, deceives fellow competitors and the spectators and endangers not only the health of the sportsmen and sportswomen. The acceptance of professional sports depends largely on a realistic and successful combat against doping.

Doping is also found in fitness training and leisure activities and joint battle of all stakeholders in sports, politics, industry, media and, indeed, the whole society.

## **2. In Favour of a strong State: Freedom and Security for the Citizens**

275. Our state guarantees the dignity and freedom of the citizens. It obtains its authority especially from its attachment to the basic rights. It should promote the wellbeing of the individual and the community. In a democratic society there are no rights without responsibilities and no freedom without responsibility.

276. Some of the main tasks of the state are protection of the basic laws and prevention of abuse of power. It should protect its citizens from internal and external threats and fulfil its responsibility of ensuring freedom and peace. It should enable the individual to develop himself freely, strengthen the weak and take care that risks that the individual cannot bear alone are borne collectively through solidarity. Besides, the state has to maintain and develop further the order that is absolutely necessary for coexistence. It must also preserve the freedom and diversity of the strengths and capabilities in society. It has to conserve the natural resources for us and for future generations and contribute to the maintenance of God's creation.

277. In order for the state to concentrate on its core responsibilities it should neither be overburdened with demands nor keep or assume such duties as are contradictory to the basic principles of sole responsibility, freedom and subsidiarity. An efficient civil service is the prerequisite for a reliable public infrastructure. The permanent civil service remains indispensable with respect to safeguarding the sovereign duties of the state. We want a strong but slim state.

### ***Freedom in Responsibility towards God and Man***

278. Our liberal state thrives on premises that it not able to guarantee itself. The state cannot prescribe values. These values rather form the social consensus for a life in freedom and responsibility.

279. We acknowledge the preamble to the Basic Law and, thus, to our responsibility toward God and man. The Basic Law is based on principles that are rooted in Christian beliefs. They have had a great/fundamental impact on our country and our society. It is not only the duty of the church but also the major responsibility of the state and the citizens to preserve it in our consciousness and to maintain and enforce it. Christian symbols must remain visible in public. They have to be protected in the same way as the Christian Sundays and holidays.

280. At the same time we recognise the fact that other religions also impart values which have a positive influence on our society and our liberal fundamental order. We respect all religious affiliations and expect the same attitude from all people who belong to other religious denominations. We bear a special responsibility towards the Jewish communities and Synagogues in Germany. They are part of our culture and form an indispensable integral part of our society. They contribute at the same time to the Germany's reputation in the world through their civic activities.

281. We admit the self-sufficiency and independence of the Christian churches and of the other recognised religious congregations. We notice their joint responsibility for the wellbeing of the citizens. We endorse, therefore, their existing system of collecting church dues. We acknowledge their exemplary achievements in the practical service

of their fellow human beings. The freedom of the churches and religious organisations to bring their moral influence to bear on society should remain unimpeachable. Our liberal rule of law guarantees the right to free practice of religion. We expect that all states and governments worldwide should safeguard their religious freedom. We want to encourage a continuous dialogue between religions.

### ***Liberal Democratic Basic Order***

282. The principle of coexistence of human beings in Germany is the value order of the Basic Law. It is on this well-grounded foundation that our nation has united in a democratic, liberal, social and federal rule of law.

283. We embrace representative democracy which connects political leadership with democratic accountability. Representative democracy does not preclude elements of direct democracy. Such elements can reasonably complement the representative system at the regional level.

284. We live in a society with diverse world views, opinions and interests. This demands a democratic formation of opinions in which the opposing opinions and interests are merged into majorities, without taking into consideration the concerns and opinions of the minorities. The majority principle is linked up with the protection of the minorities.

285. Political parties bear a special responsibility toward the state and society. They act on social concerns, contribute to the formation of opinions on political issues and encourage citizens to take part in political life. They fulfil their task when they win the trust of the citizens and offer clear objective and non-partisan directions for making their decisions. Their processes of forming opinions and work must be transparent.

People-centred parties resort to all people in Germany. The CDU as the people's centre party is especially in a position to merge different interests and to focus on the general welfare.

286. Freedom and responsibility of the media is in conformity with our free society. They are effective in the formation of public opinions and contribute to state power. Their independence and diversity are the prerequisites for these functions.

### ***Freedom and Security in the Rule of Law***

287. The duty of the law is to ensure freedom and peaceful coexistence of people. The rule of law ensures that all state authority is linked to legislation and laws. The law provides our society with an order framework. It sets values and poses limits to what we are capable of doing, especially where human dignity and freedom are endangered. Our rule of law ensures the justice security.

288. Freedom and security are basic needs of the human being. They are interdependent. The monopoly of power of the state to safeguard freedom and security result from the sovereign position that the state assumes. The state that does not defend itself against its enemies sells out the freedom of its citizens. We, therefore, need vigilance in the face of any intolerance, extremism and violence. There should be on tolerance against intolerance. After the painful experience with violence motivated by extremism we are fully aware of the responsibility that we bear to fight against right-wing and left-wing extremist groups.

289. Prevention of crime, protection from dangers to public security and order as well as enlightenment and suspicion of crime and wrong doing are indispensable preconditions for a peaceful coexistence. Prevention of crime is the duty of the whole society. In this case, the family and the state, with the support of the media, have to take up the fight against violence by young people, which occurs in many instances due to unsuccessful integration, misunderstood societal roles and lack of perspective. It is only a person who can live without fear for himself, his family and his property that can put his trust in the state. A state that neglects security risks having itself rejected.

290. Trivialising criminality is in the wrong direction. He who breaks the law and thus behaves contrary to the values-order of our society will have to reckon with serious persecution and heavy punishment. The police and the judiciary combat crime. A sustainable democracy must allow its state organs to employ cautiously the techniques that are needed to combat crime and to obtain the necessary information. Data protection interests must be in tune with the interest to effectively fight crime. Data protection should not lead to the protection of miscreants.

291. Terrorism that is in operation internally and organised crime are on the increase. The citizens must be protected against them. The international collaboration of institutions fighting crime/correction institutions and the judiciary must be enhanced. The law must be enforced without let or hindrance against unlimited crime./Limitless crime must be met with limitless law enforcement.

292. Political 'Islamism' and terrorist 'Islamism', which both place their radical interpretation of Islam above our constitution, constitute a serious danger to the citizens of Germany and also to the people who adhere to majority rule under Muslims. We will promote social cohesion of all democrats beyond all religious boundaries and at the same time combat tooth and nail violent fundamentalists.

293. He who wants to improve internal security must strengthen the police. Internal security in our country has assumed a global dimension owing to the new challenges. Instruments and organs of internal and external security must be strongly linked up and coordinated. To realise our national concept of security, collaboration between the Federation, states and local governments have to be improved.

An aspect of such a concept of strengthening our own country is also the German Federal Armed Forces. In situations of serious danger the German Federal Armed Forces should be deployed internally. The armed forces should show their mettle by using their special capabilities in overcoming the dangers posed by international terrorism and, in concert with the federal and regional police, protect the citizens against catastrophes.

### ***Continuing to reduce excessive Bureaucracy***

294. We reject a state which regulates every aspect of human life. We object to overregulation through laws and statutory instruments and excessive bureaucracy in administration. Civic freedom and social market economy should not get drowned in a flood of norms. Existing laws and rules have to be regularly examined with respect to their *raison d'être*. The necessity for making new laws and regulations must be proved by the lawmaker and documented. This principle may be followed: "If it is not necessary to pass a law, then it is necessary not to pass a law". In future, simple legal settlements and regulations should in principle be enforced only for limited periods. Laws must be clear and as short as possible. The clear and systematic nature of a law

must be further improved. Administrative processes and official structures have to be simplified and the offers of e-government must be enhanced.

295. The eradication of bureaucratic hassles must begin with the determination of the aims of the state. Eradicating superfluous bureaucracy in favour of an efficient public administration that is brought to the doors of the citizens is an urgent and constant duty – in the interest of the citizens, the economy and the state. The citizens can and want to do more with and in the community than they are allowed to do by an obscure and impenetrable state division of labour and competencies. We want at all state levels as well as at the European level a clear assignment of tasks and spheres of responsibility. It is important to concentrate at all levels our efforts on reducing bureaucracy.

### ***Effective Judiciary and consistent Law Enforcement***

296. Independent judiciary is the backbone of our rule of law. It protects the citizens from arbitrariness and abuse of power and ensures that everyone is given their due.

Long legal proceedings frustrate the smooth restoration of legal peace. We want to maintain, or to improve if need be, the efficiency of the law courts and public prosecution.

297. Law enforcement must take into account the security interests of the citizens. We aim for the reintegration of former criminals into society, but the citizens must also be protected permanently from dangerous hardened criminals. Security and rehabilitation are not contradictory to one another. Also, rehabilitation must be subject to the protection of the citizens from criminals. Protection of the victim supersedes protection of the offender.

### ***The Welfare State System***

298. Liberal rule of law and social state complement each other. A just social system must secure the framework conditions of humane existence for all and guarantee assistance in times of catastrophes and emergencies. Social justice must be especially effective in regard to the weak. Provision for life in a social state should not lead to incapacitation through the state. It must promote the efficiency of the individual and request his joint involvement – here, too, the solidarity principle comes into play.

### ***Federalism and local Self-government***

299. The German federal structure is an expression of a full-grown solid cultural and historical self-understanding of the home and identity of its citizens. Federalism and local government are essential principles of order of our state. We want to maintain and further develop it. They contribute to ensure the freedom of the citizens and to distribute state power. They facilitate the promotion of the different characteristics and specific interests of the individual regions and the local authorities. The urban areas and the local authorities demonstrate daily in a novel manner whether our community is functioning or not. In the immediate human living environment the acceptance of our community system is demonstrated through the citizens' active involvement and their joint determination and participation in local decision-making processes. In the course of the Europeanisation and globalisation the self-governing local authorities are the most important reference point and anchorage point of our society.



300. Public tasks must be fulfilled in line with their closeness to the citizens at the local government level where this exercise is always possible and reasonable. An appropriate financial institution must be established for the local government. With regard to the distribution of competencies and jurisdiction between the Federation, the states and the local governments the principles of subsidiarity and connections must be applied.

301. The collaboration of the federal states in the federal legislation and administration is an important principle of our federal system. This applies to the cooperation among the states themselves that we want to promote. Duty and political accountability from the Federation, the states and the local governments must be visible.

302. Federalism gains its meaning within the framework of the globalisation and the expansion and deepening of the European Union. Germany enriches the process through her federal structures and the consequential experiences.

### **3. Germany, Land of Integration**

303. A key political mission for the CDU is the integration of immigrants, especially of children and young people of the second or third generation. We see integration as a gradual process in the responsibility of the migrants, of politics and of the whole society. Migration and integration have to be organised; we understand it to be a chance and an enrichment. Our policy must be geared toward Germany's socio-economic interests which consistently take into consideration the European dimension of migration. It must also be conscious of its humanitarian duties and its responsibility as regards the less developed countries.

304. We need regulated immigration of highly skilled, motivated, hard-working people who are willing to live, work, adopt our values and accept our country as their home. Germany must be made attractive to these people. They are an asset to our country.

305. We maintain our historical responsibility of accepting German late settlers while at the same time improving their living conditions in their countries of origin.

306. Germany is an open-minded and tolerant country in which Germans and foreigners live and work peacefully with each other. Germany has always received people and integrated most of them successfully, so as to enable them to develop their talents and develop our country intellectually and culturally and fertilise her socially and further develop her. Through their achievements they have been able to acquire some recognition. At the same time the Federal Republic of Germany gives many people refugee status for humanitarian reasons. This is in conformity with our sense of responsibility based on Christian concept of mankind.

307. Germany is a land of integration. Integration means accepting cultural diversity on the basis of shared basic values. Integration also means taking responsibility for our country. We do not accept unrelated coexistence and emergence of parallel societies that disregard our rule of law. He who wants to live in Germany must accept the central values and norms of our liberal democratic system, without giving up his origin and roots. However, human rights and democracy are questionable there is right to cultural difference. This applies especially to equal treatment of men and women (i.e. gender equality). Over and above all, everyone must be united, be they

immigrants or the recipient society. A person who constantly rejects integration must reckon with sanctions.

308. Knowledge of the German language is a key to integration. Clear and realistic demands pose no obstacles to us. They are rather the basis for social integration. The CDU stands up for a comprehensive promotion of integration. Integration concerns all political spheres.

309. Successful integration makes demands on the individual and also entails the responsibility of the community and the state. It needs the collaboration of everyone and touches on every aspect of life. Integration is decided right in the coexistence with others in the community. The onus for successful integration is on the church, religious communities, cultural and educational institutions, migration organizations, the media, sports, foundations, clubs and associations, companies and trade unions. In this way, we all benefit from a successful integration and controlled immigration in business and work as well as in our daily life with one another.

310. We consider naturalisation, as an expression of a successful integration process, to be at the same time equitable participation with all rights and duties. This is a decisive moment in the life of the individual who expresses his loyalty to our nation. It ought to be recognised and encouraged in view of a decline in the naturalisation figures obtained with a visual estimate.

311. The CDU has bolstered the National Integration Plan and supports a comprehensive integration concept which will bring together the labour and social, family, educational, and non-German/foreigners policies under one umbrella known as the new integration policy. This is the way and manner we would arrive at society based on partnership.

## **VIII. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF GERMANY'S RESPONSIBILITIES AND INTERESTS**

### **1. Germany's Chance is Europe**

312. The CDU is the German party for Europe. From the onset it has spearheaded passionately the unification process in Europe. Introduced courageously by Konrad Adenauer and further deepened by Helmut Kohl after the German reunification, we are committed to the continuation of the integration of Europe. The European Union is in the interest of all member states and their citizens. Europe's strength is all also Germany's chance.

313. Europe is a cultural and value society. She unites her citizens in the consciousness of their own identity. The nation states and the identity of their own peoples are the deep-seated components of a Europe of unity in diversity. The common traditions, the religions, the ideas and intellectual achievements of our continent bind together our peoples beyond national and regional and political and economic differences.

314. The Christian concept of mankind as part of the common European heritage is pivotal to the European identity. Even in this age of globalisation it is still the fundamental element for the shaping Europe's future.

315. In our own interest Germany must play an active role in the completion of the unification process in Europe. An appropriate Europe can best take care of our interests in the age of globalisation together with our transatlantic partners with whom we are all bound by common values, freedom, democracy and the rule of law.

316. The European unity is the biggest political success story of our continent. It is the model and the point of orientation for many parts of the world. Since the Second World War Europe brings freedom, peace and prosperity. The European unity is the key to sustaining it. Today, the European Union guarantees us more internal and external security than ever. We are convinced that: The European Union is the best response to the challenges, such as globalisation, migration, new threats to our security, climate change and energy security.

No individual state can face and resolve these challenges. The Germans and their partners in the European Union share a common destiny. The sovereignty of each individual state can only develop effectively if it is practised jointly.

317. The important thing is that the European Union is accepted by its citizens. It must gain new persuasive power with its citizens, because peace, prosperity and security are self-evident for most citizens in European Union. We want to strengthen through our policies the confidence of our citizens in the European Union.

318. We want our young people to play an active role in shaping the European Integration. This requires intensive education on the politics and history of Europe. We want a strong and efficient Europe. In conformity with the principle of subsidiarity the European Union must, therefore, concentrate on those tasks that it can accomplish at the European level better than the nation states with their various regions and local governments. Thus, it is necessary to examine the structure of duties during future amendments of the EU agreement. It should be possible to redistribute some of the tasks to the nation states. The European Union must be democratic, transparent, efficient, less bureaucratic and accessible to the citizens.

319. The disbursement of funds in the European Union should be carried out in a more targeted, efficient and sustainable way; the financing system should be fundamentally reformed to suit the economic strengths of the various member states without the European Union having its own competency to levy taxes or raise public credits. Also, in this regard, we will explain to the people what advantages Europe has for them and what future perspectives are open to them.

320. As a union of citizens and member states the European Union stands on a new foundation with the Treaty of Lisbon which is based on common values and on the European concept of mankind, which is essentially rooted in Christianity, Judaism, the classical Graeco-Roman times and the Age of Enlightenment. The Charter on Basic Human Rights is an expression of these values. We profess our recourse to God. We are dedicated to the long-term goal of establishing a constitution for the European Union.

321. The nation-state will be transformed, but in the long run it will have a permanent status. Within the framework of the competencies delegated to it by the member states the European Union is operating according to the principles and methods of a federal-state system.

322. We want to further strengthen democracy in the European Union and the rights of the European Parliament. The European Parliament and the Council of the European

Union must have equal rights in participating in the European legislation process of the two-chamber system. The national parliaments of the member states must also legitimise in future the assignment of the sovereign powers of the member states to the European Union. They should also play an important role in the control of the principles of subsidiarity and proportionality. The citizen's vote must be reflected in the election of the President of the European Commission through the European Parliament during the election of the European Parliament. Apart from that, we prefer an individual European right to vote.

323. Political parties in Europe contribute to the creation of a European political consciousness and to an expression of the will of the citizens of the European Union. We, Christian Democrats, accomplish this task as members of the European People's Party (EPP). The European parties must, even more seriously than ever, pay their dues, in order to create a European public forum, e.g. through a stronger personalisation of European politics.

324. As a country that is situated in the centre of Europe Germany depends on cordial relations with her neighbours. In our capacity as the most populous and biggest economy of the European Union, we have to pay our dues towards the unification activities as a self-confident, open-minded and bridge-building country. We are convinced that: " Europe can only succeed through our common concerted effort – in holding together as big and small, older or new member states, yet having equal rights. France is Germany's most important partner in Europe. We want to enhance this relationship, so that France and Germany will remain in the forefront in the process of shaping the European Union.

325. For us Europe means primarily also a Europe of regions. The diversity and uniqueness of the regions and communities in Europe must be permanently preserved. The border regions are, indeed, the areas where the reality of the European integration is experienced and lived out to a great extent. The multifarious nature of knowledge and understanding of political, cultural, linguistic, historical and social peculiarities of the neighbouring regions is the basis for cross-border cooperation. This is why we want to encourage the learning of the languages of our neighbours. Border and supraregional areas thus constitute the building stones of the European integration process and should internalise consciously this important toehold function.

326. Homeland roots, national identity and European community complement and require each other. We stand up for the international and European rights for ethnic and minority groups, the right to a homeland, one's language and culture.

327. Even in a united Europe with increasingly open borders people who are expelled from their native lands and ethnic groups play an important role among nations. The Germans, too, who have lived in their homeland outside the Federal Republic of Germany, can assume this important function between Germany and her neighbours with regard to the further unification of Europe. Expulsion of any kind must be spurned internationally and infringed rights acknowledged.

328. The expansion rounds of the European Union have expanded the zone of stability and brought some economic and political benefits to Germany. For many people, including people from the Western Baltic countries and Eastern Europe the European Union has become a model of an open society, of peaceful coexistence of different peoples and, thus, a glimmer of hope for their political and economic future. The

European Union must justify its responsibility toward these peoples in these European countries.

The full membership in the European Union cannot be the only answer to in every case. It is not only the membership requirements which constitute the measuring rod for admission of new members, but also the membership capacity of the European Union itself. We consider a Privileged Partnership in the European Union for Turkey the most appropriate solution.

329. Further deepening of the European Union determines essentially the future expansion process. Cohesion and efficiency must be enhanced and the integration process must continue. The European expansion process must contribute to the strengthening of the European identity. Association agreements and special partnerships as well as multilateral cooperation models, such as the European Economic Area, can be signed as interim measures or also as permanent solutions. Only European states can join the European Union.

330. The stability and prosperity of the states in their immediate neighbourhood are of vital importance to the security and the prosperity of the European Union. Therefore, the European Union needs tailor-measured agreements and good neighbourliness.

331. The common European currency bolsters the cohesion and the economic power of the member states. Through it the political union became factually irreversible. The Customs Union, the domestic market and the Euro have contributed immensely to the stability, the prosperity and to the global competitiveness of Europe. Europe is a vital part of our response to the globalisation. For it makes us strong in the international competition.

The completion and further development of the common domestic market remains our permanent duty. The benefit of the common market should not be curtailed through excessive regulation. The European Union must undergo grave stresses in order to create greater economic growth, to assert itself on the world market and to enhance its competitiveness, for instance, unrestricted independence of the European Central Bank and strict adherence to the European Stability and Growth Pact. In this vein, research, development and training must be massively supported.

332. Technological development is the most important factor for high productivity and economic growth. Also, the European Union needs to evolve a high technology strategy so that in the long run well-paid and competitive job openings will be retained.

333. We want Europe to remain an affluent society. We consider the social market economy as a European economic and social model. In important areas of the social and environmental policies common minimum standards away from Europe must be established. Such standards should facilitate fair competition, narrow the competition gap within the European Union and put a strain on no member state. It is only when we work together that we, too, can as European Union carry out our global standards that have been impacted by our own values. In this regard, we give priority to our transatlantic economic partnership.

334. One important aim is to give the citizens and companies enough freedom through the reduction of regulations and administrative costs so that they will be able to expand and develop themselves. An independent European council for the judicial

review of constitutionality can make an important contribution to the process. Also, when translating the European law into German law excessive regulation must be avoided.

335. The Community law must be simplified, and the quality of the assessment of the results of the European legislative processes must be raised high. Also in the European Union there must be a regular examination of supplementary legislative processes and how this will be attained in Germany through the principle of discontinuity. Our aim is to shape a Europe with convenient location conditions.

336. The guarantee of internal security is one of the core duties of national and European policies. With the gradual implementation of our common domain of freedom, of security and justice the European Union makes a huge contribution to greater freedom and generosity to the citizens. At the same time, it makes it possible to fight terrorism and other forms of international crime more effectively.

337. On the basis of our determined and active advocacy of our common values we need especially an improved cross-border exchange of information from the police and security agencies of the member states. The existing information systems must be developed and by dint of the most modern techniques made to suit the new challenges of combating crime and terrorism. We, therefore, need to strengthen our joint institutions like EUROPOL and EUROJUST and closer direct cooperation between the national police services. Further duties that we have and that we need to bring to European level are effective fighting of illegal migration, gradual development of a common European refugee policy and a more intensive European exchange of experiences on issues of integration.

338. We want common foreign and security policies that are imbedded in an integrated security strategy which encompasses the security of energy and raw materials. These policies are in the interest of our country. The European Union must partake in the process of globalisation in accordance with its interests and values and in consonance with the size of its population and economic strength. Hence, it will be necessary to create the enabling political and institutional conditions for the European Union to speak with one voice and to be effective and efficient. It is then that it will be in a position to offer convincingly its rich experiences in building a regional peace order on the basis of the community and a domestic market as an attractive partner for the other world areas.

339. A part of our extended security concept that we cannot do without is the development collaboration. The European Union is the biggest donor community. In order to obtain the needed acceptance of the people it is, however, imperative that the sharing and disbursement of funds be transparent and coordinated with the national policies. It must conform to the principle of help for self-help, which should benefit the people the locality. It must also promote especially good governance and efficient administration including the fight against corruption.

340. The European Security and Defence Policy (ESVP) must be developed as a defence policy component of the European Union. We stand up for a European defence including a political and military assistance obligation that is complementary to the NATO. The European Union must, therefore, possess its own military options. The Federal Republic of Germany contributes substantially to the European Security and Defence Policy with her German Federal Armed Forces. We also stand up for an integration of national units within the European security structures with a European army as the final goal.

341. The transatlantic relations were always an important basis for peace, freedom and prosperity in Germany and Europe. They are also still of great importance. This is why the CDU always insists on seeking common ways of thinking in our partnership with the USA. In that regard our economic collaboration is always more important. Together we would like to strengthen the weight of the western value system with our transatlantic partners the USA and Canada on the basis of our value system.

342. The European Union and the USA are the most strongly bound economic partners of the world. In view of the on-going networking in the transatlantic economic relations we stand up for warding off trade restrictions and the creation of a transatlantic market. We also stand up for a self-confident Europe that does not consider itself as arrival but as a partner of the USA.

## **2. Standing up for Freedom and Peace – Germany's Role in World**

343. Freedom, solidarity and justice are the guidelines for our foreign, security and development policies. These guidelines are in conformity with task of guaranteeing freedom and security for the people in Germany. Our mission is to fend off risks from our country and at the same time to strive for peace and freedom as well as to promote respect for the rule of law and for universal human rights. Thus, we have to create and maintain the preconditions for the peaceful exchange of societal, cultural and economic experiences in our country and also to enable her to augment her prosperity and develop her society.

344. Since the end of the Cold War the conditions of our foreign and security policies have changed drastically. The bipolar world order now belongs to the past. As late as September 11, 2001, the free world learned that today we are vulnerable to asymmetrical threats, which can go beyond our borders. We want to intensify our international relations so that conflicts of interests can be resolved with as much cooperation and less violence as possible.

345. In this age of globalisation every country is a neighbour. Collapsing states are often havens for transnational terrorism and international crimes. The establishment and enforcement of the rule of law and democracy in far-away regions are serve our own interests and is proactive security precaution. Democracy and the rule of law create stability upon which we as an export-oriented economy depend. We should not be only regionally but also globally prepared to assume jointly with other democracies within the framework of international organisations any responsibility. In this case we follow the concept of the security network: "Without security there is no development, without development there is no security".

346. In order to be able to fulfil our responsibility the means and instruments for the foreign, security and development policies must be provided in line with the tasks and responsibilities. A successful foreign policy must seek the interests of our country. One of them is the recognition that: "If we practise international solidarity we shall also experience solidarity from other nations". It is, therefore, in our interest not to limit our policies to our nation alone but to seek equity of interests.

347. Successful foreign policy requires intellectual and economic efficiency as well as attractiveness of our societal order and culture. It must be reliable in order to win the trust of our partners and allies and, thus, rejects other national divergent ways. Also, it must be supported by the willingness, determination and ability stand up for our

values, convictions and interests in the dialogue with other cultures. We want intensify the foreign-policy discourse in our country and in the European Union.

348. In order to respond to the future foreign-policy challenges we want to further develop the European Union, maintain our transatlantic partnership and strengthen the global order. We want to deepen the transatlantic economic integration in order to strengthen the competitiveness of our economy.

349. The NATO still remains indispensable to Germany's and Europe's security and is the central instrument of our policy for security and defence. NATO must, therefore, be the permanent place for the transatlantic security-policy dialogue.

350. The transatlantic community is based on a unique worldwide foundation of common values. We are bound to the USA and Canada by long-lasting and tested partnership and friendship that want to further develop. Both states were founded by Europeans. The principles of the American Declaration of Independence were a model for the European countries, first in France in 1789 and later also in Germany.

Thanks to the USA especially Germany and Europe were freed from National Socialism and Communism. Without the support of the USA the German reunification and the European unity would not have been possible. It is becoming more and more important to seek and advocate common points of reference with our transatlantic partners, USA and Canada. We want to strengthen the import of the western value system on the basis of our common fundamental values.

351. We acknowledge the special historical responsibility that Germany has towards Israel. We stand up for Israel's right to exist as Jewish state within secure borders. Germany and Europe must contribute to the resolution of the crises in the Near East and its environs in a spirit of partnership and collaboration with the countries in the said region. They must also help solve the Middle East conflict. In order to achieve this it necessary to have an independent Palestinian state.

352. We stand up for a peaceful coexistence between the western democracies and the Islamic states. We respect and appreciate the rich cultural traditions of the Islamic world. It is in our interest to support the moderate powers in the Islamic communities who embrace the rule of law and democracy. Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism motivated by Islam are in the first place a threat to the Islamic communities themselves and also to us. We must be prepared and able to fight Islamic terrorism and fundamentalism and to destroy their breeding ground jointly with the greater majority of Muslims.

353. Germany, Europe and the West together have great interest in cordial relations with Russia. We strive for a strategic partnership of the European Union with Russia which is founded on the universal values of the European Council. We want to intensify our economic, political and social collaboration with Russia. We want to strengthen the democratic development, the rule of law, the multimedia system and the civil society in Russia through an open and comprehensive dialogue.

354. We want to support our neighbouring continent, Africa, in her efforts to achieve sustainable development, stability and good governance in order for the people there to have better life perspectives. We strive for a close collaboration with the African Union. A special problem is posed by widespread poverty, hunger, inadequate education and the spread of epidemics and diseases. We cannot be indifferent in



Europe to violent conflicts, instability and lawlessness in Africa. We are directly affected by their repercussions, especially in the form of increasing massive migration.

355. We place high value on the partnership with Latin America to which Europe has been closely bound through our history and values. We strengthen also burgeoning countries like Brazil and Mexico to take up more responsibility in the effort to provide solutions to the global problems. Through our cooperation with our partners we contribute in many countries to the strengthening of democracy.

356. In order to better overcome manifold challenges through the ongoing transformation processes in Asia and to safeguard our interests we must intensify the collaboration between Europe and the Asian countries and shape it through cooperation and committed partnerships. In view of their growing importance we want to encourage China and India to become responsibility-conscious stakeholders and moulders of the international order.

357. We advocate the continuation of worldwide disarmament, the strengthening of armament control and the management of the exportation of arms coordinated by Europe. The prevention of mass destruction of weapons and their support technologies promotes world peace and contributes to our security. We will enjoin the international community to bring pressure to bear on those who infringe international rules and agreements.

358. We advocate a comprehensive and networked approach which takes into consideration the whole gamut of security-policy instruments and merge them into a single concept. We need a close a cross-cutting collaboration and we want the civil and military instruments of the United Nations, the NATO and EU to coordinate more effectively with one another in their various approaches to the resolution of crises.

359. The task of the German Federal Armed Forces is no longer limited to the classical defence of the alliance and the country on our own territory alone. In the concept of a security network the German Federal Armed Forces are an instrument that can be dispensed with, both for the defence of the alliance and the country and for international crisis management and crisis resolution. Apart from that, the German Federal Armed Forces must also be deployable for the protection of the homeland and for protection against catastrophes within the country.

360. The German Federal Armed Forces must also be able to go on other missions or operations in the future and fulfil other duties assigned to Germany. That is why the transformation of our armed forces must be consistently implemented and the German Federal Armed Forces financed according to their needs. This is the only way in which the German Federal Armed Forces can carry out their exacting duties and Germany can remain in security-policy issues efficient and effective in an alliance and be active in shaping the future in this world of tomorrow.

361. The German Federal Armed Forces performs tremendously and through their missions abroad they have raised the image of Germany. We advocate the compulsory military service. It has asserted itself under various security-policy framework conditions and has been made to conform to the security-policy challenges and further developed accordingly. Readiness for action and endurance of the German Federal Armed Forces only be guaranteed through an adequate number of qualified reservists. The foundation here is laid by the compulsory military service. We want maintain the civilian service as an alternative service. It is of huge social and youth-policy importance.

362. The United Nations has the greatest legitimacy to handle global issues. The United Nations must become more efficient and more forceful so as to help enforce human rights, freedom, democracy and the rule of law worldwide in order to contribute to preservation of God's creation and to the continued development of internal public law.

363. As regards the reform of the Security Council we recommend a permanent seat for the European Union. With her assumption of the seat in the Permanent Security Council, Germany is always ready to take on more responsibility towards achieving this goal.

364. We stand for an increasingly integrated world economy with a free and equitable world transformation and wish, therefore, to strengthen institutions like the World Trade Organisation (WTO). The security of the international trade channels is of great interest to Germany. With it our country will be in a better position to contribute to worldwide increase in prosperity. At the same time, free and fair trade fosters the eradication of poverty and contributes consequently to the economic and political stability of nations, which would otherwise run the risk of collapsing.

365. It is German's interest to be proactive in the combat against the development problems of many countries, e.g. poverty, underdevelopment, abuse of human rights, epidemics, environmental destruction, wars, terrorism and the collapse of nations. Our development policy for partnership-based collaboration rests on three pillars: Firstly, the responsibility for those who suffer under poverty and for God's creation on the Christian-based concept of mankind; secondly, the prevention of risks and, thirdly, the strengthening of our political, economic and scientific partnerships. Development partnership means for us the return to the strengthening of our own reform initiatives and to the joint responsibility of the developing countries.

366. Development policy is associated with value. It is part of our policy of world order. We see in liberal democracy, rule of law, good governance and a socially-obligatory market-economic order, which protects at the same time the natural resources, the best way to promote development in poor countries. These aims are core elements of our development policy. Collaboration in development, which should be a long-term issue, presupposes consistent personal efforts, especially from the political decision-makers and the elite in the developing countries. We offer help toward self-help.

367. We acknowledge the achievements of those engaged in collaboration in development activities. Churches and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) help the people in the developing countries directly. The political foundations play an extraordinarily vital role in promoting nation building, rule of law, counselling and consultancy for parliaments and political parties, fostering the adherence to democratic principles as well as the enforcement of human rights in the development countries. Also, through the improvement of the framework conditions for economic involvement the private sector of the various economies can be won over the achievement drive of the development-aid-policy goals. Cooperating with private business enterprises has an import that is just similar to the civilian-military collaboration.

368. The great number of private donations demonstrates the preparedness of people to share with their fellow human beings. It is the duty of the state to promote private initiative. We stand up for the international task of increasing the financial support for the public development collaboration to 0,7 per cent of the Gross Domestic Income.

369. Security, development and human rights belong together. Human rights are indivisible. The CDU will in future also raise its voice when democracy, freedom, the rule of law and human rights are under threat. Human rights and fundamental freedoms must take precedence worldwide over the principle of sovereignty. We are contributing to shaping a world that is free, peaceful and just.